

THE RED FLAG

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Where there is a fire and danger of its spreading, one raises the alarm and cries 'Fire', not once but several times. So also when a railwayman sees danger of a collision, he waves the red flag, not once but repeatedly. Likewise, I write again and again about soaring prices and soaring taxes, resulting from industrialization sought to be completed within the period of a particular stewardship.

One hopes loyal Congressmen will not ask for a ban on the Reserve Bank as they do in respect of communalism or on Punjabi Suba news. The Reserve Bank has been sounding alarms. Facts are useful to know, although they disclose our own errors. To clamp down on information is not the way to deal with them. Unwill- ingness to do so is the most dan- gerous of all symptoms of misgov- ernment.

Sweeping axioms, howsoever cut and dried, cannot put out a fire. The Reserve Bank is understood to have drawn the attention of the Union Finance Minister to the poor response of the money mar- ket to the recent loans floated by the Government of India leading to a very heavy reliance on the Reserve Bank's own subscription to produce a "success". When genuine savings are made impos- sible, how can the Government expect subscriptions to its loans? When you starve the goose, you can't expect the bird to lay its (golden) eggs.

Professor Parkinson is pleading for reduction of public expendi- ture in England and limitation of taxation to 20 per cent of the national income. As we go down in the scale of national income, and India is very low down, the allowable measure of taxation must be less and less.

The Reserve Bank's report on Currency and Finance for 1960-61 points out that altogether indus- trial production has risen by more than 12 per cent; paradoxically the index of wholesale prices also rose by 7.2 per cent. A total rise of 30 per cent in the wholesale prices during the Second Plan period is what we begin with at the start of the Third Plan with all its fur- ther consequences in the same direction admitted in legible prin- ter's ink. The so-called Third Plan begins with the lowest level of foreign exchange reserves and a dangerously high level of prices. And if, as the Planners have ad- mitted, there is likelihood of a fur- ther steep rise, the situation can- not be coped with or covered by cliches and long speeches lulling people to sleep.

A clear admission is always use- ful, specially when it comes from the Minister for Planning. The report reads: "On the vexed ques- tion of prices, Mr. Nanda said that one of the reasons for the rise in prices during the Se- cond Plan was that deficit financ- ing had increased out of propor- tion." This is an answer to all the ignorant talk of Congress bosses

at lower levels that the printing of notes at Nasik did not matter, and, indeed, that it was good for the poor people who got more money thereby.

It is unfortunately far too easy to bamboozle our people and steal their votes. But it is lucky that there is an honest man somewhere who, in spite of much muddle, retains his respect for truth. Deficit financing, which is another name for the printing of currency to overbalance pro- duction and to obtain human labour cheap, is at least "one of the reasons" for the rise in prices.

Now what did Mr. Nanda say next? He said that indirect taxation during the last ten years had been responsible for an annual increase of prices by half a per cent. The word 'annual' means a progressive half a per cent. How he was ad- vised, and on what nice calcula- tion, to reach this precise half a per cent will be a mystery. But that apart, it is clear the Gov- ernment is making up for it by in- creased indirect taxation during the period of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th etc., plans.

It is either deficit financing or indirect taxation of the poor and it is no comfort to the poor man that the operation shifts from one to the other according to the whim of the grand operator. The Plan itself explicitly admits there will be a rise in prices but promises to keep it in check by physical controls and other me- thods.

ONE-SIDED ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

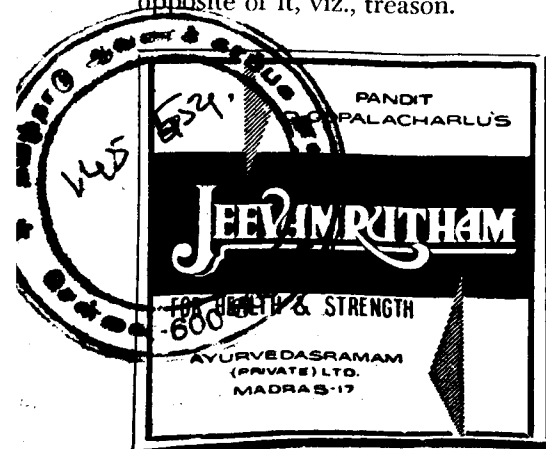
By M. RUTHNASWAMY

There is an innocent belief that the Government at the Centre or those in the States can somehow 'check' prices and 'hold the price line', and appeals are made in the press for this being done at once. This physical holding of the price line is an illusion which, if allowed to prevail, will only lead to more blackmarketing as well as high prices. Holding the price line is not a circus trick. It means reversing policies.

The Planning Commission believes in what it calls "institutional changes" to control prices, that is to say, in the transfer of the distribution business from private and individual hands to co-operative and State agencies. This would result in monopolies and plenty of mismanagement. The limited safeguard against undue exploitation which is inherent in the competition of the free market will be lost and there will be more blackmarketing—witness the cement business, a scandal that everybody now knows but which is still unabated.

The payments position having become difficult, we have secured what may be deemed a concession that payments to some of our foreign creditors may be in Indian currency. Apart from the possibility of such rupees going to help subversion, it will certainly add to the inflation and the upward flight of prices.

All this is melancholy but one cannot help warning where warning needs to be given. To flatter or suppress truth in fear of something is not patriotism but the opposite of it, viz., treason.



From time to time we hear of the Government of India attempting administrative reform. Committees of officials, generally from the secretariat, are bidden to study the question and make proposals. Even the Krishna Menon Committee on the administration of public enterprises was in the main one such committee.

It is like asking patients to sit in conclave and suggest to the doctors what should be done about what is wrong in them. The latest proposals made public by the Prime Minister in Parliament last week-end, for the promotion of administrative efficiency, are no better in the scope and depth of the reforms proposed. These reform measures are evidently the result of the work of some secretariat committee after they had been sat upon and hatched by the Cabinet. The end and purpose of these new reform measures is one and one only—the efficient implementation of the Plans. Surely, the Government of India has not yet become a purely business or industrial State as that of Russia—concerned only with the production and distribution of goods and economic services. There are the defence of India, the administration of the foreign policy of the Government, the maintenance of law and order, legal improvement, the administration of the education, health and other welfare services. Any administrative reform measure introduced by Government ought to be applicable to each and every department of Government and every echelon of the administration. A more comprehensive and thorough-going measure of administrative reform proposed by an external, expert, independent commission is what the country needs and the people await—not this piecemeal, petty, pottering achievement.

Meanwhile, public opinion is bound to have a look at it. Some of the reforms are so obvious and elementary that one wonders how

Congress governments, presumed to be parliamentary and efficient at the same time, got on without them. For instance, ministers are advised to concern themselves with "matters of policy, general supervision and enforcement of standards". The implication is obvious that Congress ministers so far have not observed this elementary principle of administration in a parliamentary democracy. But one who knows what has been going on in Congress ministries all these years would wish that the advice on this matter had been more explicit and detailed, that ministers should not concern themselves with appointments out of panels asked for from Public Service Commissions—why panels and not straightforward and immediate selection by these Commissions?—with promotions, transfers and punishments. Another obvious reform, that the financial responsibility of ministries and executive agencies should be freed from servile and continuous dependence on the Finance Department, is thought of after 15 years of experience of the difficulties and disadvantages. The control of the Home Ministry over the services (including their training) up to the grade of section officers is to go but it should not be handed over to individual ministers. It should, as in England, be transferred to the Finance Department; where there may be a chance of the growth and consequent increased cost of the administrative services being controlled and curbed. Resort to committees and group conferences—a popular secretariat method of "passing the buck"—is to be drastically reduced and is welcome.

The rest of the reforms in administrative organization and action are tuned to the ends and purposes of Planning. Firstly, "as information relating to a large proportion of projects included in the Third Plan is still unsatisfac-

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TAXING CHARITIES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Masani pleaded manfully for a very good cause in the course of the Income Tax Bill debate in the Lok Sabha. The Government seeks to tax charities if they are not for the benefit of everyone but for the benefit of the donor's community or race or religion or caste. The Government has also introduced a clause to tax trusts held by any person which are for the benefit not of the public but for that of a particular community, and this with retrospective effect, on trusts even already constituted.

These shortsighted provisions may be considered by the thoughtless as consistent with the secular character and policy of the Government. They are wholly misconceived and calculated to dry up the natural springs of charity in this country. The limited socialism that good men voluntarily practice is far more precious than the so-called socialism emanating from taxation, and administered by officials. A little arithmetic is enough to show that such voluntary benefactions to various communities would cover the entire nation.

The clauses opposed by Mr. Masani and others are wholly in conflict with what Gandhiji wanted to educate our people into, viz., the doctrine of trusteeship. The unselfishness and philanthropy involved in large bequests by fortunate individuals in favour of the numerous born and unborn people going by the name of a community, and to which they happen to belong by birth or religious affiliation, is sought to be treated by the Government as a worthless act and to be taxed like any other selfish indulgence and expenditure.

Nothing can be blinder than this policy and opposed to all Indian tradition and genius. This policy is based on ignorance of human nature. Mr. Masani and others should be congratulated for their valiant effort to set the matter right. But when

the Government is bent on securing a monopoly of all charity in the country, and on drying up all voluntary compassion, arguments can be of no avail.

But payment to Congress Party funds is to be treated as legitimate expenditure under the recent legislation, and so it will be exempt from tax and will serve to bring the slab down for the donor companies. The Finance Minis-

ter's answer on this immoral discrimination could not possibly pass. He knew very well what the legal position was. The education of the citizen into trusteeship, as Gandhiji desired, must be gradual. He must be taken through one concentric circle after another to the outermost circle. Communal charities and trusts are a school for the broadminded citizenship that Gandhiji conceived as a goal. The whole-or-nothing policy will only serve to kill the instinct and not to broaden it. Indian welfare has to be built with native clay.



CURRENT EVENTS :

The problem of taking the initiative for the purpose of negotiations, in order to settle disputes, is capable of taking a quixotic turn. For instance, in the Berlin crisis, the Western allies, unperturbed, are at one in holding that the initiative must come from Khrushchev. In the Bizerta fighting where Tunisians unfortunately fired the first shot, and provoked the arrival of French paratroopers in savage temper, President Bourguibo lodges his complaint against General de Gaulle and his Napoléon crew, but France prefers the course of ignoring the proceedings of the General Assembly and Security Council, pretending that the tragedy partook of the nature of 'police-action' undiscussable in New York, and that it is up to Bourguibo to take the initiative. With regard to the sore relations between India and China, Mr. R. K. Nehru who visited Peking (after his journey to Ulan Bator for celebrations in Outer Mongolia) took the initiative only to meet with a rebuff from Chou En-lai and Cheng Yi, since those statesmen are still nursing the grievance that the report of the Indian official team about Sino-Indian boundaries had been divulged unilaterally, before the Chinese Government could show the green light. When the question of Indians being harassed by the Ceylonese Government was raised in Parliament, the Prime Minister angrily maintained that initiative in such a matter should come from Sri Lanka.

Why initiative should proceed from the Sirimavo Government which as a matter of policy is making life fairly unbearable for citizens of Indian descent, it is difficult to divine. In South Africa where discrimination had been practised against Indians, even before the Boer War, the Government of India (a foreign Government) did take the initiative of protesting, and the people at large in India demonstrated their support through institutions like the

Imperial Citizenship Association. After the grant of self-government to the whites of South Africa in the treaty of Bloemfontein, Mahatma Gandhi agitated for equal citizenship or at least the removal of gross handicaps like the poll-tax.

If the Government of India or Whitehall had pleaded that the Government of South Africa should take the initiative, the matter would have remained in a blind alley. If second-class citizenship is the bane of colonialism, Ceylon in its present red temper cannot be above the reach of remonstrance from India. Ceylon is, however, a member of the Security Council and, in the matter of foreign policy, the Nehru Government might find manipulative value in Ceylon's vote, but this does not disable us from "taking the initiative" in peaceful negotiations. Settlers and Tamil labourers resident in Ceylon for six generations are discriminated against in the present anti-Indian campaign. President Kennedy is the grandson of an Irish emigrant to the United States during the potato famine. Would it not be preposterous if he found himself disqualified as an American citizen on the ground that his grandfather had not been a "son of the soil," and that no franchise rights had accrued to him? The plea that "initiative" must come from Ceylon when the sufferers are not of Sinhalese lineage is a transparent effort to be rid of responsibility, and to make sure of co-alignment abroad, in the prosecution of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy as Afro-Asian Supremo. Justice is sacrificed at the altar of snob-expediency.

Hopping to Kerala to have a look at the anomalous situation created in the Kerala alliance by the zig-zag moves of all parties for and against the Muslim League at the same time, the Congress President recalled the Durgapur resolution against having "truck"

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with communalism. There has been no abatement of controversy in the repetition of the riddle that the Congress Party has displayed good faith "in letter and in spirit". At Ernakulam Mr. Sanjiva Reddy made what is called a dramatic gesture when he said to Opposition critics that "Congress is prepared to step down in favour of anyone subscribing to Congress ideals." This is meretricious humbug, since it is the Congress Party itself that undertakes to be judge in its own cause. During British rule many an oily bureaucrat used to argue that the aim of Britain and the Indian National Congress was the same, viz., the welfare and prosperity of the people of India. Since the steel-frame monopolists were satisfied that they could perform the task better than the agitators they stuck to their places, cushioned in comfort, until bowled over. As an electioneering stunt, the Congress President should be advised not to indulge in such empty sporting offers.

The Prime Minister is a versatile expert in the art and science of semantics. When colleagues like Vallabhbhai Patel and Gobind Vallabh Pant were known by the title Deputy Prime Minister, the meaning and authority of their role were plain. So was Attlee's position as Churchill's overall-Deputy exercising legitimate powers and presiding over the Cabinet in the Prime Minister's absence. On Pantji's death, Mr. Morarji Desai moved to his room and a controversy broke out regarding succession. Irritated, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave an allround thrashing on the ground that canvassing had reached district level. His rebuke stilled the storm but only for a while. The solution he favours is based on the semantic feat of altering the significance of office in a Pickwickian sense. Are there not two Houses of Parliament? It would be easy

to have two Deputy Leaders in that sense, so that all could feel appeased without morbid interest in the monumental question: "After Nehru, who?"

As far as Mr. Nehru is concerned, his indispensable guide and *de facto* Deputy, unamenable to the discipline of any other personality, is Mr. Krishna Menon. The new construction of the term Deputy Leader maintains his unique status intact. When the Prime Minister goes to Belgrade, Moscow and Washington, the Defence Minister also would probably be in orbit. There is no little carping criticism about the miscellaneous assignments of Mr. Krishna Menon abroad; but in justice to him a question may be put. Whom else could the P.M. choose as a representative of stature from among the pigmy-crowd of fifty-two now cluttered and shuttered in his ministerial caravan? Mr. Krishna Menon knows to stand up for the dignity of his country, and if occasionally he appears quarrelsome, let us not forget that he knows how, in an argument, he could tie-up his Opposite Number into knots on any world platform. There is no use belittling the man or encouraging Zafarullah Khan to imagine that he could easily bluff the Security Council or the United Nations when the Kashmir question is exhumed. Let us give every man his due and let us not take the initiative to any dis-counting of his debating qualities.

For those who are alive to the Prime Minister's sense of the dramatic, there could be no surprise that on the day he piloted the Third Five Year Plan, Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari was inducted to his seat in the Rajya Sabha as *paterfamilias* of the Planning Commission with a long record as Vice-Chairman. As efficiency-expert he had recently declared at Madras that administrative machinery had stood up well in the achievements of success claimed for the two plans; and when the third leap is designed to exceed the strides of the original performance, a little emotional excitement must be conceded as natu-

ral. The Prime Minister said that irrespective of the cost factor India would proceed with the atomic power generation, because only by doing so the country's scientists would learn the know-how. Secondly, he said the Government would try to issue a White Paper which would include details about the cost of atomic power generation. The Prime Minister indicated that the first atomic power station near Bombay would take five years to function and it had been "broadly accepted" to have a second station in the U.P.-Rajasthan-Punjab-Delhi area. A high-powered committee had been asked to suggest sites for its location. But he added that the Government could not in the immediate future give much thought to the other proposals for atomic power stations, including the one envisaged for the "far South". He announced that the monazite-deposits in Bihar were "very considerable" and probably "larger than those along the Kerala Coast."

Mr. Nehru's enthusiasm for the gorgeous and the gigantic is irrepressible, though the resources of Bihar in respect of fuel-power in coal have been a cause of panic among mine-owners who do not know how to regulate their economy, linking it to the facilities of transport. The statistics of monazite in Bihar is another speculative problem amongst exploring teams who would require a few good crores to investigate. Dwelling on the Report as a whole, the Prime Minister named it as a "skeleton" round which to build the body of colossal achievements. The dwindling returns of agriculture, he has left for attention to minor colleagues, thanks to his scientific obsession regardless of the austere avoidance of this source of energy by Western nations, who also husband the means of electric power in thermal terms from hydel projects.

As for the liquidation of peasant-proprietorship and the trends of co-operative farming, the specialist Minister S. K. Dey cannot go

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By
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beyond asserting that no compulsive factors operate in official administration. Mr. Dey, Union Minister for Community Development and Co-operation, told on August 12 that the programme would succeed only if it generated a momentum like that of the Community Development Programme in its 1952 phase. The Minister was inaugurating a two-day meeting of State-level officers for co-operative farming, called by the Union Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation to review the progress and formulate the programme for the next six months, in the light of the problems faced by the programme. With this meeting, he said, the "preparatory phase" should be over. The Community Develop-

ment Programme, according to the Ministers, had been able to generate the necessary momentum only because it had created pressures from the ground upwards. The pressures were so great that today the programme was expending "faster than our capacity". The programme of co-operative farming must similarly generate pressures from below, he argues. In

order to make its impact, it must become spontaneous and completely independent of a "push from above". Whether it is push or pull, it looks like futile fuss around the swing-door.

Those accustomed to smoking *beedis* should be content to light them with Sivakasi matches, but

there is nothing to prevent snob-bish nabobs from using gold petrol-lighters, bejewelled and buttoned-in for transistor-music, out of a sheer sense of bahadurism. When in 1960 the site for the first station for a nuclear power programme was spotted and a special vote of fifty-odd crores rushed for the purpose, the plea was that India should not in this scientific era be "left behind". Pretence about the alleged cheapness of nuclear power and the shortage of conventional sources had nevertheless to be given up; the plea of making the future "more secure" was silenced. It is not as if in the rest of the world, the basis of industry and agriculture is being atom-oriented, or the setting up of one or more nuclear power-stations will enable us to produce more cloth or grow more food. The plant is not going to be made here, seeing that global tenders are invited and piecemeal contracts to foreign firms are being negotiated. We shall never, never switch over the installations to war-purposes since such convertibility would be inconsistent with peace-pledges, but Pakistan has already sounded the tocsin of alarm, speaking of the need of balancing the atomic menace geared up in India: they don't give credit to India's honourable intentions!

Our approach to a dynamic age of spacemen should, of course, be dynamic, but the expense-factor is not irrelevant. Let us remind Mr. Nehru of what he himself said in Parliament, in his reply to the debate on the President's address in February 1958, about this glamorous innovation.

"After all, it is the economical factor that counts. The factory can be built; that is well-known. You can build it but if it is frightfully expensive, nobody is going to build it. We are not going to waste money over an atomic power-station if the power that is produced is much more expensive than the power produced through ordinary methods; that is the main thing". Nuff said!

—P. J.

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CRIPPLING THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

By PHIROZE J. SHROFF

Making economic plans involving investments of thousands of crores of rupees is one thing. Finding adequate resources for the implementation of these plans is quite a different thing. Not only the requisite resources should be found, but they should be found in such a way as to cause minimum hardship to the people. In particular, unbearable burdens should not be imposed on those sections of the people who are least able to bear them.

The revised targets in the final report of the Third Five Year Plan envisage an outlay of Rs. 7,500 crores in the public sector and an outlay of Rs. 4,300 crores in the private sector.

A scrutiny of the various proposed heads of resources reveals that they will greatly increase the tempo of inflation, and will raise the prices of commodities and even bare necessities of life to dizzy heights. During the last six years the prices have risen at the annual rate of seven per cent. During the Third Plan period they are likely to rise at a greater inflationary rate. The further rise in prices will be the result of the economic, fiscal, credit and export-import policies of the Government, and attempts to check the spiral of prices will fail till such time when Government will adopt sound non-doctrinaire policies. In these Five Year Plans the Government has been pursuing the same policies (and methods) as have been followed in communist countries. The implementation of these ideological methods has caused abnormal inflation; for instance, in Russia the prices of consumer goods were 35 times as high at their peak period in the forties as they were in 1928.

The Third Plan envisages additional taxation of Rs. 1,710 crores during the plan period. This is a colossal figure, especially when it is realized that during the Second Five Year Plan period taxes,

both Central and State, have been increased by crores of rupees year after year. There is after all a limit to the ability of the people to bear taxes. Apart from it, considerable portion of the proposed outlay for the plan is diverted to non-plan and even non-productive expenditure. No plans can succeed when Parkinson's Law operates with a vengeance. It is very necessary that the normal government budgets are completely separated from plan budgets.

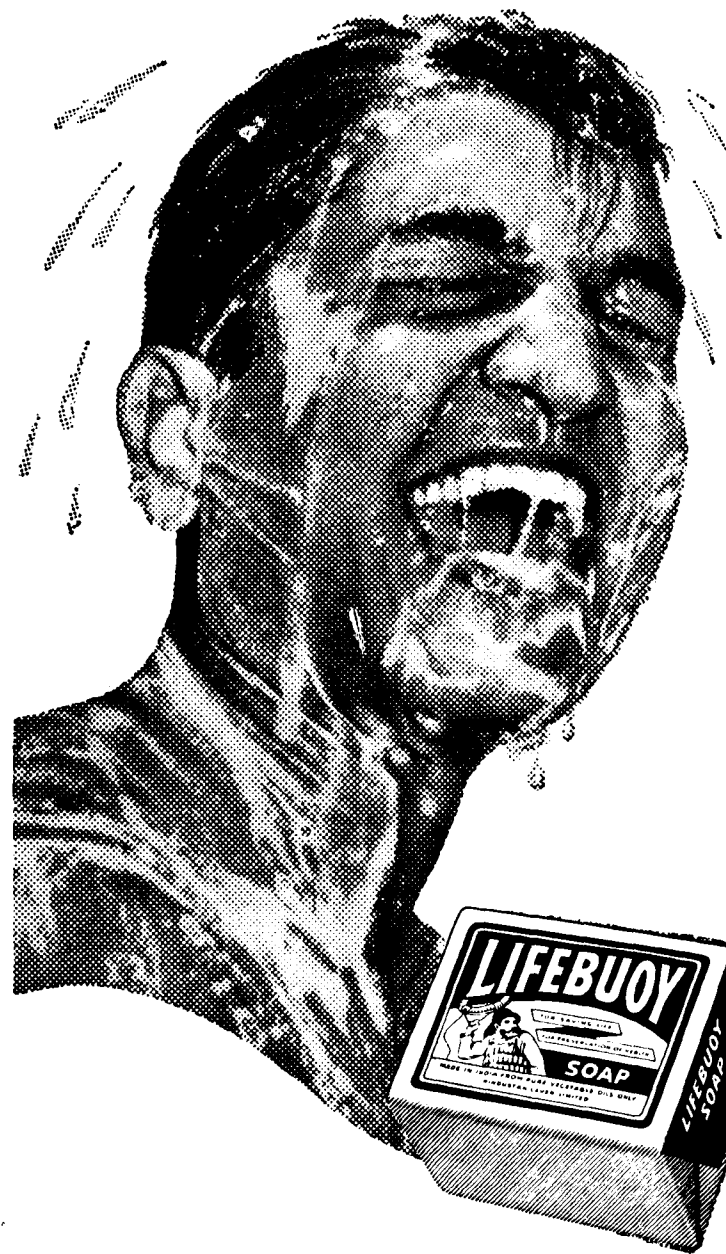
The Third Plan provides for deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 550 crores, that is at the rate of Rs. 110 crores per year. This amount, which will consist of paper assets, will also be reflected in the prices, causing great hardships to the people. In the final analysis, deficit financing is a disguised form of taxation. Government's attempts to invest non-existent resources will give a great fillip to inflation. And there is no guarantee that the Government will stick to this limit of Rs. 550 crores for deficit financing. The Government will be tempted to overstep this limit and will come out with various excuses for not keeping within the limit. In the interest of proper budgetary policies, the Central Government should insist on the States to put a stop to annual deficit budgets. Practices which led to extravagance and irresponsibility should be stopped. It is because the Central Government has connived at the practice of deficit budgets by State governments, that there seems to be a competition between States to budget for largest deficits—which the Central Government will have to make good in some form or other.

According to the Plan there will be surpluses of public sector enterprises (other than Railways) amounting to Rs. 450 crores. No convincing indications are given as to how these surpluses are expected to be realized. Upto now

the return on the public sector enterprises, involving a capital expenditure of about Rs. 700 crores, has been no more than about half a per cent on the total outlay. This return is very disappointing and is a sad commentary on the working of most of the public sector enterprises.

Amongst other resources, the Planners expect to raise loans from the public to the tune of Rs. 800 crores. They further expect to raise Rs. 600 crores by small savings. Frequent complaints are made that some of these resources are raised by official pressure. Investment in small savings is also on numerous occasions re-converted into cash by the purchasers of the savings bonds, soon after investment. People will stop investing in Government loans and also small savings when they find that their capital continues to decrease in value, because of the continuous fall in the rupee. Unless the value of the rupee is stabilized, the Government's plans to obtain public loans and small savings amounts to the tune of Rs. 1,400 crores during the plan period will not materialize. The plan also envisages a net amount of Rs. 265 crores from provident funds. In an economy of rising prices, whether it will be possible (without causing hardship) to raise an annual sum of Rs. 53 crores by way of contributions to provident funds remains to be seen.

Budgetary receipts corresponding to external assistance figure as the largest single contribution to the resources for the Third Plan being reckoned at the figure of Rs. 2,200 crores. Friendly nations have agreed to contribute generously towards the requisite resources for the Third Plan. But the fact remains that we shall have to return foreign loans at stipulated terms, and at stipulated times. If we fail to do so, we shall rank as international defaulters. Already we find it difficult to repay the loans we have raised and we are asking for extension of time to repay our earlier debts.



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Apart from the problem of the repayment of the principal, we are finding it extremely difficult to find requisite foreign exchange to service the existing foreign loans.

During the Third Plan period we shall have to utilize Rs. 450 to Rs. 500 crores out of external assistance to meet our liabilities in respect of existing foreign loans. In other words, we shall have to adopt a bankrupt's policy of paying off former debts by contracting fresh heavier debts.

The Third Plan provides for an investment of Rs. 4,300 crores in the private sector. When a huge proportion of the country's resources for investment will be drained away by the Government by every possible device and strategy at its disposal, it will be very difficult for the private sector to find necessary resources of the order of Rs. 4,300 crores. The private sector will exist on sufferance in the coming years and will be progressively eliminated. This will spell the doom of democracy and basic freedoms in our country.

Our investment in public sector enterprises, without any regard to any sound economic or business principles, has been the bane of our country's economy. Our Planners have to learn the elementary business principle that the success of any industrial or business venture is to be judged not by the amount of money spent over it, but by its productivity. Squandermania and dishing up of statistics are no substitute for sound industrial or business economy. Till our Planners free themselves from the bondage of doctrinaire economics, the prospects for the health and vitality of our country's economy are very bleak. It is hardly necessary to add that sick economy is not congenial to political stability. That is why the enemies of democracy and freedom have always sought to obtain political power by hindering orderly and rapid economic progress of democracies, and even by attempting to create economic chaos.

September 2, 1961

SWARAJYA

9

CAPITAL COMMENTS

RELUCTANCE TO FACE REALITIES

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Nehru-Fateh Singh talks have failed, amidst the worsening condition of the Akali leader who has been on "fast unto death" since the 15th of August, and the mounting tension in the Punjab and round about. The possibility, indeed the probability, of their breakdown on the central issue of Punjabi Suba has always been there. Yet one would have expected the Prime Minister on the one side and the Akali spokesmen, on the other, to think of reasonable alternatives and explore all possible avenues, with a view to saving Master Tara Singh from self-immolation and the situation from further deterioration. There was said to be no meeting ground, with the result that nobody could visualise what lay ahead—except darkness and disaster.

In the process the Sikhs might be hurt because of Akali intransigence. It would, however, be idle to deny or overlook that the nation would suffer not less heavily because of the Government's reluctance to face the issue squarely and boldly. With unerring instinct and farsighted statesmanship, Rajaji urged—as he alone could have done with a certain moral authority which no one else in the country could perhaps claim—that "the Sikh claim should be conceded or the whole matter of linguistic demarcation be reviewed". There was no other way open to tackling the issue with a sense of finality. But it has never been the Government's way of facing the issues arising out of the situations created by itself. The A.I.C.C. resolution of 1947 (unearthed by Mr. Ashoka Mehta) guaranteeing certain linguistic concessions to the Sikhs, emphasises the responsibility of the Congress (and *ipso facto* of the Congress Government) for the kind of impasse it is now confronted with, in the Punjab. But it has become a habit with the Congress and its governments to run away

from realities and to fight shy of the implications of their own pronouncements and policies.

A high power Commission should certainly have been put on the job of reviewing linguistic demarcation, and examining the position in the light of the Sikh charges of discrimination against the community, and a truce called. A few days ago a proposal to that effect was seriously discussed. Perhaps the Union Home Minister was thinking on those lines. The tragedy of the whole situation is that neither would he be encouraged to implement his ideas nor even the Punjab Chief Minister given an absolutely free hand to bring it under control according to his own ideas. The last word lay elsewhere.

During the last few days no one of consequence—if the Union Home Minister, the Punjab Chief Minister and the Congress President could be called men of consequence—ever knew what they could say or how far they could go in the parleys with the Akali leaders while they could not help seeing some of them. They were all in an unfortunate predicament; they still are; they will doubtless continue to be. For, they do not, and cannot, know what is in the Prime Minister's mind. This is the case not only in regard to the big issue of Punjabi Suba but it is the same case even in respect of much smaller issues or less difficult ones. Let alone the initiative, not a single step, it seems, can be taken by any of them with confidence.

If Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar needed to be advised whether he should seek re-election to the Lok Sabha, he had to be directed to Mr. Nehru alone. If Mr. Hare Krushna Mahatab wanted to know about his future, he was likewise asked to produce himself before the Prime Minister. If the question cropped up whether a present minister in one of the States should preferably contest a parlia-

mentary seat, or a deputy minister at the Centre should rather go back to his home-State, the matter needed to be finally referred to the Prime Minister. The Congress President could only 'advise' everyone who sought his advice, to go to the fountain-source of all inspiration in the Congress—and be done with it! There was nothing else that he could do, situated as he is. It is the same story, over and over again.

And if, at the end of it all, the person who has sought an interview with the Prime Minister, feels that he has only come out by the same door as in he went, without being any the wiser for his experience, he only asks for sympathy. Except that he has been asked to seek re-election to the Lok Sabha and take his chance, the present Speaker does not know whether he can legitimately ask for uncontested return as the nominee of his party for the next Speakership. The same advice has been given to Mr. Mahatab with, of course, no further commitments. The situation is partly intriguing as every aspirant to high office desires to know, even at this stage, all about his future—on the assumption that he will win the election.

One can well understand Mr. Nehru's reticence when he is thus pestered by place-seekers. But what is of great relevance is the utter impotence or helplessness to which he is reducing everyone by his strange isolation in an ivory tower beyond easy access. He is not very happy these days. It is common comment that never has he been less inspiring than in the present session of Parliament. He has few advisers, fewer confidants. He has become far too lonely—and he is terribly preoccupied. And this above all: nobody seems to know what is passing in his mind.

Always kept guessing and not knowing which way to go, the men around Mr. Nehru are, to put it bluntly, feeling increasingly exasperated. They are just facing a wall on which "uncertainty" about everything that matters, is writ large. Their minds are uneasy. One asks the other "What then?"

GOLIATH AND DAVID

By BHIKKU

Hitler, the exponent of the esoteric principles of political propaganda, lays down the basic rule that all propaganda must be confined to a few bare necessities. These formulas must be constantly repeated, for only constant repetition will finally succeed in imprinting an idea upon the memory of the crowd.

The endless blitz through radio, newspapers, speeches of ministers, whether at the opening of creches for babies or orations for departed worthies, seems to be a study in the application of Hitlerian principles for re-orientation of people's thoughts and dispositions towards the cults of our leader. In a people so ignorant as to be incapable of making a realistic choice between different issues, loud voices and iterated headlines in print have the potency of strong liquor on empty stomachs. The high jinks of school boys, the fisty hold-ups of organised labour every now and then, and even such unrulinesses as ticketless travel are but capers following draughts of the new heady brews. Control of the means of propaganda enables gilding and blazoning the names and personalities of the ruling party, and building up a facade of their invincibility and perpetuity. These daily intonings of Congress ideas and glories, are reminiscent of the murmuring machines of Aldous Huxley that mould nerve impulses towards weighted biases. There is such a din of crores of money in their

hundreds and thousands that the listener is stupefied into a giddy world of incredible opulence with a subconscious surge for holding on to the hems of the cloaks of the magicians of this Couc-paradise. One day we are told that 50 million children will have schools provided within easy walking distance. Considering the Himalayan difficulty of getting admission for a child into any school these days, this is a barefaced Jack-and-the-Bean-Stalk story. Another time we have it that selected spots of India will be made to disgorge millions of tons of crude oil. This seems to be an anaesthetic to dull acrimony against the high cost of the poor man's kerosine, and the unconscionable racket in the cost of petrol. The Minister for Electricity exults that 7 million Kilo-watts will be added to power supply. Another bellowing voice proclaims: "No scarcity of steel at all in the country. Steel production is going to save 100 crores in exchange." Considering the impossibility of getting a couple of zinc sheets to cover leaky roofs and a few lengths of G.I. piping for replacing worn-out pipes at less than cruel black-market prices, this is a mirage of glistening water for parched throats. The Ministry of Agriculture certainly does not lag behind in this cacophany. By a glut of fertilizers, the earth will be galvanised to parturate seventy-five and a half million tons more of wheat. The 'half ton' gives a verisimilitude of accuracy in the appraisal. This should blanket out memories of serpentine queues and of millions of tons of good food thrown into the dung heap by ill storage and neglect by officialdom.

All this eloquence seems to be intended as much for self-inflation into convictions as for putting over palatable fiction for electoral needs. One remembers with melancholy foreboding the dictum of the Fuhrer that what at first appears as lunatic from its very impudence later on tones down to

mere unpleasantness and then comes to be believed.

Finally, there is the drum-beat repetition that the Swatantra Party is a 'Reactionary Party' of vested interests and of rich men. The glib simplicity of those black names is meant to needle the emotional tender spots of a people in perpetual want and poverty. Reality and truth have so many complicated facets that their expression and communication are fearfully handicapped against facile and simple falsehoods. The artists of these epithets have an Asura cuteness worthy of a Hitler. As against these, such scintillating words of the Prime Minister as 'Modernism', 'Science and Technology', 'Traditionalism', 'Stagnation', 'Atomic age' and 'Not-a-foot of Indian soil'—all carry a brazing imagery of rainbow-tinted vistas of futurity. Whatever be the successes and failures of the Swatantra Party in the elections, it will have justified itself by showing that there are still men of fibre, of thought and experience, who defy what appears to be a Goliath of brute power, wealth and limitless wrong-doing, even as David did.

Congress and Municipal Elections

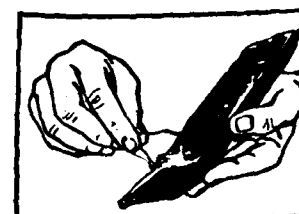
The Romans had a saying that those whom the gods wish to destroy, first drive them mad. Such a madness seems to be descending on the Congress, as one can judge even from the affairs of a small town like Mangalore. During the past week, the Congress has shocked the public by ordering the postponement of elections to the Municipal Council. The print order for the electoral rolls had been issued and nominations were to take place on the 20th of this month. No reason for the postponement are given but it is understood that, as soon as the local Congress knew that an Independent Front had been organised against it, the Government was persuaded that unless the municipal elections were postponed, not only would they be lost but also the general elections, which follow shortly after.

What the Congress has not realised is that this has only encouraged the Independent Front and convinced the public that the Congress is on the run.

—Insig..

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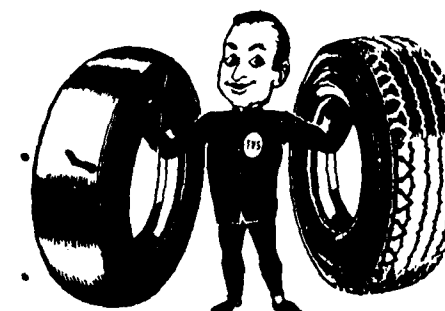


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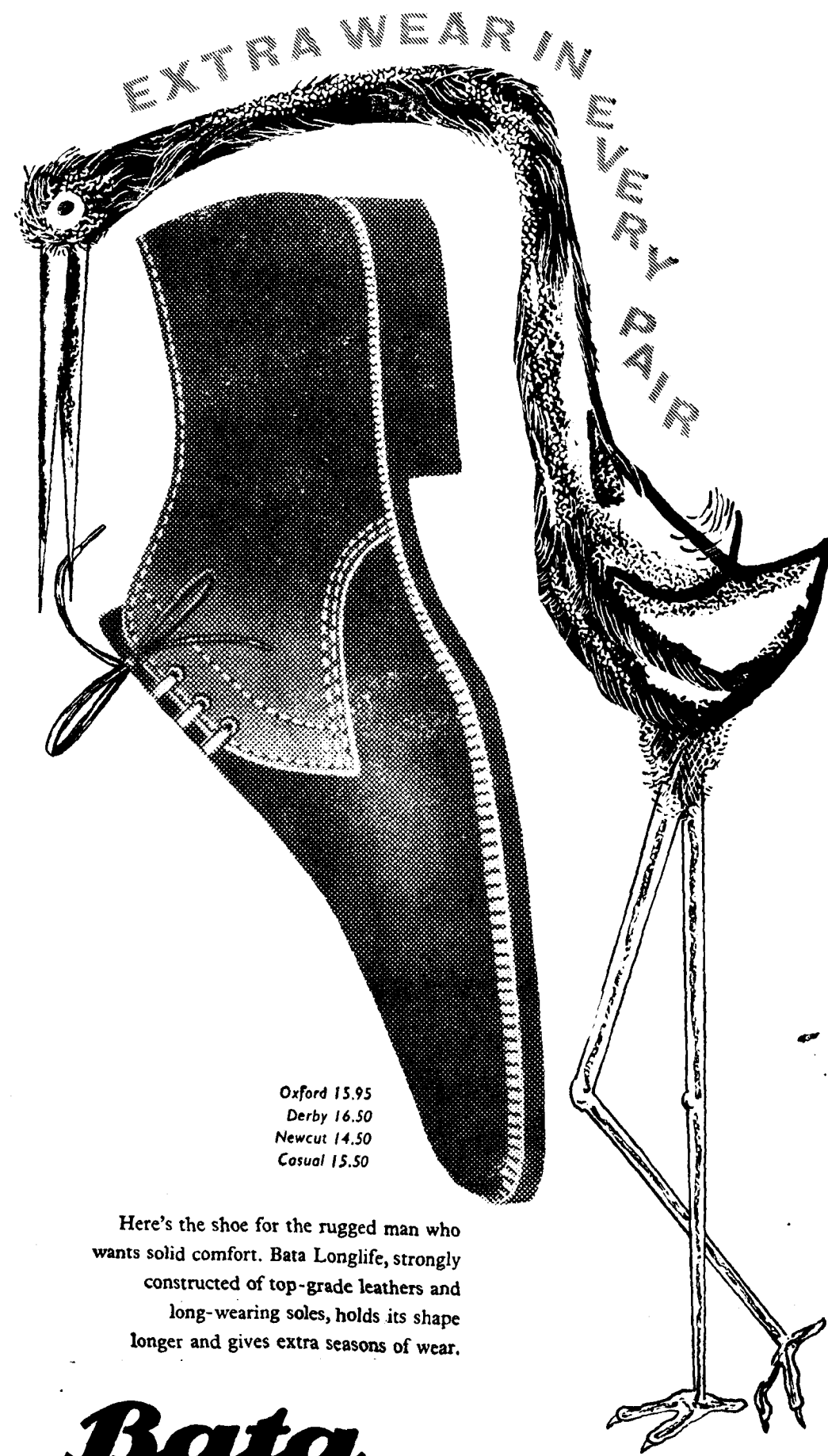


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September 2, 1961

SWARAJYA

13

Dear Reader —

• So Vedaratnam too is gone, the last Gandhian in the Madras Congress. Good men are fast disappearing, one after another, leaving behind, to be in complete charge of the Congress, those who had long suppressed their opposition to Gandhiji and his plea for *dharma* against tempting expediency and materialism, but who were, for the time, overwhelmed by his magnetic power over the masses, and who now openly lead men along the path wherein faith rests on matter and not on spirit. In Vedaratnam—let me strike a personal note—I have lost one who was a blood brother in political life as far as dear Tamilnad was concerned, one whose faith and courage never failed him in his support to me. When I revolted now, his heart was with me, but he saw how Himalayan was the task I undertook and all my present handicaps. He thought it best to stay where he was, hoping against hope, and I let him be. Vedaratnam is a lasting monument for Vedaratnam, if monuments can make up for the great reality of death!

★

The Prime Minister has declared that his policy is that Government undertakings should be worked so as to yield maximum profit, and he has justified this usurious policy before a wondering audience of admirers. What happens then to the delusion of the people that they would get things cheaper when the socialist State takes over manufacture and business from the wicked and greedy capitalists? The value of nationalization to a poor people is the expected (and promised) reduction of prices, not efficiency as a taxing machine indirectly mopping up people's money through sales and services done by the State's arrogant servants instead of by humble individuals interested in their own profit, though competing with one another and therefore not likely to go too far. A maximum profit-making mono-

polist State is a bad bargain for individuals engaged in a competition with one another for the consumer's favour. But all this argument is academical. Let us wait until really the State officials make public undertakings profitable to some extent which is unlikely as things appear!

★

Those who oppose Master Tara Singh's demand may be classed under two heads. (1) Those who fear oppression by the majority in the newly formed linguistic State. Is it that people are afraid of democracy, except where you are in the majority yourself? Alas, perhaps this is so. (2) Those who want a united Punjab at the border. A single administration does not always mean a united people. Surely it must be obvious that, to refuse the demand and keep the Sikhs discontented and angry, is not the way to create a united people in that region. Are the Sikhs a negligible minority that do not count? History does not warrant this attitude.

There is a point at which one's own judgment about the feelings of others, on which depend union and strength, must yield to clearly demonstrated evidence to the contrary. I was opposed to the Andhra claim for partition of the great State of Madras up to a point. When I saw that the Andhras would not be happy until they had it, I supported the partition, and now there is good feeling and trust such as could never have issued from compulsory union.

★

The reprimand administered by the Prime Minister to Md. Dawood Ali Mirza in the Rajya Sabha over the latter's discourteous reference to General Ayub Khan and the decision of the Lok Sabha, on the Prime Minister's advice, to admonish the Editor of *Blitz* may be deemed to be a fairly satisfactory warning to flatterers that it does not always pay. But one may suppose that flatterers know their own job and will not be deterred by occasional reverses. In the long run, perhaps, flattery pays.

C.R.

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September 3,
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Front Cover : Sri Acharya Vinoba Bhave
Artist : Sri V. N. O'Key.

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN - BOMBAY-7

REVIEW

INDUSTRIAL INDIA

INDUSTRIAL INDIA ANNUAL 1961
(Official Organ of the All India Manufacturers' Organization).

Messrs. A. Mac Rae & Co. Private Ltd., United India Buildings, Sir Phirozshah Mehta Road, Bombay-1.

Price: Rs. 7-50.

Owing to various difficulties the compilation of an annual such as the one under review has frequently proved a prodigious task. But the *Industrial India Annual 1961* bears all the evidence of having surmounted conventional obstacles. What is more, it has succeeded in bringing together lucidly written articles on themes that may be familiar, but, nevertheless, continue to perplex many lay readers, though they might fascinate the student of Indian economic affairs. The range of subjects dealt with is comprehensive.

The editorials give a flying start to the Annual. In "Regional Co-operation in Industrial Development," Mr. V. Nyun of the ECAFE comes out with an infrequently stated home truth: "...The achievement of self-sufficiency through high cost ventures would lead to the satisfaction of effective demand at a high price level, while leaving basic needs unsatisfied". The Indian automobile industry is an apt illustration of this point. In his article on "Interest Rates and Development Policies," Mr. M. L. Hoggman of the World Bank declares: "No market rate of interest is likely to reflect the 'true' cost of capital to an enterprise in a country with a rudimentary capital market dominated by a

Central Bank whose principal concern is to keep the cost of Government borrowing low and stable or both". The Indian money market deadlock caused by an unrealistic bank rate could not have been more succinctly described. Mr. Robert Garner of the International Finance Corporation, writing on "Finance for Development," warns us that "Foreign investment capital must be promised a substantially higher return than is available in the industrialized countries, if it is to venture into the developing areas". In "Trends in New Company Registration", Dr. Raj Nigam gives interesting figures in tabular form and indicates the effect of the new disciplines of Company Law and the new trends in managerial preferences. Mr. M. S. Srinivasan's article on "Need for Economic Incentives," Dr. Subbarayan's on "Transport Development" and Mr. S. K. Patil's "From Subsistence Farming to Commercial Agriculture" are among the other very readable articles in the general section.

Among the highlights in the technical section are Dr. K. L. Rao's article on "India's Water Resources Development in the Decade", Dr. A. N. Kapur's "Paper and Pulp Industry in India," and Mr. S. K. Ghaswala's "Growth and Development of Aluminium Industry". Several other themes, like marketing strategy, stores purchase and importance of design, have also been ably dealt with. The textile, cable, drug, glass, plastics, tea and organic chemical industries are other subjects on which men of experience in the respective fields have contributed articles.

The Atomic Energy section is very informative to laymen, particularly the article on "Production of Electricity from Nuclear Energy". The Indo-foreign economic collaboration section is notable for the article by Sir Paul Gore-Booth. The figures given in the article on "U. S. Government Assistance to India", reveal that U. S. assistance from the commencement of the aid programme in June 1951 totals 3,843 million dollars or Rs. 1,829.2 crores, under Aid and Loan heads.

The Japanese section is of special interest to all those who have looked for technical assistance or have availed themselves of Yen credit or, in general, have been fascinated by Japanese approach to industrial problems in the post-war years. Those who have been studying at first-hand American, European and Japanese techniques in industry have had a hunch that Japan, with its less massive and capital intensive plant and machinery, has a more practical message for India than Western countries in certain industries. Mr. Koichi Aki's article on "Role of Japan in the Industrialization of Developing Countries" deals with well known facts of the problem of under-developed economies. "In comparison with Western countries, Japan has carried out her industrialization, in a relatively short period and mainly by means of her own capital," he says. Evidently manpower (which in Japan includes woman-power) has done more wonders in Japan's economic rehabilitation than are dreamt of by India.

The get-up of the Annual has all the elegance of a modern shop-window.

—S. NARAYANASWAMI

ONE-SIDED ADMINISTRATIVE ...

(Continued from page 2)

tory"—so much for the value of these projects!—"planning for the Fourth Plan should be started immediately and a comprehensive time-table may be worked out for completing studies for the Fourth Plan projects during the next three years". Agencies such as the Committee on Plan Projects, and the Programme Evaluation Organization are to continue their work of administrative research and evaluation. Committees sent out by one door are to come in by another, for "a small committee in each ministry is to locate officials who are inefficient or against whom suspicions exist regarding their moral integrity". Cannot the secretary or head of each department be entrusted with this duty?

As "management of projects is a new and important part of administrative practice", training in planning, estimating, cost-accounting is essential. Training arrangements are to be made "to develop individual and group responsibility, techniques for fostering initiative, ability to programme, increase in capacity for improvement in performance." But when and where, and by whom, this training is to be administered we are not told. Public relations and their organization—a highly technical and specialized business—are to be left in the hands of over-worked heads of departments. A whole set of these reforms are concerned with the management of the new public enterprises. The ministries concerned are to have strong planning cells, design and research units, units for evaluation, review of progress, reduction of costs. Finally, the Planning Commission is charged with the duty of employing the procedure for consultation with it; the forms of reports on projects at the Centre and in the States should be drawn up in consultation with it. The Planning Commission has evidently become another department of the Government of India. Plans and the Planning Commission are to set the tone and the pace of Indian administration.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

MADRAS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES BILL

Sir,—An acid test for the adequacy of the Madras Co-operative Societies Bill will be whether the co-operatives under the proposed Act can fulfil their big role under the Five Year Plans. According to the Third Five Year Plan, consumer co-operatives in urban areas and service co-operatives in rural areas require urgent attention in the public co-operation programme under the Plan. Does the bill seek to improve the standard of fundamental honesty and efficiency of service of these two types of co-operatives, so as to inspire and secure the requisite public confidence and co-operation as required by the Plan? We have had recently, in our State, quite a crop of major crimes of misappropriation of stocks and moneys in a number of consumer co-operatives on a big scale by officers and men in responsible charge. Does the bill provide adequate safeguards against the recurrence of such crimes? No.

There should be a Director of Prosecutions for major crimes in the co-operative movement. The Director should be an independent officer of high judicial status. Such an officer is necessary in the interests of justice. The audit of co-operatives should be in the hands of an independent agency. It should be a concurrent one, instead of being belated as now. The statutory inspection of the co-operatives should be more frequent, effective and helpful. The problem of converting the present weaker consumer co-operatives into an effective agency, for honest and efficient consumer service to each citizen as contemplated in the Third Five Year Plan does not appear to have been examined by the authors of the bill in all its bearings. In regard to service co-operatives, they are yet to be given a fair trial and their separate problems have to be ascertained after necessary investigation.

A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

Tirunelveli

A STRANGE ORDER

Sir,—The Bihar Government is understood to have directed all the offices to hang in each room the portraits of the late Dr. Shri Krishna Sinha and the late Dr. Anugrah Narain Sinha, Chief Minister and Finance Minister respectively of the State. Does the expression 'all the offices' cover Patna secretariat alone or the whole of Bihar?

How many rooms are 'all the offices' supposed to have, and what approximately would be the cost of a portrait,

and what is the overall estimate of cost involved in this innocent and pious order? Could anybody throw some light on the propriety, or otherwise, of such expenditure under the prevailing economic condition of our people?

Dumaria Estate,
Champaran district

S.M.S.

Surreptitious Grab

Mr. A. Rama Rau, M. L. C. writes:

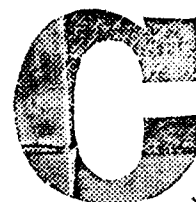
The Audit Report for 1959-60 of the Government of Andhra Pradesh released this week gives many interesting details.

There is one item which is mentioned at page 43 of the Audit Report. It speaks of donations by Government companies to a political party. It is obvious that the party is the Congress, although the name is not mentioned. The Report says: "Donations aggregating to Rs. 1,30,500/- were made during the years 1957 to 1959, by certain Government companies to a political party.....after the issue of a directive by Government in July 1958 requiring the Government representatives to oppose, in principle, the proposal to make contributions to any political party.....The Government has stated that in this case the resolution was passed by a majority of the directors though the two Government directors dissented."

Comment is needless. There is nothing more scandalous than this. The money that is donated is all from the public sector and the principle that is said to be accepted is only an eye-wash. If public monies are utilised for the use of a political party, democracy in our country is certainly in great peril, and I am sure the voters in our country will wake up.

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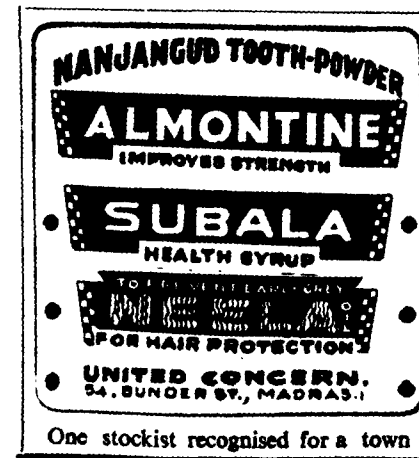
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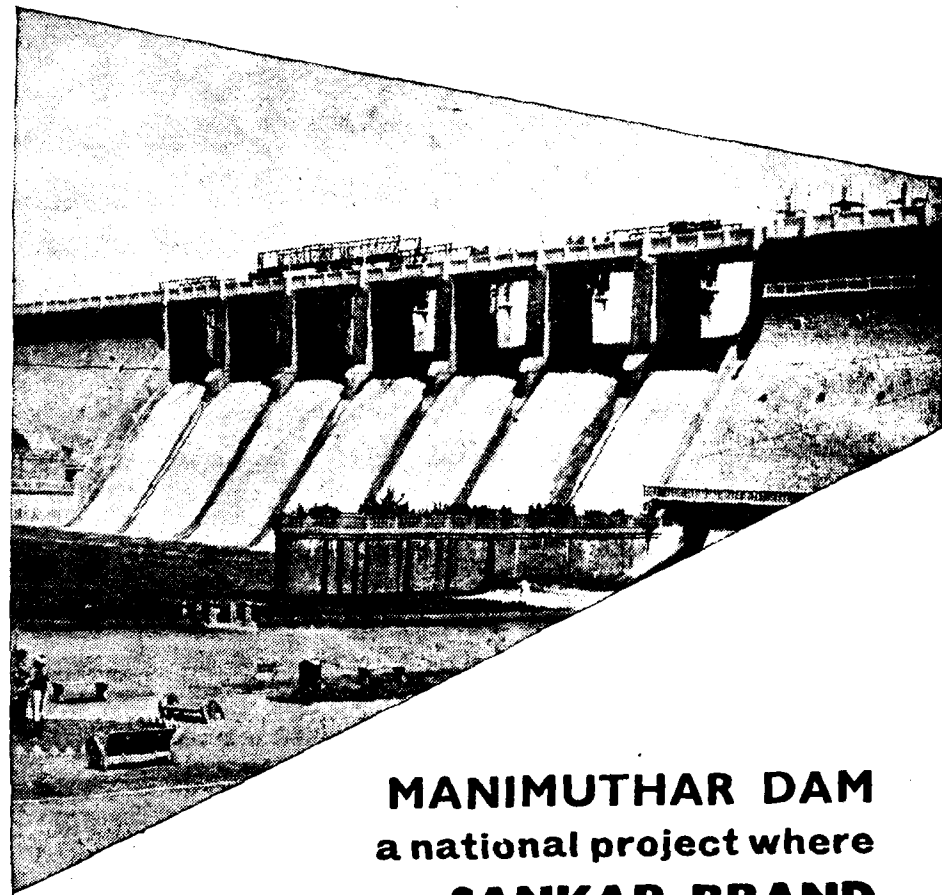
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Founded by **Khasa Subba Rau**

Vol. VI. No. 10

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 9, 1961

Price 15 nP

OWING MONEY IN EVERY WESTERN CAPITAL

By **C. RAJAGOPALACHARI**

The able Washington columnist of *The New Leader*, Mr. Tristram Coffin wrote revealingly about American feeling in the middle of July when the Berlin crisis had assumed its worst complexion. He wrote that there was a new mood of bellicosity in the mind of the average American. "In the casual conversation of hundreds of officials, onlookers and correspondents," he saw that the pressures on the Administration to fight will be irresistible if Moscow gets tough over West Berlin. And Mr. Tristram Coffin observed: "There is a violence latent in the American people; when we become angry we use our fists or kick or slap. This is something that the USSR for all its elaborate intelligence system, does not understand."

Whether this is just bluff or correct analysis, Mr. Tristram Coffin proceeds thereafter to give good advice to his people. He agrees with Senator Fulbright that the call for a hard policy was a dangerous doctrine.

Senator Fulbright's words are worthy of being repeated for their value for all nations. "The fact is that our greatest strength, indeed our greatest asset in the struggle—is that ours is a permissive system, challenged by one that is totalitarian. Our system guarantees certain basic rights to the individual, and it is these that have made the United States the focus of man's best hope of a way of life that is consistent with his quest for freedom and dignity. It is not our affluence that

grips the imagination of others. Rather, it is the value not only of liberty and individual freedom, but also of international peace, law and order, and constructive social purpose. When we depart from these values, we do so at our peril. If we are faithful to our own values, while following an intelligent, courageous and consistent line or policy, we are likely to find a high measure of the support we seek abroad. But if we fail our own values and ideals, ultimately we shall have failed ourselves."

Great words these and of more general application than only for American policy. The policies and promises of the communists are being copied, for instance, in India by the ruling party in order to beat the communists at their own game. This competition is a fatal policy. Success gained that way will prove itself at the end to be a Dead Sea fruit. We must be true to the spirit of India and the ideals of Gandhiji if we desire true happiness for all our people. Happiness does not consist in a statistical show. And if the statistical show is built on borrowing from the nations of the earth sums we can never repay,

Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of the society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. —GANDHIJI

we shall soon see what a vanity fair it is.

The Government has now borrowed nearly Rs. 5,000 crores from nations abroad. Mr. Masani recalled recently in Parliament that when Sri Jawaharlal Nehru was setting up his national planning committee in 1939, Gandhiji in his letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur described what he thought about it: "The whole of his planning is a waste of effort. He cannot be satisfied with anything that is not big". The notion that we should imagine we are at war with the whole world and under siege and we should therefore industrialize our country, so that we may be self-sufficient whatever be the cost of such independence, is imitation without purpose, in a world which is more and more becoming one and inter-dependent.

There is an amusing but very relevant passage in Thackeray: "He lived comfortably on credit. He had a large capital of debts, which, laid out judiciously, will carry a man along for many years. 'My dear fellow,' I heard Jack once say, 'I owe money in every capital in Europe.'"

Arithmetic is a science common to all affairs, individual, family or national.

I may wind up quoting a sentence from what I wrote in December 1958 in the *Asia Monthly*: "It is as true in politics as in other matters that the best and safest course is to follow *swadharma*, one's own philosophy of life—and not to adopt another's *dharma*, however attractive it may be at the moment."

GOVERNMENT'S DEFENCE OF THE THIRD PLAN

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

When a battle is lost, the army tries to extract victory from retreat, as the British did at Dunkirk. The Third Plan was never in doubt about its being approved by Parliament; it was on trial outside before those better informed and more interested, who for various reasons could only be represented by the Swatantra Party in the legislature. Unfortunately, the Press has given little space to what was said by the Swatantra Party. Fortunately, the Prime Minister and the Planning Minister have both made up for the deficiency by devoting the greater part of their speeches to convert the Swatantra Party. From the way they have defended the Plan, one could estimate what the Swatantra Party has gained for reasoned thought on the Plan.

The Planning Minister conceded that it was common ground that everything should be planned to increase production, reduce inequalities, and prevent concentration of wealth to the detriment of the country. The differences which the Planning Minister did not attempt to clarify were, first, whether this should be done by State or private enterprise; secondly, whether the results should be measured with reference to the previous plans instead of future expectations; thirdly, whether it was socialism to increase the production of the State and reduce the consumption of the people; and fourthly, whether the State

should do what the people can do for themselves.

The Prime Minister's speech was a supreme exercise in irrelevance. He described the Plan as a joint effort, which every one knows was not considered even by a Joint Select Committee, representing all parties. Instead of detailing the results of the last ten years of planning, he prospected the outlines of planning during the next twenty years. Instead of meeting the criticism not only of the Swatantra Party but of experts in economics and industry, he sheltered himself by saying that foreigners had praised our planning. In this he mistook the polite compliments paid by diplomats and not of apprehensions expressed by experts like those of the World Bank. He even dragged the Pope in by maintaining that the Catholic Church was moving in a socialist direction, forgetting that Christ has been described long ago as the first socialist with a Galilean colouring. He leaned on statistics of National Income and life expectancy though he had himself recognized the existence of wide margins of difference between the statistics of different ministries and wanted a single department to deal with them. And the anti-climax of his speech was that mid-day meals were an achievement for education, foreign aid for spurring our exports, and defence expenditure for resisting Pakistan.

Mr. Nanda's performance was even worse. The burden of the attack on planning was that it had caused very high rises in wholesale prices. According to the report of the Reserve Bank just available the rise was 30 per cent in the Second Plan against a decline of 24 per cent in the First Plan. Mr. Nanda's defence was that prices had risen more in other countries. In the first place, this is inaccurate because a recent U.N. Survey places India on the top of all other countries in res-

pect of inflation. Secondly, the rise in wholesale prices is only a part of the increase, because retail prices are even higher and even Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is accusing the Government that the cost of living in Madras during the last five years has gone up by 47 per cent!

Secondly, the charge was that inflation was due, first, to scarcity on account of planned diversion of finance, raw materials, transport and power away from articles in common demand to the production of the industrial base. What was claimed to be an increase in industrial production was from items largely required by industries and not by the people. Mr. Nanda did not attempt to meet the charge.

The second cause of inflation was taxation, particularly indirect taxation. Mr. Nanda's defence was that prices had risen only by half a per cent from indirect taxation. Apparently he arrived at this figure by strictly relating the quantum of increase in taxation to the national income, forgetting, first, that the greater part of the national income is self-consumed; secondly, that there are items like cloth, sugar, kerosene consumed by the common people, in which the tax is nearly equal to the rest of the cost; thirdly, that though the actual addition from individual taxes may be comparatively small, the trade raises the prices much more, as everyone knows how after the last budget, prices of nearly all consumer goods increased by at least ten per cent.

The third cause of inflation was the monetary policy of the Government, particularly increase in deficit finance, currency, loans, without compensating increase in production for people with more money in their hands. Mr. Nanda had nothing to say on price policy except "that great care will be taken that the situation does not get worse". He forgot that the Third Plan was reinforcing all the ingredients that caused the price rise in the Second Plan.

Fourthly, controls by creating monopolies had sacrificed production for prices, in favour of a chosen class of dealers and importers.

MISUSE OF SHIBBOLETHS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The winding-up speech on the finalized Plan prior to its adoption by the Rajya Sabha was an echo of the inauguration address delivered in the Lok Sabha by the Prime Minister. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda as Planning Minister and Deputy Chairman of the Commission repeated some of the shibboleths borrowed from the vocabu-

GOVERNMENT'S DEFENCE ...

Mr. Nanda's defence that controls were necessary in the war against poverty and unemployment, overlooked that the poor form the largest part of the body of consumers, who can only benefit in respect of quality and prices by the free competition among the producers and suppliers. Mr. Nanda, of course, ignored the miracles achieved by free competition in other countries. He denied there was any unholy alliance between State enterprise and big business, forgetting that nearly the whole construction of the first is handled by the second, that most of the production goes from the one to the other, and that the backwash from State enterprises has added in income and profits only of a limited class. What the Swatantra Party maintained, even with the agreement of the Communist and Socialist Parties, was that only the poor had paid for the planning of the Government.

In these circumstances, the justification for planning, that it was socialistic and that it strengthened the economy for the future, can only satisfy the Congress and those it can deceive. Not only has the economy been disorganised by the unintelligent and uninterested interference of the Government with it, but it carries now a burden of foreign and indigenous debt that on one hand reduces the independence of the country and, on the other, imposes an unnecessarily high price structure. Not only has the present generation been bled but future generations will be oppressed by the mistakes of the Government.

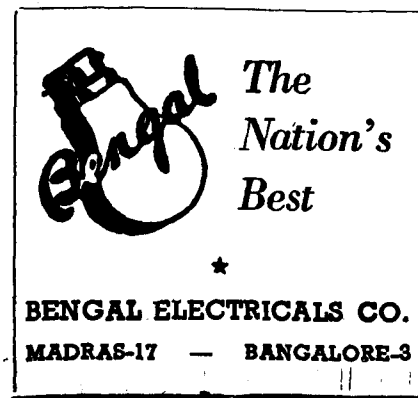
lary of warfare, which are also of liberal use in Pakistan. Mr. Nehru sounds the trumpet and bids India march forward, never to say fail. President Ayub Khan, emulating the style, wants Pakistanis to wage war against poverty, illiteracy and disease. As for peace, the term carries the suggestion of tranquillity and restfulness, but Mr. Krushchov wants it to be known that Communists are incessantly "struggling" for peace in the midst of war-mongers.

On August 3, when the Prime Minister signed the Report for adoption by Parliament, he told newsmen that "the completion and signing of the document has been a simple and informal affair, but it represents a historic moment" or an epoch-making hour as court-chroniclers described it: for behind it lies the labour (he continued) of large numbers of people.

"Even though it is a report comprising many hundreds of pages, it is but a skeleton of what has to be done"—a change of metaphor. After this magnificent vista-vision of the future, Mr. Nanda, in his turn, could not quite ignore the distress of the present, especially in view of the outlay being intended to be comprehensive, embracing all problems. Bismarck once told an omniscient counsellor: "Let us not solve all problems but leave some for posterity to tackle, lest they feel bored having nothing to do". Indian planning is geared in the reverse order. Though our tightening the belt is to suit starvation-girth in our time, posterity is to inherit affluence—their finest hour in the enjoyment of bulging prosperity. Still the Deputy Chairman felt that a reference to the incidental duty of maintaining prices and relieving unemployment would be relevant, and he dwelt on the possibility of "some" employment to relieve pressure in the Third Plan. Investment in the Third Plan, Mr. Nanda said, provided for 14 million jobs so

that the remaining three million new entrants would have to be cared for and this was proposed to be done by undertaking rural works at a cost of Rs. 150 crores. This process would be continued for the next ten years, but these statistics are largely conjectural.

It is really a 15-Year Plan now adumbrated, because according to the outlines he gave Parliament, Mr. Nehru expects the country to invest Rs. 17,000 crores in the fourth Plan and Rs. 25,000 crores in the fifth Plan, thus promoting the assumption that the ruling party will continue in power for years on end without any prospect of replacement, or of electoral success to any Opposition. Keeping up the military analogy, Mr. Nehru declared that the whole nation is committed to the Plan and that there would be no retreat. The mighty adventure is to be treated as a non-party undertaking. Once a war is on, do the people of a country indulge in internal wrangles? No, there is unity in the quest of self-preservation against the enemy. Burying the hatchet, all citizens sally forth to fight the good fight with a united front. Hence the Government takes solidarity for granted whereas in the prosecution of five-year plans the basic tension is internal, and the alarm is about the consequences of the crypto-socialistic exercise of power as also the risk of the quack-measures and so-called dynamic integration which tend to drive the nation over the Gadarene precipice, in the name of science and modern enlightened ideology. The crux of improvident planning and of spendthrift sprees beyond our capacity, divides parties in India, and they have their reflex in political alignments. There are no external enemies in terms of this martial figure-of-speech when charlatantry is hitched on to commercial ventures: the comparison is all wrong, when the greed for monopolist authority is camouflaged in the language of battle-array. National advance has its own prosaic pace of success and the terminology of warfare has no bearing in party-boost.



CURRENT EVENTS ::

Pandit Nehru says that he gets very little time for solid work since interviews and social engagements fill the day's diary. It is a trait that accompanies the sense of peak authority. With supreme credit for winning the World War I, the late Lloyd George began to relax, his routine in No. 10, Downing Street being the reception of celebrities, the actual work of post-war rehabilitation being left to midget-ministers who managed to get into his Cabinet as he tolerantly watched the course of events. The Liberal Party journalist A. G. Gardiner, noticing the trend, stated in his paper that

there was no doubt the Prime Minister could talk, but people had become curious to know whether he could read or write. Trite generalities and the detailed elucidation of the obvious keep Mr. Nehru sparkling, but the tide of clichés and banalities threatens to be as overwhelming as the Nerbudda in spate.

The process of becoming Plan-minded and working hard to give the nation a scientific outlook is one of the pet notions propagated by the "votaries of planning" with the Prime Minister as high pontiff. Not long ago the question of expensive paraphernalia came up in Parliament. Vignam Mandirs were established some years ago for the purpose of propagating scientific knowledge and rousing an interest in the latest inventions amongst the village-folk, since town-dwellers are believed to be not only international experts but scientific chaps in the society of top-leaders running the administration. The worthy object, however, got entangled in other aims of party-organization which generated the suggestion that "cultural wings" should be attached to welfare traffickers tied with the assurance that they would undertake analysis of the soil, conservation of water, identification of pests, occasional sprayings of insecticide, advice for bewildered agriculturists, night schools for the aged, chemical tests by medical practitioners and a large number of functions which made the issue of grants go under the head of multi-purpose welfare in ministerial budgets at the ultimate cost of the beneficiaries under the harrow. To ward off suspicions of vote-catching, Mr. Humayun Kabir explained at length in the Rajya Sabha that Vignam Mandirs were really meant not as "service institutions" but as a medium to administer a direct impact on the villager's modes of thinking and experiencing the merits of superb

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social behaviour. How is this to be accomplished?

The Minister told the Upper House that the Government would be equipping the Vignam Mandir with a science museum, a science library, a film projector for showing films on subjects connected with plant protection, hygiene, sanitation, village industries and the like, together with other facilities for discussion groups and demonstrating scientific experiments of a popular nature. Personnel in charge of these institutions cannot be credited with minimal qualifications; and since we are informed that each district (and later each village) is to have a Vignam Mandir in due course, we cannot in good taste point to any dearth of funds for so-called volunteers on the spree.

One Vignam Mandir for each district, for the creation of scientific atmosphere in rural areas, was what the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Relations envisaged in the debate of the Rajya Sabha on the Report of the Assessment Committee on Vignam Mandirs. Referring to the criticism by members of over-centralization of the mandirs, Mr. Humayun Kabir said that the Government intended to hand over the mandirs to their respective States for decentralization. He also emphasised the difference between Vignam Mandirs and service institutions in a vain effort to camouflage the prospect of both being merged into a sort of party-headquarters at public expense, even right now, and not merely eventually.

In the froth and foam of debate touching Goa in Parliament, the story emerged of a Pakistani lawyer in high office visiting Panchim

September 9, 1961

and Lisbon to tender advice for a fee of one-lakh, a mean mercenary deal apparently in a world of decorum and idealism. Whether it is the amount or the ethics of the transaction that drew condemnation was not clear. Lawyers are entitled to give their opinion for the fee they nominate, and counsel frequently defends culprits after confession. When the Butler Commission investigated the status of Indian Princes, the brief given to Sir Leslie Scott cost the Chamber of Princes a sum total of Rs. 25 lakhs. At that time an eminent Indian lawyer who had renounced practice in the wake of the Swarajist revolt in the Assembly was requested by the Sikh Phulka States to draft their case for sovereignty. Without any affectation of horror, he studied the documents, one of the Sikh States (Jhind to be specific) paying him Rs. 2½ lakhs; and for an exhaustive representation he collected a larger total. We refrain from mentioning the name for sentimental reasons, especially in a centenary-year.

A lawyer expounds the case of his client—that's all. No one should wax wroth over any Pakistan lawyer giving an adverse opinion. Are we to imagine that Sir Frank Sockice, Q.C., had been in the throes of moral conviction when he argued for exoneration in the Jeep Scandal case? Lawyers have their own code; and those who live in glass-houses should take care not to throw stones. And in the exchange of mutual recriminations, don't let us forget the words of Mr. Krishna Menon not long ago: "A wise nation and a wise leadership knows on what front to fight and when to fight. When Portuguese Empire crumbles in Africa, the Portuguese Empire in India and elsewhere will crumble. We are fighting the battle of Goa in the councils of the world". Such being our foreign policy, it is hardly necessary to seek scape-goats.

Righteousness exalteth a nation, self-righteousness never.

P.J.

SWARAJYA

5.

MITIGATING THE EVILS OF LINGUISM

By B. SHIVA RAO

It is regrettable that fasts and counter-fasts are hindering a rational consideration of the demand for a Punjabi Suba. Somewhere along the line of strengthening regional committees through the extension of their powers and authority, it is possible that a compromise solution may be found. But it cannot be hustled by the issue of daily bulletins on the deteriorating condition of people bent on self-immolation to achieve a political objective.

If one were writing on a clean slate in India, reference might appropriately be made to a suggestion made by the late Sri B. N. Rau as Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly in the initial stage of its proceedings. One of the problems that loomed large before the Assembly at that time was the creation of linguistic provinces: could a constitutional device be found to give reasonable satisfaction to a distinct linguistic group without resort to the extreme step of dividing the country into a number of separate administrative units?

Delving into the constitutional practices of other countries, Sri B. N. Rau found that a problem very similar to ours existed in Austria-Hungary in the last century. Croatia was a racial region, distinct from the rest of Hungary with its predominantly Magyar population. The Diet was

regarded as a separate legislature for the sub-province of Croatia, with its proceedings conducted in the Croatian language. The constitutional arrangements were, briefly, on the following principles: (a) the Union of Austria-Hungary, with its two provinces and the sub-province of Croatia had a common head, described as the King-Emperor; (b) each had its own legislature and executive dealing with its own subjects; (c) Croatia had a special minister in the provincial (Hungarian) Cabinet; (d) it had, in addition, its own representatives both in the Union and in the provincial legislature. Apart from Croatia, there were distinct regions like Bosnia and Herzegovina which, however, it was found impracticable to constitute into sub-provinces. They were, therefore, regarded as a common subject between Austria and Hungary, in charge of the Union's Finance Minister.

These arrangements seemed to work with a reasonable measure of success for nearly fifty years from 1867 until the commencement of World War I. Constitutional provisions on somewhat similar lines were inserted in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 to tackle the problem of administering as separate units Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland, though the Act remained a dead letter because of the oppo-

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sition of the latter province to partition. Nevertheless, each sub-province had its own legislature and its own Cabinet to deal with its own list of subjects, and Ireland had, in addition, a legislature to deal with provincial subjects of common concern to both the sub-provinces. The two Cabinets formed committees of a single Privy Council for the whole of Ireland. Further, each sub-province had its own contingent of members in the Union Parliament. Certain subjects were specified in the Constitution, with freedom to the two provinces to expand the list by adopting identical legislation on topics other than those listed in the schedule.

Proceeding on the analogy of these two precedents (one of

which at least had proved for nearly half-a-century to be workable), the Constitutional Adviser suggested their adaptation to suit Indian conditions so as to meet half-way the demand for separate linguistic provinces. Details were worked out for a possible multi-lingual province like Madras (before the creation of Andhra State) with territories marked for inclusion in two distinct sub-provinces but Madras City remaining a joint concern of the two sub-provinces. Each region would have had its own sub-provincial legislature and a separate Cabinet with a common Governor who would have been advised jointly in regard to subjects of common concern and separately in the rest of the administrative field.

