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DIRECT ACTION TO HALT NUCLEAR TESTS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The noise of the US explosions in the Pacific drowns the mock-debate going on in Geneva. I do not believe that anyone is inclined to believe that these representatives of anti-nuclear nations are serious about what they are ritualistically going through in Geneva. Their plain duty is what has been pointed out by Bertrand Russell—unless they accept a new historical materialist philosophy of the inevitability of world rule by brute force as evolved by Atom-technology, and look upon all resistance to wickedness as quixotic. Mr. Nehru's hope that friendly approaches were more likely to produce good results than the challenge of direct action has been completely falsified. Friendly approaches hereafter are only ritualist salves to conscience.

My personal appeals to the Prime Minister to adopt Bertrand Russell's advice have been of no avail. Mr. Nehru feels that sending out a Government warship to the Pacific tests-area would be 'almost' a hostile act and, therefore, it could not be done. It is a total lapse of memory for a Gandhian-trained world citizen to believe that non-violent resistance would be a hostile or near-hostile act. All friendly verbal protests and other operations of that class having failed, it becomes the duty of a loyal world-citizen and friend of America to offer the Gandhian protest by direct action. On the other hand, the US test explosion is a hostile act against all of us. The occasion is one that cannot bear ignoring or postpon-

ing. The US Government has in defiance of the most responsibly proffered advice, and appeals from so many non-aligned governments, launched its series of test explosions. These explosions are not just defence measures against USSR. They spread deadly poison and contaminate the physical basis of mankind's life on the planet. There can be no greater or more urgent or nobler occasion for the exercise of the inherent right of honest civil resistance. I am grieved that a great opportunity to serve mankind, and to make splendid history for India is being lost. There is still time as the planned series of explosions is programmed for a good length of time.

For once, I am sorry I am not near Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in his Cabinet to press on him for acceptance this case for decisive action. As things are, he has men around him who will only "sing him a song of placebo" as Bacon wrote. The Prime Minister hesitates, because he is afraid the consequences of such a 'hostile' act may be other than good. What need we be apprehensive about? Will America stop her aid? I do not think she will. But even if that should happen, may we not say to ourselves and to posterity that we preferred to face it in view of the call to save the health of the world—that we preferred to risk losing assistance from America to losing the chance of helping the world against an evil consequence that was certain? Is it a noble thing to

be a participant in poisoning for the sake of American Aid, for we shall be participants, indeed, so long as we deliberately refrain from taking necessary action to prevent the crime? The aid we receive on such an express or implied term would be tainted assistance.

America insists on the resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere because of 'long-range safety' in the context of Soviet tests already exploded last fall—long-range safety, not of the world and its health but the illusory safety of America through a balance of terror against Russia. It is a pity that mechanical policies of equalized activity have taken the place of the traditional ideals of America. When America preferred civil war to maintaining the institution of slavery, it was not 'long-range safety' that guided America. Long range world safety and long range human welfare should be given precedence to every other arithmetical or other military calculation. To add to the radioactive fall-out with which the atmosphere has already been charged is immoral. Neither peace nor freedom nor welfare will be furthered by such addition. When one who is expected to behave well behaves ill, it is not unnatural that the world blames him more than it blames the habitual defaulter. This is not the wrong kind of double standard, but a compliment.

Apart from the illogicality and immorality of considering in iso-

DELUSIONS IN THE BUDGET

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

lation the safety of any particular nation, however important and great that nation may be, and even ignoring the indefeasible claims of the rest of the world and mankind in general, and reducing the boundary of consideration to the narrowest limits of purely American policy, it has been pointed out by more than one responsible American critic that the threat of retaliation in kind is not as effective an instrument of deterrence, as is commonly and too easily supposed. "If you hit me, I'll hit you back" is a policy based on the wholly unfounded presumption that the first blow will not be a knock-out. If it is thought that a well-publicised retaliatory readiness may insure safety through deterrence, the argument is based on the assumption of rationality of behaviour in the enemy. Nations do not always act rationally. It will finally lead to a policy of anticipatory attack. And this is the logical conclusion of this nuclear race. An anticipatory attack being thus the logical conclusion of all calculations, and a conclusion for Russia as well as for America, where shall we have arrived at? At Doomsday as prophesied by Simon Peter!

Oliver Dixwell Knauth has suggested what he thinks is a way out of the present inspection entanglement. He feels that the present American notions of security based on stock-piling is fallacious and proposes a neutral international nuclear force with its own inspection corps, in place of the present national deterrents to produce an adequate balance of terror. But what is the machinery to prevent sabotage and treachery among those humans who will constitute this dangerously armed new international body? A neutral can easily become a partisan at some stage. There is no course which ingenuity can discover other than completely outlawing these nuclear weapons and bravely trusting one another. The risk in that course is less than the risk involved in the present mechanism of balanced terror or any variation of it.

There are delusions both of fact and theory in the 1962-63 Budget largely because the Finance Minister is influenced more by politics than economics. The first delusion is that prices have been stable and are actually falling, totally forgetting the fact that the Government has just conceded a rise in dearness allowances only because of a ten-point rise in prices! Secondly, it overlooks the fact that retail prices in some areas have risen by as much as 20 per cent since the last budget from various causes, such as the budget itself, the catastrophic monsoon conditions, the change-over to metric weights and the interruption of transport consequent on the Goa action. A third factor—which is very important—is that there is an increasing gap between wholesale and retail prices of grain, which reduces the income of the agriculturists and increases the consumers' expenditure to the benefit of middlemen who take advantage of the ill-thought out policies of the Government. Fourthly, the price index has become out of date, as the expenditure pattern of the masses now includes many consumer goods like cigarettes, tea, vegetables—not to speak of higher rents and entertainment costs. Lastly, the statistics relating to two government departments, which the Prime Minister has found to differ, by 25 per cent, have become more misleading because of the frequent change of the basic years, and also because of the conversion into metric coins and weights. The common people, therefore, know the fact of high prices, whatever figures the Government may furnish.

Yet another delusion is that the Budget will increase savings. When the total annual expenditure of the Central Government is about Rs. 2,500 crores, of the States Rs. 1,500 crores and of municipalities Rs. 100 crores, that is about one-third of the national income, where is the margin of

saving left for the people? Taxation implies transfer of spending power from the people to the Government, but it does not represent saving unless the Government makes better use of it. It is enough to mention that the income from the debt of Rs. 4,500 crores since 1950-51 has been falling in respect of the Railways, Post and Telegraphs and industrial enterprises, the rise being only from the mint, on account of the Government taking credit from the difference in the token and real value of the coins! Not only this, but interest charges in the current Budget are Rs. 247 crores, for even which there is no matching income.

The Finance Minister claimed that the Budget would improve exports. He forgot that small concessions in the way of income-tax and provision for propaganda cannot make up for our prices being higher by 50 per cent of the world level. To the extent the new taxes raise the prices internally, there will be a further diversion to the internal market and a great reduction of demand in the external market.

Lastly, the Finance Minister claimed that the Budget made for 'social justice'. A basic factor which is overlooked, is that in an economy closed to foreign competition, all taxation, direct or indirect, is ultimately borne by the consumers, as producers cover it fully in their prices. The position is made worse by Government controls and permits, which assure monopolies of the worst kind in industry and trade.

The test of a good budget is that it increases production and reduces prices. The current Budget is aimed against production since not only is the Corporation tax raised to half the net profit but all industries, which are doing well, have been selected for new excise duties. Profits in industry mean simply that the

AN OMBUDSMAN FOR INDIA

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

When it is known that even England with all its traditions of good and free government, and of individual liberty, feels the need for an institution like that of the Ombudsman (Sweden), the suggestions of the Swatantra Party on the subject may receive more consideration than it has so far received from the powers that be. Late last year appeared *Occasion for Ombudsman* by T. E. Utley, a political writer of eminence. He quotes a number of instances like those of Mary Ford, an orphan child who was taken away from the care of her foster-parents and put by the Bath City Council into the Bristol City's Children Reception Home against the wishes of the foster-parents, of Mr. Herbert Bryant, an employee of a nationalized industry, who became a victim of mercury poisoning caused by his employment and was refused adequate compensation, of Mr. Dudley Glandfield, another victim of yet another nationalized industry, and a number of others in which subjects of the Crown were unjustly victimized by government depart-

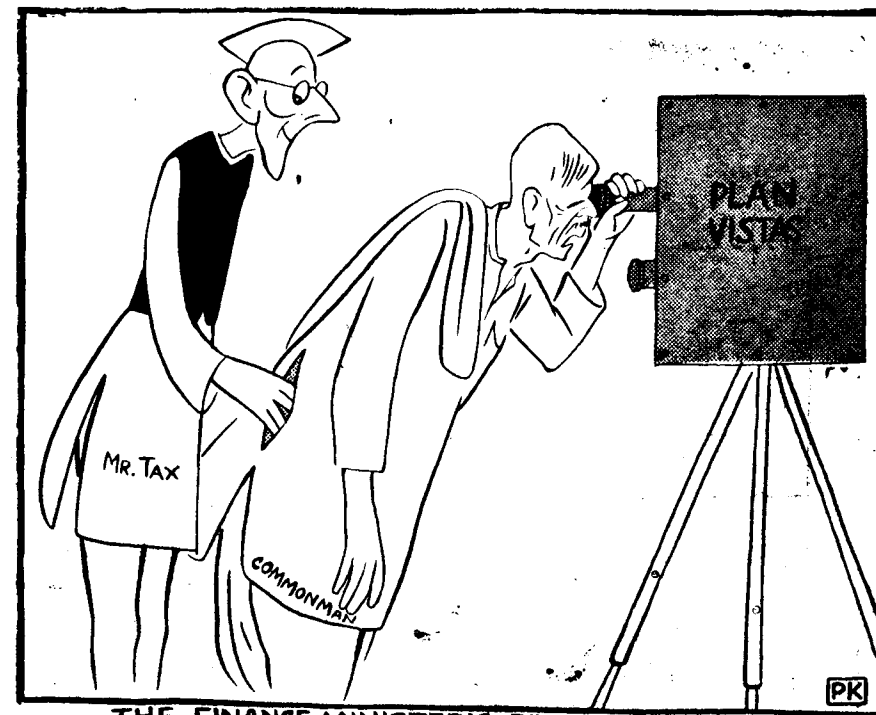
ments, and could not get adequate redress or had to resort to expensive law suits to get redress. Stressing these instances of injustice, Mr. Utley pleads for the establishment of some tribunal like that of the Ombudsman to safeguard the rights and liberties of the English citizens against the power of the Executive which, in the words of a House of Commons resolution of the 18th century against another power of the State, "has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished".

If in England with its traditions of the Rule of Law, its generally strong and alert Opposition, a watchful press and the ingrained respect for liberty, the need is felt for an institution like the Ombudsman, how much greater must the need be for one like it in India where the power of the State, that is, Government or the ministers is on the ascending scale and has nothing to check it except expensive law suits?

The Ombudsman that our author describes is the one he found

in Denmark, who is modelled on that of his prototype in Sweden. This officer was created by the Danish Constitution as "a parliamentary commissioner to supervise the civil and military administration of the State". His primary function is to examine the grievances of members of the public against the acts of government. He is appointed by Parliament after every general election and can be dismissed only by Parliament. But during his tenure of office his independence is secured by statute. Unlike a court of law the Ombudsman can take the initiative himself in investigating into any act of administration. He has to entertain complaints from individual citizens. Any such citizen may write to him about any grievance of his against any individual official or the Government. The Ombudsman has to examine the facts, and it is for him to decide what he should do about it, whether to take any action and, if so, what action. Usually he interviews the complainant and the official complained against, and makes further enquiries. In his investigation he has to be provided with all the relevant documents, except where secrecy is

supply is short, for which the solution is not more taxation but competition from more investment. Even though monopoly prices may still attract investment, the Budget will check the recent impulse for industrialization, particularly from those able to risk it, because the increased income-tax rates will make further additions to income a loss and not a gain. Also the Budget suffers from introduction of frequent changes in rates and methods of taxation, which gives unearned increments to those in the field already, discriminates against new entrants, and puts up the prices for the consumers. The Finance Minister said that he would not like to tax patience, but could he tax his own intelligence so that 'budget is for the people' and not for the Plan?



THE FINANCE MINISTER'S PEEP SHOW!

claimed in the interests of the State. Incidentally, it may be noted that no such exception has been claimed by the Government, so far, in Denmark.

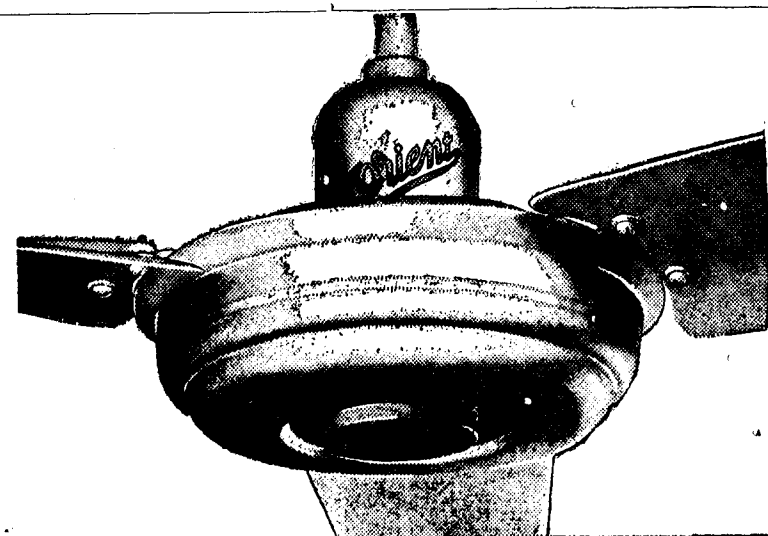
The Ombudsman, however, has no executive power. He can enquire and adjudge but he cannot

prosecute. He cannot nullify any administrative act as a court of law can; he cannot decree compensation or damages to any aggrieved party. He may recommend legal action being taken by Government through its public prosecutor or he may recommend the

complainant for legal aid for suits in a court of law. He is not concerned with breaches of law for which there are other ways of redress, but only with failure of officials to provide good government. The value of his findings consists in their publication. The Danish press gives wide publicity to his findings. Public opinion is the sanction for his judgments.