Whether such a plan would have worked in India or not one cannot say, without an attempt being made on those lines. At any rate, it would have avoided the establishment of linguistic provinces with all the complications that the reorganization of States has created in recent years. There would have been flexibility in such a plan, since the subjects of common concern could be varied in the different regions and the lists of such subjects altered in the same region, if necessary, through rules of business rather than by constitutional amendments.

An alternative plan was also brought to the notice of the Constituent Assembly on the lines of the governmental machinery in the U.K. where a certain number of Cabinet ministers deal with problems common to all parts of the U.K., while the others have their jurisdiction limited territorially. The most notable instance mentioned was that of the Secretary of State for Scotland, with "a Grand Committee" of Scottish members of Parliament to assist him. It is pertinent to recall that this particular mode of dealing with the problems of an area distinct from the rest of a State was recently reported to be under the consideration of the Union Government in connection with the demand for the establishment of a

separate hill State in the Naga area.

However ingenious or promising a proposal may be, it is clear that the champions of the Punjabi Suba will not be in a mood to entertain it, if the rest of the country is to continue to be administered on the basis of the reorganization scheme introduced six years ago. That will be considered discriminatory and almost certainly destroy the prospects of acceptance. Sri Rajagopalachari's recent suggestion of a Commission to review the situation created by the States' reorganization is of practical value in this context. The Prime Minister's willingness to keep an open mind on the powers and scope of the regional committees in the Punjab encourages the hope of an ultimate solution being sought on such a basis, especially if it is coupled with an assurance of a general review by a Commission of the kind proposed by Rajaji.

The protagonists of the Punjabi Suba cannot reasonably object to constitutional arrangements—whatever may be their character—if they are recommended as suitable for the rest of the country by a high-powered Commission after a careful review of administration in the newly-created State.

Among the terms of reference I would include two points as worthy of special consideration: (1) The position and functions of a Governor under our Constitution. Instances can be mentioned from more than one State of a Governor being reduced to a position of undignified impotence by an over-assertive Chief Minister. There is much to be said for the appointment as Governors of non-party men and for giving them greater opportunities to advise and influence their Ministries in administration. (2) Secondly, such a Commission may explore the possibilities of action under Section 263 of the Constitution providing for the creation of inter-State Councils. Such Councils, worked in the right spirit, can do much to prevent disputes between States from generating ill-will and misunderstandings.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND HIGH PRICESBy **A. V. SUBRAMANIAM AIYAR**

The weakest and most unrealistic part of the Third Plan is the way in which the triple inter-connected problems of unemployment, poverty and high prices have been dealt with, showing the planners' ignorance of the terrible economic plight of the vast number of our people. The Third Plan in its present form is sure to aggravate their economic difficulties.

The statistics about unemployment in India are notoriously defective. In view of the national importance of unemployment statistics, the recent census operations could have been availed of to get reliable data, but it is not known whether the occasion was made profitable use of. Based on certain data available, it may be stated that roughly the grossly under-employed or unemployed persons could be more than 10 millions in urban areas and 40 millions in rural areas, with a bottom bracket of about a third of this population in absolutely destitute condition, either starving or begging.

As for poverty in the country, it can be stated that, for its size, population and importance, it is one of the poorest, if not the poorest in the world. The per capita income for 1957-58, for which final figures are available is Rs. 290.1 at current prices and Rs. 277.1 at 1948-49 prices. Among our population only 29.3 per cent were self-supporting with an additional 10.6 per cent of earning dependents. Of the self-supporting persons 68.1 per cent are agriculturists and 31.9 per cent are non-agriculturists. According to a National Sample Survey conducted in 1954-55 there were about 6.5 crores of households in rural India, of which about one and a half crores did not own any land and another one and a half crores owned only less than an acre. According to estimates, 70.7 per cent of the households owned less than 5 acres, 4.5 per cent owned more than 25 acres, while the number of people who owned 100 acres and more was only a lakh in all or one in every 650. Of the middle class families which have been defined in a survey of the Central Statistical Organisation as 'non-manual employees in the non-agricultural sector' (which is not sufficiently comprehensive) 79 to 90 per cent get incomes of Rs. 300 a month and less. In this group 18.58 per cent get income of less than Rs. 100 a month. There are about 5 lakhs of income-tax assesses, of whom the vast bulk belong to the lower brackets.

These instructive figures show the real depth of the general poverty of the people, but the Planning Commission has shown perfunctoriness in dealing with their lot, indulging in general platitudes. Since the meaning of the above figures—which may be taken to be as near correct as possible under the present state of Indian statistics—may not be clear to all, it requires to be explained. Of the middle class families, about one-fifth have an income of Rs. 100 a month and less. Taking the latest census figures of about 44 crores as our population, with an average of 5 persons to a family, we have about 8.8 crores of families. Of these about seven crores of families have not adequate means of livelihood, with the deficiency being bearable in about two crores of families, acute in another two crores, unbearable in about a crore and a half. The rest are in absolute pauperism.

What should be the price policy under these circumstances? It does not require any argument to show that the prices of essential commodities, such as food articles, clothing and certain consumer goods should be such as to be within the means of the bulk of the population. Can we say that it is so at present? The tragic fact is that our rulers did not bear in mind the paramount importance of this necessity in formulating the Third Plan.

While the need for industrial development and increase of agricultural production is urgent, any plan of development should take into account the following factors, without which it will defeat its own purpose:

(1) The total outlay and production targets should not be such as to directly tend to result in inflation and increase in prices.

(2) The avoidance of incorrect estimates and wasteful expenditure, that has been a feature of the first two Plans.

(3) A drastic reduction in non-developmental expenditure, especially the cost of administration, which was over Rs. 700 crores last year, being nearly half the revenue of the Centre and the States and of building programmes, both in the public and quasi-public sectors.

(4) The avoidance of too many indirect taxes, which directly hit the

poor and middle classes by causing increase in the cost of living.

(5) Adoption, without delay, of poor laws and work-houses for able bodied unemployed, who have no means of subsistence, either through the existing Panchayats or through some other agency, and of other social security measures, such as health and unemployment insurances, old age pensions, etc.

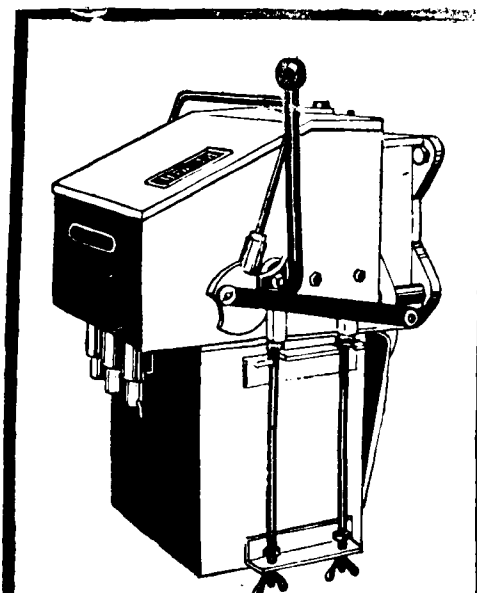
As a result of the planning policies, the prices of all consumer goods have been soaring. The assurance of the rulers that they will 'hold the price line' while adopting measures that will inevitably lead to increase, cannot be easily fulfilled. The index for all commodities at the end of 1960 was 126.5, with 1952-53 as the base. The working class consumer price index for that period was 124 for all India, while it was 151 for Madras State with 1949 as the base. Though the general increase of about 25 per cent itself is very high, the actual rise in price in certain articles, such as cloth, sugar, cement etc., have been greater. If controls are introduced, they will only lead to an organised black market. An all-round increase in production is essential, especially in agriculture. While producers, both agricultural and industrial, should be assured of a fair price they should not be allowed to hold the consumers to ransom. Inflation can be checked only by reducing expenditure in both public and private sectors and in the cost of administration to the limits of the real resources of the country. The talk of restraining consumption is calous. To finance plans by colossal borrowings and heavy taxation, and increase the national income, only to find that it goes to strengthen the already secure sections of the society, and fill the pockets of a microscopic minority of favoured individuals, while leaving the bulk of the people in the lurch to wallow in poverty, is neither patriotism nor socialism.

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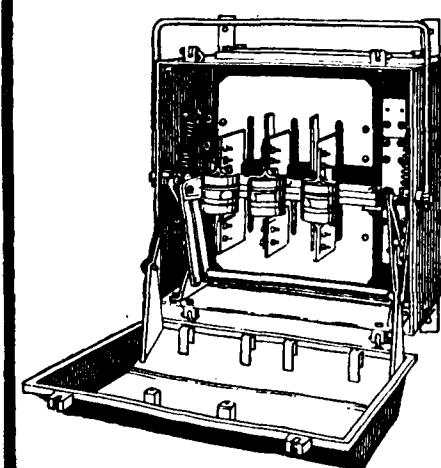
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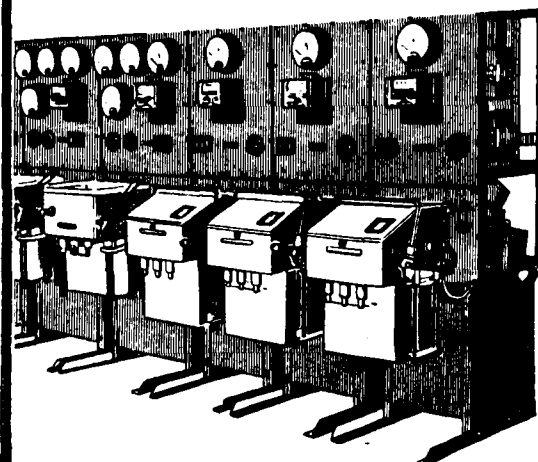
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EP

Dear Reader —

Professor B. R. Shenoy has, in the course of an illuminating article on the Third Plan in *Mysindia*, given a few instances of the high cost of production in India against much cheaper world prices. We produced fertilizers in Sindri, the ex-factory price of which is higher than the landed cost of imported fertilizers. We produced at Pimpri penicillin to be sold at Rs. 1.25, whereas imported penicillin is 10 nP per million units, that is, we must pay more than ten times the price at which the imported drug could be supplied. We make refrigerators to be bought at Rs. 2,250, while a comparable U.K. unit would cost only Rs. 1,000. We must all buy our sugar at Rs. 700 per ton in India, the world price being Rs. 400 per ton and we export and sell our 'surplus' sugar abroad at considerable loss. These are instances. The point is what Mr. Masani exposed in his speech, viz., megalomania—what Gandhiji described as Sri Nehru's weakness for big things—leads us to manufacture in India what can be and are made elsewhere more easily and more cheaply. There is no prospect of reduction of cost in the future which may justify such undertakings. This is not patriotism. If we 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 names of 'reaction' and 'backwardness', we arrive at taxation and yet heavier taxation and a lowering of standards of life. I wrote so recently and it bears repetition.

★

The thesis that was recently enunciated in New Delhi that Germany may be definitely divided into two distinct States and dealt with on that basis does not seem to have any chance with the German people. And without the co-operation of the German people no international thesis about them has any practical value. The Mayor of West Berlin, Willy

Brandt, has expressed his views on the Berlin situation in the course of which he puts the German feeling in unequivocal terms: "It is a dangerous delusion to think that love of their country and the yearning for national reunification can be torn out of the German people's hearts". The two-States-thesis propounded by Mr. Nehru is essentially pro-Khrushchovian and ignores the problems of Berlin city situated in the interior of East Germany. "Freedom-loving forces in my country," says the Berlin Mayor, "have woven the demand for national reunification into the fabric of their banners."

Willy Brandt puts his conviction in blunt language about the treaty with East Germany which Khrushchov has notified. "Khrushchov will not serve the peace by signing a separate peace treaty. Until my country is united, my people will know no rest."

To appear in any manner to ratify the division into two Germanys comes to this—that the German communists who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union and returned in the wake of the victorious Red Army, may be given a territorial share in Germany, that the land be divided into two States on the basis of

political dogma, although the people are one. Willy Brandt's exposition leaves no room for doubt as to the untenability of this thesis of partition of land on the basis of dogma.

★

With evident pride and gratification Mr. Nehru informed the Upper House on Wednesday (23rd August) of the great step forward in civilization which the Defence Scientists of India had taken. They have successfully experimented with guided missiles. We are, therefore, not behindhand. We are well on the road!

It is comforting to read in the same report of his speech that our Prime Minister publicly rebuked the cold war Powers for moving about troops and issuing minatory statements on the Berlin problem, instead of getting together and discussing things as they should. Here is indeed non-alignment of ideas in addition to non-alignment in the cold war.

Our Prime Minister's statements on the Berlin situation have created a stir in America but it appears an omnibus assurance given to the American Ambassador may stay the unrest.

C.R.

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September 9, 1961

SWARAJIA

11

A LESSON FROM THE U. A. R.

By K. S. RAMAMURTHY

The Government of India can learn a lesson or two from others, and very much more than what it presumes it can teach them. It never seems to occur to our Government that slogans like "neutrality", "co-existence", and "Panch Sheel" sound sweet to the international communists only so long as these are given the particular connotations that suit Russia and China. The Government of India would have lost Mr. Khrushchov's esteem (and patronage) and become a 'hireling of American imperialism' had it remained really neutral and condemned the happenings in Hungary with as much vehemence as it did the aggression in Suez. China has taken over a large chunk of Indian territory presumably, though unilaterally, believing it to be in conformity with the principle of 'Panch Sheel', but if our Government tries to secure by force what in law is ours, then we might be accused of breaking the five principles!

It is refreshing to see how a small country like the UAR has stood up to Mr. Khrushchov's bullying tactics courageously. Nasser appears to have shown remarkable understanding of communism and made it plain to Russia that pressure simply would not serve any purpose. According to the West Asia Correspondent of *The Statesman*, at one stage the Russians were bluntly told by the UAR that communists in Egypt were Russia's stooges and agents and were not struggling for freedom but for vassalage. In effect the UAR made Mr. Khrushchov clearly understand that, while the UAR fully appreciated the Russian help, if Russia expected gratitude to be shown by way of political appeasement to communism, she was completely mistaken. The UAR was determined to be free in its own way. Has the Government of India exhibited similar courage at any time in its dealings with Russia and China? The way it handled the Tibetan and Hungarian issues, and the entire episode connected with the Chinese occupation of 12,000 square miles of our territory form ugly and humiliating surrender to our neighbours in the north. In its anxiety not to provoke international communism, it is sad to reflect, the Government has failed to safeguard our national interests.

The Correspondent tells us of the interesting exchanges between Mr. Anwar el Sadat, the President of the UAR Parliament, and Mr. Khrushchov during the former's visit to Russia in

April last. By then the relations between the two countries had become somewhat lukewarm as a result of Nasser's tough attitude towards the UAR communists. Mr. Khrushchov reminded Mr. Sadat how much the UAR was indebted to the USSR, and said that the UAR evidently did not know that socialism inevitably led to communism. What was Mr. Sadat's answer to it? He gave Mr. Khrushchov back in the latter's own language. The Correspondent writes:

"In a very firm but completely polite response Mr. Sadat made the following telling points The UAR rejected the basic Marxist concept of history as a one-way street 'with capitalism as the starting point and communism as the ultimate end', it also believed that 'bloody class war can be avoided', and Mr. Sadat said 'we also believe in the existence of spiritual factors' 'Our people refuse to be limited to this choice' that there was no midway between capitalism and communism

—there was, he said, the third way of socialism".

And now, what is this third way of socialism that the UAR leader spoke of? It is not of our 'pattern'; it differs from communism. How? To quote *The Statesman*: "The UAR chief publicist drew up a list of seven ways in which Arab socialism differs from communism. These are: a rejection of class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat; the continuance of non-exploiting private property; no outright confiscation; a recognition of the value of the individual; no ruthless sacrifice of the present for the future; no blind following of Marx, Lenin, Khrushchov or Mao Tse-Tung; and no political monopoly for any one party".

That is UAR official socialism. Is it not also what the Swatantra Party is pleading for in India? The UAR recognises the worth of the individual and private property as the main bulwarks of freedom. Indeed it is in the recognition of the sanctity of private property that the real distinction between communism and freedom consists in. Will our Government ponder over the results of the UAR-USSR clash and learn a few good lessons?

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By K. R. R. SASTRY

If 12,500 square miles of our territory have been occupied by aggressive new China, our answer is "patient waiting". If an aeroplane is shot down by Pakistan, our protests have not yet wrung even the semblance of an apology. We have again strongly protested against the kidnapping of Col. Bhattacharya by deliberate incursion into India by Pakistan's armed forces. Seven long years have passed and yet the day of the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry is still in the distance. An objective analysis of the grave defects of our vaunted foreign policy has now become an imperative necessity. True, as a new nation unfamiliar with high traditions of diplomacy, a certain margin has to be allowed for failures. But then it should be remembered that no nation can make itself felt in world affairs, without building its internal strength and the strength of its armed forces.

Apart from the Hungarian crisis when our reaction lent itself to misinterpretation, our foreign policy has been vitiated by theatrical outbursts with an unabashed criticism of all the ex-colonial and colonial Powers. Exer-

cise of restraint in denunciation of other Powers has not been a strong point with our Prime Minister. This time it may be Korea, on another occasion it may be Cuba, or it may be French atomic tests in far-away Sahara; or again, it may be Tunisia. A wise, well conducted foreign policy based upon *restraint and non-interference* is bound to yield good dividends but our Prime Minister does not see it. From China to Cuba he has hit too wide of the wicket; these criticisms have sometimes not spared even our staunch allies, like the U.S.A.

On the one hand, India has played successfully for the building up of a third force as that of the uncommitted group. On the other, in this very process of interfering through our uncalled for comments on Tunisia, Morocco, etc., we have lost the goodwill and understanding of a few big States, like France. We might have 'apparently' won the appreciation of Powers less strong than us but surely lost the advantages of friendship with a Big Power in that very process. And it is not surprising that Pakistan has fully exploited this 'exhibitionist' aspect of our foreign policy.

She has been continuously insulting our representatives and violating the territorial sovereignty of India.

Our weak-kneed foreign policy floating over slogans like 'Panch Sheela', 'anti-colonialism' and 'Indi-Cheeni-Bhai-Bhai' have lost for us even the little respect we had commanded from our

neighbours, besides the esteem of Powers like France. If we had confined our foreign policy to the strengthening of our relations with Pakistan by accepting the offer of joint defence, we could have strengthened our position all around. We could ill afford to launch on a crusader's path of criticising all the Big

Powers, one after another, for their past colonial sins. By preferring emotionalism to stark realities, by pompous *obiter dicta*, by limitless borrowings from abroad, from all and sundry nations, and by over-zealous championing of obscure causes, we have lost territory, respect, and even our national honour.

The day
breaks brighter
tomorrow

LIKE a rivulet, the small fingers trace the language with chalk. Like a mighty torrent, the flow of experience passes from generation to generation. Here a child grows...here 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.

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THE VOLUMINOUS

By SRIVATSA

Objection to big, fat books is a human instinct. It was not entirely without significance that, when Becky Sharp resolved to make public her detestation of Miss Pinkerton, that august Minerva, she chose to throw at her devoted head no less a voluminous book than Dr. Johnson's "Dictionary". Further, Macaulay's pathetic complaint, when confronted with a book of such portentous size as Nares' life of Burleigh, that life itself was too short to read such tomes is justified. When to voluminousness there is added execrability of writing, the cup of misery overflows. It was said of Lord Campbell's lives of Lord Chancellors that they added a sting to death itself.

Nevertheless, this instinct, however human it may be, is not always justified. Just as there are books and books, there are fat books and fat books. Some of these are a joy and delight for ever. Some authors want many pages, many volumes even, to express themselves or to unfold their plot, and harm would result if it they were cribbed, cabined and confined. The characteristic Victorian novel, about which many barbed things have been said, was always in three volumes. But that was only a convention of the adroit booksellers and had no relation to literary merit. Nevertheless, it is always a pleasure to wallow in the Victorian novels of Thackeray, Trollope or Dickens. A discursive writer like any of these would have been hard put to it to confine himself to a smaller size.

Trollope was a prolific writer. His *Autobiography*, which mentioned his meticulous habits, alienated the high-brows when he said that he sat down to write a certain number of words every morning, and did so. This was repugnant to their notions of the afflatus of literature. Trollope is of the earth earthy. But he is none the less delightful. The Barchester stories are long, even voluminous. The fortunes of the main characters require no less than six novels in which to be worked out. Yet no true reader grudges them his attention. It is a delight to trace the fortunes from book to book of the characters, the family of the Warden, of that of Dr. Proudie, and of Mr. Josiah Crawley. There is something peaceful and tranquillising as one turns page after interminable page. Here one has the solid ground under one's feet. The characters are all human. Every woman has something of Mrs. Proudie in her and of Mrs. John Bold also. Every

man can recognise himself in the Rev. Mr. Robart, and also in Rev. Josiah Crawley. When the Rev. Mr. Crawley is vindicated, the reader feels joy at the triumph of innocence and justice.

There are, of course, innumerable other novels of sequence. The three musketeers, or rather four, appear first in the novel of that name. As they reappear in *Twenty Years After*, *Louise de la Valliere*, *Vicomte de Bragelonne* and *The Man In The Iron Mask*, they immediately recapture our allegiance and affection. In fact, it is one connected story from the advent of the musketeers until their death in poignant circumstances after the failure of M. d'Herbly to displace Louis XIV from the throne. (Incidentally, has there been a nobler figure in fiction than Athos?). Dumas did not stint his pages, and yet no one will grudge him his voluminousness.

Arnold Bennett's sequence of the Five Towns tales shows that some kinds of novels do require large room in which to rise to their height. *The Old Wives' Tale* may be his masterpiece, yet its significance cannot be fully understood without its successors or sequels. It is worth noting that your modern clever

novel, whether it may belong to the "stream of consciousness" or be aggressively "realistic" (as if Thackeray and Trollope did not picture life as they saw it) or follow some current fashionable theory, is seldom satisfying when it is very long.

Macaulay once said that his idea of enjoyment was to read Plato with his feet on the fender. The same pleasure could perhaps be derived from reading an author like Trollope endlessly. For, of course, he wrote much, very much, besides the Barchester novels. There are the 'political' stories, and also unconnected tales like *Rachel Ray* (to which, speaking personally, I may plead some special fondness since a wise and discerning father presented it to me over a score of years ago). Trollope never stirs the passions. He is not a writer of dithyrambs. He was as modest as he was observant of the human scene. His greatest triumph is that he robs what might be called 'ordinariness' of its terrors. He reconciles its reader to it, teaches him that, if only he would look properly, he could find in it delights fully as satisfying as the most highflown romance. It would be absurd to prefer against such an author the commonly justified objection to voluminousness. Trollope explicitly disdained genius. But he was not without something of it.

MEANING OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

By PREMNATH

I saw little children being indoctrinated to shout "Jawaharlal Nehru-Ki-Jai" while their tiny feet got bruised in treading barefooted on the hilly tracks of Matheran Valley—when a procession was being taken out to celebrate the Independence Day on the 15th of August, 1961. Congressmen were exploding crackers—as the tiny feet of little children seemed to be bleeding, hurt by the sharp, piercing stones. Their teachers made them yell "Congress Zindabad!" when the procession passed the Mardaghat. It was a long stream of poverty-stricken souls, moving pathetically as in a funeral procession, their march keeping step with the army 'slow march' during funerals. I was watching the scene from a distance and wondered if it forebode the likely burial of the Congress, its job having been done long since, though it was seeking still to carry on its dynastic rule as it were, by every means.

As the National Flag was being hoisted and unfurled at various places by the *Prabhat Pheris*, dark faces of

penury with bones projecting from the human temple, peeped from their sheds wondering if it was the reality of Freedom they were experiencing. I too was wondering, while wandering over the hills, if what we saw today was true Freedom's face. Could we have been really worse—before the advent of Freedom?

While I was strolling in the woods I heard on my transistor the shouting voice of Jawaharlal Nehru from Delhi's Red Fort. He was speaking about the great and gigantic progress and prosperity India had made. I only wished he could have made it possible for the children at least (in these 14 years) to wear shoes, for the legend goes that he is in love with them!

I heard Nehru tell the people: "I am just coming from Raj Ghat. Our country will suffer if it does not follow the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. You must all follow Mahatma Gandhi." Are you following the Mahatma, Mr. Nehru?

PLIGHT OF MIDDLE-INCOME GROUP

By K. V. IYER

The appetite of the Government for money, whether to spend profitably or otherwise, is so great that it is prepared to stretch its hands to anyone, be it for a loan, a gift or a deposit.

It has already obtained control over Rs. 500 crores and more of life insurance money through the agency of the Life Insurance Corporation with the prospect of accretions of Rs. 30 to 50 crores annually. Then, we find the Reserve Bank insisting that commercial banks should leave with it a certain percentage of the sums on deposit with them carrying no interest or only a nominal one. Legislation is now said to be in hand for the establishment of an Insurance Deposit Corporation which may be expected to collect several lakhs of rupees every year, the collections likely to grow larger and larger with the passing of time.

We now read of some new legislation "to provide for compulsory deduction of a part of the salaries of the employees both in the public and private sectors for investment in Government securities under a non-contributory provident fund scheme"; the "rates of deduction may vary from 10 per cent in the case of employees drawing less than Rs. 300 per month to about 20 per cent in the case of those drawing about Rs. 1,000 per month," such deductions being "inclusive of payments by the employee towards provident fund or for life insurance."

The Government will do well, before proceeding further with this idea, to ascertain by a survey by the agency of a committee (or committees, one for each State) whether such compulsory deduction along with the other deductions now in force will leave enough in the hands of the employee to carry on his daily life without getting involved in debt.

In the case of categories of employees in receipt of Rs. 300 or less, many enjoy the benefits of the P.F. scheme, whether contributory or not, to the extent their resources permit and, if there are many who do not subscribe to provident fund, it is obviously because they could not possibly save anything from their salaries. To the extent they are compelled to subscribe under the proposed scheme they will inevitably fall into debt or cry for an increase in salaries!

Before turning to the other categories of employees, it is worth considering how the P.F. scheme works in practice. It must be within the knowledge of many of us that a large proportion of subscribers to the provident fund are compelled to resort to a sort of running account of borrowings and recoveries (much against their will). That being so, is it at all likely that the employees can have a spareable surplus after meeting all their liabilities? Is it not a fact that many of them have adopted the practice of raising a loan on their P.F. account for the purpose of paying back an earlier loan in part and to retain a little for immediate needs? Does it all speak of these employees being able to effect savings every month out of their salaries?

As regards the classes of employees drawing Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,000 per month, a survey such as I have suggested would disclose whether the majority of them are living within their means and

the extent of their savings, and how far, if any, the allegations of bribery and corruption frequently made is due to their having adopted a style of living which they cannot afford. In such cases, will not compulsory subscription of 20 per cent of salary increase the evils referred to?

Apparently employees drawing Rs. 1,000 and over are not being drawn into the net. The scales of salaries of these categories of employees or officers have not been appreciably raised in recent years, at any rate in the public sector, and in fact the maxima have been reduced in Government circles. They must therefore be thankful for not having been included in the proposed scheme. Sometimes one is left to wonder if they can be considered to be well off in the light of their anxiety to secure extensions of service and frantic efforts to secure jobs elsewhere after retirement.

There is yet another aspect of the matter which must not be overlooked. The Government can of course advise, direct and even compel people to act in a certain manner but this should not be carried to the extent of sapping them of their independence or making them invertebrate. While it might be conceded that the Government may advise and even compel its employees—but not others—to insure their lives to a certain extent and to subscribe to provident fund—as the well-being of their employees is a legitimate objective of the Government—compulsion beyond a reasonable limit will in the long run be to the detriment both of the employees themselves and of the Government.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

L. I. C. FIELD WORKERS

Sir,—The salaried field workers of the L.I.C. welcomed nationalisation as they were misled into thinking that they stood to gain both in security of service and in prosperity. The two classes whose interests are primary and foremost, the policy-holders and the workers, are not having a fair deal and have no say in the management. The old craze for securing ever more and more 'new business' still persists. All along the line, it is quantity that is stressed, never minding quality. The insured do not get efficient servicing; bonus certificates have not yet been issued to them.

Although the overall expenditure of field workers got reduced from 16 percent in 1956 to ten per-

cent now, the number of those denied the regular increments every year is in the upward trend. This is because of the application of a 'formula' for appraisal, which stipulates working within a cost of 16-2/3 per cent to earn an increment. The margin of economy is thus striking but security of service is not assured. Where these savings go is for the public to probe into.

To rectify all these ills, the National Federation of Insurance Field Workers strove unceasingly, the Chairman at last constituting a Joint Committee consisting of three members of the Federation and three Senior Officers of the status of Zonal Managers, to resolve the problems. It produced what is known as

September 9, 1961

the Joint Committee Report embodying unanimous proposals. Even these modest recommendations of a body set up by the Management are not being given effect to. The Federation, therefore, observed the Implementation, Day on the 23rd August.

Reluctance on the part of the authorities to implement the decisions of such a body will certainly shake the faith in negotiated settlements as a way of solving Labour problems all over the country. Will the Government intervene betimes and with sagacity set at rest the undoubted feelings of exasperation nurtured by the hardworking field workers in life insurance business?

Madras

A FIELD WORKER

SOCIALISM AND STATISM

Sir,—Socialism implies that principle which upholds social good. In its true meaning it does not negate the freedom of the individual. For without individual liberty there can be no social good. It is incompatible with regimentation. In its fabricated and cryptic sense socialism amounts to Statism, tantamount to a suffocating regimentation resulting in brainwashing, death of the human soul, and extinction of all incentives.

A good premise may either be applied for social good or transformed to suit aggrandisement and narrow party gains. The latter fate has befallen the good word socialism. It has been venomised by wishful thinkers and dictators. We have to fight socialism in India because it portends grave dangers to the life and liberty of the teeming millions. We have to resist and put an end to the crusading efforts of the so-called socialists for totalitarian ends.

Gandhiji was a true socialist. But there was no "meeting ground" between the Mahatma and Mr. Nehru. The Gandhian socialism—accepting trusteeship as its practical application—is ethical, comprehensive, and productive. Mr. Nehru's version of 'socialistic pattern' is but a reproduction of Soviet Statism. Statism is opposed to Gandhism. Statism unleashes immoral, disintegrating, and unproductive forces.

RADHEY SHYAM ROY
Karanja, Behar

IS THIS DEMOCRACY?

Sir,—Lincoln defined democracy as "the Government of the people, by the people, for the people". Plato did not favour a democratic constitution because it tended to be controlled by a class of "idle and dissolute men".

SWARAJYA

15

Rousseau held that perfect democracy was not for man. Bismarck scoffed at democracy as "blubbery sentimentality". Voltaire was against democracy and he likened the people to oxen "which need a yoke, a goad and hay". Shaw said that "the people have obstructed Government often enough and they have revolted, but they have never been really 'governed'."

How well these descriptions fit in with the India of today, after thirteen years of Congress rule! The Congress declares from the house-tops that it is ruling the country democratically. But the country is at present plagued with numerous evils and shortcomings. The moneyed class, directly or indirectly, controls the legislatures, the press, publishing houses and the educational institutions. The Congress is exploiting democracy to its own ends. The existence of big constituencies, makes direct and intimate contact between the voter and the candidates wellnigh impossible. The electioneering campaigns are a farce. Shaw describes such election meetings as "scandalous and disgusting spectacles at which sane and sober men yell senselessly until any dispassionate stranger looking at them would believe that he was in a lunatic asylum". The present system of election tends to grow too mechanical and dull. At the elections the voters are dragged to the booths. The votes are actually bought by the Congress. Election expenses are increasing by leaps and bounds and beyond the capacity of any candidate with ordinary means. Even with its inheritance of high traditions, the Congress High Command itself has stooped to collect crores of rupees for spending on elections. Can we call this a healthy example for the functioning of democracy on proper lines?

The Congress which is the ruling party has been encouraging monopolistic tendency in favoured individuals. It denounces casteism, communalism, parochialism, linguism and all other

'isms, but only in words. The State Congress governments are responsible for not a few Government Orders patently communal. Then, again, discrimination is shown in making appointments, and even in admission of students to educational institutions.

Mysore

D. KRISHNA IYENGAR

JOBS FOR PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Sir,—The Union Education Ministry has published a pamphlet on the question of the employment of the physically handicapped. Dealing with directives on entry of the handicapped into the public services, the pamphlet says that in order to facilitate the entry of qualified handicapped persons into the public services, the Union Ministry of Home Affairs has asked the Central Employing Departments to consider the applications of handicapped persons for appointments with utmost sympathy.

The physically handicapped candidates are not able to compete in the open market with the able-bodied and take their chance before the Public Service Commission.

The paradox is that if a handicapped person applies to the Government for an appointment, he receives a reply that recruitment to the particular appointment is made through the Public Service Commission, and when the Employment Exchange is approached it pleads helplessness on the ground that in spite of the Compulsory Notification of Vacancies Act, the vacancies arising are not notified to it.

Article 320 of the Constitution of India has been invoked so far only on communal grounds but nothing has been done these 12 years to help these unfortunate children of India even on humanitarian grounds.

R. K. BALASUBRAMANIAN
Madras

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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 KIIASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 11

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 16, 1961

Price 15 nP

A SHAM - FIGHT

There is a Kerala proverb derived from the story of a boy worsted in a bazaar-fight running home and taking it out of his mother by a mild assault, and noisily charging her with complicity. During the debate in the Lok Sabha on foreign policy before his Belgrade-trip, the Prime Minister indulged in a rambling survey of India's non-alignment, her neutralism, her aversion to the growth of a third force, the degree of her non-alignment, the role of the non-committed, etc. A number of trite truisms, and unequally applicable platitudes, were uttered in advance of the dictum that any Indian whose opinion 'tolerated' aggression on Indian soil must come under the mischief of the law which, by the way, has been comprehensively stiffened up with amendments of the Indian Penal Code meant to denigrate 'fissiparous tendencies' and consolidate 'emotional integration'. After roundly condemning China for her treacherous aggression and the discomfiture courted through Mr. R. K. Nehru's mission, the Prime Minister turned round on the Communist Party in India to give them a wallop for conspiratorial sympathy with the Chinese stand.

Mr. S. A. Dange and his followers did not seem very much ruffled by the threat of a pillow-fight between the Congress Party and the C.P.I. to interrupt the progress of fraternisation which, like true love, does not probably run smooth. Pandit Nehru main-

tained that the visit of Secretary-General R. K. Nehru did not mean any humiliation as alleged by Acharya Kripalani and Pandit Kunzru, since he had already ex-

Swatantra in a Nutshell

Congress Socialism means concentration of political and economic power in Government. The result is tyrannical regulation of national life. Also it means heavy taxes and higher and yet higher prices: borrowing huge sums abroad, with no thought of how they are to be repaid.

The Swatantra Party stands for the poor man. Its principles are: (1) *First things first* (2) *Build from the bottom*. Its policies aim at: A stable Rupee, more jobs, more food - grains, more small irrigation works, more schools, more roads, more houses, more small industries producing what the ordinary man consumes.

"Self-Government means a continuous effort to be independent of Government whether it is a foreign Government or a National Government. Swaraj Government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail in life." This is what Gandhiji said and it is the corner-stone of the Swatantra Party's policy.

pressed 'compensation' for China and her loss of prestige in all Asia through the occupation of alien territory. Chou En-lai and the hard-headed Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi, who has seen action in his life more than parlour-charades under lenslight, had begun asking who this McMahon was, whose views on boundary-lines were so gratuitously cherished by India when Peking's own official team could not in their official research of records see him invested with any halo.

Although, when it came to Goa, the Prime Minister refused to 'rule out' resort to arms, recently improved by the Defence Ministry's private factories, he held to scorn critics who had held that invasion of Indian territory should have been resisted in 1954 itself, or at least disclosed to Parliament. The Congo expedition had been an executive measure later endorsed by the Law Minister, but in regard to the daylight seizure of land, right over Ladakh and the Aksai Chin region, there had been no whisper. Communist comment on the situation was that in view of military action being ruled out against Chinese incursion, India might reluctantly be driven to talks which Pandit Nehru recommends as statesmanlike 'negotiations' in the context of other countries seeking advice.

In the shuffle and reshuffle of hollow maxims, we have through Mr. Nehru's sudden pull-up been put on a shaky stand. We have in

MASS APPEAL OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

There is a little despondency in certain quarters that while the Swatantra Party has convinced those who can think, it has still to reach the masses, less disposed to question their conditions. This idea has been vigorously spread by Congress bosses in order to emphasize the weakness of the Swatantra Party. But surely if a party's principles appeal to the educated and thinking classes, it is a demonstration of the party being in the right. The Congress has been trying to create confusion between principles and personalities. The principles of the Swatantra Party serve the have-nots to use their capacities and opportunities, while those of the Congress maintain a selected few in their economic and political position. By maintaining that State enterprise is ownership of the people, the Government has concealed the fact that it creates power only for itself, officials, licensees and its favoured ones against the whole body of the people. If, at all, others increase

their incomes, it is incidental to the vastly greater income created by the Government for itself and its collaborators.

The Swatantra Party is based primarily on free enterprise because it alone gives everyone the opportunity to use his talents and resources. The argument that this will favour the rich is meaningless in the circumstances under which the poor can compete with them. On the other hand, controls restrict production and constrict distribution in the interest of those already in position. The agriculturists have been the foremost victims of controls. Since 1939, the economic value of their production has been limited, first, by statutory prices, second, by procurement, third, by denial of free movement and, fourth, by competition of free supplies. The Swatantra Party offers to end controls, not only to ensure that the agriculturists may get prices as determined by supply and demand but also that production may increase accordingly, making imports un-

necessary. The Congress's discrimination in protecting industries and exposing only agriculture to foreign supplies, and its determination to price down grain production, and procure it for the benefit of the urban consumers, give the Swatantra Party's policy of a free market a mass appeal which should be overwhelming.

In industry, the ending of controls will not only remove existing restrictions on the increase and improvement in supplies, but also allow new investment and enterprise. In trade, the ending of licences will introduce competition which will eliminate the black-market. The mistake which the Congress has made is that, ostensibly in the name of the public, it has limited competition to the advantage of its licensees. The ending of controls, therefore, will also benefit the public from competition leading to lower prices and better quality.

Secondly, the Swatantra Party will benefit the masses by reducing taxation, to the extent it is imposed for State enterprises. At present, the Central and State taxation, excluding municipal and local taxes, adds up to Rs. 1,700 crores, nearly Rs. 250 on every family of normal size (and more taxes are coming). To the extent the State does only what the people are unwilling or unable to do, this tax load can be easily halved.

Thirdly, the Swatantra Party will reduce the capital budget, which for the Third Plan period will annually be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,500 crores. Already the capital expenditure has created a debt of about Rs. 7,000 crores, about Rs. 1000 on every family. To add more to it through more borrowing, will be to mortgage incomes of everyone to interest payments both at home and abroad. At the same time, government borrowing will have two other serious consequences, first, that money will be squeezed from agriculture and industries, raising the rate of interest unduly; second, that inflation will

increase by the consequential shortfall in what the people can produce by themselves and for themselves. If a message of the relief arising from reduction of government borrowing is conveyed to the people, the mass appeal of the Swatantra Party will become more invincible.

Fourthly, the Swatantra Party will reduce legislation and rules which interfere with the social and religious life of the people. In an old civilisation, values have emerged which cannot be suddenly changed without setting the people completely adrift. The national disintegration, which is worrying the Congress, is only a symptom of the moral disintegration, which has arisen from too many changes. The Swatantra Party will give the country some breathing space before it is hurried to new patterns in everything.

Fifthly, in respect of foreign policy, the Swatantra Party will show charity to all and malice to none, as this is consistent with the country's philosophy of detachment. It will create friendliness which may revive emigration which, in the past, has given our people valued domicile in many parts of the world. This would relieve overpopulation for which the costly and ineffective process of 'family planning' is no solution.

Sixthly, the party will save respect for private property, as that is the basis of our culture and religion. In the confiscation of agricultural land, a dangerous beginning has been made, which can travel to all private property, big and small. So that each one may be saved at least his own home, the party will maintain the rights under the Constitution without being carried away by communist ideas which pass for 'socialism'. Inequalities of income and property can be removed by free competition and progressive taxation. There is a suggestion which the party may be considering, that all companies and enterprises above a certain size should be "public limited" so that the whole public can participate in

WHO ULTIMATELY PAYS ?

There is a comforting illusion which prevails that the burden of taxation stays where it is placed. The sooner this fallacious assumption is dispelled, the better for a proper understanding of the effect of policies. People are deluded to believe that a government which 'taxes the rich' is favouring the poor and the middle classes. A little thinking is enough to disprove this false notion greatly encouraged by political parties depending for their strength on class-conflict.

Almost all taxes, be they customs duties on machinery or parts or raw materials imported, and all duties of excise, which appear to impinge on the manufacturing and commercial community, obviously go into the price of the articles sold to the consumers. These pay the taxes ultimately through the price charged and recoup the first taxpayer. This is obvious. What is not so obvious but which is equally true and important is that all direct taxation on the industrially and commercially employed rich works itself into the cost of production, negatively into

the scheme of profit and incentive at the base of production, and finally it enters into the price of the articles sold to the consuming public. Like water which finds the lowest level, taxes are all, or almost all, transferred down until the burden falls on the consumer.

Even when the taxes are on articles of comparative luxury which are consumed by the directors and high-grade staff of business organizations, the circumstance is necessarily taken into account when settling their allowances and salaries. These are of course added to the cost of production and nobody can question such addition. Ultimately, therefore, these too fall on the consumer. The income-tax on money-lenders raises the rate of interest on loans as surely as the price of cotton affects the price of cloth.

It is thus an illusion to think that taxes on the rich are taxes on the rich only, and not on the poor. Whether the donkey carries the load on its own back or the rider carries it on his head, ultimately the donkey it is that bears the whole burden. C.R.

them by purchase of their shares. In any case, the Congress which has favoured "private limited" companies has missed the opportunity for introducing co-operation in large enterprises and reducing, at the same time, the concentration of economic power.

Seventhly, the Swatantra Party believes in the greatness of the human spirit. It would, therefore, give every encouragement to self-help. Its planning, to the extent it is necessary, will be based on incentives, to maximise enterprise and income. In any case, the planning of the Congress which has ignored the Directive Principles in the Constitution of full employment and minimum wages will be recast by the party. Instead of increasing the production of the State, planning should aim

to increase the consumption of the people from which equivalent production will follow naturally by the efforts of the people themselves.

Eighthly, the Swatantra Party will reverse the ruling party's policy of discouraging communal and parochial charities. It will encourage all such charities because on the whole and ultimately, this would work out the principle of trusteeship adumbrated by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Swatantra Party is, therefore, much more the party of the people than other parties which are defending sectional interests. It has a mass appeal which the Congress may not be able to obscure even with its power and money at its disposal. Satyam eva jayate.

A SHAM-FIGHT

respect of our Himalayan frontier set a rather abnormally high value to the report of India's official team. When, for instance, the Roving Ambassador of America (Mr. Averell Harriman) called on him at New Delhi, the Prime Minister was astounded that the caller had never seen a tome so scholarly and conclusive. A copy was produced for careful reading and reverent study. Since we have heard very little of it in world-wide controversies, we appear to be bitterly aggrieved about it, whilst Peking for her part objects to the unilateral publicity given to only one side of the case; their complaint is that they haven't had time to digest the formidable document forming a perusal of thousands of years of history.

Such being the official stand—which is not on all fours with the

counsel of the Indian Communist Party—the Prime Minister went hammer-and-tongs at the smiling 'Comrades'.

Though he may not have meant it, these two parties (the Congress and C.P.I.) are virtually acting hand-in-glove in our domestic politics and electioneering strategy. Pandit Nehru exhibited no little stage-craft in the exposition of his foreign policy, largely for listeners abroad, to know India's attitude. The impression of a fateful quarrel quickly faded after the Lok Sabha debate which provided a species of harlequinade. In that pantomime, Harlequin enters on a romp on the floor with Columbine also in tights. He hits hard with a harmless flail, but those who watch could not only see the theatricality of the attack but hear the sharp rattle of the flail foreboding no fatal consequences requiring the presence of the undertaker.

POTHAN JOSEPH

CURRENT EVENTS ::

At the moment of writing, the turn of events in Belgrade seems to favour the outlines of the Yugoslav-draft of a neutralist declaration making the early end of 'colonialism' in the world as the main peril driving people towards war, as against India's idea sponsored by Prime Minister Nehru that the vital need of the hour is the starting of negotiations between President Kennedy of the United States and Prime Minister Khrushchov of the USSR, so that cold war hostilities could be arrested, with a third-party premium in favour of non-aligned Powers. The report of the divergence is accompanied by the unpleasant news that the Western Powers intend serving a notice on Moscow to demand talks on Berlin and the cessation of nuclear tests with a date-line attached. As far as Pandit Nehru is concerned, the proposal of Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchov going in for personal talks is but a stale repetition of his solution of world-crisis which he had floated last year at the UN Assembly. There he moved that Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchov should go into a private huddle; but the plan fizzled out so that even before the end of the session, Marshal Tito, to save time, sailed back home. No fresh plan has been minted to gain currency, and the situation appears to be past the tactics of interviews and weary correspondence that marks the crisis at home in India pivoted on the assertion that any compromise with Master Tara Singh would spell recognition of 'communalism' to which the Punjab should not be exposed, especially as a 'vulnerable' front in the north-west.

The fear among newly-liberated African lands and tribes that India has begun resting on her oars after her early triumphs in the leadership of Asia and is now falling out of line in the march towards world-deliverance, could not be met by the adroit move (so charac-

teristic of Mr. Krishna Menon sitting in the rear for Mr. Nehru's ready consultation) to fetch the new Prime Minister of the Congo and Mr. Gizenga for inclusion in the forum to demonstrate India's unabated concern in the Pan-African developments. Mr. Nehru is further hampered by the Troika principle of the Soviet in the operation of the UNO machinery, a view which he had held during his previous visit to New York when neither Mr. Khrushchov nor Mr. Eisenhower would take the initiative for a personal chat—a futile move attempted by Mr. Kennedy at Vienna where at the end of 'cordial and useful talks' Mr. Khrushchov loaded him at parting with the production of an *aide memoire* bristling with contentious demands on 'aggressive' Powers allegedly captained by the young President. Since then, the two sides have been engaged in ding-dong arguments as to the productive superiority of the Communist system and Free Enterprise economy for the benefit of humanity and the preservation of peace. That the creation of the Belgrade Conference had been on a harum-scarum basis was clear from the preparatory visit of the R. K. Nehru delegation to Cairo, Nasser being deemed spokesman of the Arab World despite the Baghdad dictator's feud over the leadership seized by Egypt. Mr. Nehru and General Nasser could not have been at one in the listing of Belgrade representatives; that it was a miscellaneous company turned into a Kumbamela affair could have been foreseen. On September 3 we had the following tip from Belgrade:

The decision to continue the deliberations on Sunday was to expedite the work of the Conference. It was also a gesture of goodwill towards the Muslim delegations who are in a majority and who had earlier agreed to the Conference opening on a Friday.

President Ayub Khan in the role of a staunch Muslim must have felt

relieved that he had not been invited, since Friday, the Muslim Sabbath, is not meant for secular business. Again going by the 'religious' analysis, Sunday annexed for Conference purposes happens to be the Holy Day, one which the Emperor of Abyssinia at one end and Archbishop Makarios at the other should normally spend for devotions according to Sabbatarianism; but then there is the scriptural dictum that man is not made for the Sabbath but the other way round, especially when the stake is Peace (not at Christmas time alone), always blessed by the Prince of Peace. There was no Jew present to protest that Saturday was the true Sabbath; and the question of Israel being invited to the Belgrade Conference was undiscussable in view of Nasser's faith in the extinction of Israel for peace amongst Arabs—an opinion which India hardly shares but which Pandit Nehru has been diplomatically respecting as President Nasser's personal friend. If ever there has been anything approaching the 'socialistic pattern of society', it could be identified with the economy of Israel where young farmer teams from India are taking lessons. The exclusion of Israel reflects the spirit of opportunism which we denounce too loudly and too long.

When Mr. Nehru left on his Pilgrimage of Grace to Europe, the parliamentary debate on the Third Plan report had not been concluded. Minister Gulzarilal Nanda was in charge, and judged from the public gallery the attendance was poor and discussion was flat as ditch-water in the pot-holes of Delhi roads. Existence of down-right opposition to 'Project Planning' was clear from the move of some members to reject the course, and return to normalcy; but the Planning Minister, besides promising peace and plenty, went the length of asserting that there will be no such thing as unemployment in the country at the end of five years. It was an innocent insult to commonsense seeing that many

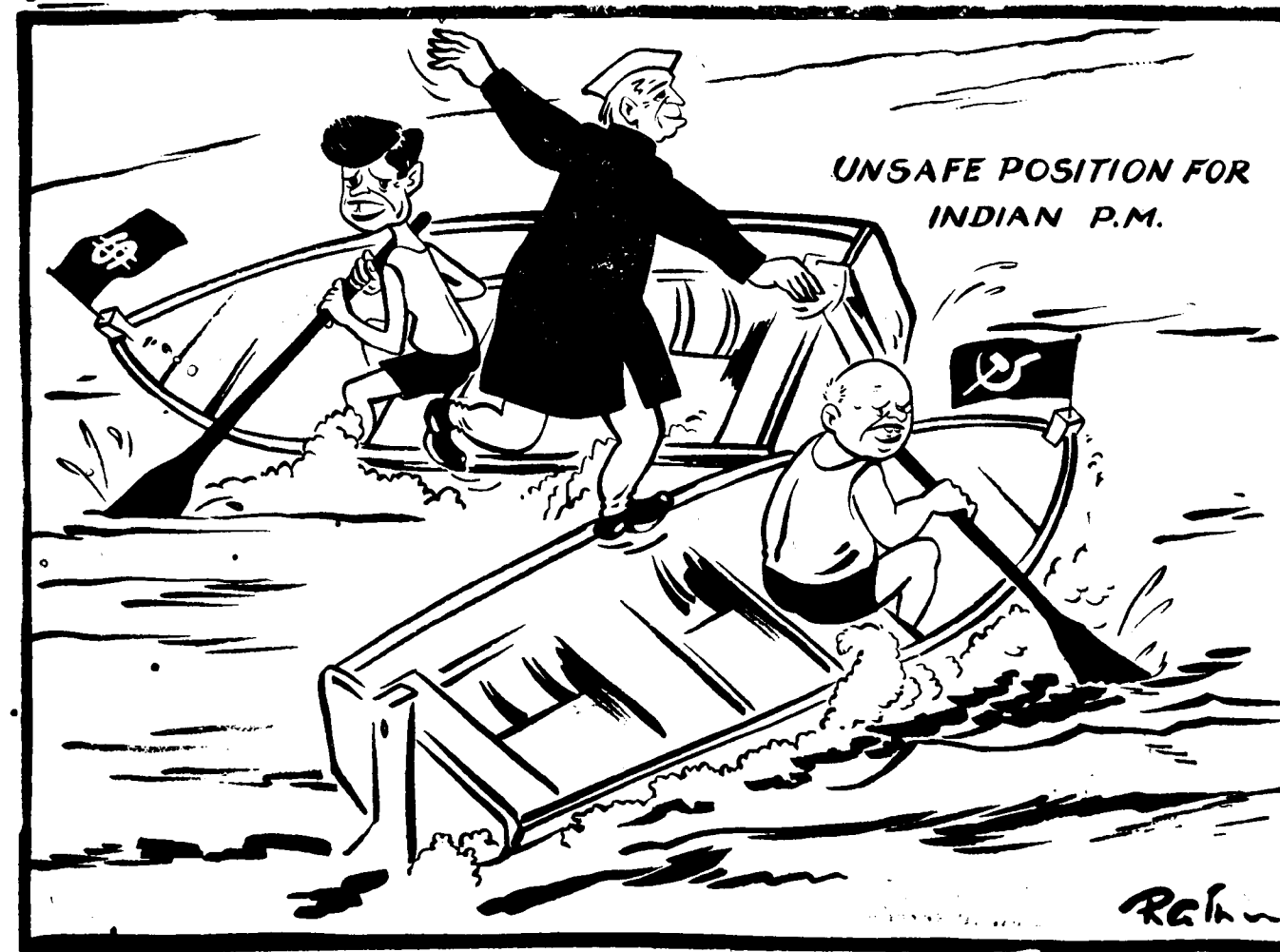
authorities including the ILO, not to mention India's own delegation to Geneva, foresee a minimum of at least ten million adults in unemployment. The assessment of facts independently pursued is in flagrant contradiction of government propaganda, but what the ruling party wants is 'flaming zeal' in implementing the Plan whilst psychologically fostering 'emotional integration', a stunt packed with the creation of vast numbers on "committee work" throughout the country, not without stipendiary rewards in the name of grass-root publicity for the articles of faith in the Plan which the Prime Minister now wants to be held as the national creed against the obscurantism of 'reactionaries'.

In forecasts of self-regenerative economy, experts of the ruling party seem to set store by the process of some Government factories mothering the installation of new plant without fresh capital.

H. M. T., for a start, has made a gift to the nation of another venture without additional funds. Between the initial cost of the product and the collection of sale proceeds, the profits are amassed in a non-competitive market, the Government being the principal customer. There is no 6 per cent ceiling in dividends, and no income-tax squeeze and there is no assignment of surplus-gains as bonus to workers—features which give an illusion of progress without investment, impossible in the private sector. Gold in the Persian Gulf region could be acquired for Rs. 40 which in India could be re-sold by smugglers for Rs. 120. Suppose the Government takes up the business as a lawful monopoly, there would be immense profits in currency notes, without any creative exertion, though the fallacy could be maintained in the books. Don't let ne-pots under party-patronage who are not past jay-walking, imagine they could go marching in the

wake of M. K. Muthulla's foot-prints.

Shaking the dust of Belgrade off his feet Mr. Nehru, after his five-days session, proceeded straight to Moscow after testily proclaiming that he had nothing to do with President Nkrumah's visit to Russia. In his life-time he had seen enough of turn-marches by politicians, and he had nothing but contempt for the Sapru-Jaya-kar type of approach. He explained to pressmen that his tryst with Mr. Khrushchov had been fixed three months ago, even before any serious preparations for the Belgrade summit, with its calculated qualifications for the delegations to be invited. Though President Nkrumah belongs to the alliance known as "the Casablanca Powers," Ghana is nevertheless a member of the British Commonwealth and at Accra he will play host to the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth; but Mr. Nehru wants to exercise a free hand



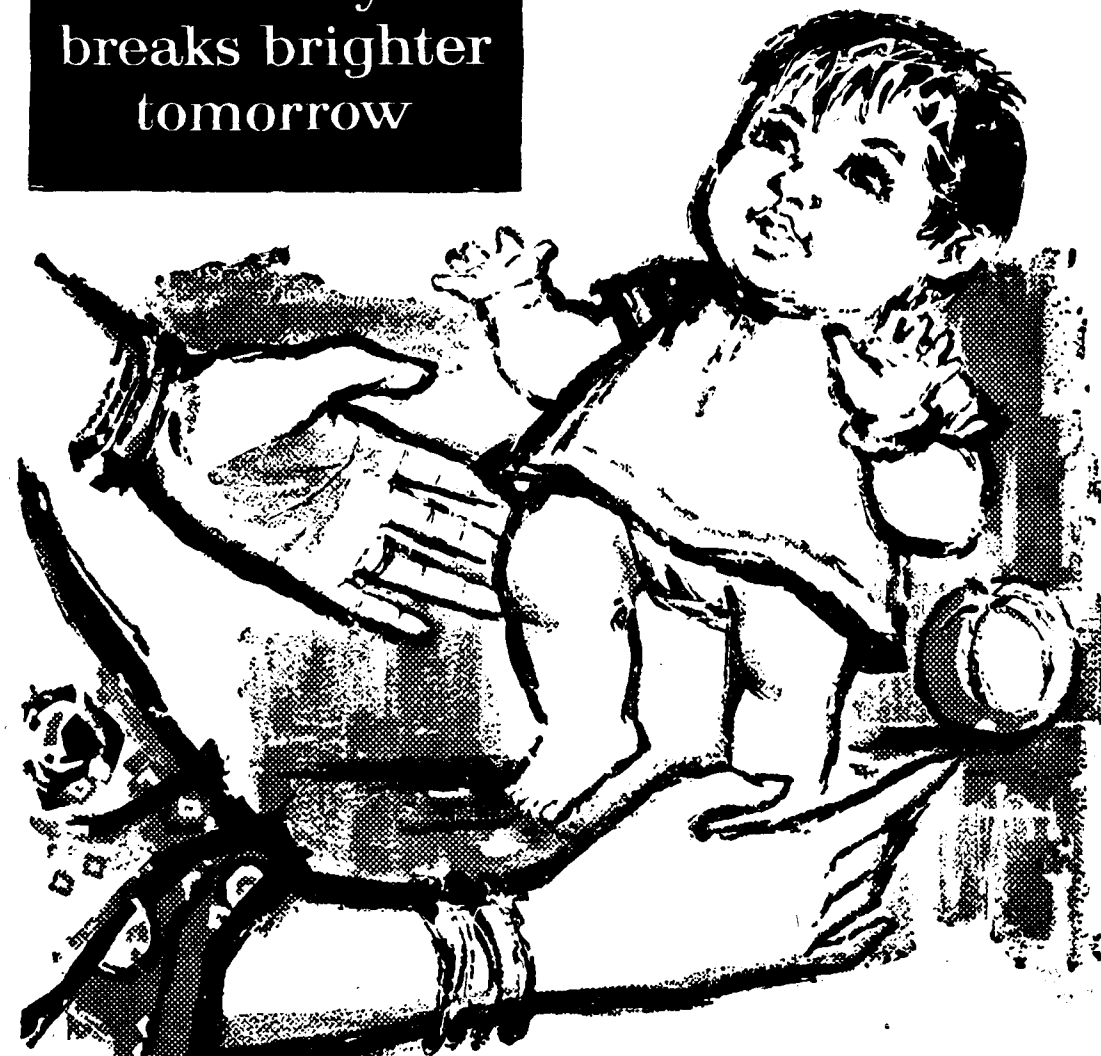
when he meets Khrushchov "on a personal level" for the purpose (in Congress jargon) of "ironing out differences and chalking up a new programme". At the meeting of the Bandung Powers at Djakarta, Mr. Nehru's plea enabled the Chinese Republic to be present, Israel

being elbowed out to pacify President Nasser. Chou En-lai displayed his diplomacy by meekly assuming the mastery of the agenda, the ultimate requital being the invasion of India and the bland occupation of territory equivalent in area to Kerala.

A subsequent item of news indicates a change of view, because we read:

MOSCOW, Sept. 6.—Mr. Nehru and President Nkrumah on Wednesday handed Mr. Khrushchov a letter from 25 non-aligned nations urging him to have peace talks with President Kennedy. P. J.

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.

PR. 21-X52

COLD-WAR SITUATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There is no doubt the people of America and their Government earnestly desire peace, and desire it as fervently as any professional peace-mongers busying themselves with their mission. There is no doubt also that the Russian dictator truly wants peace and his call for peace is not hypocritical deceit. He has reconciled himself to co-existence, notwithstanding the communist dogma of universal communism.

But unfortunately each party in the cold war wishes to impress the other side with its potential strength and perfect readiness to retaliate in deadly measure if any attack be made. This complex leads to boasting, which unfortunately increases mutual suspicion and incites aggressiveness, thereby defeating the cause of peace for which both are in earnest.

A recent announcement in the international press of a technological advance made by U.K. scientists, which would enable unmanned H-bombers to operate, is an instance of this contradictory complex. Technology is inherently boastful and develops along with increasing success an unfortunate cataract in vision.

Nationalism has been at last found to be a dangerous virtue inimical to world peace. It is time we realise that technology, too, with its blinkered progress in the international race is an equally bad satanic enemy to peace.

Is it not stupid to boast of being able to save the crew from immediate destruction when the whole scheme is to deal death to tens of thousands at one stroke and must invite of a certainty equally deadly retaliation. Unwillingness to die is at the root of all unmanned armaments. It is a childish unwillingness in the context of such vast death-dealing and death-inviting technique. A crew ready to be destroyed would be a relieving element of heroism in this ever-increasing barbarity of technological progress. It is only when

the powers discard all bluff, bluster and boasting that humanity's eager desire for peace will be fulfilled.

Once not long ago, Mr. Khrushchov was urging an immediate and unconditional agreement on a ban of nuclear tests and the abjuration of nuclear weapons. The West was objecting that, unless conventional armaments also were brought down, this could not be done and that Mr. Khrushchov's offer was nothing more than propaganda. Now it is the other way about. America and U.K. have jointly offered what Mr. Khrushchov had originally suggested. He now objects that NATO military preparations stand in the way and that the Kennedy-Macmillan offer is only propaganda. It is a deplorable situation

of accelerated distrust all round, a vicious circle holding the world in a death-grip. It is stupid to look upon the Kennedy-Macmillan offer as propaganda. It would be an unexampled moral victory for Mr. Khrushchov if only he were inspired to take advantage of this offer. But those whom the gods wish to destroy, first drive them mad.

It is deplorable that Mr. Nehru's statements in Parliament and his attitude in Belgrade have led to a general feeling throughout the enlightened world reflected in the press that the Indian Prime Minister's neutrality is very greatly qualified by a leaning to the Russian side. Whatever be the justice of this appraisal, it is evident that the Indian Prime Minister's attitude and approach help Mr. Khrushchov greatly while hurting the West at the present moment.

AUTHORISED PROFITEERING?

The Hindustan Machine Tools limited has been praised by our Prime Minister for having made a 'gift' to the nation out of its own earnings. Fired by this example, he is reported to have declared in the Rajya Sabha, speaking on the third Five Year Plan, that "every public sector undertaking must make profits and huge profits, because out of them come further investment and progress. Every major public undertaking should duplicate itself within a period of years, like the H.M.T., out of its own resources. It could not be argued that public sector projects were meant for public good and need not make any profit."

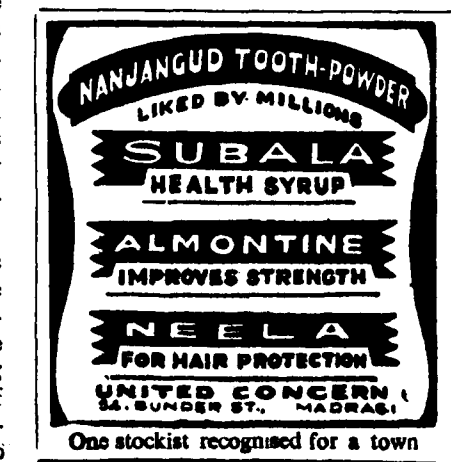
It is not clear whether the above declaration by the Prime Minister was part of a prepared speech or not. Anyway we are all aware that every idea of our P.M. is given sooner or later, practical shape by his colleagues. It is therefore necessary to examine whether the above declaration indicates a sound policy.

We are told that the H.M.T. has duplicated itself within a period of five years from the time it started to produce. We are aware also that costs are mounting up, the increases being roughly 10 per cent during a period of five years. That is to say, the P.M. expects a public sector undertaking to

make a net profit of 110 per cent of the cost of installation after payment of interest, taxes, etc.—a profit of 22 per cent per annum on an average.

Undertakings in the private sector, however efficient or actuated by the profit motive, are not able to make such huge profits, and anything realised on such a scale will be condemned as monstrous profiteering. Evidently what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander. According to the P.M., the consumers of particular classes of goods are to be sacrificed in the interests of the rest!

K. V. IYER



COMMUNIST BID TO CAPTURE THE CONGRESS

By B. SHIVA RAO

From time to time reports appear in the press of communists abandoning their party to join the Congress. This development has been anticipated for some time; for nearly two years, Mr. S. A. Dange, their leader in the Lok Sabha, has been urging his followers to support the 'progressive elements in the Congress' against 'right-wing reactionaries'. Fresh evidence is accumulating to indicate that the communists are carrying out their plan of mass infiltration into the Congress, with a view ultimately to capturing the party machinery and through it the Government of the country.

It is relevant in this context to study the implications of the comprehensive policy statement of the Communist Party of India issued from Vijayawada at the end of a week's deliberations in April last. In the domestic field, the communists claim to see a danger to "the growth of genuine democratic forces" (including, of course, themselves) from "the right-wing reactionary forces inside the Congress". This danger, according to the document, has been increased by such 'reactionary elements' having "powerful supporters and representatives in key positions in the country's economic life, in the administration and military apparatus and inside the ruling party itself—even at the highest level".



The confession is made that "the Communist Party and the genuine democratic forces are too weak in many areas to give adequate expression to the popular discontent, to rally the people and to wage an effective fight against the anti-people policies of the Government". The problem before the country, as the communist policy statement has visualised, is how to bring about "the unity of democratic forces"—of which the Communist Party regards *itself* as the spearhead. 'Vacillating and inconsistent', though certain elements are described as being within the Congress, 'essentially they are progressive'. Unfortunately, according to the document, "these progressive forces are too unorganized and weak to make an impact on Congress policies. They tend to rely too much on Prime Minister Nehru and feel helpless when he compromises with the right". Regarding the future, the conditions are described as "in many respects extremely favourable for the forces of democracy". The need is for "a united front with the progressive elements in the Congress, so that together they may tackle common national tasks. A united mass movement, extensive and powerful, alone can smash the reactionary elements".

That is going to be the keynote of the Communist Party's immediate future policy: "unity for democratic reforms, for defending and strengthening all that is progressive in the Government's policies, for opposing those policies which harm the people". Mr. Nehru, obviously, will have to continue as the leader of the Congress for some more time to come, since his influence "is even wider (than the national movement) and the national democratic front cannot be built up by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation".

The rank-and-file of the communists have been warned to

avoid the "big mistake of equating the Congress with parties of right reaction", because in "many of the declared policies of the Congress and even in some of its measures, the party is progressive, particularly in the field of foreign policy, encouragement of the public sector, etc." Therefore, "it is necessary to recognize that while a large part of the forces of the right are inside the Congress, the bulk of those who are our potential allies are also inside the Congress". No effort is made to conceal their strategy, which is to 'forge links with congressmen' who are "democrats inside the Congress and (with) the mass of congressmen, (who are) our friends and potential allies in the struggle for the consolidation of political Independence".

The plan of mass-infiltration into the Congress as a preliminary to its capture is not new. In fact, this has been the line of the Indian communists ever since the creed found a foothold on Indian soil in 1922. At that time, it was possible to make common cause with the left-wing of the Congress Party for a fight against British Imperialism. M. N. Roy, who brought the ideology into India in 1922, observed: "Today the Congress as a political organization is dead. Its corpse needs either to be buried or resurrected by a new breath of life". But he had one formidable obstacle which he could never overcome. Within a few weeks of his initial campaign he complained that "the cult of non-violence was inseparable from an anti-revolutionary spirit. Those who do not want a revolution in India can pin their hope on non-violent methods. Strictly non-violent methods are hardly distinguishable from constitutional agitation, and no people on the face of the earth has ever made a revolution by constitutional methods". He was particularly bitter against Mahatma Gandhi, "whose incorrigible pacifism and dread of the popular energy could be counted upon to prevent the explosion The Congress has committed suicide by repudiating the revolutionary

action of its own followers. A powerful revolutionary movement has been sacrificed on the altar of 'Gandhism'.

Gandhiji's hold on the Congress and the Indian people was, however, too strong for the communists to break or even to weaken. He was whole-heartedly opposed to the continuance of British rule over India; but on non-violence and truth, the two cardinal principles of his movement, he was equally uncompromising.

The communists entertained the hope that with the Swaraj Party they could establish a link to create a mass revolutionary movement. Pandit Motilal Nehru proved, however, too shrewd a politician to play into the hands of the communists. They turned their attention to Pandit Jawaharlal who had been attracted, while in Europe in 1927, by the idea of attending "a Conference of oppressed nationalities" in Brussels. He joined the organization which grew out of the Conference described as "the League Against Imperialism", became a member of its executive and persuaded the Congress in India to affiliate itself to the League. He even got the Congress (in spite of Gandhiji's misgivings) to declare its objective as complete Independence involving separation from Britain. These were substantial gains for the communists; but they were completely disillusioned by his subsequent pro-Gandhian outlook which they condemned as "Fabian moderation".

A second opportunity offered itself shortly afterwards to the communists who saw in Gandhiji's civil disobedience movement in the early thirties, symbolised in the famous salt march, hopes of a renewed effort towards a working alliance from within the Congress with its communist elements. Gandhiji's movement was commended by leading British communists like Palme Dutt and Bradley as 'a gigantic task' designed to weld together divergent elements for India's liberation. Communist overtures found encouragement in the willingness of

the Indian socialists (led by Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain) to bring together all left-wing elements, including the communists, into a single movement for building an "anti-Imperialist people's front". But he soon discovered that their real intention was to exploit such a move to further their own objectives and to discredit genuine socialists like himself. Gandhiji, of course, was always vigilant to prevent their infiltration tactics from diverting the Congress organization from its declared objectives and principles of action.

Their main hope was then centred on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at that time the President of the Congress. They found common ground in his ardent desire to build a socialist society in India and to wreck the British-made Constitution of 1935. In the Working Committee he was feeling isolated from his colleagues (like Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Sri Rajagopalachari and Acharya Kripalani) who were strongly opposed to his plan of using the party platform for the furtherance of the socialist creed. A major crisis seemed imminent. Pandit Nehru complained to Gandhiji about a "formidable indictment" by Dr. Rajendra Prasad but got in return only a sharp rebuke from his leader, who said, while insisting on the avoidance of a split in the Congress: "Why should it be so difficult for you to get on with those with whom you have worked without a jar for years? If they are guilty of intolerance, you have more than your share of it. The country should not be made to suffer for your mutual intolerance". Despite these formidable complications, the Comintern did not lose hope of a united-front policy being evolved, representing "the progressive democratic masses under Nehru's leadership".

Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 during the Second World War produced a complete change in the outlook and tactics of the Indian communists. An "Imperialist" war became for them from that moment a people's war for which they were urged by Palme Dutt, the British commu-

nist, and the Politbureau to offer unconditional support. For more than a decade thereafter the gulf between the Congress and the communists remained deep and wide. The Indian people could not easily overlook their betrayal of the cause of national freedom during the war, especially with Gandhiji and several thousands of the rank-and-file in detention.

The years following the achievement of Independence in 1947 were for India a period of anxiety and heavy strain. Gandhiji's assassination within a few months of the event was in particular a most disastrous blow to the country and the new Government. For the communists the tragedy had a different significance: the biggest factor which had effectively barred their way into the Congress for many years was at last out of the way. There remained, however, his chief lieutenants—Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sri Rajagopalachari and Acharya Kripalani—all suspicious of communist moves. Moreover, a period of some years after Inde-

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pendence was necessary for the communists to live down their reputation for betrayal of the freedom movement during the war.

But in the last decade in India there has emerged a combination of new circumstances which seems to justify the present optimism of the communists that "the future

is very favourable for the spread of democracy". The resistance which the communists encountered through all the years of Gandhiji's leadership to their infiltration and for some years thereafter has disappeared from within the Congress. They can afford today to come into the open and publicise

without reservation their intentions of capturing the Congress Party machinery. The vital question today is whether the Congress will wake up at this stage to the growing danger of its being transformed into a communist-run organization for the furtherance of their aims and policies.



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S. 31-X52

Dear Reader

There is much senseless talk about the Punjab and India being weakened in defence by the grant of what Tara Singh wants. If the Punjab should remain undivided, it should be made so to remain by persuasion, not by coercion. So far as civil affairs are concerned everyone knows that States are now just local boards and the fight for autonomy is nothing but a fight for a little local prestige and petty patronage opportunities. But human feelings are not always governed by reason; Maharashtra and Gujarat have become precedents and have fired the Sikh blood. Would this border State be strengthened for defence purposes, if we force the Sikhs to remain as a permanent minority in the State tied up to Haryana against inclination on either side? The Sikh community should either be persuaded to this, or they should be helped to feel they have, besides India, a State of their own to defend with their traditional grit and daring. The former alternative, viz., to persuade them to remain in *status quo* is time barred, unless a new all India effort is made to undo the linguistic folly that has led to all the trouble. There is both wisdom and nobility in treating those who bravely and successfully resisted the Imperial Moghul, and were crushed by the British only after a great fight, with kindness rather than with counter-communalistic firmness.

It is stupid, it is true, to fight so bitterly for a State which everyone knows is now but a grand local board under the constant orders of the Centre in all matters. But, for the same reason, it is more stupid to oppose it and generate permanent antipathy and consequent national weakness.

We are told that the President of the Krishnagiri Taluka Dravida Kazhagam has resigned from the Kazhagam and joined the Congress. He has issued a statement that this was done in response to the advice of Mr. E. V. R. Naicker, the Kazhagam chief. The

Dravida Kazhagam is the one body that solidly and incessantly and openly spreads hatred and communalism in South India. This inter-flowing of blood between the Kazhagam and the Madras Congress is no surprise, because for a long time Mr. E. V. R. Naicker has been doing nothing but propaganda for the Madras Congress, on the ground that Sri Kamaraj is doing his own communal work to his utmost satisfaction. The infiltrations into the Congress of communal or communist elements cannot make any difference.

★
This eye of mine is no asset,
Perhaps it magnifies;
I wish that I could change it,
And join the worldly-wise.

The above is an emendation of the lines of an Australian poet and scholar. In the Rajya Sabha, on September 7, a motion was made by Mr. A. D. Mani to amend the election rules and provide that expenses incurred by a political party on behalf of a candidate in his constituency should be deemed to be expenses incurred by that candidate and be counted against the allowable minimum of expenditure. "Congressmen stoutly opposed the motion on the ground that it was impracticable," says the *Hindu* correspondent. The motion was of course voted down by the Congress majority. The proposed amendment only sought to clarify the law even as it stood, and as it should be interpreted under normal principles of interpretation. What there is that could be impractical in giving effect to the proposal is not obvious. Parties should be bound to submit accounts of expenditure setting out details and, if this were done, there is nothing more easy than to see how much is spent on candidates in their respective constituencies.

★
The Law Minister sometime before this made a frank confession that the rule limiting election expenditure has been notoriously violated but pleaded that no one

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would 'bell the cat' to stop this abuse. Why should any one other than Government be expected to bell the cat? The only way to save an inordinate and most immoral waste of the nation's money in these elections is to adopt a simple scheme by which, like the census operations, the collection of votes from the electors is nationalized and the State through its neutral officials goes to the voters and collects all the votes at national expense in an orderly manner and under necessary supervision by the representatives of the candidates. The candidates and their workers should not be let loose on the voters during the voting week but should close their campaign of propaganda well before the polling day. There is nothing impracticable in this, al-

though the ruling party is likely to put forward such a plea. The mobile polling booths will on the whole cost much less than the total expenditure incurred by parties and candidates to reach the voters and get their votes recorded. The State which prepares the electoral rolls should also arrange to give each voter his official identifying card to be surrendered on polling day. Today the business of identification of voters and acquainting them with their being on the rolls is a private industry. This should be the first thing that should be nationalized and undertaken as a State obligation.