If the institution were to be introduced into India, it would have to be considerably modified in its constitution and scope. The Indian Ombudsman (he might be called Commissioner of the People) could not be elected by a mere majority in Parliament. If he is to be elected by Parliament it must be done unanimously—it must be an all-party election. It would be more in the Indian tradition to have him nominated by the President, who would nominate one as he does judges of the High Courts or the Supreme Court. Such Ombudsman would have the status and salary of a judge of the Supreme Court. To secure his independence he would hold his appointment for as long as a judge of the Supreme Court. As for his qualifications, although he should have had some legal learning, some administrative experience would also be necessary. To his jurisdiction would be subjected not only officials but ministers. And as is provided for in the Danish Constitution, he would have the right and duty *suq motu* to initiate enquiries and proceedings himself on the complaints of citizens and not wait for such to be initiated before him. Complainants need not be represented by lawyers. The procedure should be as simple as possible. Like judges in French courts the Commissioner could question and cross-examine complainants, accused and witnesses, and not leave this to be done by lawyers on either side.

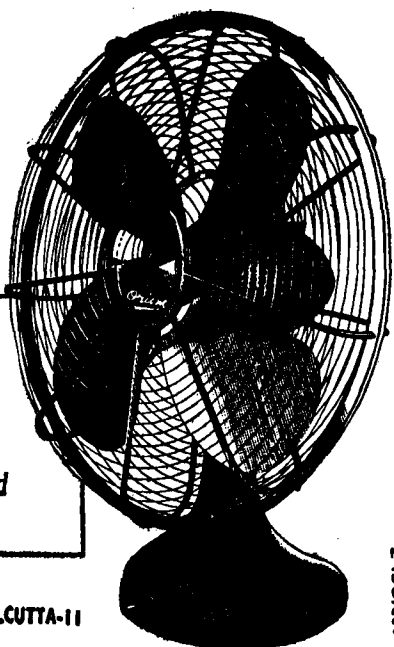
In view of the widespread complaints of corruption, partisanship and inefficiency of governments in India, the establishment of such an official is urgently called for.



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CURRENT EVENTS::

At the conference of Chief Justices in Bombay, where they celebrated the centenary of the High Court, they discussed the question of top-notch lawyers declining appointments even to the Supreme Court. Now that tenure on the Bench has been raised to the age of 62, they cannot complain that the career has been made less attractive; but another reason stated was the "inadequacy of salaries" offered to judges. Free India has had but a short run, and therefore our judges should not be in a hurry to draw comparisons with their compeers in England and America where the salaries of judges are reported to have been raised by 60 to 70 per cent. The posts they occupy should be esteemed by high luminaries of the law who administer justice as a reward of honour far beyond any valuation in terms of receipts. They have to live a sequestered type of austere life without the excitement of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha who, for instance, has been quoted as being better off, though we doubt if the statement is true. Leaders of the Bar command in very rare cases a larger income on a less steady basis, although there have been examples of really fabulous emoluments at the expense of the income-tax authorities. A good name, said Solomon, is more precious than riches. The Speaker of the House first makes his bow to the members, and then only are those present expected to respond. On the other hand, when a judge appears in the morning, the members of the Bar bend their heads and then only is it the turn of the judge to acknowledge.

In the prodigal distribution of the loaves and fishes of office after Congress success in the elections, there has been a high degree of promiscuous patronage for which there is hardly any precedent, certainly no justification. Governorships, speakerships, ministerships, envoyships, and the

like have been made interchangeable in the jumble as if to discredit the forecast that the new regime would appear as the austere image of the Prime Minister determined on transforming Indian democracy into a kind of socialism inhaling the stale breath of Soviet communism and planning economy. In the lucky-dip, Dr. Sampurnanand, who had misjudged his horoscope on resignation from the Chief Ministership of Uttar Pradesh, finds himself, after a few intervening vicissitudes, as Governor of Rajasthan. Without suggesting that he suffers from any disqualification for the job, the selection upsets the programme committed to him last September when the emotional integration movement had been launched.

The reasoning was that the country must be so re-educated and re-oriented in outlook that the Congress message should enliven the popular mind. An itinerant Commission led by Dr. Sampurnanand and including Smt. Indira Gandhi as a prominent member, was empanelled to traverse the country and study curricula in order to vitalise emotional integration among the young. They visited some State-capitals, but then the elections altered the scene. It cannot be said that even one-tenth of the plan to reverse "fissiparous tendencies" had been accomplished. After the election, Smt. Indira Gandhi went abroad on her lecturing tour and Dr. Sampurnanand was shunted on to the loop-line of his Rajasthan assignment. As the whole project of "emotional integration" had been laboured and factitious, one wonders how the future of the project is going to be moulded. It all depends.

In his recent annual speech on Banking, Mr. G. D. Birla spoke pessimistically about "targets" in Planning and commended sugges-

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tions for pruning. The Chairman of the Central Bank of India similarly surveyed prospects at the 51st annual general meeting of the share-holders when, on strict economic grounds, he pointed out the incongruity of production outstripping transport facilities in the country. "The Second Plan had sufficiently indicated," continued Sir Homi, "that the transport capacity was grossly inadequate for the needs of the country. The situation demanded drastic recasting of ideas with regard to targets of production and priorities. A position has now been reached in which not only the Plan estimates are likely to be confounded, but even the existing productive capacity in the country may be seriously affected."

It is not a case of fault-finding by a Swatantra leader on "ideology" when he illustrates the plight of the coal industry which calls for the realistic appreciation of bottle-necks in transport. Sir Homi was of the opinion that the capital expenditure and foreign exchange involved in the projected expansion, and the time required for developing new mines, had apparently not been given adequate consideration. He went on to point out that even if we could raise all the coal estimated in the Third Plan, the problem of transport would remain. P.J.

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Party Unanimity

There is in all parties, between the principal leaders in Parliament and the lowest followers out of doors, a middle sort of men, a sort of equestrian order, who by the spirit of that middle situation, are the fittest for preventing things from running to excess. But the irresolution and timidity of those who compose the middle order often prevent the effect of their controlling situation. The fear of differing with the authority of leaders on the one hand, and of contradicting the desires of the multitude on the other, induces them to give a careless and passive assent to measures in which they never were consulted; and thus things proceed, by a sort of activity of inertness, until those bodies, leaders, milder-men, and followers are all hurried, with every appearance and with many of the effects of unanimity, into schemes of politics, in the substance of which no two of them ever fully agreed. The sober part give their sanction, at first through inattention and levity; at last they give it through necessity. A violent spirit is raised, which the presiding minds after a time find it impossible to stop at their pleasure, to control, to regulate, or even to direct. This shows how quick and awakened all men ought to be, who are looked up to by the public, when dogmas are spread and projects pursued by which the foundations of society may be affected. Doctrines limited in their present application, and wide in their general principles, are never meant to be confined to what they at first pretend. —EDMUND BURKE



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IN MEMORIAM: KALYAN SINGH OF BHINAI

By GAYATRI DEVI

All efforts of frail human beings to seek consolation in the thought that death is inevitable, prove futile in assuaging the poignancy and grief caused by the passing away of near and dear ones.

The sudden and unexpected death of Raja Kalyan Singh of Bhinai is being deeply mourned by his numerous friends and admirers to whom he had endeared himself. To me personally, his death has been an irreparable loss, because he had very close ties with the Jaipur family and also because the Swatantra Party of Rajasthan owes everything to his initiative, drive and organizing capacity.

Kalyan Singh—as everybody who knew him or came in contact with him realizes—was a striking personality whose interests and accomplishments were many and varied. He possessed a very genial and jovial temperament, cultured manners and behaviour, transparent honesty and sincerity, and, above all, a very catholic outlook and nature which disarmed all opposition. He bore no illwill even against his political opponents, with whom he was able to maintain extremely cordial social relations. In this respect he could aptly be described as 'Nirvair' (that is, one who bears no enmity or has no enemies). He was munificent to a fault and was always ready to help the needy.

He was a keen sportsman, a connoisseur of arts and music, and a lover of books and reading, and evinced active interest in social, cultural and political activities. His personal library contains a very good collection of books on varied subjects and also some rare manuscripts. He was elected Vice-President of the All-India Music Conference held at Ajmer in 1936.

Soon after passing the post-diploma examination of the Ajmer Mayo College, he was formally recognized as the Raja of Bhinai, the premier Istimarari Thikana of erstwhile Ajmer-Merwara, which was under the management of the Court of Wards during his minority. The same year he married the Rajkumari of Sikar, and two years later visited England in connection with the Coronation Ceremonies of King George VI. On his return from Europe, he was drawn into public life.

He was a founder member of the All-India Kshatriya Mahasabha and worked earnestly to bring about unity and solidarity among the different Raj-

put and Kshatriya clans. He soon became a very popular figure in Ajmer-Merwara and also enjoyed great popularity among the princely circles not only in Rajasthan but throughout the country. In 1948, he organized the Gram Seva Dal whose aims and objects were very much similar to those of the recent Community Development programme. He was a nationalist to the core and was a staunch supporter of the Congress when it was engaged in the struggle for Freedom. But the subsequent lust for power among congressmen disillusioned him, and he joined the Jan Sangh under the leadership of the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji. He was elected in 1952 to the Legislative Assembly of the Part 'C' State of Ajmer on Jan Sangh ticket and formed the Progressive Party to fulfil the role of the Opposition.

During this period, his health became indifferent and, after his defeat in the general elections of 1957, he took very little part in politics, engrossing himself in his hobbies.

But the desire to serve the country kept burning in his heart with the result that he at once responded to the call of Mr. Rajagopalachari and came forward to organize the Swatantra Party of Rajasthan, as its first Conventor. Thenceforward he devoted all his time and energies to this task, ignoring all personal considerations of health and comfort. He threw himself heart and soul into the election campaign of the party, and it appears it is this strain that was responsible for hastening his end at the comparatively young age of 48 years.

Kalyan Singh belonged to the Rathor clan of Rajputs. He was born in October, 1913, at Sarana, an Istimarari Estate in Ajmer-Merwara and was adopted in his childhood by the then Raja of Bhinai, who was also victim of early death.

In the death of the late lamented Kalyan Singh, we have lost a friend who was really a man in the noblest sense. While living, he was the beloved of all and, after his death, he has joined the illustrious company of God's beloveds, because, as the saying goes, 'Those whom gods love, die young'.

He leaves behind his aged mother, widowed Rani, and three sons and four daughters, and a host of friends and admirers to mourn his loss. May his noble soul rest in peace and may God give solace to the members of his household.

OF PARROTS, PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

All the parrots are in chorus singing: "Socialism alone can root out poverty".

Will the parrots or their keepers explain what they mean by socialism? Never mind what name you give to your policy: What are the steps by which you will root out poverty? By putting more duties on goods to which the learned name of 'indirect taxes' is given? This is the socialism we have so far seen. By deficit financing and thereby pushing up the prices of all goods, chiefly those which the poor must buy? What else are you planning to do to "root out poverty"? Borrowing from abroad? Are you distributing the money so borrowed from abroad among the poor, either for immediate consumption or for investment in small business? Will you be able to get any money at all from abroad for such purposes? Of course not. Therefore are you not adding to the burden of the poor by borrowing from abroad?

I think I have exhausted all possible forms of 'socialism' in these questions. Except of course building castles in the air or offering living flats in the clouds!

Yes, socialists can tax the rich and spend it on the poor. But what is being got by taxing the rich is wasted on more and more salaries, and more and more buildings for putting the chairs and tables for these salaried men; and on officers to supervise over them, and more and more dearness allowances to all the officials to meet the rising cost of living. The rise in the cost of living produced by the activities and policies of the government does not affect only the

Central Government servants. It affects not only Government servants, Central and State, but every one of the teeming millions. Dearness allowance is given to the Central government officials but what about the huge population of poor people who hold no jobs in government, Central or State, or in big company offices, but who yet have to pay the higher prices for everything they need to buy? And on whom does the weight of these additional dearness allowances given to officials fall? On the poor who have to pay the indirect taxes levied to meet the extra expenditure.

People who are reputed to be honest and have all the information tell us that the pleasant process of taxing the rich is now over. This is admitted in the Government 'white' papers. There is no room for that game to be played further, except to throw dust in the eyes of the poor. So then, these parrots who shout 'socialism, socialism,' do not understand the words they have learnt only to sing.

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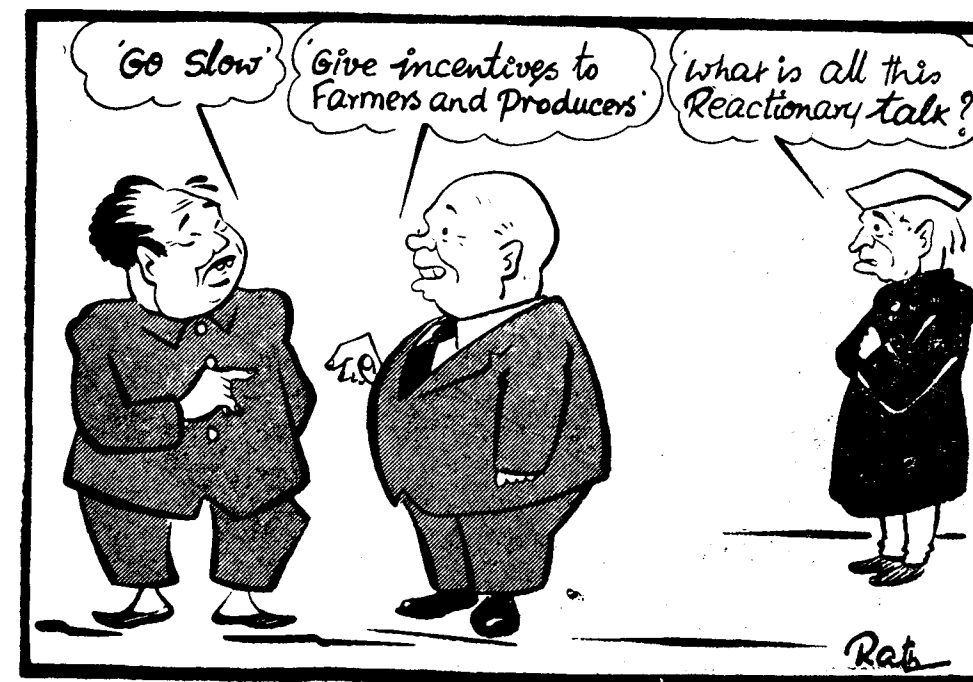
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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-10

"Was I a fool to buy you, my dear bird?" "No doubt about it" said the bird, as that was the only phrase taught to it, and to this question it was an apt answer. This is an old story. It is true about all parrots and about all slogans. It is unwise to elect people to power who can only play parrots.

Poverty can be rooted out only by labour and investment and the know-how of agricultural or other production. Work of any kind can be got out of free men only by adequate incentives. So also can



the other elements needed for production be brought into action only by adequate incentives. Without incentives but by compulsion, a certain amount of all these can be obtained, but there is a limit to it. The poor can think for themselves whether they

will work under compulsion and produce wealth. They would prefer freedom to any form of slavery.

So, dear parrots, your socialism is a word without meaning. What is wanted is wisdom, justice, compassion, honesty and efficient gov-

ernment. When we have set going more industries, and when more wealth issues out of it, then the question arises, what shall we do with it? Shall we use it for the increasing good of a few only or shall we use it fairly and wisely for the welfare of all? Of course, the latter Socialism has now no relevance in the correct sense of that much-used and little-understood word. Incentive for production is what is wanted, and what is now relevant. The people thirst for incentives as the land thirsts for rain in a drought. After production and national wealth reaches a level, then comes the stage for restrictions which may be given the name of socialism, if that ambiguous word is preferred. Premature practice of negative regimentation is the opposite of positive incentives and this is what aggravates poverty. No one objects to regimentation and positive steps for equitable distribution when the stage for it is reached. What is objected to is topsy-turvy socialism and the deceiving of gullible people for getting their votes in order to perpetuate bad government. Men should wake up from the delusion that the Government is a third party with its own resources. Government can spend only what we pay by way of taxes or by way of higher prices for the goods we buy when government prints notes to make both ends meet. Every fresh benefit we get from Government is paid for by fresh taxes taken from the people. So the only point for attention is for poor people not to be bamboozled by the slogans and shouts of the performer, and to see who is being taxed and how much. A 'negligible' tax is not negligible but heavy, when it falls on those who are poor. A heavy-looking tax is light if it falls on one who can easily pay it. The small additions indirectly levied on commodities to find money for the Plan make the life of the poor and the middle classes even more wretched than it is now. What brings this about is not socialism; it must be given some other name.

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NOTHING FOR NOTHING

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The Finance Minister consoled smokers with the assurance that though the levy on tobacco was raised by him for revenue purposes, prices would not be affected, but by the evening, bazaar-sellers saw to it that the well-intentioned objective was but paper-patronage! Player's "medium" Navy Cut cigarettes available in the morning at 90 nP became scarce at one rupee per packet of ten by 3 p.m. Wholesalers had not released a single fag for extravagant indulgence, so that any charge of sudden scarcity cannot be pleaded as excuse. Nor can it be said that human nature had deteriorated in a few hours. This little test of the incidence of budget-taxation is illustrative of actual burdens bound to ensue in any attempt to create money out of nothing. The law of the conservation of matter is as inescapable in fiscal operations as any legerdemain with the imaginary investment of capital.

Latterly, it has been the fashion to boost the claim that public sector undertakings could expand on their own impetus, unlike normal industries which entail the thrifty mobilization of private savings. The export-earnings of a manufacturing concern to Switzerland and Germany are said to be so ample that the government-firm could plough back profits as capital in order to re-finance another colossal enterprise with equally fast-going returns, so that a third programme could also appear spinning towards self-sufficiency. Presumably the fallacy is that the goods marketed, whether lathes or watches, are actually being sold at profiteering prices in markets sheltered on a co-operative basis of patent and privilege. In English pubs landlords at the counter give out the precious dictum that you cannot pour out a quart from a pint-pot.

Were the technique of superior efficiency so simple, how could it

warrant the actuarial finding that the dividends on outlays of Statism in two Plan-periods amount to 0.5 per cent? A number of ordinary people pooling their resources and paying full taxes cannot thus risk their valued savings. They are mostly subscribed in meagre lots, and the wares are exposed to automatic price-control in traditional markets with the result that they cannot dream of performing the exploit envisaged in the magic comparison. If such feats were possible, what India badly needs would be a housing plan in alliance with West German builders who cope with congestion on hygienic lines, and who have since the war demonstrated miracles of rebuilding, leaving no

quarters that could be described as slum-areas in the control of political *dadas*.

Neither in capital acquisition nor in proficient control can any nation dodge the economy of producing the needs of society, nor can equitable pricing be claimed when a common timekeeper rateable at Rs. 5 is vended at more than Rs. 100. The process cannot last long when quality is exposed to the normalcy of stuff being priced-out in the struggle of every nation to command export-surplus. Without the aid of extraordinary self-introspection, it can hence be readily seen that railway surcharges on travel and freight must react on the average citizen, though millions do not in a day scurry to the railway stations for putting through their usual business in their life. And no one can do without essentials.

UNITED ACTION BY OPPOSITION

In an article in SWARAJYA of the 24th February, Rajaji has made a very valuable suggestion to the leaders of two parties which he had to reckon with in the context of the recent elections. Time was when critics could have thought that these parties would, by natural processes, fade away due to inherent weaknesses in themselves, or by the assertion of pure reason, which however does not seem near.

Rajaji claims that the programme of the Swatantra Party assures all "other parties that they will lose nothing by a bold merger to enable a straight fight and decisive battle being given to the Congress Party which, through enormous power enjoyed too long, has become corrupted beyond recovery". As the one safeguard against party tyranny is the "reduction of the power of Government to the minimum", it is necessary to forge "a national United Front against the Leviathan Congress". So he desires the two parties—the Jan Sangh and the DMK to give up their particular "slants", the one against the non-Hindus on behalf of nationalism and the second, against the North on behalf of the interest of the people of the South. He has carefully avoided the words, "communal" and "regional", as they are words frequently spouted by the Supremo of the

Congress Party. This care in the choice of words implies a correction of a slant, however slight, in the attitude of the Swatantra Party also towards the other two parties. The content of what are known as "communal" and "regional" claims are recognized by implication in the interest of an United Front against a totalitarian regime. This orientation and the lead given by Rajaji must be welcomed.

Rajaji has offered a solution to the difficulty we face today. The solution is that a United Front of parties should be formed. In his own party, certain powerful sections are today unwilling to come anywhere near the Jan Sangh or the DMK. If Rajaji's solution were strengthened by a definite promise that steps will be taken to introduce "the single transferable vote or other effective means of securing proportional representation, so that true democracy can prevail," then perhaps, the call to unite for dislodging the Congress Party will be effectively heard. Otherwise, it might be construed as an invitation to other parties to lose themselves in one party. To that extent again democratic representation will fail to come about. So long as there is a fear that the ruling party will appease "religious minorities" and "communal

groups" and so long as there is a fear of discrimination against the South, the slants—legitimate—will remain.

Rajaji wants a 'National United Front' and his efforts are bent in that direction. May one hope that the view will be accepted by the DMK, even as his views in regard to that party's atti-

tude has changed it in matters of religion and is changing it in its relation to a local minority community?

The Jan Sangh claims that its doors are open to all citizens of Bharat who stand for the unity of the country and have no extra-territorial loyalties. It is for others to take the Jan Sangh at

its word and come in or stay out relying on that amount of proportional representation that may be secured for them. Otherwise neither coercion nor the flow of pure mind can be of much avail. Rajaji has given us much and we look up to him for even more.

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PROBLEMS OF FOOD PRODUCTION

By A. V. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

In no field have the characteristic complacency, inefficiency and the propagandist vanity of our rulers been more evident than in that of food production. In spite of about Rs. 2,000 crores having been spent on irrigation, fertilizers, and other facilities during the two Plan periods, the results, as admitted by the Prime Minister himself more than once, have not been commensurate with the labour and expenditure. The stark reality is that, despite assurances of hope, we are yet far away from the goal of self-sufficiency in the matter of food production. To throw the blame on population increase, and contend it is a valid extenuating circumstance for the present position, is to ignore realities.

Certain basic facts about food production have to be taken into account. The first is the admittedly notorious inaccuracy of agricultural statistics prepared from village registers. The figures relating to the extent of cultivation and crop yields are very rough 'guesstimates' by village officials and not effectively checked by the higher authorities, and their national importance is not realized. The margin of error may, therefore, be so considerable as to vitiate the conclusions based on such statistics.

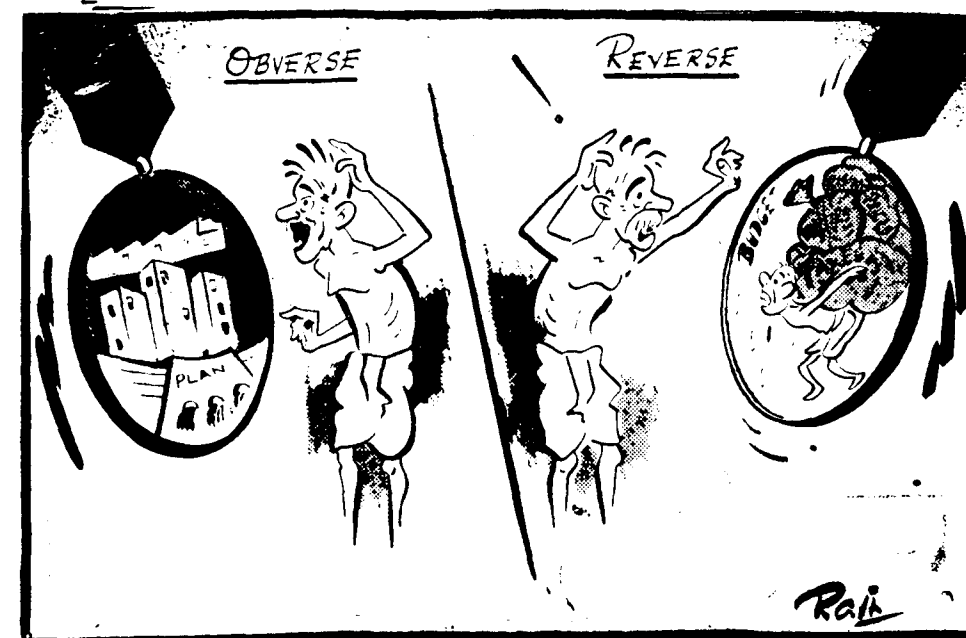
Next, almost all available cultivable area in the country has been brought under the plough and there is no likelihood of any substantial increase in the extent of cultivable land. So the increased production aimed at should be secured only through intensive cultivation by the use of right seeds and manure, and increased provision for irrigation, for which there is more scope. While the widespread use of chemical manures may yield some increase, there is no justification for the tall claims made for it. It is

well known that a too frequent, and excessive, use of chemical manures saps the soil of its natural productive richness. The use of chemical manures has its limitations. It increases the cost of production. The ryots should be made to mainly rely on organic and green manures and compost, the serious shortage of which has been the principal reason for the set-back in agricultural production, from which arises all symptoms of decadence in our rural life. The State effort to run seed-farms should aim at research to produce improved strains and supply them in limited quantities to ryots, who should be encouraged to develop self-reliance in raising their requirement of seeds, to avoid both the high cost of seeds and the risk of failure incidental to centralized State production.

Threshing of grain is often done on improvised floors close by the fields themselves, or on uneven grounds, either by beating the grain-stalks on the floor by labourers or by allowing herded cattle to trample on spread-out grain-stalks. This leads to wastage of grain, which will be considerable, from 3 to 5 per cent if not more. There is, there-

fore, the need for well-maintained and hard-surfaced threshing-floors, to avoid wastage during normal days, and much more on rainy days during the harvesting season. If concrete threshing-floors are provided free or on nominal hire, there would be much saving. These are even more important than the much talked of warehouses.

Lastly, all policies and reforms having the object of increasing food production should aim at reducing the cost of cultivation, which has become very high in recent years. Unless the cost of cultivation is reduced, it will be impossible to bring down food prices to the benefit of the consumers, the bulk of whom are too poor to afford the present prices. It is necessary that farmers should get an economic price for their food-grains, but this should be within the reach of the middle and poor classes who constitute about 80 per cent of the population. Subsidising food to the people, in the interests of the farmers, will be a financial impossibility in a poor country with a large population like India. Nor can the States entirely finance all agricultural operations, which will become necessary if land is in the hands of tillers and tenants who have no sufficient resources for effective cultivation. Present as-



FROM A NEW M.P. :

Quite half an hour before the arrival of the President the hall began to fill for the joint session of Parliament. The President entered the hall at 9-30 a.m., having driven to the House in the State coach with the usual accompanying pomp and ceremony. He looked tired. His speech embodied the intentions of the Government during the coming parliamentary year couched in vague, general and safe language. The manner of the delivery was not inspiring.

I attended a meeting of the Council of States. The Chairman, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has his own way of presiding. He does not rise from his chair when he addresses the House but speaks on from a professorial chair. He conducts the proceedings of the House as if it were a class—easy, friendly but firm and fair withal.

Question-hour is quite as lively in the Council as in the House of the People. Dr. Sushela Nayyar's replies to supplementaries showed competence, alertness, quickness and decision.

The new Minister of International Trade, who was answering for the Minister of Commerce and Industry, has knowledge of his subject and of his departmental activities, in and out, ready in his answers to supplementaries, and is self-possessed in spite of his youthful appearance. The Minister of Irrigation, Mr. Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim, shows signs of age, speaks low and indistinctly, and fumbles in answering supplementaries.

The Prime Minister looked weak and tired. A sore throat added to the gravity of his behaviour. Now and then, however, the old humorous smile would play about his lips—and that helpless shrug of the shoulder, when he had to face a particularly absurd question! Some members, forgetful of the state

distance through *taccavi*, co-operative and other loans touches but the fringe of the problem. So a go-slow policy in the matter of present land reform will be necessary, if food production were not to suffer. Hasty action in this field on merely political, party or ideological grounds is likely to lead to a catastrophe, making it impossible for the country to reach the ideal of self-sufficiency in food, within any measurable distance of time.

of his health, fired inconvenient supplementaries at him. Behind the Prime Minister sat the Defence Minister. Clad in *dhoti*, shirt and *angavastram*, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon sat serious and sombre. His manner of answering questions was easy, and gave the impression of an old governess answering questions put by inquisitive children. He too had a sore throat. The Finance Minister read his speech without looking at the audience. He has a pleasant, even voice, but the reading was monotonous, relieved only by peculiar pronunciations of such words as 'opportunity', 'emphasis', 'development'. He attempted humour when he said during the reading of his taxation proposals that the patience of the people should not be taxed! The socialist member rather unkindly suggested that he should have a Deputy Minister appointed to help him out.

It is curious that the Railway budget should take precedence of the President's address. In both Houses the defects and deficiencies of the Railway administration were pointed out, rather sharply. Most of the members who participated in the discussion on the Railway budget, in both the Houses, spoke from their individual experience of the congestion, the inconvenience and the discomfort, the poor and dirty catering now done departmentally, and made useful suggestions towards improvement.