★

Mr. Raza Khan, M.L.C. of Madras has given sound advice to Muslim League members—to keep their League going strong but also to join such national political parties as they may like to join and would receive them. There is nothing immoral or unpatriotic in a permanent minority to organize itself for self protection but it would be unwise for them to keep aloof from all national political parties for then they would for all practical purposes be disfranchising themselves. Surely Muslims

have interest in economic and other affairs along with others in India. This interest they must pool with the interest of others in such matters and play a significant part in supporting or withdrawing support from political parties according as the latter do well or ill in managing the country's economic, commercial and industrial activities which cannot be classified as Muslim or non-Muslim but as only inherently right or wrong. The League must be left untouched so that it may watch against discrimination or unfairness against Muslims as such. If politics is not merely a personal battle for one's own advancement but is an activity related to national policies, Muslims must join one political national party or other as their patriotism directs.

★

Of late we are hearing a little too often of privilege motions in the legislatures. The latest is the case of *The Mail* of Madras. The dignity of the House is a means to an end, viz., the public interest. There is a tendency to equate the prestige of the House with the self-importance of ministers and

members. Any process of law is likely to lose its power by invoking it too often. Familiarity breeds contempt in this instance as in others.

The privileges of the legislatures are not to be converted into a cheap and easy means of terrorising the press and repressing the free expression of public opinion and criticism. Any tribunal which combines the functions of judge, prosecutor and witness must be treated as an anomalous instrument of law and sovereignty, and should not be resorted to except when the true public interest is gravely involved. As long as there is no appeal against the decisions of such prosecutor-judge tribunals to the High Court or Supreme Court, it is an anomaly in the Constitution and should be treated as such and not resorted to as an easy way of dealing a blow to some one who disregards the importance of an M.L.A. or a minister.

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REPRIMANDAGE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

As a demonstration of immense courtesy to the head of a neighbouring State (whilst politically getting tough with him more out of sorrow than anger) the Prime Minister bade Mr. Dawood Ali Mirza to withdraw an uncompromising remark about President Ayub Khan in the Rajya Sabha. When it was followed by a rebuke of the editor of the *Blitz*, a reprimand at the Bar of the House was as good as a certainty despite the gallant effort at exoneration before the Supreme Court which in full regalia pronounced the law "as it stood" (in the words of the Attorney-General). May's *Parliamentary Practice* was sufficient; and the offending editor—with his lampoonery against Kripaloonery—appeared at the Bar of the Lok Sabha without waiting to be dragged thither by minions of the State. The sentence was delivered without the option; the penman bowed, possibly in the spirit of the East (silent, deep disdain, according to Mathew Arnold's contemplation of an Oriental blast), and he quitted the scene.

In the story of democracy, the picture of the prisoner at the bar heralds extension of the frontiers of the subject's liberty. The Seven Bishops fought for greater rights. So did Charles Bradlaugh in another century to vindicate the right of affirmation that must be open to an atheist. Even the Constitution of the United States has not ordained that a non-believer is disqualified from presidency.

The Pankhurst family in promoting women's suffrage confirmed the citizen's right of being in the public gallery by surreptitiously chaining themselves to railings in the Commons. The Sergeant sent up for the removal of the screaming 'females' thought it unfair that he should be made to look an ass. It is not absolutely true that to obtain noble purposes the means must always be worthy. Otherwise, what happens to incriminating letters opened by steam in post-offices for the security of the State or later for the better

protection of the ruling party, or key-hole inspection by the C.I.D. without the consent of the occupant under the hotel-shower? Ask Sherlock Holmes.

In the *Blitz* case the argument in court did not avail, words like 'lousy' being held positively repellent if not *mala fide*, in association with an M.P., who like the fiddler at the piano, must be presumed to be doing his best. Since sovereign rights are pitted against unilateral discretion in the exercise of fundamental rights, the culprit's lips, like Lord Baldwin's at the time of the Abdication of King Edward VIII, are sealed, and he flits past like a Japanese nobleman at the kow-tow. Could words be more solemn from the Chair (too long—to quote) than those uttered by the permanent incumbent, with mace-bearer erect in the rear and the Marshal seated on the left?

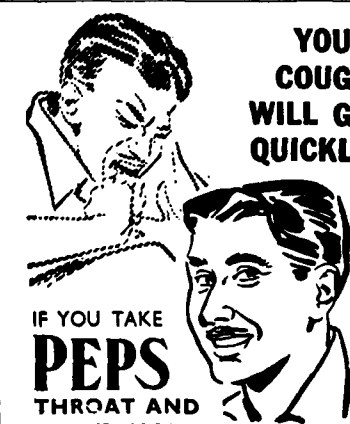
The editor's job is such that he, nevertheless, has the last word, in print anyway—whilst the proclaimer of the offence has completed his say, the rest being silence for him. No wonder, conventional law, as good as any fundamental boloney, recognises that the editor's decision is final, and it would be as grave as contempt of court to attempt any dispute with him as to when the correspondence on any matter shall cease, especially on the question of prize-bonds, football pools and racing forecasts.

Apart from the tilt in favour of authority (so contrary to the tale of liberty broadening down from precedent to precedent), the 'historic' episode underwent twilight dimness when it was discovered that the Communist Party had become conspicuous by its absence at the critical moment of the *magnificat*.

When a group boycotts a function *en masse*, the question of implicit affront could hardly be ignored by students of constitutional decorum who are always busy at Institutes of Law.

The *Blitz* school of controversy is associated with the communist lobby; belligerently pro-Menon and cent-per-cent Nehru *uber alles*. Hence when their disapproval is so well saturated in composition as to be crystallized into a state of mournful vacuum in the benches, distress is not likely to drive them to sackcloth and ashes. The event is hence more unique than benignly historic in the circumstances of the case. No set of circumstances ever repeats itself, and to say that history repeats itself is bunk: Henry Ford didn't pause to add that remark. Unique? Yes. Historic landmark? Well, well. The following is unique in the annals of cricket, but hardly a landmark for inclusion in Wisden's *Almanack*:

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Who bowled twenty-two wides
in an over
Which never had been done
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LAND REFORMS AND THE LAW

By A. S. N. MURTI

During the discussions in the Constituent Assembly, no provision in the Constitution provoked such keen interest as the one relating to rights to private property. There was a real apprehension that in a State which was committed to welfare, it was quite conceivable to ride roughshod over private property by the side-wind of legislative measures. The assurance was then given that it was far from the intention of those who covenanted the Constitution to make any inroads on private property and Article 19 (F) and its sub-clause 5 were carefully drafted and incorporated in the Constitution. When the fourth Amendment was introduced

in 1955, it was categorically stated by the Prime Minister that compensation will be really just and equitable.

But now when the States are introducing legislation on land reforms, the rights to private property in the shape of land are being definitely attacked and even the compensation provided is only a nominal one. And we are faced with the prospect of complete annihilation of the landed class—small, medium and other.

Let us now see what the law-givers say in respect of certain aspects of this vital question of private property. When the subject came up before the Supreme Court and

the High Courts, they stated the law without any ambiguity. If the legislatures and the governments do not act up to the dicta of the highest courts in the land, the Constitution then is reduced to a Munich pact which Hitler tore up with impunity.

In 54 S.C. 1271-523 C 92, their learned Lordships of the Supreme Court in that case (West Bengal versus Subodh Gopal), with Patanjali Shastri, C. J. leading the judgment have observed that the law in respect of Article 31 is to be construed as not giving the Government the right to deprive a person of his property but to protect his right to property. And the right imposes under Article 31(2) two further limitations, i.e., the deprivation must be for a 'public purpose' and that there should be a 'payment of compensation'. In the second, Shollapur case, it was stated that though the deprivation may have the sanction of the authority of law under Article 31(1), it must also satisfy Article 31(2) regarding public purpose and compensation. Public purpose has been well commented upon in a judgment of the Madras High Court, A.I.R. 51 Madras 930-29 Patna 790. It is the definite opinion of the High Courts that 'public purpose' mentioned in Article 31(2) covers and contemplates only a concrete and definite purpose, and excludes a general objective or the implementation of any ideology, political or economical. It is clear that it is so by the insertion of clause 'a' in Article 31(2). There is no quibbling in this. As regards compensation, the views of the Supreme Court are definite and precise. In the well-known case, State of West Bengal versus Bella Bannerjee, 54 S.C.J. 95, the Supreme Court held that (1) public purpose must be established as an objective fact, and (2) compensation must be a just equivalent and full indemnification of the expropriated owner.

'Reasonable restrictions' appearing in sub-clause (5) of Article 19(F) have been commented upon in Dwaraka Prasad vs. State of U.P. in 54 S.C. 224, where it was stated that the limitation imposed upon a person in the enjoyment of a right should not be arbitrary, or of an excessive nature beyond what is required in the public interest.

Both the principles and the policy of law have all along been against discrimination and it is against the fundamental principles under Article 14. The economic discrimination of the landowner as against others in other sectors of economic activity is too strong to dispense with a legislative wand.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

TEST FOR AKALI LEADERSHIP

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: The Prime Minister left for Belgrade on the last day of August, having left no one in the country in doubt about the issue of Punjabi Suba. He stood his ground firmly in Parliament and carried both the Houses with him. The support extended to the Akalis by some of the Opposition members, whether qualified as in the case of the communists or unqualified as on the part of the PSP, made little impression and no difference. Master Tara Singh manoeuvred himself into a wrong position by staking his life on the fateful issue. He was reminded that seven years ago when a PEPSU Akali undertook a fast for the same objective, he not only disapproved of the step but publicly declared that fasting for such ends was against the tenets of Sikhism. Since there could have been no change in such religious tenets, the change could only have been in him. Almost in despair he seemed to have overreached himself. It was heavy miscalculation. He cannot say he was not warned. Rajaji who could any day see farther than anyone else in the country, knew what awaited Master Tara Singh. Hence the advice given by him to Master Tara Singh to limit the fast for purposes of prayer for a change of heart among the Hindus—and not to stretch it farther. Today nobody will miss the wisdom of his advice.

Even now it is not perhaps too late for Master Tara Singh to break his fast even as Swami Rameshwaranand has done though for different reasons. He may yet confound his opponents. There seems to be no purpose in inviting death simply because of an earlier resolve. It is never wrong to give up the wrong way. Master Tara Singh need not smart under the feeling that his fast has failed. It has not altogether failed: it has compelled world-wide attention and provoked the most

furious thought. That by itself is no small service.

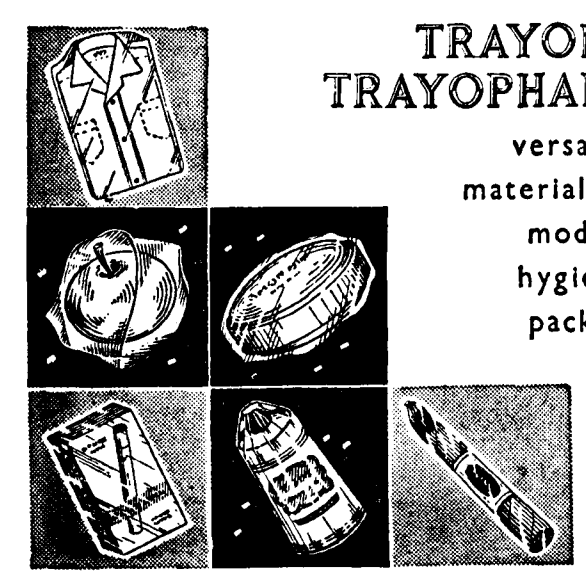
By preserving his life for some years yet and not denying the Akalis his powerful leadership, he will do them greater good than by letting his martyrdom spell itself out in their frustration. It calls for greater courage to live for a cause than to die for it. It was by service till their last breath and not by arbitrary termination of life itself that great men, more often than not, achieved what they could.

Nobody wants to see Master Tara Singh winding up the declared way—not even (to be fair to him) Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon. He should even now first withdraw from the fatal course adopted by him under a wrong impulse and by his proven capacity for sacrifice, work for the unity of the Sikhs as a pre-requisite for the fulfilment of a demand in their name. It is open to Master Tara Singh to make the Punjabi Suba an election issue and give Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon a hiding if he can. That would be far more convincing—and enduring—than any concessions, big or small, that he may get by threatening to take life out of himself or seeking to make his own survival the main issue.

There is yet another pressing reason why the Akali leader should end his fast, and not himself. Recent discussions on the

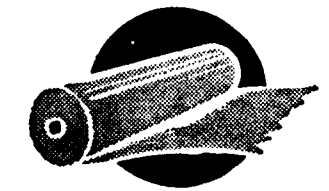
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Punjabi Suba in Parliament and the press emphasised Hindu-Sikh amity as a decisive factor in determining the future of the Punjab or any part thereof. There is every danger to it if Master Tara Singh will die as a result of the fast. If for nothing else, for saving the Punjab from a possible deterioration in the relations between the Hindus and the Sikhs of the State, and perhaps also beyond it, he should call off the fast—and ensure that Hindu-Sikh relations which have been so far extremely cordial will not, like Hindu-Muslim relations at one time, poison the very springs of national life and work untold havoc. This should never happen and so that it may not even threaten to happen, Master Tara Singh should at once break his fast. And he should also stop throwing out fantastic suggestions such as have emanated from him since he felt convinced of the futility of the fast. A second wrong step is always much easier than the first. His immediate colleagues and advisers have a tremendous responsibility. They must wisely intervene before it is all too late, without letting themselves be overpowered by anger and bitterness. Statesmanship has something unusually common with sportsmanship. Virtue lies in winning without insolence or in losing without rancour.



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

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 12

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 23, 1961

Price 15 nP

LOST MORAL POWER

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Both sides of the cold war are now seeking to induce the public to believe that experiments in what they call 'outer space' and explosions underground are a class apart and not harmful, and that the world may remain contented if no test explosions take place within the earth's atmosphere. This is not very different from the filtered cigarette smoking which the tobacco interests recommend as safe against cancer. Radio-active carbon and strontium will not be attracted away to other planets or converted into nothingness simply because they are generated 160 miles or 200 miles off from the surface of the earth. One hundred and sixty miles is much nearer to the earth's surface than to any other gravitational field. Even as Gagarin came back to earth after rotating round for some time, so will the strontium and carbon poison surely and inevitably come back to the earth where the poison was conceived and planned. The difference is only one of time, that is, whether we and our children or our grand-children, or their children and grand-children should suffer. If the consideration is humanity and not present military deterrence, it makes no difference whether the explosions are in the atmosphere or in 'outer space', as 160 miles off is grandiloquently called 'in a celestial sphere' which light takes millions of years to travel across.

The issue is not one of science; for science has left us in no doubt

as to the certainty of mischief. The problem is how to get the nuclear Powers under control and make them answerable to damage threatened or caused to the uninvolved world; how men engaged in the competition of technological advance can be prevented from indulging in grave crime. Mr. Nehru went to Moscow to represent the case on behalf of those not involved in the cold war. But he was so taken up with the grandeur of the achievements of Russia that he nearly forgot his mission. He has returned happy with a Peak-Nehru round his neck and nothing about what he went for. Perhaps he had perforce to reconcile himself to this emptiness and put up a good face on it.

Dr. Pauling and Dr. Bernal can, if they please, offer more authoritative opinions on this matter. But there seems little doubt that we are in for a lot of deception at the hands of frightened warmongers and their hired experts. If man from earth handles experiments in 'outer space', the poison generated there will certainly be in a position to affect man, the distance down being no more than the distance up. Of course Truman can make light of all this 'hokey'; the man who exploded the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima is qualified to do it.

New York scientists have measured and found that radio-activity in the United States has increased sixty-fold after the recent Soviet test-explosions. But these scientists assure their people that they

are still only at three microcuries whereas the danger level is 100 microcuries. When one is in hopeless debt for three dollars he is sought to be comforted by being told that he will go into the *Gazette* only when his debt reaches 100 dollars. After that point is reached, of course, there is no hope of return or reform and civilization must wind up.

Dr. Teller, the American 'father' of the hydrogen bomb believes and confesses that Soviet Russia is 'far ahead' of the United States in nuclear development. His statement reads almost definitely like admitting that the Soviet achievements can never be overtaken. But apart from their relative achievements, between them two we the rest of the world are not far behind the point of total annihilation, as honest old Bertrand Russell has said. Dr. Teller exhorts his people in no uncertain terms not to be deterred from a full nuclear test programme by reason of fall-out dangers. "Our concern is the question of war or peace or survival itself. In the face of such questions, the matter of fall-out is not important"—words which Americans can understand perhaps, but not those who are outside America and Russia but who still wish to survive as human beings. Dr. Teller's appeal amounts to this, that America should make up its mind to poison the whole world in order that it may energetically run an admittedly hopeless race with Russia in the nuclear pro-

SURPLUS RIDICULE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

His critics have piled upon Master Tara Singh a heap of epithets to make the old gentleman look a picture of ridicule although it would be bare justice to understand his emotional stress in the ordeal he courts. The first remark made by the Prime Minister on his return from Moscow after delivering the Belgrade-letter and Mr. Khrushchov's reluctance to give up nuclear blasts (as must have been clear after the fourth blast whilst they were discussing the same subject) was 'ridiculous'. Besides being charged with communalism disguised as Sikhistan right on the 'sensitive' frontier, Master Tara Singh has been latterly reminded of his conduct even during British rule as a secessionist at heart and as an intriguer in the story of Pakistan—which are not particularly relevant at this time of day, since the accusation refers to a time when everything was in the melting pot and when phrases like 'Moplastan' were also current in the air. Many communities had been on their hind-legs, so to speak, in protection of their interests, at the crisis of the

Simla Conference, not excluding some of his present self-righteous critics. Among other charges we come across expressions like "black-mailer", "coercion", "bluff to be called", "outrage against religion", "imposture", "sacrilegious humbug", "glucose fast", etc., etc.

That in principle any redrawing of the Punjab territory would be a case of wanton "vivisection" is held up against the Sikh leader; it is vehemently argued that in examples of new boundaries being drawn after the States Reorganization Report, there has been no surrender to "linguism". That the claim is an exaggeration and that Mr. Nehru's firmness had not been apparent at the time of Andhra emergence, the division of the old Bombay State, the territorial adjustments between Kerala and Tamilnad, the creation of Nagaland, etc., is as plain as pike-staff, so that the argument about new frontiers being unheard-of fails to impress the Sikh patriot. After all, with the trend of overcentralization, the provincial States have been functionally reduced to the status of local board administra-

tions, the conception of danger at the frontier does not weigh with many people who fear that between Governor Gadgil and Chief Minister Kairon, the attitude of "firmness in principle" is being carried to a dangerous point of no return. Even the constant exchange of messages between Delhi and Amritsar does not throw much light on their diplomatic content. After slamming the door, all turn round and say that the door is open. Added to obscure provocations is the mockery of counter-fasts to establish the case against the Punjabi Suba—a calculated recourse incidentally to put an end to fasting as a weapon in politics against the power of the vote. It is hard to maintain that Master Tara Singh is only a frustrated man incapable of the defence of a "pure conscience" and that he is just perversely turning back the hands of the clock for lack, in his case, of any "inner voice". Politics is not an exact science, and it is best not to explain away party-conflicts by the theory of obsession. In his own way he might in mystical moods perceive that there is danger to the Panth and eventually the Granth, if in his time a solution of the kind roughly outlined by ob-

LOST MORAL POWER gramme. Of course this necessarily means a further countervailing spurt in the Russian programme of poisoning humanity. All the wisdom of peace-loving and civilized humanity must concentrate itself now on how to reduce the insane bullies of the world to orderly and lawful behaviour.

The rulers of the uninvolved world are on the other hand in such an insane hurry to borrow from and be obliged to the very same bullies, one or the other or both, that they have hopelessly lost all power to influence them. Nehru loaded with dollars and roubles can but poise himself deftly on the rope of neutralism. He cannot command when he has so greatly to depend.

And what for is he in this dependent pass? For 'progress' and

'material advance',—when the total advance is, according to all signs, towards inevitable annihilation. If Gandhi had been alive, would he have approved of this shortsighted, blind and abject dependence on the very criminals who are conspiring in world annihilation? He would have kept India out of that folly and spoken as one with authority and commanded where now we smile for further favours, as a broken down, condemned prisoner foolishly asks for a drink or a cake before going to his end.

We are now interested in peace in a new and sordid sense—not because peace is good and we hate war, but because the promised and beseeched aids in billions, 32 billions or more, to make our Plans real cannot arrive if war breaks out. In that event the Plans would

topple down in a hopeless mess, like a house of cards. We have now developed a concrete vested interest in peace, different from the old Gandhian disinterested interest. One might ask what difference does it make? Indeed there is great difference, all the difference that there is between creed and policy, the difference there is between honest honesty and honesty for policy. The voice of moral authority is different from the plea of borrowers. The voice of a Jesus Christ or a Gandhi or a Tagore is different from an appeal for peace by the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. "You are after saving your development plans, but we must fight for very existence," the West would be inclined to say in answer to such an appeal.

servers like Mr. B. Shiva Rao who pleads for compromise with honours even, were not reached. Anything to make a laughing-stock of the Sikh leader by reference to "fissiparous tendencies" and "disruptive intentions" should be ruled out in courtesy, nor is the drive of sweeping arrests and detentions in the solution of a so-called police-problem deficient in Kairon's Cromwellian touch.

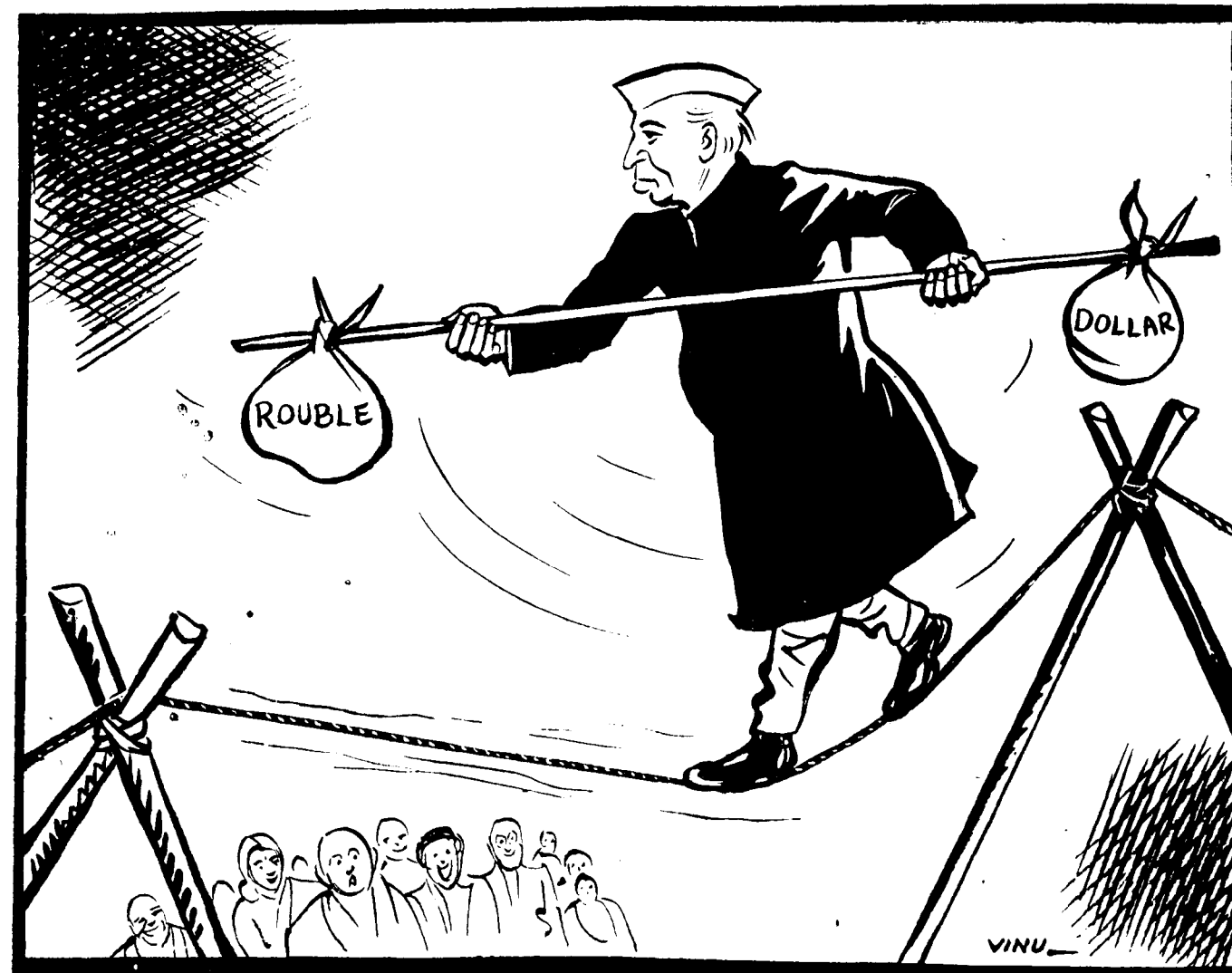
Chief Minister Pratap Kairon has hit hard in defiance of elementary law and constitutional safeguards so much so that even the Communist Party deplores the harsh measures of repression in the Punjab, saying: "The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India calls the attention of our people to the large-scale, indiscriminate repression which Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon and his government have

launched throughout the Punjab." The communists were of course unsympathetic even during Mahatma Gandhi's resort to fasting after the war against Hitler took on the phase of Soviet Russia coming into the picture, turning it all into an anti-imperialistic struggle. The present administration of the Punjab views Master Tara Singh's effort as a *mala fide* fast when he does not speak of it in the orthodox language of penance and self-purification, he being too unsophisticated in semantics.

As for the Kairon Administration, it is interesting to recall a study on Fundamental Rights by Mr. Justice Mishra who by citing Supreme Court cases comes to the conclusion that "the danger of any injustice due to executive vagaries is practically eliminated". A reviewer of the book points out that

the safeguards are shadowy under Article 22 since political opponents could be singled out for "preventive justice" and the learned reviewer proceeds: "To cite an instance, on May 21, 1960, the Akali Dal set up a Legal Defence Committee consisting of seven lawyers. The Kairon Government, with a directness that compels admiration, arrested all of them by June 5 of that year, putting out of action the entire defence organization."

When such high-handedness is possible there is hardly any statistics about the number of people put under restraint; and when the Prime Minister applauds the Administration he might as well recall the old cry: "Freedom is in peril! Defend it with all your might!" Master Tara Singh has borne the brunt of much undeserved ridicule already.



CURRENT EVENTS ::

Like many other ventures inspired by gigantism, the latest atomic power station seems to have undergone an infantile convulsion before starting. Sixty-two miles north of Bombay the Government had chosen the site for the Tarapore reactor baptised as Zerlina. Mr. Nehru has poetic imagery in the selection of names, the latest proof being the names of watches to be turned out by the H.M.T. factory under Japanese tutelage. "Zerlina" was minted as an abbreviation for "Zero Energy Reactor for Lattice Investigations and New Assemblies" to enchant people already captivated by the elder sister "Apsara" of Trombay still subject to lameduck sessions. Zerlina is designed to feed the power-system of Maharashtra and Gujarat, and the Prime Minister by a special vote placed Rs. 51 crores at the disposal of erectors, far and near. Initial estimates have a way of doubling themselves before the actual inauguration ceremony, and the tenders for the Tarapore showpiece were due to be submitted after world-wide advertisements by the end of last month, August. Stories of composition to glamourise the international situation were afloat, but the upshot has not kept pace with imagination. Russians offered a spare nuclear plant to India, but the proposition is entangled in

cold war negotiations; they in short refused to tender for "Project Tarapore". After a little spurt of interest, Americans had a look at it, but they have retired, with faith unimpaired in the security of other thermal devices for fuel-power. Another round of world-advertisements is expected. "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon".

Presiding officers belonging to various legislatures are having one of their periodical meetings to tone up procedure and standardize rulings. Nearly all of them have travelled round the world, halting particularly at the capitals of Commonwealth countries and familiarising themselves with the functions of Speakership, but it is curious that in the vicissitudes of *Hansard* in our politics, traits spark out of the Chair brightening some of the prerogatives that cluster round the one-party-system—accompanied by the apology of a mixed Opposition treated with scant regard by the Congress Government. Occasionally the presiding officers with strong opinions of their own seem to get tired of listening and giving rules. Since they have not subscribed themselves to the pledge of detachment taken by the late Mr. V. J. Patel on his election as the first Indian Speaker, they are apt

As this issue is being printed we have had the sad news that Dag Hammarskjöld was killed in a plane crash. "The bravest and best man in the world today", Rajaji said, "has died in the performance of his duty. Any peace prize of the world would be deservedly conferred if even given posthumously to this martyr."

to cherish unconsciously a little sympathy for the party to whom they owe their honour. In squabbles that end in walk-outs, the presiding officers exercise all the arts of gavelling, admonishing and appealing for the dignity of the House, but sometimes they in their excitement find themselves in the thick of the debate, contributing arguments from the Chair!

By way of a passing example we may quote the Phizo affair in the Lok Sabha at question-time last week. From the report flashed by the P.T.I., Phizo, a refugee from Nagaland, with dreams of an independent enclave for him and his co-religionists, deserves extradition and trial in India for murder—the Prime Minister in his previous statement having said that he was no foreigner but a 'wanted' man for production by police in a trial court. Since a guarded reply was needed, the Treasury Bench refrained from asserting the guilt of the fugitive in London, but the use of careful words provoked an altercation in which the Speaker heartily joined to the disadvantage of the absentee "murderer".

Whilst members exchanged views on the rights of asylum, the tepid attitude of the Commonwealth Office and affiliated issues, the contribution of the Chair may be quoted:

Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyangar joined members in asking the Government if it could not give a more reasonable explanation than to say that there was no charge against a man who was leading a rebellion and was stated to be responsible for several murders.

The Speaker said that it had been repeatedly stated in the House that

Phizo had not submitted himself to the jurisdiction of this country. Phizo was the one man who was leading the revolt. It was rather strange to be told that there was no charge against Phizo and the Government was not taking steps to ask for his extradition. He would ask the Minister to go into this "more leisurely."

The Chair gave leave to the Government to reflect on the points raised by the sovereign authority of the House "more leisurely". There are State legislatures where quick intervention is noticeable when electoral problems are raised bristling with difficulties, when an attitude of unruffled calm could give the pronouncements from the Chair an impartial tone. It is not only necessary that presiding officers should be impartial and reticent in their observations but it should be widely known by demonstration that they are impartial and spare of speech, whatever be their chances at the next February poll.

In his paen of self-praise on his return from Moscow, the Prime Minister paused to remark that developments in the Congo had vindicated his policy; but as in the Belgrade meet, appreciation synchronised with contrary actualities, and we see the beginnings of a civil war in ex-Belgian colony, our immediate strategy being to defeat the Tshombe crowd who want Katanga to have a separate existence. Casualties are reported in considerable numbers, with the Secretary-General on the spot. India's paramount solution for disorder in the Congo was the reconvening of Parliament at Louvain, although more than a year has passed since the original elections held under Belgian decree. Several Congo M.Ps are untraceable and gaps are left unfilled through bye-elections. After Russia's withdrawal from the scene and refusal to recognize the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld has had to lean heavily on India rather than court extinction through the Troika principle demanded by communist countries.

When Indian troops were sent to the Congo to rehabilitate democracy, Parliament in India had not been consulted, but Pandit Nehru announced later that Law Minister Ashok Sen had told him of the Executive's discretion to deploy Indian forces overseas. We, however, hardly counted on pitched battles involving large casualties. As early as August 25, when the ranks of Katanga consisted of 13,000 soldiers and police, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Kimba proclaimed that the Katanga army would "fight in self-defence" and that the advancing troops would be considered as "forces in the pay of an invader". Tshombe (after a reported run) is fighting back and there is talk of a cease-fire after bloodshed. The credentials of the Secretary-General (once described by Khrushchov as acting in the manner of a Commander-in-Chief) consist of a resolution of the Security Council authorising the UN Special Representative to "use force if necessary in the last resort". Britain has already asked if the fight against the secessionists through the use of UNO forces, is not in excess of that mandate. The moment Dayal was eased out of his job, it was the Prime Minister's duty to realize the force of his earlier warning that efforts to eject him from office would affect the position and security of Indian troops spared for service abroad. The drama of the 16th meeting of the General Assembly begins at New York this Tuesday (19th September) and it would be wise to fall in with the "cease-fire" idea, and put in a contingent of UNO troops of mixed composition to guard the truce-line for the time being.

After beginning with the roof on a picturesque scale, the Planners are seeking to locate the foundations of Plan-Projects. The formality of obtaining parliamentary sanction was over in August and the National Planning Commission now proceeds to chalk out exact "dispersal of industries" about which the Planning Commission has to strike a balance between the preferences of indi-

vidual ministries and the claims of backward States. Only recently, provisional decisions were taken in regard to the location of a number of projects—heavy electrical equipment plants (one in U.P. and another in Andhra), heavy pressure boilers plant (Madras State), precision instruments plant (Rajasthan), diesel locomotive plant (Banaras) and heavy plates and vessels unit (Maharashtra). Only after business-enterprise is located. The Delhi news-item concludes that official announcement is withheld pending a final decision regarding the proposal for second precision instruments unit. Meanwhile "flaming zeal" has again been requested. P.J.

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INTEGRATION PROGRAMMES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

National disintegration and the opposite of it, national integration, are not brought about or affected by committees, however high-powered, sitting for a couple of day's debate. Either the one or the other is the result of policies pursued by the government of the day over a long period, covering many fields of national affairs not perhaps obviously connected with integration or disintegration but all the same deeply affecting the same. Sometimes, more often than not, policies are well-intentioned but produce a disintegrating reaction, and a reversal of such policies is made difficult on account of the lapse of time and the vested interests created by them. But all the same such reversal is necessary to undo the mischief.

Prominent among many policies which the ruling party has been pursuing is its policy regarding languages in all its ramifications. It was an evil day when India was divided into States according to the majority language in each area. The difficulties and objections in the way of this linguistic re-ordering of States were many, but the principle was relentlessly put into execution and many sacrifices were made for the purpose. Great old provinces were cut up, natural synthesis was cruelly stopped, and isolation and chauvinism, communal in reality but putting on the cloak of language took possession of people's minds, in the end overwhelming the whole country. A continent that was fast becoming one, has become (to use a geographical term) an archipelago of islands. Each island holds big minorities who are treated more or less as undesirable fifth columnists by the dominant section. An atmosphere of oppression and suppressed ill-will pervades where formerly people were coming together in steady synthesis.

The language problem has, in another aspect also, added to the disintegration. A curious mania has seized the mind of the Hindi-

speaking sections, that they are India and India is theirs, and the rest are exceptions to be provided for somehow; English must go and Hindi take its place. If people accepted English before Independence, it must be easy enough for them to accept Hindi now—this has become the slogan of the Hindi or near-Hindi people. The non-Hindi people react towards this attempt, exactly as everyone had felt during the freedom struggle towards Englishmen. The expression 'Hindi imperialism' has come into vogue to describe the reaction. The best minds of India see the danger, but they dare not oppose what is equated with patriotism.

As a corollary to the imposition of Hindi, came the imposition of regional languages in each State,

Bertrand Russell

Bertrand Russell, in a statement from prison (on September 13) addressed "to all, in whatever country, who are still capable of sane thinking or human feeling" said:

The populations of East and West, misled by stubborn governments in search of prestige and by corrupt official experts bent on retaining their posts, tamely acquiesce in policies which are almost certain to end in nuclear war.

There are supposed to be two sides, each professing to stand for a great cause. This is a delusion. Kennedy, Khrushchov, Adenauer, de Gaulle and Macmillan are all pursuing a common aim—the end of human life. You, your families, your friends and your countries are to be exterminated by the common decision of a few brutal, but powerful men. To please these men, all the private affections, all the public hopes, all that has been achieved in art, knowledge and thought and all that might have been achieved hereafter is to be wiped out for ever.

which aggravated problems both in civic affairs and in the educational field. The theory of education through the mother-tongue instead of being constructively adopted became an anti-English slogan, with the result that the mobility of educated youth will come to a dead stop and universities invaded by pseudo-patriotism are threatened with total isolation from one another by reason of the substitution of several local languages for the English medium. University education united the elite of India into one unit. But now this is being undone. It is this last development that has served to open the eyes of statesmen to the impending dangers.

The talk against communalism and castes instead of serving to wipe out communal and caste-distinctions serves only to give full licence to the majority to indulge in its communalism and caste-ism and the minorities everywhere are adjudged guilty of the 'ism' whenever they seek to save their natural rights against the domination of the majority. What the Congress Party *does* speaks louder than its *preaching*. Communalism is at the root of all the decisions of the Congress Party in administration as well as in party work.

The attitude of the ruling political party has added a new element of disintegration to which it is necessary to refer here. Instead of allowing and encouraging a natural synthesis of castes and communities in a developing continent, the coming together is directed to be brought about through political affiliation to the Congress and through that means alone. The result is that instead of caste-ism disappearing, a new and worse caste has been created—the caste of the ruling party. With the power exercised by that party in the socialistic pattern, that is, with power to make or mar men in all economic, industrial and other business activities of individual citizens, this new caste has come to be a worse type of the old feudal tyrannies and caste dominations. Castes may disappear but this new Congress caste will

grow in strength as all national activities are sought to be brought under government control. Corruption and disintegration are the natural corollaries of this domination of a new caste.

As faith in non-violence has faded away among congressmen yielding place to totalitarian reliance on the various compulsions of the State, centralization is resorted to as a remedy for disintegration. Centralized authority is not a cure for the fissiparous tendencies generated by the ruling party's policies any more than physical chastisement is a cure for

deficiency in memory or mathematics. Of course, centralized totalitarianism when accomplished leaves no room for any fissiparous activity. But that is a scheme of life based on compulsion to which we have not yet given explicit consent. A corpse suffers from no headache or malaria. It is only living men that suffer diseases. To kill is no remedy for the ills of the body or the mind.

It is not easy to undo the linguistic reorganization of the States. So many vested and strongly entrenched interests will be against it. But something will

have to be done to undo the evil results. The first and most far-reaching step would be a firm assurance in respect of the continuance of English as the medium of higher education and of all official work with full facilities for the public to be in touch with Government through translations as in the British days. This is the first step that is called for most urgently. If this is done, leaving no room for equivocation or doubt, a great deal will have been achieved. Many of the disintegrating forces will fade away as a result.

WHAT PRICE FOR VACILLATION!

By H. S. DWIVEDI

Formation of the linguistic States in India has been the greatest political blunder in the history of the Congress Government. The gravity of the blunder has proved to be far more far-reaching in consequences than even the taking of the Kashmir case to the United Nations or disowning responsibility of understandings or certain treaties made by Britain on behalf of India, which led to annexing of Tibet by China, followed by occupation of about 15,000 square miles of Indian territory according to the Government and many times that area, according to other accounts. But encouragement and acceptance (by implication) of the principle of linguistic States, is an unpardonable blunder, even a crime, for which posterity will curse us and never

forgive the ruling party for its shortsightedness.

It has disintegrated the country. It has taken back the country a hundred years back from the unity that the British had wrought into the fabric of Indian administration. It has created a gulf between one Indian and another Indian, a Bengali and an Assami, a Maharashtrian and a Madras, which will be impossible of being bridged in the foreseeable future. And let us not forget that it was Rajaji who had warned us against the danger, though his wise counsel was not listened to by politicians of the day.

It might be asked if Pandit Nehru did not realize it. And then why did he yield to the clamour? He knew dimly what was coming; that was why he shouted at the top of his voice against the formation of Maharashtra and said that he would not be a party to it. For one thing, he is an extremely weak administrator and for another, he was ambitious to remain in power. Also, he seems to have placed the interests of the Congress Party above those of the country. He must have thought that if Maharashtra was not conceded, such denial would lead to the breaking up of the tottering Congress at

the place of its very birth much earlier than otherwise.

When his own convictions went against the unthinking clamour of his shortsighted followers, he did not resign on the issue which he thought was against the interests of the country. This was the least that would be expected of a patriot and statesman with any moral fibre. But, alas, he preferred to be led by others. Unfortunately, he does not seem to know that the Congress may come and go but the country shall remain, that the Congress is for the country, not the country for the Congress, that if the country went to pieces, with it the Congress and all other things we cherish will disappear too. Was it not because Gandhiji thought that the Congress had ceased to be useful any longer for the country that he had suggested its being wound up in his last testament?

Now Pt. Nehru's great friends, the communists, who have shrewdly decided to support the Congress in the next elections are according support to a Punjabi Suba, in the certain knowledge that even as he had yielded to Assam, Maharashtra, Andhra and Nagaland will sooner or later concede also the Punjabi Suba, as price for continuing to be Prime Minister. And, after all, has he not himself created justification and precedent for changing his views?



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Dear Reader

California readings recently made as well as those of Canadian scientists at Edmonton have shown 30 times higher radio-activity in the air. It has increased from 0.5 microcuries to 14.8 microcuries. The people are however asked not to be alarmed at these results. The British Air Force has now one hundred British made H-bombs equivalent to 20 crore tons of T.N.T. How loudly deeds speak—so much more than words!

★

Mr. da Costa, Editor of the *Eastern Economist*, speaking to the Import Advisory Council in New Delhi, warned the Government and its planners to devise measures to meet the dangers involved in the international situation. Imports from USA and West Germany on which India's economy depended to a great extent might be stopped, he said, due to a worsening of the situation. This element of uncertainty was always implicit in the Plan. It is its Achilles' heel. Not for nothing have old-fashioned people been warning from the outset against megalomaniac plans built on continuous supply from cold war parties and committing the nation to taxation and expenditure, and inflation on that basis.

★

Mr. H. V. R. Tengar's statement at the International Industrial Conference at San Francisco on September 12, is an interesting example of how India could speak in two voices, one for the dollar empire and another for the Soviet socialist empire. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India did his best to make out that India was not really socialist but was more than ninety per cent a free enterprise country with bright prospects of progress in the American way of competitive production. He made it plain however that the success of the monetary and fiscal policies of the Government of India depended "to a major extent" on the availability of exter-

nal assistance of the order of 32 billions. He could not at that conference talk loosely as our politicians can do in India about how the loans could be returned. They could be discharged only by suitable exports and by "competitive ability in world markets on the basis of quality of goods and their price". He admitted "as a late comer in the export field for diversified manufactured goods, India will find her task difficult". He later sank into the politician's vague talk and said "the debt looks burdensome as of now and for some years to come, but with the growth of the economy, India's ability to service the debt will also steadily rise and over a period the problem should not prove intractable". He assured the American audience that "Government enterprises accounted for hardly one-sixth of the total output in India and that even at the end of the Third Plan, it would not be more than a fourth". All these assurances of non-socialistic conditions will however have to be weighed against the news and propaganda issuing from Moscow about the Khrushchov-Nehru mutual congratulations. The double voice may appear successful for a time, but ultimately there is danger of being scammed and the results will be unfortunate.

★

"Radio-activity in the London atmosphere has increased one hundred fold." After announcing this (on September 14) against Soviet blasts, it was stated in defence of coming counter-blasts of the Western Powers, that "the fall-out was not expected to have any effect on public health"—an assurance going contrary to all scientific verdicts and to the facts disclosed in the announcement itself. Public health cannot stand completely detached from the poisons administered, simply because governments' policies require it. The laws of nature cannot be suspended by Canute.

Canute is an oft-recurring phenomenon. In India it is admitted that the policies of the Third Plan will tend still further to raise prices and increase blackmarketing if prices are sought to be physically controlled, but the planners of government assure us that Canute will control the laws of nature and we shall go on progressively prospering. Science is engaged in continually discovering nature, but governments are engaged in ordering nature to obey and reverse its laws, and flatterers believe this can be done.

★

I cannot explain why, but it is most depressing for the Free World to read that a 'cabinet-level' group has been set up by President Kennedy to draft a programme for waging psychological and political warfare. This step is based on an explicit admission that the communists have been able somehow to repress unfavourable reaction against them and to dominate the news as they choose "with demonstrations that seem spontaneous". Whatever the last words may mean, this confession followed by the setting up of a cabinet-level committee to cope with Russian success in propaganda is a most melancholy event. It does not appear to have suggested itself to American statesmen that there may be something to be righted beyond mere psychology or brain-washing. Bertrand Russell, for instance, has pointed out in his recent letter to the *New Statesman* that America's present offer to Khrushchov is deplorably belated and that America should



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have agreed promptly when the very same terms were offered by Russia long ago. Surely Bertrand Russell has not been the victim of any brain-washing that can be cured by counter-magic. Even now, had USA not got frightened but manfully abstained from tests of any sort in spite of the

deliberate Russian breach of the moratorium, it would have been a far more effective move than any that the new cabinet-level committee could devise by way of black or white magic.

★
"The Centre has cautioned the State governments against the

misuse of jeeps by Community Development blocks for political and private purposes. They should not, while touring in government jeeps, combine official and election work." This is from a hand-out from New Delhi. The warning proves the prevalence of the irregularity which is a mild term for misappropriation of public funds and misuse of official status. The warning is hypocritical from top to bottom. The whole scheme of setting up local administrative units and furnishing them with vehicles and other conveniences, putting local Congress agents in practically supreme charge of these units, was for the very purpose now formally deprecated, viz, to utilise the State machinery for the coming elections. The Centre's 'warning' cannot serve to whitewash what is going on in full swing in the public eye but it may save the High Command from public blame. No one with eyes to see will fail to realize that this prohibition will not be carried out. It is like asking and helping men to chew but telling them to be careful not to swallow. It is not tobacco but Parry's sweets. The transfer of Congress-Committee-work to these panchayats and block development units has been completed just before the general elections. The distinction between Congress work and Congress funds and State work and State resources, between Congress flag and State flag, have all been wiped out. Hypocritical orders and directions will not deceive anyone, much less obeyed even if it were intended to be obeyed. The chief ministers and their colleagues set the example for constant touring for election propaganda covering villages with all the pomp, public expense and paraphernalia of their official status. The voters of Indian democracy are systematically drilled to identify the ruling party with the State. No honest man in the Congress camp would deny this, though he might try to explain it or expatiate on the difficulty of making fine distinctions.

September 23, 1961

WHY LABOUR SHOULD VOTE SWATANTRA

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Although the total number of workers, in factories, mines, plantations and shop establishments, may not exceed five millions, their voting power has a significance exceeding their numbers. In the first place, workers are disciplined to vote, the average going to the polls being about 85 percent, against the general average of 43 percent. Their families also vote as fully. Thirdly, other workers, at least those in towns, tend to follow their lead from a conviction of identity of interests. It is, for these reasons, that the Congress, Socialist and Communist parties have nursed trade unions to hold the voters for them.

The workers have to be made to realize how little the Congress has done for them. As the statistics made available by Government reveal, the real earnings of the workers have fallen from the index of 135 in 1956 to 126 in 1958, with perhaps a greater fall since, because of the steep rise in prices during the last two years. The worker has not increased his assets. When he has received bonus, he has been taught to regard it as 'deferred wage', which he has spent immediately. What Government has spent on his housing is the property of the employers to be occupied by him only as a tenant for as long as he is in service. The Government has just realized the futility of its scheme and proposes to give property rights to the worker provided he pays the cost. It can be assumed that no worker will pay the overcapitalised constructions, particularly as he has no right to let them out. He no doubt obtains a contributory provident fund but, in most cases, this is mortgaged by debts arising from the education and marriage of his children. Against this, his liabilities are a number of un-earning dependents for whom little work is available near his work site. The employment of his child-

ren is his greatest worry as neither the unions nor the employers recognize the hereditary principle. A survey by the Labour Department of Bihar has just disclosed that the average indebtedness is 476 percent of the monthly wages at interest rates which go up to 150 percent. In the total, work in factories has not improved the condition of the Indian worker in any way comparable to workers in free countries.

The position of the worker is part of the condition of the economy. His real earnings, employment opportunities and savings cannot increase without a general extension of both production and consumption. The policy of Government Plans has been to increase production in the public sector, which not only employs a relatively smaller number of workers but also treats them worse than in the private sector. Secondly, the investment in the public sector has been at the expense of the investment in the private sector of industry and ancillary trade. The UN survey has disclosed that during the last ten years, as a result of such policy, India ranks 20th among 25 countries in respect of the increase in national income. At the same time, the resulting high cost economy is reducing the external market on one hand and foreign investment, on the other. The worker has ultimately to bear this loss, as his employers must trim their enterprise according to their profits.

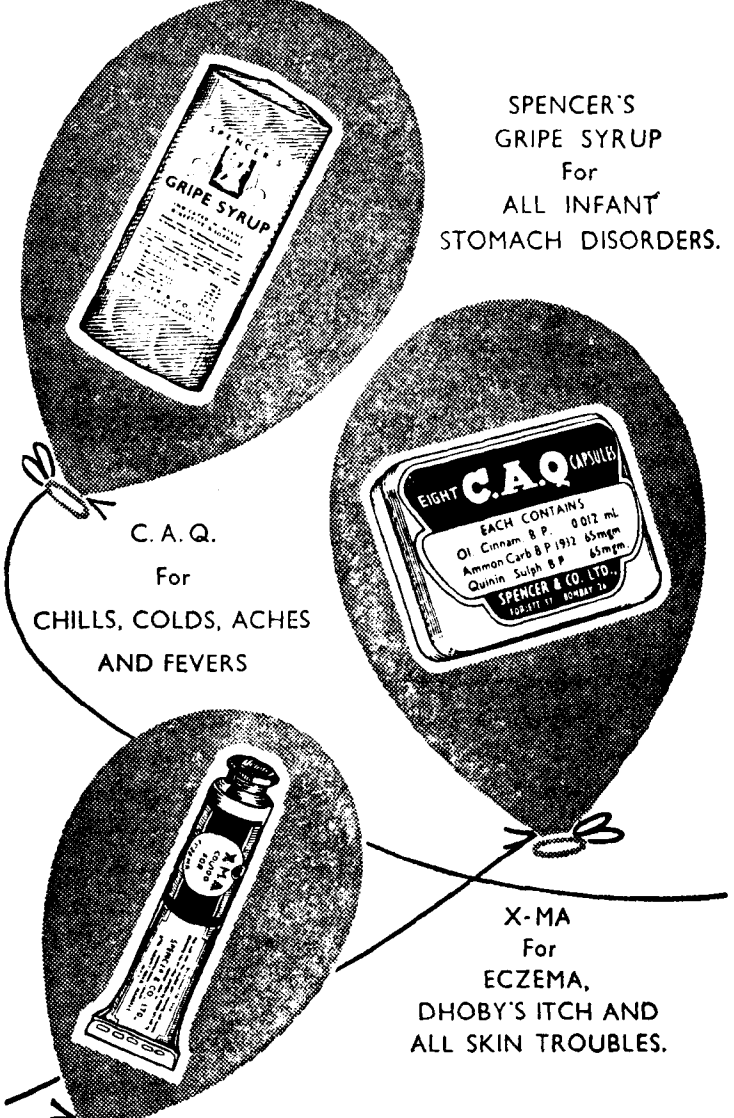
The Swatantra Party aims to restore free enterprise to the extent investment is able and willing to undertake it. The expansion which is inevitable will take care of the unearning dependents and children of the worker. Secondly, the Party is determined to end inflation by removing controls and reducing taxation and loans. This will end the confiscation of the value of the worker's wages on

one end and lead to the extension of the market on the other, which will add to the share of employers and employees alike. Thirdly, the party will restore loyalties between employers and employees, which have been destroyed by the class hatreds unnecessarily created by Government's interference.

The policy of uniting the interests of the employees and employers will require the creation of new incentives. Profit-sharing as an incentive has failed because profits have come mostly from increase of prices and not of production. A scheme of 'progress sharing' would serve both workers and employers better. One way to achieve this would be to reserve the bonus of the workers for extension of the enterprise, the owners contributing as much or more as may be necessary. In plantation, this may mean having a satellite estate, which could contain provision for houses owned by the workers. In industries, it may mean issue of new shares reserved for the workers, which also may include provision for houses. Such shares, if issued at par, will be very attractive to the workers and as they will never be in any considerable proportion, will not affect the market, particularly if they are made non-negotiable for a period of, say five years. The Government will have to co-operate by making land available for extension of plantation and exchange available for increase in the capacity of factories. It may also make loans and subsidies available to housing owned by workers at least in the present proportion. All this will be real help to give assets to workers as also incentives to higher production.

If the Swatantra Party offers 'progress sharing' to the workers, it will outstrip all that other parties have done or promised. In spite of their unions, the workers may vote for the party because of its plan to treat them not merely as workers but as parties to the progress of the enterprises which employ them.

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C.R.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

FACETS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Press assessments of the Prime Minister's role at the neutral summit are, in the main, more guarded than gushing. It was freely acknowledged that, as expected or anticipated, he dominated the gathering of non-aligned spokesmen and left on it the impress of his personality. Yet there were hints, however subdued, that the Indian way of going about on the international plane was not to the liking of at least some nations, big or small. There were indications that, in the African eye, Mr. Nehru has rather ceased to be the hero that he once was.

Mr. Nehru's hand was visible alike in the decision at Belgrade to address letters to President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchov, urging them both to meet and discuss the major issues, and in the cautious, if a trifle prolix, appeal for peace on earth. His visit to Moscow as an 'emissary'—he was to go there in any case, of course—raised hopes of his capacity in helping to "cleanse the international climate" in the interests of universal peace. If a warm welcome awaited Mr. Nehru in Moscow, a mild surprise also awaited his arrival, for Nkrumah of Ghana had already appeared on the scene.

The Nehru-Khrushchov talks covered a vast field, ranging from Indo-Soviet relations to the Berlin problem and the nuclear tests. It is perhaps too early to say if anything fruitful or tangible will come out of this re-union of old friends who have, across the years, and sometimes in extremely difficult situations, tried to understand each other and preserve mutual respect. There is no doubt that Mr. Nehru has Mr. Khrushchov's ready ear, if not a soft place in his bosom. Nor is there much doubt that Mr. Khrushchov finds in Mr. Nehru a well-meaning friend who can be trusted to function as a smoother in difficult situ-

ations. Possibly Mr. Kennedy has the same confidence in Mr. Nehru as a potential peace-maker.

It is one of the ironies of the situation that by the time the two Ks will meet and discuss, each one's country will have got all the time it needed to try its own new nuclear weapons. If so, an agreement on their cessation should be the easier. It is on the German question, or the question of Germany, that the Power blocs will have to shed their excesses, if "the lights of Europe" are not to go out once again in our day. Nor is the European light alone that stands in danger of being extinguished.

"The neutral summit," wrote *The Manchester Guardian* on the eve of the Belgrade Conference, "is unlikely to produce any magic solution to the Berlin problem", etc. It was no detraction from the significance of the Summit that it could make no such pretensions. In fact, the times are wholly unpropitious for diplomatic magic of any kind, anywhere. Neutral 'brief-cases' in particular are singularly lacking in dynamic content.

As representatives, mostly of under-developed countries, neutral leaders are interested primarily in peace, so that American or Soviet aid may be available for their economy than that their money and energy be exhausted in forging weapons for mutual destruction, if not worse.

As for Mr. Nehru, he has already taken a line on the Berlin issue which is capable of reconciling the rival claims of the two main contending parties. That his attitude or approach has not apparently annoyed or displeased Mr. Khrushchov is a hopeful sign. Not denying him the credit due to him for his spokesmanship, on behalf of Belgrade, his countrymen are rather eager to know in what direction and to what extent he has succeeded in enlisting Soviet support (not merely sym-

pathy) in the intriguing situation he has to face under the triple shadow of "Chinese expansionism, Pakistan chauvinism and Portuguese colonialism." That is, in a way, the basic test of Indo-Soviet friendship.

There is also a general feeling in the country that while Mr. Nehru has doubtless kept his faith as the high-priest of non-alignment on a larger stage, in the more exclusive South-East Asian sphere he has not come out unscathed as a uniting link. There is too much of strain to Indian security to be just slurred over, in the hurry to catch up with more distant developments. Nor can it be altogether overlooked that even in remote Africa, India's honour is not "above suspicion", though for no fault of hers. She has not too many friends today; she is misunderstood more often now than before; she is painfully conscious of foul play in some quarters. Perhaps it does not help us much to assume too readily that nothing is wrong either with our policy or our leadership—or that the fault is not in ours at all but only in our stars.

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BOOK REVIEW:

A PLANNER ON PLANNING

PLANNING IN INDIA
V. T. Krishnamachari
Orient Longmans, Rs. 10.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari after a distinguished career in the Madras Civil Service and, as Dewan of more than one Indian State that was, found lodgement in Abraham's bosom when he was made (in 1950) member and (in 1953) Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. It was his natural *metier*, for a civil servant is never so happy as when he is arranging other people's affairs. In the British period of the Indian civil servant's career this tendency was kept in restraint by a foreign Government's reluctance to interfere in alien subjects' lives and by the difficulty of getting sanction for new schemes, especially if they were big, from the Secretary-of-State-in-Council in distant London. But with an independent socialist Government there are no inhibitions and no obstacles to planning.

And so Sir V.T.K. has been a whole-hearted and thorough-going advocate of planning. Even after retirement from the Planning Commission he is loyal to the love of his old age and has published this *apologia* for planning in India. He has only published it, for it consists only of articles and speeches of his from 1954 to 1960—even the Preface entitled "A review of Indian Plans" (April 1951 to January 1961) was first prepared in July 1956 and has now been revised and brought up-to-date.

What does he think of it all? It seems the objective of the Plans and planning was to be the doubling of the per capita income of the people in as short a time as possible.

As a result of the first and second Plans the per capita income was to have risen from Rs. 282

in 1956 to Rs. 309 in 1960. Assuming that this latter target will be reached by the end of 1961—it is nowhere near that—this increase is at the rate of Rs. 5 per year, so to double it it will take about 50 years. Probably he expects the rate of increase to be raised and hopes that by the end of the fifth plan period, 1976 it will be Rs. 560. But has he taken into account that by 1976 the population would have increased to 450,000,000? Even with a per capita income of Rs. 560 in 1976 India would be far behind Ceylon, Indonesia, Thailand which have at present a per capita income double that of India. As a result of the first Plan there was an increase of 18 per cent in the national income or on the average about 3 percent a year. The aim of the second Plan was an increase of 5 percent a year in the national income but we are not told in the review whether this has been achieved. But with a national income of Rs. 11,690 crores and a population of 400,000,000 the per capita income comes to about Rs. 292.

And Sir V.T.K. concludes this review with the statement that "substantial increases in per capita national income have accrued as a result of the two Plans." If he is satisfied that an increase of per capita income from Rs. 282 to Rs. 292 in 1961 is substantial, all that we can say is he and his fellow-planners must be easy to satisfy.

As a practical administrator Sir V.T.K. must know what are the first things required to be first done to improve the economy of India. As a sub-collector he must have known the woe-lack of roads connecting the villages and farms with the nearest markets, India possessing the lowest road mileage of all civilized countries. Could he not

have recommended a rapid extension of such roads, say at the rate of 100,000 miles a year instead of the present rate of 20,000 miles a year, so that farming in India may be raised from the subsistence level to the market level and therefore farming for prosperity within the next 10 years?

Secondly, as one-time Secretary of the Department of Education and Public Health he ought to have known the beneficial effect of protected water supply on the promotion of good health in the villages and therefore of the agricultural productivity of the agriculturist. But he is content, in the chapter on protected water supply, to say that "the primary responsibility for providing rural water supply is mainly with the Panchayats, District Boards and the State Governments", and to be satisfied "that we have not got complete records in all the States of the adequacy of rural water supplies." A typical secretariat reply—but not what we expect from a national planner. On improved rural housing, another factor in improving agricultural productivity, he recommends "research on the best use of local materials and the most suitable methods of treating them so as to prolong their life." Literacy, viz., the rapid extension of it, is another factor that will promote agricultural and industrial productivity and this planner like the rest of them is not concerned about it, satisfied with its slow progress at the rate of one percent a year in the most advanced States like Madras which will give us total or near-total literacy in about 75 years.

Sir V.T.K. shares with his fellow-planners the fatal defect of Indian planning of having no sense of priorities giving precedence to first things first, necessities before luxuries, foundations before the superstructure. In the absence of such a conviction of the economic value of priorities, all these grandiose plans, of which Sir V.T.K. has been the sponsor and advocate all these years, lead to the building of castles in Spain, not workshops of wealth in India.

Perhaps in all his writings and speeches on Plans and planning, even though he is a member of the Planning Commission, Sir V.T.K. is still the typical civil servant carrying out the plans and policies of Government. Typical also of the civil servant are the good qualities of this book—its comprehensiveness, its use of facts and figures, its insistence on the special importance of efficient and honest administration and administrators in a planned and planning State.

M. RUTHNASWAMY

THE PUNJAB ISSUE

Some kind of Commission is hanging fire over the Punjab issue raised by Master Tara Singh, and the Government of India seems willing to do it, but unwilling to do it gracefully. An objective and impartial analysis of the situation leads to the following points:

1. It is clear that the fast must be stopped before any body of persons can be commissioned by the Government of India to take up the question and report.

2. There is no object in the Government of India referring any question to a Commission, which the protesting party is not interested in pursuing. What Master Tara Singh wants to be adjudged is:

(a) whether the principle of linguisting States should be denied application to the Punjabi-speaking area when it is applied everywhere else;

(b) whether it is proper to deny the application for the reason that the Sikhs will have a slight majority in a State constituted on the basis of a Punjabi-speaking area, and whether this will not amount to communal discrimination against the Sikhs; and

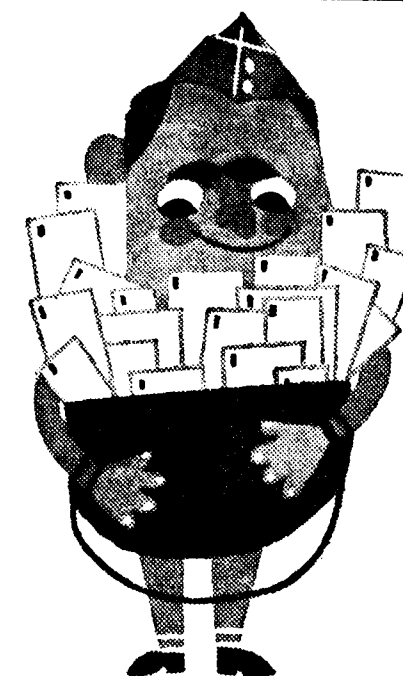
(c) whether such denial will not lead to a weakening of the border by reason of frustration and mutual distrust and the ill-will in the population of the area, or

(d) whether refusal to divide off a Punjabi area and maintaining the present conditions will contribute to national strength in the matter of defence.

(3) The two parties to the question, viz., Master Tara Singh and the Government of India must realize that if the personnel of the Commission is left to the choice of either party, that party will be morally bound to accept the verdict when it is given, whatever it may be, while as against the other party it is not legally binding but depends on the moral force of the advice. If the personnel is left to the choice of Tara Singh, the Government would be

bound to give weight to the advice of the Commission only on the basis of the eminence and impartiality of the persons chosen, but it need not be legally bound to accept the advice. The ultimate responsibility in that case, of accepting or rejecting the advice, would be the Government's.

4. Once a Commission is appointed the issue would be disentangled from the fast and restored to normal political form which would be highly desirable. C.R.



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

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 13

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1961

Price 15 nP

THE CONGRESS MANIFESTO

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

After fifteen years of total economic, political and spiritual power over the people of India, unparalleled in the history of this country, the Congress Party has issued its apologies, and put forward promises in a sixty-six hundred word document asking for a further lease of power. The daily papers have not grudged the space and published it at full length.

Those who can read not only what is printed but also between the lines can see how greatly the Congress Party has unwillingly been affected by the emergence of the Swatantra Party. It has reconciled itself to a restrained and apologetic tone. The document would have been quite a different one had the Swatantra Party not been born. The birth and activities of the Swatantra Party have been fully justified.

We are told that the policy of the Congress Party is to "offer equal opportunity to every citizen". These words are a mockery in the light of what is going on. Everyone who knows and has suffered by reason of the Permit-Licence-Quota-raj knows how instead of equal opportunity to every citizen, the ruling party has revelled in creating unequal opportunities. The main objection of the Swatantra Party to the Congress is this—that the policies of the Congress Party do not give equal opportunity to every citizen, but furnish means to favoured individuals to get rich, and get rich easily and quickly.

It is claimed that the aim of the Congress Party is to build up a "self-sustaining and self-generating economy". These words too are a mockery even like the claim just before dealt with. Borrowing as the Congress Government has been doing on a monstrous scale from all the governments of the world, severally as well as jointly, and proposing to go on doing it, there is no sense in the party talking about a self-sustaining economy. Taking advantage of the political situation generated by the cold war, the ruling party has indulged in gigantic borrowing, and reduced India to the position of a hopeless debtor, as the Governor of the Reserve Bank all but confessed recently in America. With this staring in the face, how can the ruling party talk of a self-sustaining and a self-generating economy? There can be no independence where one enters into debts about which not even a plausible scheme of repayment has been announced. Apart from repayment, even maintaining appearances by regular payment of interest will soon become difficult, if not impossible. The limitations of our resources, the demands both for defence and maintenance of decent civil life, and the feeble export potentialities of the country, especially in the matter of exports to the highly industrialised nations from whom the borrowing is being done, make it impossible to make both ends meet except by an

unthinkable degree of oppressive taxation and inflation.

The whole scheme of this "self-sustaining and self-generating economy" rests on the double presumption of (1) the unabated continuance of the cold war in order that the motives for foreign aid may be kept up and (2) the avoidance by the Powers of an outburst of hostilities. If war breaks out, this "self-generating and self-sustaining" scheme which depends on continued and promptly delivered external assistance will go into smoke. At the same time our dependence on the cold war prevents us from offering anything better than hypocritical prayers to the gods that international hatred and suspicion, and the consequent armaments race, may come to a stop. When all is said and done, it is this hatred and suspicion that enables us to get the assistance we are getting, in spite of the opposition of powerful sections in America, Germany and elsewhere.

The Congress Party's manifesto says the party stands for a new social order that "preserves the worth and dignity of the individual". Nothing can beat the falsehood of this claim. Apart from what the socialist pattern means—which is the opposite of the freedom or the worth or the dignity of the individual—the experience of tens of thousands of honest men in India under the Congress regime is that the worth and dignity of the individual have been cruelly sacrificed at the altar

of the authority of ministers and officials of the State and the unsalaried go-betweens (a new tribe which has come into being). Never was there such widespread corruption as now prevails and never were industrious, honest citizens compelled to dance attendance and bow before officials, petty as well as big, as now they do.

There is reference in the manifesto to the need for preventing the growth of monopolies and the concentration of economic power, a mere cliché without present relevance. It is a tragic fact, on the other hand, that it is the policies of the Congress Party that have brought into being various forms of these very evils. Unearned monopolies are being created by favouritism instead of by the power of capital or by success in competition. The concentration of all economic power in the State has resulted, and will continue to result in increasing measure, in the massing of all power in the hands of officials, and official and semi-official organizations functioning as agencies of the State—ultimately taking inevitable shape in the tyranny of certain individuals, worse than the tyranny of any feudal system of the old days. The concentration of power in the State and its agencies is bound to kill the soul of the citizen and, with it, dry up his energy and the sources of true happiness.

We are told that the Congress Party will equalize urban incomes through taxation. The argument is that the Congress regime does not indulge in oppressive taxation for the sake of the money but only because the government aims at removing disparities! All taxation, wherever it is imposed, presses down as an increase of the burden to be borne by the consumers at the lowest level. It does not remove disparities. It increases it, as we have already experienced.

As for inflation and soaring prices, there is nothing in the manifesto to instil confidence. On the contrary, there is ample notice of a greater measure of these evils being in store for the people if we return this party to power again.

NEHRU OBJECTS TO DONATIONS

All the high and ascetic talk of the Prime Minister about funds donated to the Congress by rich companies is unimpressive. It is obvious that he is disturbed by the little help the Swatantra Party is getting from some few people. Having insured big donations for his own party, he spouts abstract clichés about his objections to taking any big money from these rich people. Why did his party vigorously oppose the motion pressed in Parliament by all the other parties that companies should not be allowed to donate shareholders' money to political parties? What about the Rs. 20 lakhs given in one single gift by one Birla company? What about the pressing demands his agents are making all over the country, even while he is declaiming after receiving his purses at Kanpur? A man's deeds speak louder than all the texts one may quote from holy scripture.

Let him hand back or hand over to the Exchequer all the moneys already received and forbid further collections by his party, public and secret, from rich people, bus fleet owners and permit-holders and others of that tribe. I shall respond to that challenge suitably. Democracy would be saved from being overwhelmed by corruption and the weight of bad money. Brave words we are familiar with; indeed, we are tired of them. I have no doubt Sri Nehru feels all that he says, but he has another man within him: other than the man that feels and speaks these noble things, and it is that man that heads the party; and he will not, alas, get rid of him but sees that he abets every party abuse.

There was an old man who married a third time against the advice of all the village folk, for the two wives already married were alive. The old man learnt young men visited his house when he was there and also when he was not there. The man then began to preach *brahmacharya*—and the villagers laughed.

C.R.

There are unambiguous hints about restrictions on consumption and limitations on income. Consciously or unconsciously, the ruling party is preparing the country for full-blooded communism. It is not merely a coincidence that the Soviet space pilot Gagarin comes to India now. His visit is an omen.

As an important daily has remarked, "there will be no tendency to take the Congress manifesto too seriously or much less, to be disillusioned by it". If the Congress is to be supported, not because it is approved, but because it is thought that there is no other party which has proved strong enough to replace it, democracy in India will have indeed no future. A beginning has to be made and the fortress has to be breached. Otherwise, entrenched in the deep trenches of a welfare economy, the

ruling party can and will continue in power until we have naked communism. To surrender to the Congress because it has entrenched itself in authority, and can overwhelm all opposition by money secured through that power, would be 'treason to the future', to use the words of Dag Hammarskjöld. Tasks may appear difficult or even hopeless, but loyalty to the future demands that the Congress must be opposed. The last scene in one of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*—Gareth and Lynette—where the monster whom Gareth had to fight looked terrible and unconquerable, but who, when exposed and the *maja* was broken, proved to be anything but terrible and was vanquished, must inspire us with courage. *Satyam* must win provided those who carry the banner remain brave.

"AND ALL THAT"

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In George Orwell's *1981 and All That*, the author slides into abbreviated speech by saying that something is "a very good thing" and that something else is "a very bad thing" whereas the third category of things in his mind sizzles, in description, with slothful phrases like "off and on", "so on and so forth", "et cetera, et cetera", "by and large", "broadly speaking" and the like. The Prime Minister, when expatiating on matters where he ought to be specific for the sake of accuracy, has become accustomed to the repetition of words especially in stressing the obvious. Who in the world would contradict him when he says that war is a very bad thing and that disarmament, by and large, would be a very good thing? As for other things good and bad, the air of subtle analysis puts us in a lucid fog with no essential advance made in truncated propositions qualified, broadly speaking, into keynotes on which also all who are listening agree in the radio-world from pole to pole.

In his visit to Belgrade and after, as also in his emphasis on the dangers of war and the risks of unilateral resumption of nuclear blasts, he was mild on Russia, and indirectly hard on other members of the nuclear club charged with colonial provocations. For a' that, and for a' that, a man is a man for a' that—all that was conceded long ago by Robert Burns. The generalizations at Belgrade had the elements of discord although the Prime Minister maintains that the conference had "good results" and that the world situation was less tense when he hopped off to Moscow under the reverberations of Russian N-blasts which had been detonated just when the 25 nations assembled began platitudinising on peace, many a carpet-bagger, however, injecting individual grievances as the ones claiming priority and quickening the practice of principles embodied in the United Nations Charter which is elastic enough to include

all complaints. Although no questions were apparently asked during the Prime Minister's press conference about Mr. Nehru's contemplated visit to Hungary against which the Indian people may be taken to have protested through the voice of Acharya Kripalani and Jaya Prakash Narain, it had to be diverted owing to the coincidence that Dr. Ferenc Munnich, the Hungarian Prime Minister, had been ousted overnight by Janos Kadar, Secretary of the Communist Party, who had as the partner of Munnich turned out the late Imre Nagy with the aid of Soviet tanks that had blasted their way through Budapest to put Moscow's screws on the Austrian regime, India "neutralising". When Dr. Munnich was at New Delhi (August 25) he was feted in glee and he announced that the last hour of colonialism had arrived, that the Hungarian Government stood for complete disarmament, peace and Panch Sheel principles. Reference to Panch Sheel is in these days slightly irksome, since China, whenever there is a chance, harps on Panch Sheel which comes like a hot needle on an exposed nerve. While Pandit Nehru snubbed the press on the story cabled to India from Belgrade about a rumpus between Nkrumah and himself in carrying a message to Khrushchov hinting at the perils of thermo-nuclear rehearsals, it is quite clear that by travelling in two separate planes the Soviet receptionists took care that the Afro-Asian spokesmen were not on the same red carpet at the airport at the same time. Mr. Nehru whittles down the incident as a triviality although the Accra firebrand had testily excused himself saying that he and his family had been on a holiday to the Black Sea coast. Here the diplomatic interpretation of what happened should not be laid against newspapers, since the incident in the African statesman's visit (August 18) cannot be readily

forgotten, nor its implications quite ignored.

HONG KONG, Aug. 18 (Reuter).

President Nkrumah of Ghana and Mr. Chou En-lai, Chinese Premier, today signed a treaty of friendship between their two countries, the New China News Agency reported from Peking.

Dr. Nkrumah, together with Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic, also signed a joint communique covering economic, technical, trade and cultural agreements, the agency said.

The text of the communique was not released.

Of course, both India and Ghana, officially within the bracket of non-aligned countries, are alert to the dangers of world war, but still the remark that there was no joint-communique in Peking after the fraternization of August 18, leaves the burden of further elucidation not on the Indian newspapers sloshed on the head, but on the Prime Minister himself who should be more precise in his words, living down loose language appropriate to 1981.