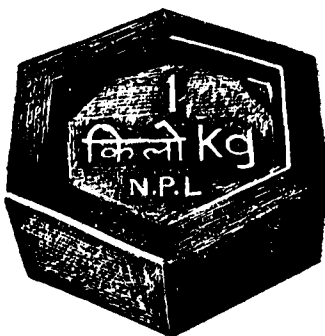
Mr. Swaran Singh is a Sikh, bearded, tall, slim and dapper in dress and appearance. He has a free and easy manner of speaking, though his command of English is not always sure. He spent a lot of time in justifying the increase in passenger fare and goods freight. He left himself no time to deal with the criticism of the members about the defect and deficiencies of the Railway administration, except to assure the House that a balanced review would be taken of all the suggestions made.

New Delhi is not all Parliament. The engagement columns of Delhi newspapers give a long list of functions of the day. I attended one such function at the International House, to hear Mr. Gordon Bryce. He spoke on the subject of encouraging people of different countries to live for some period in the families of countries other than their own, as members of the families.

This meeting brought me into touch with one of the great institutions of New Delhi. Financed by American philanthropic foundations and the Government of India, it is a large, rambling but impressive building with

residential rooms for about 50 scholars doing research work on Indian and international subjects with reading rooms, dining-rooms, common rooms, lecture halls and so forth. It holds promise and has the good fortune to have Mr. C. D. Deshmukh as the President of the Committee.

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Dear Reader

Returning from Dehra Dun Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru gave a long talk to his partymen. It is amazing that he devoted so much time to party successes when the nuclear bombs were being exploded in the Pacific in utter disregard of all his protests. The deliberate poisoning of the world atmosphere, an American Nobel Laureate picketing the White House, and Bertrand Russell issuing anguished letters to India's leader and Prime Minister, should have left in him little mood for fiddling his hackneyed tunes.

★

A man lost to alcohol takes to beating his wife and children. It is "inevitable", as the lobby commentators on the Budget say. If he beats not only his children and their mother, but also beats his own mother and thus distributes his alcoholic activities evenly, then as some lobby commentators have observed, he strikes 'a just balance'. The cost of living for the poor and for the middle classes will be higher as a result of this Budget. The punishment inflicted on the rich is an eye-wash, a make-believe of following the slogans on which the Government is floating. The Budget lays a greatly increased load on the shoulders of those who are already weighed down by high prices. 'Inevitable' is a word that may be applicable to the inescapable consequences of a wrong policy and course of action to which the Government has committed itself. In that sense, these indirect additions to the price of commodities which the poorer classes must buy are inevitable. They are the inescapable result of the blind votes given to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the result of voting for an inevitable Prime Minister and the desire to be on the 'winning side'. The new levies are not inevitable for progress, but are the necessary consequences of the wrong road taken. Mr.

Nehru has become a fanatic. His refusal to see what distress he is causing is dangerous.

The electors cannot complain of want of notice. The Government itself gave enough notice in its ponderous volumes and the Swatantra Party had also issued repeated warnings of what must follow support given to the grandiose Plans of expenditure. Sanction for expenditure means taxation. We cannot escape this, although a Plan-hypnotized and unsophisticated electorate may not have realized it. It could have been avoided only by denying approval to the Plans. And how much of these seventy-two crores of rupees to be squeezed this year from the poor and the middle classes (the Rs. 27 crores marked for contributions by the wealthy will be surely, though indirectly, transferred to the shoulders of the consumers), how much of this sum will be spent properly and carefully, and how much will be handled carelessly and allowed to go to waste can be estimated on the basis of experience and the law of averages relating to public management. Over and above the added levies, we have also to face the inflationary consequences of deficit financing to the tune of nearly Rs. 90 crores.

★

People and the press talk of the powerful Congress organization, attributing its successes to the excellence of the organization. The power of the Congress Party is not due to any such organizational perfection (in fact, it is rotten), but is an indirect corollary of the power of office held by the party leaders and nothing more. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy has no real ground for complaining about the Congress committee officials not enjoying status. If he refers to their own internal feeling, it must vary with

their own deserts, their adherence to moral and social virtues and the impression they, therefore, make on others. This cannot be got to order. If he refers, on the other hand, to status as an external something that outsiders and the public give them by way of respect and obedience, it is unreasonable for the officials of a particular political party to expect such recognition. The people are right in according a certain status to ministers and permanent officials of Government but they cannot be expected to give it to Congress committee officials. If they give it, it must be attributed to the unhealthy influence that these officials exert on the day-to-day administration and not to any proper social obligation.

★

Nine eminent Americans have contributed articles to the *New Leader* on the apparent schism between Moscow and Peking. The questions are whether the rupture is real and significant and if it is of any use to non-communists. On the whole, the inclination is to hold that there is a real break between them but that it can have little implication for the West. Most of the contributors hold that the doctrinaire assumption of the international solidarity of communist societies has broken down and individual nations have begun to reassert national interests. The Soviet Union has attained a degree of power and prestige which makes it believe in the ultimate triumph of communism throughout the world through peaceful means. But China cannot believe it. The co-existence slogan of the Soviet Union leader is not acceptable to Mao. Khrushchov does not now want international tension to be maintained, but Mao wants it. Most commentators agree in this, that today power and not ideology makes the difference between one communist centre and the other. Apart from all this high stuff, one commentator points out and emphasizes a warning.

May 5, 1962

Once a totalitarian State has been set up, even a formal political break does not destroy the institutional affinity between the ruling class in the State and the bureaucracies of orthodox communist countries.

★

About cancer and cigarettes again, the following is an extract taken from the *New York Times* (International Edition, April 18, 1962):

In June 1957, the American Cancer Society released a report, based on studies of 800,000 men, which it said "demonstrates beyond a reasonable doubt that cigarette smoking is the major cause of lung cancer in the United States". A month ago Britain's Royal College of Physicians released a report on the relationship between lung cancer and smoking. The report urged restrictions on tobacco advertising and the sale of tobacco to children, higher taxes on cigarettes and a campaign to educate the public to the hazards of smoking. Last week the British Government launched an educational campaign, circulating 400,000 posters that called attention to the dangers of smoking. The British report had repercussions elsewhere (in Italy and Denmark).

★

Mr. N. C. Zamindar has been writing vigorous comments to the columns of newspapers about the Madhya Pradesh situation. Here is what he has written to me:

Congress may be believing in prohibition of liquor but it is dead drunk with power. Though a political oppo-

nent, I was an admirer of Dr. Katju's virtues and sobriety but Narsinggarh bye-election is forcing me to revise my opinions about the old veteran. The Congress has now sunk to such level that it has to take a Maharaja's help in a most shameless way to get Dr. Katju elected in the political madhouse of Mad(hya) Pradesh. The ex-ruler who had forged an alliance with Jan Sangh and routed the Congress is for all practical purposes in charge of the election campaign on behalf of Dr. Katju. The *M. P. Chronicle*, a Congress organ of Bhopal, says:

"Big posters printed in red ink and bearing a big portrait of the Maharaja, in royal robes, is being distributed all over the constituency. Significantly the name of the Congress has been scrupulously omitted from the posters."

★

The Editor has received a disturbing letter for publication. During the recent famine at Idindakari and other coastal villages in Tirunelveli district, the Christian fishermen, who largely constitute the population, through their parish priest made representations to a leading congressman of the district urging him to use his good offices in obtaining relief from the district authorities.

This gentleman while promising to move the authorities to render necessary succour, took advantage of the occasion to rub it home that inasmuch as the fishermen population had not voted for the Congress candidates at the general elections in February last, and the parish priest himself along with other leaders of the fishermen had worked against the Congress at the time, it was not proper for them to seek any famine relief from the Congress Government against which they had worked. He suggested that the parish priest himself should advise the fishermen

'as men of principle' not to stoop to ask for any favour from a Government which they had voted against. Leaders of the ruling party ought to be better instructed in the science and art of parliamentary democracy.

This is a most extraordinary attitude to take and it is hoped the view of this local Congress boss is not shared by other responsible congressmen.

★

A friend writes from Poona what I was much moved to read:

"This is from an obscure and remote follower of Gandhiji, who is now living only for his peace of mind. I read your 'testamentary advice' in today's *Free Press*, and have been closely following your great and heroic efforts to strike a balance and stability in Bharat's hectic march forward. It is only a man like you who can afford to be unpopular with India's Man of Destiny, and dare to say and do what you have been doing for the last two years. All honour to your clear intelligence and great selfless courage. I had resisted giving expression to my thoughts, as I know that I am now a back-number and do not want anything to come between myself and the search for my God. But I was moved by the word 'testamentary'. May you live as long as Bharat wants you, as it does sorely today. Jawaharlal is a very good man, but he is mesmerised by his own world popularity and the great socialistic thought of his youth. He thinks that he can correct the mistakes of lesser men and ride safely over the storm caused by the mad devil-dance of uncontrolled, self-centred intelligence. May God awaken him in time, before the forces of *rajas* and *tamas* fully over-power the *sattwa* in humanity. Excuse me for taking your valuable time."

C.R.

May 5, 1962

'PLANNING' AND AGRICULTURE

By K. N. SRIVATSAN

Monsoons would as ever continue to decide the fate of our crops for foreseeable future. Rains and their adequacy being unpredictable, it would be just no more than an astrological guessing to forecast a bumper crop for even the current season, let alone five years hence. Our planners, however, fix "targets" for food-grains to be reaped after five years! If there is a bumper crop, planners would claim credit for their arithmetic; but if crops fail, monsoons are always there to blame. This is the old game of astrology played by the modern know-alls at Delhi with 'scientific' rules for prediction.

They say: "The production of food-grains would be stepped up from 76 to 100 million tons during the Third Plan." Can we be sure about these figures? It would be instructive to note that the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Sample Survey Organization gave respectively about 73 and 89 million tons as the amount of grains harvested during 1958-59. Both these official agencies based their estimates on sample surveys of yield conducted by them in only a few thousand tiny plots measuring no more than a cent of acre each. Without going into the statistical wrangling regarding the choice of one of the two figures, it can be stated that these data are most unreliable. This fact would be crystal-clear by the following reasoning. We seem to have "just enough" food supply as we are neither exporting food-grains nor starving to death. What do we mean by "just enough" supply? If there are no food-riots or deaths from famine, an average person (age-sex-differentials being ignored) in the tropical countries may be deemed to consume 'just enough' food if his diet includes food-grains amounting to anywhere between 15 to 25 ounces per day.

On this basis, we can reasonably conclude that our country with 440 million people would seem to remain unruffled if the food-supply be between 66 and 110 m. tons. If we allow for imports and wastages, the indigenous food production in recent years has, probably, been somewhere between 60 and 100 million tons. Hence it is no wonder that two government agencies give two widely varying estimates of food-production during the same year, as stated earlier. Thus when the actual level of food production for the base-year (or, for that matter, any year) is itself not certain, it is mean-

ingless to fix imaginary targets for food-grains, which, at any rate, cannot be verified for facts. Again, in view of heavy annual imports of food-grains from the USA and other countries, official data on food-production at home should reasonably stand suspect. In short, monsoons and official data on food-production being what they are, we have to look elsewhere if we want to assess the impact of Planning on agriculture.

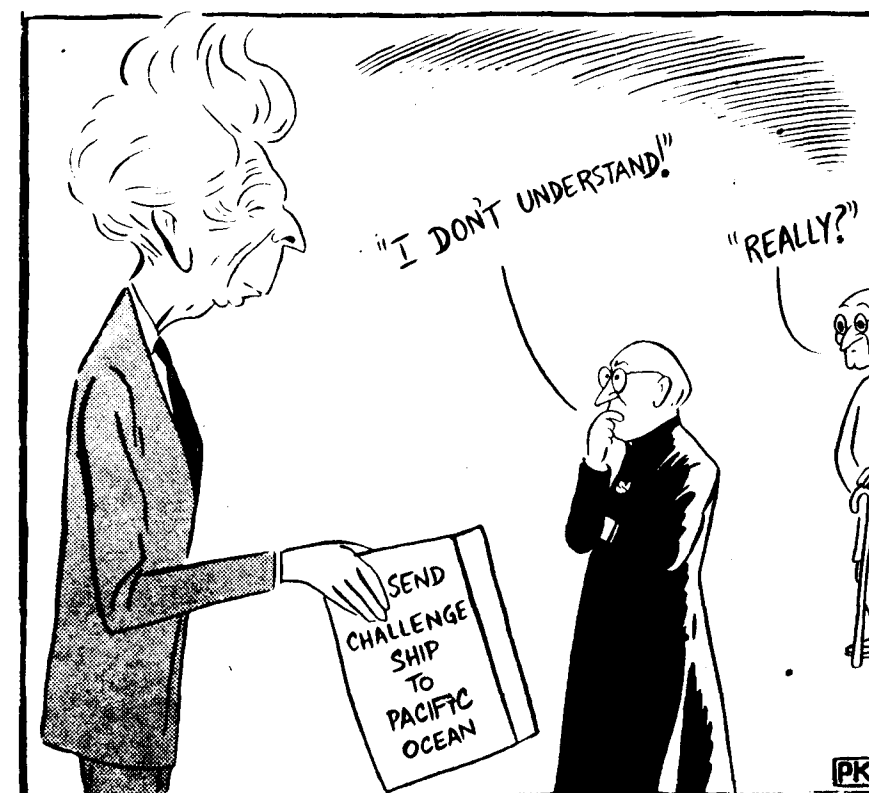
The 'planned' decade witnessed the expenditure of a little over Rs. 1,550 crores in the name of agriculture, irrigation and community development by the government. The money was spent mainly under three activities (i) irrigation projects, (ii) distribution of fertilizers, good seeds, insecticides, etc. to farmers through the Development-bureaucracy, and (iii) advices and lectures on "scientific agricultural practices" to farmers by hastily-trained, inexperienced *gram sevaks*. Let us examine them critically.

Irrigation projects claimed nearly half of the total outlay, i.e., Rs. 800 crores. Addressing the Afro-Asian Institute at New Delhi recently, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis has pointed out that the construction-activity claims 50 per cent of the total investment in the advanced countries of the West and

the East, while the corresponding percentage for India is 70 per cent, meaning thereby that 20 per cent of the investment-money goes waste in India to feed inefficiency and graft. Since the irrigation projects are mainly construction-intensive, we can safely put 25 per cent of the expenditure (or Rs. 200 crores) on irrigation as wasteful expenditure. This sort of wastage cannot be minimized by our present rulers, whose moral stature regarding financial rectitude is no better than the generality of the civil servants and contractors, because our rulers do not ever feel ashamed of extorting colossal black-money for election-winning, by using their privileged public career.

So far as the second official activity, that is, distributing good seeds, fertilizers, etc. through the Development officials is concerned, it is common knowledge that the scarcity of these materials and the heavy demands from the cultivators is not adjusted by the free-market but by the Permit-Licence system with the political patronage that goes with it.