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PICKLES & PAPPADS & APPALAMS

Prepared by:
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CURRENT EVENTS ::

The Prime Minister, as a world-statesman, would have done better if he in place of verbal intemperance had used milder words in describing the attitude of the United Kingdom in the Congo civil strife as "perfectly amazing and scandalous in the extreme". He infers that the United Kingdom has been covertly supporting Tshombe without allowing for the possibility that Britain at the moment is more anxious to end butchering the country than to instal Tshombe in Katanga, thus committing partition, regardless of the duty of preserving the integrity of the Congo, where India has been camping with her 5,000 jawans for more than a year. That India has from the beginning been sticking out her head too far, had been the contention of several Indian leaders outside the unwritten pledge of obedience towards the party-in-power. Mr. Nehru subsequently explained that the venture abroad was in order, according to the Law Minister; but the point now is not the legality of our police undertaking to break the back of tribal separatism from the Congo, but to see that a suspension of hostilities and bloodshed is achieved. Nor is it necessary to impute *mala fides* on the part of Powers unprepared for the present savage outbreak. That our troops stood out well in defending the Post Office and the Radio Station assigned to Brigadier Raja's care, is a matter on which no one could be very censorious, and Mr. Nehru's suggestion of an enquiry into the episode (a High Court Judge could be spared) would involve us in further controversy. That Tshombe is a puppet of the mercenaries, and that foreign intruders on altruistic mission, under the Secretary-General, are going to win the day by pitched battles could scarcely have been anticipated. Anyway the real crisis has been precipitated, though it could have been foreseen from the moment Dayal was not wanted in the Congo.

The Congress election manifesto (22 points) has been drafted by the Prime Minister himself who occasionally pats himself on the back by reminding critics that he is not even a member of the Working Committee and that in the issue of tickets or the formulation of policy, he has no standing beyond the role of being consulted as an invitee. He advised an inquirer from Bombay that the Prime Minister had no part or lot in the nomination of a candidate from the North Bombay constituency. There is a lot of sophistry in the collection of funds, the choice of nominees and the many legal provisos for capturing the polls. While the whirlwind campaign of thirty days is planned it would not be a bad idea if he takes a hop to the Congo and gives a message of cheer to our boys in the Kamunia salient. During wars, statesmen at home who determine the future of the fighting forces, go to the front to rehabilitate morale without of course neglecting propaganda at home to stimulate confidence. Winston Churchill was a supreme example of going right to the fighting areas; so was Stalin, as Churchill found at modern Stalingrad resistance so formidable that he could scarcely believe the possibility of action on such a huge and heroic scale. Arm-chair-denunciation of the enemy must be deemed to have its limitations.

At home, Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri has tightened the law by amendments to the Indian Penal Code, although under Section 143-A of the I.P.C. there are ample powers to curb anti-social elements responsible for "promoting or attempting to promote ill-feelings between different communities of the people of India". Punishment for that kind of crime is two years hard, but the penalty has been raised to three years as if the difference would overawe those elements. The Home Minister has developed the provision by

saying that "the promotion of hatred between different religious, racial or language groups or castes or communities on grounds of religion, race, language, caste, community or any other ground whatsoever", would entail three years or fine or both. Indirectly it whitewashes certain recent happenings, but if more repressive law is necessary, the Home Minister has given the assurance that other coercive processes are "not ruled out".

The good old dictum of the ancients that the borrower must eventually realize his indebtedness to the lender is being gradually recognized by force of circumstances, the formula, "without strings", having been hackneyed to tatters by all countries canvassing aid. When Mr. B. K. Nehru was at the door when the Aid-India Club agreed to allot a colossal dollar-grant, he was congratulated as Commissioner-General of Indian Economic Affairs, on his persuasive skill in coaxing out the largest accommodation on record; it looked as if the Five-Year Plan for three terms had been underwritten for a safe spree. India cannot be free from anxiety whilst political alignments embarrass Western nations who are not content with precarious neutralism on the part of bowl-bearers. In the export-import trends that maintain a credit-balance, President Kennedy's advisers do not seem content with treating the supply of international advice as "invisible reports". Thanks to the slow merger between positive neutralism and negative neutralism, the Western nations and the Warsaw Powers are in typical confrontation over Berlin.

In connection with economic rethinking at the White House, we have the following message from the Washington correspondent of the *Times of India* News Bureau which requires to be read and re-read with care as our Planners count chickens before they are hatched:

The neutrals are now being listed as "positive" and "negative." Positive

neutralists are those who lean to Western views. Negative neutralists are supposed to find satisfaction in Moscow's explanation of events. So, at any rate, the U.S. Administration thinks. It will judge each country's behaviour on this basis.

The danger is that countries which accept U.S. aid would be dubbed as U.S. "stooges" by Moscow. Its political consequences can be imagined. The present expectation is that India will be the biggest beneficiary of aid, provided it opens its political mouth discreetly.

Mr. Khrushchov, the merry old soul, remarked recently that for all aid-quotas to under-developed countries the Soviet would contribute half the capital, provided free-enterprise countries contribute the other half. We may now hear that Moscow would abstain from laughing at the borrowing clients from the West as "stooges", but indirectly he is free to dilate on the condition of parasites and

lackeys-of-Imperialism. Here again the wisdom of keeping a discreet tongue (that unruly member as the Apostle named it) and realizing that, eventually, it is unsafe to become indebted beyond capacity. Ancient wisdom gives the precaution, whether the borrower is an individual or constitutes a country.

All nations of the world excepting members of the Communern officially mourned the death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Moise Tshombe being eloquent with the testimony that the Katangans looked forward to the arrival of the Secretary-General, confident that a truce rather than a total war in the name of Congolese integrity, would result. A provisional ceasefire in Katanga has been in effect from "one minute after midnight on Wednesday" when the processes of exchanging prisoners, on a

complete standstill of movements in the field, would commence. A four-man commission having full powers of implementing the clauses of the agreement would attend to the rest of the matter, though the Congress Working Committee had promptly passed an unqualified resolution in favour of pursuing the late Secretary-General's presumed strategy of a full-blast campaign ensuring the solidarity of the Congo factions. There is bound to be prolonged negotiations in the absence of surrender from either side, the attention of the world being now turned to the security and the integrity of the United Nations whose future is tied to the paramount clause that the Secretary-General should be unanimously chosen, the Troika principle being a belated innovation of the U.S.S.R. in the business-disposals of the Executive. P.J.



THE POPE AND THE PANDIT

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

When a secularist like Mr. Nehru resorts to the Pope for supporting his policy of socialization and nationalization as he did in Parliament in the last session on the resolution on the Third Five Year Plan, he must be considered to be in a desperate case. Life-long agnostics have been known in France to send for the priest in *extremis mortis*. Was Mr. Nehru in *extremis disputationis* when he quoted Pope John XXIII's recent Encyclical "*Mater et Magistra*" on recent developments of the social question in the light of the Christian teaching in support of his plans of nationalization of industry? But he could not have read the whole of the Encyclical with care. For there is precious little support in the papal Encyclical for his policy of nationalization as stated in the industrial policy resolution of the Government of India of 30th April 1956. For this large order of nationalization there is no support in Pope John's Encyclical.

Objection to undue interference by the State in the economy of a country is as old in Papal social teaching as Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical issued in 1891. Forty years later Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical "*Quadregesimo anno*" defined the limits of State activity in industry. Just as it is wrong, this Encyclical stated, to withdraw from the individual and commit to the community at large

what private enterprise and industry can accomplish, so too it is an injustice, a grave evil, and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization (the State) to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed by smaller and lower bodies (like private companies and corporations). While the Papal social teaching would allow railways, post offices, irrigation and hydro-electric works to be run by the State it would draw the line at steel factories and fertilizers which had already been provided by private enterprise and would increase production in these and other industries if suitable facilities were provided by the State.

Misled probably by the title "Socialization" of one of the chief paragraphs of the Encyclical, Mr. Nehru has run to the conclusion that it supports his policy of nationalization. But headings and head notes, though labour-saving, are fatal to the statesman in a hurry. For by "socialization" Pope John means "the progressive multiplication of relations in society with different forms of life and activity and juridical institutionalization." Beside the State institutions of social welfare in the field of education and health this "socialization" movement, Pope John recalls, "has given life especially in these last decades to a wide range of groups, movements, associations and institutions with economic, cultural, social, sporting, recreational, professional and political ends." To keep this movement of socialization within limits so as not to reduce men to automatons, socialization can and ought to be realized in such a way as to derive from it the advantages contained therein and to remove or restrain the negative aspects. To this end Pope John insists "that a sane view of the common good be present and operative in men invested with public authority, that the intermediary bodies and the numerous social enterprises in which alone

all socialization tends to find its expression and its activity enjoy an effective autonomy in regard to public authorities and pursue their own specific interests in loyal collaboration among themselves, subordinately however to the demands of the common good."

Far from favouring big State businesses as contemplated by the Indian Industrial Policy Resolution, Pope John repeats the directive of his immediate predecessor Pope Pius XII that "small and average-sized undertakings in agriculture, in the arts and crafts, in commerce and industry, should be safeguarded and fostered by granting them the benefits of the larger bodies given by means of co-operative services, while in the larger concerns there should be the possibility of moderating the contract of work by one of partnership". The right of private ownership of goods, productive goods inclusively, is confirmed in this Encyclical "for history and experience testify that in those political regimes (like the communist) which do not recognize the rights of private ownership of goods, productive included, the fundamental manifestations of freedom are suppressed or stifled." In defending the principle of private property Pope John repeats the argument of his distinguished predecessor Pius XII "that the Church in doing so is striving after an important ethico-social end, she does not intend merely to uphold the present condition of things as if it were an expression of the Divine Will or to protect in principle the rich and plutocrats against the poor and indigent, but rather because this natural right is the guarantee of the essential freedom of the individual and at the same time an indispensable element in the social order."

There is naught here for Mr. Nehru's comfort. But he could have spared himself "this folly of comfort" if he had made a more thorough study of this important document issued by a world authority and which he was using in such a public forum as the Parliament of India.

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A VAPID DOCUMENT

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Congress election manifesto, of over 6,000 words, is so loosely strung that it seems as if the Congress has lost faith in the power of ideas to win its election. For the most part it is indecisive, as if failure has taught the Congress to be less assertive of its means and ends. Its promises are mostly in statistical terms—which mean little by themselves and very much less to the common man. Other parties must feel relieved that they will have to fight the Congress less on ideological grounds, though this may imply that the Congress has in reserve more practical means to win the elections.

Let us examine a few points in the manifesto individually. The first is that the fundamental problem of the Congress is not only of increasing the living standards but also of progressively bringing about social and economic equality. This antithesis was stated in the First Five Year Plan and if it is still unresolved, it is because the wealth of the country cannot increase when it is under constant threat of being confiscated in favour of those who do not contribute to it. If the Congress had allowed the intelligent self-interest of the people to nurture their enterprises, there would have been more investment and employment to reduce the general poverty.

The second concept is that ceilings on high urban incomes will have to be imposed as a counterpart of the ceilings on land. Though it is well known that ceilings on land have been anticipated and have proved illusory, the Congress is only deceiving itself that ceilings will be more successful on less definite money incomes. An effective ceiling already operates on the higher ranges of income through income and other direct taxes which add up to even 110 per cent. It is open to the Government to apply progression in taxes even to lower ranges of income, but the result will be to impose, in fact, ceilings on investment and enterprise to the loss of the productive effort of the country.

The third concept is that the public and private sectors must co-exist. The real question is if this will be on equal terms, because the monopoly and priority in services and finance allowed to the public sector makes it not only inefficient and wasteful at the cost of the tax-payer but also inflationary of general prices at the cost of the whole consuming body. It is added that the public sector will take on small and medium

sized units, but as this will be in competition with the private sector, either these units will fail or all prices will be raised to save them. Aid from Government cannot save such units all the time.

The fourth concept is that all-round balanced growth is not immediately possible and that the only thing the rural population can expect is that no village will be without drinking water, a school and an approach road. Any comment on this will appear ironical of the achievement of the Congress after these fourteen years of its rule.

The fifth concept is to stabilize prices and to protect agricultural prices from falling too low. This has been said so often that no one can be thrilled, particularly as prices of industrial production continue to rise, which in a sense reduce agricultural prices which are not rising.

A subject touched upon is that relating to disarmament and world peace, which can be of little interest to the Indian electorate. The Congress, however, has not considered what the country could do if other countries advised us to set an example of disarmament in the face of China and Pakistan pressing on our borders.

As regards national integration, it is no more than an attempt to find excuse for the disruption caused by the linguistic and other vote-catching follies of the Congress. If the Congress really wants integration, it is prepared to give up Hindi imperialism which is threatening the employment and economic prospects of people in non-Hindi speaking States, and enforce the Shastri formula in all States so that English remains the official language and also the medium of instruction for minorities? And will it make economic condition and not caste the basis for concessions in education and government employment?

There is little newly stated to hearten labour, except that it will be trained more and associated progressively with management. Even participation in the capital of the companies employing them has not been suggested. In the meanwhile, conditions of labour are deteriorating, the index of real earnings having fallen from 135 in 1956 to 125 in 1958, while the average debt, (according to a recent survey of Bihar) is equal to five months' wages at interest rates which rise to 150 per cent.

The prospect of raising the national income from 8 per cent to 11 per cent

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is not meaningful to people who are daily facing increase in prices and fall in employment. In fact, the absence of any promise of reducing unemployment will be taken as a failure to overcome this problem. Expansion of social services and greater attention to economically and educationally backward people cannot impress those concerned who know how little has been done so far. Similarly, service co-operatives have now come to be recognized as distribution of public loans to the higher classes of agriculturists with political influence.

The whole manifesto is so weak and vapid that the Congress may have scored better in its absence. It discloses a conflict between politics and economics. The Congress has tried to make the latter serve the former. The result is that economics have failed and politics may also do so.

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INDIAN EMBASSY IN CHINA

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Accustomed to unanimous applause at home where New Delhi columnists and the newspapers generally have described the Prime Minister's Belgrade-cum-Moscow visit as a triumph, is not India getting extremely sensitive of foreign criticism from quarters not likely to eulogise the excursion as a success? Read on.

PEKING, Sept. 15. (Reuter)—India has protested to the Chinese Foreign Ministry about the recent Chinese press comments over statements by Prime Minister Nehru, particularly during the non-aligned conference in Belgrade, usually reliable sources said here today.

The sources said that Dr. P. K. Banerjee, who is acting Indian Ambassador here, delivered a strong protest alleging false and malicious propaganda carried on by the Chinese Government in official newspapers against India and Mr. Nehru.

Protests against foreign Powers must have clearance in the External Affairs Ministry so that in effect it reflects Mr. Nehru's reaction, whereas the ignoring of the matter might have given it no advertisement. We should not be surprised if the protest is "rejected" outright. And after all there are sufficient pin-pricks by the Peking regime against India in response to polite demands that China should vacate aggression and that the findings of the Indian official team should be respected without any countervailing hints that the Chinese version, still unpublished, should be discarded. In a well-briefed article by the Special Correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* the devices launched to paralyse Indian missions in China and Tibet seem

to be far more monstrous than the events leading to the rupture between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Among the extraordinary restrictions imposed on Indian personnel in the Peking embassy and the various Indian trade missions in Shanghai, Lhasa, and other places in Tibet to look after routine-interests, here are a few instances cited of our ordeal in the last two years:

(i) The Indian staff is most hurt by attempts "through framed up cases to blackmail them" like the accusation against Ambassador Parthasarathy's assistant charging the private secretary with "molestation" of a Chinese waitress in a train. There was also an allegation that an Indian courier had occupied two berths in a train while he held only one ticket.

(ii) The attempt to blackmail the private secretary was in the presence of diplomats of several other countries travelling by the same train. "The charge was so crudely made that it failed to carry conviction." The embassy staff are afraid to go out of their premises.

(iii) For isolating the Indian embassy and trade out-posts, Chinese police guards are put round their premises, every visitor being subjected to prolonged interrogation.

(iv) Indian missions are not allowed to invite local Chinese or Tibetans even to an Indian film show; invitations have to be routed through the Chinese Foreign Office who screen the list of guests, scoring out suspects.

(v) The Indian Embassy which puts out bulletins on India's foreign policy are not given free circulation and the inmates are not allowed to move from their residence beyond 30 kilometres; and what is most objectionable is the Chinese practice of opening diplomatic bags.

When such vexations are commonplace and when protests are forwarded with machine-gun regularity like the American Minute-Man in target-practice, it is hardly worthwhile deploring China's aspersions on our foreign assignments. No less sensitive are authorities when it comes to criticisms at home because, after all, contrary moods are difficult to maintain at the same time in saving face.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

LOSS OF MEN AND VALUES

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: September has proved to be a fatal month with two major casualties to its discredit. The world was left poorer by the death of two men of true eminence. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the veteran British statesman, died at ripe old age while Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the U.N. Secretary-General, met with his end in extremely tragic circumstances. The former was a tried friend of India and the latter of the later-day causes that India had come to hold dear. Intellectually distinguished, each in his own way and in his own environment, achieved a wider renown by his high character and sense of dedication to noble causes.

To Lord Pethick-Lawrence India was bound by ties of gratitude for his decisive role as Secretary of State in the negotiations with the Indian leaders which ultimately led to "the birth of the two Members of the British Commonwealth" (as it was then known)—India and Pakistan. It was before the First Great War that he had become a national figure in Britain by upholding the cause of women and editing their paper, *Votes for Women*.

The suffragette movement found him in jail (along with his wife) where he had the terrible experience of hunger-strike and forcible feeding. It was not

till 1923 that, after several unsuccessful attempts, he entered Parliament. There was compensation in the fact that, as the candidate for West Leicester, he had the distinction of not only retaining the seat for Labour but defeating, among his rivals, the great Churchill who fought the election on the Liberal ticket. Six years later, in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's first Government, he was Mr. Philip Snowden's Financial Secretary. It was in 1945 that Mr. (now Earl) Attlee asked him to go to the House of Lords as Secretary of State for India and Burma. The choice fell on him because of his familiarity with the Indian scene and well-known sympathy for Indian aspirations.

It is within this writer's knowledge that Lord Pethick-Lawrence deemed it a privilege to be able to count among his friends some Indian leaders, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru among a few others, distinguished above their fellowmen for "the breadth of their humanity, the integrity of their character and the magnanimity of their outlook". It is an interesting thought that India's last Secretary of State (Lord Pethick-Lawrence) and the last Governor-General (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari) could claim something in common—high idealism, evangelical outlook and crusading

zeal, all ennobled by a marked Gandhian instinct in probing life.

The death of Mr. Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl Hammarskjöld (to give his full name) in an air-crash while on a peace-errand, evoked the widest as well as the deepest regret. It meant the end of a career which promised yet greater distinction and the disappearance from the international scene of a man who had already won the recognition as "a neutralist in a special Swedish way", an ardent advocate of welfare State, an ideal diplomat and the very model of a modern international civil servant who had borne on his shoulders the heaviest responsibilities, amidst untold difficulties, with a sense of mission. Son of a Prime Minister and devotee of the scholar-missionary, Albert Schweitzer, Hammarskjöld was an unusual man with varied interest in life. By his death the U.N. is robbed of a certain radiance and humanity left in his debt.

While the Indian Press was very warm in its praise of Mr. Hammarskjöld's services and personal qualities, it made pointed references to the manner of his disappearance and was fiercely critical of quarters suspected to be unfriendly to him within the context of the Katanga chaos. Rightly or wrongly, there was an all too readiness in some circles to assume that somewhere and somehow, the British were behind this tragedy. Not even the touching tribute of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, that



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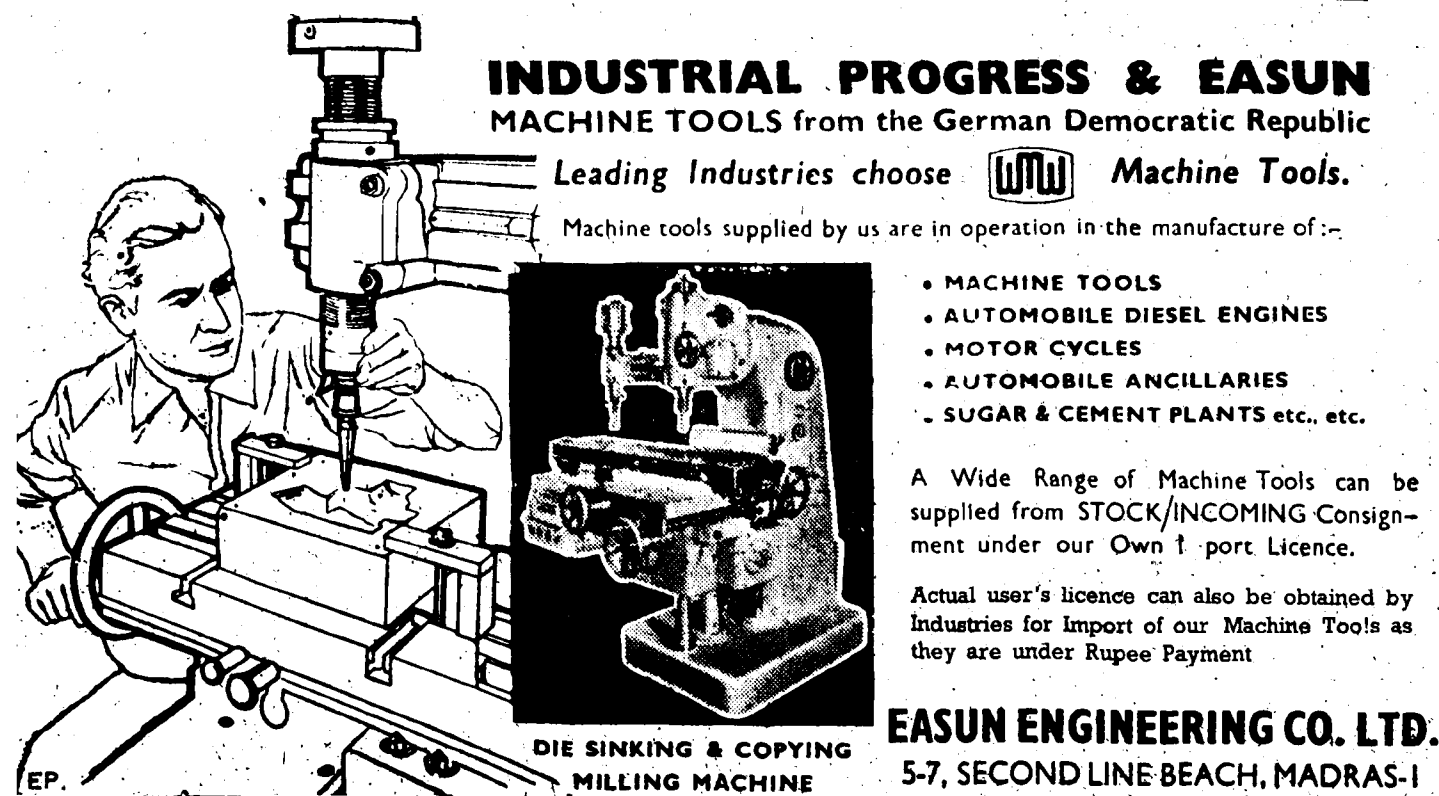
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"we all mourn the loss of a world servant who has pursued his duty with courage, single-mindedness and devotion", helped to assuage the ruffled feelings of the Indian public. For the impression in the country that Britain has not been playing the game in regard to Katanga because of vested interests, our Prime Minister himself was partly responsible at the last Press Conference.

More recently, the B.B.C. offended Indian sentiment by attacking our soldiers in Katanga so much so that Mr. Krishna Menon characterised the action of the B.B.C. as "disgraceful". One thing added to another, it is a stark if ugly fact today, in this country which went nearly mad over the Queen's visit in January last, anti-U.K. feeling is running very high. It is worse that it is

answered by equally strong anti-Indian feeling in England. Indeed, between the U.K. and India, things have never been so bad as now they are, since the storm over the Suez in the days of Mr. Anthony Eden at 10 Downing Street. One can only hope that this is a passing phase. It would be tragic if between the two countries, mutual criticism were to continue unabated.

At the Fair

"I saw a colourful sari at the Salem fair" says the man to his beloved. "The charming seller of the fascinating sari told me with pride that it was from her loom!"

"சேலத்துச் சந்தையிலே—பட்டு

"செங்காரச் சேலை கண்டேன்.

"எங்கள் தறிச்சேலை' என்றாள்..

"பொங்கும் களிப்புடனே."



Dear Reader

It is, a matter for gratification that the Election Commissioner has at last given the Swatantra Party recognition and its reserved symbol the five-pointed star as desired by us.

In Bihar, for this year, the Swatantra Party's symbol at the polls will be the bicycle as desired by the Bihar branch of the party.

It is also a matter for gratification that affairs in Bihar have been satisfactorily settled and the Janata Party has been formally and finally wound up, its merger in the Swatantra Party being completed and notified, although (as stated earlier) the bicycle will be the Swatantra Party's symbol for the 1962 elections in Bihar.

The impossible test of securing three per cent votes at the previous election, which was sought to be put against the Swatantra Party, has been withdrawn and the party status recognized. The Election Commissioner has done justice and the Swatantra Party is grateful to him. As a corollary of the recognition of the Swatantra Party, it will be entitled to the usual free copies of the electoral rolls in the six States wherein a reserved symbol is allotted to it, viz., Andhra, Bihar, Madras, U.P., Gujarat and Himachal. These free copies should in fairness be supplied in the other States also inasmuch as the Swatantra Party has been recognized and its preferential claim for the five-pointed star symbol expressly provided for even in the other States.

It is gratifying to read the very sensible and just statement made by Sri C. Subramaniam in respect of breach of privilege motions brought up by members of the legislatures. It is hoped that this minister's statement is accepted as good and valid advice by Parliament and all local legislatures.

The statement of the Leader of the Madras Legislative Assembly is, however, restricted to the rights of fair criticism that belong to the press. The principle enunciated by him really applies to all criticism

of men engaged in public affairs. If a newspaper is to be privileged to make its criticism and circulate it among a hundred thousand readers, surely an individual citizen should also be exempt from being hauled up before a tribunal combining the offices of judge, witness and prosecutor in itself, when the offending criticism is limited in circulation. The real principle is that the archaic procedure of courts of record and of legislatures to protect their dignity must be restricted severely to rare cases and not used as an easy means of punishment for everything that hurts the sense of self-importance of individuals in a favoured position, or for avoiding the usual means of vindication of justice in the ordinary courts where the person accused has full opportunities for obtaining impartial judgment and for appealing against an erroneous verdict.

The limit is reached indeed when, as in a recently reported Bihar case, a member seeks to make out a case of breach of privilege for a communication of a member of a political party to the chief of his party organization made by way of explanation for his own conduct. The internal correspondence of a party cannot surely be made the ground for the cheap and easy procedure of privilege motions instead of a challenge in the ordinary courts for a libel, if there be one.

Sri Nehru has 'clarified' or 'explained' the remarks which he made amidst laughter about Tara Singh's capacity to fast indefinitely. The scoffing may remove the least little chance there is for Tara Singh to be induced by his co-workers to give up his plan to die. The Akali Dal must ponder courageously in the presence of their Granth Sahib, whether it is worth while to allow Tara Singh to die in fear of scoffers and for the sake of a cause which, in the realist sense, comes

to the claim of a glorified local body to be re-demarcated. The entire boundary policy, based on language and its evil consequences, must be reconsidered some day and India set on its legs once again, and proper administrative decentralization organized. Tara Singh did not undertake a fast at the bidding of others or as a response to any challenge. It was his own decision, and he and his conscience must be the sole tribunal to decide what he should do at present having regard to all the circumstances. Scoffing has been borne by all the great men of the world—death will not put an end to it. The Sikh leaders must prayerfully decide, without fear of man or his cavil.

(I am writing this on the 22nd September and it may be too late by the time it is read.)

★
The national integration stunt has been, as expected, woven into and made part of the Congress election manifesto. The conference summoned to be held now can really achieve nothing by way of integration. It will serve as a smoke-screen to cover the cause of all the new disintegration, viz., Congress policies; it may serve to cover the plans of the Congress bosses for exploiting caste rivalries in order to obtain votes, all the time swearing to each caste that they are out to abolish all other castes.

★
Sri Kamaraj says that the Kisan satyagraha is only an election show of the Communist Party. He says this, while the Congress is taking up, from hour to hour, almost all the space in the dailies for its own election show. The pages devoted in the weekly magazine sections of the newspapers are all Congress election stunts. The newspaper business has become an 'industry' and, like all industries, depends so much on government permits and indulgences. And what are the Prime Minister's tours to lay this foundation stone and that, to inaugurate this and inaugurate that, but a Congress election show?

CONGRESS AND SOCIALISM

By S. S. BANKESHWAR

I am second to none in condemning the *Blitz* for its offensive ways. But I wish that wrongdoers were put on their defence through ordinary laws which provide the traditional facilities for defence and appeal, rather than through the Contempt procedure of courts and of Parliament and local legislatures. The application of these Contempt laws subjects the defendant to a tribunal in which the roles of judge, prosecutor and witness are all combined and further deprives him of the right to appeal. We should give the devil his due, as they say—fair trial. The archaic Contempt procedure takes the colour of persecution.

The "rebuke" which the London Lord Mayor administered to Mr. Nehru is truly a comic affair—not worth any notice beyond a contemptuous smile. Britain along with other Powers must it seems go on poisoning the air and the food and water of all nations, but Mr. Nehru should not criticize Britain or extol Bertrand Russell, for the matter is (according to the London Mayor) an 'internal' affair.

Equally comic would be the outburst of a paper said to be the Ghana ruling party's organ which cried out that Britain arranged to kill Dag Hammarskjöld, had it not been far too serious for laughter. It does not matter if a Lord Mayor of London goes stupid of a sudden. But it is a very serious matter if the ruling party's organ in Ghana indulges in such an unseemly and stupid attack against Britain. After a strong protest from Britain the Ghana Government has declared that it "completely dissociates itself" from the allegations made in the editorial. This "dissociation" is good as far as it goes. But it is not commensurate with and does not undo the mischief. Immaturity cannot altogether explain the outrageous mentality behind the charge which the paper made.

C.A.

A political party is a homogeneous body of like-minded persons wedded to certain definite principles and dedicated to an ideology. Judged by this test the Congress can hardly be called a political party. It is more or less a confederacy of all sorts of persons brought together by ignoble compromise to swell its ranks, with an eye on the ballot-box. Honest democrats and totalitarian communists, genuine socialists and reactionary capitalists and feudal landlords have all found a place in the Congress.

Few, if any, among congressmen seem to realise that their acceptance of socialism in toto at Avadi meant by implication surrendering to the State every bit of their private property and every chip of their bank balance. If Pandit Nehru proposes a simple amendment to the Congress Constitution to the effect that all congressmen subscribing to the socialist creed should surrender to the State all their private property, then he would find a mass exodus from the party in panic. If such an amendment was carried, very few staunch socialists will be left in the party, if indeed Mr. Nehru will not be the only one to remain in splendid isolation! At Avadi, Mr. Nehru obtained the support of all the docile and gullible who had no strong convictions of their own, and by silencing the potential rebels who were attracted by the prospects of loaves and fishes of office for them. From a short-term point of view, perhaps, many thought that they had everything to gain by supporting Mr. Nehru and dancing to his tune, and everything to lose by opposing him and incurring his wrath. So they 'unanimously' voted for Mr. Nehru's socialism at Avadi.

Pandit Nehru's condemnation of 'revivalism', 'communalism' and 'reactionarism' cannot be reconciled with his party's strange conduct in joining hands with reactionary and anti-national communalists like the Akalis in Punjab,

Razakars in Hyderabad, Muslim Leaguers and Roman Catholics in Kerala, and the Dravida Kazhagamites in Tamil Nad. He calls himself a great democrat but finds himself in excellent company with dictators! Look at his friends—Marshal Tito, Khrushchov, Mao-Tse Tung, Chou En-lai and Nasser! All of them are dictators who have shown the utmost contempt for democracy, freedom and liberty—in a word, for human values.

Non-socialists value the ultimate ends of socialism no less than the socialists. They refuse to support socialism because of the threat it holds for other precious values. The dispute about socialism has thus become largely a dispute about means and not about ends. Those who want socialism, like those who reject it, desire the well-being and happiness of all. The opponents of socialism do not reject it because they grudge the workers the benefits they could allegedly derive from the socialist mode of production. They do so precisely because they are convinced by experience that it could do only harm to the masses by reducing them to the status of irresponsible dictators.

S W A R A J Y A

(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

September 30, 1961

S W A R A J Y A

13

Socialism is the greatest hoax of the twentieth century. Our misguided rulers are propagating and perpetuating this hoax which is destroying liberty, freedom and democracy wherever they were established.

None of the socialist theories can withstand scientific criticism, and all its deductions are ill-founded. Socialism appeals to the emotions rather than to reason. Logic and reason which might show up the absurdity of the socialist economy have no place in it. Socialism is reactionary in so

far as it is against scientific spirit as distinguished from a certain methodology. Its outstanding characteristic is its repudiation of the spirit of free inquiry, especially as applied to the working of a socialist economy. It is indeed an opium for those who ought to do thinking.

The conflict between democracy and socialism has always been a conflict of values. Whereas socialists consider only material values as the main criterion of progress, democrats want the universal human ideals of equality

and freedom to be embodied in the economy of every country.

There is today a waning idealism as regards the ends and growing dogmatism in the choice of means among our Congress leaders. They talk one way and act in another way, and are victims of a schizophrenia that has upset them and bewildered their friends. Socialism has confused their thoughts. It is surprising that they are still attracted by the old glamour of socialism when it has lost all its glamour in the European countries.

THE FLY IN THE PHIAL

I do hope the Hindustan Antibiotics at Pimpri (a government public sector concern) will be able to get over the dead fly in the streptodocin supplied by it. The Bombay doctor who discovered and promptly complained about it has done public service. So also may we be grateful to the dead fly for not completely disintegrating and disappearing in the vial, but surviving to give evidence! It is stupid to ban imports of the life-saving drugs of our century in order to boost swadeshi. I remember the head of the Haffkine Institute arguing stubbornly with me in 1946 for starting the manufacturing of sulpha and other drugs in order to give them all at remarkably cheap prices. He talked about giving these life-saving drugs for half-an-anna against one rupee that we were paying to foreign companies. I argued against the proposal with the expert about necessary ingredients to be got from abroad and other matters but to no avail. Antibiotics are now manufactured at Pimpri and doctors must use them willy-nilly. Prices have not gone down but gone up and quality is protected against any competition. And here is the fly-incident. I know that most eminent doctors would prefer foreign ampoules to Indian-made ones. Swadeshi can be carried to stupid limits like every other good idea.

It is not only when an actual dead fly is found in a phial that

we should discard the drug prepared at an institute; not only should that batch of vials be withdrawn, the institute as a whole must stand suspect and put under inspection and reform. Bacteriological contamination is not seen by the eye and should be presumed in the institute, when a glaring case comes to light by a lucky or unlucky accident. The Pimpri fly in the phial is only a second warning. The first warning was given by the death of an M.P. following an injection of Pimpri penicillin.

The defence offered by Pimpri is that ninety per cent of the vials of the same batch have been consumed without reports of any untoward reactions. It is often the case that what is caused by the drug administered gets mixed up with the symptoms of the malady for which the drug is administered. Moreover, the natural defence in the human organism is remarkably strong and withstands a lot. A private concern would have been damned beyond redemption by the fly in the vial. Science ought to make no distinctions in favour of the public sector.

C.R.

READ:

Dated 1st October, 1961.

Chief Contents:

- ★ KULAPATI'S LETTER No. 241: Frank Buchman — Man of God — His Dedicated Followers
- ★ VIGILANCE — The Mother
- ★ GANDHI, THE MASTER — Sri Jawaharlal Nehru
- ★ GANDHI, THE FRIEND — Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
- ★ WHEN THE MAHATMA HELPED THE C. I. D.
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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN - BOMBAY-7

BOOK REVIEW:

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA: A SYMPOSIUM

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

(A Symposium)

Dhawale Popular Ltd.,
Lamington Road, Bombay, Price Rs. 2.

This little book gathers together the talks on the problems of democracy in India given by ten leading thinkers and publicists under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise. The speakers in the series include three civil servants, two journalists, a trade union leader, a lawyer, a commercial magnate and a former university professor. They are none of them actively associated with any of the political parties in the field today. They are men of outstanding ability and experience in their respective spheres and have spoken as they have done from a conscientious sense of public duty. It is indeed encouraging to find, amid so much that is heartbreaking in our public life, that there still are men who, when grave public wrongs are being committed, are ready to come forth in public to condemn the wrong-doers instead of limiting themselves to a few cynical shrugs of their shoulders in strict privacy. Those who run the Congress today have long flourished on the adulation of the interested and the ignorant as well as on the philosophic or cynical indifference of the intelligent and instructed sections of the community.

Mr. Shroff in the opening talk on the fundamentals of democracy points out how responsible public discussion of matters affecting the public interest in Parliament and in the public press has been prevented and the normal operation of the processes of Cabinet government and administration has been grossly perverted by Prime Minister Nehru's assumption into his own hands of almost total power, not merely of decision and action but even of information. Mr. Nehru professes to be a democrat but there is an intolerance of criticism and disagreement and an arrogant use of power which mark him out to be little short of a dictator. The Cabinet over which he presides has ceased to be a Cabinet in the true British parliamentary sense. It is much more a Cabinet of administrative subordinates of the chief executive, little different from secretaries and under-secretaries, except in that ordinarily secretaries and their deputies have better brains. Mr. Shroff shows up the patent anomaly involved in the existence of bodies like the Planning Commission and the National Deve-

lopment Council which, not being responsible to any but themselves, are unmistakable usurpers superseding the government. No one who has noted the thoughtless ease with which the Constitution has been repeatedly amended will credit the Congress leaders of today with any real respect for the Constitution. They have brought the Constitution into contempt by disregarding it or amending it when it did not suit their political ends. The gravest threat to democracy, however, arises from the growing powerlessness even of the Supreme Court not to speak of other courts, in the face of a political situation when the ruling party in Parliament is ready to set aside by *ad hoc* legislation the fundamental rights of which the Court is supposed to be the guardian. As for the quality of the judiciary today the remarks of the Law Commission on recent appointments to the judiciary are a significant commentary. Though Mr. Shroff has but gently hinted at these and other aspects of the dangers that threaten democracy in India, the careful reader will find the hints extremely useful in picturing to himself the current chaos and the catastrophic future that is looming ahead.

Mr. Vaidya, speaking with his considerable experience of the world of big industry and commerce in India, points out how steadily and persistently India is being pushed by the government the Moscow way by economic policies which are a mixture of communist collectivism and bureaucratic arrogance, incompetence and subservience. It is a thousand pities that even so, few businessmen seem to see the compelling urgency of resisting the menacing reality of this conspiracy against fundamental human freedoms.

Mr. Palkhivala, dealing with the Rule of Law and legislative and executive tyranny in India, points out how hasty and partisan law-making, especially in the sphere of taxation and property rights, has made for oppression. The taxation laws, Mr. Palkhivala points out, are a mass of hastily drafted rules which are operated only to gather the maximum revenue at all costs, in utter disregard of the basic constitutional guarantees. Bureaucratic tyranny in alliance with an emasculated legislature is riding roughshod in the country at large. The faint vestiges of the Rule of Law that still remain will vanish if this state of things is allowed to continue any lon-

ger unchallenged. The democratic principle that the only proper tax is that which ministers to public necessity has been given the go-by. The Rule of Law has been replaced by the rule of Congress bosses in practice and the Constitution stands all but torn up.

Mr. Raghunathan points out how greatly out of harmony the practice of the Congress raj is with its democratic professions and ideals, not merely of the past but even of the present. Dealing with the proposal to introduce co-operatives in agriculture, Mr. Raghunathan points out what a parody and perversion of the very basic principle of co-operation the Congress Party's concrete proposal is and how outrageously defiant of decency is the element of coercion and discrimination that the proposal embodies. Towards the close, Mr. Raghunathan raises the debate to a higher level by pointing out that India at least should set its face against a too ready acceptance of the ideal of endless material accumulation and seek instead to recapture its ancient Dharma.

Mr. Frank Moraes sets out the basic functions and responsibilities of the press in a democracy—responsibilities which it owes to the people rather than to the government of the country. He points out how sections of the press, in the two specific cases of the Hungarian revolt and the Chinese encroachment on Indian territory, brought the force of public opinion to bear on government policy compelling a basic change of approach. Mr. Moraes does not refer to the consequences of the Government's policy on newsprint and government advertisement from the point of view of real press freedom. Like big business, of which it has become just a part today, the press is, one fears, far too susceptible to the intimidating magnitude of Government patronage.

Dr. N. Das draws attention to the grave dangers current and imminent in the pricing policy of the public sector. Price fixation in the public sector is not on the salutary 'no loss, no profit' basis but on that of getting and exploiting maximum profits for the furtherance of certain ideological objectives of the party in power. The consumer's interests seem hardly to count. Since the public sector is a monopoly, the consumer goes to the wall. Equally instructive is the discussion of welfare and wage policy in the public sector undertakings. Rule by managers of public corporations and trade union bosses which is spreading out so vigorously today is the antithesis of democracy and freedom.

There is in millions of Indian hearts today a sense of bitter disappointment, an

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

CONVENTIONS

Sir,—Speaking in Rajya Sabha the other day Prime Minister Nehru spoke on the desirability of having a convention restricting the tenure of office of the President for two terms only.

Sri N. Sanjiva Reddy, the President of the Congress, advocated the restriction of the term of members of Parliament and the State legislatures to a period of ten years.

The present regime has become unpopular; though it has brought a measure of stability, it has ceased to be respected and liked. That was the primary reason why the thoughtful sections of the public welcomed the idea that the country should pass under the President's rule during the elections.

That wise counsel was preferred to prevent further demoralisation in the administration brought about by the regime in office. That there was no precedent anywhere for it was a puerile argument. If such a counsel is adopted by all the political parties, a very wise convention could have been built up. But evidently Mr. Nehru is not willing to submit himself and his party to a course which is more than likely to prove a costly gamble—that is, costly to the party's fortunes.

Madras

A. N. CHARI

EXAMPLE IN ECONOMY

Sir,—Speaking at a public meeting in Bombay, the Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, declared that "no one should have too much before all have something".

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA ...

almost unappeasable anguish that the prospects which seemed so fair on the eve of Freedom and which remained for a while not undimmed even by the unspeakable terrors of the partition should have in just but a few years been so tragically transformed, and that those whom we till recently adored and admired should so quickly and so absolutely have fallen victims to the corrupting influence of unchecked enjoyment of power. There is but one remedy for this anguish. That lies in calm, courageous and resolute confrontation of the dangers ahead. And we must know what dangers lie ahead, whence they arise and what insidious forms they assume. This book is a powerful contribution to that indispensable prerequisite of remedial action, the realization that dangers lie ahead and around, dangers of enormous variety and menacing complexity. S.R.

State Government servants, in particular—be denied the opportunity of taking the examination itself? Will not such a discrimination strike at the very root of the provisions in the Constitution guaranteeing equality of opportunity?

Even now, it is not too late for the UPSC to re-consider and amend the rules suitably to enable State government servants also to appear for the examination along with others.

Bangalore 16

S. G. SUBRAMANIAN

GOVT'S BELATED REPLY

Sir,—The Ministry of Education of the Government of India called (through advertisement in the dailies on July 1) for submission of books and manuscripts in any Indian language for the third competition for production of basic and cultural literature. I wrote to the Special Officer, Ministry of Education, New Delhi on the 4th of July 1961 asking for more particulars about the competition. Though the last date for submission of manuscripts is 15-9-61, I received a printed copy of instructions from the Special Officer on 4-9-61, leaving me (the author) only about ten days in which presumably I was expected to submit an original manuscript of about 80 pages along with three copies! I need offer no comments.

Devakottai

G. SATYAGIRI RAJAN

RETAIL PRICE OF SUGAR

Sir,—On page 9 of your issue dated 9th September it is stated that "we all buy our Sugar at Rs. 700 per ton in India". This is a factual error. Every Indian consumer pays Rs. 1.18 nP. per kilo of sugar he buys in retail. This works out to Rs. 1,180 per ton. The retail merchant in Madras gets a bag of 100 kilos of sugar at Rs. 116 and he is expected to sell this in retail at Rs. 1.18 per kilo.

V. S. SRIKUMAR

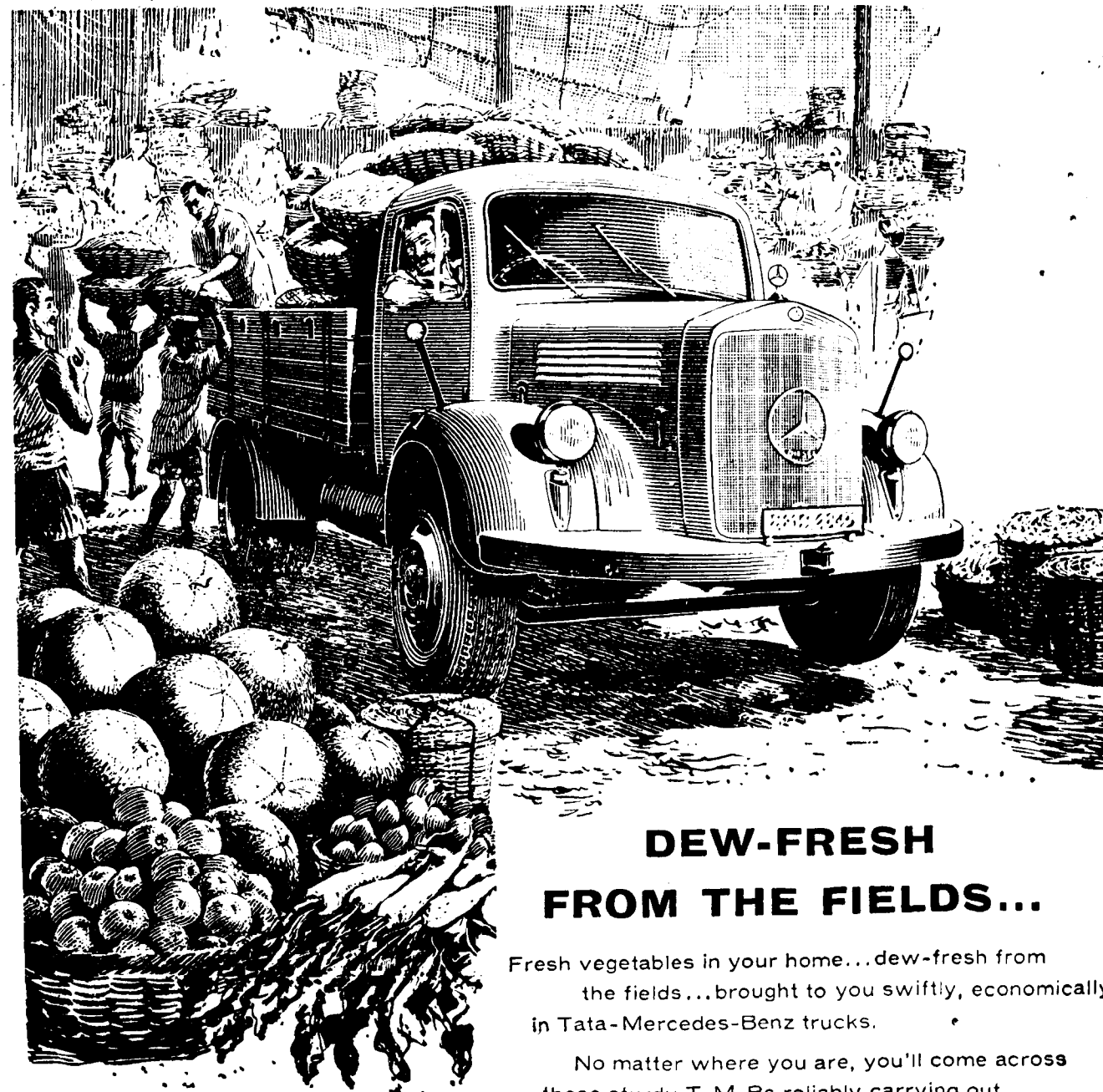
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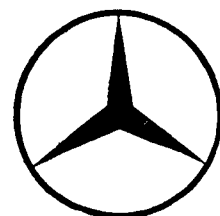


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Printed by R. Ananthanarayan, Published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathian Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10. Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH.

Vol. VI. No.

MADRAS, OCTOBER 7, 1961

Price 15 nP

THE NEW AMERICAN POLICY OF THREATS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In addition to unpredictable accident on which hitherto the prognostication of danger was particularly based by Bertrand Russell and other world statesmen, America has now adopted the psychological technique of shooting out dreadful threats similar to the Soviet practice. The threats are of such a nature that the world must be prepared for their explosion into actual fatal provocation any day and that would be the beginning of the End.

U.S. News and World Report says:

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26.

The United States has the equivalent of 35,800 million tons of T.N.T. "waiting for any aggressor."

"Press a button today and more than 200 missiles with hydrogen warheads would go speeding to specific cities in Russia. An additional 500 smaller missiles would be fired on other targets. From near and far, more than 5,000 U.S. bombers could be sent into action."

In the first 24 hours of an "all-out" war the U.S. could pull the trigger on the equivalent of 16,000 million tons of T.N.T.—4,000 times the total dropped in the Second World War. If "most of the first wave" of a U.S. attack struck home, 80 to 90 per cent of the Soviet Union's 200 million people would be killed.

Mr. Khrushchov is in a "desperate rush" to catch up with the power of the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

The U.S. Attorney-General, Mr. Robert Kennedy, entertains no doubts in his mind about America resorting to the use of

nuclear weapons, to "serve the freedom of Berlin". This he has declared, on behalf of his brother the President, in a recent television interview. The Kennedy administration has, Mr. Robert Kennedy tells the world, spent 2,000 million dollars extra on nuclear weapons in addition to strengthening conventional weapons.

This 'assurance' that nuclear weapons will be used by America and its allies from the U.S. President's brother is from one point of view superfluous. The existence of this satanic stock of total-destruction weapons is a menace in its very nature.

Both sides have now adopted the plan of open threats to each other. Threats have a way of committing the Powers in a kind of honour to carry out the threats. The world is being brought more than ever to the brink of a terrible precipice.

This bewildering generation through which we are living has brought mankind to a crossing of the ways unprecedented in all history. We now know what our worst enemy is. It is not a disease. It is not famine. It is the atomic weapon which in war may completely destroy civilization and in peace may inflict grievous and lasting damage on the human race.—From an editorial in THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Meanwhile in India we are 'planning' on the basis of loans and steady supplies of capital material from these very war-mongering Powers that threaten each other standing on the brink. The Congress Government takes for granted these supplies, and taxes the people, making the lives of the present generation in India miserable in the hope that fifty years hence or so, our grand-children will see an Utopia raised around them out of the aid given by the Powers. What is likely to happen immediately as a result of these loan transactions is that we shall be disabled from exercising any moral influence on the reckless nations to turn to good sense. On very unreliable foundations, indeed, are we asked to invest the blood and tears of our people for a coming secular Utopia.

We stand deprived of the capacity to demand good conduct by reason of our numerous obligations. They have (on both sides now) adopted the technique of open, mutual threats to use nuclear weapons and long range delivery rockets for defending Berlin and for other purposes arising out of their treaty obligations. These threats are, as far as America is concerned, a new style psychological warfare commended to the American Government by its latest advisers to equalize the position with Soviet propaganda. But threats are not mere threats. They create obligations of a deadly nature. They do not remain as

WORLD BANK VICE-PRESIDENT COMMENDS SWATANTRA

Robert L. Garner is retiring President, International Finance Commission and Vice-President, World Bank. The following are extracts from his valedictory address on September 21, 1961.

On October 15, I retire as President of IFC. This will end also over fourteen years as Vice-President of the World Bank.

I am troubled by the extent to which there is growing up the insidious consequences of too great reliance on foreign aid. Everyone repeats the platitudes that each country must be primarily responsible for its future and that others can only supplement its own efforts. Nevertheless, there are too many instances where the obvious attitude is that the chief responsibility of a government is to secure the maximum help from abroad, with lesser responsibility to mobilize its own resources and to take action so that all resources are most effectively applied and internal conditions which hinder development are improved.

There is no denying that in many countries graft and corruption in public office lay a heavy tribute on resources which should go into development. Of course, the less developed countries have no monopoly on public corruption. But its toll is more destructive in poorer countries than in richer societies.

Honesty alone is not sufficient. Administration needs to be effective. I have found that in dealing with public officials, the most prevalent obstacle to

THE NEW AMERICAN
deterrents, though that may be the intention. They become commitments of the administrations to their respective electorates to be put into practice.

It is unfortunate that some one has persuaded the American Government to adopt this technique as a working plan. It has not even the recommendation of originality. It is just imitation. Fire imitating fire does not quench but doubles the world-menace.

An extract from an editorial of *The New York Times* (International edition) reproduced in page one shows the magnitude of the danger awaiting the hour when either bloc may by some hasty thinking be 'morally' compelled to execute its repeated threats.

getting things done is the lack of experience, of training and of ability to make prompt decisions.

I can seldom refrain from commenting on the importance of financial stability to steady economic progress. There are many prominent supporters of inflation, who claim that it is a necessary adjunct of growth. Some assert that it creates development. But I have taken a close look at inflation in quite a few countries. I have seen it upset governments; take the bread out of the mouths of workers, the old, the helpless; undermine the operations of business. So I continue to class it as a dangerous fever which gives the patient a temporary spurt but quickly saps his strength.

Next, I would emphasize the importance of developing in broad terms a pattern of economic growth, a sensible plan of balance among agriculture, industry, transport, power, communications, with such provision for housing, education and medical services as resources permit. From my experience, this type of basic programme, setting out general and related objectives, is more practical than attempts to specify in detail and to direct all spheres of economic activity.

If development is to be encouraged and not hampered, it is important to avoid taxation which hinders investment.

The mass of people have never found quick prosperity through expropriation—through dividing up an inadequate pie. Grabbing the possessions of a few does not really help the many.

Obviously there is need for governments to provide the basic facilities and services. To do this in adequate measure will strain their human and financial resources. It seems sensible, therefore, to give the greatest scope to private initiative and capital in all fields which are not necessarily in the public sector. There is convincing proof that this is the most assured method of getting development. The most productive economies which have brought the highest standards of living to the most people have been those which have permitted private initiative to control the widest range of activities. This system has worked in the United States, which began as a wilderness; it has

worked in Europe and Japan, with the long established societies.

Over the past 14 years I have visited some 50 countries, most of them in earlier stages of development. The most substantial progress I have observed has come from the private sector, where it has been provided with basic facilities and a political and administrative climate in which it could exercise its talents.

In most instances of public ownership and operation of industry which I have observed, the results have been uneconomic. In instances where the facts are available, the publicly owned plants have generally cost more to build and many of them operate at losses, which have to be made up from public funds.

Decisions as to the degree of government ownership and control are not always made on the basis of economics or political theory. Even limited experience in dealing with officials in some countries reveals that they are largely influenced by what will give them the greatest personal power and rewards. The greater the control in government hands, the more personally lucrative can be the exercise of such control.

The functions which only government can perform demand its full efforts and human and financial resources. Therefore, if we seek the maximum production and development, private initiative, management and capital should be called upon and given the opportunity to extend their activities most widely.

I would propose to the developing countries a somewhat different approach from socialism in order to spread benefits more widely.

I would concentrate on how most effectively to encourage individual initiative and the flow of private capital into productive use. Specific means would be through revision of taxation to give incentives to production and investment and lay heavier taxes on unproductive assets.

I would make it attractive to both local and foreign capital to expand existing enterprises and to start new ones, providing more jobs, more goods, and wider opportunities for ownership of business. I would give incentives to larger companies to sell some of their shares to the general public.

I would work out means by which more farmers could purchase and get assistance in improving their production and marketing. I would provide credit facilities so that the working man could build or buy a house and pay for it out of his earnings.

MORE SUFFERINGS IN STORE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The Congress test explosions are going on in all the States and the poisonous fall-out competes with that from the nuclear explosions of the cold war blocs. The Congress tests are intended to try the conscience of the nation and to train it to suffer expropriations and tyranny in field after field. The present persecution of the bigger ryotwari peasants is a prelude. After land ceilings will come, as already announced,—if the Congress is returned to power—the attacks on urban and industrial acquisitions. When the conscience of India is trained to suffer the present violations of fundamental rights, the succeeding steps will be taken, one after another, without fear of any protest or obstacle. The Congress manifesto has given notice of this. The demagogues are intent on bribing the larger section of the population and earning their votes; they are not bothered about good government or welfare or food or capital formation, or justice or constitutional guarantees if votes are secured from the gullible mob.

WORLD BANK VICE-PRESIDENT

This approach would, I believe, begin to build up a middle class of men of property, with opportunities for individuals to progress as far as their abilities warrant. This is my prescription for building a productive economy and spreading widely its benefits.

Government-to-government financial aid cannot successfully be used to gain and hold political advantages for the country supplying the funds. Rather than making friends, bilateral financing between sovereign countries tends to create antagonisms and distrust. I have observed that within the non-communist world the nations most friendly to each other are those between which there has been little or no inter-governmental financing. Contrariwise, the more one government has loaned or granted, the greater is the probability of suspicions and antagonisms.

The great developments of private enterprise have been nurtured on private, not public funds. In the long run business will not continue to be private if it depends unduly upon public credit.

The Constitution can be changed in the course of a single session of the Lok Sabha to suit and authorize any fad or folly, or any tyranny or injustice. Not welfare but votes are the sole aim and purpose of the present one-party democracy operating over a feeble nation.

Those who care only for their own immediate and illusory advancement will, in spite of every warning, support the Congress regime. With permits, licences and quotas from the Congress Government, wealth can be amassed and black money hoarded. But those who are interested in the future should beware of what is in store for them and their children. You have been already told and we have a mandate, the Congress will say, when men open their eyes and object. It is disastrously easy to be deceived or to be apathetic.

The communist regimes are cruel but efficient; they compel and ruthlessly produce the results aimed at. But the Congress is and will continue to be cruel but also inefficient. The socialist Congress will ruin the country and will not be able to bring about even the cruel profits of brutal injustice like the communists whom they seek to anticipate. It would be doubly disastrous to return the Congress to autocratic power once again, disastrous to freedom and disastrous even to material welfare.

No comment need be added to the following confession of the Revenue Minister of Madras, which is applicable in quite a different way from what the Minister intends. It fully supports the case against the proposed law. The acquisition is not for constitutionally permissible purposes, but for the fulfilment of a dogma which has no sanction in the Constitution and which is opposed to the fundamental conception of the citizen's rights guaranteed against the State's intervention in the Constitution of India.

Referring to Opposition criticism that the ceiling of 30 acres was too high and would not leave any land surplus for distribution, the Minister (Mr. Manickavelu) said even if they fixed a ceiling much lower than what they had wanted (15 acres), say 5 acres, they would not have enough surplus to go round. On the other hand, such fragmentation would jeopardise agricultural production, whereas the 30-acre ceiling would not affect production. They should also remember that the land they sought to distribute was not Government land but land belonging to private landlords. They had to fix only a reasonable limit on their holdings.

Mr. Manickavelu reiterated that the object of the legislation was not to distribute land to the landless as Opposition members appeared to think. The legislation aimed at removing concentration of land in the hands of a few.

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By
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CURRENT EVENTS :

At the Conference of Basic Education Workers (Pachmarhi) Governor Zakir Hussain of Bihar sprung a surprise on the assembled teachers. He said that the conception of Basic education has been reduced to a farce and that, as conducted at present, it has no future. Let it be remembered that Dr. Zakir Hussain became an educator after his training in Germany, and he launched the Jamai-Milla and operated a syllabus for personal proficiency outside bureaucratic control. Dr. Zakir Hussain respected the outlook of Mahatma Gandhi who had faith in instruction oriented from the practice of handicrafts. Some abbreviated it by the slogan "Earn While You Learn". Mahatma Gandhi had great faith in manual labour and his model of the adult citizen was one equipped with knowledge and also in possession of skill to earn a respectable livelihood. The quest for knowledge as a burden on parents would in the schooling years diminish. The project had simple genius in it, but it has been outmoded by the trend of official policy towards making children into potential scientists of the Henry Ford grade.

If a dhobi's son spends some time of the day eventually to become a better dhobi like the Chinese washer and dyer, there would be coherence and social value in the development. Likewise, the syllabus of manual training should be so geared as to pro-

duce a better type of weaver introducing the latest technique in the trade; if it is a blacksmith, the young apprentice acquires talent besides book-knowledge, his exertions resulting as part of a contribution to the family-chest. If education is thus routed, adjustments are possible whether in Sevagram or Shantiniketan. With the objective and environment torn from the ideal, proposition becomes distorted, the mind of the young pupil being set on migration to the cities as early as possible for maximum pay with minimum labour, irrespective of any training in the name of Basic education. If the original course is openly preached, there is the fear that 'reactionaries' want insidiously to stabilize the caste-system.

With gigantism fascinating all-India leadership, all that can be said in connection with the Gandhigram movement, conducted with zeal, could be contained in the following extract which appeared in SWARAJYA on September 16 under the caption "Swatantra in a Nutshell".

Congress Socialism means concentration of political and economic power in Government. The result is tyrannical regulation of national life. Also it means heavy taxes and higher and yet higher prices: borrowing huge sums abroad, with no thought of how they are to be repaid.

The Swatantra Party stands for the poor man. Its principles are: (1) First things first (2) Build from the bottom. Its policies aim at: A stable

Rupee, more jobs, more food-grains, more small irrigation works, more schools, more roads, more houses, more small industries producing what the ordinary man consumes.

"Self-Government means a continuous effort to be independent of Government whether it is a foreign Government or a National Government. Swaraj Government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail in life." This is what Gandhiji said and it is the corner-stone of the Swatantra Party's policy.

Merely to cite Mahatma Gandhi as the author of Basic education is not sufficient to prove its efficacy in the transformation of values. He had in mind a vigorous agricultural economy and he had an aversion to idle hours among the peasantry. Twirling the *takli*, turning out yarn on the *charka*, carding, the raising of food-crop in small plots of land, preparation of compost, etc., were the occupations he prescribed for the schooling of young folk, while in the syllabus there was provision for literacy as well. The rural industries he had in mind are not there. He believed in agricultural self-sufficiency as the natural economy of the people, but now we have come to a stage where crops gathered are treated as the basis of exports under production costs (sugar being an example), so that scarcity in foreign exchange could be redressed for quickening plan-projects. There is a complete hiatus between his conception of village-prosperity and the Galbraithian objective of "affluent society".

We are more curious to have a look at Gagarin and Titov though the two spacemen themselves could not have taken any part in the build-up of the aircraft within which they were strapped; from that position of vantage one of the cosmonauts had a glimpse of the universe, one of them seeing 17 dawns before he was drawn back by ground-installations to a predicted spot. With such marvels on view, there is really a new dimension which never entered into the calcula-

tions of Mahatmaji, so that his authorship of Basic education fades out of the vision. In Pakistan they have still to define 'Basic Democracy', but somehow the term "basic approach" has a fascination for leaders who change the movements of the rudder as they steer their course, aggravating poverty.

Mr. Lobo Prabhu and Dr. Zakir Hussain were colleagues in the promotion of Basic education and he describes the process as fairly heartbreaking. He testifies as follows:

The more earnest of the teachers smuggled text-books but generally after five years, the children left school sometimes with T.B. from the cotton fluff, always with no knowledge. Unfortunately, as Basic education is largely in rural areas, the parents have been satisfied with

midday meals and uniforms and have not expressed their indignation at the polls for their children being made the victims of mistaken ideals and political purposes. The cost of this may be assessed from the declaration that "Basic education is now the accepted pattern, covering 26 per cent of the primary schools, with all Teacher Training Schools being progressively converted to the Basic type and voluntary organizations being fully paid for Basic education in the secondary stage". In 1958-59, Rs. 12.18 crores were spent on Junior Basic, Rs. 7.32 crores in Senior Basic and Rs. 3.60 crores on post-Basic education. It must cry to high heaven, in the face of Dr. Zakir's assessment, that the money of the taxpayers should be wasted in this measure and more in an undisclosed manner, to promote Basic education which deprives helpless children of the opportunity of education.

On May 1, Pandit Nehru declared: "I do attach so much im-

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portance to education that I would rather scrap a few engineering projects than scrap education. I have come to feel that it is the basis of all progress and on no account, unless actually we are off our heads and we cannot function, must we allow education to suffer". And we have in the Constitution of India this directive: "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years." Dr. Zakir Hussain has merely said that the "endeavour" should not carry the wrong tag.

P.J.



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DIAZINON A TATA-FISON PRODUCT

INTENTIONS AT CROSS-PURPOSES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Straining at the leash Dr. Rajendra Prasad will resume full-fledged office as President in a few days. His anxiety to be back as Head of the State was reflected when he, in his convalescence, kept himself in touch with the proceedings of Parliament through special radio-equipment enabling him to listen. He was also concerned with the significance of precedents when, for example, a Punjab Minister was sacked without show-cause preliminaries by his principal colleague, the Chief Minister, with the automatic approval of the Prime Minister; any inadequacy in constitutional procedure has since then been sought to be rectified by an emergency-resolution of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board which took upon itself, extra-murally, to confirm Chief Minister Kairon's action, irrespective of any hesitancy in Rashtapathi Bhavan.

The significance is that the Constitution of the country is factually being administered by the executive wing of the Congress, thus strengthening the trend towards a merger between the ministerial wing and the organizational wing which in almost all States causes internal strain amongst Congress *personnel* if they do not beat in unison. The developments in Punjab Suba controversy do not jeopardise the 'Hindi doctrine', since apart from minor tactics the Home Minister at New Delhi takes care to insert the Shastri clause in any draft-outline of compromise.

Nevertheless, there is some fear among faddists that the reinforcement of the official language mentioned in the text of the Constitution might not move in faster stride before 1965. The issue of linguism creeps in again when the High Command bangs at communalism and at the same time keeps divorcing it from the incidence of communalism.

Non-Hindi speaking areas set store by the Prime Minister's pledge that Hindi would not be introduced in the non-Hindi speaking States in education and administration. The last session of the Chief Ministers and invitees turned the prospect of the Third Five Year Plan and economic uplift into a formulation of Devanagari script as a new "basic approach" towards the realization of the 'Welfare State'.

The connection between the two is tenuous in logic, but in the Congress manifesto published, lip-service is rendered to the pledge that Hindi will not be forced on areas like Bengal and the Southern zone which have not on their own requested any Hindi drive. Meanwhile, within the ambit of the Home Ministry whose instructions to public and private are increasingly mandatory (thanks to over-centralization of authority at the Centre and the emasculation of autonomy for State Ministries), the advocates of monolingualism are busy with infiltrative tactics to the prejudice of the Prime Minister's farseeing pledge. That other preoccupations in world-affairs and concern at home for making the ruling party's fortune at the elections a dead certainty, keep him on a tight-rope dance, is obvious. At heart Mr. Nehru retains faith with his own counsel, and hence the nominal reference to the language question in the draft he has composed.

In a study of zonal issues unofficially ascribed to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, he wonders whether as a half-way house towards emotional integration, attention should

CONNIVANCE OF CORRUPTION

The psychosis of fear amongst judges cannot be an invention under the one-party system and the Congress Government has been organizing seminars to assure people that the police represent real friends and that there is no unseen pressure on the judiciary. The following report in the *Tribune* is however very illuminating:

The most damning criticism of the police in recent years came recently from Mr. Justice A. N. Mulla of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court. His Lordship was passing orders on a petition of apology by a sub-inspector of police, Mohammad Naim, station officer, Shahabad, District Haridwar. The applicant in this application had tendered an apology to His Lordship for fabricating and giving false evidence in a criminal case in which the accused could have been sentenced to life imprisonment if the offence against him were proved.

His Lordship "very hesitatingly" accepted the apology and observed: "Where every fish stinks, it is idle to pick one or two and say that these only stink. I, therefore, discharge the notice against Mohammad Naim."

"If I had felt that my lone efforts could clean this Augean stable which is the police force, I would not have hesitated to wage this war single-handed. I am on the verge of retirement and taking such steps for two or three months more would not make any difference."

"If the departmental heads would only frown upon such conduct and see to it that an officer who behaves like this is not promoted, perhaps this tendency would stop, at least to some extent; but most of the superior officers close their eyes even when such fabrications come to their knowledge, connive at them by closing their eyes if not by actual encouragement."

not be given to the possibility of substituting Devanagari with a modern script like the Roman alphabet. Such an accommodative attitude from him would be a vast change of outlook and it may prove relevant and useful if there could be something like a stay-order against bigots who secretly foment things, sloganized as "Hindi Imperialism" or as "Bhaya overlordism" insidiously promoted for the worsening of domestic tensions.

CEILING ON URBAN INCOMES

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The provision for ceilings on urban incomes in the election manifesto of the Congress may tend to be obscured in the mass of other details and become concealed by the provision that the private sector will co-exist with the public sector. Co-existence for private interests under an income ceiling of Rs. 3,600 annually with the public sector—which is tending to swallow everything—would be that between flies and an elephant. All individuals with incomes higher than Rs. 300 a month, who are competing for Congress tickets for the election, and the greater number who are helping and financing the Congress, do not appear to have realized the threat to their incomes if the Congress should succeed.

It is possible they are deluding themselves that the proposal for ceilings is only an election bait. They are forgetting that ceilings on land came in the same way. Election promises to the majority of voters cannot be evaded, and frequently have to be extended. In any case, after ceilings have been fixed for the rural population, numbering 82 per cent of the voters, ceilings on other incomes are a logical extension.

It may be asked why the Government have delayed the imposition of these ceilings. In the first place, before the elections, the Congress could not think of destroying the higher income groups which will finance its candidates. Secondly, the Congress may have been waiting to see the economic and political results of ceilings on rural incomes. Thirdly, with the public sector failing so miserably to maintain its targets, ceilings on the income of private producers might have reduced supplies to disastrous proportions, involving high prices and possibly unmanageable public resentment. The position may turn out to be different if the Congress is returned in strength. The inherently communist pattern of the Third Plan and the communist leanings of a section of the Congress leadership, which the Vijayawada Communist Conference has decided to support as their instrument, will conspire to make urban incomes a subject of attack. The examples of Ceylon and Cuba, which have smoothly and quickly imposed such ceilings, will disarm objections. It is possible that in the beginning the ceiling may be placed high, as in Ceylon but sooner than later, there will be pressure to bring it in line with the rural ceiling.

half a per cent and shortfalls in production of even key items like steel, coal, power, transport. The record can only become worse when State enterprise will perforce have to undertake production of consumer goods on which private enterprise will slacken from the imposition of income ceilings. State enterprise may then try to cover its failure by complete communism, as in China, binding the people to work in communes.

This evolution can be prevented, if at this stage all those who wish to keep any property they have, declare against the Congress. Free enterprise may have produced millionaires but coincidentally it has raised the common people in a far greater measure. As society increases its wants, it adds to employment and wages. The Indian society is not different from others. Even if it believes more in austerity, the proper course is to put ceilings on *spending* and not on *earning*, which

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creates more investment and employment. To reduce inequality and economic power, the only mechanism is of free competition. Since this has been put out of action by licences and monopolies, the rich have become richer and the poor poorer.

Ceilings have not been imposed in free countries, because individuals with

capacity easily replace those even at the top who lack it. Ceilings on urban incomes, therefore, must be resisted by all those who wish to be rewarded for their enterprise and work. Those already rewarded should not be led down a precipice like sheep, even by a leader like Nehru. The general election, therefore, imposes a responsibility on

all those who care for themselves and their families to oppose the Congress, which by its declared policy of ceilings on income is entering a course which can only end in communism. Anyone with any property, therefore, who fails to return an effective Opposition to the Congress will be contributing to his own suicide.



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A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT

Dear Reader —

The principle of Swatantra has triumphed if the reported announcement of the Food Minister about the immediate withdrawal of controls on sugar prices and restrictions on inter-State movement and the restoration of free-market conditions have no catch concealed in what is called the "system of controlled releases to States". The fanaticism with which Government defends a particular control is demonstrated to be utter folly when the Government finally agrees to abolish it. Much misery has been suffered during the control period for which no one can compensate. Actually the Government when it sets itself right, though belatedly, gets kudos for "flexibility of approach".

After the above was written for the press it was good to read the following wise warning in the editorial of *The Hindu*:

The seekers after national unity in India would be pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp if they went after a monolithic community of opinion, which is unthinkable in a country with so many languages, creeds and sects. Differences of views and divergence of interest are the stuff of an essentially pluralist society like ours. The existence of these differences is not by itself a calamity. What is really harmful, not only to the unity of the country, but even to the long-term interests and prosperity of the different sectors themselves, is the manner in which the conflict of interests and the divergences in opinions are sought to be resolved.

The farcical method of solving all conflicts and difficulties by the naive trick of simple addition is being pursued by the Congress Party: English to be Associate Language with Hindi and now Devanagari to be Associate Script with the regional scripts. The national integration committee which met at Mrs. Indira Gandhi's residence after a three-and-a-half hour discussion 'settled' the scheme of producing unity by approving Devanagari as the common script of India. But Mr. Sadiq Ali assures people that the script of regional languages will function alongside of Devanagari. A three-legged race is the general solution for all objections to the fantastic proposals issuing out of the brains of compulsory integrators. Perhaps we shall have a declaration soon issuing that Roman also may run alongside. If two can be tied together why not three? Children learn scripts very easily, only adults object—this is the doctrine.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Prime Minister's confession of being "a little ashamed" of collecting funds for the Congress Party attracted universal attention. But many important and usually vocal organs have

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been remarkably silent. They have desisted from making any remarks about the event, perhaps because they feel the less said about it the better. This hesitation to touch what may redound to the discredit of a beloved leader is not a fulfilment of the proper duties of the press which justly claims many rights, on the basis of those duties. However, it was gratifying to see a very good and effective cartoon in *The Mail* of Madras and an editorial in the *Deccan Herald* respectively drawing attention to the amusing aspect of the Kanpur confession and the moral to be drawn from it. The *Deccan Herald* wrote editorially: "Obviously it is improper. It is bad enough that the Congress Party with its powerful position as the ruling party should be collecting big amounts from commercial concerns, business magnates and others for the party's fund, but if ministers and others, including even the Prime Minister, go about collecting purses, the morality of it must be termed doubly worse."

What has not been adequately brought into public criticism is that the Prime Minister who did not intervene or prevent his party from opposing and defeating the amendment proposed in Parlia-

ment to prohibit donations to political parties by companies, and who did not utter a word of protest all these many months when his party was very busy collecting huge amounts from business magnates, found reason to dislike these donations only when he learnt that a concern or two gave donations to the Swatantra Party also. He discovered his sense of shame only when help was given for an Opposition party to grow alongside of the Congress. The amusing part of the drama is that he pocketed the purses given by the Kapra Committee and others even while he "felt a little ashamed" and confessed it. In fact he went to Kanpur for that purpose. The pity of the situation is that these business magnates do not seem to feel hurt at their donee taking the money and at the same time castigating them as people without principles.

★

It seems quite reliable news (September 28) though coming from Formosan agents, that Peking radio has warned the people in North West China about dense and poisonous radio-active fall-out coming from the Soviet Union and that the people of Sinkiang province are urged to evacuate, vehicles and boats being provided by the troops. This Sino-Soviet episode in the history of radio-active fall-out is not merely of political interest, which is relatively of minor importance. It is a warning as to what may happen if this race in tests and threats goes on acquiring momentum. The radio-active fall-out cannot be met by mere evacuation as in the case of plague or other such bacterial disease. There is no escape from the catastrophes of genetic deterioration produced by radio-active poison and no localization can be organized against it. When the two blocs find their own people's health seriously jeopardized, by the winds of nature accentuating their own poisonous activities, perhaps wisdom and good conduct may arrive sooner.

★

It is a good sign that *The Hindu* has taken up the cause of the

unfortunate people of Indian origin in Ceylon who insist that they are citizens of that island, having been born there and having no other home to go to, but who still are treated by the Ceylon Government as not belonging to Ceylon and who are therefore orphans, so to say, with neither Ceylon nor India to accept them as citizens. These Stateless families are children and grand-children of the pioneers who, decades ago, were taken to Ceylon to toil among the jungles to make them into plantations. These plantations maintain the budget of the present Ceylon Government. Surely, it is against all natural and international justice to throw the burden on these persons individually to prove a negative, viz., that they are not illicit immigrants. But this is exactly what is being done now. The Ceylon Government should end this scandal as early as possible. Instead, it seems to be its plan now to shut out the scope for employing these families in the plantations by decreeing an exclusive quota for people of Sinhalese full-blood. This inhuman plan of starving out the "Stateless" people is a problem of which the international organ of the world should take immediate notice and prevent genocide.

★

Cement prices are to be raised, as if they were not high enough already. The actual procuring price is even now much greater than the officially fixed price.

A government which is in financial straits consequent on its squander-plans, and which has snatched total power over the economy of production and distribution of all commodities, must be expected to raise money in this way by lifting up the prices of every commodity that is widely consumed. Cement goes into house-building now even in the poorest villages. So the Welfare State wishes to levy an indirect tax thereon too.

C.R.

KRIPALANI ON INTEGRATION

Acharya Kripalani in the course of a statement on national integration says:

After World War II, West Germany had a new national purpose. It was to reconstruct the political and economic life of the country, after its almost complete ruin and disintegration during the War. It was also to establish democracy in the land. The Germans have pursued their aims with single-minded devotion. The result is that West Germany has made phenomenal advance in the economic field even without "planning". To any visitor from outside it would appear that Germany has not lost but won the war.

Linguistic controversies, of which we knew nothing before Independence, have come up now and have often led to riots, resulting in murder, loot, arson, and other crimes against person and property, embittering feelings between the majority and the minority linguistic groups, professing the same religion. These controversies, actively helped by the politicians of all parties and the educated, still continue and there seems to be no end in sight.

It is doubtful whether most of those who have been writing and talking about national integration are not themselves involved in encouraging sectional interests. Some political parties, which are outwardly non-communal and who usually are at the root of communal troubles, have become ardent advocates of "national integration".

We have provided no noble purpose to our people which would impel them to work and if need be to make sacrifice and march on to a brighter future. We have also missed all opportunities to canalise their righteous indignation and anger against the violations of the integrity and safety of our country. It is no wonder that the people find themselves confused and see no light. Unless, therefore, we provide a fitting purpose to our people to work and labour for, whatever efforts we make for the integration of the country will be of no avail. The supreme problem, therefore, is whether we shall continue to behave as we have been doing for the last several years or take stock of our failures in the past and give a new direction to the national efforts and inspire the people with a new faith and a new hope.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

STATESMANSHIP OR SHOWMANSHIP?

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Leaders of different parties and schools of thought and eminent men from all walks of life recently assembled in conference, at the Prime Minister's instance, to consider ways and means, if not to concert measures, for combating and curbing all fissiparous tendencies and disintegrating factors in our corporate life, lest national unity and security should be (further) gravely imperilled.

Most of the delegates were so much looking up to Mr. Nehru when they were on their feet that they had not the "guts" to say anything that might wound his susceptibilities. In such an atmosphere it was something to be thankful for, that there was some plain talking. Mr. Kripalani spoke of the conference as that of "old sinners"; Mr. Frank Anthony made a devastating attack on regional communalism; Mr. C. D. Deshmukh referred to the need of attaching at least some importance to the tone and quality of the Government; from the gubernatorial order rose Dr. Zakir Hussain, to make some extremely unorthodox observations on the current political practice of exploiting caste and sub-caste for party ends, rather too unabashedly. Some thrusts had indeed gone home while there was an ostentatious effort on the part of the prime movers of the conference to take it all in good humour as suited the hour.

Rajaji alone would have had the courage to tell the conference that all this exuberance about national disintegration, however praiseworthy, would be of little or no avail so long as the Government by its policies and the Congress by its practices, continued to let loose on the country the very forces of disintegration and division which they are out to scatter and slay with their enchanted swords. None else could go thus far.

Junius wonders if the worthies who assembled at the Delhi Conference could tell Mr. Nehru anything that he had not already known. It was not for want of his knowledge that caste was made the criterion for the adoption of candidates for the different constituencies while all the time the talk was about caste-less society. So long as it puts the premium on victory at the polls, rather than how elections are won, the Congress cannot—for the mat-

ter of that, no political party can afford to talk big about the evils of caste-ism.

It was amusing to find the Congress President and some of his colleagues parading themselves on the political stage as hot gospellers of the secular ideal and inspired exponents of national integration. Not even Mr. Nehru is particularly convincing when he talks of selecting the best men for the elections, because of the glaring hiatus between his personal reactions and party preferences. His recent explosion about 'Zamindars' inside the Congress and threat to have every doubtful congressman thrown out of the Congress, "like a fly in the milk", will not upset many congressmen as they know fully well that if Mr. Nehru means what he says, he has to throw out, not merely the fly but all the milk, which he cannot simply afford to do.

Mr. Nehru's vehement declarations in Lucknow on his recent visit to the city are reminiscent of Mr. (later Earl) Baldwin's addresses to the Conservative Party. "I have no use," said the then British Prime Minister, on one occasion, "in any party that I lead, for waverers, for grouse, or for people with cold feet. The sooner they find some camp where their spiritual home is, the better." In the same strain, Mr. Nehru talks to his partymen, but then they are all there as if all this has not mattered and he is there too, at their head. For, in his view there is no other political party which has either the "resources, strength or proper attitude" as the Congress, and no other leader who can ensure its success at the polls. So, whatever be the party's limitations or his own ephemeral irritations, he is highly gratified that the Congress will hold the fort, with him as the standard-bearer.

It is only when he turns to other parties that he loses his patience. The Jan Sangh and other Hindu bodies hurt his sensitive, secular sentiment. The Communist Party in India has no revolutionary thinking left and is just static and stale. The Swatantra Party is something so out-moded that he cannot simply make out how it has at all come into being. On it he can only pour ridicule: "The Swatantra Party is a good decorative piece and after some time it can be removed to a museum".

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The world's museums in the long process of history can indeed absorb many a show-piece while, transitorily, showmanship has its uses. Across the international chancelleries the question has already arisen whether for sheer showmanship or salesmanship there is now anything comparable to Indian leadership. Anyday a museum should disturb one's equanimity less than the Moving Finger!

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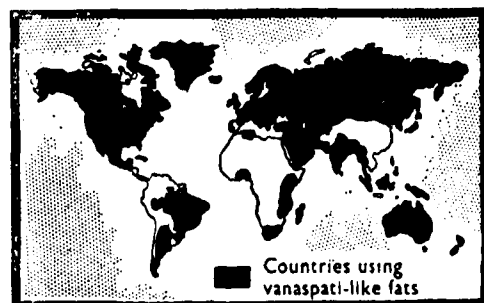
Yet, in a parallel case, where ghee is adulterated with vanaspati, some people agitate for the colouration of vanaspati.

Ghee is adulterated by unscrupulous persons with a wide variety of substances...not with vanaspati alone! Even if the misuse of vanaspati could be checked, by colouration or other device, mineral oils and animal carcass fats would still be available to the adulterator. And these are impure, obnoxious and often injurious to human health!

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THE APATHY OF THE EDUCATED

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

In India after the advent of Independence we have a distressing spectacle of what may be called the *failure of the educated*, particularly in the political field. We pride ourselves on inheriting a high level of conscience illumined by Vedantic or transcendental truths. Our educated classes are certainly aware of the highest moral values in the ideas of *dharma*. The failure in politics that is noticeable concerns the failure to live by the light of *dharma* whose guidance is open to every educated person. It is an inheritance common to all classes—from the ignorant villager through the craftsman to the literary or philosophical persons, whether his training has lain through Sanskrit learning or through the modern Arts and Sciences.

I have heard cynical remarks from educated persons during the last elections and very often since then regarding the duty of voting and of taking trouble to study the programmes and personalities of different parties in order to vote intelligently. They say: "All parties are the same in the end. They all seek selfish power and other advantage. Election promises are made only to be broken. I have never voted and will not now vote for any party. Please do not trouble me. As for corruption, power does corrupt everyone. New parties will start the same process over again and extract the utmost benefit possible by way of jobs, trade licences, perquisites and so on for themselves and their party-men and friends and relatives. 'Spoils to the victor' is a rule as much applicable to party politics and democracy as to war and conquest". In fact it is the poorer and more ignorant classes of voters that show some conscientiousness in exercising their franchise. They line up behind their leaders, particularly trade union officials and communist cadres and wait long hours in queue at the polling booth. The educated person is too disdainful to exercise his vote. As a matter of fact, he has an inferiority complex and takes it out on the party canvassers by his brusque and even insulting refusal.

The educated person forgets that it is his social duty to instruct illiterate persons and others about the obligations of the citizens to vote. In Orissa only 35 per cent of the electors are reported to have exercised their franchise. And the Congress was returned to power by polling 45 per cent of this 35 per cent.

In addition to the primary duty of voting, the educated person, in whatever walk of life he may be placed, should take his share in the widespread and many-sided *communication* that goes on day after day in democratic society through all the media of publicity—newspapers, pamphlets, public meetings, private discussions and casual conversations in the streets and buses. He should make some effort to understand the meaning and implications and drift of ideas like socialism, fundamental rights, communism, liberalism. On the other hand, our educated class is remarkable for an easy-going latitudinarianism, taking things easy, being content with the superficial meanings to be gathered in current reference without trouble and without analysis.

The extreme paucity of persons even in the political field—ministers, members of the legislatures—and among members of the bar and other professions, including even teachers who

have a clear and accurate notion of socialism and communism, and even of *dharma* as applied to these subjects (apart from traditional applications embodied in customs), is a condemnation of the educated class. India is passing (or being pushed through) vast social changes—the renaissance, the reformation, the counter-reformation, the political individualist revolution and the socialist revolution, the industrial revolution, the labour movement, the agrarian revolution, scepticism, materialism, nihilism as well as a feeble revival of Vedantic spiritualism and of social reform. The present Nehru policies sum up and spearhead these inner movements and relate them to the urgent economic and political interests of all classes. But in the absence of a widespread discussion of the ideas involved on the part of the bulk of the educated on a fresh basis of first principles, the mental climate is confused. The result is that forces of disintegration are overwhelmingly stronger than those of integration and stability.

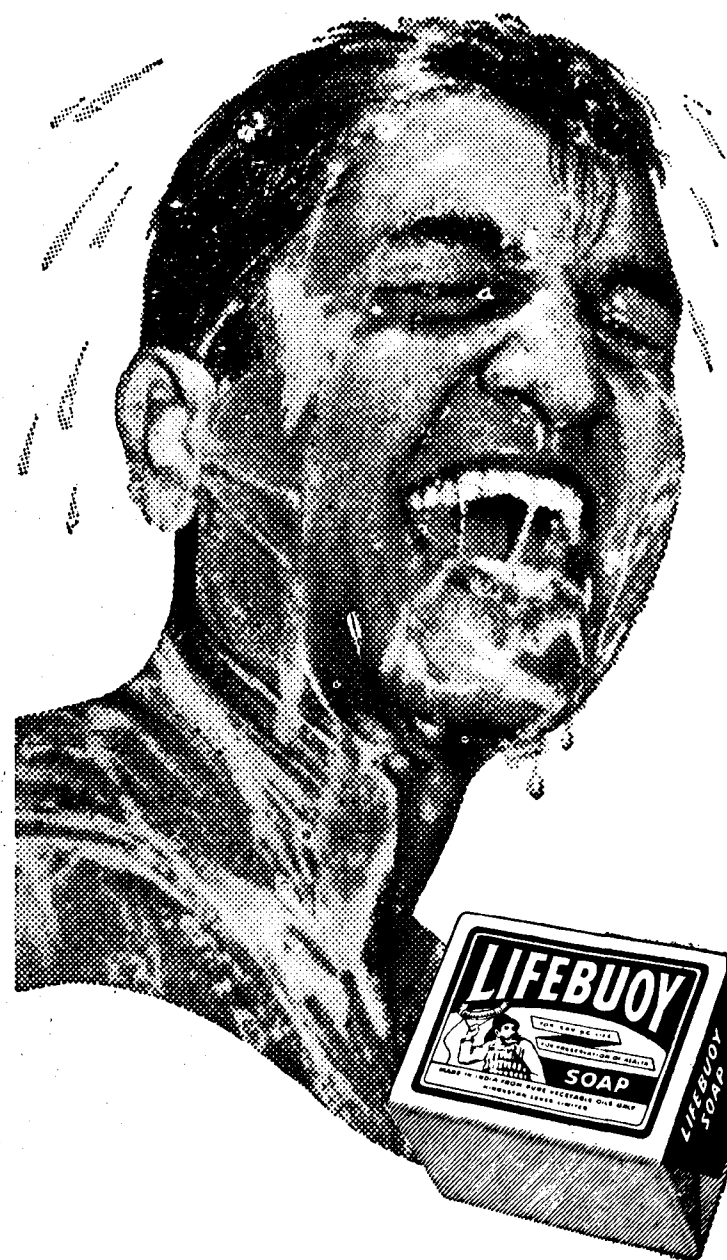
Numbers count. The numbers taking part in the intellectual life of the times even on an imitative basis are too few



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to form an effective heaven and raise an indigenous elite. So India is being swept by world forces willy-nilly to unknown and unforeseeable destination. The way in which the new bills about additions to the criminal and electoral laws bringing many new offences (or old offences in new forms) under the criminal law with no discussion worth the name in the public press and platform is a startling example of the political failure of the educated. The offences mentioned are so vague that anything disliked by the authorities could be used against party opponents. The whole question of national integration was disposed of in the context of criminal law, as if integration (which is primarily a process of emotional assimilation based on goodwill and friendliness and common feelings for the nation) could be achieved by punishing one side—the more national groups to pacify the less national, if not anti-national groups! This is a scandal from the point of view of intelligence and nationalism or social fraternity.

Yet another failure of the educated stems from their excessive conformism. Too few of the educated care to express themselves in public if such expression runs counter to views known to be favoured by authority.

The charismatic leadership, the debilitating worship of leaders as avatars is still clogging the development of an honest mental climate. This is due to the failure of the educated to set a better example. It is the task of the educated to set standards by their own reflection based on their own experience. But we prefer to take our standards (even yet) from abroad—if not from Britain, then from Russia. So we ring hollow, both to ourselves and to others. The masses cannot respond to hollow men. Indian tradition has always asked for a rigid and ruthless correspondence of thought, word and action, for the realization of ideals in personal lives without which it has refused to accord respect. The post-Independence leadership—first and second ranks—has failed by this test.

The distressing way in which educated men appeal to the caste sentiment, to communal feeling, to cupidity (of money or job or traffic licence) has been the prime source of the corruption that is vitiating public life today in our midst. In a word, the educated—of course with the 'exception' of a microscopic number—have sinned against the light by misusing every opportunity of exploitation or by silent approval of exploitation or by a deadly, inert cynicism.

October 7, 1961

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

PANCHAYATS RALLY IN MADRAS

Sir,—It is announced in the Press that Prime Minister Nehru is to address a meeting of the Presidents of Panchayat Boards in the State, about 15,000 persons taking part in that meeting. The expenditure from the panchayat funds will be (on an average) Rs. 50/- per head amounting to Rs. 7,50,000/- besides the cost of the pandal, etc., which will amount to at least another Rs. 2 lakhs.

How can this expenditure of nearly Rs. 10 lakhs be justified just on the eve of the elections except to serve as an indirect way to canvass votes for the Congress Plan using the personality of Sri Nehru and by flattering the villagers with a free trip to Madras? It is an improper way to steal a march over other political parties.

Sri Nehru has said that Government servants failed to vote for the Congress in Delhi elections. Is this meeting intended to morally bind the village presidents to vote for the Congress, counteracting the possibility of Government servants voting against the Congress? If not, the meeting should be abandoned. If a G.O. is published that these people will have to attend the meeting at their own cost, it will be a proper rod to measure their love for the Plan.

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AT WHOSE EXPENSE?

Sir,—The Principal of a Government College in the city announced three weeks ago that the mid-term holidays of the college would begin on the 18th September and that the college would reopen on Oct. 3. Even before the terminal examinations began the Principal made another announcement that the holidays would commence only on the 5th October and end on the 18th October. This change was not supported by any academic reasons—at any rate none were mentioned in the announcement.

We learn, however, that political reasons are behind the change—that the Congress Government in power is proposing to hold a conference of panchayats in the city and that the college premises are to be used for a variety of purposes in connection with it. We learn also that Pandit Nehru is addressing this conference.

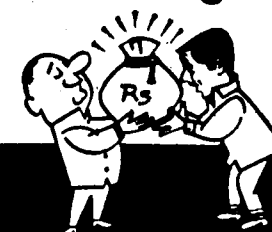
We would like to know whether the Congress Party is so blind to the proprieties of the matter as to cause this

measureless inconvenience to the students for the sake of party or political purposes. Surely the Panchayat people can be accommodated in the Legislators' hostels, in the ample grounds of Government House estate and elsewhere in the Guindy Government House estate. Is there behind all this show an attempt to find official justification for Pandit Nehru's visit and the expenses

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

to be incurred by Government in that connection? The visit, even we students know, is for purely Congress Party purposes and boosting. Is this the example that our leaders want us to copy? Madras
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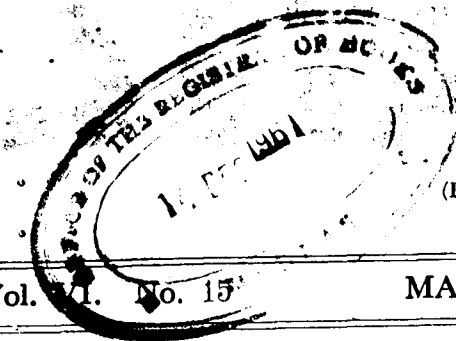
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(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. 11, No. 15

MADRAS, OCTOBER 14, 1961

Price 15 nP

WE MUST RE-MAKE FREEDOM

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥
योगस्यः कुरु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा धनञ्जय ।
सिद्धयसिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते ॥

Have you ever in your own person experienced the joy of doing the right thing without caring about results, success or failure, which in the *Gita* is called Yoga? You will experience this delight if you do your own little best in the battle against a purse-proud power-intoxicated party. Vote for the Swatantra Party and thereby withdraw your vote from the Congress at the next elections if you disapprove of confiscation of honestly acquired property and hate injustice. Do not sit despairingly if you despise fraud, such as is practised when Government confiscates property, pretending to give compensation for it. You should reduce the Congress by at least one vote—which is in your power. If you in your heart dislike the Congress Party helping persons of its choice to amass easy wealth in partnership with the party, by giving them a monopoly in some business which it pretends to 'regulate', condemn the practice by withdrawing your vote from that party. If you want this permit-licence-quota raj to disappear you should make up your mind not to keep that desire secret, but make your displeasure known by refusing to cast your vote for the Congress and giving it to the Swatantra Party.

Are you thinking it would be good for the people if prices go down and taxes are less? Then you should know for whom you should *not* vote. Your vote to the Congress would mean you want the prices to soar and the taxes to grind. The Congress will get votes by rousing class hatred and making false promises to a gullible people. But do not add your vote to it.

If you disapprove of India becoming a hopeless debtor ending in bankruptcy and desire that India should maintain her Gandhian self-respect and hold her head high, then you should be among those who cast their votes for the Swatantra Party. Your duty is to do what you can and not get frightened by thinking how successful the Congress is with people who can be deceived. It will not add to your glory or peace of mind to be among those who have allowed themselves to lose their will-power and surrendered themselves to the hypnotist. Do not become an unwilling party to take India one step further towards totalitarianism.

The appeal of the Congress is founded on its Plan—the Plan with 15 years behind it and 15 years or more in front of it. This

totalist Plan is ambitious and at the same time fatally linked to a supply of foreign aid. It depends on others for capital equipment and for sustaining the whole economy. Foreign aid depends, whatever may be said to the contrary, on the continuing life of the cold war without bursting into actual war. Daily we hear Mr. Nehru's voice warning us against hot war, if not actually foretelling it. If war breaks out by accident or by provocation, what happens to the Plan? It would then, beyond doubt, be a sad wreckage. Let our non-alignment be a genuine, brave, though humble attitude. Let us not get hopelessly entangled in a net of assistance from the parties to the cold war. Let us arrange to survive any mess outside. From this point of view our ambitious plans are futilities and unwise adventures. The whole of the Congress appeal is linked to this Plan and its Achilles' heel.

Dharma should be restored to its traditional position in the minds of men and women in India. We should not look on impotently when it is being overwhelmed by money-hunger. Here is a non-*Dharma* party overwhelming the culture and the traditions of India. Whatever others may do, you

should vote for *Dharma* and the freedom of the soul. Do not vote for a party that seeks to make Government the total master of every citizen's affairs, killing the spirit of compassion and extinguishing all private charity, in favour of a leviathan-State.

The Congress leadership aims at complete conformity of feelings and beliefs as well as external behaviour. It aims at an all-devouring totalism of which totalitarian secular authority is a chapter. Against this is ranged the Swatantra movement. The Swatantra Party's work and success or failure this year form but the preliminary of an emancipatory, determined movement that must go on without ceasing until freedom is established. The coming 1962 election is but the beginning of the battle against Congress's totalism. Be a pioneer in the battle and cast your vote for Swatantra.

It matters little if there are atheists, if some among the people do not believe in the soul but think the body is everything. But it matters a great deal if the Government of a country is run by a leadership that ignores and denies the soul and acts on the footing that the body is the one and only thing that matters. If you want government to be in the hands of people who believe, like the Hindus, the Muslims, the Parsis, the Sikhs, the Christians and the Jews, in an eternal spiritual element to which the name of *soul* or *atman* is given, and of which the body is a tool, stand up against the Congress and support the Swatantra Party. Do not be deceived by the tall talk of a party that has only the cloak of Gandhism and has rejected its vital principles and gone over completely to Lenin and communism.

There can be no nation if the individual is robbed of his strength and his confidence by a ruling clique, a closed shop, which uses its position to build permanent domination for itself. We must re-make freedom by dislodging this clique.

PAKISTAN FORCES IN CONGO

By POTHAN JOSEPH

To give some clarity in advance to subsequent remarks, I begin with a longish extract from the columns of *Dawn* of Karachi published early in August and sent to me for study.

A 500-man contingent of the Pakistan Army left for Dar-es-Salaam (East Africa) by sea yesterday *en route* to the Congo to join the United Nations Forces.

This is the second Army contingent from Pakistan to proceed to the Congo and will be relieving the first contingent which has been there for a year. The first contingent is scheduled to return to Pakistan within the next few weeks.

The Congo-bound contingent was given a touching send-off at the time of its departure by troopship *Gen. R. M. Blatchford* of the United States. The Navy and Army bands which were present at Keamari docks played martial music and popular tunes as the officers and men of the contingent, dressed in smart khaki uniforms, boarded the troopship in an impressive single-line formation.

Brig Sultan Mohammad, Chief of the Joint Secretariat, addressing the contingent, emphasized the significance and importance of its "Mission of Peace." He said Pakistan was very proud of the part being played by its forces in the cause of World Peace. Brig Sultan Mohammad formally inspected the contingent as it was drawn up in two ranks. He later went on board the troopship to see the arrangements for its journey to Africa. The contingent raised slogans of "Pakistan Zindabad" before proceeding on board.

The present Congo-bound contingent consists of detachments from the Ordnance Corps and the Army Service Corps, commanded respectively by Major Abdul Aziz and Major Asghar Ali. The advance party of the contingent commanded by Lt-Col. M. Shafi of the Ordnance left by air about two weeks ago.

I had never known that a 500-man contingent of the Pakistan Army had left for service amongst the United Nations forces on the business of putting things to rights in the Congo. The first contingent, we have been told, has been there for a year from which it might be inferred that the Pakis-

tani expedition landing, no doubt in response to the requisition of the late Secretary-General, had synchronised with the despatch of 5,000 Indian soldiers under Brigadier Raja. That no endorsement by the Law Minister was obtained as in India *ex post facto* casts up reflection on deficient democratic practice in Pakistan. It does not affect procedure since Field Marshal Ayub Khan is the Paramount Power, and he could take the decision without any qualms about the issue whether a President who is also Commander-in-Chief of a country should always take the initiative. All such hair-splitting argument may be laid aside in the light of the objective fact that Pakistan is also in the picture, although from the angle of Indian news-coverage hardly anything has been made of the coincidence involved through the joint-defence launched by the UNO in the ex-Belgian colony which is still entertaining the services of "mercenaries". The first Pakistan contingent after a year's non-mercenary service abroad returned nearly a week in advance of the 700 jawans who landed in Bombay on relief, to be greeted by the Mayor of Bombay and jubilant crowds. That only 500 soldiers constituted the Pakistani unit whereas India contributed 5,000 jawans should not be construed in favour of India, since on the population-test the statistics division of the Planning Commission must concede that India contains 438 millions as compared with the census-returns of Pakistan. Such finicky calculations should have no place in valuing *morale*.

I have a shrewd notion that when Rajeshwar Dayal was chosen as the late Secretary-General's personal representative in charge of the Congo operation, Pakistan too must have been consulted if only to ensure that any mutual thrust of spokes in the wheel is not put according to lamentable custom. Mr. Dayal as India's High Commissioner in Pakistan, turned

out to be a warm personal friend of President Ayub Khan, a link with pre-Partition esteem. All things put together there could be no occasion for disharmony between the two salients from neighbourly countries still given to boundary-friction. It is not India alone sending contributory expeditions to the Congo for interpreting what the Charter calls "UNO Presence"; there have been fighting bands under different colours, Afro-Asian in composition, Westerners keeping out of the anti-Belgian developments after the Royal decree of King Badauin had legally come into force for setting the people of the Congo at liberty with the option of parliamentary government. Patrice Lumumba as Leftist revolutionary "hailed" for Russian aid, a step which set the tragic drama going. Dag Hammarskjöld ticked off Russian arrivals, denying them the amenity of landing at airports; and they went off in a huff disowning the Secretary-General and swearing by the Troika-doctrine that in the operations of any international force despatched in the name of the UNO, in future, the resolution of February 21, empowering the UNO fighters to use force at the last resort, if neces-

sary" bound the discipline of the Pakistan contingent as well. It may be remembered that when India complied with the project of overseas-expedition, she put down the condition that the jawans landing at Leopoldville should not be scattered all over the African region, but should be held together in apportionment of duties. It is likely that the Pakistan contingent had a similar privilege of functioning together, free from homesickness and the strain of exile camping. All in this plan of bringing parliamentary self-government into force must be credited with solidarity of what may be called the "emotional integration" behind the enterprise; but from the range of publicity involved through bias, amongst the tribes, India appeared to be in the forefront, compelling that efficient civil servant Mr. Dayal to go back under intrigue to his Pakistan job as High Commissioner to resume his interrupted task of reducing Indo-Pakistan tension.

If India appears to have taken a very large amount of space in the headlines, there is the fact that India sent the largest contingent whereas Ethiopia, now boosted as a major element, had sent only a very small air force. No

blame should be ascribed to Haile Selassie since he had a domestic revolt at home where rebels are hanged in public as a warning.

One is reminded of the fable about the Giant and the Dwarf in their battle against the Fierce Demon, when one contemplates the obvious fact that India "spear-headed" the attack on mercenaries in the Congo and the Tshombe faction. In that nursery story the Giant (in this case the majority of foreign countries furnishing volunteers in the Congo) pushed the Dwarf forward for heroic action. After each combat, the Dwarf returned *minus* one limb but cheered by the Giant for his prowess. Ultimately it occurs to the Dwarf that the Giant had not partaken of the risk of the fight in any adequate ratio. Really for the Congo fight, if it is to be resumed after cease-fire until all the Tshombe forces are exterminated, a smaller burden should be assigned to India. If we are sending Canberra jets, surely other participants in the alliance could also hire out aircraft in proportion, especially regard being had for the late Secretary-General's undertaking that the cost of action would be ultimately paid in U.S. dollars.

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CURRENT EVENTS ::

At the National Integration Conference, Acharya Kripalani remarked that there were precedents in Congress history when they used to hold 'Unity Conferences' and 'All Parties Conferences', hurriedly summoned in the wake of Hindu-Muslim riots or gruesome occurrences like the Chauri-Chaura tragedy which stirred leaders into the consciousness of their responsibility flowing from internal discords. He had, no doubt, that the breakdown of law and order in Jabalpure, Assam and other places had panicked Congress leaders into the staging of a demonstration under a new name 'national integration'. It is estimated that in the last fourteen years of Congress rule, there have been more firings than in the earlier period of Congress agitation—a charge statistically urged by the Jan Sangh party.

As on past occasions the "national representatives" were hand-picked in the Prime Minister's office and there were curious gaps and odd selections which did not escape notice. Any observer could without eye-strain discern election-strategy in the move, though camouflaged as a disinterested measure to consolidate the nation rather than to fortify the ruling party under a facade of consent.

In the intervals of the open session, Chief Ministers' conferences were being held behind the veil under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister with phenomenal

energy enabling the executive to evaluate the course of discussion so that in the end when questions like the 'Code of Conduct' were being streamlined and a Standing Committee of 37 was approved, the entire power of nomination was reserved as the prerogative of the Prime Minister. There is no elected sector. During the crowded hours, problems of interest to the Congress High Command were also in discussion *sub rosa* so that unity in dynamic action could be maintained in the next quarter witnessing the general election campaign. All the pro-Congress forces were obviously to concentrate themselves on the voting masses with dramatic effect. When under the stress of bewilderment in Amritsar and its apprehended aftermath, some backbenchers whispered about a short postponement of the Bihar session, it was promptly squelched by President Sanjiva Reddy who took off to Madurai, where rehearsals had been arranged along with the formal ceremony of endorsing the Congress manifesto already drafted by the Prime Minister. Patterns of guided democracy appearing in many newly-liberated countries are virtually being built up in India though without any change in the name-plate. For instance, President Sukarno administers guided democracy upon the advice of 24 colleagues nominated by himself. In substance, the parallelism is repeated in India in the eyes of several people, at

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

home and abroad, who look for the essence of things beneath the surface and are not beguiled by the carcass-features of democracy.

Actually the resolution containing the three-language formula adopted by the National Integration Conference amidst North Indian murmurs could only be tentative, because the original committee chaired by Indira Gandhi had appointed what is called "a high-powered body" under Dr. Sampurnanand who disclosed that only the preliminary stage had been reached in their enquiry, and that it would take a pretty long time to produce a report, after an all-India tour to ascertain the impact of teaching in Hindi right from the primary stage upto the university-level. Nevertheless, the Hindi diehards did not seem conciliatory, and it is remarkable that at Madurai the proposal was revived that the scripts of all languages in India should consist of Hindi characters. Mr. Nehru over-ruled the move right in the heart of Tamilnad, where such a sweeping project tampering with the alphabet would be preposterous. The utmost that Mr. C. Subramaniam, rated high by the Prime Minister, could do was that the Devanagari script *also* might exist without prejudice to the use and study of English as an associate-language until Hindi displaces all other speech in the long run. How long the run would take, cannot be specified.

Mr. K. M. Munshi who paid a compliment to the Prime Minister and was tersely told by Mr. Nehru that he accepted compliments at his own valuation, put forward the pragmatic view describing linguism as "the most powerful explosive force" in the country today. Mr. K. M. Munshi pointed out the importance of the English language as an integrating force. He

said: "The national consciousness of the country was the result of the last fifty or hundred years of English education. The psychological unity of the English-educated men from the universities forged the collective will for freedom. The greatest danger to the country today was that this psychological unity was being undermined, mainly because of the regionalization of the media of education in the universities."

Whilst the vital issue is in chaotic suspense, invidious efforts are in progress for the freeze-out of non-Hindi elements in the public services. A Bombay correspondent, who gives the warning in a letter to the press, says:

At present the syllabus for the I.A.S. examination is so balanced that almost all the candidates for this examination have to study at least one new subject. The introduction of Hindi as one of the optional subjects is not justifiable because candidates whose mother-tongue is Hindi can now offer their own mother-tongue as an optional subject instead of having to study a new subject.

Further, the introduction of Hindi as a medium of this examination, which is now under consideration, is bound to prejudice the chances of success of candidates educated in the English medium. One therefore hopes that the Government will maintain the *status quo* until the country is ready for a change.

Even after officiating as the honest broker, India has to exercise patience in the expectation that Kennedy and Khrushchev would meet. When Mr. Nehru is in America, he will continue in the role of the honest broker, not the kerbstone tout who promotes deals unlike the licensed broker accustomed to practise honesty. When Philip the Fair was on the throne of France claiming the vast wealth of the Templars against Pope Boniface plotting for all church-property, the twain would never meet despite the activities of brokers suspected, alas, of dishonesty.

They were pressed to meet for the purpose of peace in medieval

Europe. Ultimately, King Philip went the length of addressing a missive beginning: "Philip, by the Grace of God, King of France, to Boniface who assumes to be Chief Pontiff, little or no greeting!" That an earthly king should so address the occupant of St. Peter's Chair indicated fall in prestige, to regain which Boniface excommunicated the audacious monarch, the honest emissaries profiting by the breakdown. There is a limit to

honest brokerage. Clement the Fifth who succeeded Boniface feeling insecure at Rome, moved the papacy to Avignon, and there he dwelt like the Dalai Lama at Dharamsala, until a further turn of the wheel of destiny restored him to his high estate. On the Stock Exchange, honesty is not always a meritorious virtue. A special hearing power is required in the shouts of sub-brokers and jobbers in Dalal Street. P.J.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIA TODAY?

By ISAAC MATHAI

"Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely"—that was Jawaharlal in his thirties. Today it is Nehru the Prime Minister of India saying, "I do not fear God!" That was in a speech in Madras when he was angry with Rajaji and his Swatantra Party. Its echo is spreading from Kanyakumari to Kashmir. The reverberations will last for generations to come. How the mighty have fallen! If the salt has lost its savour wherewith shall it be salted?

"Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," said Solomon in uttering an eternal truth. As was true then, so is it today and for ever.

Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. John Matthai, Kidwai, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Ramaswami Mudaliar, H. P. Mody, M. R. Jayaker, Asoka Mehta, V. P. Menon, J. R. D. Tata, N. G. Ranga, K. M. Munshi and many more—impressive leaders these, who have instilled courage and confidence in the minds of the people, and would carry the burden lightly on their shoulders. Why is it some of them carried on under stress and strain, why some resigned, and why the rest of them still alive are nowhere near the Cabinet!

Time was when congressmen used to boast that even a lamp post dressed up in khadi and Gandhi cap would win the elections. In their first flush of victory they forgot that the Congress was only a limb of the entire body of public opinion in India. They thought that the Congress was India, and started with a one-party democracy which later on degenerated into a one-man democracy.

An honest Congress should have encouraged at least one more party in the country. Instead, the Congress born and brought up in conservatism usurped to itself the functions of a socialist party and programme, resulting in con-

fusion in the ranks of the old conservative Congress, surprise among the socialist group, and utter bewilderment among the millions in the country. Three parties emerged—the Congress, the socialists and the communists—each trying to outbid the other two in its "socialistic pattern of society". The result is white cup socialism, pink socialism, and red socialism. In the meanwhile, inflation is galloping forward, Frustration has gripped us all today.

There is only one solution today. If all the existing parties honestly aim at socialism, let them merge into the original socialist party; and the new found Swatantra Party exist as a checkmate to any impulsive variety of ultra-socialism. A council of elders is as important, perhaps more important, than an exuberant youthful leap in the dark. When the one fails or falters, the other will take up the reins.

"Rajaji has gone too old," says an "eternal youth" at his three-score and ten years and more. But in the oldest of all democracies and in the mother of all parliaments, in Britain, it is in the old Conservatism and in its tried and trusted ways that people are putting more and more faith and confidence. Socialism is being better administered by them than by the socialists themselves, and they never take the country anywhere near the slough of despond.

So a new party is the supreme need of the moment and Rajaji has given the clarion call to gather under the banner. It is a party with a programme bold in its conception and bolder in its execution. Let us keep our eggs in different baskets. The Congress has failed miserably. It has proved itself not worthy of our trust. Let us not place power in the hands of one party alone. "Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely."



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CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF CANDIDATES

By B. SHIVA RAO

Political parties in India are now busy with the selection of candidates for the next general elections all over the country. The Congress Party has evolved a certain procedure for this purpose (though it does not seem to be applied with uniformity in all the States) and runs into serious difficulties in many places because of conflicting group rivalries and personal ambitions.

The election manual of the British Conservative Party contains much material on the procedure for the adoption of a candidate which may be of interest and use in this country.

The central office of a party is asked to submit to a constituency (by the chairman of the association concerned) a preliminary list of suitable people. From this list, containing not only the names but the detailed records of the persons mentioned, a panel is prepared of possible candidates. The selection committee of the association in the constituency scrutinises the names in the panel and may add a few local names. Such a panel may consist of seven or eight persons who are then invited to the constituency for an interview. The number is reduced at this stage to two or three who then appear before the executive council of the association. Each applicant is expected to make a short speech before the council and answer questions before the council selects one candidate by ballot. Even this is not final: its choice is submitted to a general meeting of the association for its approval; and only then does the man or the woman become the prospective parliamentary candidate for that constituency. This happens long before the announcement of a general election. On the dissolution of Parliament, another general meeting of the association takes place for the formal adoption of the candidate.

All the would-be candidates are seen by a panel of M.Ps and leading members of the party's Central Executive, and there may be, in addition, a separate interview with its Vice-Chairman. It is important to note that no constituency is left for long without a candidate, whether a general election is imminent or not.

What are the general conditions which govern the choice of a candidate? First, he must be most likely to win the seat and to serve the constituency with dis-

tingtion. Secondly, the wider needs of the party as a whole in Parliament are also borne in mind.

The selection committee and the executive council of each constituency are reminded of the qualifications to look for in a candidate. Speaking ability is no doubt important; but even more are "character, past record and political knowledge". The local committees are asked to satisfy themselves that would-be candidates are actuated by a genuine desire to serve the community and not primarily by self-interest. An application should not be rejected because of the limited political background of a candidate, if he has "al-

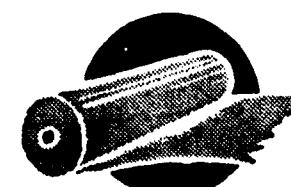
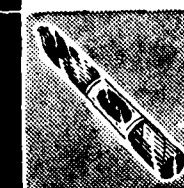
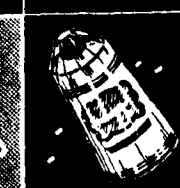
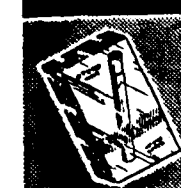
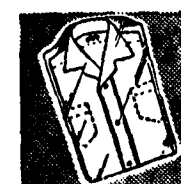
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ready distinguished himself in other fields and possesses ability to make a useful contribution to the work of Parliament.

Every possible encouragement, it is emphasized, should be given to local claimants because of their greater knowledge of the problems of a constituency. The endeavour should be made to ensure that all applicants have a fair and equal chance of selection on their merits. Among the factors governing the selection of a candidate is his capacity to nurse his seat assiduously.

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Character, ability and personality are likely to prove more important and electorally more valuable, and the final choice must rest on merit alone.

It may also be of use to refer to other aspects of the procedure for the choice of candidates. The party as a whole and every constituency association are reminded of the fact that the

capacity of a party to govern the country must depend on the calibre of its representatives in Parliament. Experience of parliamentary work, far from being considered a handicap (as is implicit in the ten years' rule of the Congress Party), is regarded as an asset. Subject to certain general party rules, the association in each constituency en-

joys complete freedom to select its own candidate.

In recent years, the financial relationship of a candidate or an M.P. and its constituency association has undergone great changes. Until about a quarter of a century ago, the practice was common for candidates to defray the whole of their election expenses. In addition, many were expected to pay a large annual subscription. But since the Second World War rules have been made which preclude a candidate from making any contribution towards his election expenses other than those of a personal nature, though in some cases even these are defrayed by the association. There is a maximum (I believe of £25 a year) for his subscription to the association during his candidature, which may be increased to double the amount after his election to Parliament. But in no circumstances is the payment of subscription a condition for adoption as a candidate. The rules are so framed as to enable an association to make its choice of candidates on merit alone, and from the widest possible field. It is laid down that these rules should not in any way impair the chances of a candidate or the independence of an M.P. Burke's warning is considered appropriate even today:

Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion. . . . authoritative instructions, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, though contrary to the dearest convictions of his judgment and conscience, are utterly unknown to the laws of the land, and against the tenor of our constitution.

The success of a candidate in a constituency is not regarded as his sole responsibility. In fact, once a selection has been made, the entire party association in the constituency goes into action. One of the most important duties of voluntary workers is the maintenance of a confidential register with all available information, particularly in regard to voters who are either dead or have moved from their old residences to new places. Such information is necessary to prevent impersonation and fraud on polling day. The voluntary workers collect much information in regard to the politics of the various voters, the views and interests of specific groups in a constituency, and other useful details. Copies of these records, which are maintained by every party, are distributed to polling agents, to reduce fraud to a minimum.

INTEGRATION CONFERENCE—A RETREAT

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Congress is celebrating the Integration Conference, as the British celebrated Dunkirk—a retreat from a hopeless position. Because 150 hand-picked individuals passed pious resolutions, Nehru declared that clumsy parochial walls of caste-ism, communalism, regionalism and linguism, are crumbling down. But these walls are stronger than the walls of Jericho. It requires more than an act of faith to give people the sense of fairness for which they will bury individual differences.

On the other hand, the conference showed how the Congress had broken up the unity the country possessed at the time of Independence. The acting President admitted that linguistic States were a mistake. Though it was proposed that India should become a unitary State, with multilingual regions, the conference reached no solution to end the poison of separation which linguistic States have introduced. What happened in Bombay and Assam may still be repeated in the Punjab, as Tara Singh may only have retreated to take a better jump. In any case when language is the basis of education and employment in each State, probably the only Indians left will be, as Frank Anthony suggested, the Anglo-Indians who will speak the same language throughout the country. The fact that the conference, which had before it the Shastri formula, failed to give a single thought to it only suggests that the governments in power in the States cannot last except by pampering to those who only know the language of the majority.

Education was recorded as the instrument for fostering national unity. There is no evidence that the textbooks, however bad they are, have suggested any antagonisms between the different sections of India. What education has suffered from is the incessant change made by State governments without reference to the opinion of experts in education. Further changes are proposed, first all-India textbooks to be drawn up by eminent scholars, which will simply mean more impractical idealism, involving additional expense to students for having to buy new textbooks. The proposals for an All-India Educational Service and for making education a Central or concurrent subject have been left over for consideration, as apparently State governments are not disposed to reduce their powers over schools and teachers.

The important questions were, first, about the language for minorities. The only concession made is that the mother-tongue should be allowed in the elementary classes, which will still handicap the minority in the higher classes which qualify them for employment. Here again the Shastri formula could have been applied, allowing schools in English or the Hindi medium according to the choice of the minorities. The second question was about discipline. This follows the example of public life in which the Congress has made success dependent on self-interest, corruption, indiscipline overcome only by compromise. Unless the Congress as the majority party respects the best standards, the students cannot behave differently.

The Congress however registered a retreat, first, on the Devanagari script common for all Indian languages. The Prime Minister was content to treat Devanagari as an additional script forgetting that the student, with three languages to learn already, must be a prodigy if he can master a fourth script. However, for the time being, we may regard the proposal for the Devanagari script as shelved. The second retreat was in respect of Hindi as the medium of instruction at university level. It has been recognized that English cannot be immediately replaced and that in any case, it will immediately be replaced by the regional languages. Thirdly, it was registered that English will continue to be the medium for inter-State communication which is a real advance, since Parliament has not so far recorded the Prime Minister's assurances in this respect.

The conference evolved a political code of six "don'ts". The code is still tentative because in the first place, it was recognized that as only the leftist party had been specifically represented, the other parties will have still to agree. In the second place, it will be difficult to find so many unnecessary, repetitious and contradictory statements together. The first "don't" is creation of hatred between different classes and castes, for which the Government have already amended the Penal Code and the People's Representation Act, making it perilous for other parties to ventilate local grievances without running foul of the law. The second "don't" is encouraging of violence and condemnation of the same. The law in this matter is very old and a better resolution would have been that the Government should enforce it irrespective of political con-

siderations. The third "don't" is similar except that it refers to breach of the peace and that it allows the same when "all methods of conciliation and mediation are exhausted". Just how an august assembly could permit the exception, it is impossible to imagine. The fifth "don't" provides another excuse for breaking the law, that of the natural functioning of political parties. Between them, the three resolutions probably create a new licence for disorders, provided they are political. The fourth "don't" is that political parties should not break up each other's meetings, which they have not done so far and against which there are ample legal provisions. The sixth "don't" which is most important—is that "political power at any level should not be used to further personal and party interests". Since the Congress is the only party with power, no one asked what it was prepared to do to limit its abuse, which is so well known, that one wonders if there was anyone among the 150 members of the conference, who could think and speak independently.

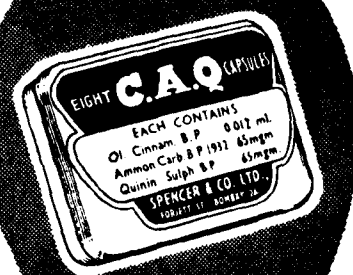
The conference decided that there should be a permanent Integration Council of 37 which, apart from ministers, would consist of seven leaders of parliamentary parties and seven leaders of eminence. The fact that the conference did not select the leaders instead of leaving the Government to handpick its supporters, shows how completely the 150 persons assembled came under the hypnotism of the Prime Minister and the Congress, who conceded some mistakes so that they could fight the elections in a mist of good intentions.

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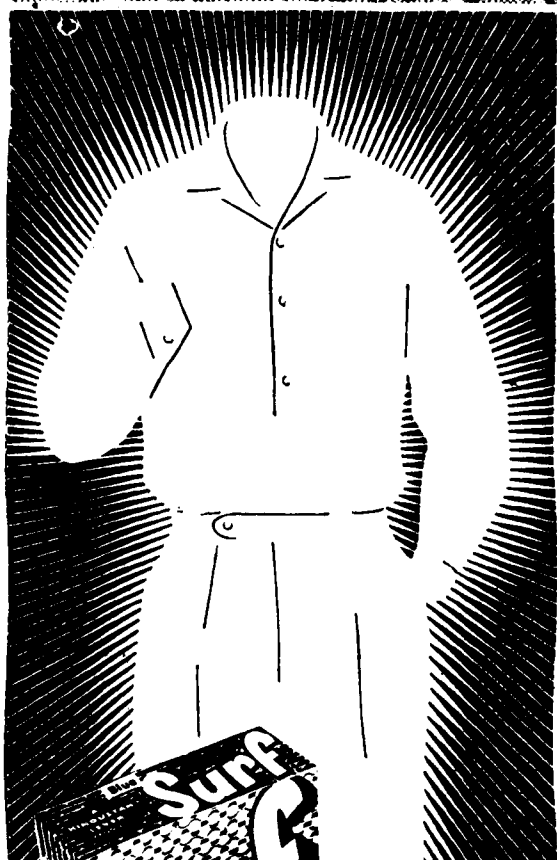
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Dear Reader

If the Congress is returned again to power, it would be an endorsement of its present policies of taking the country to the brink of communism. The inevitable inefficiency and failure of the Congress Government and the official machinery will then push the country over the brink into communism or a military regime. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru will then discover a slogan to reconcile the nation to that fate. This is the crisis of the present situation and the Swatantra Party warns the nation to beware of it.

★
Totalitarianism leads up to a demand for complete conformity of subjective feelings and beliefs as well as of external behaviour. Let us hope that national integration under one party rule will not deteriorate into a variation of control over thought, and become another type of the communist plan to deal with "diseases in thought and politics". Total control over the inner man is the goal of dictators—not always for the sake of personal power but in the pursuit of what the dictator believes to be desirable in the interest of the nation under his command. The essential foundation of dictatorship is a belief that citizens do not know what is good for them and it is only the ruler who knows it.

★
Did Sri Jawaharlal Nehru go to Madura and Madras as Prime Minister of India or as Congress's chief propagandist? What is the purpose of convening the Panchayat rally so that the Prime Minister returning from the A.I.C.C. meeting may address it in his subtle way, confusing the party and its programme with the State which belongs to all parties, big and small, and not only to the Congress Party? It is a convenient way of pushing the ambiguity to its fullest potentiality and getting the party's electioneering appeal to go to every village in the State at State expense, and with all the authority of the Prime Minister. It

is exploitation naked and reprehensible. The timing cannot be explained away. The surprising thing is that the Congress Party entrenched so strongly should still think it necessary to resort to all these tricks of propaganda. It shows that the fear of God has somehow crept into the guilty conscience of the Congress Party.

★
Democracy is majority rule. Majority rule has been popularized as 'rule by the people', 'will of the governed' and similar phrases. Our republic was designed not as simple majority rule, but so as to give government limited powers—powers limited by the Constitution and particularly by the articles on fundamental rights. Certain activities of the people were saved from majority rule. But these saving provisions have been eaten into. The aim of the Swatantra Party is to restore the Constitution to its original shape. In this sense the Swatantra Party can truly claim to be the only constitutional party in India. It has to fight the Congress Party as well as the communists, who both have their axes raised against the fundamental rights inscribed in the Constitution as it was solemnly finalized in 1950.

★
Sri Kamalanayan's suggestion at the A.I.C.C. meeting is very praiseworthy, but I fear the Congress bosses, not even Mr. Nehru, will accept it. It would be splendidly reasonable if they did. The ambiguity between the State flag and that of the Congress Party is one of the many deceptive subterfuges indulged in by the party. It is the most obvious ambiguity among them all and it is very important that it should be removed as Sri Kamalanayan suggested. Let the tricolour flag be the State flag, he proposed, and let the Congress Party adopt some other flag for party purpose and remove the confusion. I am glad there is one person in the Congress crowd who has displayed fairmindedness, and makes an honest attempt to be

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just. Sri Kamalanayan was responsible, once upon a time, to protest against the Congress Party taking over the entire 'goodwill' of the Indian National Congress, which it was not fair to do, and pressed for carrying out Gandhiji's well-known suggestion embodied in his "last will and testament". Sri Kamalanayan Bajaj is the eldest son of Jamnalal Bajaj, the illustrious Congressman who died prematurely and who was righthand man to Gandhiji during the Non-co-operation Movement and in all his constructive programme.

★
That the reading of English newspapers stands on top and is still rising is not accepted as a conclusive demonstration of what should be the official all-India medium for politics and government. That entries for the competition announced for cultural literature for neo-literates were required to send copies of the English translation of every book submitted was felt to be an additional piece of confessional evidence against the Hindi project. So this rule has been withdrawn; probably the translation will be made privately at official cost, so that it may not be public evidence of the premier position of English. Some time we may expect a kind

of control on English dailies and a subsidy for Hindi dailies.

Satyam eva Jayate; but it sometimes takes time. Truth is slowly and steadily making headway in the language dispute, both in administration and in education. English is, after all the noise and confusion, getting recognized as the only genuine, effective and useful solution, although pride or pro-Hindi selfishness is still a heavy clog in the progress towards wisdom.

Walter Lippmann sadly and truly says that the world is not ready for the kind of man Hammar-skjoeld was. "He was a Western man in the highest traditions of political excellence in the West. He was in fact the embodiment of the noblest western political achievement—that laws can be administered by judges and civil servants who have their first alle-

giance to the law and not to their personal, their class or even their national interests." Here Lippmann has incidentally struck the true note for good government under democracy. Alas that this is so painfully absent in the experiments made in India where the ruling party believes that the privilege of a governing party is to exploit the administration for party purposes.

An eminent columnist in the *New Leader* has analysed Khrushchev's position and set out the 'advantages' he has against the West. Khrushchev's breast is covered with medals and his mouth is full of words and he has instilled fear in the bones of young Westerners. Khrushchev has the qualities of all the previous dictators who struck terror in the western world, militant Islam, the Huns, Napoleon, the Kaiser and Hitler. He has like them a great mass of following. He has, moreover, plenty of weapons of destruction and secrets too, to add. He has absolute rule with no trouble about elections and other such democratic worries. He follows a set of morals quite different from traditional codes. Murder and lying are permitted in the communist code to attain desired ends. Yet Mr. William Bohn feels sure that America can stand up to him (Khrushchev) if she does not surrender to alarm. He thinks that America, from President down to the people, is now doing the right thing. All this is hopeful.

But it seems to fit in with the new plan of threats and counter-threats *ad infinitum*, which will surely one day end up in a call to make the threats good—which means total destruction. We are up against a fundamental—fire cannot quench fire, a fundamental which Buddha, Socrates, Jesus and Gandhi stressed.

"The possibility exists that many Japanese will become impatient of the apparent ineffectiveness of parliamentary democracy, and arrive at the erroneous conclusion that something more au-

thoritarian, which at the same time is more in keeping with Japanese tradition, must be created to take its place. The truth is that parliamentary democracy is not yet in the Japanese bloodstream, and that is where it ultimately must be if it is to succeed". Thus writes Sir Esler Dening, a diplomat who was born in Japan and who has spent a good part of his life there, and who was recently British Ambassador in Japan. If we substitute 'Indian' for 'Japanese' and the present for the future tense, we may not be far wrong.

A great historian of the last world war, Herbert Feis, has in his latest volume brought out the folly of a conquering nation demanding total surrender. The effects of such a policy are not apparent at the moment of victory and the victorious are misled into what later becomes a misfortune. Herbert Feis reflects the opinion of the wiser section of present-day world-statesmen that the last war should have been ended at an earlier stage, thereby averting Russia's declaration of war and the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy. If this had been done and Japan allowed to retain Formosa and the Kuriles and Ryukyus, and not completely restricted to the home islands, and China not presumed to remain a faithful friend and ally, history would have taken a different course. "What seemed right at one historical juncture has turned into patent wrong by the passage of time." It is true, though sad, that we have not even now learned how to protect ourselves. Must the inexorable historical process be left to its own cruel evolution? Must vanity and error and misfortune be for ever man's lot? No, we must learn. These "ifs" and "might-have-beens" of belated wisdom are not entirely waste of human intelligence. The scientific method of trial and error is based on the practical value of these "ifs" and "might-have-beens". Let us not throw up our hands but maintain confidence in our capacity to learn. Total victory has proved to be totally wrong. Now the question is whe-

October 14, 1961

ther total destruction is a valid answer to misbehaviour or the proper termination of fear and suspicion. Must wisdom wait until we actually see the catastrophe?

It is instructive to follow the course of Soviet economic aid to China. In 1955 China received 700 million dollars in loans. In 1956 the amount dropped to 50 million dollars. In the year following the Soviets granted a loan of less than 10 million dollars. Russian economic assistance was suspended in 1958. China has repaid these loans with interest—in sums varying from 300 to 400 million dollars annually, during the last three years. There is something in this to ponder over for our borrowing experts in the Congress Government. May it not be the proper thing to imitate China in her moderation in borrowing?

A letter has appeared in the daily press bitterly complaining about a tennis match commentary being given at great length in Hindi in the Southern zone A.I.R.

SWARAJYA

13

Nothing can be more stupid than this attempt to deceive oneself and others about the progress of Hindi in the South. The time given to this Hindi sports commentary was a perfect waste and an anti-integration irritant of the worst type. These attempts at compulsory Hindi in the South, in various shapes, must be given up if Hindi lovers wish that the language should attain its natural place in the scheme of life in non-Hindi areas. But there seems no likelihood of any wisdom dawning in this respect.

It was a very graceful, subtle and beautiful appeal Mr. Munshi made to Sri Nehru at the Integration Conference. Mahadeva became Neelakantha when at the churning of the ocean, Maha Vishnu, according to the request of the gods in dire distress, appealed to Mahadeva to swallow the all-consuming, burning poison that rose from the ocean as the first fruit of the churning. ब्रह्मि ब्रह्मि cried the gods, whereupon Maha Vishnu smiled, went up to Mahadeva and said, "Here is the first

fruit of the effort of the gods. As the first among the gods, to You belongs legitimately this first product. It is offered to You by way of giving You the first honours on this occasion. Take it, Lord, and consume it."

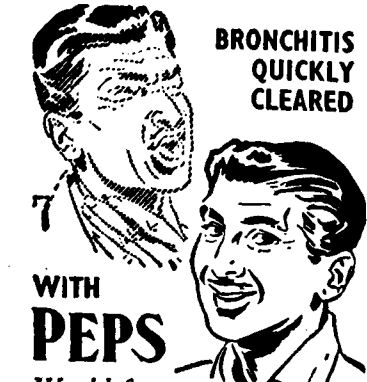
... .. शङ्खचक्रधरो हरिः ॥
उवाचैनं स्मितं कृत्वा रुद्रं शूलधरो हरिः ॥
दैवतैर्मध्यमाने तु यत्पूर्वं समुपस्थितम् ॥
तत्त्वदीयं सुरश्रेष्ठ सुराणामग्रतो हि यत् ॥
अग्रपूजामिह स्थित्वा गृहाणेदं विषं प्रभो ॥

(Ramayana Balakandam,

Sarga 45. Sl. 22, 23, 24)

Mahadeva accepted it and held the burning poison in His throat which charred it black, and He became Neelakantha. The Congress having churned up this poison of national disintegration by its own policies, the Congress chief should swallow the poison, suggested Mr. Munshi, even as Mahadeva accepted His responsibility. It was courtier-like, subtle and beautiful. Mr. Munshi's classical learning coming up aptly to suit the occasion.

C.R.



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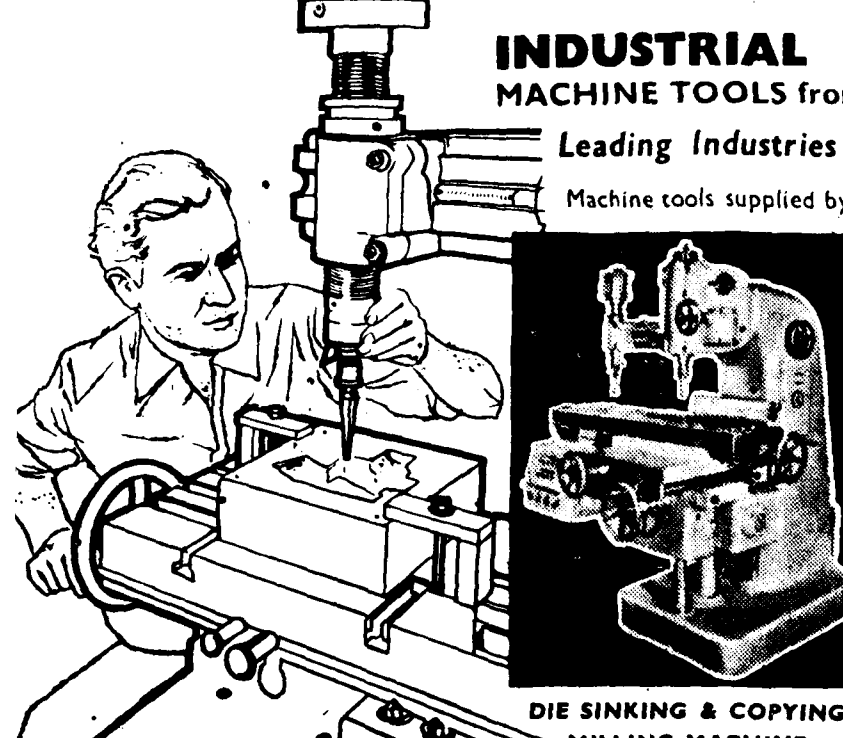
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LEADERSHIP ON TRAIL

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: After Assam and Jabalpur, Aligarh and Chandausi—and (as *The Statesman* pithily but pertinently put it) only a few days after the National Integration Conference! Indeed, the echoes of the perorations in Delhi had hardly died down, when the rudest of shocks came to us all from the home-State of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister.

The clashes among fellow-students of the Aligarh University on communal lines could well have been anticipated by those who were in the know of recent developments in that much-discussed place where all academic calm was ravaged by both communal and communist cliques under official umbrage. What happened in Aligarh—and it was a short cry from Aligarh to Chandausi—might have been avoided if the well-meaning and the exceedingly earnest Minister of Education, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, could have had from the beginning his own way. Not for the first time is the Centre late in realizing the utter futility of merely tinkering with the problems that needed to be grappled with a strong hand. It is amusing to talk now of administration having been weak or inefficient or partisan, as if a new discovery has been made, when far worse charges made even on the floor of the Houses of Parliament went just unheeded.

The search for a good man to replace Col. Zaidi as Vice-Chancellor has thus begun not a day too early. It is absurd to complain of paucity of men if the disposition is there to find men, good and true, for saving the Aligarh University from ignominy. Junius should wonder if, for instance, one particular name, justly honoured wherever the dignity is known, has not struck the authorities—that of Mr. Justice Ansari (Chief Justice of the Kerala High Court) now on leave, preparatory to retirement. One of our most urbane and broad-minded men; he is a nephew of the former Congress President, Dr. M. A. Ansari. He should be an ideal choice.

No new Vice-Chancellor, however eminent and effective, can work miracles. His very functioning is conditioned by certain other factors. If the men around him are such as deserve to live either in Pakistan or in China,—and they are allowed to carry on their underground activities,—nothing much can possibly be done. Since no fresh

probe into the affairs of the Aligarh University is necessary at all, it is imperative that Dr. Shrimali should be given a free hand to deal with the situation.

There is however another aspect of the Aligarh University problem which merits serious consideration at higher levels. Is it necessary that Aligarh should always have a Muslim Vice-Chancellor or Banaras a Hindu confere? It looks odd, indeed incongruous, that the Union Government should still think on those lines, in utter violation of the new spirit of national integration of which we hear so much these days. It is perhaps a travesty of secularism to talk of a Muslim University or a Hindu University and it is time that the country got rid of such nomenclature—and nonsense.

Mr. Nehru has now given a new cry for his Congress parrots to fill the air with a new melody. From the President down to the last volunteer, everyone has begun to talk of national integration, as if he alone knows all about it and nobody else does. This reminds me of a Chesterton story. Once asked in his village to talk about "Culture", G.K.C. descended on his audience with all his weight, in the following vein, however seemingly light-heartedly: "Friends, you know of course what culture is. It is what you and I inside this hall have and what no one outside has!"

At the A.I.C.C. session in Madurai which was doubly momentous because of the seal put upon the Congress manifesto and the P.M.'s explosion that the unity of the country will be maintained at the risk of even civil war, there seemed to be little realization that the Congress was submitting itself to the severest of tests. The choice of candidates is the very crux of the problem. Invariably one is put up if only because one can exploit one's community or caste in the constituency where it is strongly entrenched.

If the Congress eschews all such considerations, indeed rises above them and gets prepared to lose elections rather than win them by feeding casteism out of its hand, it can yet redeem itself. If, on the other hand, it continues to perpetuate its existence by revelling in the very absurdities that it so flamboyantly decries, it will stand self-condemned and thoroughly discredited. The hour of test is near.

SYMBOL OF INDO-U.S. FRIENDSHIP

It was a fine gesture for the American Government to make (on October 2) presentations of Gandhi-stamp albums to distinguished and representative men in several places in India. Mahatma Gandhi lived and fought for humanity and not only for India, and America's stamp issue in recognition of this is a gesture which India greatly appreciates. The American nation and our nation are both classic rebels against Britain, and the present friendship between Britain and America and that between Britain and India are both standing demonstrations of wisdom, and of divine rule over human affairs which works for ultimate good through seeming conflicts and travails.

It may be pointed out that in spite of every material advance and progress of technology, the American people and Government have wisely maintained, in all their solemn efforts, reverence and explicit recognition of the unseen omnipotent Power. Gandhi's life was a living sermon to teach people how to hold on to God in all their efforts and in all their difficulties.

By way of contrast, those now in charge of the affairs of our country seem to avoid any reference to this unseen Almighty Power on such occasions. At the recent Integration Conference, pledges have been proposed for children and others which put the Republic of India in the place of God. No pledge which leaders conceive in order to meet a grave situation will have power to bind or rise above the level of a mere statement except through Religion. Why should we so carefully avoid any reference to the Divine Power unless indeed we are terribly afraid of offending atheists and agnostics, who of course may be spared from being so bound if they wish? Religion has come into being in order to support man's efforts to build civilization which in its ultimate form is self-control and not technological advance.

October 14, 1961

SWARAJYA

15

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

SEMI-DOCTORS SCHEME

Sir,—He who kills a thousand persons is a half-doctor, is a Tamil saying and our Tamil Government is evidently anxious to bring home to us the import of that saying by introducing the semi-doctors scheme. The Third Five Year Plan provides for over Rs. 25 crores for birth-control programme, including mobile sterilization, infanticide and abortion are penal offences, and what is birth-control and family planning except improved editions of the same? That huge sum should be set apart to be spent on promoting this degrading policy is a pointer how far this country has travelled away from *Ahimsa*. Gandhiji must be turning in his grave to be told that his cherished moral ideal is being trampled under foot by a Government headed by no other than the one whom he had named as his heir.

Madras

SANGU GANESAN

THROW OUT CONGRESS FROM POWER

Sir,—Casteism, linguism, provincialism, moral decay and corruption, nepotism and other ills corroding India today are the direct results of the Congress policies in these 14 years of so-called Freedom. Freedom to starve, freedom to rot on the pavements, freedom to remain unemployed for years—these are the blessings of uninterrupted Congress rule.

A gang of 12 dacoits raided a peaceful home in the night, distributed the booty among themselves, and on the next morning they were the first to proclaim to the whole village about the sad loss of the householders. They held urgent meetings to collect funds for rehabilitating the inmates. The villagers were successfully put off the trail, and they looked around for the culprits!

This story illustrates figuratively all that is happening today in the country. The Congress has done all the damage and now looks for the culprits!

Linguistic re-distribution of States was a tragic folly, and it has led to all the fissiparous tendencies we are today witnessing. English language has been the greatest integrating force besides its being the international language, but the fact has been ignored. The narrow outlook of the Congress rulers has resulted in fall in educational standards to a very low level. The concept of 'secularism' has undermined faith in religion. Spiritualization of our culture is the very basis on which a strong national sense could have been built. Without a spi-

ritual foundation no human effort could succeed.

The economic and financial policies of the Government have led to inflation which, in turn, has given birth to all-round frustration. The taxation policies have given rise to unhealthy practices. Under this permit-licence-raj the Congress has extended its octopus-hold on the people.

We have had enough of this party and we should work for a change for the better, when *Dharma* could prevail replacing all the evils we see today. If we do not wake up and turn out the Congress Government, we will have to suffer for another five years yet. Let us throw the Congress from power, as it has misused its power.

Bombay

PREMINATHI

CONGRESS MANIFESTO

Sir,—It is amazing that the Congress, after fourteen years of rule in unbroken continuity, should make a 6,000-word lengthy manifesto, full of platitudes, appealing to the sentiments of the people for their suffrage.

What does it matter to the indigent common man if mighty dams and big projects have come up under Five Year Plans financed by grinding taxation and mounting foreign loans? The distressing present has been despicably ignored. The people have been asked to tighten their belts and extend their begging bowls beyond our frontiers.

In spite of the ruling party's tall claims the country is still not self-sufficient in food. The prices are rising. The standard of life of the people is yet to improve, while the number of unemployed is mounting up. We do not believe in the so-called democratic spirit with its regimentation of life and denial of 'jam today'. The vague promises and lingering assurances and grandiloquent expression of sympathy for the cause of the depressed, distressed and disgruntled have all remained only in pious resolutions.

Instead of pinning faith on one man and one party (the Congress), let us cast our fortunes with the party that will make democracy meaningful and purposeful and uphold the dignity of the individual and fulfil the aspirations of the people. Let us truly strive for a good government of the people for the people, with freedom of thought, expression and speech as guaranteed in our Constitution.

Madras

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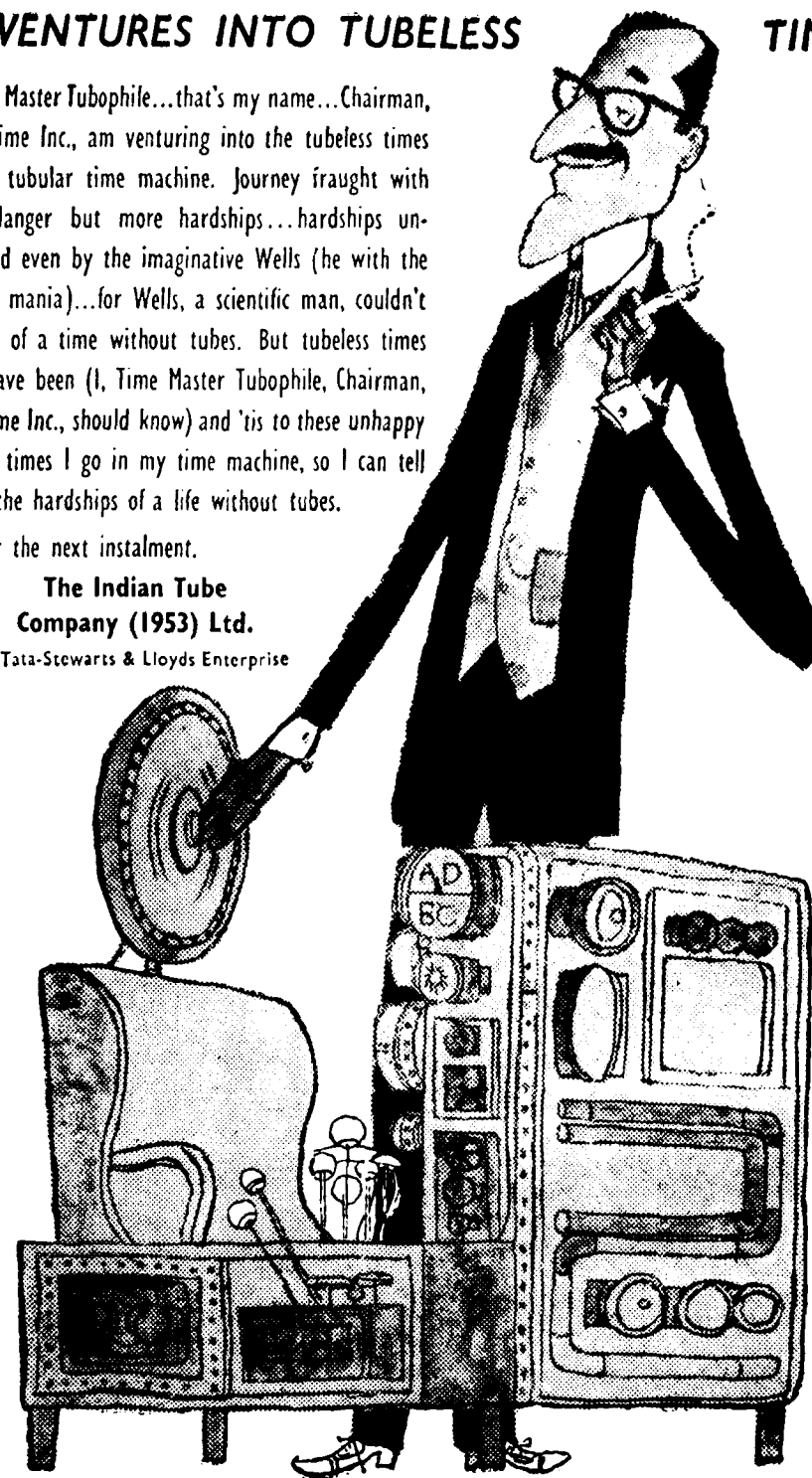
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Editor : POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 16

MADRAS, OCTOBER 21, 1961

Price 15 nP

WHY I AM ANGRY

By C. RAJACOPALACHARI

When slavery was part of the economy of America, I have no doubt the slaves who were treated as favourites and enjoyed concessions and privileges were very happy with the slave system. They would not support any movement for the abolition of slavery or the extinction of such special privileges. The badly treated slaves, too, in an economy where there was not room for free labour, must have thought that the slavery system was good because they were fed and looked after to some extent, whereas those who were not slaves were starving.

Similarly in a permit-licence-economy such as the Congress Party has, in its wisdom, established in this country, the businessmen who get favours and flourish under it, relative to those who are not favoured, want it to be continued and support the Congress Party. The scarcity conditions created by the policy give opportunities for illegal profit—what is called the black market—which would disappear in a free economy. Businessmen therefore support the Congress and in turn this gives a sense of confidence to the Congress bosses. These do not know that in spite of all this, the business community as a whole would much prefer to be free of the humiliations and harassments of the officials who are employed in enforcing the restrictions inherent in the permit-licence-raj. Freedom is certainly more conducive to happiness and prosperity, and

the better sense of the world of businessmen would vote for it if they could overcome fear and shortsighted selfishness. I do not believe they enjoy the humiliations they suffer at the hands of ignorant officials working under the umbrella of the Congress Party.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru referred to me with respect and affection and expressed his wonder why I speak in so much anger. Let it be called anger, but can he not guess why I am angry? Does he not see how a people who were on the whole honest and God-fearing have now been everywhere made by the policies enforced by Government into a greedy and dishonest people? Does he not realize that a fine cadre of officials with a keen sense of justice, honesty and public service have now been made into spineless flatterers and partisans? I see fear sitting everywhere like a poisonous fog on all the significant sections of the people.

I see God disappearing and mammon occupying His place in the hearts of men. I see traditional values of life centering round compassion steadily being starved out by an all-devouring State.

And I feel all this is due to the policy of over-government adopted by the Congress Party under Sri Nehru's leadership which gives it a powerful instrument for perpetuating itself in office.

Ignorant officials and, worse than that, ignorant and insolent ministers are placed in positions of great authority over all the men

who follow avocations of service to the motherland and who have proved their worth.