The last activity of teaching agriculture to farmers, which is euphemistically called "Community Development" is the result of an erroneous view of our rulers about agriculture. The pen-pushers at New Delhi seem to think that farmers do not know sufficiently about their avocation and that 'a little education' imparted to them through



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AFTER CONGRESS, WHAT?

By B. R. KUMAR

Paradoxical as it may appear, the recent general elections, in which the Congress Party has once again come back to power in all the States and at the Centre, have once more underlined the fact that, so far as its fundamental purpose was concerned, the Congress has miserably failed the country, and unless some other political party steps in to replace it in the immediate future, the experiment in parliamentary democracy, which we undertook to work 16 years ago, may well end up in a dictatorship, as in the case of our neighbours—justifying as it were Shaw's jibe that a dictator has to clear up the mess which democracy makes! It is only on such an assumption that one could justify the advice of Mr. J. P. Narayan to Pandit Nehru, that in the interests of the country, as apart from those of his party, it is necessary that the Prime Minister should step down from his office, and attempt from without to stem the rot that has set in the country, since he has not been able to do anything from within during all these years. Mr. Narayan evidently fears that unless matters are set right by Panditji himself during his lifetime, it will be too late to mend matters later.

Let us now examine in what way the Congress has failed the country and brought it to such a desperate pass, that Panditji, who has been its heart and soul, should have now been exhorted to strive to give a new orientation to our politics from *without*. What can be wrong with a party which has formulated the various Five-Year Plans and put up colossal industrial plants all over the country, a party which has

raised astronomical loans from all over the world and raised astronomical taxes from within the country, a party which has opened thousands of schools and hospitals and put up gigantic government offices, and established embassies in practically every part of the world, besides expanding government services to an unheard of extent, and nationalized trade and insurance, and has promised a 'Welfare State' within a few years—a party that has been returned for the third time, in succession to power with a thumping majority? Has it not rather more than fulfilled all the hopes that it had raised in our hearts in the pre-Independence days?

The answer is simple. In nature and in human economy, every organ has its main function, and its performance and justification is valued only to the extent that it fulfils that function efficiently. A razor blade is meant to shave, and we judge it on that performance—not whether it can sharpen a pencil well, or even better than a knife. The axe may be an excellent tool for felling a tree, but useless for sawing it into planks for furniture. The makers of our Republican Constitution envisaged for us a parliamentary form of democracy, and entrusted the implementation of their intentions to the Congress Party. The performance of the party since it took over the political trusteeship of the country, has to be judged from this standpoint, not by the success of its Plans or its foreign loans or its supposed high status in the international sphere. And J. P. but voices the general view, that from this

paid officials to 'guide' them. The event of prices of food-grains rising faster than the prices of urban consumer goods can always be met with the help of buffer stocks which can be used to check-mate any abrupt rise or fall in prices of farm-produce in relation to non-farm goods. The balance between agriculture and other pursuits can be held even only by a free market and minimum official regulation of that market for the purpose of preventing any violent fluctuation in prices. This alone can promote agriculture in harmony with other sectors, and not the herding of cultivators into 'co-operatives' and coercing them to accept, in group, obnoxiously low prices for their produce as they do in "socialist" countries.

standpoint the Congress has failed us miserably.

The establishment of a democratic parliamentary form of government on a firm and enduring basis was the main function of the Congress; all else was subordinate. Gandhiji seems to have foreseen with prescience that the Congress Party was unfit for this new task, and hence on the achievement of Independence he suggested its dissolution. His advice was rejected, and the Congress under Pandit Nehru took upon itself to implement the objectives of the Constitution of which he and his party were the chief architects. It was, therefore, assumed that in spite of Gandhiji's fears all would be well.

But events during the last 16 years have shown that Gandhiji's fears were well-founded, and whatever else the Congress may have done to carry out the objectives of the Constitution, in this vital respect it has woefully failed.

For, the first requisite of parliamentary democratic system is the establishment of a strong Opposition, strong enough not only to act as a brake, but also as a corrective to the exercise by the ruling party of the executive and legislative powers of the State. It was the moral and, perhaps, even the legal duty of the Congress to help the growth of a strong Opposition, as without it the whole system becomes a facade and a fraud. Kings become tyrants not because they are more wicked than their subjects, but because power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. It was presumed that Congressmen and Pandit Nehru, who for half a century stood for the Liberal tradition of the British kind, would do all that was possible to nourish that tradition. The tragedy of the last 16 years has been that these hopes have been belied.

In addition to the existence of a strong Opposition, democratic politics vests on two other assumptions. The first is the independence of the Judiciary. In this respect, again, the Congress Party has failed to uphold the supremacy of the judiciary by the way amendments to the Constitution were made taking away many things from its purview. Our judges have not only been censured by our Prime Minister of all people, but they have been brow-beaten even by our Governors as in Bombay and our legislatures as in Madras—not to mention the demoralising effect of being offered appointments after their retirement.

(Continued on page 19)



A Crowing Chanticleer

Not long ago the Prime Minister said that Ambassadors do not usually make speeches (they lie abroad for their country's good)—but India would make an exception in the case of Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith whose speeches are stimulating, especially when announcements about aids and grants are addressed direct to the beneficiaries. The USIS has put out a report from Kerala beginning as follows:

Trivandrum, April 11—Following is the text of the speech delivered by US Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith here today while announcing American loans totalling Rs. 25 crores to finance the entire anticipated cost of the Pamba-Kakki (Sabarigiri) hydro-electric project:

"Mr. Chief Minister, Members of the Government of Kerala, Ladies and Gentlemen—

"Few things since my arrival in India a year ago have given me as much pleasure as the announcement of the approval of US financing for the Pamba-Kakki hydro-electric project. I happily make that announcement today."

The new Cabinet Minister Jagjivan Ram replacing Governor Subbarayan would have been delighted to give the 'Good News from Ghent', but it was swearing day. Ambassador Galbraith told the people of Kerala how he had studied the problem in detail so that the relief offered "is of the very first importance not only for the State of Kerala but for all India". Cabinet Minister (Oil and Fuel) Malaviya, on the other hand, proclaims the discovery of oil-sites himself without letting the Russian Ambassador or the Rumanian Ambassador announce how crude-oil research conducted by their experts had made discoveries rich with immense tonnage of petroleum-products. Whatever critics

like D.F.K. might say about any pre-arranged gush of oil to mark the ceremony of the Prime Minister pushing the button, there can be no denying that our Soviet-engineers should be as proud about the oil-wells at Cambay as of the Steel-mills at Bhilai. The Minister in charge has still first rights of publication by word or print.

Sastroamidjojo is not standing for the UNO presidency when the Chair is vacated by M. Mongi Slim of Tunisia. We are told that the job is in the gift of the Afro-Asian Powers, but China is not eligible since no one is sponsoring China's entry this year, India having totally renounced her annual ritual because of "misbehaviour" in the Himalayan border, the penalty of isolation having been long foretold by Mr. Krishna Menon, who resented the stab-in-the-back when India's eyes had been roaming in the direction of the Kanyakumari and the liberation of equatorial nations.

The American investment in the Bokaro plant would exceed Rs. 350 crores, string-free, thanks to Ambassador Galbraith's intercession in Washington. The plan may take more than ten years to complete, but meanwhile the Planning Commission is confident of India attaining the stage of self-regeneration, frequently stumbling over the treasure-trove-reserves of India.

When the Governor of Madras addressed the House, MLAs of the DMK party refused to attend, since as a party they did not want any Governor in Tamil Nad but all the same they would step in to discuss thanks to His Excel-

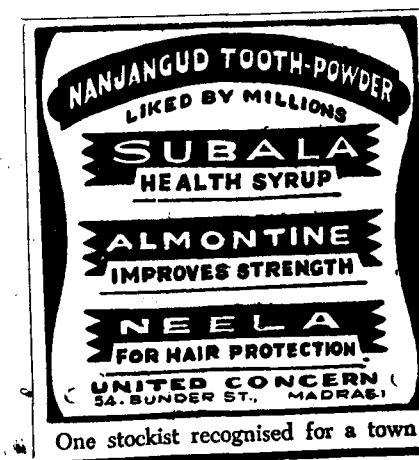
lency. It takes after the pattern of; neutralism, maintaining non-alignment and at the same time being grateful for the good things of life. There are however different types of demonstration:

- (a) Non-attendance
- (b) Walk-out
- (c) Boo-Boo
- (d) Stamping on the Governor's speech in indignation which Mr. Gopala Gowda did in the Mysore State Assembly.

A permanent choice conforming to India's proud tradition of civility should eventually emerge after trial and error but the name of Gopala Gowda for so unique a performance will never be forgotten even if the Speaker passes expunging orders.

In the House of Commons there was once an ill-tempered MP named James MacNeill who achieved immortality by throwing a blue book at Winston Churchill's head. Churchill ducked and then raising his head made a deep bow at MacNeill for having made an ass of himself.

A Financial Expert observes that Mr. Morarji Desai in producing another budget will have to start from scratch. Anyway after a brief misunderstanding, Mr. Manubhai Shah has returned to the task of International Trade on meeting the Prime Minister in turn, the total result being mutual back-scratching in a three-legged race of the Gujarat pair. P.J.



INDO-NEPAL RELATIONS

By SANJAYA

NEW DELHI: Perhaps the crucial part of the Nehru-Mahendra joint communique issued last Monday, on the conclusion of the Nepal King's five-day visit to this country, is its reference to India's stake in Nepal's stability and independence. Our Prime Minister has assured King Mahendra, according to the communique, that the Government and the people of India were vitally interested in the stability and prosperity of Nepal "as a strong and prosperous Nepal was vital to the security and prosperity of India". The two leaders were agreed, it adds with some force, that "both India and Nepal have a vital interest in each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity".

This marks the beginnings of a sensible policy. Patently, we would seem to have hitherto been more concerned over the discontinuance of democratic forms of administration in this Himalayan kingdom than over the danger that continuing instability there might pose to our country's security. Our anxiety in the cause of democracy still remains. For even while offering this country's wholehearted support to the Nepal King's plans for economic and social development in his country, our P.M. has felt it necessary to tell him that "it was important to give the people a sense of participation in activities connected with the country's development". This evangelism has now been given second place and the more urgent, more mature considerations of this country's security, takes priority in the communique. One can therefore look forward to a realistic policy in relation to Nepal—a policy that would seek to ensure that this moun-

tain kingdom remains the buffer that it should be between India and China.

As a corollary to this new outlook, the seeming ambivalence of our attitude towards the Nepalese "rebels"—which has been at the root of the current needless misunderstandings between India and Nepal—is now to be ended. The King has been categorically assured that "while freedom of expression was permitted in India, the Government of India was against all violent or unlawful activities of any sort". "Acts of lawlessness and violence were to be deplored". In the course of talks with the King personally our Prime Minister is reported to have offered a more concrete undertaking that the rebels would not be allowed to organize, from Indian soil, violent activity of any kind against Nepal; that the Government of India would take appropriate steps "within the laws of the land" against them. In other words, short of extradition to Nepal of the rebel leaders, everything else would be done to curb their activity.

King Mahendra has returned to his country a happier, more relaxed, man than when he came here. His visit had started on an unhappy note with the calculated publication of a long and acrimonious document charging India with violation of her international obligations, through her "allowing" the use of Indian territory by the rebels to send "hostile expeditions" to Nepal. The King's first two speeches were in the same strain. At the end of the visit, however, as he himself expressed at a press conference, "all misunderstandings had been cleared". His visit, he added with obvious satisfaction, had been fruitful.

By "misunderstandings", the King apparently meant only those that had existed on his side. There were "misunderstandings" on India's side too; for one thing, over the proposed Kathmandu-Lhasa highway, which the Chinese are to lay for Nepal under the recent Sino-Nepalese agreement. Answering questions on this at his press conference, the King said with some impatience that this was his country's "internal matter" and one about which India would not consider questioning Nepal. This implies, on the face of it, a reluctance to accept India's interest in the strategic potential of the highway. Perhaps another interpretation can be obtained from the King's subsequent eloquent remark that the 1950 treaty of friendship between India and Nepal still "works".

Misgivings entertained in this country over the construction of the highway stem from the belief that Peking's agreement with Nepal in this regard was surely not conceived for reasons other than political. In Nepal itself many are said to fear that completion of the highway would expose the small kingdom to pressures which it could hardly withstand, that it would be a grave security hazard. There were, again, serious strategic risks involved in allowing Chinese engineers to undertake survey work in Nepal. India's concern derives also from the fact that the road will ultimately prove to be a free supply route to Lhasa for goods—strategic and other—which the Chinese garrisons in the Tibetan capital sorely need. However it is gathered that the seriousness, from India's perspective, of this proposal has been adequately impressed upon him. A joint meeting between top-level officials of the Indian and Nepalese Governments is scheduled to be held shortly to thrash out the varied implications of the highway. This is said to be in accordance with the provision in the Nehru-Mahendra communique for "consultations between the two countries on appropriate measures of mutual assistance at the request of either party".

Coming to Cabinet matters, the only candid comment I have seen or heard on the composition of the Central Cabinet is in the signed weekly column of the Editor of the *Hindustan Times*. He wrote last week that the reason for the absence of the expected 'shake-up' in the Cabinet was not, as is generally supposed, the P.M.'s illness during the critical days of its formation, nor even, as many assert, T.T.K.'s "defection". The reason, he said, could only be the "poverty of proved worth" among the men in the ruling party.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

NATIONALIZATION OF TEXT-BOOKS

Sir,—Rajaji's comments on nationalization of text-books (in SWARAJYA of 21-4-62) deserve as careful attention as are most of his public utterances. Indoctrination apart, nationalization of text-books in the neighbouring States of Andhra and Mysore has proved to be far from satisfactory from every point of view—educational, political, financial and managerial.

The Andhra Government has set up a printing press for text-books and is distributing the books through municipalities, zilla parishads, and panchayat samitis. There are pupils who even at the fag-end of the year could not buy text-books as they were non-available. The profits the Government has declared are not commensurate with the investment. The books are at least 50 per cent, and in some cases 100 per cent, more expensive than the books which the private publishers had hitherto been bringing out. The poorer among the parents are obliged to go to nearby towns, five to six miles distant from their villages, and sometimes more than once, for buying a copy of a text-book. The scheme is beneficial neither to the parent nor to the pupil, much less to the community and the Government generally.

The Madras Government will do well to profit by the experience of the An-

dhra Government. It is time the Union Government gave a directive for observing a uniform policy throughout the country in this regard.
 Masulipatam B. NARASIMHA RAO

GOKHALE INSTITUTE'S PAMPHLETS

Sir,—I have one or two observations to make arising from S.R.'s good review of the Public Affairs Pamphlets of the Gokhale Institute of Bangalore published in your weekly of April 14.