The rural people are being deprived of leadership and the peasants made into sheep without shepherds. The guarantee of compensation for any property that the State takes away from a citizen is turned into a fraud and unworthy pretence, and the gates of justice are closed against the transaction. I see tyranny, insolence and corruption made the permanent official atmosphere. I see chief ministers of States, finance and food ministers at the top level of the regime going about extorting money for the party without fear or shame. The Prime Minister's expressed shame in connection with these collections is used as a further sanction for a monopoly in such extortions. I happen to remember a time when such things could not be thought of.

I see the field being ploughed up for communism and total loss of freedom. I see waste on a stupendous scale going on with borrowed money. What do we need aircraft carriers for? Or atomic power enterprises? Occidentomania misleads the Dictator and the fawning crowd around him eggs him on. Our foreign liabilities are pyramiding up with no plan or possibility of honourable discharge. Graft is growing into an accepted convention.

I can't help being sad. I am not entirely hopeless; so my grief looks like anger.

DUST IN THE EYES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

At Madurai, Prime Minister Nehru suggested to the A.I.C.C. meeting, the adoption of the Hindi script for regional languages on the plea that Hindi-speaking people could thereby be attracted to learn South Indian languages. Daughter Indira Gandhi "commended the three-language formula and urged Hindi-speaking people to learn one or two of the South Indian languages and the non-Hindi speaking people to learn Hindi as an effective means of emotional integration". No proposal for putting English into Devanagari was mooted.

From the very launching of an official language prescribed in the Constitution, a consolation had been offered that in the ousting of the slave-language (English) the burden of change should be equalized through the injunction that Northerners who had the advantage of Hindi as the mother-tongue should learn one language of Dravidian stock, a rule more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

Mahatma Gandhi on the question of an all-India language as the key to freedom, has often been misquoted. His compromise was that Hindustani should be learnt by all; and that if Indians really craved for Swaraj, they should at the same time master both scripts, Urdu and Hindi for level advance, without using the current cliché

about 'emotional integration'. If the linguistic battle had been seriously waged in the Constituent Assembly of 1948, the controversy would still have been in vigorous progress at the cost of independence which became feasible on the presentation of the Constituent Assembly's report (subject to the rejection of the Cabinet Mission's plan and, therefore, the partition of India). South Indian statesmen as also "The Modern Man"—as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was called until elimination from the Congress Cabinet after the procurement of political freedom—professed willing assent to get over with it. Once the problem was shelved by concession to the Tandon-school of linguistic totalitarianism, the real draftsmen of the Indian Constitution led by Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and B. N. Rao could apply themselves to evolve a workable scheme. The danger of religious tensions was stilled by the adoption of the term "secular", a word whose meaning has still to crystallize, as the country stands up to the experience of freedom and party-government.

On the other hand, the school of a ten-year reprieve for non-Hindi-speaking peoples was regarded by fanatics as an opportunity to be promptly exploited. On the transfer of power, the highest priority they could conceive of was the enforcement of Hindi and concentration on the chapter captioned "Official Language". Nothing was heard of 'Five-Year Planning' or 'National Integration' or the eschewal of caste, the vociferous section being engrossed in the business of running away with it and popularizing the fallacy that Hindi was the language of the majority in India. In all his advocacy about "enriching Hindi" it used to be a pet premise with Rajen Babu himself that the majority had enjoyed the Hindi asset; indeed our obligation under democracy was, therefore, to accept it, the South Indians

mugging up one of the Hindi dialects before the time-limit. Salutary measures like Hindu Law Reform took time in getting a start, but the Official Language Commission under B. G. Kher began business early. Bala Sahib Kher had been such a downright Hindi bigot of Kalelkar calibre that when he was High Commissioner in London, he would address press conferences only in Hindi although he was a master of English. His was the obsession that the world should know that India, a proud and sensitive nation, had her own national language, like Britain, France, Germany, Italy or Russia—all advanced nations. When there is a company of people who know one language, the best thing is to speak that language as being intelligible to all instead of indulging in an exclusive lingo foreign to the bulk of those present. No, the first thing to tackle was the ways and means of bull-dozing Hindi. Questions about poverty and famine on which agitation rested from the days of Dadabhai Naoroji were shunted off the prospect of economic reconstruction. Non-Hindi speaking people devoted to their own mother-tongue and to regions linked together by knowledge of English in the fight for freedom found themselves caught napping, but they were coaxingly assured that if only they took to Hindi they could outclass the millions born with the advantage of the Rashtrabhasha as their own mother-tongue; and on crude considerations of reciprocity, they were bidden to learn a South Indian language with no advantage to the South Indian language so favoured by "enriching" the same nor to the amateur-scholars who without any utility of the medium in their daily existence mug up the rudiments of some "Madras language". There is no particular profit on the balancing of accounts in the proffered undertaking. As for the emotional thrill supposed to be engendered in the process, it is still based on subjective presumption. Sufferers are doped by a gesture of self-inflicted ordeal. *Cui bono?*

SWATANTRA PARTY'S ALTERNATIVE PLAN

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

While the Swatantra Party can be assured of its importance because the Prime Minister is singling it out for his attacks, it must note in sorrow more than in anger that even the exigencies of his party do not justify the Prime Minister's attempt to misrepresent its aims. Speaking at Madras, he said, first, that the Swatantra Party did not know a word about planning, that it believed in private enterprise which was only grab and profit without reference to the task of feeding, clothing, educating and employing 440 millions, and that it wants only a few industrialists and princes to prosper. The P.M. has apparently not cared to study the Swatantra Party's principles or policies and speaks only from his basic bias and prejudices.

The Swatantra Party believes very much in planning but only on the principle that the Government should do only what the people are unwilling or unable to do. The Swatantra Party does not believe in grab and profit, because its basic principle is free competition, which would allow every citizen to share in the trade and industry which the Congress has now made the monopoly of its licensees who alone grab and profit. The Swatantra Party wants the people to be clothed, fed, and educated better by removing the restrictions on private effort on which these mainly depend. On the other hand, the programmes of the Congress Government for heavy industries and nationalization starve the sources which feed and clothe the people, of the finance and services they require. The Swatantra Party does not have the threatening power of the Congress Government over the princes in respect of their privy purses and over industrialists in respect of their permits and licences. On the other hand, the Swatantra Party led all the other parties in Parliament in its opposition to contributions by industrialists for election funds of political parties.

Just how little the Prime Minister thought of his Planning was disclosed in his speech at the Conference of Panchayat Presidents, when he stressed that the four essentials to progress were education, Panchayat raj, power and co-operation. The Swatantra Party agrees with him on the first three, but its complaint is that an increase of half a per cent per annum in literacy during the last decade shows the failure of the Government to advance education. It welcomes Panchayat raj in so far as

it reduces the concentration of power which is the most marked development of the Congress administration. The Swatantra Party does not want Panchayats to be Congress committees working at public expense. It would spend much more on power (electricity) to avoid the shortages from which the people and industries are constantly suffering. It has always supported co-operation which increases the capacity for production but it disagrees on the question of joint farming, on which the Prime Minister lays so much stress, since it will not only destroy property and incentives but will reduce production, while increasing the interventionist power of the Government.

The Swatantra Party has an infinitely better plan which will be disclosed in its manifesto now being drafted and which is calculated to benefit every section of the people.

The population is distributed into eight categories by the pattern of their livelihood. The first is of peasant proprietors who form 47 per cent of the population. The Swatantra principle of respect for property assures this class as also the class of tenants who form 9 per cent of the population of their existing rights, without threat of a further reduction of their holdings or of complete loss of them through joint farming. Without this assurance, they will not improve their productivity or investment on which the food self-sufficiency of the country depends. The Swatantra Party will also rectify a grave wrong done to this 56 per cent of the population; it will remove the controls of price, movement and procurement, and stop the competition of foreign imports, which food products alone have been facing with consequential depression of prices, which are not only unfair in themselves but prevent the growth of supplies to meet the demand of the country. Only one per cent of the population belongs to the landowning class. Since the interests of this class are identical with those of other agriculturists, the Swatantra Party will make its leadership effective in new ways of working and living.

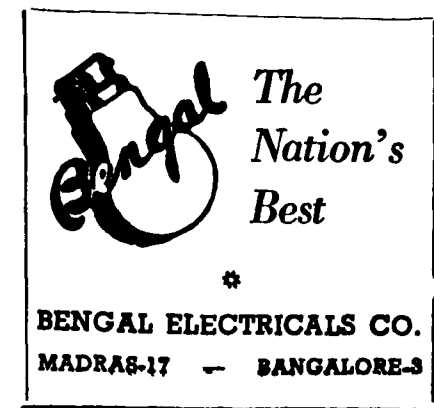
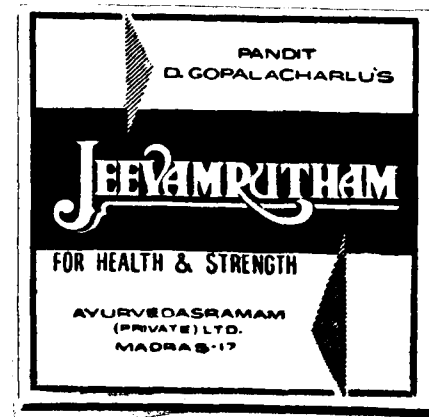
Thirteen per cent of the population is represented by landless labourers against whom the Congress Government has discriminated. The Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry report has shown that its meagre wages have been reduced and its employment (which is sea-

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sonal) has been cut down while its indebtedness and cost of living have increased. Full employment, on minimum wages, could be secured for this class by stimulating private enterprise like housing and industries in the villages with loans and subsidies. To the extent planning is diverted from heavy industries and towns to common requirements and villages, not only would an unfair discrimination be removed but vast productive and purchasing power for the whole economy would arise from ending unemployment.

Ten per cent of the population is engaged in industries and other non-agricultural production. The monopolies which the Congress Government has favoured both for favoured factory employers and employees, without doing much good to them, have deprived the remaining population of its opportunities for enterprise and employment, and the consumers of lower prices arising from natural competition. In a free market economy both wages and employment should increase, as it is doing in all free countries.

Six per cent of the population is engaged in commerce, two per cent in transport and 12 per cent in services and occupations. To a large extent this population reflects the conditions of the population engaged in production. It suffers otherwise from controls, inflation, taxation and corruption inherent in the communist type of planning adopted by the Congress Government. The people have everything to gain from the fuller employment of labour and resources arising from as much free enterprise as possible and as little planning as necessary.



CURRENT EVENTS ::

It was observed recently in these columns that there is a change of attitude on the part of President Rajendra Prasad on the question of script subtending the official language of which he has been ardent champion. This is on account of the conflict of dialects in Hindi and the need for basic unity to quicken assimilation. That the story is not derived from mere rumour in Delhi may be seen in the following first-hand note appearing in the competent columns of the *Indian Libertarian*. The President's own Hindi style is in his mother-tongue Bhojpuri, but the sense of compromise is gaining ground as may be discerned in the following report:

The Chief Ministers' Conference held last month on national integration expressed its opinion that it was desirable to have Devanagari as a script for all Indian languages. Soon after, Mr. Subramaniam, the Education Minister of Madras, has gone on record as having said that the Roman script should be adopted instead of Devanagari. It is now reported that though President Rajendra Prasad is generally in favour of Devanagari, he is not opposed to the Roman script being accepted for this purpose, if approved by both the North and the South.

Indian scholars who have carried out some considerable research in this field hold that comparatively speaking the Roman script is more economical in time and energy than Devanagari which takes up 60 per cent more time than the former to write a passage. Devanagari involves greater muscular effort of the hand whether in writing, typing or in press-composing. All these factors have an important bearing on problems such as removal of illiteracy, number of questions to be set in examination tests and answering them within the given time, which in a way determine also the standards of education, economy of time in public administrative offices and private firms. On all these counts, it appears, the Roman script can hold its own as against others.

While the National Integration Conference adopted a number of transitional resolutions, the Com-

munist Party (India's National Council) also met at New Delhi to discuss current problems of party unity, the Communist Party manifesto for elections and the implementation of domestic and foreign policies evolved in the course of the national movement. All of them are now said to be suffering from "the pressure of reactionary forces within and outside the Congress". The National Council holds the view that the Leftist elements within the Congress deserved backing in the campaign for votes, so that in connection with contested seats, support should go to the Congress candidates in the absence of quasi-Red nominees. Comrades who lead the party and are hand-in-glove with the Congress High Command apparently realize that censure against their drive is harmless camouflage, although on the issue of India's territorial integrity the Communist Party is vague, especially on the Chinese question. It appears that the Communist Party speaks merely of national integrity but carefully avoids the use of the word "aggression" when tendering counsel that the Sino-Indian dispute should be solved by peaceful means and through friendly negotiations.

They are also charged with extra-territorial loyalty and foreign inspiration about frontier-issues. One characteristic about the Communist Party and internationalism is that when a conference is over, they have only one decision to promote. There is no room for dissidents. In the reporting of the New Delhi confabulations, there may be references to inner squabbles among sections of the Communist Party, but on the conclusion of debates in camera recorded by eavesdroppers, they emerge from their tents with a single mandate binding all the members and dispelling speculation about a possible breach of the Front through internal tensions. They scrupulously steer clear of

the word "aggression" when the Expansionists of China are in camp over an admitted area of 12,000 square miles, just when the Chinese complain about India (no doubt inadvertently) misoccupying 35,000 square miles. They, however, don't feel to be in the wrong when it comes to emotional integration.

As for slogans of the election-period, the Communist Party as a whole is unperturbed. In election-appeals what might embarrass them is the popularization of the belief that they are not as indignant as the congressman over the restoration of the McMahon Line, although the Congress Government for its part is also for the avoidance of any show-down with animation on the part of our Defence forces. Solidarity in ideology and methodology, however, keep up the fact that congressmen and communists are desperately at loggerheads. They move as if in opposition like the blades of a pair of scissors.

Although India has been invaded across the Aksai-Chin belt, the Government of India refrains from spelling out the word "aggression" because if it did so, certain consequences (Mr. Krishna Menon's rhetoric) must follow. The Charter of the United Nations denies admission to aggressor-nations, and logically, India, once she brands China, must stand estopped from her annual advocacy for the inclusion of China in the world organization. Thus both the C.P.I. and the Nehru Government are in unison as they shrink from the charge of aggression, lest consequences follow. Hence the common Janus-faced diplomacy at the cost of truth.

A striking instance of the Union Centre depriving the States of the measure of autonomy granted by the Constitution and turning State ministers into a rubber-stamp of the Delhi secretariat was seen in Mysore, when the Land Reforms Bill was being piloted through the

Legislature. As a member of the Planning Commission, it seems to be a speciality with Mr. Shriman Narayan to go round the State-capitals preaching fads about national economy and linguistic regulation in the country. Mr. Shriman Narayan arrived in Mysore whilst crucial clauses of the Land Bill were being debated; and he announced that if Mysore decisions differed from the views of the Planning Commission, the Central Government would use the big stick to bring them into obedience. When the Planning Commission was first framed, Pandit Nehru announced that its members would enjoy the status of Cabinet-functionaries, but since such a dichotomy would be grotesque, Dr. John Matthai resigned leaving it all to the school of experience for congressmen. Step by step, the discretion and initiative of State governments have disappeared, under pressure from the top which has been growing with greater realism than in the days of British authority. We could now speak of the "Imperial Secretariat". Even a small-scale venture in a taluk has to procure ultimate

assent from the Imperial Secretariat, thanks to the long chains of official sanction upon each link flourishing through the "New Class" of touts.

Apprehensive of Mr. Shriman Narayan's threat of an intermediate veto, the Mysore Ministry trimmed their sails in respect of the Land Bill, although Mr. M. P. L. Shastri, an independent member, protested, (without naming the august visitor) against the constitutional trespass. He in the open Legislature conveyed his condolences to the Revenue Minister for this slipshod Bill, sectional in character and discriminatory in effect. Even the functions of district boards during British days exceeded the powers of the present State ministries, a point that has been effectively high-lighted by Rajaji against pretences of administrative freedom for States.

In the Aligarh riots Vice-Chancellor Colonel Zaidi was roundly blamed for tolerating the origin. The trouble began with elections to the University Union which could have been obviated by the

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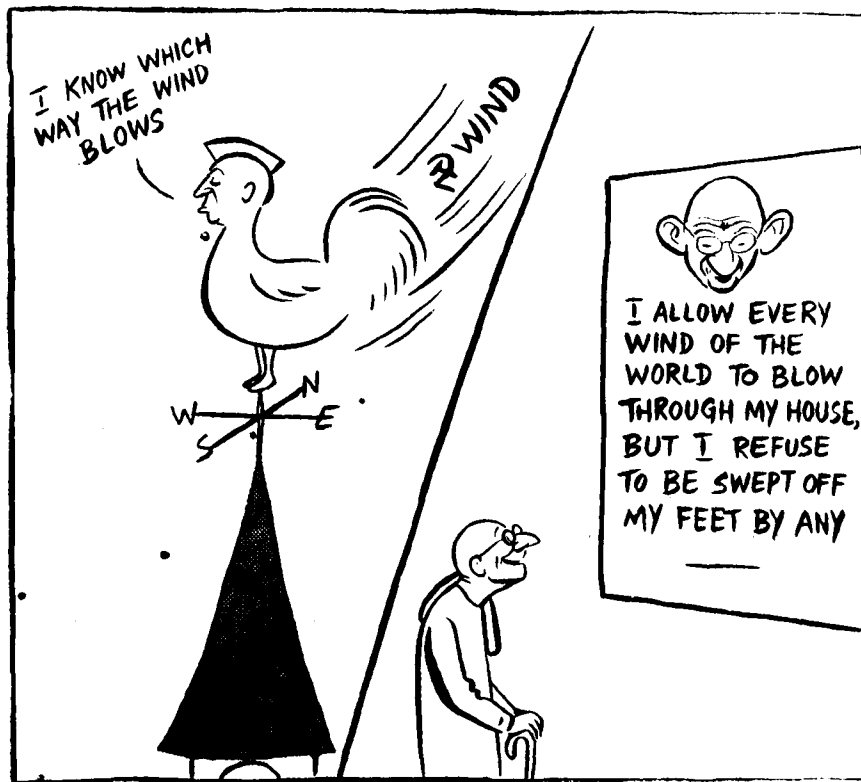
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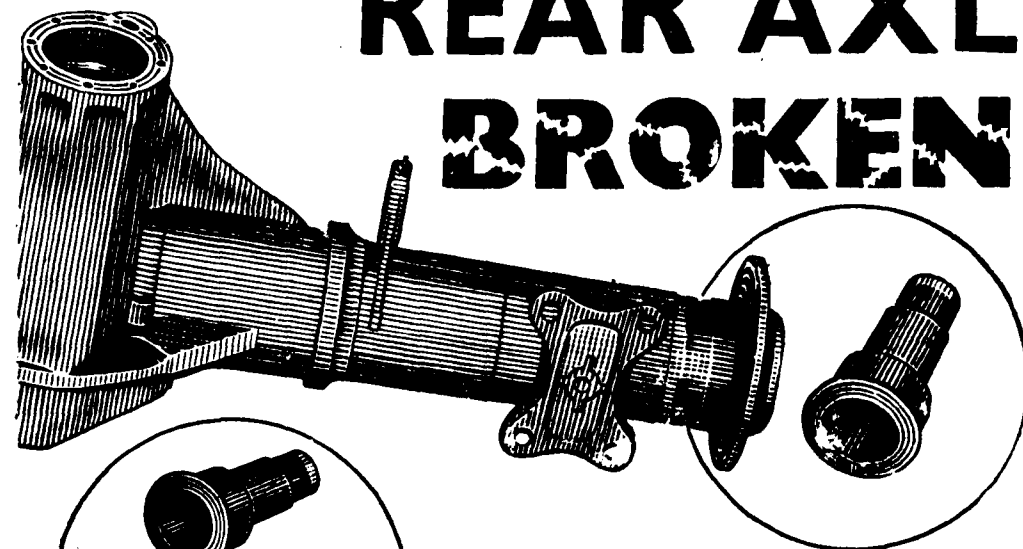
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adoption of proportionate representation, as contended by Mr. K. Santhanam. From Kodaikanal it was announced on behalf of the P.M. that on his return to U.P., he would "look into" the matter so disruptive of the processes of integration now being developed from scratch. We note in press reports that one of the first things that Mr. Nehru did was to receive a deputation of students who had gone out of hand. After the students left, they declared themselves as being highly satisfied with the Prime Minister's attitude, but since the talks were "confidential" the student-speakers strode out with sealed lips. No doubt the Vice-Chancellor could furnish his version of the flare-up which extended all over the province and evoked the judgment that communal politicians had incited the "student community" who had to be marshalled for election purposes. In terms of discipline, one does not know how many steps had been skipped over for audience with the Prime Minister of India, but the air of accessibility to one and all for the supply of advice has had its grip on Mr. Nehru, whether in matters international or just parochial, since he has, broadly speaking, all the answers, by and large. P.J.

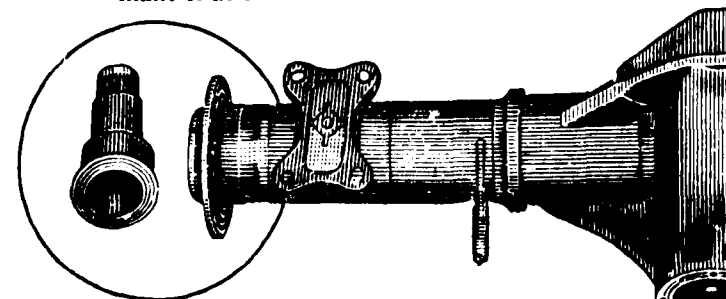
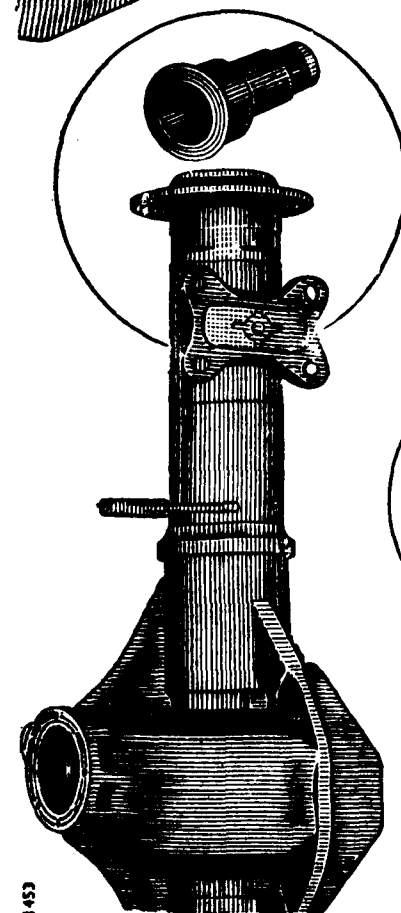


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CAMP-FOLLOWERS OF THE BRITISH

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

It started with the making of the Constitution. Whole chunks of the Government of India Act of 1935 (made in England) were built into the Constitution of India—like the detailed provisions relating to the conduct of legislatures, the easy amendment of the Constitution, scope for centralization and for delegated legislation, legislation by ordinance, emergency powers in the event of break-down of the Constitution. It was partly due to haste and partly to fear that the country had not been hammered enough into political and social unity by the two centuries of British rule. But even after the Congress Government had settled down to an era of peace and order, it continued to follow the British in some important matters of domestic policy. It looks like an illustration of the poet Roy Campbell's line, "We generally become the thing we fight".

First in the field of law and order, Preventive Detention Acts which congressmen used to denounce in happier days of irresponsibility, they now enthusiastically put on the statute book. In emergency administration, police firing to quell riots has been resorted to much more frequently than under British rule. Legislation by ordinance has been extended even to economic issues.

In industrial policy they show the same hostility to private enterprise that the British used to show. The history of Tatas shows what odds presented by the Government of the day, private enterprise in steel had to overcome—so much so the great founder of this great Indian industry had to go to the USA and Germany for technical equipment and personnel. The same hostility is being shown now by the Congress Government to private industry, improving upon the British by going in for steel-production itself.

Even in general developmental policy the Congress is following in the wake of the British. As the British did, the Congress Government is neglecting the imparting of primary education towards making the people literate. While the British took a hundred years to bring literacy up to 15 per cent, the Congress Government has raised literacy from 15 per cent to 25 per cent in 15 years, and will achieve total or near-total literacy in 75 years at the rate progress is being made—that is, one per cent a year and that in the most advanced State like Madras! In girls' education, too, the Congress record is as black as that of the British. In tech-

nical education, the Congress Government is following the British model, of promoting university-grade engineering and agricultural colleges and polytechnics for producing engineers and supervisors, neglecting the provision of junior and senior technical and agricultural schools for the conversion of the millions of unskilled workers into skilled workers and improving the skills of the thousands of skilled workers. The disproportional patronage given by Congress governments to big developmental projects and big industries, especially State-sponsored, is a change no doubt from the British allergy to all industrial development, except for defence industries during the two world wars, but they have followed the British in relative neglect of rural and small-scale industries.

A more reprehensible neglect of the British was the village. Except in regard to the administration of land revenue, they paid little or no attention to the village and its improvement. Not only the education of the boys and much more the education of the girls of the village but the improvement of the sanitation and drainage of the village, the reconstruction of village houses, the building of village-roads were given the go-by. There was much point in Aneurin Bevan on his last visit to India, after visiting one of the villages near Delhi, laying the miserable condition of the villages in India at the door of British rule. But the Congress governments have not done much to deserve a better verdict. Like the British, the Congress governments spend more money on and pay more attention to railways than on roads. As a result of the Congress Government's policy towards roads, we have now about 125,000 miles of all kinds (good, bad, and indifferent) of roads and 250,000 miles promised at the end of the Third Plan period, whereas the economic development of India requires 1,000,000 miles of roads, most of which must connect the 500,000 villages of India with the nearest market, so as to lift farming in India from the subsistence level at which it rests now for the most part to the market level which will allow India to feed itself. Much more must be done for road transport not only by the building of all the village roads required but by increasing the road-mileage on the great highways of internal trade, by removing the legal restriction on road transport which, in spite of these res-

trictions, has in the last decade raised its freight performance from 3,358 million to 10,600 million ton miles and with these shackles removed could meet the growing demand for transport. But in the Third Plan while the capital-at-charge for railways is to be increased from Rs. 1,539 crores to Rs. 2,313 crores, a paltry Rs. 300 crores is devoted to road transport. The British could not have done worse.

The same judgment must be passed on the provision of health facilities in the villages in the reports on the Plans of the Congress governments. The immediate health-need of the villages is the elementary improvement of its sanitation and drainage—environmental hygiene and not curative treatment for the 400 odd millions is all that Governments can afford in India at present. And as for the reconstruction of village housing, which for the most part consists of miserable one-roomed, ill-lit, ill-ventilated, thatched hovels, it will take about 500 years to reconstruct the 50,000,000 rural houses that according to the Plan reports have to be reconstructed.

The British at any rate had one excuse for the neglect of the village and its education and social progress. They were alien rulers, concerned, in the first place, to maintain peace and order, and to placate the towns and town-dwellers among whom were those that challenged their right to continue to rule, and they had to get the machinery and personnel to run the administration and keep essential services going through the clerks, the administrators, the engineers, the doctors that were needed. But the Congress Government has no such excuse for this neglect of the village and its needs. In fact it had only to follow the cry of its own guru Mahatma Gandhi, "Back to the village". But another god it has honoured in his place. It has bowed the knee to socialism. Hence all these failures and lapses.

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DISARM OR PERISH

By K. R. R. SASTRY

When I landed in New York on May 27, 1946, the U.S.A. was to have the Bikini test. This test affected innocent Japanese fishermen through radiation contamination. Some 7000 sq. miles of territory was affected in 1954. In these tests in the Pacific on March 1, 1954, as a result of radio-activity 300 Marshall Islanders were injured.

Acute radiation injuries in man have been studied. These may cause nausea and vomiting, or may result in a striking fall in the number of white cells in the blood. Loss of hair and haemorrhages may become prominent after the second week. Pathological damage and breakdown affect cells of the bone marrow, lymphatic system, intestinal tract, reproductive organs and hair follicles.

In 1939, the heaviest aerial weapon was the 1000 lb high explosive bomb. In 1943 came the 10-ton 'block-buster' and the 20-ton 'grand slam'. In 1945 we had the atomic bomb, of destructive power equal to 20,000 tons of TNT.

In 1955, we had the first hydrogen bomb. A single hydrogen bomb of 20 megatons, i.e., 20 million tons of TNT possesses "fifteen times the destructive power of total high explosives thrown into Germany in the Second World War. A single thermo-nuclear bomb would be enough to destroy Paris, to ravage New York, or to destroy the heart of London."

The two atomic bombs released on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945 caused over 100,000 deaths with a large number of casualties. One hydrogen bomb represents an increase over the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs of one thousand to five thousand times.

As Bertrand Russell put it, "The only possibilities before mankind are: peace by agreement or the peace of universal death". Public opinion should be aroused to see that war must be avoided, and that holocaust through atomic and hydrogen bombs, and the ICBM can-

not achieve the purposes of the super-Powers of the two blocks.

If the result of a nuclear test performed in far-off Pacific or in the wilds of Siberia or in the Sahara desert are felt through radio-activity, in Marshall Islands, Tokio or Tunisia respectively, it is a violation of the International Law.

A parallel case occurred in 1941 when a private concern operated smelter at Trail (British Columbia), fumes from which were causing damage in USA. The case was left to the arbitration of Charles Warren (USA), Robert Greenshield (Canada) and Jan Hostie (Belgium). After referring to several US Supreme Court decisions and a decision of the Federal Court of Switzerland, the Tribunal found that the decisions of these bodies taken as a whole constituted an adequate basis for its conclusions that under the principles of International Law as well as the law of the USA, no State had the right to use or permit the use of its territory in such a manner as to cause injury by fumes in or to the territory of another or the properties or persons therein, "when the case is of serious consequence and the injury is established by clear and convincing evidence." The Tribunal held that the Dominion of Canada was responsible in International Law for the conduct of the Trail smelter. The Tribunal found further that it was the duty of the Government of the Dominion of Canada to see to it that the conduct of the Trail smelter was in conformity with the obligation of the Dominion under International Law as herein determined.

There is a school of thought that in a war II-bomb would not be used. In support of this is stated the fact that gas was not employed in the Second World War. Bertrand Russell calls this "a complete delusion", for gas was not employed because it was indecisive and gas-masks afforded protection. Further, as the atom bomb could prove decisive, it was used against a yellow people in 1945. II-bomb against which there is no defence would be used in a world war.

As a deep humanitarian rooted in Hindu culture, Rajaji has been making continuous appeals to the Big Powers to throw their stock-piles of A and H bombs into the bottomless deep.

Whether one looks at the threat to extinction of humanity from its colossal destructive character, or from the point of view of ethics, or even of its illegality, to resort to a global war is suicidal to humanity. Who lives, if humanity, the highest creation of God, perishes?

ANDHRA AFFAIRS

(From Our Correspondent)

HYDERABAD: The planners of the Pradesh Congress election campaign are strangers to hurricane electioneering, but they are adepts at silent working, methodically and deliberately, having complete faith in the dictum, 'plan thoroughly and plan well in advance'. The recent auction of government jeeps at Hyderabad is really a master-stroke. Thirty jeeps belonging to the Planning Department were auctioned, with hardly any notice, in two lots of 15 each for a total amount of Rs. 1,02,000. The person who purchased all these government vehicles in the phoney auction is believed to have bought them for the purpose of making them available for the Congress election campaign.

A few weeks ago a circular was issued to the district planning officials that their jeeps should be sent to Hyderabad and Vijayawada for reconditioning and overhauling them. Subsequently within a few days a second circular was issued by the same department that the jeeps should be sent for sale by auction. Some of the officials had, it is learnt, tried to represent to their superiors that the jeeps were really in good condition, that they were urgently and immediately needed for relief work in scarcity areas and development schemes, and that if the vehicles were sold then, it may not be possible to buy new ones in the near future. But their requests for postponing the sale were, it seems, negatived. Some of the persons in the know of things, think that if the jeeps had been auctioned piecemeal, each jeep would have fetched anything above Rs. 6,600. But actually they were sold, on average, for Rs. 3,400 a jeep.

With the scrutiny of a thousand odd applications for Congress tickets for the coming general elections by the screening committee set up by the Pradesh Election Committee, the first round of the battle between the two contesting groups inside the Pradesh Congress for the leadership of the future Congress Legislature Party has ended. The screening committee consisted of Mr. Alluri Satyanarayanaraju, the leader of the ministerialists, Mr. K. Brahmananda Reddy, the leader of the Unity Front and Mr. M. Pallam Raju, the President of the APCC, who is supposed to hold a neutral position between the two groups. The screening committee had scanned the reports of the PEC observers, the recommendations of the DCC

executives and the representations made by the respective candidates. The outcome of the group-biased recommendations of the District Congress Committee executives and the partisan evidence and sectarian reports of the PEC observers, seems to be that neither of the groups emerged victorious, and so the two groups effected a truce.

However, if the names of those selected by the screening committee were scrutinized one gets the impression that Mr. K. Brahmananda Reddy must have played his cards astutely. For though the Ministerialist and Unity Front candidates are approximately equal in number, it could not be a mere accident that the ministerialists are very largely assigned either the constituencies where the Congress had lost in the last general elections or those where it had won by a bare majority.

There appears to be considerable truth in the view that it was the Chief Minister and his new-found friend Mr. V. B. Raju who have suffered the worst. There is also a persistent talk that the relations between the Chief Minister and Mr. Alluri have all but become cold and the trusted followers and lieutenants of Mr. Sanjeeviah are fretting and fuming at what they think is the worst betrayal of the Chief Minister by Mr. Alluri. They do not even seek to hide their suspicion that Mr. Alluri, to gain his own personal ends, had struck a bargain with Mr. Brahmananda Reddy.

The feeling is not altogether unfounded that Mr. Alluri is playing an adept game to secure the confidence of Delhi circles, by making concessions to the Unity Front in the screening committee and later throwing his weight with the Chief Minister in the Pradesh Election Committee—the final body in

the State to make recommendations. It is clear the Chief Minister is obviously displeased, as he has made it plain that he intends to put up a stiff fight in the PEC. It should not surprise anyone if Mr. Alluri assumes the role of the grand patriarch and advises the Unity Front representatives that just as he himself had yielded on a number of issues in the screening committee in the interests of unity and unanimity, they should now show a like disposition towards the Chief Minister by yielding to his wishes. Mr. Alluri would then emerge as the one leader who is more concerned for the unity of the organization and conform to the central directive that whatever be the differences between the two groups in the State Congress, they should act in unison to secure success for the Congress at the polls.

The echo of the dust and noise raised in the last session of the State Assembly over corruption and nepotism in the Co-operative Department and the Ministry in charge of handlooms, and the charges and counter-charges of Mr. Pragada Kotiah, M.L.A., belonging to the Chief Minister's group and Mr. Konda Laxman Bapuji, the Minister for Small-scale Industries, has led to the suspension of the Director of Handlooms, who is about to retire in three months, and the appointment of Mr. T. Sesha-chari, I.A.S., to enquire into the affairs of the Andhra Handloom Apex Society.

It is learnt that the AICC had asked the Congress Legislature Party and the State parliamentary body to take disciplinary action against Mr. Pragada Kotiah who had violated the party whip and openly levelled charges of a grave nature against a minister, in spite of a previous warning by the Congress Legislature Party.



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Dear Reader

I was enabled by a kind Providence to finish my tour in Gujarat without a physical breakdown. The strain was no doubt much but it was worthwhile. After the large Baroda meeting, I visited other places and addressed equally big meetings at Bhavnagar, Palitana, Jamnagar, Bhuj, Junagadh, Wankner and Rajkot. At each one of these places I was struck by the size as well as the enthusiasm of the audiences. People from the villages around came to these meetings and Sri K. M. Munshi's Gujarati speeches were most impressive and, I could see, went straight to the hearts of the people. Sri Dayabhai Patel's Gujarati rendering of my speeches, sentence by sentence, was perfect. The incisive Hindi of Maharawal Lakshman Singh was of great use. I felt Gandhi's home-country was once again in the forefront of the fight for freedom, real freedom in the sense wanted by the Father of the Nation — minimum government intervention and maximum individual freedom.

At Rajkot I could see the strong resentment of the people against the tactics of the Congress Party bosses who tried every possible means of terrorising the people and exploiting their weaknesses so as to get the ruling party's position retained. The comments made by the Prime Minister at Kanpur on donations given both to the Congress and Swatantra parties do not mean that any such contributions will be rejected by the Congress. The Prime Minister's feelings are to be used only as a further sanction for getting funds exclusively for the Congress; not to reject any money as tainted by want of exclusive faith. I did not exaggerate my conviction when I said at Rajkot that whatever may be the result, the Congress Party's brazen-faced utilization of Government position and collection of funds from the business community at the point of the permit-

licence pistol would render the elections legally invalid and morally indefensible. My plea that the Congress must step down from office well before the elections is demonstrated to be absolutely essential if we want the People's Representation Act to be a reality and not a law to be evaded by the ruling party and enforced only against Opposition parties. So far as I am concerned, such success as may be achieved by the Congress is an illegal and immoral victory. The steps taken by the Congress to mobilise all government power and influence for the collection of funds and to put pressure on voters are all steps clearly prohibited by the People's Representation Act.

Elsewhere in this issue is published a letter from Sri Muraji Vaidya which brings to light a glaring case of injustice to an individual and the nation arising out of the political partisanship of the Congress Party. The case fully demonstrates the plea of the Swatantra Party that confining freedom of action to a few, in the totalitarian way, is unintelligent and immoral. Such limitations put an arbitrary limit to the quantity and quality of service to society which might otherwise be forthcoming. Production in an unfree society is limited by the imagination of the few who are in control and must be undoubtedly below the full po-

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

tential of the society. Freedom is the natural condition for realization of the human potential.

"The (Integration) Conference allowed itself to be bogged in vague appeals and pious platitudes." "A nexus among the educated classes is a pre-requisite of national integration." "A golden opportunity of giving a courageous lead on a crucial issue has been lost." These sentences are from a leading daily's editorial, a daily that has been always very pro-Hindi. The nexus—a language understood all over India—is undoubtedly English, not any other language, not even Hindi. A nexus is that which binds things together. We need a rope that is ready for it. We do not begin sowing cotton and spinning and twisting to make a rope when we require it at once to bind people together, who are admittedly going apart under the impact of regional linguistic divisions both in administration and education. Hindi is no solution therefore and any attempt to try it will only make disintegration worse. The advice or quasi-decree that Northerners should study one of the Southern languages is a carrot that will not deceive the Southern donkey which is not wanting in intelligence. A Northerner will never, can never do it unless he is one that lives in Madras. If enforced on the students in U.P. or



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the Punjab, it would be a meaningless burden as the same paper puts it very justly.

★

These prescriptions for breadth of understanding are good for the select few but cannot be swallowed by a whole population. It requires ages of peaceful intercourse or brutal conquest for a language to spread among 400 millions. The result of two hundred years of the British regime should not be thrown away in favour of any new and futile undertaking.

The *Indian Express's* own correspondent in New Delhi succinctly reports the strategy of the Congress Party. "The ruling party is out to steal the thunder of its opponents from the right and the left." Deception goes by the name of strategy. But indeed, is there anything for the ruling party to steal from the left? Partners do not steal from one another. It is just a trick to hide the partnership between the Congress Party and the Communist Party.

★

The two Chief Justices made each an important contribution at the Lawyers' Meet at Madras on October 15. The Madras Chief Justice urged that the bar should not languish and deteriorate, because it had a greater duty now to perform, as a guarantor of the liberty of the individual and as a bulwark of freedom and democracy. He said that it was unfortunate that the bar had lost its leadership in society. Chief Justice Ramachandra Iyer elaborated his advice and made a very valuable contribution to the professional philosophy of lawyers. The Mysore Chief Justice appealed to the new rulers of our country to respect the rule of law—Law in its wider and truer sense, not in the sense of the latest amendments passed by the Lok Sabha under the guidance of the ruling party, but the Law that is the law of all laws and all civilized governance.

C.R.

PERMIT-LICENCE RAJ IN ACTION

Sri Murarji Vaidya, an eminent member of the Swatantra Party who was President of the City of Bombay branch of the party until recently and retired from it on account of illness in accordance with medical advice, has a clear case of partisan injustice at the cost of national interest to expose before the public. The following letter from him addressed to me puts all the facts briefly and accurately and deserves to be read by all persons who care for good government in our country. It appears to be a case where the vested interests of monopolists under Congress patronage have prevailed over national interests.

C.R.

Dear Rajaji,

With the view of providing cheaper and quicker mode of transportation to the growing middle class and low income group of people of India, I originally conceived the idea of manufacturing small low cost cars in 1959. I found in London, in one of my travels to the Continent, the "Noble 200" car just the perfect and suitable car I had in my mind. After examining and investigating several issues connected with the project, I concluded an agreement with Messrs. York Noble Group of Industries, U.K., to manufacture "Noble 200" cars in India. Under the agreement, we are permitted to export "Noble" cars to all the neighbouring and Middle East countries.

I submitted my proposal as far back as September 1959 and also appeared before the *Ad hoc* Committee on Automobile Industry which is popularly known as the "Jha Committee", which went into the question of examining the need to produce small cars in India. I put forward all the advantages that the country would gain in the event of acceptance of my proposal.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that a brief resume of my proposal is given under Appendix VI, page 164 and Appendix VIII, page 169 in the "Report of the *Ad hoc* Committee on Automobile Industry" published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, New Delhi 1960.

I formally applied on 11th March 1960, under letter No. 40-J(U)/60, for an Industrial Licence to manufacture the "Noble 200" car in India which is a small three-wheeled auto-vehicle. To this application, the Government of

India replied to me by its letter, No.A.E.Ind.13(32)/60 dated 4th August 1960, that the licence could not be granted on the ground that we would not be able to manufacture 60 per cent of the components for the proposed three-wheeled car. This implies, we should rightly conclude, that the Government of India had no objection, whatsoever, to grant the licence, if we were able to manufacture 60 per cent of the components.

To this point, in my reply letter No.40-J(U)/120/60 dated 12th August 1960, I assured the Government that we would be able to obtain or manufacture indigenously 70 per cent or even 80 per cent or more components of the "Noble" car, and the Government would not have to allot any amount of foreign exchange at any time for our project. All the required foreign exchange, automobile components and technical know-how would be secured by us without involving Government's help anywhere as we would obtain investment and earn more foreign exchange than we spend by exports of the car to the territories for which we have the licence. It is highly deplorable that the Government did not take this point into account.

Even after I gave several assurances of this nature to allay the fears of the Government, strangely enough, the Government of India informed me through its letter No.A.E.Ind.13(32)/60 dated 15th October 1960, that the Government did not consider that there was any scope for the manufacture of a vehicle in the country such as was proposed by me and, therefore, licence could not be granted under the Industries (Development & Regulation) Act, 1951 to undertake the project.

I protested against this illogical judgment of the Government by my letter No.40-J/366/60 dated 4th November 1960 addressed to Mr. N. R. Reddy, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Commerce & Industry, New Delhi and by my letter No. 40-J/365/60 dated 4th November 1960 addressed to Shri Manubhai Shah, Minister for Industries, Ministry of Commerce & Industry, Government of India, New Delhi.

In spite of my repeated assurances and guarantees, the Government of India had again informed me through its letter No.A.E.Ind.13(32)/60 that the Government was not considering any proposal for the manufacture of any more cars in the country in the private sector. After the Third Five-Year Plan

targets were announced I had again written a letter to the Government on the 8th August 1961, seeking Government's re-consideration of the whole scheme. To this, I received a similar reply such as the one I had received earlier, saying that the Government would not consider any proposal for the manufacture of any more cars in the country in the private sector.

From the replies given by the Government of India, I find contradictory statements for not giving us the industrial licence. Mr. B. K. Varma's letter No.A.E.Ind.13(32)/60 dated 4th August 1960, clearly states that the licence could not be granted on the fear that we would not be able to manufacture 60 per cent of the components. This implies that the Government had no objection to grant the licence if we were able to manufacture or obtain 60 per cent of the components. Mr. N. R. Reddy's letter No.A.E.Ind.13(32)/60 dated 21st November 1960, states that the licence could not be granted because Government was not considering any proposal for the manufacture of any more cars in the private sector. We should conclude on the basis of these contradictory letters that the Government had changed its policy on the manufacture of small car within a period of three months, i.e., between August 4, 1960 and November 21, 1960. I wonder what has necessitated this change? I wonder on what basis the Government of India has brought this change? There is no justification for the Government to say that the small car manufacturing is reserved for the public sector. The latest Resolution on Industrial Policy is dated 30th April 1956. This resolution provides that industry should be classified into three categories as follows:

- Industries the future development of which will be the exclusive responsibility of the State.
- Industries which will be progressively State-owned and in which the State will generally take the initiative in establishing new undertakings, but in which private enterprise will also be expected to supplement the effort of the State.
- All other industries, not included in the first two categories, the future development of which will, in general, be left to the initiative and enterprise of the private sector.

Automobile industry does not fall into the first category. Moreover, it is hitherto aligned with the private sector in India. There is no justification for the Government to enter into this field. We believe, such a step would be in

contravention of the Industrial Policy Resolution. It is a commonly accepted policy that the Government would enter an industry when one or a combination of the following factors cannot be satisfied by the private sector:

- The industry is of strategic importance and, therefore, its operation at the hands of the State is essential.
- The investment involved is too great for any private investor to be seriously interested in establishing a plant of the magnitude involved.
- The industry is in respect of new technical innovation or development and the private investor is shy of investment.
- The industry is monopoly-infested and private investors find it uneconomical to compete, in which case the State, taking account of the fact that it may incur losses in initial stages, may step in to provide better services to the country.

It is noteworthy that none of the above factors exists in respect of small car manufacturing industry. It is highly discriminatory on the part of the Government of India to refuse to issue the licence to me, in particular, on the ground that it wants to prohibit private entrepreneurs from entering into the automobile manufacturing field, when all along it has issued licences to private sector parties for this industry.

After all, automobile is a consumer product. As such and like all other consumer industries, it should exclusively be preserved for the private sector. The principle of letting private enterprise flourish, wherever it is justified as declared in the Industrial Policy Resolution, has conveniently and frequently been flouted by the Government of India. The Government has not felt shy in issuing licences to its own party people wherever it desired to do so. In the automobile field, innumerable licences have been issued to its own party men either to expand their existing capacities or to start new ventures. Notable examples are Birlas' expansion scheme in the Hindustan Motor Company and Kamalnayan Bajaj's expansion for manufacturing scooters and three-wheeled autos.

This kind of adopting one set of principles to its party people and advocating another set of principles to the industrialists who do not belong to its own rank is a sheer negation of democratic principles, tradition, and surely is an unethical conduct of the party in power.

Salient features of our proposal:

- Application was made on 11th March 1960, for manufacturing three-wheeled passenger cars.
- The cost of the proposed car would be below Rs. 4,000. It runs very economically at 80 miles per gallon. Incidentally it may be

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AUDITING OF CO-OP. SOCIETIES

By A.S. KUPPUSWAMI

mentioned here that the proposed Government's car is estimated to cost around Rs. 6,500.

- (3) There is no foreign exchange involved either in the manufacture or in the sale of this car.
- (4) On the other hand, foreign exchange can be earned since we contemplate to export these cars. Under our agreement with the British collaborators we are permitted to export these cars to the neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Nepal, Siam and to the countries of the Middle East, like Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, etc.
- (5) I do not think any such proposal so favourable for the country's interest has been placed before the Government so far.
- (6) We are not after Government's help in any form for our scheme to materialize, other than seeking Industrial Licence.

In spite of the fact that I agreed to all the conditions the Government of India had put forward, I was deprived the opportunity of manufacturing the three-wheeled "Noble 200" cars in India. There could not be greater injustice than this.

MURARI J. VAIDYA

Quite a number of co-operatives are victims to serious administrative lapses and errors and the situation calls for suitable and energetic action.

In 1958-59, there was misappropriation to the extent of Rs. 3,055 in a consumer co-operative society in a district headquarter station. It shot up to Rs. 31,512 in 1959-60. The statutory audit certificate for 1958-59 has not yet been published. The audit staff should normally have checked the accounts of 1958-59, within about three months after the year end. There is no explanation for the inordinate delay in State audit. The society is "C" class; that is to say, it is not in a sound and healthy condition. And yet priority was not given to the auditing of the society.

A complaint of *prima facie* misappropriation of Rs. 24,000 was made to the Deputy Registrar, who thereupon ordered a special enquiry under Section 38 of the Co-operative Societies Act into the working and financial condition of the society on 1-10-1960. On 25-12-60, the president of the society furnished to the Registrar full particulars of the misappropriation of the net value of Rs. 28,653. Thereupon,

the Registrar superseded the Board of Directors and appointed a full-time Special Officer on 30-3-1961, and the society has been under official management since then. But no steps have been taken so far to recover the misappropriated stocks and funds from those responsible for it. Instead, the Special Officer issued notices to the Directors—against whom there was no suggestion of misappropriation—demanding payment of Rs. 23,636 being the society's loss for 1959-60, on the ground that they were "jointly and severally" liable for the loss on account of "gross negligence", without so much as adducing proof for such an allegation.

No meeting of the general body has been held since 31-12-1958, though the ultimate power of management is vested in the general body under the bye-laws. The Special Officer has been keeping the general body in the dark about the affairs of the society.

These facts do not require any comment but if the Congress Government fails to act betimes to set the house in order, there is no doubt that there will be a serious set-back to the co-operative movement in the concerned localities.

October 21, 1961

SWARAJYA

17

CAPITAL COMMENTS

ALL IN THE GAME

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Communist spokesmen do not easily slip. Their feet are firm when they tread the party line as drawn by its supreme bosses. They are not lost in the subtle nuances of language when they feel that the occasion calls for a certain bluntness of speech. They suffer from no inhibitions even when they happen to enjoy the hospitality of friends abroad.

The Polish President, Mr. Aleksander Zawadzki, felt in no way handicapped by the welcome he received in Delhi last week. At the State banquet in his honour when the Vice-President spoke criticizing the resumption of nuclear tests, he justified them, much as Mr. Khrushchov would have liked him to do. At the same time, again like Mr. Khrushchov, he welcomed efforts for a complete and general disarmament. Though he did not agree with the Nehru sentiment echoed by Dr. Radhakrishnan in respect of ban on nuclear tests, he did not fail or forget to praise Mr. Nehru's role as a peace-maker. Mr. Nehru does not deny his sympathy for the Poles in their fear of the rise of German militarism, but he will not have it as an excuse for nuclear tests.

The Prime Minister described the communal disturbances in his home-State as 'disgraceful' but he seemed to be consoled by the thought that the masses were not really caught up in the frenzy. By his recent pronouncement, the U.P. Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh has created the impression that neither the students of the Aligarh University were exclusively responsible for the misdeeds nor were the passions of people roused all of a sudden, as earlier believed. He spoke, of course with inside knowledge, of signs of "a common pattern" behind the incidents in Aligarh and other places—indeed, of "a conspiracy, laid deep and wide". These are doubtless disturbing disclosures.

No such deep plot could be in the nature of a bolt from the blue. It is suggestive of the massing of the clouds and the brewing of the storm. Does Mr. Charan Singh mean that the State Government had all along been kept in the dark by its own Intelligence Department (unless it comprised men with no intelligence)? Or does he mean that the Government was in alert even if it was in possession of secret information?

Neither would do any credit to the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

Mr. Charan Singh also dropped dark hints about the prejudicial activities of some Muslim organizations: he even named them. Surely they had not sprung into existence suddenly or only the other day. They must have been functioning for quite a long time. Mr. Charan Singh also spoke of "vegetarians" having been trained in the deadly use of the knife and miscreants let loose by certain political elements. He did not, or would not, name these presumably Hindu bodies. This was not perhaps quite a secular way of discussing the situation.

The Home Minister of U.P., however, excelled himself when he gave a political colouring to the communal riots, a trifle crudely as a party man. He would like us all to believe that the eruptions in Aligarh and elsewhere in his domains had something to do with the coming elections. If he was on firm ground and had inside knowledge, he should have been more forthright and certainly more specific. He can still take the public into confidence. Otherwise, the kind of talk he did, might sound like something perilously nearer political blackmail.

Kerala has been very much in the news. Everything about its ministerial alliance is as intriguing as ever. The Congress will have no truck with the League, while the League will never be reconciled to the position of a sleeping partner. Congress complaints against the PSP Chief have not been dropped, despite the Prime Minister's caution, following his own talks with Mr. Thannu Pillai at Parambikulam. Indeed, the Prime Minister gave the congressmen in Kerala a bit of his mind in view of their internal squabbles. The Congress President too wasted his advice on them. It is hardly surprising that the Congress-PSP talks in respect of allocation of seats for their respective candidates for the elections to Lok Sabha have broken down. With the PSP having no understanding with the Congress and with the Congress having no "truck" with the Muslim League, the Ministry in Kerala is supposed to be kept going for its whole term, which must be a feat that only super-politicians or rank opportunists can perform! Perhaps the Congress is not waiting in either.

KANPUR COLLECTIONS

The question of not only the Prime Minister but of chief ministers and other ministers associating themselves with fund-raising for the elections is not a new question. It is an old one, and will be put again and again, unless people's ideas on the subject are cleared, and the doubts are removed.

The Prime Minister knows, and the whole country knows, that large election funds are collected by the Congress (other parties too do the same) and the ministers play a big part in making these collections. If the ministers really keep out of this fund-raising, the amount collected will not be even one-tenth of what is actually collected.

The most successful chief minister is one who can deftly raise large funds for the operations of the party, under his own control. The chief ministers of Bengal, Madras, Maharashtra, Gujarat, among others, are noted for their hold on Big Business.

Since collecting money for party work is regarded as something of which one should feel ashamed, the whole business is conducted in a clandestine manner. Two general elections have been fought, but no one yet knows the details of the party funds collected in the country.

No coupons were printed, no receipts were given, no accounts were published as to how the funds were utilized.

This business of raising funds for the party needs being looked into the face squarely.

All those who pay money and who receive money—their names should be known. There should be no secret transactions. Secret funds are not good for democracy. They are bad for everyone except politicians who thrive on these. With money secretly secured from people who have no interest in how that money is utilized except securing some favour or avoiding some disfavour, politicians have done great damage to the working of the Congress organization and democracy in the country.

No doubt, the Chief Minister (of U.P.) insisted and got away with it, that there will be an additional secret fund to which contributions will be made at his instance, and which inevitably would be under his personal control and supervision. This secret fund would most likely be bigger than the (open) one being raised by Mr. Jain.

What is stated above raises issues which affect national character. The Prime Minister's remarks made while receiving the purses have helped in perpetuating the dilemma of dualism.

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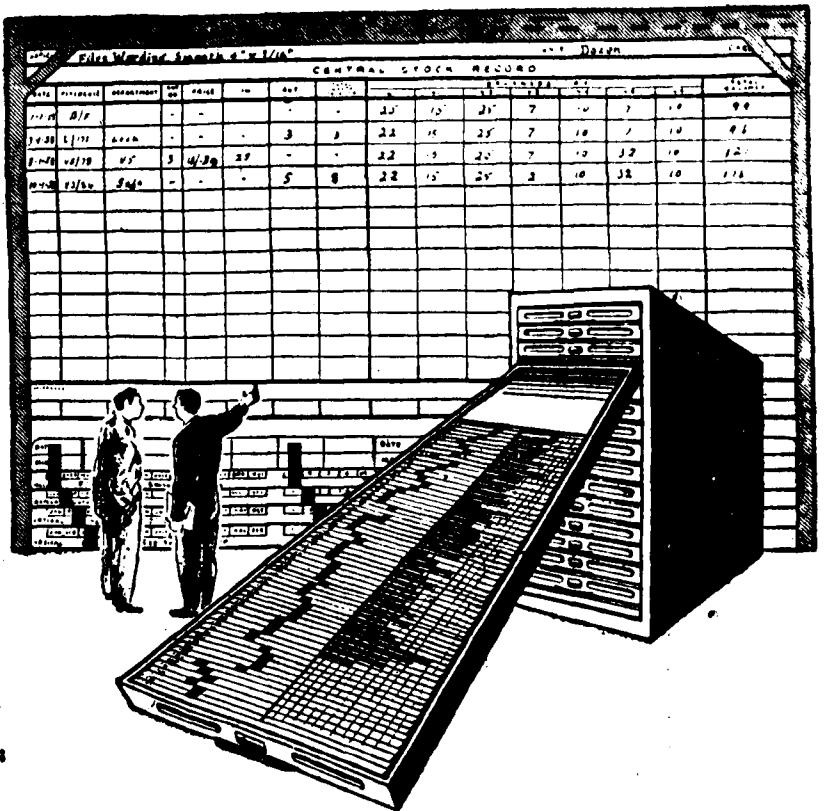
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

MADURAI A. I. C. C. MEETING

Sir,—During the recent meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Madurai, a big force of policemen, both in uniform and plain-clothed from all over the country, was drafted to protect the person of the Prime Minister and the other V.I.Ps. in the Congress camp at an enormous cost to the public exchequer. There the Prime Minister is reported to have said that, from what he saw of those travelling in buses and trains, he formed the impression that the people were now better clothed and better fed than before. Evidently, he did not know that his conducted tours and planned processions are preceded by mass clearance in lorries of beggars and pavement-dwellers to long distances and left there with strict instructions not to return to the city for a week. Thirdly, the extravagance and waste to the tune of 25 lakhs of rupees for that three-day *tamasha* is absolutely unjustifiable by any standard. How one wishes that the 25 lakhs of rupees spent on the A.I.C.C. and the adjunct shows was diverted to the improvement of the wretched slums in the city, which Mr. Nehru was not privileged to see!

No doubt the money has in the main come from big contractors, bus magnates, etc., whose interests are closely

linked up with the party in power. In the ultimate analysis, however, every pie of it has been contributed by the agriculturists, toiling labourers and middle class people, who are leading a subnormal life.

The A.I.C.C. did not even consider it necessary to touch the question of the rising prices, which has made life to millions of people a living death. The Prime Minister does not even appear to have alluded to it.

There has been much fretting and fuming by the Prime Minister over the three-fold evils of caste-ism, communalism and linguism. He also strongly condemned the flaunting of "backwardness" to secure patronage and privileges. The attacks and condemnation were repeated by some State ministers without even a sense of humour. If Mr. Nehru did a little probe into the matter, he would have discovered that in admissions to educational and professional institutions, and in appointments and promotions, Congress-governed States have been guilty of the most inequitable acts of caste-ism, communalism and linguism.

The Prime Minister eloquently stated with insight that the greatness that

came to India in the past was due to high thinking and noble ideals, and hard attempts in search of truth. But this greatness was founded not on spoliation of the property rights of others in the name of 'socialist pattern' of Government, but on *Dharma*.

Sivaganga M. G. GURUSWAMI Aiyar

WHY SYRIA BROKE AWAY FROM U.A.R.

Sir,—The policy of State monopoly in trade and industry, misnamed 'National Socialism', has recently resulted in the break-up of U.A.R.

The Egyptian rulers by creating scarcity through quotas and permits had allowed exorbitant profits being made by the privileged few. Prices of commodities went up and the people ignorantly attributed it all to private enterprise. It was then that almost all the trade and industry were nationalized, compensating the investors with Government bonds in currency which fast depreciated. Later high profiteering was carried on by the Government, the public gaining nothing by the change. The Syrians who were mostly traders and industrialists were not happy, though those who held Egyptian bonds had had to support Nasser's regime.

In India the quota and permit holders are given a free hand to make huge

profits, probably designed to find excuse for nationalizing all trade and industries after the next elections.

So we need not be surprised if all those who are today enjoying the tiger-ride of permits and quotas soon find themselves inside the tiger. As soon as the Congress propaganda machine is released after the coming election, it will be geared to maligning the profiteers in private trade and industries. We will then be witnessing the dragon's teeth of disintegration and class-war.

Rajko,

NAUTAMILAL C. TEJPAL

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Sir,—It seems strange that a need for national integration has been realized and stressed upon in our fifteenth year of freedom. As one probes into things that have taken place in the last 14 years, one finds nothing more baffling, complicate and intricate than the problem of languages.

Very often the issue of language has assumed alarming proportions in the propagation of Hindi as a national and official language of India, and banishing English, lock, stock and barrel from India. There has been so much muddled

thinking in the attempt to make Hindi the official language, and it has unleashed disruptive forces and fissiparous tendencies in the country.

There is so much heat in discussions in all the linguistic States about their regional languages becoming the medium of instruction in schools and colleges and about the official language of the States. If, in spite of all this linguistic frenzy, should Hindi be injected into the administration it is more than likely to prove disastrous. It is a blind patriotism to ignore the sign of the times and indulge in spectacular gestures ignoring realities. At the recent conference of the Chief Ministers held in New Delhi, there was a distinct inclination among non-Hindi States' representatives favouring the continuance of English. Our State Finance Minister too, after his recent foreign tour, has categorically stated that English is the only international language and must be well learnt.

If India is to progress economically, socially, and culturally, the linguistic chauvinism and jingoism must yield place to saner thinking and sober judgment by maintaining the *status quo*. An eloquent testimony to this irrefutable

RAJAJI'S TOUR PROGRAMME

October	22	Adoni
"	23	Cuddapah
"	30-31	Bangalore
November	15-21	Rajasthan
"	23-26	Agra
		Convention
"	29 to	
December	3	Punjab
December	5-9	Uttar Pradesh
"	10	Hazirabagh
		State
		Convention

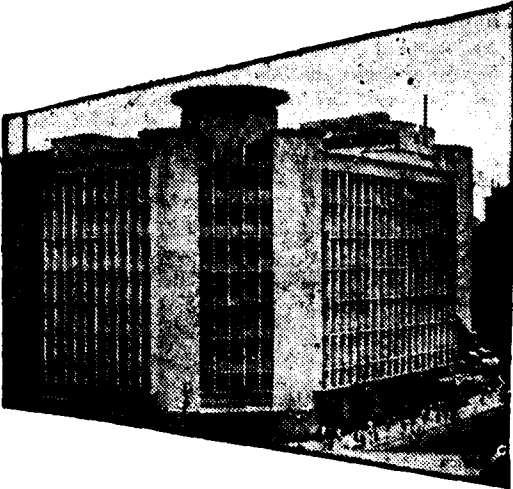
necessity has been voiced by our elder statesman who has said that "an assurance in respect of the continuance of English as the medium of higher education and of all official work with full facilities for the public to be in touch with government through translations as in the British days will achieve a great deal and many of the disintegrating forces will fade away as a result." There is wisdom in this statement which none can deny but earnest-minded men can profit by in seeking a solution for the problem of languages. Madras R. S. V. RAO

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(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 42

MADRAS, OCTOBER 28, 1961

Price 15 nF

THE GIANT - EXPLOSION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

While no words are strong enough adequately to condemn the resumption of nuclear test explosions by Russia, one must protest also against the unsatisfactory attitude of America in respect of the U.N. resolution sponsored by India. As a matter of immediate urgency it is right that the Scandinavian States and Japan have come forward for priority to a call to Mr. Khrushchov to give up the threatened 50-megaton nuclear test. The immensely increased adverse effect of such an explosion on the health of the world population is enough for this urgent appeal from the highest world forum now available. The plea of Russia that these explosions which foul the world atmosphere were necessitated in order to prevent a war which would mean the perishing of millions and the vanishing of entire countries may be good propaganda and look meaningful in the eyes of the people of Russia (though even this is very doubtful) but can carry no conviction to the people of the world who are to be the victims of such wanton, immediate injury, on the ground that it might intimidate nations into peace.

On the other hand, the statement of Mr. Adlai Stevenson is not worthy of his record and great intelligence. He threatens that the United States will resume nuclear tests and thereby double the immediate attack on world health if the Soviet Union should continue its series of nuclear tests. Mr. Adlai Stevenson besides being the Chief

Delegate of the U.S. in the United Nations, has a reputation for clear thinking, which entitles world citizens to ask in dismay what this strange attitude means. Surely the issue is not only between Russia and America or, at all, an issue between them. The question is whether either of these nations or both of them (it makes no difference) are entitled to do such immense present mischief to the health of the world. All ways to prevent Russia from behaving wickedly may and should be tried, but it is absurd to think that a threat to double the injury to the world is either a deterrent or a sound argument. Russia is interested in her tests and if America explodes new tests, Russia will not for that reason, stop her tests but only redouble her tests—the net result being doubling and quadrupling the crime against the world.

If A threatens to murder a child, would B prevent it by threatening to murder another child in whom A is not interested? If Mr. Adlai Stevenson had good authority to say that if the Soviet Union experimented with a 50-megaton device, it would expose 80 per cent of the world's popu-

lation to radio-active fall-out of a far more massive nature than that of all the fall-out that had resulted from all the nuclear tests made since 1945, would that horrible truth justify doubling it in absurd and profitless retaliation? This sort of race between two criminal competitors in technological adventure has neither sense nor even plausibility to support it. It cannot help to push the security of America or Russia one inch forward, even if the security of America or Russia against each other were a justification to destroy the world or poison mankind. After presenting his unconvincing argument, Mr. Adlai Stevenson is stated to have "firmly opposed" the moratorium on nuclear tests proposed by India. Sometimes simple available solutions are better than unavailable complex ones, specially when there is no time to build up the complex solutions to the satisfaction of both the two highly prejudiced and obstinate parties. A complex and fraud-proof solution being impossible of conception and acceptance, let us try a simple solution. A "morass of confusion and deceit," such as Mr. Adlai Stevenson fears will result from a simple solution, is certainly better than actual nuclear fall-out affecting 80 per cent of the world population, and the doubling of it by way of retaliation or in pursuit of an insane theory that such a competition will enhance the security or the reputation of America.

The power of perpetuating our property in our families is one of the most valuable circumstances belonging to it, and that which tends the most to the perpetuation of society itself.

EDMUND BURKE

STUDY GROUP'S PROPOSALS

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The Study Group headed by Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan and including Mrs. Kripalani and Messrs. Anna Sahab, Krishna, Brajraj Singh, and the Chief Secretary of Orissa and the Commissioner for Scheduled Classes, has recommended that there should be a guarantee of employment for the weaker sections of the population. In my book *New Thinking* and in much that I have written since, I have made Employment Insurance not only the starting-point of planning but the foundation for higher economics to the sections already employed. The basic wealth of a country is its labour, which converts natural resources into commodities and services which the people require. On the other hand, labour which is idle eats up the production of others without making any return.

It is calculated by Prof. Mahalanobis that the unemployment and under-employment added up to 45 millions daily. The subsequent census figures and the admitted increase in unemployment probably raise the figures to 60 millions—which is more than a third of the working population. The Study Group is right in holding that such un-

employment is economically and morally a dead weight, which deserves prior attention. The Swatantra Party is the only party which has recognized this, and in its statement of policy has demanded the creation of employment opportunities by replacing machines by manual labour to the greatest extent possible.

Since there is agreement between the Study Group and the Swatantra Party on the necessity for deliberately creating employment, the difference, if any, is only in respect of the means. The Study Group proposes a fourfold programme, public works, villagization of land, widespread rural industrialization and extensive educational assistance.

The public works programme is to include land reclamation, contour bunding, soil and water conservation, road building. These items, to which may also be added afforestation, are already in the programme of the Government. The question is if they can be enlarged sufficiently to employ even half the unemployed population, without increasing government expenditure beyond the tax-paying capacity of the population. To employ 30 millions, at the minimum wage of Rs. 500 annually, involves an aggregate expenditure of Rs. 1,500 crores, which is nearly equal to the present taxation of the Centre and the States. The additional tax effort for the Third Plan has been placed at Rs. 300 crores annually, and it may be agreed that this may be wholly directed for expenditure in rural areas on an additional programme of public works. This would create employment only for 6 millions directly and perhaps an equal number indirectly through subsidiary employment, particularly in the services created by these new incomes in the rural areas. This is, however, very far from full employment for which reason the Government has to be activating private enterprise.

Private enterprise responds only to felt needs. Now two questions arise, first, what are the felt needs, and second how can the Government help their fulfilment. The first felt need is housing, which the Government has admitted is required in respect of 50 million houses, which are sub-standard. Secondly, there are industries, amenities, which are lacking in villages comparatively with towns to which private enterprise would be attracted if government recognizes them as necessary and is prepared to help. In fact, the third proposal of the Study Group, rural industrialization, is

meaningless unless such industrialization serves the villages and not the towns.

The basic mistake the Plans of the Congress Government have so far made is that villages must industrialize for the requirements of towns, when they should do so for their own requirements. This represents not only a natural evolution but an ethical one because 82 per cent of the rural population cannot be made to work for the small balance, in a pattern which suited the British but is wholly alien to democracy. Even housing by the most modest modern standards would employ carpenters, smiths, masons and other village artisans fully for many years, if only Government made housing a Plan priority.

Government cannot provide houses to everyone, because the cost is staggering; but it can help all those who want better houses with loans and, if they are of the lower income groups, even with subsidies. This will create employment, which is the same whether it is in the public or private sector. In fact, better housing will not only revive various industries but will activate naturally many amenities, comparable with those in towns. The Study Group failed to see the importance of this—both of house construction and private enterprises.

The proposal for villagization is related to the uneconomic nature of small holdings. They may be uneconomic but co-operative holdings have proved in China and in other communist countries to be worse, because without the sense of property, there is no incentive to work. Where there is a genuine desire for co-operation, the cultivators will themselves come together without the intervention of the government. Otherwise, small holdings will supplement income from employment which government can activate. Villagization, which is another name for communism, is therefore not necessary to provide employment and may actually reduce it.

The proposals regarding education, community development and co-operative societies are subsidiary, because if full employment is provided, the people will be able to provide most things for themselves. The Study Group has, therefore, rendered its best service by pin-pointing the existence of poverty from unemployment. It would have rendered a greater service if it had broken clear of the methods which have failed during the last ten years of Planning. If more employment is to be created, the people only can do it for their own needs, in their own way, with stimulation and not domination by Government.

MR. NEHRU (MIS)QUOTES U.S. EXAMPLE

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

"There are more State-controlled industries in the U.S.A. than in India," said Mr. Nehru at the Madras meeting early this month. Politicians in a hurry like Mr. Nehru use loose language when they talk economics. Did he mean State-managed industries or State-controlled industries? He must have meant State-managed, because he said it in the course of his long criticism of the Swatantra Party, its aims and policy. For the Swatantra Party is not against the State controlling industry but is opposed to the State managing industry; whereas the Congress Party under Mr. Nehru's leadership is in favour of the State managing as many industries as possible. If he meant State-controlled industries he need not have quoted the U.S.A. against the Swatantra Party, for the U.S.A. with its anti-Trust laws, its high taxation of industrial profits and incomes, its Labour laws would be only confirming the industrial policy of the Swatantra Party. That there are more State-controlled industries in the sense of State-managed industries—and that I must insist is what Mr. Nehru meant in the context of his criticism of the Swatantra Party—is an astonishing statement to make. It must take its place by the side of his quotation of the Linlithgow Commission Report in favour of co-operative farming in the museum of Mr. Nehru's political errors and superstitions.

As against India the U.S.A. has left railways, civil aviation, broadcasting, irrigation and hydro-electric works (in the early stages) in the hands of private enterprise. Only in the Tennessee Valley Project has the Federal Government taken initiative in this great multipurpose enterprise. But the T.V.A. is now a public corporation—and so is the later Colorado River Authority. Defence Industries are State-managed but the State looks to the co-operation of private industrial corporations to aid and supplement the State-sponsored

Defence Industries. Atomic Energy production is also a State business. Apart from these few instances, the Government in the U.S.A. has kept its hands off the establishment and management of businesses and industries.

Of the control and direction of industry from the outside, there has been a steadily growing extension of State activity in the U.S.A. There are a number of independent agencies, independent of the Executive and not responsible to it, established by law to aid and assist industry. These are the Inter-State Commerce Commission which regulates the rates and practices in inter-State commerce by all "common carriers" (such as railroads, ships, buses, trucks, pipe-lines for carrying oil) and controls the ways in which common carriers raise money by selling stocks and bonds, and enforces law for the safety of railroad and public motor equipment. The Federal Trade Commission has the duty of investigating and preventing trade abuses and unfair methods of doing business, conducts investigations, issues summonses, and holds hearings when unfair practices are reported by citizens. The Securities and Exchange Commission is to protect investors who buy stocks and bonds. The United States Maritime Commission is responsible for developing and maintaining a strong fleet of merchant ships and for promoting in all possible ways the ship-borne commerce of the country.

Later instances of Commissions, also not created by the Executive but by the Legislature, are the Railroad Commission of Texas (1891) charged with the duty of the regulation of not only railroads but of petroleum production in Texas, the Federal Power Commission (1938) for the regulation of the Natural Gas Industry. In all these cases public corporations are set up by the Legislature for the regulation, not the running, of these respective industries.

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

This is the kind of control that the State exercises over industry in the U.S.A. It is quite different from the State-management of industry in India as illustrated in the State Steel factories, Sindri Fertilizers, the Damodar Valley Corporation, etc., in which the State has a large share if not the whole share in the establishment and management of industries. To quote the U.S.A. practice of control and regulation in support of State-established and State-managed industries of India is to quote wrong. "By necessity, by proclivity and by delight we all quote," said Emerson. But we must not quote wrong. Mr. Nehru gets away with wrong quotations. He has this advantage over lesser men. But he must not abuse this advantage.

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CURRENT EVENTS :

The present writer, on his flight back from attendance at the National Integration Conference, happened to get temporarily stranded at Begumpet (Hyderabad) when the Prime Minister and party had been privately scheduled to halt there for a short, colourful reception at a special landing in their chartered plane. An ordinary passenger appeared despondently stuck at the airport. Sure that he was not a plain-clothes detective sauntering at the gate, conversations started about the normal take-off. In the air of tense suspicion, it was a relief to realize that the chance-companion was, far from being a watch-and-ward gentleman, an official in the Accountant-General's cadre also bound for Madurai. A friendly chat about the cost of a special plane chartered for the business of endorsing the Congress manifesto and supporting the drive of integration with its accents of the current electioneering appeal by the Prime Minister, elicited the information that such matters could be 'adjusted', for instance by regarding the visit as an administrative duty for launching the Panchayat-raj regime in Madras. Not that anybody would grudge the P.M. and party a special trip by an air-conditioned plane of the I.A.C. during a season when public engagements are going to be busy for the Congress Party, but it struck the observer that the business of propaganda could be easily blended with opportunities of official tours, high and low, at an advantage against any rival canvassing of votes; but digression apart, one wonders how Panchayat-raj, a counsel of perfection on paper, is actually going to fare in practice.