In regard to the centralization of food policies, the food prices pamphlets suggest the investing of power in a Central Council and not (except in name and form) in the Central Government. There is at present diffusion of responsibility. S.R. will kindly note the suggestion about the need for amending the Constitution (page 4 of the Report, Part II). Even if the responsibility is vested in the several State governments, it is obvious that they would not be able to act for the simple reason that, first, they have not the necessary power, and, secondly, they cannot control one another.

The States cannot be self-sufficient and they would all need help from outside, at one time or another and in one form or another. Even the opposition to centralization should not be an un-

In view of the size of the journal, letters addressed to SWARAJYA should not exceed 300 words. Correspondents are requested to give their addresses, though not for publication.

thinking one. Centralization is most necessary in certain matters, for example, the defence of the country. The real question is whether the centralization is on the bureaucratic side or on the public representation side. If it is on the latter side, there cannot be much objection to it, particularly in a matter of all-India resources and all-India regulation.
 Bangalore D. V. GUNDAPPA

HIS 'ISM'

Sir,—Apropos of the 'ism' of Mr. A. Madhava Warier (Swarajya, 14th April 1962) "individuals in society should work in unison with one another." This is co-operation but to live in unison with one another is community—that which is beyond both "socialism" and "communism". The termination of "ism" merely signifies going towards a desired goal—there is nothing definite about 'isms' and it really does not matter whether we call ourselves socialists or communists, but it does very much matter whether we believe in communities trying to live in unison with one another.
 Kangra Valley, Punjab. NORAH RICHARDS

AFTER CONGRESS ... (CONTD.)

Finally, democracy assumes the fundamental safeguard of certain basic values, property and freedom of speech and the press, which implies a certain rigidity of the Constitution. It was the moral duty of the Congress to instil into us the sacredness of our Constitution which it had itself framed after fairly long and full deliberations. Instead, it has been tampering with it to suit its every passing whim or fancy, so that every fundamental right which is beyond the reach of the executive, and gives democracy its real content has been taken away, making it a plaything of the politician. The Congress has thus failed India in the very purpose of our fight with the Britisher, and in the process it has begun to show all the symptoms of self-poisoning; its disintegration, according to J.P., is just a question of time. It is obvious that, as things stand today, the Swatantra Party alone among other political parties, is based on the British Liberal traditions of politics—the highest political achievement so far recorded in history.

BOOK REVIEW

KATHOPANISHAD :

An Exposition in Tamil.

By Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1962. Pages 78. Price Rs. 1.25.

This is a lucid exposition of the meaning of the *Kathopanishad* by one of our most eminent scholar-statesmen, Sri Rajaji. The *Kathopanishad* is a fascinating text, and is comparable in more than one respect to the *Bhagavad Gita*. The close similarity in thought-content, and even in the very phrasing in quite a few places, between this *Upanishad* and the *Gita* is well brought out by Rajaji's apt references to parallel verses in the *Gita*.

The present work is not a literal translation of the *Upanishad* text. What has been attempted here is an elucidation of the meaning of each passage in simple Tamil prose, of which Rajaji is a great master. Hence, appropriately, the Sanskrit text of each passage is also given after elucidating it. Rajaji indicates, where necessary, alternative

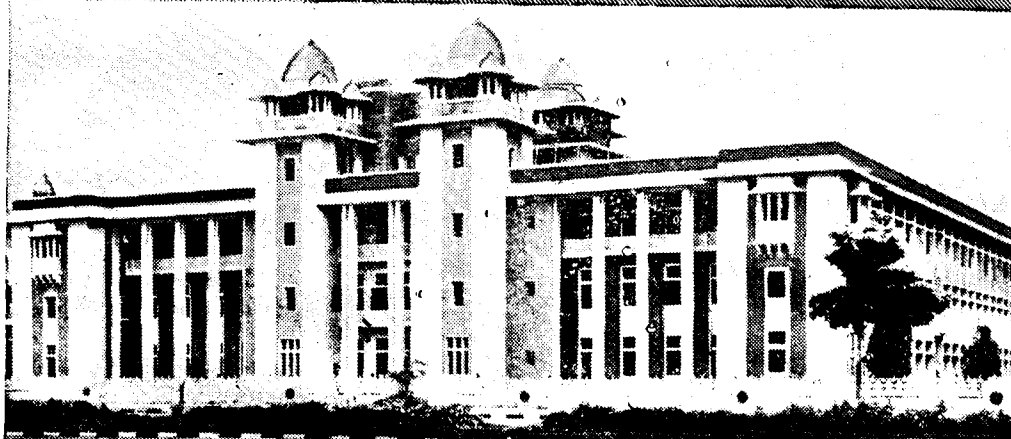
interpretations given by classical commentators like Sankara.

The central teaching of the *Upanishad* relates to the nature of the Self which is the inmost Reality of all beings. The Self is eternal, and should not be confused with the body-mind complex; and we are the Self. The way to realize this truth is a hard and difficult one. But every one should strive and dare to tread this path in order to reach the goal. The teaching is framed in a story wherein a young boy Nachiketas has the daring to approach the Lord of Death and learn from Yama himself the secret of Self-knowledge.

Rajaji has brought out (in this edition) the true significance of the story, and has given us the quintessence of the teaching.

The present publication is the first in a series of books sponsored by the Madras Branch of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In no better way could the branch have begun its publication activity in this line.—T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

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UTTERLY DISAPPOINTING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru attempts to treat Bertrand Russell's great appeal for direct action against nuclear explosions, as if it were an illegitimate baby to be handed over to an orphanage. He sees "all sorts of complications involved" and hands it over to the Gandhi Peace Foundation — a spending department of the Gandhi Nidhi organization located at Rajghat, of which he himself is President.

It is one of the duties and proper functions of government to protect the atmosphere and the waters against the trespass of certain governments possessing nuclear technique, and proposing further contamination, for their own separate advantages as conceived by them. It is not a social non-governmental welfare matter to be handed over to non-governmental voluntary organizations for playing with. There is no lack of public opinion against these nuclear tests and no need for further measures of propaganda. If half a dozen non-aligned governments make up their minds and apply the technique of Gandhian direct action, this flagrant violation of international rights by the nuclear Powers will come to a stop.

The more easily will this good object be attained, because of the inherent error of the retaliatory security plan developed by the nuclear Powers. An unending race in the production of nuclear weapons will not protect them or give

security against one another, when they already hold a stock of these weapons, twice what is required to destroy each other and even the whole world!

India's natural leadership lies dormant awaiting dynamic action on the part of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. He must drop his plea of "not-understanding", and take the lead. The Russian explosions should have been met by a firm declaration of outlawry, last year. That occasion was lost. There is now, again, an occasion for courageous action instead of balanced indifference and an escapist plea for non-governmental action. What is called for now is not an elo-

quent thesis in the pages of *Gandhi Marg* but action. Shelving an issue, in this instance, would be shirking of national duty. One cannot commend this retreating of the Prime Minister of India into the Gandhi Peace Foundation of Rajghat.

The present series of US nuclear explosions, it is rightly urged, makes for deterrence of the disarmament conversations. They are no doubt ill-timed from that point of view. But that is an incidental evil. Even if the Powers had not now begun a long-drawn disarmament talk, the test explosions are in themselves a trespass on world health, and a grave invasion



AVOIDABLE EXTRAVAGANCE

By K. V. IYER

on the hygiene of future generations which it is the duty of the present generation and its guardians to prevent by every means possible. It is not necessary to link this crime to its ill effects on negotiations. Disarmament is far off, and it serves no good purpose but reduces the urgency to link a present duty to an obviously distant issue.

The Prime Minister's latest in Parliament by way of explanation is that he could not 'officially' send a warship to the area notified by the US as suggested by Bertrand Russell. Why not? If he could send troops to Congo, he can send a ship to this area to challenge the legal right of the US to foul the air. Neither Parliament nor the Constitution of India would stand in the way of resisting a grave nuisance to the health of the people of India and their future generations such as the Prime Minister has himself correctly described without exaggeration. If any technical amendment of the Constitution were required, he could most easily obtain it. If he initiated such a thing it would have been enthusiastically backed by other governments as well as our own Parliament, and the US would have had notice of it even before the tests started and could not have ignored that powerful challenge in defence of international rights.

It is surprising how an average person who is prudent in his own affairs casts that prudence to the wind when he acts on behalf of another. This holds even more true when institutions and authorities are concerned. That it is not wisdom to enter into unknown or indefinite liabilities is often forgotten.

Some employees are given the benefit of certain services, like supply of water, electricity, telephone, free of any charge. Some time ago the Lok Sabha rang with an instance of heavy and unconscionable charges borne by the Government on account of these services supplied to a minister at the Centre. Less known instances of extravagance pass unnoticed or are treated as trivial. An effective check is to lay down a scale of free allowance and to require the beneficiaries to pay for the excess charges on these accounts. To object that the billing and account of these charges will increase work is frivolous. The procedure will more than amply pay.

Years ago the Government of India used to give a house rent allowance on a graded scale to their officers stationed at certain places. The officer, having drawn the allowance, was mindful of what he paid as rent on accommodation. Obviously the rent payable by him cannot always be equal to the allowance plus ten per cent of his salary. What he usually did was to see that he made a small saving rather than incur a loss in the transaction.

The rules were modified some years later and the officers were reimbursed the excess of rent paid by them over ten per cent of their salary, within certain limits. The officers now became indifferent, took up residences at very high rates of rent, as the charges incurred above the ten per cent of their salaries were met by the government. Apart from it, in some instances, there was collusion between the landlord and the tenant whereby both of them profited at the expense of the government!

In the case of cars the earlier practice was for the government to give a car allowance to an officer depending both on his status and the make of the car which he maintained. Next came the practice of providing a car entirely at government expense, on the understanding that it was used only for official purposes. There were evasions, whereupon the government allowed the car to be used for private purposes also, provided payment was made for such use on a scheduled scale. Some

officers duly reported instances of such use and paid for them; some reported only occasionally, and it would not be a matter for surprise if several others ignored the direction altogether. To overcome this kind of abuse—there is no milder word for it—it appears the government now provides the car, pays all the running expenses (inclusive of the wages of the driver, his over-time etc.), recovering a fixed amount from the officer for the use made by him on his personal account. Is this arrangement likely to prove economical? Is there anything surprising that the charges borne by the government are mounting high? It would have been more economical and advantageous to the government if the conveyance allowance was fixed in relation to the status of an officer and the make of car he may be expected to maintain, the officer being left to have a car of whatever kind he preferred; in which event large and unknown liabilities can be avoided. It may be pointed out that some companies in the private sector pay some of their highly placed executives as much as Rs. 350 a month as car allowance.

Other directions in which there is extravagance are those relating to provision of free furnished quarters, expenses for journeys out of the country, and so on. In the name of equality, concessions which are often unavoidable in the case of foreign employees, like travel to their own country free of any charge a limited number of times in their tenure of office, are sometimes extended to their Indian employees. These concessions are the more noticeable in the case of companies having European collaborators and their own employees. This item of perquisite causes jealousy and heart-burning among government servants and servants in concerns in the public sector.

Why should not the government frame fool-proof rules in respect of these and similar matters, for observance both at the Centre and in the States, instructing companies in the private sector to act likewise?

I hope to demonstrate that real swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused. —GANDHIJI.

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN: A TRIBUTE

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The election of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to the Presidency of the Republic of India is one of the romances of the cultural history of the country. It brings to a fitting climax his exceptionally successful career as a university professor in pre-Independence India and crowns his splendid work of creative interpretation of Indian culture in its philosophic and spiritual dimensions in the living idiom of modern Western thought. His professorship at Oxford marked the West's recognition of this signal service.

Long before he was sent to Moscow as Ambassador of free India, the professor had made a world name as India's cultural ambassador, in which role he had often given voice to the higher conscience of humanity. He had displayed a courage and a forthrightness in condemning oppression of all kinds—racial, imperialist, plutocratic, bureaucratic, theocratic.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has a gift for satirical exposure of the hypocritical and 'rationalising' currents of influential thought among the intellectuals all over the world. He quarries his material from the entire culture of the day—drama, theological fashions in sermons, novelist's adaptations of neurotic trends in psychological theories, Nietzschean heroics of unbalanced thinkers, old sins weaving new philosophies to justify themselves in the eyes of the semi-educated! From his earliest book, *(The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy)*—in fact,

by religion, he means *prejudices* masquerading as religion) we find him criticizing current tendencies, laying bare the inner motivations expressing themselves in current philosophies.

Stalin paid Dr. Radhakrishnan an unusual (for him) compliment after his meeting with the Indian philosopher-envoy that he was the only person who spoke to him as a *Man*! The Indian Ambassador asked the Iron Dictator as to why he should not introduce civil liberties—now that the Revolution had settled down and had become well established. The great dictator replied the special circumstances of the Revolution had necessitated the denial of civil liberties but gradually democracy would arrive in Russia as elsewhere.

Dr. Radhakrishnan asked Stalin whether he had heard of the Red Dean, the communist Church dignitary in England. Stalin laughed and assured him that he had! Even the Church allowed the liberty to preach communism to one of its own high officials in England—the classic land of liberty! What an example to hold before the terrible dictator! Yet, the Indian Ambassador did and got away with it!

In the ten years he has been Vice-President, the philosopher-statesman has met leading personalities in politics and government hailing from most countries. He has taken part in the burning controversies of the day in private and group meetings, and has advocated Indian (Nehruian) policies, with an eloquence and felicity that has charmed his hearers. Nehru has been fortunate in his champion. The immense prestige of his scholarship and reputation has backed the Indian cause by the influence the Vice-President of India exercised on visiting statesmen.