Very few people will remember that at the time of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar then hailed as the 'Modern Manu', delivered a jarring, but significant speech about excess of faith in the ancient village system, because

of his feeling about its hidebound tradition as an 'untouchable'. That such a reinforcement of village self-government might result in the perpetuation of caste-intrigue and the practical segregation of the Harijan for whom Mahatma Gandhi had performed the Parnakuti penance, appeared to be at the root of his nervousness. It was at that time taken for granted that anything spoken in derogation of the village and villager must be in the nature of an anti-Congress aspersion. Indeed, if memory serves right, Prof. Ranga was aggrieved at a member of the Constituent Assembly representing village-autonomy as a feature of national weakness apparent in Dr. Ambedkar's recollection of history, and the risk of factions ending in unpreparedness for the defence of India. Foreign invaders broke over her North-Western frontiers on account of weak chains in village-aggregation. That tourists from war-worn Europe in the past were impressed by the rural economy and autonomous peace inherent in village self-government (now re-edited as Panchayat-raj) is true, especially when it came to the Southern half of India. Chisholm Austey in his study of India was so excited that he laid down the dictum that village self-government in India is as old as the East. The fabulous merit of it was slightly disturbed in the academic circles of the London University when researchers like John Mathai and B. R. Ambedkar observed defects and limitations, despite conveniences for revenue officials.

For Indians there is an emotional appeal in the concept of Five Decent Men solving family-disputes and regulating local affairs. But let us not forget that complications are bound to erupt when the dynamics of adult franchise are correlated to the agencies of a one-party system seeking self-perpetuation like the Congress with its nightmare about the mere taking of a turn in Opposition.

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Pandit Nehru eulogised the prospects of community-development and the possible benefits of Elysian calm through Panchayat-Raj, but as the system is being introduced let us not be blind to actualities.

In Andhra Pradesh, where they had a jolly good start, Chief Minister D. Sanjiviah referring to statistics told legislators that in 1959, no fewer than 774 cases of murder due to factions in Panchayat elections had been registered. Imaginary conceptions of ancient times where grey-beards with hereditary rights and no adult vote governing local economy proved chimerical. In Uttar Pradesh, another trial-ground, Home Minister Charan Singh recently reported 54 political murders in six months in the Aligarh district alone. What these political murders are, cannot be precisely established in a hot-bed of communal rancour, but we have the assistance of Mr. Charan Singh when he says: "The reason for increase in murders is due to Panchayat elections which developed political-groupism and party bickerings". In the order of achievement on Panchayat-raj score, then comes Rajasthan. From Jaipur is the report that Congress politicians "are cultivating notorious dacoits of Rajasthan for local Panchayat elections". The existence of dacoits growing formidable cannot be disproved by a casual success here and there of *padayatra*. Nevertheless, in political handbills we have the assertion that "Panchayat-Raj is a tremendous success especially the functioning of Nyaya Panchayats". There is no intention here of disparaging the motives of innovators but there is reason to be circumspect even if the Congress Party's revels at Madurai are brought on record by accountants and experts as a Panchayat-raj engagement of the Prime Minister of India.

P. J.

A SATANIC LABORATORY

We are told by Mr. Khrushchov that six eminent hemedalled men, till some time ago in the High Command in Russia and whose names have appeared in all the history books that deal with that country and its rulers, were traitors. They along with two lakhs of partymen stand 'disgraced'. This strange proceeding throws a fog of gruesome mystery on the politics and the ways of communist life. One fails to understand how all this could be. Not very long ago these men had staked their lives and their all and defended their country against Hitler. They were gods. How did they now become devils and how, again, did they develop conscience to confess their wickedness?

Communism is a thing apart and its politics cannot fall in line with human nature or the politics of freedom. It is un-understandable. Strangest of all is the disclosure or claim that these six men whose stature in their country's politics and history was not less than that of Lloyd George, Churchill, Attlee, Eden, or Macmillan confessed their 'error' and Mr. Voroshilov, the most eminent among them, pleaded that "the Devil had misled him". There is no God to lead the communists, but it seems the Devil is there to mislead them!

Can any normal, intelligent human being brought up in the axioms and the disciplines of ordinary logic and civilization understand these developments? These strange proceedings are enough to damn the atheistic scheme of life called communism. They are enough to make the young and immature to beware of this cult.

Venturing to offer a solution, I may say that this is what total power must lead to. The so-called socialist economy and total power of the State create the conspiracies and mutual fears and jealousies, and awful recriminations and confessions, which are disclosed in these proceedings. It is indeed a dark Satanic laboratory of power and conspiracy which is inconsis-

ent with freedom and civilization and human values. It is astonishing that millions of men accept the rule of men working in such a laboratory and submit to their dictatorship.

ELECTION COMMISSION'S FUNCTION

By P. KODANDA RAO

The Election Commission has thought fit to recognize political parties. To facilitate the election of candidates by their party affiliations by illiterate voters, it decided to allot symbols to such parties as satisfied certain conditions imposed by it. There is no warrant either in the Constitution, or in the Representation of the People's Act, or in the Conduct of Elections Rules of 1961, for the recognition of political parties by the Commission. Art. 324 of the Indian Constitution vested in the Election Commission the power of superintendence, direction and control of elections. It does not mention political parties. As a matter of fact, no constitution in the world, however recent and democratic, gave recognition to political parties, which at best are extra-constitutional, though not unconstitutional. The Representation of the People's Act, enacted by Parliament, mentions only candidates and constituencies and not political parties, notwithstanding the pretty universal opinion that parties are essential for democracy and, more so, for parliamentary democracy, which India has adopted. Even the Conduct of Elections Rules, promulgated by the Ministry of Law, Government of India, speaks only of candidates and constituencies and not of political parties. It is only the notification of the Election Commission, the latest of which is dated September 19, 1961, that mentions political parties. It claimed to do so in the exercise of the powers conferred on it by Rule 5 of the Conduct of Elections Rules. The Rule runs as follows: "The Election Commission shall, by notification ... specify the symbols that may be chosen by candidates at elections in parliamentary or assembly constituencies and the restrictions to which their choice shall be restricted". There is reference here to candidates and constituencies, and not to political parties.

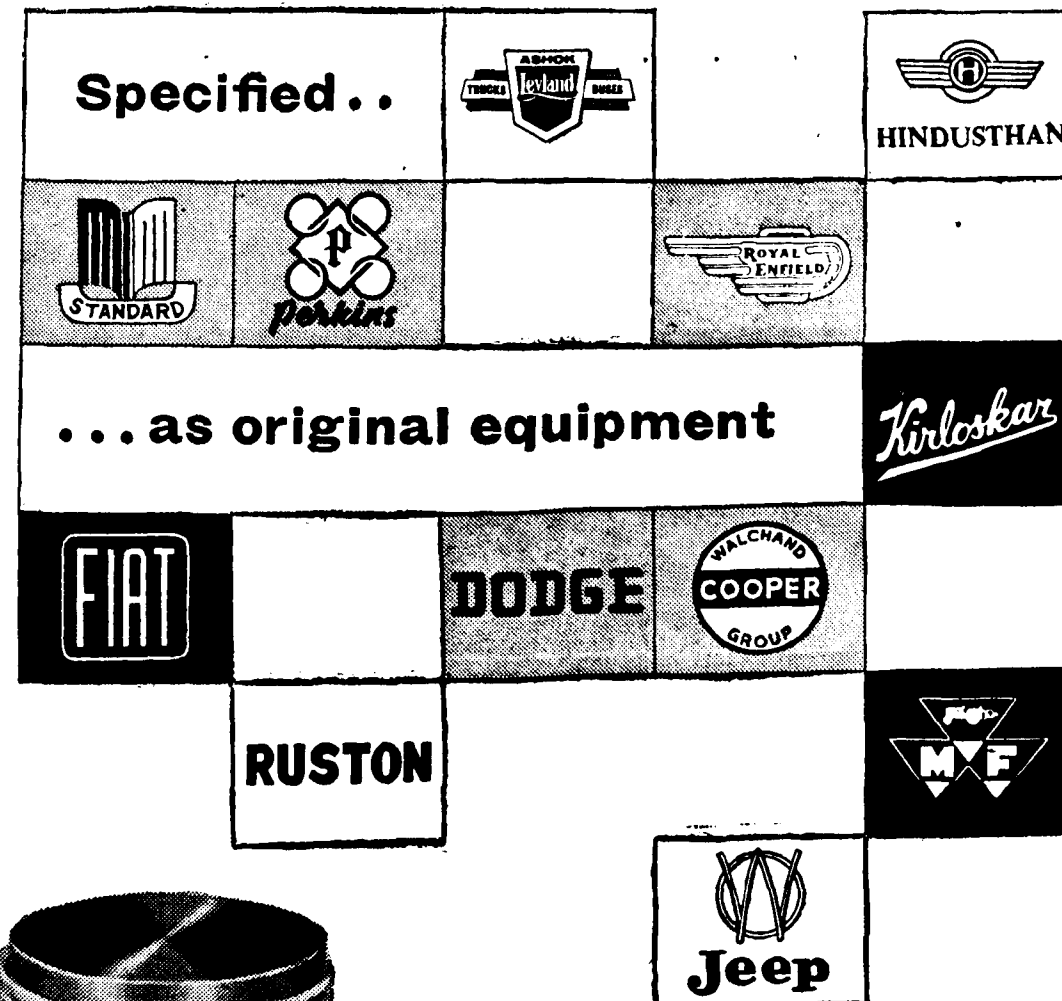
It seems pretty clear that the Election Commission has assumed powers without due authority in recognizing political parties for election purposes,

But there is nothing that is too strange to happen in this world. The human brain is wonderful but when it goes wrong, it becomes a wonderfully worthless instrument. And communism's method, from start to finish, is to get people's brains to go wrong. G.R.

perhaps for the reason that it could not ignore altogether the existence of political parties while conducting elections, and in the belief that it was its duty to educate the electorate to think and vote on party lines! It is extremely doubtful if it is any function of the Election Commission to educate the voters to think and vote on party lines. Though political parties exist in many democracies, the officials in charge of elections do not seem to share this function of the Indian Election Commission.

Maurice Duverger rightly observed: "The general development of parties tends to emphasise their deviation from the democratic regime. ... Parliamentary representatives themselves are compelled to an obedience which transforms them into a voting machine controlled by the leaders of the party. ... Parties become totalitarian." (*Political Parties*, 1954, p. 422). Granting that the party system is essential for democracy, is it the business of the Election Commission to undertake the function of promoting it? Or, should it be left to the extra-constitutional political parties themselves? The Election Commission will do better to stick to the Constitution, the Representation of the People's Act and the Conduct of Elections Rules of the Government of India, which all ignore political parties and concern themselves only with candidates and constituencies.

It seems that the Election Commission's prescriptions are not only arbitrary and unnecessary but also discriminatory and restrictive of the freedom of parties to form and re-form as and when they have a call. Parties are fluctuating phenomena and should not be put in strait-jackets of the past by the Election Commission. It would do well to ignore political parties, as it proposes to ignore electoral alliances, and recognize only candidates for constituencies, as required by the Law and the Constitution and the Rules. It did well to decline to indicate on the ballot paper or the ballot-box the political parties of the contesting candidates.



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ARE GOVERNMENT SERVANTS SECOND CLASS CITIZENS ?

By P. H. S. RAO

Political sufferers, or, to use the now fashionable term, 'Freedom Fighters' do not appear to have got over their fixation that government servants are anti-national and therefore their enemies, and, as such, fair game for humiliation and innumerable pin-pricks in season and out of season. The 'Freedom Fighters' in power have passed various administrative orders limiting the freedom of government servants in particular. Government servants are now required to report to government when they acquire any assets, movable or immovable, above a certain value; they have to report to Government when their sons are employed by a private company at a salary exceeding Rs. 500 per month; official notice will be taken of any complaint by the wife of a government servant that her husband is not taking 'proper care' of her. Whenever there is a complaint of corruption the accusing finger is pointed at "the government servants at the lower levels."

More serious is the attempt to deprive government servants of their political rights. When the Congress lost the bye-election in Delhi recently to a Jan Sangh candidate, the Prime Minister is reported to have expressed his view publicly that the Congress reverse was due to the adverse vote of government servants and that "something should be done about it". Now we see that either the Prime Minister himself, or his followers who are more loyal than the king are 'doing something about it'. As a first step they have issued orders prohibiting government servants from attending political meetings. When the matter came up in Parliament some remarkable jugglery was witnessed. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri protested that no 'orders' to this effect were issued but government servants were only 'advised', in their own interest, not to be seen at political meetings. But Mr. Datar was more downright in

his reply. To the questions "Should government servants be screened off from the trends of political opinion in the country? Would it be considered against government servants' conduct rules if a government servant attended political meetings?" he replied: "No. They are certainly free to acquaint themselves with the trend of political opinion. It is certainly not against government servants' conduct rules to attend such meetings, but they do so at their risk." He did great service to the country by letting the cat out of the bag. It amounts to this that government servants can exercise their rights at their risk!

One can understand some restraints on government servants, such as not joining or taking active interest in the work of political parties, or being denied the right to strike, but to deny them the freedom to just attend political meetings (not taking part in them) is to reduce them to the status of second class citizens. If the country accepts this encroachment on the rights of government servants, the party in power may next "advise" government servants to vote only Congress, or, to be on the safe side, deprive them of voting rights altogether. Let not the public dismiss this fear as fantastic. They should by now be familiar with the lengths to which the party in power will go to retain power. The amendment to the Company Law to enable limited companies to contribute to the funds of political parties in the teeth of opposition of all Opposition parties and even of some of the Congress members, was something which believers in the unwritten laws of democracy least expected. In passing that legislation the party in power just used the steam roller of a brute majority in utter disregard of all canons of democratic rectitude.

It is well to remember that eternal vigilance is the price of democracy.

AN INDIRECT RESULT

"If foreign aid was to advance the prosperity of under-developed countries, it was essential for every citizen in such countries to know the implications of the social order, which such aid tends to erect," said the Archbishop of Madras explaining the new Papal encyclical in a recent speech in Madras. Not only does foreign aid from the USSR carry this danger but, paradoxically, aid from America also tends to erect a social order such as America does not want for herself.

Very few people interested in democracy have realized how greatly American Aid is helping authoritarian governments to boost dictatorships and keep them going. Aid is given to strengthen the defence against communism. But the administration of Aid-funds helps dictatorships. The Aid psychology develops in America a distinct preference for government-controlled economy in the aided regions, because it is easier to deal with governments than with individuals. Thus American Aid works steadily against free economy and spreads the doctrine of government control. This is not wanted either by the American Government or the people of the United States. But it happens all the same.

And where democracy deteriorates into dictatorship, communism comes in easy after some time. It would be far more consistent with American philosophy if the Government found means to induce more and more private American capital to flow into under-developed countries so that the resulting prosperity might help the under-developed States to put more of their own money into general welfare; this is better calculated to help, than giving aid directly for welfare use, thereby assisting authoritarian rulers and political parties to pose success and perpetuate their regimes.

C.R.

TAWDRY RE-ITERATION

By POTHAN JOSEPH

"Who is of denying it, Betsy, who is of denying it?"

Such is the favourite question put by Sarah Camp of a mythical friend named Mrs. Harris in a novel (*Martin Chuzzlewit*) by Charles Dickens.

In his indictment of Mr. Rajagopalachari and the Swatantra Party as representing a body of opinion or a reactionary clique past praying for, Prime Minister Nehru thundered at Madurai that distinguished foreigners who tour India have observed the sprouting of small industries in many parts of the country since he came to power. Well could the Prime Minister be met with the response: "Who is of denying it, Jawaharlalji, who is of denying it?" When we see thousands die in flood and famine, where is the need for quoting Aristotle to prove that man is mortal?

It is however characteristic of him to call for the witness of foreign observers to establish the obvious. Yes, it is true that small industries have made their appearance and that State governments have discretion to advance money on foreign tap to *entrepreneurs* interested in personal profit as well as national uplift, provided they secure the support of the party and the total number of permits required from the Centre. The lack of a single link in the chain causes heartbreak even at a time when Mr. Nehru recommends a

language of the heart as the answer to the rise of "linguism" in the country. We all concede that small industries are a noticeable feature in our horizon. When Hamlet said something self-evident after the ghost scene, one of his hearers remarked: "We need no ghost from the grave to tell us that". The Swatantra Party is in no opposition to the launching of small industries. In fact, it supports it, and it advocates our economy to be so geared as between agriculture and manufacture that we could develop a scale of output that would, in the first place, ensure national self-sufficiency in food in order to keep pace with the rising population and restore dignity as an agricultural country. Why should we need any certificate from foreign tourists in their ten-day excursions to reach the belief that small-scale industries have really sprung up?

As for the stimulus of the State Trading Corporation to improve exports, the foreign visitor after gazing at the Taj Mahal and Bakhra Dam cannot be expected to give a valid chit about the importance of collective shipments of nearly sixty Indian commodities as mobilized in the Corporation's list. The original excuse for the creation of this mechanism placed under the care of the former Chief Minister of Coorg, Mr. Poonacha, was that in our transactions with communistic countries, it would be necessary to be prepared for the barter-system squeezing out private contacts in many essential goods. But the fib stands exploded when countries given to private trade manage to carry on exchange of commodities with Russia outside the sublime theory that there should be national agencies to determine import-export business. In spite of the bunkum underlining the original claim floated by the Mahalanobis-school of economics, it is now reluctantly conceded that artificialities to suit communistic actions are not particularly neces-

sary: indeed they hamper free trade.

Again, Mr. Nehru at Madurai proceeded to argue on another proposition as a blow to the Swatantra Party. He asserted, as if to floor C.R. and the Swatantra Party, that "even in America" the public sector has taken control of Pan-American enterprise and that therefore India's public sector represents no anomaly. "Who is of denying it, Panditji, who is of denying it?"

In the American example, there are many undertakings on the principle of Abraham Lincoln that what a nation cannot do through private enterprise should be shouldered as the burden of public enterprise. But a little difference must be observed, if India also struts the stage under the notion that America is grubbing all over the world for capital abroad to prop up home-ventures. India, on the other hand, lives in expectation of the constant financing (and in New Delhi of re-financing investments) through the process of super-inflation, a prospect quite in contrast with the American conception of capital-incentives.

Any sneer at the principle of the private sector giving motive-force in the psychology of production in America, should be differently weighed as shrewd men ought to observe between the lines of Ambassador Galbraith's speeches. He does not recommend any jolly process of productivity through shouts and shibboleths, let alone mimicking of foreign patterns in an Affluent Society.

I wonder if even the definitions of some terms which Professor John Kenneth Galbraith used in his address to the Annamalai University, bore the same sense in the mind of the speaker and the listener about the foundations of productivity. Between Khrushchov and Kennedy there can be no code of semantics, but Mr. Nehru and Rajaji ought to be mutually better understood.

There is an unbearable burden of snob-economics imported into the business of national integration and grandiose claims of premature triumphs.

THE REAL ISSUE IN N. BOMBAY

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Discussions on all major issues in terms of personalities have increasingly projected as the key figures on the world canvas, two K's—Khrushchov and Kennedy. On the Indian screen too, two K's again seem to have acquired something of a symbolic significance, particularly in the context of the coming general elections: they are Krishna (as Mr. Menon is endearingly called by his friends) and Kripalani. In Bombay which provides the arena for their gladiatorial fight, it perhaps occurs to some that two other K's are lurking in the background—Karanjia and Karaka!

For the most sensational single contest in the 1962 elections one will assuredly turn to North Bombay than to any other constituency in the whole country. The far-flung interest it has already aroused, is at once a tribute to the two combatants who are seasoned fighters as well as old adversaries. On the floor of the House in the Lok Sabha there were occasions when they floored each other while in the lobby there were also occasions when they shook hands, despite their slashing exchanges earlier. Having once proclaimed, rashly or otherwise, that he would oppose Krishna Menon wherever he chose to stand as a parliamentary candidate, Kripalani has been as good as his word. Nor is Krishna Menon the man, the grim fighter that he is, to desert Bombay North because of Kripalani's appearance on its scene. The Union Defence Minister has decided to stick to his old constituency—and his guns.

Krishna Menon as the member for Bombay North cannot of course be likened to the lion in his own den. A lion he is (for he can do enough roaring) but the den is in 'alien' domain, in one sense. Nor has his formidable rival any local claims at the Gateway of India. He too is an 'intruder'. But it is as well that, over-

riding regional, linguistic and such other considerations, they have both descended on neutral territory for having it out. Both are perhaps aware of their stakes and risks. Neither can be really over-sanguine of victory. And since one of the two must lose, the Lok Sabha will lose one stalwart. The North Bombay election is of considerable consequence since it will necessarily culminate in the end of one great political career.

Our two K's will face each other less as individuals than as representatives of two different schools of thought. Krishna Menon is of the Congress though some doubt if the Congress is really with him. Kripalani is now an Independent who does not however plough a lonely furrow. He has the backing of parties other than the Congress and the Leftist. He treads the Gandhi way while Krishna Menon goes the Nehru way—though, in his own way.

If there are several in the country who would consider throwing him out more important than throwing out a hundred other Congress candidates, it is not because of his standing inside the Congress, but because of his juxtaposition to the Prime Minister. That was perhaps the reason why Kripalani, in his inaugural election speech in Bombay, laid stress on saving Prime Minister Nehru from Krishna Menon. But it seems that Kripalani's was a case of misfiring. For, if his approach had any meaning, it only meant that the only blemish about the Nehru Government was the active and high-level association of Krishna Menon with it. In thus making it look like a personal issue, the Acharya has weakened the whole case for voting the Congress out of power.

It should have been obvious to so astute a politician as Kripalani that to go for Krishna Menon alone was hardly adequate when the hour called for a forthright and frontal attack on the whole structure of the Congress, party

and government. Even assuming that Kripalani was not fully reported in the press, there seems to be no room for any doubt about his misplaced emphasis on the individual. It was the wrong way of confronting the electorate. And there is the danger of his looking quite silly, if Krishna Menon will address the Bombay audience without even bothering to mention the name of his opponent and refrain from descending to any personal attack, though he can be unsparing.

Kripalani has yet time to go about the business in the right way and he can hardly do better than remodel himself as a campaigner in Rajaji's mould, invoking the wrath of Heaven for the deliverance of the country from the despotic domination of the Congress and the dictatorial leadership of Mr. Nehru. In the wide setting of the election it hardly helps anyone to concentrate on Krishna Menon as the villain of the piece—or the only fly in the Nehru ointment!

What is of the utmost need in the election campaign is the capacity, on the part of a campaigner, to (as Disraeli put it) "open the thick head" of the average voter on but a single issue—the wisdom or the folly of bringing the Congress back to power.

SWARAJYA

(English Political Weekly)

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ASP/UG-66

Dear Reader

The contest in North Bombay between the Congress and Kripalani is attracting all-India attention, and probably also great international interest. It is a battle between crypto-communist Congress and Gandhian common-sense. Perhaps, also, it is a battle between Congress money-power and honest patriotism. Bombay was always sport-minded and enjoyed a good fight, and here is a grand opportunity for entertainment besides an important political issue on trial: must our non-alignment be a dogmatic obstinacy leaning towards Russia or should it be an intelligent policy to save spiritual and human values shaped in accordance with changing circumstances?

It is reported from New Delhi that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is not likely to intervene and prevent the contest between Acharya Kripalani and Mr. V. K. K. Menon in Bombay and that, on the contrary, he will campaign for Mr. Menon. This is good. The contest will then assume its true colour and be saved from being only a matter touching the particular candidature. The issue will be 'Congress or no Congress'—and not a personal question centering on Mr. Menon's individual merits and demerits. Mr. Nehru's campaigning may stay the hands of many congressmen who strongly desire to work against Mr. Menon's candidature. The Nehru-cult may overwhelm individual judgment and fear take the place of freedom even in a secret ballot. But as against this, it is a net gain that the contest resumes its true and proper characteristic. It would be a waste of energy and rage to let the duel in North Bombay become a mere personal prize-fight and the choice of the electors narrowed into a mere condemnation of Mr. V. K. K. Menon as an individual minister. Mr. V. K. K. Menon stands for Mr. Nehru's policies and not for himself or anything else, as the Prime Minister will no

doubt explain when he takes up the campaign. North Bombay will then become a significant battle.

The peasants of India who have to vote shortly for or against the Congress Party are being advised by eminent visitors from abroad every now and then about co-operative farming and other such Congress plans for the quick achievement of prosperity in India. The opinions of these V.I.Ps from abroad are, it may be surmised, expressed at the instance of government questioners and broadcast on the front pages of the daily press. The latest instance is that of Mr. Orville Freeman, U.S. Secretary for Agriculture, who (it may be noted without disrespect) could not yet have had time to know more than a microscopic fraction of Indian conditions and yet has been asked to give his opinion, in order to counterpoise the weight of adverse criticism of all the peasant organizations in India. Here is the report of Mr. Freeman's opinion:

On co-operative farming Mr. Freeman was very enthusiastic and was convinced that it would succeed. But he hastened to draw a distinction between enforced collectivization and co-operative farming. He did not think that enforced collectivization in agriculture would work at all. In fact it had failed in countries where it had been tried.

The next question arises as to what is 'enforced' and what is voluntary. Where people joined together and invested their own capital, Mr. Freeman said, it would be good. Is the offer of inducements by way of cash to a money-hungry and ignorant peasantry followed by assent to join a collective farm, a 'forced' one or a 'free' sample of co-operative farming? It all depends on the amount of cash and the amount of ignorance, and the quality of eloquence employed by the local official. Force as well as fraud has an infinite variety of forms.

OUR NEW RULERS

" VIGNESWARA "

(N. RAGHUNATHAN)

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The latest integration-device is to compel employees of the Government to say 'Jai Hind' instead of 'Namaste'! This is a contribution from the Punjab Government. This may rank higher in intelligence than the other device to make the Devanagari alphabet the script for all languages. We may presently have some more proposals equally Don Quixotian. 'Jai Hind' is a little more chauvinistic than 'Bande Mataram'. 'Namaste' is a token of humility which is a good virtue, especially these days when arrogance sways the mind of the rulers and their flatterers.

Foreign policy, like any other policy as distinguished from a creed, must run as near to creed as possible, and at the same time take into account prevailing conditions which call for a variation from dogma. An obstinate adherence to dogma would be wrong policy where such variation is called for. The foreign policy of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has disclosed itself to be entirely a creed and not a policy, although there are at the present time all sorts of circumstances demanding variation. We want a creative foreign policy,—as the Americans would call it,—not a negative policy following the type of the

Ten Commandments, 'do not do this and do not do that'. We should not take sides—this is India's creed as well as her present foreign policy. If we do not take sides when we should against a wrong-doer, we really take his side, without meaning to do so. Hence the general dissatisfaction about India in Western circles, the maligning of our non-alignment. We should devise and carry out a positive foreign policy approximately as close to the creed of neutrality and non-violence as possible, but we should not fail to take note of what calls for variation, to avoid becoming accomplices in wrongdoing. Herein lies statesmanship, not in mulish adherence to a negative policy or in slinging about with the tongue and annoying the more patient and enlightened of the two warring Powers.

Eight crore people with a common language, Arabic, and a common religion, Islam, with a leader who adopted the unification of these people into one nation as his mission, Col. Nasser, have failed to realize their ideal. The latest blow to this aspiration, a swift and bloodless *coup* in Syria, was least expected, but it has happened, smashing the only symbol of Arab unity, the Egypt-Syria partnership. The unification of divided people has never been

easy. History is a more important cementing factor than either language or religion. We have in a small way quite a few demonstrations of the power of history to resist attempts at unification on the basis of language in the linguistic re-organization of our States. In Kerala, Andhra, Maharashtra, and Kannada States, parts newly brought together under one linguistic regime have not merged as sweetly as was heroically expected some years ago, when the project was first conceived under the notion that unity of language could achieve unity of the people. This disappointment apart, the project threatens the very unity of India. Indian unity and the new-fangled local pattern of linguistic unification are basically contrary to each other. The pattern of Indian unity demands the devaluation of language differences. Any elevation of language into quasi-divinity is bound adversely to affect Indian unity.

Mr. Ralph Lapp, the atomic scientist who was one of the team that worked on the Manhattan project—the same that ended in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—says that a nuclear war today would last only one night and certainly not more than two nights. What a blessing it is that total destruction of human life and

civilization would not mean any agony beyond 48 hours! He explains that there would be no time for either side to assess the damage caused and therefore the strategy would be from the outset to over-kill. Hence the extreme shortness of the probable duration of the war. This analysis is sound and Mr. Lapp must be congratulated by those who are not in the cold war blocs for giving this reassuring information. If agony is inevitable, it is 'good to know that it will be over in 48 hours!'

It is a great misfortune that the USSR thought it necessary and fit to start exploding nuclear bomb tests at this juncture. It is unfortunate also that the Belgrade conference did not express itself more firmly, and with sufficient indignation, against this renewal of test explosions in breach of the moratorium observed till then. It cannot be denied that the neutralists somehow lean towards excusing lapses on the Russian side, and are prone to be sharp only when the fault lies on the American side. Perhaps it is a case of willingness to criticize where you expect good conduct, and an inclination not to waste censure where (it is known) censure would yield no results. However, some harsh condemnation when it is due would do good to Russia. Khrushchov is not insensitive to neutralist world opinion in spite of all his put-on.

Mr. Nikita Khrushchov said that "some think under communism they need neither sow nor reap but eat cake". How like this is what some people are made to think by the Congress Party in India! Congressmen are really eating cake without ploughing or digging or sowing. But the entire nation cannot do this. Hard work is the mother of prosperity and hard work of any kind needs an incentive, the incentive of being assured that the yield will not be taken away by the State and given to others or wasted.

C.A.



Issue dated October 29, 1961

This bumper issue will maintain its usual high standard. Besides regular features, articles include those by H. H. Sankaracharya and U. K. High Commissioner Sir Paul Gore-Booth, Ambassador Galbraith, Sri K. Balasubramania Aiyar, Prof. O. C. Gangoly, Sri Mohan Khokar, Sri K. Nagarajan (short story), etc.

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN - BOMBAY-7

October 28, 1961

BOOK REVIEW:

LESSONS FROM DR. PARANJPYE'S LIFE

84 NOT OUT

By R. P. Paranjpye (A National Book Trust book)
Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi-6.
Price Rs. 1.75.

"I was the seventh of my parents' thirteen children My mother told me that I was born with foot presentation. The woman who attended on her at the time announced that it was a fine boy but still-born. My mother protested that she could not be right and ordered her to 'throw cold water over him, slap him and give him a violent shaking.' The woman did as she was told—and it was only then that I uttered the first cry which so delights a mother."

That was how R. P. Paranjpye, later to be Senior Wrangler of Cambridge University, Principal of Fergusson College, Poona, Bombay's Minister for Education, India's High Commissioner in Australia and Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow and Poona universities, was ushered into the world.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Paranjpye who in adult life was to be such an uncompromising rationalist that as Principal of Fergusson College he refused to allow the students a holiday on occasions of solar or lunar eclipses, was much in demand as a child, as a person possessed of the power of curing victims of lumbago. There are other interesting anecdotes relating to the early years of his life, which Dr. Paranjpye tells with a plainness and matter-of-factness, an apparent artlessness which is far more effective than those inartistic, long, strenuously contrived essays in self-glorification which most autobiographers mistake for self-revelation.

If his father had had his way with young Paranjpye, we would have perhaps had a first class Vedic scholar who would have become a Mahamahopadhyaya and died desperately poor and unknown to all but a discerning few. But young Paranjpye showed himself so clever and able at the primary school that he was allowed to take to higher education. He went, on finishing his high school course, to Fergusson College and thence, as a Government of India scholar, to Cambridge, where he became Senior Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos and Fellow of St. John's College (1899). Dr. Paranjpye

recalls that the first Indian whose name appears in the list of Wranglers, while there existed an order of merit was Ananda Mohan Bose, a former distinguished President of the Indian National Congress. The list that Dr. Paranjpye gives includes two distinguished Madrasis, Sri A. T. Rajan, I.C.S. and Sri B. N. Rao, also of the I.C.S. Describing his life at Cambridge, Dr. Paranjpye draws attention to the tremendous demand on the mental stamina of students that courses of study made in those days and deplores the current tendency to fuss about the hardship involved in, for example, students having to answer two papers a day. Dr. Paranjpye, while specializing in Mathematics all the five years he was in Europe as a scholar, followed Gokhale's advice, and after spending eight hours each day on Mathematics, spent a considerable amount of time tackling general subjects and the humanities, and especially English literature. Dr. Paranjpye was of course an extraordinary man, exceptionally well dowered with gifts of the mind. But even ordinary students of the older generation, some of them still happily with us, show a width and range of intellectual interests, a steadiness and strength of purpose, a sense of values and an integrity of character which are, alas, far to seek in these days. And this is attributable, almost entirely to the outrageous corrupting influence of the politician on educational policy and administration. It would be an excellent thing if present day students were made to read this particular section of Dr. Paranjpye's book at least.

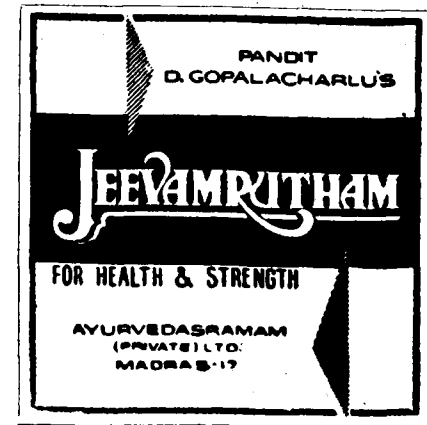
There is today a systematic discouragement and denial of even opportunity to merit and character and a bolstering up of the unfit. We are, especially during these years of freedom under Congress administration, producing senior wranglers and anglers for undeserved office and power, not a truly educated community of young men.

Dr. Paranjpye showed himself throughout his life a vigorous opponent of religious education. One need not and indeed cannot agree with all Dr. Paranjpye's views on this subject but one cannot help feeling at the same time that even a rigorous rationalism wisely applied would have produced a morally stronger and healthier body of educated young men than we have got today.

Dr. Paranjpye as a member of the old (Minto-Morley) Legislative Council

of Bombay and later as a Minister of Education under the Montford scheme in Bombay Province, did useful work as an administrator, bringing character and ability of a high order to his tasks. He was a Liberal and a Moderate and refused to have any truck with the Gandhian gospel of civil disobedience and mass struggle for the achievement of freedom. It was because men like Dr. Paranjpye favoured evolutionary development of freedom, as they feared the possibility of far greater evil arising from letting the ignorant multitude loose in the sphere of politics. We may disagree with them but we are bound to respect their integrity. The great Lokmanya Tilak was himself a believer in a flexible technique of political action freed from doctrinaire attachment to this or that gospel. And let it not be forgotten that Gandhiji himself preferred truth and non-violence to even India's freedom. This is not to say that we agree with or endorse Dr. Paranjpye's policies. Few can deny that nothing short of Gandhiji's heroic and magnificent struggle would have created the mass awakening that led almost straight to freedom. The emergence of Pakistan and its continuing hostility to India are a measure of the strength of the forces that opposed Indian freedom. Alas, we are today destroying the finest legacy that the Father of the Nation left us, the legacy of a high moral idealism and self-sacrificing self-discipline.

There is a great deal in this book that affords food for thought. There is a great deal also that provokes vigorous dissent. But every page is *alive* and the book, as a whole, is a little classic of autobiographic writing. It is in particular a testimony to the fact that poverty was, not even in a politically subject India, a bar to the achievement of the highest personal distinction by merit. How one wishes that one can say that merit handicapped by poverty has as good a prospect in free India! S.R.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

OUR ECONOMIC POLICIES

Sir,—Few will disagree with the ideal of social security as a 'must' for any modern Government; the only point is whether the steps adopted by the Congress Government will lead to that end.

When one looks at the economic picture around us in India and at the persistence of an inflationary trend of no mean order over an extended period, one should not find it difficult to visualise the most serious hardship to the fixed income groups and, indeed, to all those whose incomes do not keep pace with the rising prices. Apart from the continuous and inevitable fall in the standard of life it results in, one should not also overlook the 'indirect' form of taxation inherent in such a situation.

M. Antoine Pinay who, as the Finance Minister of France, is credited with responsibility for the miraculous restoration of the stability of the franc and who, by his policies over a short period, raised from 19 to 1500 millions the U.S. aid dollar reserve of the French Treasury, has given this warning:

"Social security bought at the price of inflation is a delusion and a fraud; and so are price-supporting subsidies."

"Private initiative, integrity, hard work and thrift are not, and should never be allowed to become, outdated virtues."

"It is dishonest to ask people to entrust their savings to you and then pay them back in depreciated currency." (This with reference to his proposal for a French Government loan with payments pegged to the price of gold.)

"Inflation not only undermines the economic foundations of a nation. It weakens its political and social structure, even its morality." (He adds, by way of explanation, that he does not want people who live on a fixed income to have to pay the profits of the minority who benefit by inflation.)

When such fears are expressed, as consequen-

ces of our current economic policies, the spokesmen of the ruling party dismiss them as imaginary and call those who express them as people wedded to outmoded, orthodox economic doctrines, with an air of finality.

One often feels tempted to remind them of what G. K. Chesterton had to say of orthodoxy:

"People have fallen into the foolish habit of speaking of orthodoxy as something heavy, humdrum, and safe. There was never anything so perilous or so exciting as orthodoxy. It was sanity; and to be sane is more dramatic than to be mad".

Calcutta-29

S. V. SUBRAMANIAN

WILL HE EXPLAIN?

Sir,—The Union Government has sanctioned 320 pilot projects, each consisting of 10 joint or collective farming societies to be established in the country before the end of the Third Five Year Plan. Out of this number, 12 pilot projects have been allotted to Madras State. The State Ministry is taking steps to start three projects in the State in the current year.

The State Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Bhakthavatsalam, has in a speech before the Seminar on Co-operative Farming recently held at Coimbatore expressed his opinion on co-operative farming thus: "I went to Russia a few months back. I saw a few collective farms. I could see that the workers in the farms are mere wage-earners. The Soviet Government has now realized that without incentive, it could not develop agriculture. Therefore, each individual worker in a collective farm is now given 1 to 2½ acres for his individual cultivation. He can cultivate the land as he pleases and sell the produce as he pleases. Therefore, I would plead that we should not insist on this or that pattern".

This is excellent evidence against collective farming. And yet the Minister gave his assent to the introduction of the pilot projects for collective farming in the Madras State!

Tirumelveli

A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

PLEA FOR ZONAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Sir,—How strange that the most vital aspect of emotional integration has been ignored for such a long time!

Our leaders do not seem to realize the havoc linguism and statism is doing to the nation today. One State has

nothing in common with the others, so to say; they are all engaged in rivalry over boundary disputes, location of industries, use of water, electricity, treatment of linguistic minorities, and so on. They are all small States virtually independent — though constitutionally otherwise.

The only link is not even the Central Government but the personality of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. His seems the final word not because of respect and love but out of fear, as he is the vote-securing leader for them.

Many proposals have been suggested for better integration of the country. But it seems to me that until we have an all-India cadre of leadership the problem could not be tackled effectively. The Constitution should be amended to have a directly elected President. The Governors and Chief Justices of High Courts should be the nominees of the President and the Prime Minister should have no say in their appointments. By having a directly elected President, all-India figures will emerge. We should also do away with the present States; instead administrative regions on zonal basis should be formed—which would not only result in economy but also help in integrating the country.

Allahabad

MOHAN LAL KHERR

IS IT FAIR?

Sir,—The speeches of our Prime Minister have all been broadcast by the Madras and Trichy stations of All India Radio, including even those at Theni and other places, and for a duration of more than 75 minutes each day! The points touched on in his speeches at various places largely related to election propaganda. Mr. Nehru came to Madurai not in his capacity as Prime Minister but to participate in the deliberations of his party. Other political party leaders do not enjoy similar privileges. Is this not a clear instance of the ruling party exploiting its power of being in office for party advantage? Are the speeches of Mr. Ashok Mehta and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari broadcast in the same manner? Why, even the free press gives but scant space to reports of their speeches!

Who can now say that the suggestion of C.R. that every ruling party must resign at least six months before the elections is not reasonable or just? The Prime Minister who prides himself on giving equal opportunities to all could very well set an example himself by stepping down from office and fighting the elections on equal level with other parties. But it is so much easier to ask others to give up their privileged position than for oneself to give up one's advantage.

R.S.

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

HE PLAYED CRICKET!

The following rare sketch of Mahatma Gandhi in his boyhood as a sportsman is given by Haris S. Booch in *The Times of India*:

Few people know that Mahatma Gandhi was a good cricketer when he was at Alfred High School of Rajkot. He excelled at both bowling and batting. He also played card games at home, his favourite being Bezique. Sportsmanship illumined his actions in the school era. This amazing but interesting disclosure was made to me by his only living schoolmate, Mr. Ratilal G. Mehta, the veteran educationist of Saurashtra, who is 90 today.

According to Mr. Mehta, who is remarkably active despite his nine decades, Gandhiji's school career had a definite impact on his later life. "Mohandas was very friendly with school-boys irrespective of caste or creed and I can never forget his compassion for weaker and less privileged fellow-students. He

set an example to all by attending the school in the simplest of clothes. For instance, I don't think his cap cost more than eight annas," he told me.

Gandhiji's first lessons in self-discipline were also learnt at school from their headmaster, Mr. Dorabji Gimi, and it was their Sanskrit teacher, Mr. Krishna Shankar, who persuaded Gandhiji to shed his earlier dislike for that language and thus opened the flood-gates of future learning which culminated in a deep study of the *Bhagavad Gita*, *Upanishads* and the *Vedas*. What surprised Mr. Mehta was Gandhiji's uncanny sense of intuition even at that early age. Once both of them were watching an important cricket match at Rajkot. Gandhiji declared a particular well-set batsman would be out the next ball. And the prediction proved absolutely correct!

TRAVEL
TALK
IN
TUBELESS
TIMES

'A tube, a tube, my kingdom for a tube', quoted Time-Master Tubophile getting his Shakespeare all mixed up.

'Listen', said the coachman. 'You ain't got a kingdom to give and we ain't got a 'tube' to travel in...so now we walk, see!'

'Zounds, Sir', thundered Time-Master Tubophile, still Shakespearean, 'you don't have to remind me that this is a tubeless land in tubeless times. Full well do I, Chairman, Tube Time Inc., know it. Not a car, train or plane for conveyance...not even a bicycle to take the ache out of travelling. Nothing to take you from here to there save a horse...and that too run away. Such is tubeless travelling.

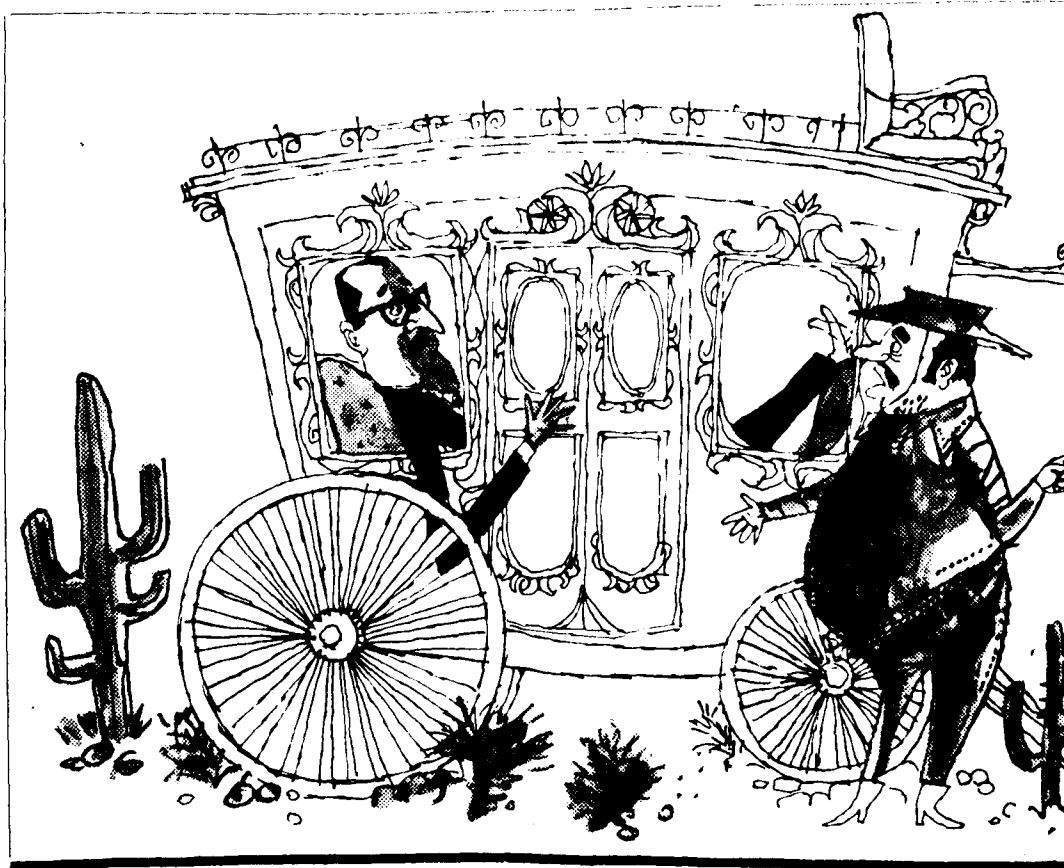
Comforting, though, to think, there is my tubular time machine to take me back to my own well-tubed time. And back I'll go after I have seen more of these tubeless times'.

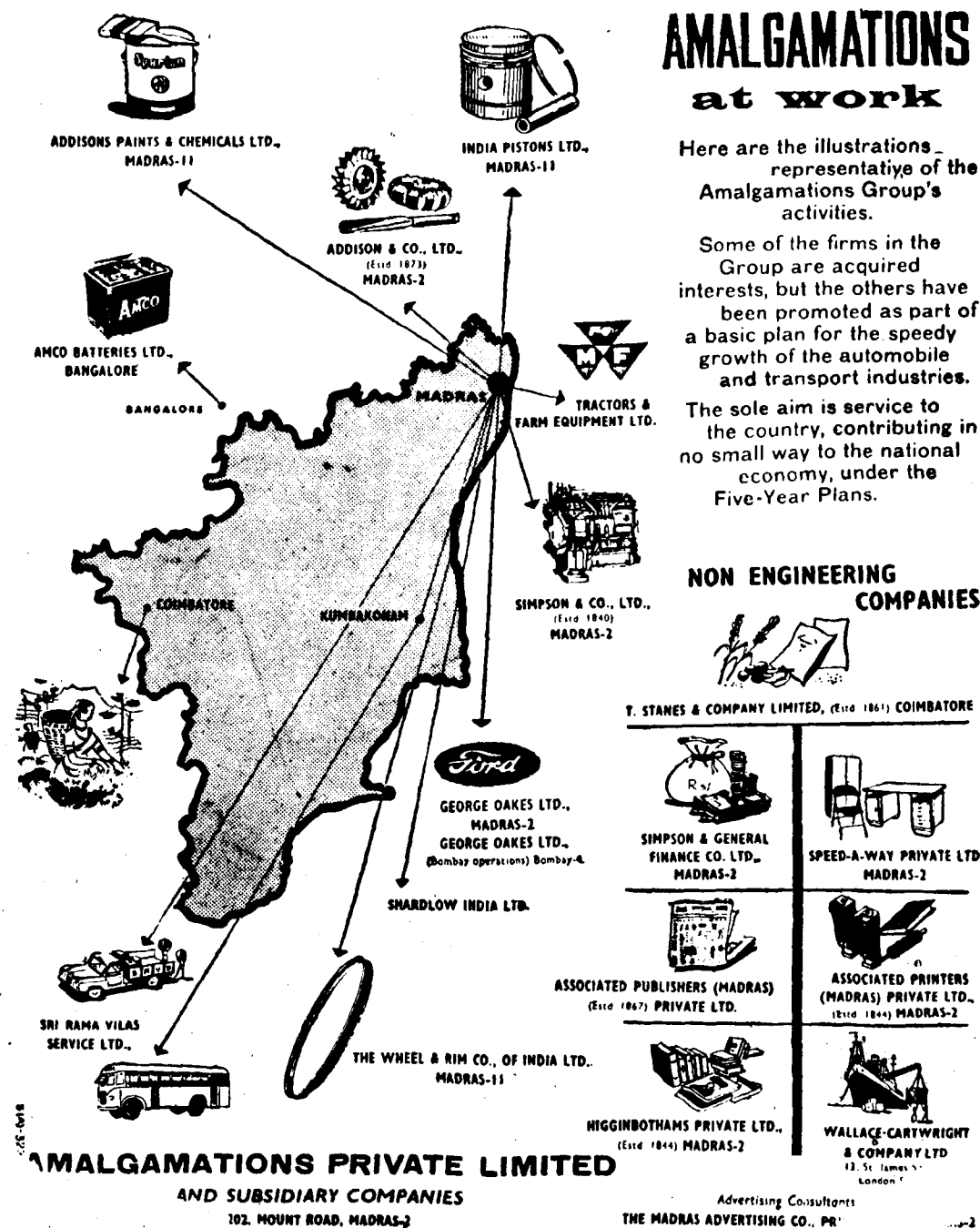
'Coachman! forward — Ho!'



The Indian Tube Company (1953) Ltd. A Tata-Stewarts & Lloyds Enterprise

ITC-54





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

SWARAJYA

Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 18

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 4, 1961

Price 15 nP

THE BIGGEST PERIL AND HOW TO MEET IT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It follows from the nature of truth and human intelligence that in seeking the suffrages of the people, all political parties should more or less put forth identical policies, although they may give different shapes to the same substance and use different language. If the conditional if's, but's and provided-that's are all added up, it will be seen that most political parties swear by the same objectives, and the difference is, as far as policies are concerned, mostly an illusion. This is because of the fact that the appeal of all parties is to the same electorate and under the same conditions, and as already stated the nature of truth and human intelligence leave no scope for real variation.

What each party lays emphasis on may present differences, but the emphasis too varies with the audience to whom it is addressed. Here also there is more of skill and illusion than of reality in the variations.

What then is the issue on which the Congress is opposed by the Swatantra Party? Not the aims, which are general welfare, equal opportunities for all and protection of the weaker elements against exploitation—these being the stated objectives of both parties. The one issue is the big difference in the ways and means employed to achieve these objectives.

The Congress Party's policy is Statism. The Congress Party being in power suffers from the bias or the illusion that through the State rather than through the free will

and voluntary co-operation of the citizens general welfare and prosperity can be secured. So measures curtailing freedom have been devised to attain prosperity. Incidentally, these measures give more and more power to the ruling party.

The Swatantra Party stands for freedom, stoutly opposing Statism. Statism along with party government leads to the growth of one-party power to monstrous dimensions ending up in perpetuation of power and extinction of democracy. This is the great and all-important issue.

It is gratifying to note that the Praja Socialist Party (whose name may mislead) is also against Statism, as the election manifesto of that party makes it very clear. Indeed all parties other than the Congress and Communist parties are ranged against Statism. It is recognized by all of them that the Statist policy of the Congress must lead to totalitarianism. The Congress Party would itself object to Statism were it not in power.

The question then is, what should be the strategy at the next elections for these parties that do not want Statism. Must parties range themselves against one another although they all present the same stout opposition to the Statism of the Congress and Communist parties? Must they indulge in triangular and multilateral contests to make it easy for Statism to win and perpetuate Congress Party rule?

Had this common ground between them been a minor one, the

situation might be otherwise. But this common opposition to the Congress Party's Statism—to its permit-licence-raj, to its unholy alliances with selected rich men, and to its extravagance in expenditure and consequent crushing taxes, deficit financing and inflation—is so important an issue and covers so much of ground that it is high time leaders of these parties consider ways and means to pool their strength and adopt a strategy that would lead to success.

Mr. H. V. Kamath had a discussion with me very recently and he made the suggestion that there should be an all-India conference of leaders of all parties opposed to Statism for devising election strategy on commonsense lines, so as to avoid giving a chance to the Statist party to win through triangular contests. It should not be difficult for leaders of all the political parties ranged against the Congress and communism to settle on a comprehensive plan of dividing up the constituencies among themselves so as to secure a parliamentary majority against Statism.

The time is short and negotiations are always difficult. Negotiations often break down on some trifling but obstinate point. Yet the suggestion deserves a trial, for Statism is the most important of all the charges against Congress policy and is a great enemy to true national progress and democracy; and it is obviously impossible to lead a successful battle against it unless triangular and multilateral contests are avoided and the position properly polarized.

CURRENT EVENTS :

A lively week passed in New Delhi but all celebrations bore the marks of a rally for the coming general elections. There was the Seva Dal parade led by Dr. N. S. Hardikar who was congratulated by the Prime Minister on the discipline of national forces; the Youth Festival and Inter-University Jamboree were similarly greeted by the Prime Minister and they were told of the importance of leadership emerging from among their ranks since national heroes are never dropped from the sky. There was exquisite pageantry in the Delhi Film Festival hailed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan who advised leading performers not to put the profit-motive higher than artistic excellence. Of minor observances there was no lack for holiday-makers to participate. What India probably wanted most to be noticed abroad was the Seminar of Goa Recovery also duplicated at a huge meeting in Bombay held for the liberation of Indian territory from the foreign yoke. All agreed that there was 'special urgency' for the deliverance of Goa, and one of the papers described the function as "A decisive blow to Portuguese colonialism". The Prime Minister conceded that his Goa policy has proved a failure but he did not 'rule out' military action. It was therefore an anti-climax when Finance Minister Moraraji Desai pleaded for non-violence. But that was exactly the theme of a speech by the Prime Minister to students

who were asked to take the pledge of non-violence outlined by the National Integration Conference.

Of specific importance for the economic advance of the country was the visit of the team of U.S. businessmen shepherded by the U.S. Ambassador Galbraith who after joint-conferences with the Ministries and the Indian industrialists, had a brief meeting with the Prime Minister himself. The callers assured Mr. Nehru that what they had seen of India's achievement was "wonderful". It was announced that the "six days' conference of leading American businessmen ended in Delhi on a successful note, with a two-hour meeting with their Indian counterparts". The visitors declared that "in the United States there was an epidemic of investment-interest" in India. They wanted two clarifications about joint industrial enterprises before the "epidemic" should spread. One was about the terms of partnership with Indian capital; the second related to the hackneyed distinction between the "public sector and the private sector". As all sound economists in the country know there was no more quarrel about ventures in partnership so that both sides could be free from the coils of subsequent mis-understanding and of any reduction in the country's capacity for amortization of debts through production.

Indian industrialists led by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and the Industry's President, Mr. Karamchand Thapar, and the Vice-President, Mr. Shriyans Prasad Jain, told the American businessmen that they would not like the public-and-private sector controversy to be revived. Indian businessmen had reconciled themselves to the industrial policy followed by the

Government of India and, in fact, the policy was working fairly satisfactorily. The Government was not rigid in implementing the policy. The private sector had been allowed to start industries like fertilizers and aluminium once reserved for the public sector. The Indian industrialists assured the American businessmen that there need be no apprehension about the role of the public sector.

The prerogative of whimsical confiscations faded in the discussions just as the fuss about "strings" disappeared. The negotiators are not involved in any planning or priority as they seek to promote productions for a Welfare State which differs in spelling from pseudo-socialism, the mask adopted by communists and fellow-travellers. Before they left by plane Prof. Galbraith also announced that it was his intention to follow up the understanding by seeing to it that "Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nehru should meet in a relaxed atmosphere without any crisis and tensions". Fundamentally there is a swing to normalcy in the economic thought displayed. Not that we are free from our own problem of unemployment so menacing in the prospect despite 'co-operative farming'. That peril was brought out at Mahabaleshwar where the Congress Party congregated with full assurances of success in the elections. There was a riot of mutual congratulations that success was before them. Apart from the slogans and the complaint of women not being given 15 per cent of the tickets, some thoughtful critics asked about unemployment distress. The answer given was that there would be district councils; taluk boards; mandal committees; and village co-operatives in the Congress scheme. All these bodies will be humming, and each unit will have an executive officer with ample staff. There is thus a vast ant-hill of vacancies in the pyramidal organizations fed by the Government as the remedy.

P.J.

PLAYING DUCKS AND DRAKES

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

The latest audit report on a Congress government is that of Assam. It was no doubt a coalition government but the Congress Party was the senior partner and the Chief Minister was a congressman. Serious financial irregularities have been noted ending in enormously large losses to the government, i.e., an enormous waste of the taxpayers' money. The report points out that the irregularities are not confined to the usually wasteful departments like the P.W.D., Supply, Relief and Rehabilitation and have widespread into the Education and Medical departments. Fertilizers as a State enterprise easily lends itself to waste. The Director of Agriculture has not maintained proper accounts of distribution of fertilizers, sale proceeds have not been credited by the agents fortnightly as required with the result that large amounts have been outstanding against them, fertilizers have been distributed in large quantities to tea-gardens in contravention of the agreements, and agents have been allowed to retain large stocks of fertilizers with them even after the termination of their agreements. As a result an amount of Rs. 29% lakhs has yet to be collected of which the department has failed to recover Rs. 13.64 lakhs in advance as required from the agents against the delivery of fertilizers. The Supply Department can plead a loss of only Rs. 5,994 in respect of purchase of rice. The Relief and Rehabilitation Department made an avoidable expenditure of Rs. 10,377, the Medical Department an unnecessary expenditure of Rs. 12,324. The Education Department, not to be left behind, paid the secretary of an aided school Rs. 15,000 instead of Rs. 1,500 on account of a slight mistake by a typist in the office of the Inspector of Schools!

Assam is, however, only the latest—we wish we could say it is the last—in the series. To confine

ourselves only to this year's happenings, the latest audit report of the Punjab Government reveals that a transformer on which Rs. 4 lakhs had been spent was found to be defective and another Rs. 4 lakhs was spent on its repair. The audit report wryly remarks that the government might have bought a new transformer with Rs. 4 lakhs instead of spending Rs. 4 lakhs on repairing an obviously defective one. Several lakhs of rupees had to be paid to land-owners whose lands had been acquired long ago but the payment of compensation for which had been long delayed. And the Bhakra Canal scandal, pointed out by a high-powered Committee, which not only resulted in financial loss but revealed to the world Indian inefficiency in irrigation works, still rankles in the minds of patriotic Indians.

The Defence Ministry of the Government of India under its present leadership is notorious for running a coach and four through the centuries-old rules of financial propriety. Not the least sensational aspect of the Nanavati case is that a naval officer placed under suspension consequent upon the charge of murder had been allowed to continue to draw his full pay and allowances. The new Auditor-General points to the large savings on budget estimates during the year 1957-58, 1958-59, 1959-60 as being of the order of Rs. 10.02 crores, Rs. 22.68 crores and Rs. 17.59 crores in the respective years. Over-estimating is an old practice which used to be condemned by Congress critics in the past. Congressmen in this as in so many other instances recently pointed out, are flattering the British rulers by imitating them. Bad planning—and this from a government which preens itself on its planning—has resulted, according to the *Eastern Economist*, in machinery and equipment costing Rs. 21 lakhs lying unused as they were found to be surplus to re-

quirement or because proper arrangements had not been made in advance for making use of them. Costly equipment, such as a 10-ton capacity crane, power-house machinery, and weigh-bridges, is lying idle and rusting away. A dredger purchased at a cost of Rs. 35 lakhs had to be repaired soon after its arrival in India. Also a newly constructed mine-sweeper costing about Rs. 48 lakhs had a major breakdown during its maiden voyage out and had to be repaired at a cost of a few lakhs more. Timber worth about Rs. 34 lakhs received during 1951-52 has been lying unused in an ordnance factory for the last eight years.

All this is only the record of one year. It has been so in every year of Congress rule. Not the smallest part of the indictment against Congress governments is this woe-ful waste of public money which the audit reports year after year reveal. It is for the historian or political scientist to discover the cause of this chronic disease of Congress governments. The common citizen whose money is being played ducks and drakes with has only one way open to him to deal with the mischief—and that is to throw these financial rakes out of office at the next opportunity.

SWARAJYA

(English Political Weekly)

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

India and Ceylon

One year ... Rs. 7.50

Six months ... Rs. 4.00

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FACTS ABOUT CO-OPERATION

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

At the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Maharashtra State Co-operative Bank, the Prime Minister indulged in some loud thinking about co-operation. I can claim to some knowledge about co-operation having started the first grain bank in the U.P. at Kanth in 1931, and the first Cane Marketing Society in U.P. at Deoria in 1935. As Secretary for Co-operation in the Madras Government, I saw the establishment of eight co-operative farms. It is very difficult to reconcile my experience with the expectations of the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister considered there was a "revolutionary idea" in combining panchayat raj with co-operative development. There is much loose thinking in this matter. In the first place, the franchise of the two is different, the panchayat being based on the whole population of the village, the co-operative society on the much smaller section of those who invest and borrow. The office-bearers of the two are generally different and frequently hostile. The Prime Minister himself admitted that the functions of the panchayats were judicial and administrative, while those of the co-operative societies financial and economic. So far panchayats have not done well, the Chief Minister of Andhra admitting that as many as 774 murders had been committed in that State in connection with panchayat elections. The record of co-operative societies is marred by embezzlements, loss of advances and general diversion of loans from production purposes to consumption needs. The Governor of the Reserve Bank has more than once commented on the increase of inefficient and bankrupt societies. The combination of panchayats and co-operative societies will therefore do harm to both.

The Prime Minister then associated 'joint farming' with co-operation be-

cause as early as 1908 Rabindranath Tagore had supported it. He claimed it was necessary to overcome the disadvantages of small holdings and the smaller resources of the cultivators. About the same time, Madras Minister Bhaktavatsalam was saying that in the collectivist farms in Russia, the government had realized that incentive was lost and individual workers had to be given one to two acres for personal cultivation to keep up the food supplies. As 54.6 per cent of our holdings are less than 2.49 acres, the Russian model gives no hope of joint farming to the largest number of cultivators. My own experience of co-operative farms is of three varieties: first, where government provides its own land to the landless with

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advances for cattle, seed implements, and even cost of living. On an average each holding of five acres costs about Rs. 1,000. The cultivation is individual and the one anxiety of the cultivators is to obtain individual ownership in order to be able to get more lands than the co-operative society provides. The second class is of the merger of private holdings with government land. Most of such societies are still-born or subject to constant disputes. The third class, which is getting popular, is of a national merger of holdings of the larger landowners, partly to avoid the law of ceilings and largely to take advantage of the financial and other help offered by



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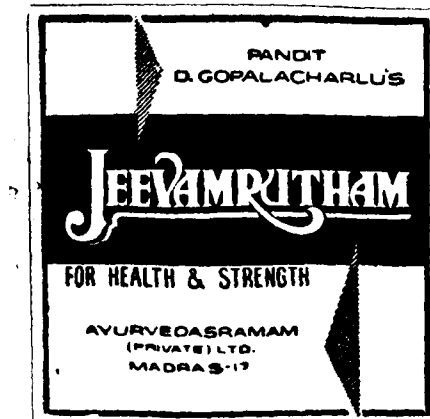
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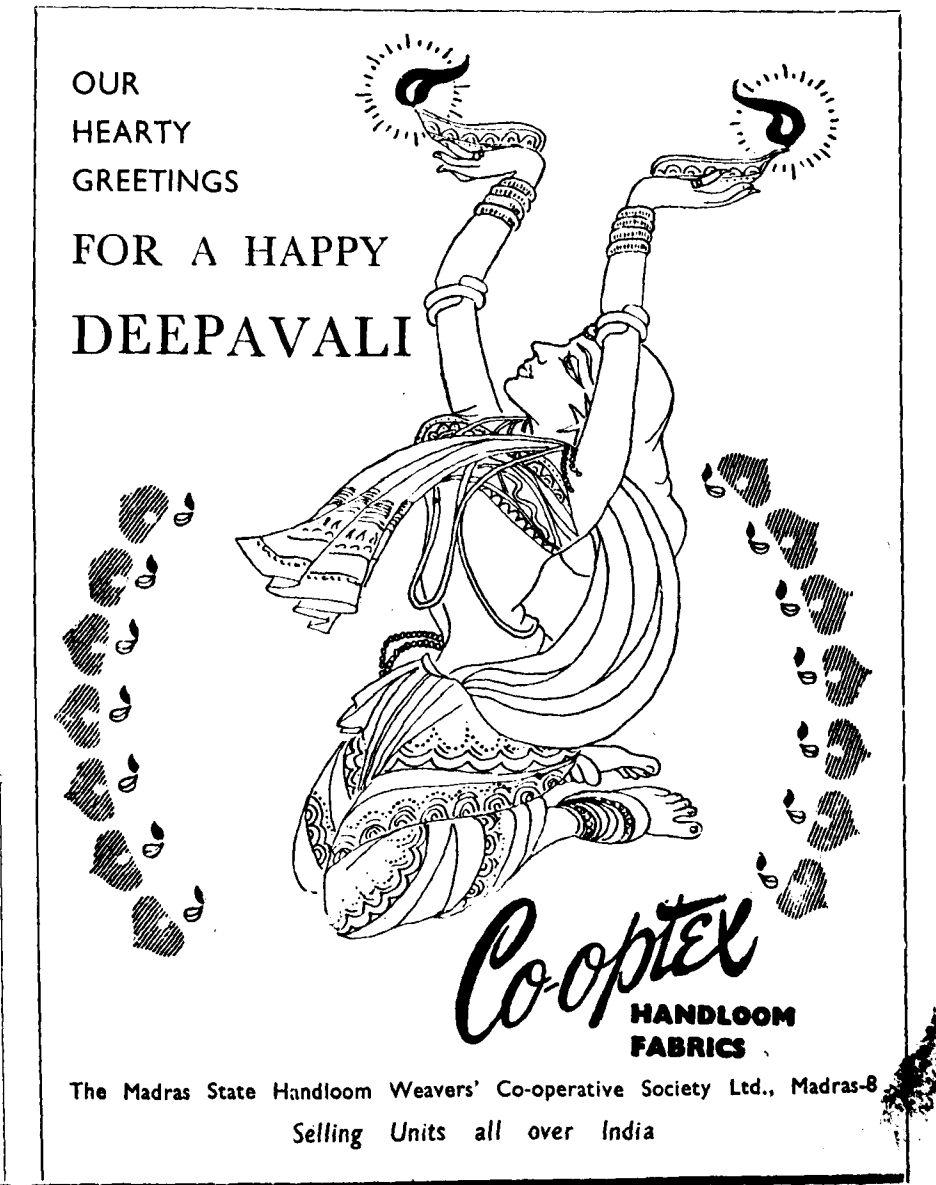


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government. Though government is not disposed now to publish balance-sheets of joint farms, the information available is that most are running at a loss. This is inevitable in farms under joint cultivation, because each member is disposed to contribute less than others because the return is not related to contribution.

Joint farming will die its own death but, in the meanwhile, it is serving two political purposes. First, members of the ruling party obtain land and money in the name of co-operation. Any precise inquiry in this respect would make for startling disclosures. Secondly, the landless are excited by the prospect of obtaining land, though the experience is that even when land is given to them they abandon or dispose it, taking away, as they did in the Wynad Colony the money and cattle advanced to them.

Thirdly, the Prime Minister conceived co-operation as a completely private effort without any officials. "Once an officer gets in, co-operation ceases." The Prime Minister is not aware that such is the greed, incompetence and ignorance of the members of nearly all societies that the members themselves invoke official assistance at every stage. Even the biggest societies cannot work for a day, unless officials with responsibility keep the members from eating up each other and the public funds available.

The cost of the Co-operative Movement is not realized by the taxpayers. In 1959-60 the Reserve Bank advanced Rs. 93.55 crores to co-operative banks at 2 per cent below the bank rate. In 1958-59, the government advanced Rs. 45.80 crores to co-operative societies. In the following years, these amounts have steeply increased. In addition several crores are spent on staff, warehouses, sugar and other factors. Since so much money is used, with no visible results, it is not only inflationary, causing a general rise in price but corruptive of political and moral standards. Like the Community and Social Welfare projects, co-operation and panchayat raj use public funds to assure political support for the ruling party.

There must be co-operation but it can only be meaningful when it follows ordinary business standards, with the difference that the rate of interest may be lower than the prevailing one. If the Government is really earnest about safeguarding the public moneys and of advancing at the same time co-operation, let it form an independent corporation for it, which will make advances which are fruitful and safe. It will judge co-operative farms on its merits so that money is not wasted on what does not increase production and prosperity.

November 4, 1961

SWARAJYA

CAPITAL COMMENTS

MEETING OF AGE AND YOUTH

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Mankind has hardly yet recovered from the paroxysm of frenzy or panic that seized it when Soviet Russia, with supreme unconcern if not unconcealed contempt for world opinion, exploded the big bomb. Since Mr. Khrushchov is as good as his word and always knows his mind, it may not have been the biggest test nor the last in the series. Maybe that the worst is yet to be. It is useless to ask if it was at all necessary to have gone thus far in exhibiting the nuclear might in the guise of a mere test. It was worse than a shocking demonstration of the terrific power in which the men at the Kremlin could revel; it was an act of blind fury and crass folly—it was a crime against humanity.

Our Prime Minister who recently went to Moscow from Belgrade and, on behalf of the unaligned nations, pleaded with Mr. Khrushchov for the cessation of all nuclear tests, making also a fervent personal appeal to him, is today as unhappy as he is disillusioned. While to him the explosion is "a horrible thing" which would "not only contaminate the atmosphere but also affect the hearts and minds of people all over the world", to his dear and distinguished colleague, Mr. Krishna Menon, it seemed to call for no special notice. For some strange reason, he would rather endure blistering attacks on him on such accounts than persuade himself to say aught which might embarrass Soviet Russia or, for the matter of that, any communist country.

In a recent penetrating analysis of Mr. Menon's recent performance at the U.N. and his role as our spokesman abroad, the editor of the *Hindustan Times* makes two points—firstly, that our foreign policy has ceased to have abroad any moral claims and, secondly, that it is in danger of being assessed more in the light of Mr. Menon's interpretations abroad than of Mr. Nehru's at home. And he pertinently adds: "why Mr. Nehru continues to expose his policies to such perverted distortions will of course always remain something of a mystery". It is indeed one of those mysteries that few can comprehend. But when has Mr. Nehru at all conceded that his foreign policy is exposed to "perverted distortions" in the process of Mr. Menon's interpretation—or implementation? Such criticism perhaps loses half its validity and all its force so long

as Mr. Nehru stands by his man, his Menon, his lean-on. And why he so stands is his own affair.

Mr. Nehru is preparing to go to Washington for talks with Mr. Kennedy. With the world delicately reclining, indeed perilously tilting on the very brink, they will doubtless have many things to talk over, with a common urge to save it from toppling down. While they have known each other from a long distance only and yet developed a close enough understanding, they have not so far got together. The meeting of two such men of destiny is an event at any time, and much more so now, when the threat to peace and humanity has become extremely real. There are however doubts in the minds of many thinking men if the approaching hour for their talks is propitious. For, this is neither one of Mr. Nehru's finest hours nor one of Mr. Kennedy's happiest. Deliberately or otherwise, Mr. Khrushchov has done something to spoil their mood.

The Washington talks should turn out to be purposeful—not merely friendly and cordial. A German paper has recently described Mr. Kennedy as the American Hamlet while, interestingly enough, a British paper referred to Mr. Nehru as the Indian Polonius! In less exciting times such a setting would have called for the Shakespearean nib for everlasting delineation. But the hour is too burdensome for pleasantries or philosophizing. Age with its mellowness and experience and youth with its drive and daring can fruitfully be allied to a moral purpose. The Nehru-Kennedy meeting may well be a turning point in a larger context than in that of Indo-American relations.

A story is going round the capital that Mr. Nehru is dropping the Secretary-General, Mr. R. K. Nehru, from his entourage to Washington for a very humorous reason. Since the Indian Ambassador who must necessarily be there for consultation happens to be Mr. B. K. Nehru, the idea of confronting the American hosts with three Nehrus, or as P. C. Wodehouse would say, "Nehru, Nehru and Nehru," has made him do with one less.

Mr. Krishna Menon without his hair after the recent operation looks so new and still not in fine fettle. Mr. Kripalani, it seems, has now the advantage of facing Samson without his locks!

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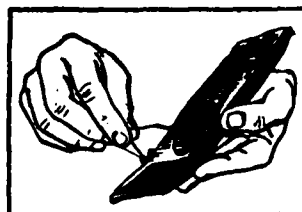
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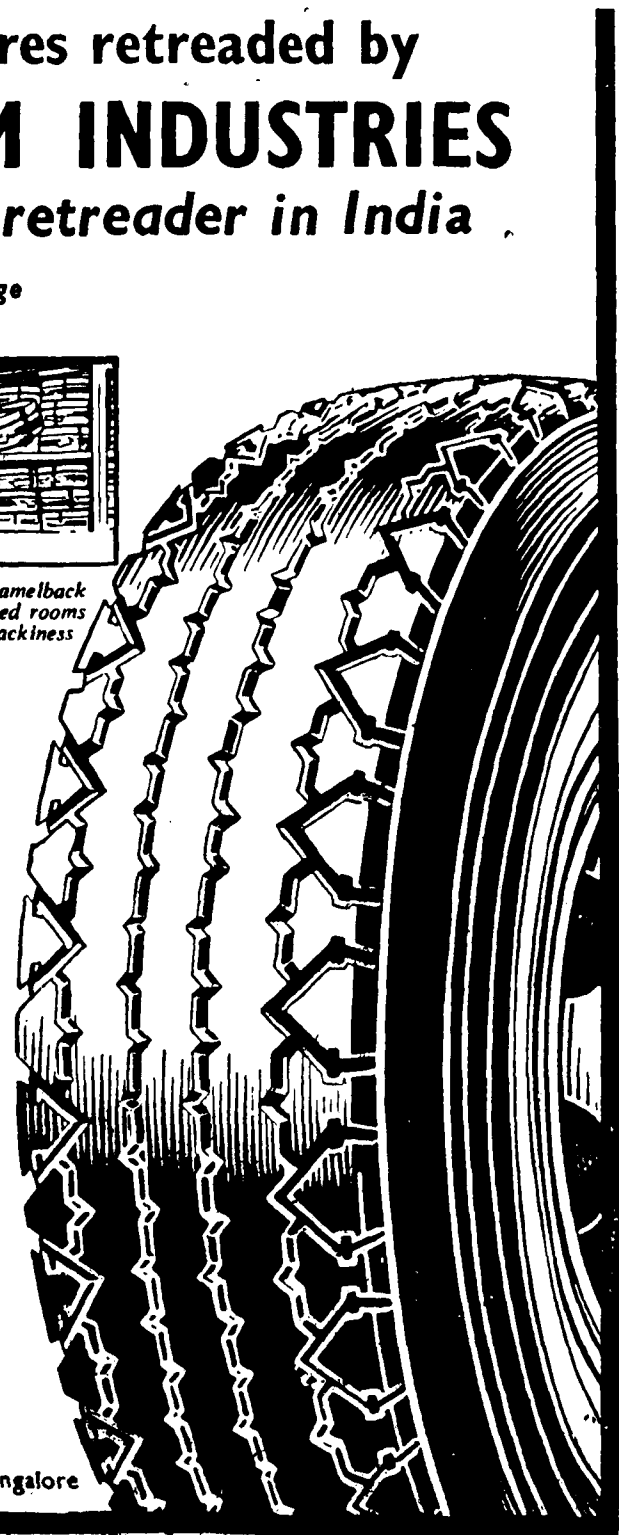


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Dear Reader —

Must the Prime Minister of India even in search of deprecatory language borrow from Russia? He referred to the united front against the Congress candidate in North Bombay as a sort of *troika*; so great is the P.M.'s admiration for things Russian.