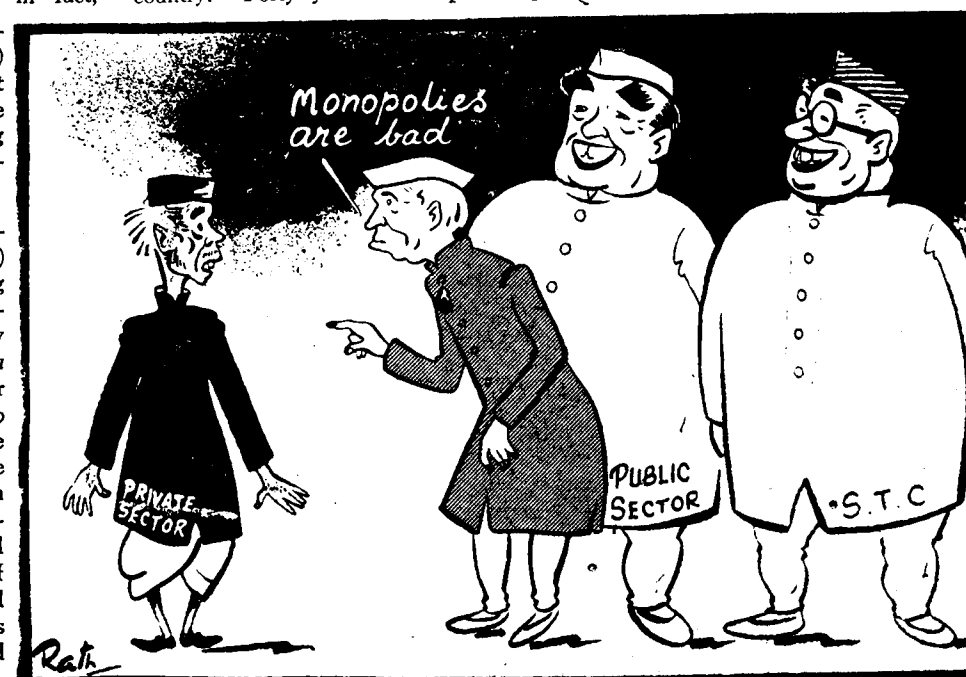
These are great and varied gifts and achievements. But the anxious patriot aware of the crucial nature of the coming period and of the dissatisfactions shoring up against the Nehru dispensation (in terms of the rapid drift towards pro-communist Niagaras ahead!) is bound to ask whether he can rise to the height of any crisis—constitutional or psychological—that may overtake the country. Forty years of expounding

other peoples' thought, however brilliantly it may have been done, does little to prepare a person for bold action and initiative.

There is one comfort, and that is that he is wide-awake and is thoroughly aware of the fatal weaknesses of Marxism-Leninism, both as a social philosophy and as a system of government. There can be few anti-communists who can state their case about the world scope and global danger of communism in more vivid and trenchant language than Dr. Radhakrishnan has done in his books (vide *Recovery of Faith and Religion and Society*). He does full justice to the humanist appeal of communism as the saviour of the under-dog. But he corrects the picture by showing that as communist practice has actually developed in Russia, it has broken faith with its promise, and degrades the individual by denying him the essential liberties necessary for a human life of self-directed achievement and fellowship.

And as one who lived in Moscow as Ambassador in Stalin's time, he is keenly aware that communism is no mere doctrine but a colossal world State engineering subversive movements in most countries of the world through their own nationals under false pretences of human liberation from class oppression.

Without committing himself to rigid labels of party or dogmatic nomenclature, Dr. Radhakrishnan can be trusted to weigh, see through and size up the principal personalities around him better than Nehru. And this is a comfort and saving grace.



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THE SWARAJYA, MADRAS-16

CURRENT EVENTS::

During his holiday halt at Dehra Dun the Prime Minister paid a visit to Mr. A. P. Jain's residence dubbed "Ashram", a report from which many might have jumped to the conclusion that the UP leader had retired from the din and dust of politics for meditation; but it is learnt from Tumkur (Mysore) that Mr. Jain will be the Congress nominee for the Lok Sabha bye-election from the Tumkur constituency on June 3. Mr. M. V. Krishnappa, who had been originally sent up from the constituency, had been translated Revenue Minister of Mysore with a seat in the local Upper House as Floor Leader. At Bagalkot there is going to be another bye-election for the benefit of Mr. Nijalingappa—President of Pradesh Congress Committee, member of the High Command and Chairman of the Oil Corporation. Thirdly, up in Narasinggarh Dr. K. N. Katju (who had been defeated in the first round) having been afforded a place by special arrangement—a former "feudal" critic volunteering to support his unchallenged candidature in the created vacancy—has now been elected to the M.P. Assembly. Technically nothing can be said against this procedure of rigged elections enabling congressmen against whom the door had been slammed finding their way by the window. The law allows it and the court awards it, in the language of the judge in *The Merchant of Venice*. The whole purpose of this type of manipulation is to preserve power in the hands of the "New Class" reeking with faith in one-party monopolism of power in perpetual extension.

It is said that when the Prophet Daniel was lowered into the den of lions, he consoled himself with the remark: "At any rate, there will be no after-dinner speeches". Elections in Pakistan are over and though the provisions and the procedure might be consummately denounced by our critics for their democratic imperfections, there

must have been one consolation, namely, the prohibition of party-canvassing and individual-solicitation of votes. There were 80,000 'basic democrats', a definition and a dimension newly introduced by the Constitution-making body on the reputed directive of President Ayub Khan, in whose eyes conventional demagoguery is unsuited to his people and had proved to be a scourge during the unstable regimes of predecessors in power. The fabric of basic democracy resembles a two-tier system of select voting by the discriminate as distinguished from the "Great Unwashed", as the French used to say in equivalence of universal suffrage or adult franchise in colonial regions. Power theoretically inheres in the President. In the Ayub scheme, any removal of the Head of the State is rendered formidably difficult, so that the process of bringing the military junta into power might alone serve as the means of displacement in the event of revolted sentiments amongst the masses. Exquisite comparisons with India would be out of place, and Pakistan will not be alone in the adoption of tougher methods to develop the mechanics of government.

His speech in the Rajya Sabha was resented by North Indian listeners when the DMK leader, Mr. Annadurai, addressed the House because he had outlined the demand for a separate region to be known as Dravidastan. It was far better that he was outspoken than diplomatically secretive about his emotional urges. We are told that Mr. Annadurai was not interrupted, since it was his maiden speech. Had he delivered it in the Lower House he might not have received equal toleration, since another MP had been heckled and hooted for uttering a few words in English. Cries of "Hindi men boliye" were volleyed by the Hindi subjugationists whereupon peace was restored on the Chair's conciliatory intervention. The reciprocal offer that Hindi imperialism would mug up a South Indian

language by way of reparation has no practical merit; but it betrays a conscience slightly alive to the wrongfulness and futility of coercion. Instead of understanding the cause for the forthrightness on Mr. Annadurai's part, Mr. G. S. Pathak, a prominent Congress lawyer of Allahabad, denounced the plea affirming that such speeches should be listed as treasonable. This attitude is symptomatic of the kind of intolerance that promotes antagonism, not emotional integration. Mr. Pathak, we believe, is counsel for the present Kashmir Government's Premier (Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed) who is prosecuting his predecessor Sheikh Abdullah and party for treason against the State. A simultaneous indictment of the DMK leader for treason would be, to say the least, untimely.

In the Prime Minister's vehement speech on the motion of thanks he roundly affirmed that the people of India are, under the Planning drive, "flourishing" in prosperity, and that even before the passing of ten years for self-generative 'take-off', Indian economy might reach the stage of Affluent Society. The middle-class family or the common man who struggles for a livelihood is not aware of any prosperity, despite sweeping generalisations to the effect that nothing could be so good as the present going. With not a shred of evidence from the statistics or the cost of living index, the Prime Minister made his pronouncement. Less than a week previously, Minister Gulzarilal Nanda admitted before the All India Organization of Industrial Employers that the wage of workers in India were "too low, considering the needs of health and efficiency". And if the going is so good, what exactly was the necessity for the Government to introduce additional dearness allowance for Central employees in the latest Budget presented by the Finance Minister? Many of the statements of self-congratulation on the strength of foreign testimonials thus floated by the Prime Minister can be met only by flat denial. P.J.

WHAT IS RIGHT AND WHAT IS LEFT?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Everybody wants more wealth to be produced. Everybody also desires that wealth should be distributed more evenly among the people of the land.

The production of more wealth requires labour and talent and investment, and human nature lays down what are needed for these: good wages and incentive besides experience.

Those who ignore all these requirements, and talk vehemently about even distribution of wealth, go by the name of Leftists.

Those who recognize the prior need for production of greater wealth, for such a significant addition to present wealth as would make the more even distribution of it possible and worth while, and who place emphasis on attending to first things first in national policies are called Rightists.

The Rightists are not for perpetuation of poverty. It is a cheap story sold to the gullible by the Leftists in power, whose purpose is to perpetuate their power, that the Rightists are against the uplift of the poor. No Rightist and for that matter nobody in the modern world is against the uplift of the poor in the material, cultural or spiritual plane. The Rightists believe in first things first and want that policies whose purpose is to secure the uplift of the poor should not ignore this rule.

(ii)

The word 'socialism' is used loosely to denote the urge to improve the lot and condition of those who are poor in material possessions, but it is also confounded with the specific plans of the Leftists for producing this universally accepted objective. Two people may both want to light a fire. They may differ as to the fuel to be used or the spot where the fire is to be lit. For that reason, one cannot call the other a fire-hater. He who is not in the Left—who does not believe

that any good will come by extinguishing or reducing the incentives for investment and for giving the benefit of one's talent and experience to produce more wealth, or to work hard with the available materials in the prevailing conditions—is alleged to be against 'socialism' in the first sense, that is, that he is against the welfare and uplift of the poor. This is cheap calumny and any appeal to passion easily succeeds in deceiving people. The gullible are told that the so-called Rightist wants the rich to get richer and the poor to remain poor. The game is to get the votes of the innumerable poor by misleading them about those who oppose the perpetuation of the same clique in power.

(iii)

Nothing has been more clearly established in recent times than that the so-called socialism of the Congress Party has resulted in making the rich richer and, in consequence, in impoverishing the middle classes as well as in making life harder for the poor. This is the natural result of the preferences and monopolies and taxes that issue out of Statist policies and State-management. The State is a mere conception, not a business corporation. State-management must therefore be management by officials, or licensees or business bodies organized for the purpose, the direction and control being given to chosen favourites. Those who actually run business on behalf of the State either mismanage it by reason of inexperience and the fear of exposing their own ignorance, or they make profit out of the monopolistic advantages accruing to them through this scheme of management. The political bosses do not leave the officials alone. They consider it their privilege to intervene in the administration where the field ought to be left to impartial officials. The

consumers have no bargaining power where competition, is cut out. Even where everything is done properly and in a businesslike way, which is rare, the scheme works to the advantage of the State exchequer and to the disadvantage of the consumer. State-management in such cases is just another form of taxation. Men have to buy goods and services at the prices fixed by the State.

It will thus be seen that State-management does not lead either to significant increase in production of wealth or more equitable distribution of it. On the contrary, it makes the chosen rich richer, and as a result the poor poorer, while the consumer pays for all the mismanagement.

(iv)

Intelligent men who have realized all this should shed their apathy and gather self-confidence and vote the Permit-Licence-Raj out of power. In the meanwhile, they should continually work to educate the less educated to see the game of those who continually use economic and political power already acquired in order to perpetuate themselves in office.

Parties in opposition can only expose error and educate the public. They cannot give anything to the people, because they do not collect the taxes or frame budgets of expenditure and cannot distribute favours. It is only the party in power that is in a position to make policies, rule or mis-rule. The party in power can bribe with money taken out of the public revenues. A party in opposition cannot do it, as it does not hold the keys to the treasury. The ruling clique can make the tax-payers believe that what is given back to them out of the public revenues are gifts which entitle that clique to be kept going in power. The truth is simple enough to be seen, but it requires to be clearly explained, because the electorate has, without break, been kept hero-worshipping and the present Con-

gress Party is confounded with the divinely-led old Congress which liberated India from foreign rule.

(v)

The Swatantra Party is not 'Rightist' in the wrong sense of the term given to it by the Left-

tists. Parliamentary democracy calls for an Opposition that can expose the errors of those elected to power and prevent them from ruining the country. The Swatantra Party is really a Centrist party. The Congress was once a Centrist party but it has gone Left, leaving a gap which must be

filled, and this is what the Swatantra Party seeks to do. Otherwise, it is not the nation, but the licence-holders and other monopolists who will thrive and socialism, in the sense of uplift of the poor and equitable distribution of wealth and welfare, will remain an illusion.

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'Colours I love for the soap I love!' says RAGINI

A HINDUSTAN LEVER PRODUCT

THEORY OF HOSTAGES

By POTHAN JOSEPH

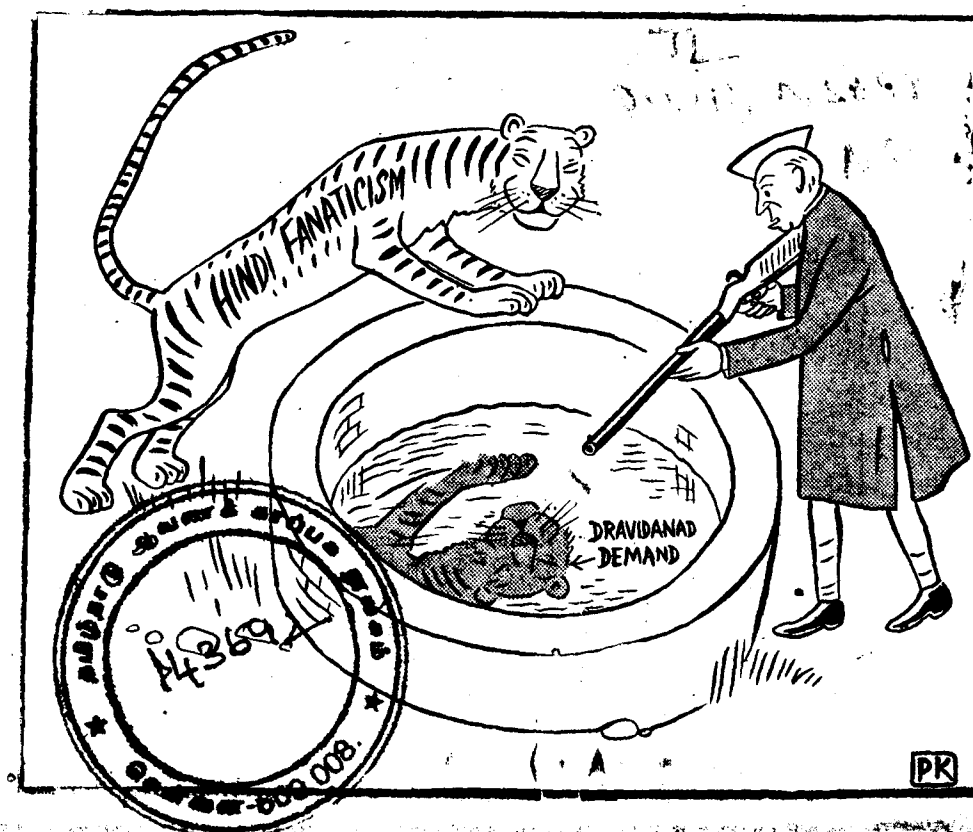
When the Prime Minister reappeared in the Lok Sabha after his week-end rest in Dehra Dun, he referred to the mounting tension between India and Pakistan not only in respect of Kashmir in the Security Council but also of sinister tidings from East Pakistan of ugly developments. Three days earlier President Ayub Khan had expatiated on the alleged sufferings of Muslims in India, which many observers took for the furnishing of background-material for Mr. Zafrullah Khan's mournful discourse in the Kashmir debate in UN where he had years ago accused India of genocide. The Prime Minister, in his Lok Sabha retort, pin-pointed the tragedy of murder and assaults in Rajshahi as against the charge of pogroms by Indian authorities in Malda. Mr. Nehru deplored the tendency to exaggerate outrages in one venue and to minimize atrocities in the other. According to a Pakistan news-agency killing in Malda seemed to be a sudden, unprovoked outburst; then it was given out by the report that slaughter in Rajshahi had followed riots in the neighbouring district of Malda in West Bengal where, according to India's protest note, normalcy has been prevailing since April 20.