Mr. Nehru, it seems, has lost a great part of his capacity for self-examination. Once upon a time, when he was young, in an article in the *Modern Review*, which became famous when its authorship was revealed by himself, he had shown a considerable degree of self-criticism and confessed therein his love of power and his talent for histrionic display. But now it appears that long enjoyment of unquestioned power and the national and international atmosphere of deceptive appreciation that has enveloped him have deprived him of a large part, if not the whole, of the precious capacity of self-criticism. Why does he not pause to think why dissimilar groups—not devoid of considerable intellectuality and experience—have come together to make what he describes as a strange combination? When anything unexpected has happened a scientific mind looks for the causes and is not content with expressions of surprise or displeasure. If varying elements have come together to oppose the candidature of one who has been carrying out the Prime Minister's policy, there must be something wrong in that policy and he ought to put forth additional effort to find out what is wrong with his policy. This, however, he is not prepared to do. He hopes to divide his opponents by irrelevantly referring to the differences in their ideologies. The alleged dissimilarity of the elements that have combined to oppose Mr. V. K. K. Menon is an additional argument against the candidature—not a reason to under-estimate the opposition.

In a manner altogether out of the way Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,

when explaining what he proposed to do and not to do in respect of Goa, is reported to have launched an attack against the Swatantra Party, the P.S.P. and the united front in support of Acharya Kripalani. Apart from the obvious impropriety of converting an all-party platform into an electioneering base, I am amazed at his continuing to call the Swatantra Party a party of rich men. It is unbecoming of him to indulge in this baseless attack. Does he not know that all the picked rich in the land have been with him all along with all their resources? It may be, he is unpleasantly conscious that their convictions are not with him, but he knows their money is on his side. Do not his capable and experienced election managers, who hold various portfolios in the Government but who are now devoting their time and all their abilities in the collection of funds for the party, tell him the truth that they are going about asking the rich not to help the Swatantra Party but exclusively to help the Government Party? Does he not know what sanctions they use for getting the rich to stand by the ruling party? It is most unworthy of him to call the Swatantra Party a party of rich men when that party, he and his henchmen know, is suffering from want of adequate funds. It is adding insult to injury to go on repeating the false story that the Swatantra Party, which is a party for freedom, is a party for the rich people. I would not much mind small people indulging in this dishonest attack, but I do feel hurt to see Mr. Nehru repeating this allegation. Does he not know that in spite of his Kanpur speech no donations are refused by his henchmen but are greedily received?

It is gratifying to note that both Mr. Krishna Menon and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, have at last been drawn into line with the rest of world spokesmen in condemn-

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ing the Russian big explosion. A non-alignment attitude—totally out of place in this connection—appeared at first to restrain the language of condemnation but now the representatives of the Government of India, both the P.M. and Mr. V. K. K. Menon, have given up the inhibition and use language appropriate to the enormity of the Russian crime against humanity.

★

But news has come that the Representative of the Government of India at the U.N. reiterated that India's objection to all tests big or small, under any circumstances and at any time, must be given priority over the urgent case of the 50-megaton explosion of Russia which was wanted to be taken up by Canada and Scandinavian countries and Japan. This stand was followed by India actually voting with the Soviet bloc on the procedural issue! The vague and general indulgence in protests against every nuclear test explosion (small or big) is a feeble reaction to the latest Russian crime against mankind, so out of proportion that it could legitimately be called a dilution of protest amounting to apathy if not approval. It is most deplorable. If a

brute is found guilty of raping a child what would one think of someone saying, 'I disapprove of all assaults, small or big at any time and under any circumstance, and I also disapprove of this rape?'

The estimates made of present radio-activity by scientists are as usual coupled with the assurance that we have not yet reached the 'danger-point'. But what they reveal is sufficiently alarming. Radio-activity in the air over Austria was (on Oct. 24) forty times greater than the highest radiation level ever recorded so far. The present radiation was 80 times above the average. In Canada, according to a recent report in the *New York Times*, it had already reached 400 times past records. This was before the latest giant explosion.

The Ministry of Commerce in Delhi has given certain directions in order to expedite disposal in that Ministry of applications for starting new private sector industrial projects. These consist in asking applicants to send simultaneous copies to various authorities including the regional industries ministries. All this is futile as it neglects the chief and perhaps the only procedure which will be effective in accelerating sanction, viz., to prove loyalty to the ruling party.

Mr. K. Santhanam is reported to have told the boys of the Vivekananda College at Madras that the Swatantra Party's opposition to planning was 'pernicious'. And this remark figures as the headline of a report and dazzles the eye against the substance of his talk. Mr. Santhanam actually told the meeting that planning which depended too greatly on foreign aid was bad, and that there was need for great care to be taken to prevent wastage in executing the planned projects. The question is: Do the Plans of the present Government of India depend too greatly on foreign aid or not? The figures themselves speak very clearly and loudly in answer to this question. As for waste in expenditure, the

occasional revelations in Parliament are convincing enough. The public sector is going to be organized into autonomous corporations, so that there will be no personal interest in the management or competition as there are in private enterprise to check waste and encourage economy. Nor will there be parliamentary scrutiny.

Mr. Santhanam gave expression also to his view on co-operative farming, that for producing 'spectacular' results compulsion would be necessary. On the whole, then, Mr. Santhanam has correctly reflected the objections of the Swatantra Party. The points that clinch have been well brought out by him. There is far too much dependence on foreign aid in an uncertain international situation, and the mortgage of India's future linked to that foreign aid is obviously wrong. Expenditure in the irresponsible public sector is bound to be tremendously wasteful. 'Collectives' cannot work without compulsion and compulsion is detestable.

DIRECT ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

I write to endorse most heartily the proposal made by Mr. Mohan Lal Kher in your issue of 28th October to amend our Constitution to provide a President directly elected by the people. Actually we have in practice a government of our Union by a Prime Minister who operates virtually like a directly elected President with a nominal president to sign on the dotted line, a cabinet which he fills and empties without too much concern about the Parliament whose approval of every executive act is assumed. The result is that a formal parliamentary government has become in operation a presidential government, and this is more in keeping with the national genius.

To adjust our institutions to the spirit of the people is wiser and easier than to attempt the reverse. The legislature under the American system will be more powerful than our present Parliament and

How long will the Congress Party and its Dictator take to follow in the footsteps of the Russian, opposite number and equate 'anti-party' activities with 'anti-national' crime? A leading daily winds up its editorial comment on the Russian internal situation with this—the world would like to know whether Marshal Voroshilov and company have been merely guilty of anti-Khrushchov activities or of activities against the Russian people. The editorial slurs over one link in the proposed question. Assuming any group of people are guilty of anti-party activities and not of merely anti-Khrushchov activities, even then does it follow that anti-party activities are anti-Russian-people activities? The equating of party with the nation is the crux of the position, not so much the confusion between leader and party. No one can presume that the problem is absent or very far off in the Indian situation.

C.R.

the Chief Executive, if he is a President, will have his responsibility brought home to him better than if he is a Prime Minister who can monopolize power while sharing the responsibility.

Similarly in the States we have in operation a Swiss form of government whereby even in the many States which have Congress governments the cabinets really contain representatives of several significant real interests in the State rather than partymen bound together by an ideology. The lesson to be drawn is to adopt proportional representation in the State legislatures as well as irremovable all-party cabinets.

No one would be a loser by these two constitutional changes, and all will gain, including foreigners who try to do business with us, because of the order, stability and the cessation of unreal strife that would result from recognizing the facts of our political life.

R.B.

BOOK REVIEW:

THE BATTLE FOR FREEDOM

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

By C. Rajagopalachari

Bharathan Publications, Madras-10

The overwhelming impression this book makes on the reader is of a certain prophetic ardour and authenticity. Its central theme is freedom—not freedom in a narrow political sense, but in that large, universal sense in which it takes on the character of a fundamental spiritual value. It is because of this largeness, of this absoluteness of the conception of freedom that inspires the author that its varied applications to life, national or international, naturally fall into a pattern. Apart from its unifying philosophy, there is a profound unity of personality, the personality of one who speaks in the accents of a Socrates, a Marcus Aurelius, a Savonarola and of the upanishadic seer, as suits the context.

The Swarajya or *swatantrya* that Rajaji seeks to recover for the people of India is not a particular form of political organization or a particular constitutional set-up, but a moral and spiritual awakening in each one of us. Constitutional questions and political issues as well as others of vaster scope like nuclear weapons are dealt with, and almost every page, every line even, shows an unrelaxing regard for truth, an uncompromising exposure of the frauds and shams of the most powerful in the land, with an essentially moral approach to the most mundane human issues. And as Rajaji is intellectually—as he is morally—head and shoulders above all those now in power with whom he engages in controversy here, not excluding Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru himself, there is a decisiveness and a touch of finality in the argument as well as a refreshingly incisive clarity and an aphoristic precision in the presentation. Of Rajaji—as of Gandhiji—we may truly say that his life is a noble commentary on the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*. The world will little note nor long remember whether Rajaji wins in this or that local, or national issue. For his ultimate aim is not any limited local victory at all—though he will not and does not despise it—but the victory of Truth, of that Truth which made India free under Gandhiji's lead and which will doubtless make and keep India free again in the real and full sense. That is the significance of the bold title "Satyam eva Jayate".

There is something awe-inspiring and thrilling in this eighty-three year 'young' veteran of India's freedom-struggle

pledging himself with dedication to waging yet another and leading it. Of Rajaji it may be said that he brings to his present mission the qualities of our ancient sages.

It is a matter for congratulation that at long last Rajaji has set himself to awaken the country to the danger threatening it from the unscrupulous domination of a party corrupted by power. On the concrete issues raised herein by him, Rajaji speaks with the fervour born of profound concern with the country's future and with a reputation as much for acuteness of perception as for personal and political integrity. It is amazing that Prime Minister Nehru should cheaply charge Rajaji of all persons with what amounts to an opposition to the economic amelioration of the masses in India! Rajaji's entire life of dedicated service in the cause of the poor and the oppressed is a refutation of any mean suggestion that a critic could bring against him.

The volume under review is concerned with concrete issues and current ones but the treatment they receive emphasizes certain basic principles of such universal validity and such crucial quality that we may call the book the *Swatantra Upanishad*. How rich and varied the fare afforded in the book cannot, in truth, be easily described. Its riches are manifold. A random sampling is all that can be attempted here.

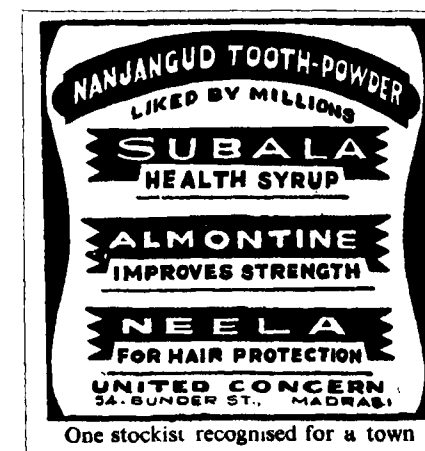
Take Rajaji on the English language. Petty cavillers may profess to perceive an inconsistency in Rajaji's current advocacy of English as an all-time official language for the country and his earlier plea for the study of Hindi in the schools. Ruthless realist as he is in all that concerns the integrity and well-being of the country, Rajaji can see and can make all those who haven't wilfully shut their eyes see too—that circumstanced as we are today, it is necessary to keep English as the official language while cherishing Hindi as pre-eminent among the national languages which people all over India should learn to understand and speak.

Rajaji is inexorable where principles are involved. Witness his opposition to the unconstitutional means employed to oust a non-Congress government from office in Kerala. That the non-Congress government happened to be a communist one does not alter the principle involved. Rajaji showed on that occasion not merely sound constitutional and political wisdom but a splendid devotion to Gandhiji's unique contribu-

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

tion to politics and morality, the principle that the means employed must be as proper as the end sought to be gained. It is this same stubborn love of principle that underlies his opposition to the socialist ideal beloved of Nehru and his comrades. They profess to be concerned with making war on poverty. But their permit-licence-quota raj, curiously enough, makes Congress millionaires richer and the people at large poorer and more helpless than they ever were before. This socialist pattern of mass poverty and Congress Party prosperity is dangerous to the morals of the nation that Gandhiji had trained to risk its all for Truth and non-violence and to despise even political independence if it was to be had only at the cost of *ahimsa* and truth. The Government of India under Nehru is today the biggest organization for the systematic repudiation of all that Gandhiji stood for.

We have given but a few stray random glimpses of what rich store lies within the compass of this work. Rajaji's passionate anxiety for resuscitation of



the national *dharma* has drawn him out into politics again at an age when like Janaka and other royal heroes of this land, he could well have been content to engage in philosophic pursuits. Not that philosophy and religion are absent from his daily concerns or indeed from this book. It is again characteristic of Rajaji, that he should concern himself

with those great matters not as intellectual abstractions but as compelling urges towards the correct conduct of the affairs of men and nations. The authentic greatness of the man behind the work is revealed on every page of the book.

This book takes rank alongside of Rajaji's exposition of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, as among the most

valuable services that he has rendered to the country. Indeed this service is richer and more significant than any he has rendered or could render in the highest offices of the land. For the book gives a magnificent call to the people, *Sursum corda* (Lift up your hearts).

Satyam eva jagate namantram.

S.R.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

PLIGHT OF TAMILS IN CEYLON

Sir,—When Ceylon won her Independence in 1948, though a small section of the Tamil people had felt nervous of the consequences, the new Constitution was gladly accepted by both the Tamils and Sinhalese, who under the Tamil leadership of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam carried on their agitation for freedom. Since Independence, however, the Sinhalese Government has by its various acts of discrimination against the Tamil population, strained the feelings between the two peoples.

Here are some of the Government measures calculated to exasperate the Tamils in Ceylon and which are at the bottom of the present unrest:

1. by two electoral delimitations the number of Tamil representation in Parliament was reduced each time;

2. by passing anti-Tamil laws, such as the "Sinhala only" Act and the Language of the Courts law, and also by administrative directives, the Tamils have been reduced virtually to second class citizenship, the 'Reasonable Use' of the Tamil law being a mere eye-wash;

3. by the Government-sponsored Sinhala Colonization of Tamil Areas Act, the population texture of the Tamil

areas is sought to be changed with a view to making Sinhalese predominate even in hitherto predominantly Tamil constituencies;

4. by passing the Citizenship law, half a million Tamil people of the third and fourth generations in the plantation areas were disenfranchised and made 'Stateless', further reducing the strength of Tamils in Parliament.

Mrs. Bandaranayake, the Premier, had recently stated that the emergency laws could be withdrawn only if the North and East return to normal in reality.

Things will return to normal 'in reality' only when the causes of the frustration and resentment of the Tamil people are removed, not by trying to destroy an ethnic group by suppressing or by absorbing them, or driving them out of the land of their birth.

A CEYLON TAMIL

QUITE ORIGINAL!

Sir,—It may not surprise us if the following hand-out is issued by the Government of India in the near future for wide publication in the press:

"The Government of India is not in favour of the exclusive use of *chapathi*

thi as the only food diet of India. Such a step, it is felt, is not advisable at present because some of the States still cling to the old-fashioned *iddli* and have not acquired adequate flair for *chapathi*. The Government of India is accordingly advising the States to maintain the *status quo*, namely, leaving the discretion to the sense of the people to use *chapathi* along with *iddli* till *chapathi* is voluntarily adopted as the sole food of India. This, it is expected, will promote national integration."

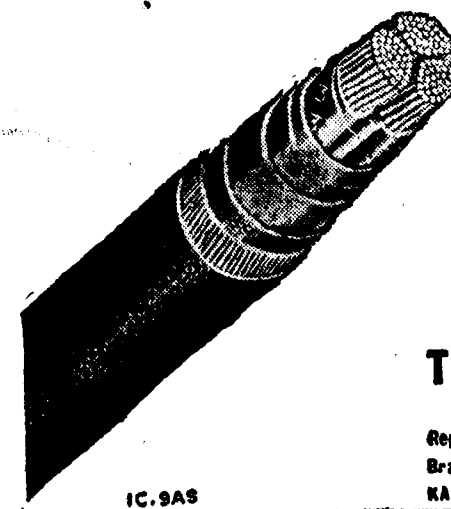
Madras

K. SHANMUGAM

True Colour Exposed

The (Communist Party) Manifesto promises "a progressive orientation of the policies of the Congress Government in all fields, for a decisive shift to the left". This is damning of the Congress both with the right and the left; with the former, because it discloses the Congress as the instrument of the communists; with the latter, because it suggests that only the communists can deliver the goods. The further promise that it will be communist policy to "work for unity among the progressive forces," makes the horizon, even of the Congress, definitely red.—*Insight*

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(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 19

MADRAS, NOVEMBER 11, 1961

Price 15 nP

ABOLITION OF LAND REVENUE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Those who lead the hard life of peasants and under great difficulties, and undertaking risks which (for them) are relatively great, produce food for the nation deserve to be rewarded with bonus proportionate to production and not made to pay a land tax in addition to the sacrifices they make. The Swatantra Party, therefore, stands for the abolition of 'land revenue', as this unjust levy on producers of food for the people is called. The ownership records should, however, be kept in ~~pro- condition~~ by the Government, and as this has been by long tradition linked to the collection of land revenue, a certain negligible part of the tax may be retained so as to help to preserve the records of ownership to avoid confusion of title. The land revenue levy must go.

The Swatantra Party having announced this in its manifesto and made it a plank of the party's platform, it may be expected that the Congress will adopt it at once and give effect to it, so as to appear as good as the Swatantra Party at the time of the elections. The Swatantra Party will be delighted if this happens, for it is more interested in the abolition of the unjust tax than in any electoral advantage.

This strategy of the Congress—stealing the opponent's 'thunder' as it is called—has been adopted in many matters already, and to that extent the Swatantra Party has gained many things for the people even before the elections.

The advantages of a strong Opposition party are thus seen even before the parties go to the ballot-box.

Similarly, we should not be surprised if the ruling party announces the extension of dearness allowances to pensioners in a close race with the Swatantra Party. Competition is the principle that brings about these and other good results. It is just this principle of competition that Statist socialism ignores to the detriment of industry and trade, and which the Swatantra Party deplores.

FARMERS' HARD LIFE

It is a perilous thing to try experiments on the farmer. The farmer's capital is far more feeble than is commonly imagined. The trade is a very poor trade; it is subject to great risks and losses. I have rarely known a farmer, who to his own trade has not added some other employment or traffic, that, after a course of the most unremitting parsimony and labour, and persevering in his business for a long course of years, died worth more than paid his debts, leaving his posterity to continue in nearly the same equal conflict between industry and want, in which the last predecessor and a long line of predecessors before him, lived and died.

—EDMUND BURKE

Nothing moves in this world without a motive power to push it. This is the first law of prosperity. Competition is the mechanism which gives a push to production both in quality and quantity.

The elimination of this important motive power, results either in State monopoly and bad management and waste or in favouritism giving facilities and opportunities to chosen supporters of the party, helping them to exploit the situation in the absence of any competition. These private monopolies created by the Congress in favour of selected individuals of their faction through the permit-licence system have made the rich quickly richer and the poor poorer. The Swatantra Party is stoutly opposed to this pernicious system. Freedom and competition must prevail if we want prosperity and justice.

The concentration of economic power in the hands of the ruling party and its favourites is not a thing to be encouraged, if we desire the nation to prosper both materially and morally. The concentration of power in the State leads to the enslavement of the people by a particular political party and totalitarian rule.

The lie that the Swatantra Party is a rich man's party is a trick meant to deceive the poor and to stimulate their envy, and obtain their votes on false pretences. The Congress Party is thriving on the support of their rich friends who, in turn, are thriving on the support of the ruling party.

AWAKE, ARISE!

By POTHAN JOSEPH

At the convention of the Swatantra Party at Bangalore the principal speaker made it clear that the movement was not a mushroom-development to check the totalitarian drive of the Congress during the year 1962 elections, but the beginning of a serious democratic revival amongst the masses now overawed by the tactics of the ruling party. The week's news contains a report of the Congress decision to contest all the 2,968 seats in the various State Assemblies where elections are due, and also to seize all the 497 seats in the Lok Sabha on the strength of tickets issued by the High Command. Apart from the dubious devices adopted, there is the presumption that a clean sweep of the polls to perpetuate the Congress Party is the need of the hour! Any prospect of Opposition-parties, at least to remind the people that criticism of the hierarchy is legitimate, seems obnoxious to the holders of power who are already forming shadow-cabinets, to follow electoral triumphs. That there are forces in the country to be polarized on a permanent basis does not appeal to the Congress bosses who contemplate something of a "perma-

ABOLITION OF ... in all their projects to get richer and richer. It is an unholy partnership between favoured rich people and a party that has been corrupted by Power. Sudden rises in assets and incomes from thousands to lakhs and from lakhs to crores can be seen among the rich friends of the Congress Party, and also sudden prosperity among some poor Congress workers. The leaders of the ruling party believe that by repeating the story that the Swatantra Party is a rich man's party, they can hoodwink the people, rouse class hatred and continue in unrestrained power for another electoral period. This plan must be foiled if we want real democracy and not a perpetuation of dictatorship masquerading as democracy.

nent revenue settlement" with all the advantages of corrupt precedents to increase the profits of clique-administration and hasten the introduction of ideology carrying millions of people in the course of shipwreck. It is thus not merely a trial of strength but a measure of security for balanced progress. Number is less important than the principle behind the appearance of the Swatantra Party.

In a striking address at the Bangalore rally, the Founder-Leader of the Grand Remonstrance in the country condemned the illicit ways of money-collection followed by the myrmidons of the party in power and Mr. K. M. Munshi illustrated it by the terse report of a Cabinet Minister visiting Bombay and bagging in 24 hours a sum of money which the Swatantra Party cannot conceivably collect in six months. As Rajaji said, it is not so much the amounts collected as the *methods* by which subscriptions are amassed that angers sedate observers. So moved was he by authentic reports of fund-raising that he declared himself in favour of a pledge on the part of the Swatantra Party: "We shall never use our official position or official administrative machinery placed in our hands to the advantage of the party or for its perpetuation".

Experience has justified forebodings. It may be remembered that at the launching of the Swatantra Party, Mr. Rajagopalachari suggested that in the interests of a clean fight during our nascent period of political advancement, there should be President's rule for six months. Such a precaution would never have occasioned any breakdown of governance in the country; but then the wielders of power and patronage glowed with text-book indignation and pointed out how in Britain and in America (models of democratic Government), the party in office remains whilst the electioneering campaign is conducted to mutual satisfaction. The warning must now be

warranted as just, by the difference we witness. The Prime Minister, for example, goes to Kanpur where besides collecting funds for the party he gave transparent advice telling them of wholehearted loyalty to the Congress in the manipulation of purse-strings. Could we imagine Prime Minister Macmillan standing on the soap-box in the London Stock Exchange for party-funds or President Eisenhower in office pleading in Wall Street for donations to secure the success of his party—supplemented by a rider that Democratic appeals on behalf of Mr. Kennedy should not be allowed? Let us not make comparisons when the background is invidious. They do not believe in the personality-cult nor in the zeal for any party donation in perpetuity. Hitler conceived of his Reich as lasting a thousand years but the Weimar Constitution or any democratic variant could never last in such a climate.

The arts of unuttered intimidation and subtle extortion are being perfected to the ruin of national character; so warned Rajaji, and the lever of State-control in business has been in operation, with the left-handed benediction of Congress leaders who still, with their conscience of Gandhian days, believe in the use of fair means in achieving laudable ends. The masses are simply deceived that while the Congress is in favour of a Welfare State (*their* welfare) the Swatantra Party, antiquated, anti-communist and anti-Congress, opposes noble aims of welfare. It is caricatured as an adherent of a feudalistic past when most people used to be exploited as serfs. This kind of cheap antithesis may deceive the credulous voter, but the active functioning of the Swatantra Party and likeminded allies should enable the people to see through the guile of such propaganda; and what is more, to shed fear at the approach of canvassers who hint at dire consequences in the event of voters exercising their franchise in the spirit of fearlessness, safeguarded by the practice of secret balloting.

Awake, arise or be for ever fallen!

ROMAN AND OTHER SCRIPTS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Eminent persons are writing in favour of the Roman script in preference to Devanagari. This controversy over the so-called flexibility and other advantages of the Roman script as compared with Devanagari is really irrelevant. We are not concerned in any academic appraisal of the relative superiority of either Devanagari or Roman. What we should consider is, whether *any* common script should be directly or indirectly imposed on the dozen languages of the Indian continent in the belief that it will bring about unity.

First of all, the nature of script should be understood. Script is not a mere tool for quick accomplishment of adult literacy. It is a built-in essential part of the literature of every language. No language with a precious inheritance of literature can be reconciled to a new script. This truth should be recognized. The Roman script has not been grafted even on Greek, the great asset of all Europe along with Latin. Even today when every language in Europe and America is written and read in the

Roman alphabet, the enlightened people of both continents have not attempted or proposed to change Greek from its own alphabet to Roman and bring the two classic languages under one alphabet.

There is no sense in talking about changing the script of any language in India, those speaking which have a literature of great worth and volume, on which depends their moral and spiritual life—even as the physical health of the body depends on the blood pumped by the heart and kept clean by the lungs. The classics and the living literature of any community are connected by an organic bond. We should not tamper with this living nexus. We would be interfering with the spiritual life of the people if we force or tempt or deceive people into a new script for the living language and thereby effectively isolate them and their future generations from their own classics.

As a Tamilian I feel that these proposals seeking to alter, violently or non-violently, the

script of the Tamil language are foolish, be it Devanagari or Roman that is favoured. People whose languages have relatively no literature worth mentioning or keeping may adopt any new script they choose. But it would be utter folly in the case of a language with a great literature on which a vast body of people have to draw for their spiritual, moral and cultural sustenance.

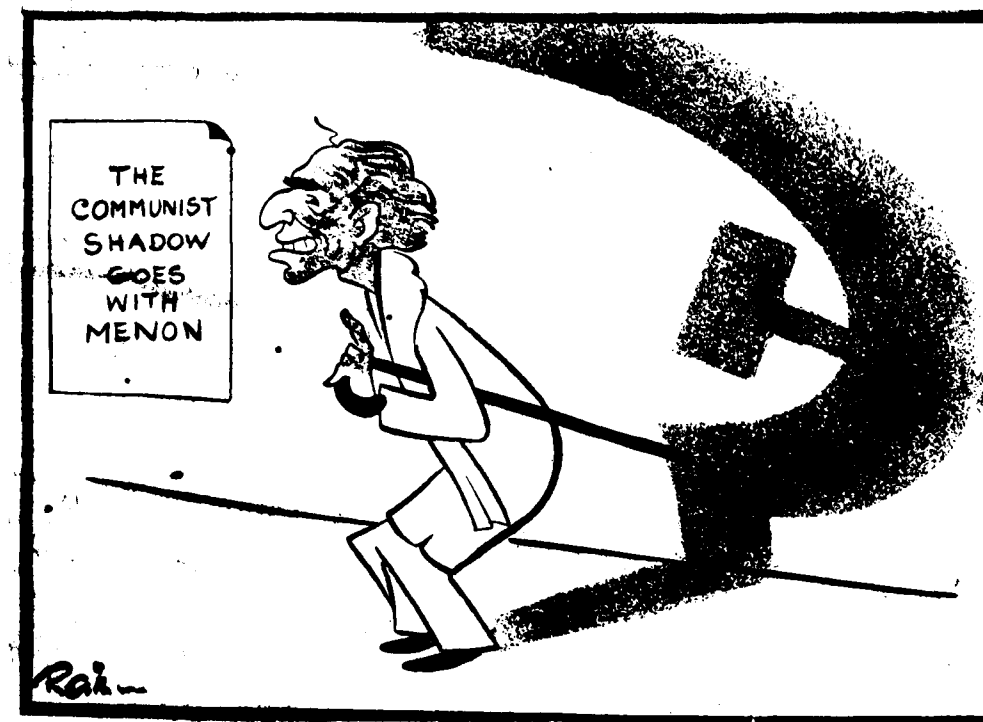
Script in the case of Greek or Tamil or any other great language is the skin of its classic literature. We cannot indulge in experiments at flaying which may mean death. Let us not in our stupid and snobbish conceit seek to graft new skins or new scripts.

If people quarrel with one another more bitterly than ever before, it is the result of new and wrong policies of governance; and the remedy does not lie in script-changes or any other such magic.

The purposes of life which the rulers place before the people are at the root of these evils. If people are indoctrinated in the worship of mammon and are led to abandon the lesson of the ages that happiness lies in the elevation of

the soul and not in the making of money, jealousies and hatred follow as death follows the taking of poison. This cannot be averted by a change in the script which school-going children are made to use. On the other hand, if these children are isolated permanently from the literature of their fathers and grand-fathers, the result would be worse than the previous condition.

When shall our new rulers learn to be humble and wise and abstain from such and other follies? Vanity and stupidity are bad in anybody but they are deadly in the rulers of men.



CURRENT EVENTS :

In condensation of the National Integration Conference, we have a 37-member Committee dubbed the "National Integration Council" with all the Chief Ministers and a few nominees of the Prime Minister forming a new body with undefined powers. They resemble the war-time Consultative Committee of Lord Linlithgow meeting in quarterly sessions and giving the impression of strategic guidance to the campaign. National unity cannot be forged by such empty spectacularism, because nation-building has its own essentials to ensure success. The psychosis of the present national deterioration has to be sought in the diseased mentality of the ruling party in the zest for power, irrespective of the restraints of democracy.

A conference of educationists has passed resolutions to improve discipline and standards of efficiency. The Prime Minister anticipated all the answers to vital problems which have been left to the Vice-Chancellors themselves. For instance, Mr. Nehru has asserted that the State should produce all the text-books in the country. Usually the curriculum is drawn up from the list of classical books already available, and when fresh authors rise in the horizon, books are added to the original syllabus. There is going to be a racket in text-books production if Government is going to assume collective authorship.

The concept is unsound though there will be abundant patronage of hack-writers and private canvassing in prescribing study courses. Here again, the evil of State-monopoly comes to the surface, without proper academic criteria. How this method is going to reduce communalism, or increase national consciousness, it is difficult for expert academicians to realize.

Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, former Chief Minister of Mysore, has roundly condemned nationalization of road-transport as a move-

kery. There is of course the newly-formed Road Transport Corporation which has its importance during election season, and one of the methods of raising funds is to handle the lever of patronage or *per contra* to level the weapon of intimidation. Bus-route-transactions are a source of ready income for political organizers in power, and Rajaji in his Bangalore speech made pointed reference to a commonplace operation. "I do not know," says Mr. Hanumanthaiya, "if we have truthfully nationalized road-transport, but we have surely nationalized corruption." With the nation's soul corrupted, there should be at least a vestige of a democratic Opposition to infuse authorities with some sense of fear.

At the meeting of State Governors in New Delhi they decided, at the Prime Minister's instance, that there should be healthy conventions to fortify their prestige as provincial satraps so that an amendment of the Constitution could be obviated. The most impressive part of the re-union was towards the end when President Rajendra Prasad delivered what seemed like a farewell-speech indicating his exit from Rashtrapathi Bhavan, but private advices from New Delhi suggest that an early vacancy in the Presidentship should not be taken for granted. Not long ago Prime Minister Nehru announced that there should be no amendment limiting the tenure of office to two terms but that the practice should be maintained by convention as a matter of voluntary restraint. Although the language of Rajen Babu's speech is highly emotional, there is nothing positive on the third-term issue. Soon after the speech, Mr. Prem Bhatia, a noted columnist who invariably has what journalists call "inside dope," wrote as follows:—

Careful readers of the farewell statement by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, during the Governors' conference believe that too much has probably been read into the Pre-

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sident's remarks. It would be wrong, for instance, to think that he has already announced his retirement. What Dr. Rajendra Prasad did essentially was to bid good-bye to the retiring Governors. This does not necessarily mean that Dr. Rajendra Prasad will offer himself for another term. At the moment he is still uncertain from certain whether his health would permit him to continue as President after next May.

Marcus Aurelius, the saintly Emperor, wrote that to be a philosopher one need not go to a hermitage, and that, seated on the throne, he could practise his stoic principles setting a high example to his subjects. Many of his close associates who share views about some of the means of national integration are said to hold that Rajen Babu should persevere in office while the reins of Vice-Presidentship could remain in the hands of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Such an eventuality would incidentally dispose of the whisper that a full-fledged succession might evoke controversy in certain quarters. Anyway Prem Bhatia tells us that Dr. Rajendra Prasad's sad farewell was meant for the hearing of Governors on the eve of their retirement and not as notice of personal withdrawal by himself, from the stage he has adorned so well in the last 14 years. Hindi participants no doubt feel that the key to culture and concord in the country lies in the dissemination of Hindi continuously "enriched", and they regard Rajen Babu, as the spearhead of the movement, worth support albeit as a symbol of their faith. It is noteworthy that during the Hyderabad session of Education Ministers in the Southern Zone, Seth Govind Das openly insisted in Delhi that compulsion in schools was indispensable although actually the meeting ended with the conviction and the decision that English should be introduced from the third standard in schools. P.J.

REALITIES AND VISIONS

By BHIKKU

The *Time* magazine spoke of a farmer's gibe in East Germany: "Do you know the difference between an atom bomb and a collective farm?" — "None. Both completely lay waste to the earth." The joke is equally applicable to public enterprises in general. There is something Gorgonish about the State: it has but to look at a thing, a thriving, full-blooded, efficient, contentedly worked, money-yielding private enterprise — its fruitfulness shrivels, its germinal quality petrifies, whilst its vegetative limbs proliferate cancerously. The government-run motor transport services and the electric corporations are examples. Courtesy epitomized by the slogan in private enterprise, that the customer is always right, is the first casualty. Since legislation ensures that there is no competition to a State enterprise, often the only method of approach to the man behind the counter or the officer in the sanctum for the article or service is on all fours. That the bureaucrat in his turn has frequently a hard time adjusting his facial muscles between hauteur and propitiation before the strike leader or the boss of the workers' union, and has to jog his brain for a face-saving formula to explain away his humiliating retreats, is no real counterpoise, since the public is the ass that has to bear all the resulting burdens in the end — in pyramiding prices.

The *Reader's Digest* has this story: When a foreign visitor to Poland asked a waiter less reticent than others as to why service was so poor, he remarked: "This is a socialist country. The restaurant belongs to the State, a distant anonymous employer whose main objective is to provide jobs for everybody. The salary is low and likely to remain so, and tips are forbidden. Why work? Why be efficient? For whom? No one will fire you anyway." This analogy will not entirely square with the Indian version of socialism for politeness, and even polite services

are still obtainable in public institutions, at nearly all levels, provided a sufficiency of lubrication is forthcoming and the 'know-how' about oiling the wheels. One ambitious young man who, to the writer's knowledge, started life at a grade very much below that of a sanitary inspector reached to high economic competence trading on two assets: a natural gift for smiling even when snubbed and a handiness with Nilgiri vegetables and garlands from the plains and palm-grease to an extent nicely overbalancing rival claimants' at every stage of the passage of his petitions and files from table to table in the hierarchy that deals with assignments of government lands and subsidies.

The placid arm-chair humanism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries placed high hopes on public ownership of the means of production for liberation of the worker on the plea that "No single class should appropriate to itself a disproportionate share of the fruits of common labour." Dialectically very true; but phenomenally this theory breaks down pitifully before rebellious facts. In political and social application of this tenet, the petty tyrannies of the landlord and the money-lender, subject to softening by personal contact, when dissolved, give place only to the more ruthless tyrannies of the official and the impersonal bureaucracy.

There is a quality in nature which determines the pace of progression not amenable to human pressure except to a limited extent. The statesman who appreciates in politics the 'art of the possible' and limits himself to it, advances the well-being of a nation more quickly than he who tries to pump in prosperity through galactic changes, just because he is impatient to see things done within his time. One can't make up for ten days of starvation by the arithmetic of one day of ten meals, nor can a house needing three months of labour be

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When a person however sincerely intentioned or gifted, takes upon himself the alteration and the ordering of life of a whole nation and its habits of thought within his brief span, he assumes, may be unconsciously, an omniscience which is patently beyond human reach and in practice is not endowed by men with the ordinary modicum of faith, even on the Deity. That the undoubted power possessed by Jawaharlalji of holding the love of the heterogeneous elements of India and presenting a face of unity before the world is far more a quotient of his expressive humanness and heart than his doctrinaire idealism is patent to everyone but himself. Maybe, he will yet learn of the inwardness of Burke's aphorism: "We can never walk surely but by being sensible of our blindness."

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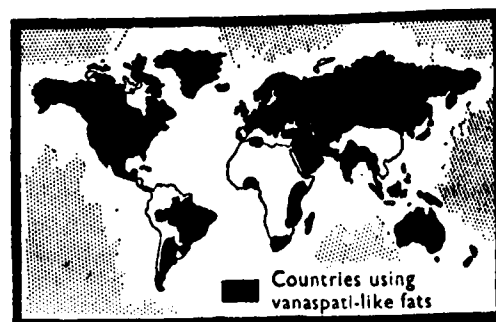
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POWER OF APPOINTING JUDGES

By P. KODANDA RAO

Recent events have tended to undermine public confidence in the independence of the judiciary. There are two vacancies in the Mysore High Court which have not been filled for nearly two years! The Government of Maharashtra has openly avowed that it would ensure regional representation on the High Court. The Law Commission has observed: "It used to be the practice in the past to select persons appointed to fill vacancies well ahead of the expected vacancy, so that the successor took his seat immediately on the retirement of his predecessor. Of late, however, vacancies have remained unfilled for months." It gave a list of delays between 1950 and 1955 in some High Courts, and they ranged upto eighteen months. In the Uttar Pradesh delays deprived its High Court of the services of twelve judges for twelve months!

The inordinate delays in appointing judges seem to be due to the intrusion of Chief Ministers, bent on exercising patronage based on personal, communal, regional and other non-judicial considerations in the interest of their political parties with an eye on the forthcoming general elections. The judiciary is the sole protection to the citizen against invasion of his rights and, therefore, it is axiomatic that it should be beyond the reach of political influence. It is for this reason that the Constitution of India excluded ministers in the States or at the Centre from having any say in making judicial appointments, and included only the Chief Justice of India and the Chief Justices of the States who are non-political at all times, and the President and the Governors who are non-political during their office. According to the Constitution, the President of India is the sole authority to make the appointments of the judges and Chief Justices of the High Courts. He has to consult the Chief Justice of India and the Governor of the State in appointing the Chief Justice of the High Court, and the Chief Justice of the High Court also in appointing puisne judges of the High Court.

If the President and the Governors are obliged to act on the advice, amounting to command, of their ministers, the decisive power in making judicial appointments will vest in the politicians, while the Chief Justices of India and of the State High Courts would be reduced to mere advisers. The Constitution is silent as to who should take the initiative in the appointment of judges of High Courts.

The press communique issued by the Government of India on May 10, 1961, stated that the initiative for such appointments came mostly from the Chief Justices concerned. It is obvious that in some cases it came from what the communique euphemistically called the "State authorities", meaning thereby the ministers. The Law Commission has revealed that the Chief Justice made his recommendation, not to the Governor, but to the Chief Minister. It has stated further that if the Chief Minister did not approve of the recommendation of the Chief Justice, he forwarded his own rival proposal to the Home Minister, with or without the knowledge of the Chief Justice. And the Home Minister sometimes preferred the nominee of the Chief Minister to the nominee of the Chief Justice! The undermining of the prestige of the judiciary at the hands of politicians could hardly go further.

The press communique referred to above asserted that, except in one case, all the judges numbering 258, (between 1950 and 1960) were appointed with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of India, implying that no politics vitiated their appointment. The Law Commission has given the lie to the claim and explained that when the Chief Justices of India and of the High Courts realized that their advice was liable to be over-ruled, they thought it more dignified and prudent to concur rather than dissent.

The Commission has condemned the present practice and warned that if it should continue, independence of the judiciary would disappear, as the High Courts would be filled with judges who owed their appointments to politicians.

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The Commission has recommended, as a compromise, that the Chief Justice should take the initiative and forward his recommendation both to the Chief Minister of the State and the Chief Justice of India. The Chief Minister might comment on the recommendation but should not make a rival one. At the Centre, the Chief Justice should not merely be consulted by the Home Minister but his concurrence obtained. To give effect to their proposal, the Commission furnished a draft amendment to the Constitution. But the party-politicians would have none of it.

The press communique was silent as to who took the initiative in the appointment of the Chief Justice of a High Court. According to the Constitution, the President, in consultation with the Chief Justice and the Governor of the State, is to make the appointment. In practice, the Chief Minister takes the initiative and forwards it to the Home Minister, who, after consulting the Chief Justice of India, advises the President.

It seems desirable that, instead of the Chief Minister, the retiring Chief Justice of the High Court should recommend his successor and forward it to the Chief Justice of India, who, in consultation with the Chief Justices of other High Courts, should make the final recommendation, which, with the comments of the Home Minister, if any, should be forwarded to the President, who should automatically accept it. This system may not be perfect, but it is any day better than judges be appointed by judges than by party-politicians.

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THE CRISIS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The nett result of socialist criticism of the old order is the need for recognizing social security and social welfare as among the foremost aims of social policy.

War-time idealism and necessity gave a tremendous fillip to this trend in response to the common man's sacrifices in the war effort. Today we find the principle recognized in all progressive countries of the West—whether socialist, capitalist or communist. The percentage of national income spent on social security measures to provide against sickness, disability, unemployment and old age (in some cases annual holidays with pay) as well as day-to-day health service on a comprehensive scale is increasing with every passing year.

From around 7 per cent in Australia and Canada through 11 per cent in the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Italy, it has risen to 20 per cent in West Germany. Austria and France take the second place at around 16 per cent. (Dr. F. A. Hayek in *The Constitution of Liberty*, page 512). An ILO document reveals that among underdeveloped countries, India occupies the last place with a per capita expense of Rs. 2 As. 14 as compared with Rs. 23 in Ceylon. The Indian percentage of national income is said to be only one! And it appears that India has spent less in 1957 than in 1955!

Advanced countries who thus have put the Beveridge Plan of social security and welfare have begun to think of the new problems that they have raised in place of the old which may be, it is realized, as damaging to national viability and the prospects of permanence of the policies involved as the older evils of leaving the disinherited (and the unfortunate in the struggle of life) to the devil. The cost of social security is tending to become greater than the economy can bear. For one thing, these welfare policies entail a great proliferation of bureaucracy, each department of service developing a growing army of paid personnel, mostly full-time with a fringe of partially paid social service workers. The result is that larger and larger slices of the outlay gets absorbed in the cost of the service.

The process gives rise to the complaint as in Belgium that this cost rises to abnormal and unconscionable heights—from 12 to 41 per cent of wages! No wonder the workers put an end to this service and preferred to arrange

their own welfare by themselves. Even with regard to the famous Health Service in socialist Britain, second thoughts are emerging. Some items of treatment have now to be paid for in cash by the recipient. The total cost of the health scheme is still uncomfortably high at around £450 millions. The details of the service are raising acute moral problems. When facilities begin to run short of the needs of the total population, whose claims are *all equal*, who is to decide if a choice is to be made between a 90 year old person and a younger citizen in his working prime?

Along with the proliferation of bureaucracy already mentioned, arises another feature, namely, the emergence of an army of *experts* in different lines, each with a mystique and specialized knowledge of his own. Judgment on them becomes out of bounds to the ordinary administrator and politician. The result is that funds get allotted without effective scrutiny and large funds thus get caught up in sidelines and result in squandermania. When social security is offered through State-provided monopolist insurance, the service becomes costlier than necessary.

NEED TO CHANGE OUR RULERS

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

India's present *malaise* is to be attributed to the sub-nationalism of its people, on one hand, and the democratic despotism of its rulers, which is its sequel, on the other.

The sentiment of nationalism of a people should, like human bodily temperature, be normal to be healthy. The tragedy of the post-war world consists in the virtual disappearance of this normal condition in almost all nation-States. The people of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and S. America are in a state of sub-nationalism and consequent backwardness and instability, while those of the advanced countries of North America and Europe are in the throes of delirious super-nationalism. The few small countries of Europe, where nationalism may be said to be normal, do not pull much weight in world affairs. The constitutional setup, democratic or totalitarian, or the pattern of industrial production, capitalist or communistic, in various countries has not made much difference in the mass psychology of the people of

In addition, the State tends to succumb to the temptation to offer better terms to favoured classes and ranges of income, with an eye on demagogic support at the elections!

With regard to old age pensions, the outlay becomes ever more burdensome as the average length of life increases year by year. It is even said that a time is approaching in some welfare countries that those of military age—from 25 to 40—have come to resent 'this unproductive expenditure on the old by the State. They may revolt!

Of course the overall effect of these social security measures is increasing inflation with the consequent diminution in the real return in terms of goods as the purchasing power of the currency gets lower.

Thus in the effort to avoid the five evils of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness, the new measures of social security and social welfare (on account of the role of the State as universal provider), five new evils of equal if not greater menace emerge in the social scene—inflation, paralysing taxation, coercive labour unions, an ever-increasing dominance of Government in education and the economy, and a vast bureaucracy with arbitrary powers treating the individual as an incompetent and helpless ward!

one country in their relation to those of another country.

In India the passion for freedom from foreign rule, which was evinced by certain patriots and sections of the people from the beginning of this century, was not really universal, but it was evoked in a measure by great leaders by awakening the consciousness of certain sections of the population in various provinces. All along there were other sections of the people including the bulk of the largest minority community and the largest minority of the majority community and some political parties, which were all against full Swaraj, on the ground that the country was not ripe for self-rule and therefore the interests of minorities would suffer. But the time spirit and the 'accidents' of history worked in India's favour.

And when freedom came to India as a result of the impact of international forces and the Second World War, neither Gandhiji nor some of the prudent sections of the community rejoiced,

because the unity of this ancient land became its first casualty. Yet another cause for pessimism was that the spirit of nationalism and patriotism was not sufficiently widespread or intensive enough among the people not to become a prey to fissiparous tendencies, based on religion, caste, region and language.

When the Congress came into power it became more interested in exercising it and well entrenching itself permanently than in educating the people in patriotism and nationalism, and developing a consciousness that they were citizens of India first before everything else. In the game of power politics democracy itself became the next victim. The one-party rule of the Congress became in effect and reality a despotism, though the external facade was preserved through elections and external forms of representative government. The needs of party rule gradually put an end to honest, just, impartial and efficient administration, which are indispensable to civilized life. When the entire administration is geared up and conducted in the interests of the party in power, how can impartial and just government be expected?

The fourth casualty was the liberty of the citizen. His right to pursue any trade or occupation guaranteed under the Constitution has been jeopardised by numerous control measures owing to the exigencies of planning and so-called social justice. The total control of the economic life of the community in an under-developed economy is the worst despotism that can be conceived of in the modern age. Gandhiji intuitively saw what was coming in the wake of Congress rule. Louis Fischer, in his life of Gandhiji, points out that Gandhiji said after freedom: "We must recognize the fact that the social order of our dreams cannot come from the Congress Party of today There is so much corruption today that it frightens me. Everybody wants to carry so many votes in his pocket because votes give power." This was about 14 years ago and one can imagine what Gandhiji would now say if he were alive, and can very well believe that Rajaji is but voicing what Gandhiji would have felt in his inmost.

The cry of emotional integration now harped upon by our rulers is itself evidence of the failure of their policies and administration. National unity can be achieved by steady and honest work, not by threats and penal laws. The present rulers with their record of 14 years' work have not achieved it. Therefore, in the interests of the country, the people should do everything to bring about a change in the next elections,

WELFARE AND SOCIALISM

By K. S. RAMAMURTHY

A *laissez-faire* government concerns itself only with maintaining law and order. A modern socialist government concerns itself with every aspect of the individual's life affecting human personality. The one results in feudal and industrial oligarchy; the other in despotism. The position of the individual human being is intolerable under both, as they both err on the extremes. Overgovernment is just as bad as undergovernment. That Government is best which needs to govern least.

The function of government is to ensure an environment of freedom in which individuals have ample opportunities to rise to their full height. No one can really help anyone against his will and happiness is a condition of the mind and spirit, which each individual has to shape for himself. Government can only provide opportunities for self-development. Doting parents do not help to bring the best out of their children; they only do them wrong. Just so, patronising socialism can do no good to anyone. On the other hand, it will do immense harm.

In its concern for society, socialism aims at building a happy society by effacing the individual. Socialists are so narrowly conditioned in their thought that they can never see that social happiness centres on the individual men and women, with different traits and outlooks. It is only when you make the individuals happy and socially responsible can you make society happy. That is what the Swatantra movement aims at. It places its trust on the essential goodness of every man and woman. It emphasizes that each individual can and must be allowed to find satisfaction for oneself and by oneself. Only then can you build a strong, healthy nation of sturdy independent people.

The easiest way of killing a nation's character is to make its people less and less dependent upon themselves. Self-reliance is the essential trait that goes to build character, but socialism is the worst enemy of self-reliance. The individual looks to the State to do everything for him. In the extreme case of the communist countries, he becomes absolutely helpless and so an easy victim of the State. The State then plays with him and his family as it likes.

Winning bread alone is not the prime aim of life. Even in winning bread there is a good deal of difference in the attitudes of the man who earns his bread by his own toil and the one to whom his bread is doled out. Where

there is lack of freedom of the spirit which makes life so purposeful, whatever else there may be, life is not worth living.

Welfare State is one thing and the socialist State is quite another—they are not to be confused. A Welfare State ensures that a few do not thrive at the cost of the many. It tries to secure for each one honest returns for his services. It aims at preventing economic power getting concentrated in a few hands. The socialist State also pretends to do all these for the individual but woefully fails to do so. In place of the feudal lord and the merchant king it seeks to enthrone the State. The individual, instead of serving a master whose powers however considerable, are but limited, will have to serve the all-powerful State. The State regulates life at every level causing misery to the individual.

Except as a powerful protest against eighteenth century feudalism, socialism has had no vital force. The mere transfer of ownership from powerful individuals to an all-powerful State cannot solve the poverty of the masses. The State is impersonal and government is but by a group of individuals. There is no reason to suppose that this group is more concerned in the people's welfare than the people concerned themselves. Hence the necessity to limit the power of government, make it answerable for its actions, and ensure that instead of being the servant of the people it does not become their master. People can find happiness only under a government which secures freedom of opportunities for all, without itself taking over all phases of enterprise and initiative from the people and becoming an instrument of tyranny over the individual.

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Dear Reader

The Russians have made and thrown into the atmosphere an immense quantity of deadly poison. And they have done this in spite of the most earnest and urgent appeals made by great Powers and great nations. The nuclear discovery and the technical developments from it have exploded all law and international rights and put the whole world under jungle-law, might is right and nothing else. What is now left of dreams of 'co-existence' and mutual toleration? 'Wait and see, this poisoning is really a step towards peace', says Hiranyaaksha. This is cruel irony. None but the completely indoctrinated can accept this nonsense of peace through poison. No obstinacy, no arrogance, no indifference to the welfare of others that any tyrant was guilty of in the history of mankind up till now, can equal the monstrosity of this wicked act on the part of Russia. It is not an opinion or policy that can be withdrawn; it is a completed act of poisoning mankind which cannot be corrected or regretfully apologised for. Is there nothing then left for mankind but to suffer the result of allowing power to grow to this magnitude and quality?

No longer can we passively encourage this defiance of the rights of humanity. It would be suicidal and amount to participation in crime if we do not make up our minds at once to put out of the pale of human society those responsible for this arrogant violation of the rights of the peoples of this planet.

May God save the leaders of men who disapprove of this Russian explosion from sustaining this criminal development of the age by themselves resorting to new tests, be they underground or overground, or at any altitude. They should outcaste nuclear weapons and nuclear test-explosions altogether. We have seen where it all leads to. The weapon of ostracism

demands completely clean hands. If the West yields to temptations and does not totally wash its hands of this sinful instrument of nuclear weapons, it would be playing into the hands of Mr. Khrushchov. It is indeed what he is hoping for.

My voice is that of a mere citizen. And what I say now is nothing new. But I hope it will prevail through the grace of God. We cannot fight evil with a modicum of evil. We can fight evil and conquer it only if we abjure it altogether.

The steps taken by the U.S. Government to reconsider the projects of aid to Yugoslavia and Ghana when their attitudes towards America and Russia were disclosed at the Belgrade Conference, have made it clear to aid-seeking countries that despite every effort to avoid the appearance of purchasing agreement for American policies the fact remains that nature works that way. The American Administration appears to have succeeded in overcoming public opposition to aid to Yugoslavia, on the ground that it was worthwhile strengthening Marshal Tito to resist Soviet pressures. But in the case of Ghana, a commission under the direction of Clarence Randall has been appointed to go to Ghana "to take a final hard look" at U.S. aid for the Volta river project of President Nkrumah. In this atomic age, aid to declared enemies and doubtful parties is not likely to be favoured by nations or allowed to be played with by democratic governments. Paradises designed on such aid and on the hopes of obscuring attitudes and confusing intelligent men are, it need hardly be pointed out, of the nature of Alnaschar's mansions in the air.

The following extract from the latest issue of that very well conducted journal, *Seminar*, deserves to be reflected upon:

Taking the daily press in India as a whole, the average circulation revenue is in the region of 55 per cent, and the revenue from advertising is in the region of 45 per cent. For many other categories, the proportion is still higher. If it were not for advertising, newspapers would cost at least double of what they do today.

Even assuming that the community is prepared to pay this higher price for the sake of keeping advertisements away from newspapers, there is the great danger that sooner or later, instead of relying on a number of sources for their revenue, newspapers might find themselves receiving subsidies from government or other similar sources. The world today provides many examples of the dangers which may befall a nation when the press is directly controlled by the executive power and used as a medium for government propaganda. . . .

If it is . . . granted that for a healthy, virile press to exist, advertising revenue derived from independent commercial sources is necessary, one can at once see the danger in whittling down the scope of advertising in the country. The function of the press is to educate, to inform and to criticise, and the existence of such a press is the main safeguard for a modern democracy. Without the right to comment, without the right of free expression, no democracy can exist and the encouragement of commercial advertising is therefore an essential pre-requisite to the existence of a democratic government.

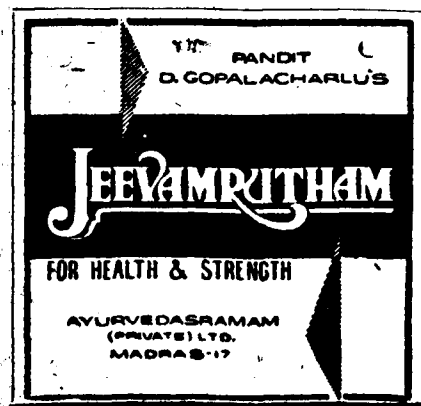
The latest increase in the official selling price of cement as distinguished from the real purchase price paid by consumers is a symptom of the fatal disease injected into our national life by our present rulers. The Plan is the thing according to them, and they are prepared to do anything to please that carnivorous god of theirs. In addition, let us remember that citizens not in the direct favour of the ruling party have to pay a 'free market' real price for all the cement they want, which is double the official price—the gains on which go to the favoured. This also is a kind of tax which the consumer has to pay on account of the permit-licence-raj, if he does not want his building work to get

NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND LANGUAGE

halted and ruined by delay. Cement is nearly as essential in the building and maintenance of houses as water is in building up and maintenance of the human body. Long yarns spun from plat-forms on providing houses for our people will not benefit anyone, if the rulers at the same time go on raising the prices of bricks and cement. There is no justification whatsoever for the levy of a heavy excise duty over and above sales taxes paid to the States on so essential a material as cement. As a leading daily paper has warned us, the escalatory clause laid down gives us fair notice that cement prices will go on rising still further, and that what is true of this particular commodity will be true of other commodities as well.

We are indeed paying heavily for this Plan-worship. This idolatry is costing the nation in grievous measure. This scheme of improving national life by borrowing from every nation in the world, and taxing the people more and yet more, is nothing short of madness. The most convincing of all demonstrations as far as the Plan-worshippers go, is that the Plan itself will cost Rs. 35 crores more than the present estimates as a direct result of this one factor of a rise in cement price. It should be enough to wean our rulers from these follies. But we have handed over our country to the tender mercies of a sect which believes in human sacrifice.

C.R



It is said that President George Washington wrote to the Jewish congregation of Newport, "The Government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." This is a modest and negative statement of the essence of the secular State. Can the Government of India or any of our State governments honestly think or say a similar thing? They may on the proper occasions, which are few and far between, profess public assent to such a doctrine, but are neither in their hearts nor in their deeds averse to bigotry or persecution. It is not difficult to see why this is so; it is because the intellectual, moral and psychological contexts favourable to liberal individualism as a social and political philosophy and the firm moral and religious commitment of each man to the values of such a philosophy are not native to India and do not belong to the hard core of Indian tradition and experience. These excellent and alien values came to us along with the desire for self-government through the English language. The concept of an Indian nation is the offspring of an education in a non-Indian tongue and if free-India is also to continue as one nation it is necessary for the English speaking Indian to maintain leadership in education, politics and industry.

Our Constitution has put political power in the hands of an electorate most of which is illiterate and nearly all of which knows no English. Communication between the English speaking Indian and his fellow citizens has become difficult and the chasm is widening because the English journals and newspapers in India steadily ignore the material published in the vernacular press which has come more and more to express and influence the thought and behaviour of the citizen masses of our States. Parties, groups and personalities actively directing our social and political life do not appear in our English periodicals. It is sometimes pretended that these operate only at the State levels and do not matter on a national level. No illusion can be more false or mischievous because our national government is really a product of horse-trading among State leaders who furnish the votes and determine the composition of Parliament and Cabinet. It is an error to imagine that forces located at Delhi are *ipso facto* forces of integration and those located in the States have an interest in disintegration because they do or should crave autonomy. The Hindi mind which imagines an Indian nation integrated by it and

kept integrated by being made to speak Hindi is no less parochial or anti-national than the Tamil or Bengalee mind that plans a nation for its language and the leadership of that nation for India.

All Indian languages are socially and politically alike because they all embody collectivist, illiberal and anti-individual values, seek the glory or at least the perpetuation of the group, and have no care for persons or personal values. This ancient attachment to absolutism and submission under a simple total rule of ethnic survival was justified by the ultimate hope of personal escape which is *moksha*. Now the same tyranny and slavery have come to be justified by the pursuit of raising material expectations. Substituting Marx for Mann is not enough to make a modern integrated nation of India because there should first be individuation of Indians before there can be real co-operation or collectivization in the pursuit of felt and realized secular goals. Stages of social development can never be skipped and at our present stage further and better education in and through the English language is essential to establish the basic value system of a modern nation. It is not enough to license engineers and technicians and some scientists to learn English in order to be able to pick up current information or grudgingly permit the retention of English in some scheduled corners. If an open, deliberate and conscious reversal of our linguistic policy is not soon forthcoming at the national and State levels we shall gallop backward to the chaos which we have forgotten over a century of peace and good order. R.B.

SWARAJYA

(English Political Weekly)

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

PORTENTS ABROAD AND PROBLEMS AT HOME

By JUNIUS

NEW DELHI: Out of the fatalistic mood that had set in the world over, after the Russian nuclear tests, there have emerged different interpretations of Mr. Khrushchev's dare-devilry. Some say that he was seeking to strike terror in the hearts of Western statesmen; others think that he was trying to impress his own adversaries at home as well as the Chinese. Whatever be the motive behind the exhibition of his might, he was a trifle too crude, crazy and callous in showing off. The de-Stalinisation that he has popularized in Russia has now touched new heights. Under the shadows of the Kremlin there is no silence even in the grave, much less any sanctity about it. It is somewhat of a portent that Mr. Khrushchev has shocked even the comrades in Kerala and split the communist camp. It will be however a fatal mistake to assume that power is slipping out of Khrushchev's fingers in Russia or that Russia and China will fall out to the advantage of the West.

Today interest has suddenly shifted from one 'K' to another. On how Mr. Kennedy will react to his distinguished guest, will depend a good deal in the immediate future. This is in a sense the Nehru week. Before he left for Washington, Mr. Nehru did or said everything he could to convince the better mind of America of his earnestness to be helpful in easing the international tensions. That he will stake everything on peace is beyond question; that he will stake everything on "peace with honour" is the hope.

There was perhaps no basis for the hope expressed by Master Tara Singh at the end of his fast that there might be no occasion at all for any Commission to hold an inquiry into Sikh grievances. While the Government has now appointed a three-man Commission to do the necessary probe and give its findings before the end of the year, the Akali leader

who was expected to hail its advent and co-operate with it in its work, has, far from being satisfied, struck not only a discordant note but also a disquieting one.

He has charged the Government with bad faith. According to him, it is not the kind of Commission he wanted; its personnel is different from what he was led to believe it would be; and its terms of reference are, to recall the famous Amritsar phraseology in an older political context, 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing'. Master Tara Singh also warns that the Akali Dal is not morally bound to accept the findings of the Commission.

This, it seems, is but making matters extremely difficult as much for himself (as the Akalis leader) as for the Government. It is certain that the Commission will now go ahead with its work, and expeditiously too. If Master Tara Singh does not take it seriously his case will go by default—whereas if he does, there is implied obligation on his part to respect its verdict despite his preliminary protest. He is in an un-

SWATANTRA MANIFESTO

The *Times of India* writes in an editorial in its issue dated November 4, 1961:

There is little room for surprise in the election manifestos of political parties whose policies are already fairly well-defined. The Swatantra draft manifesto is true to pattern. It does no more than sum up cogently the views of the party on the many issues on which its leaders have often spoken in public in the last twelve months. It is always tempting for a new party which knows that it is not likely to be called upon to assume office to inflate its promises to the electorate. But the Swatantra party does nothing of the kind in its manifesto. What it promises is not a utopia but a mixed economy in which there will be less of central planning than today, less emphasis on heavy industries and more on agriculture and cottage and light industries, full scope for the play of free enterprise and no government participation in trade and in-

enviable predicament. It would on the whole be best he faces the Commission squarely—and be done with it; whatever be the outcome.

Any recrudescence of Akali trouble in the Punjab now will be doubly unfortunate as it will both prejudice the Commission and side-track public interest from the more vital questions that are to come up before the electorate in the coming general elections. Master Tara Singh will be well-advised to put the Punjabi Suba in cold storage and concentrate on electioneering (which essentially means educating the people) since he desires that the Congress should be bundled out of office.

If he is keen on seeing the end of the Kairon-control of his home-State, he may as well actively seek to bring it about by plunging into election work from now onwards and devoting all his time, energy and eloquence unto that end, instead of frittering away a God-given opportunity in pursuits which in the present setting are nearer chimerical. Since self-government is really no substitute for good government, he should work for a non-Congress Punjab by carrying the Hindus also with him rather than for a Punjabi Subha by stirring up the Sikhs alone.

And whatever planning there is will not encroach on the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution before it was amended. From its very inception the party has been opposed to collective farming and land ceilings. The reforms which the manifesto promises in the sphere of agriculture include abolition of the land taxes and the establishment of an insurance fund against natural calamities. For the rest, the party promises stable prices and relief in taxes which it justly regards as oppressive. As the manifesto puts it, "An honest rupee and stable prices are the best friends of the common people."

Apart from the changes it promises in the priorities and procedures of planning, the Swatantra party attaches the utmost importance to ridding the administration of corruption. There is method in its reasoning, for it is the proliferation of bureaucratic controls

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

MODERNISING THE INDIAN ARMY

Sir,—The news of water supply for the Avadi project at a cost of Rs. 9.88 lakhs is disturbing. The Avadi project is said to be a factory for the Defence Department of the Union Government. It is said a special P.W.D. sub-division has been sanctioned to execute the work in three months. The initial expenditure is to be met by the State Government and the charge for water supply collected from the Defence Department will be the profit for Madras State. It is to this that Mr. Nehru referred to as modernising the Indian Army by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, in his Madras election speech. It is very unfortunate that this important news should go unnoticed by the intelligentsia. What are the implications of the scheme? Drawing subsoil water by heavy motor pumps in the Courtelliar river-bed, hardly eight miles from the city, will lead to the deprivation of water for agricultural needs of the peasants within a radius of eight miles, with all that it means of misery to lakhs of agriculturists. Will people in South India wake up to the danger sometimes and vigorously protest against the scheme?

MADRAS SANGU GANESAN

depreciating from year to year on account of the rise in the cost of living, the denial of pension to old employees on the basis of their total emoluments before retirement is most iniquitous.

AMBATTUR

M. GOVINDAN

THE AGE OF CEILING!

Sir,—While recently inaugurating the Bhakthavathsalam Nagar, Minister Subramaniam is reported to have virtually suggested a ceiling on houses, too, limiting the number of rooms to two or three to a family.

Would his suggestion hold good in the case of a large family of a dozen members or so? Perhaps the Minister will say that his suggestion carried the implication that people should adopt 'family planning'.

This is verily the age of 'ceiling' for congressmen!

It was not without a sense of appropriateness that Rajaji recently commented that the Swatantra Party too was in favour of a certain ceiling,

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

namely, a ceiling on 'governmental powers'. Every true democrat would undoubtedly welcome such a ceiling. Coimbatore Y. V. VISVESWARAN

BEWARE OF THE CONGRESS

Sir,—Mr. Morarji Desai, Finance Minister of India, has been asking the people to save more with a view to increasing the resources of the country. He is also reported to have stressed that the rate of taxation in India is the lowest compared with other countries. But he has put on blinkers to disable him from seeing the reality of soaring prices of all commodities and the low average income of an Indian compared to those countries.

Ever since Morarji assumed the finance portfolio, he has been singing the same song of "Save more and tighten the belt". But on what basis does Mr. Morarji Desai think the people

have enough to save, when in fact their income is hardly sufficient to make both ends meet?

If the Finance Minister truly reflects the mind of the Government and the Congress Party, it is up to the voters to beware of what is awaiting them in the immediate future, and exercise their votes with wisdom and not fall a prey to empty shibboleths and slogans mouthed by the Congress.

CALCUTTA-1

P. V. V. RAJAN

THE POLICE AND THEIR CRITICS

Sir,—I had occasion some years ago to enquire of the Inspector-General of Police in another Province as to the number of penal laws he was enforcing. He said he did not know, and he doubted if any one person knew, not even the legislators, for the laws were too numerous. The Police were frequently criticised for their failures, and hardly ever thanked for their successes in detecting crimes, and, more so, in preventing them.

The legal tradition, which would let a hundred guilty persons escape than

let a single innocent person suffer, adds to the difficulties of the Police.

In the case of sudden outbursts of violence, the Police have to act on the spur of the moment while facing imminent danger to themselves, while their critics can condemn them long after the event and in perfect safety, provided for them by the very same Police!

It speaks volumes for their devotion to duty in that they carry on so well amidst danger and harsh criticism, and their efficiency is taken for granted. It is necessary that in a democracy the public should evince greater understanding of the difficulties of the Police in their task of maintaining law and order and the safety of even their critics.

BANGALORE

P. KODANDA RAO

RAMA RAJYA INDEED!

Sir,—It is learnt from *The Hindu* (dated 7-10-61) that among the many arches of welcome put up for Mr. Nehru, one of the inscriptions on an arch described Nehru as "Architect of Rama Rajya." One wonders, if this description of Mr. Nehru has any relation to facts. We have lost 12000 square

SWATANTRA MANIFESTO

(Continued from page 13)

over the economy which, in its opinion, have enormously increased the scope for corruption. This scope will be automatically reduced when there is less need for licences and permits. In the field of foreign affairs the manifesto advocates a less friendly attitude towards the communist bloc than is the case today and "a more vigilant policy in dealing with Chinese aggression". How far the policies for which the Swatantra party stands prove popular with the people remains to be seen. The party leaders seem confident of doing well in half a dozen States. But the odds against which they have to fight are only too obvious. The party is new in the field. And it cannot match yet the older parties in its organisation. But whatever the extent of its success in the elections it has already made itself felt in some measure as a political force. That it is clear in its mind as to what it stands for should be an asset to it in the years to come.

miles of our Himalayan territory to the Chinese. It was no loss sustained in an open battle. We owe it to unintelligible diplomacy. When questioned on it in

Parliament, he answered in that sweet temper with which we are so familiar: "Throw me out, if you can".

The prices of food-stuffs and other articles in daily need of the commonman have been soaring beyond his reach and life is becoming unendurable, all due to inflation as a consequence of gigantic planning, inefficient management in the public sector, the heavy foreign loan incurred, deficit budgeting, etc.

Let us not be deceived at all. Nehru is not after the Rama Rajya of Gandhiji's dream. He is busy laying the foundation for a classless and casteless society, where one party and one party alone can rule for ever and ever, and pave the way for ruthless communist rule.

A. N. CHARI

MADRAS

DO JUSTICE TO PENSIONERS

Sir,—The Madras Government has liberalised the pension scheme in the case of their employees who have retired from service on or after 1st July, 1960, counting the enhanced scales of pay introduced with effect from 1st June, 1960.

But in the case of those who had retired earlier, the D.A. they had been getting would be excluded in calculating the pension. There could be some justification for excluding the D.A. in such calculation only if the cost of living had come down since the government servants had retired from service. In fact, the cost of living has gone up higher.

Apart from the fact that the real value of pension once granted is

"WITH THE WIND"

...entreated the Ancient Mariner, "we must sail with the wind, Mr. Tubophile, or else we'll be all at sea".

"That's exactly where we are, Sir Mariner", retorted Mr. Tubophile warmly, "all at sea. I am bound for the shores of Cathay and you have sailed me to the coast of Australia. Rabbits and Kangaroos! I'll not sail with the wind, for the wind or by the wind. In fact, I'll not sail at all...not in these wind guided, wind powered galleons of tubeless times —deuced uncomfortable, destination uncertain

and quite unreliable with or without the wind. I'll brave the high seas again in my own well tubed times, when marine boilers with tubes supply sure power to luxury liners which reach the right destination—wind or no wind. Sir Mariner, full steam ahead now. Rabbits and Kangaroos! I mean all sails up".

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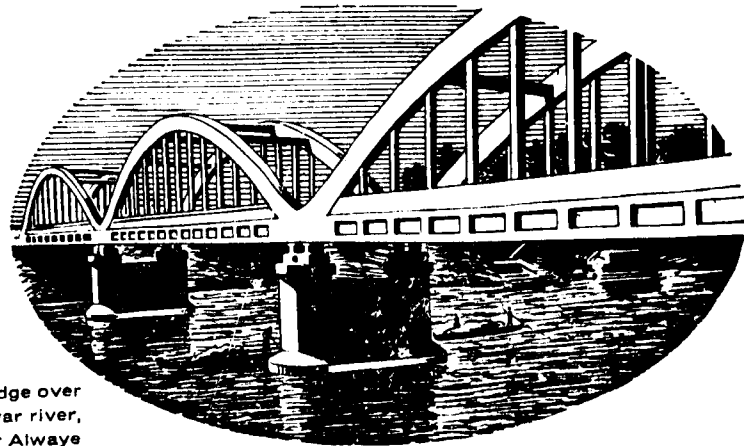
A Tata-Stewarts & Lloyds Enterprise



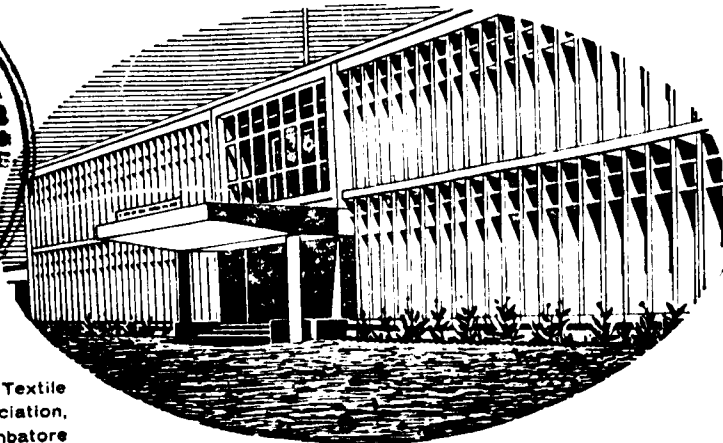
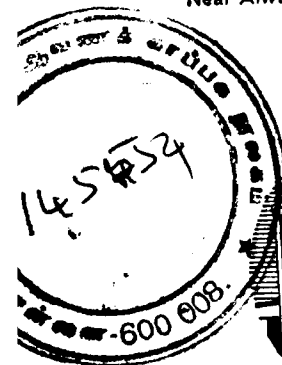
Lasting progress with

ACC and Sankar Brand Cements

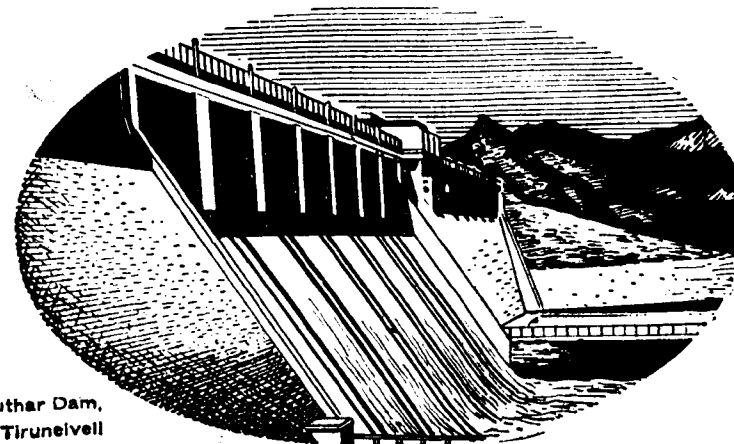
India is building for prosperity, and millions of tonnes of ACC and Sankar brand cements are being used to build dams, roads, bridges, housing colonies, factories, research laboratories, etc.



Bridge over
Periyar river,
Near Alwaye



South Indian Textile
Research Association,
Coimbatore



Manimuthar Dam,
Tirunelveli

THE CEMENT MARKETING
COMPANY OF INDIA LIMITED
The Associated Cement
Companies. Ltd.
The India Cements Ltd.))



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