When Mr. Zafrullah Khan brooded aloud on "Muslim insecurity" in India, Mr. C. S. Jha countered the assertion saying that tranquil conditions prevailed in India and there was no extraordinary tension to evoke concern in the international forum.

Newspapers have frantically appealed to the Government of India for particulars. Despite the convention between India and Pakistan that "incidents" should be

reported with accuracy and restraint, there is a virtual blackout when it comes to a crisis. The idea of reciprocal fairness is a shadow of the pre-Partition presumption that the existence of minorities, both in Pakistan and in India, would put a brake on tendencies towards communal persecution traceable to mutual intransigence under the British regime. The very origin of "Minority Protection" agencies, even after the advent of Independence, is due to the original mistrust described as the Hindu-Muslim problem. The question was raised during the years of transition as to what would happen to the Hindu minority in Pakistan as a whole (both wings combined) together with a similar conundrum as to the fate of the Muslims firmly settled down in residuary India. The answer improvised was that the minority communities would be balanced as "hostages" ensuring fairplay on both sides of the Hindu-Pakistan boundary, as finally traced by Lord Radcliffe.

Has that amiable supposition been fulfilled? Both Jinnah and Mahatmaji had apprehensions. Although the notion popularised is that Jinnah fanatically clamoured for an Islamic State, the truth is that he did not share the mullah's perspective, and he resisted the partition of India until the Cabinet Mission headed by Lord Pethick-Lawrence threw up the sponge on hearing the repudiation of their 'One-India' plan of co-ordination, by the impetuous Congress President in a speech at Bombay, the individual being easily identifiable by Mr. Nehru himself upon a look at the mirror. During the election-campaign, Mr. Nehru, attacking C.R., put out the fatuous story that if Rajaji had had his way in the 'forties, there would have been no independent India, as if C.R. had during his career secretly cherished enslavement as the destiny of the Motherland. The distortion of the past insinuating that Rajaji had obtained the concurrence of Mahatmaji in his "sporting offer" for a consolidated front under reactionary impulse is (to borrow the fond phrase of the Prime Minister)



"fantastic nonsense"; but even now there are cheap-jack historians who circulate that calumnious fable to discredit the founder-leader of the Swatantra movement.

To come back to the 'quantum of security possible through the hostage theory, do we not realize its limitations, since any antagonism on a major issue is sufficient to inflame communal passions over trivialities? In the Malda-Rajshahi nightmare, neither side will accept responsibility for initiation of trouble. If the Hindu-Pakistan frontier is to

be marked with boundary-stones, there is still the danger of powder-kegs supplementing the work of joint-teams of survey-officers putting up demarcation. In such conditions, the lesson of history is that recognition of a colossal peril threatening two neighbours would tend to whittle down mutual animosities revolving on comparatively smaller disputes. Is not a peril looming on the horizon, with the certainty of Chinese expansionism, an automatic phenomenon admitted by Prime Minister Nehru himself in his sound role as historian?

A LEAF FROM PATHAN MARTYRDOM

By GANESHA SINGH PAKHTOON

In 1930 at Peshawar, the Pathans wrote a chapter in India's history of Freedom with their blood. After the Kissa Khani Bazar firing on April 23, the then Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Provinces wrote in anguish to the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, that "the star of the British is setting and Gandhi's star is on the rise".

The British had all along kept the Pathan-land as a close preserve of their influence. They used the rugged mountains as training-ground for the British

arms. They built up the Pathans as a bogey to frighten the Indians just as they had always talked of the Russian bear prowling across the Himalayas only waiting to pounce upon the plains of Hindustan. They were keen that Gandhi's influence should not spread among the Pathans.

But history has its quirks. The violent Pathan became the most non-violent Khudai Khidmatgar under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He so identified himself with Gandhi ("The

Malang Baba") that he came to be known as the Frontier Gandhi. Khan Abdul Ghaffar expressed a desire to associate his movement with the Gandhian movement. But the Mahatma wanted to be sure that the fierce Pathans had really imbibed the spirit of non-violence. He formed a committee headed by Dr. Syed Mahmood (General Secretary, AICC,) on the suggestion of the late Motilal Nehru to make an enquiry on the spot. Among its members were Dr. S. D. Kitchlew, Maulana Abdul Quadar Kasuri and Lala Duni Chand. The British had forestalled the situation, and arrested the members of the committee at Attock as well as the leader, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the night before at Peshawar.

The news of their arrest somehow leaked to Peshawar and the Khudai Khidmatgars organized a huge protest march in the streets of Peshawar. When the crowd was in the famous Kissa Khani Bazar—a street of story-tellers—the British Commander asked a Garhwali Platoon Commander, Chandra Singh, to fire on the people. Chandra Singh Garhwali refused to shoot his unarmed countrymen. Thereupon, a British Company was brought to do the dastardly deed. About 400 Pathans, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were machine-gunned.

Malik Jiwan Lal Kapoor (now a Supreme Court judge) somehow managed to send a telegram to Master Tara Singh at Amritsar, who published the horrible news in his paper *Akali Patrika* and himself led a *Jatha* of about 100 Sikhs to offer *satyagraha*. They were arrested at Attock and later sentenced.

Thereupon, the Congress sent an Enquiry Committee under the Chairmanship of the late President Vithalbai Patel to enquire into the firing incident. But it had to function only from Rawalpindi. Advocate J. L. Kapoor and myself undertook the responsibility of bringing the Pathan eye-witnesses from Peshawar to Pindi. Not one among them was sorry that his son or other relation had been killed! They were proud that they had died for their Motherland. Even rich Pathan zamindars gave evidence against the British.

When the report was ready, the British Government pounced upon Anand Bhawan (Allahabad AICC Headquarters) and confiscated all the copies of the report. But for a childish prank of Indira, not one copy would have escaped the hands of the police. She hid some copies under a *dari* and sat upon it weeping, as if terror-stricken. Even today Khudai Khidmatgar Jirgah of Delhi—a refugee organization—quietly celebrates this day, which should have been a day of national observance.

THE CITIZEN'S ROLE IN DEMOCRACY.

By Mrs. PREMA NANDAKUMAR

It is strange that the very people who extol the virtues of democracy are those that are intolerant of opposition or even of mild dissent. Not to be wholly with us is to be wholly against us—beware of the consequences! Yet the great Pericles said:

".....and instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling-block in the way of action, we think it is an indispensable preliminary to any wise action at all."

The essence of democracy verily lies in those wise words. But who cares for discussion today? The majority party, even if it doesn't altogether stifle discussion, is only too ready to ignore the minority. There is of course the extraordinary phenomenon of a Bijoyanandji frowning at the very existence of an Opposition and threatening to set in motion the administrative machinery against it. But people like T.T.K. and Bijoyanandji, who are capitalists turned socialists, cannot but behave like the proverbial converts who are more loyal than loyalty. But even a Nehru can be quite intolerant. If he cannot answer, he can assert,—he can hurl words like 'reactionary', '19th century', 'fascist', against even a Rajaji. Thus the malady goes deep, seeps from top to bottom. What a far cry from John Stuart Mill's classic asseveration:

"If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."

The notion that democracy is rule by majority dies hard. What a democratic system of government ought to ensure is tolerance for the minority view, not its suppression or total ignoring. Dr. Stockmann in Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* affirms: "The strongest man is he who stands out most alone". To ridicule a point of view because it is held by a minority, by a handful, or even by one solitary individual, is to be the real reactionary, to set one's brute force against the force of Nature and humanity. The sticky leaves that sprout in spring are tender, and the tree itself with its main strength could destroy them, but only by imperilling its own future.

To be able to think for oneself, to be able to discuss without fear or fret,—without this freedom all else

must be illusory comfort. Little children are tireless interrogators. It is through such questioning that they master the world around them. In the course of three or four years they master language, kinship problems, the complicated procedure of etiquette, and many other things besides. Can it be that to question is wrong when we grow old? To be able to question ought really to be the condition of one's continual mental growth.

The masses are more or less reduced to the condition of the 'proles' in Orwell's novel. Our first class firsts and double and treble firsts are screws and nuts in the gigantic machinery of government. Our reading is confined to headlines, 'digests', detective fiction, and illustrated magazines. In our superior wisdom we laugh at the 'Victorians'—who at least believed in the "importance of being earnest". Nachiketas had the courage to question, and to learn through questioning. He was prepared to pose the first and last questions. But we are afraid. When the question is posed 'After Nehru, who?', we become hysterical. Don't put inconvenient questions. Don't put any questions. Don't think. Don't feel!

Yet, can taking things seriously be such a wrong thing? Isn't it our primary duty as adult citizens to take an intelligent interest in what goes on around us, to think, to express ourselves? We have prudent well-wishers and ardent go-getters who roundly tell us: "Why must you bother about the governance of the country? The politicians are in charge of them. Why don't you confine yourself to your own private affairs?" But what if my private, domestic budget is affected in a hundred little ways by the policies and doings of the Government? Don't I

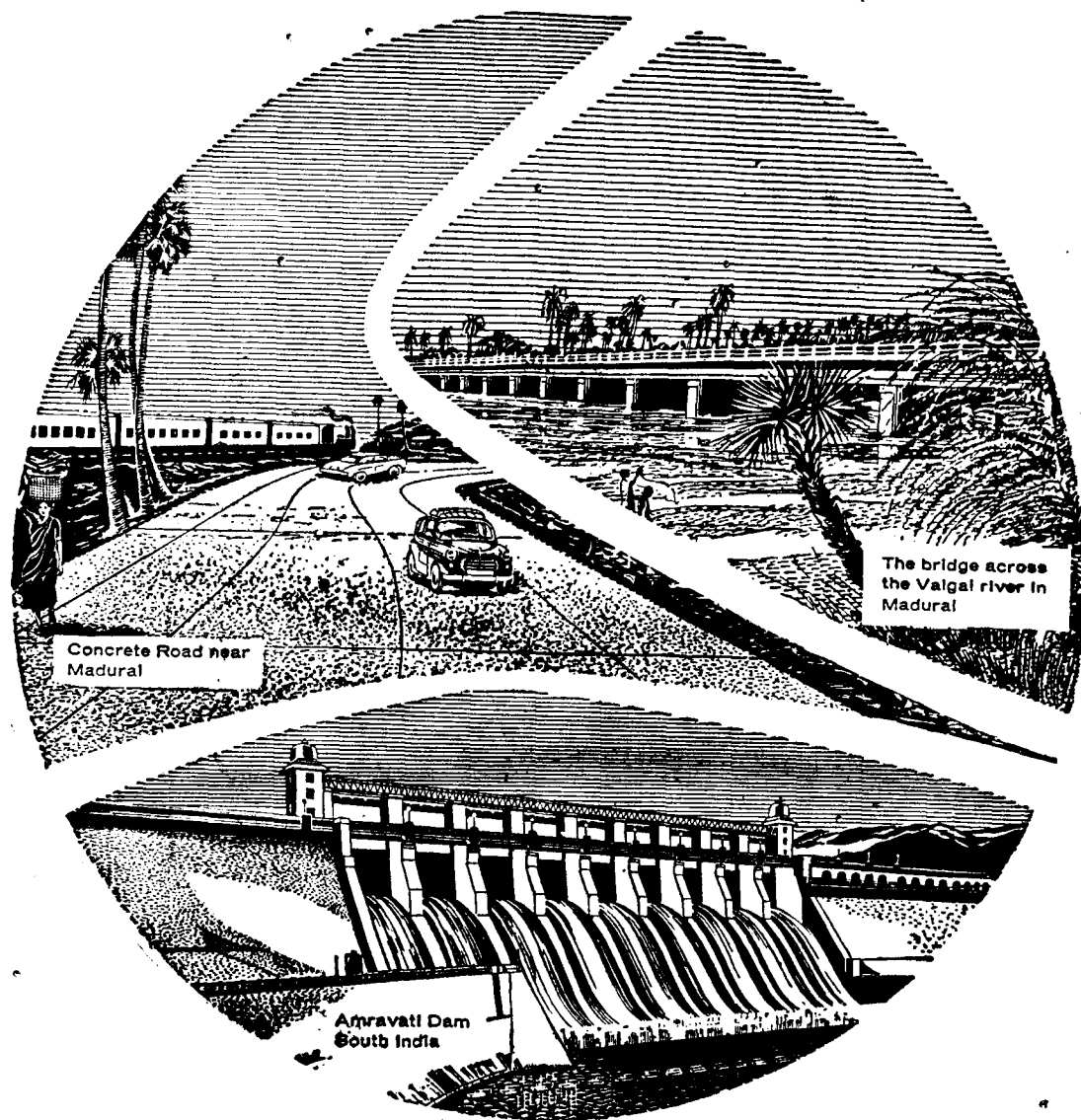
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have the right—nay, the duty—to think out the filiations between my private budget and Morarjibhai's Budget? It is tragically true, alas, that politics has become a profession, aloof and apart, in our country. But in a true democracy everyone is a king, and is supposed to have a hand in the governance of his country—at whatever remove, and however ineffectively.

In the golden age of Athenian democracy, there was no appreciable dividing line between the politician and the private citizen. In his celebrated funeral oration, Pericles declared:

"Our public men have, besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters."

Rajaji has in recent months repeatedly pointed out the dangers flowing from the professionalization of politics. When politics becomes a profession, and often a very paying profession, no wonder the politician frowns at the ordinary citizen's temerity to think for himself and express his views. This artificial wall has to be pulled down. The good government of the country is as much the concern of the majority party as of the minority, as much the concern of the politicians as of the average citizens—far more the concern of the citizens, in fact, because it is only the wearers who know where the shoes pinch. The citizen's right to think and criticize is a continuous, inalienable right; it is not exhausted when, once in five years, one has dropped a piece of paper marked with indelible ink into a small steel box.



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MINISTERS MUST LEARN DRIVING!

By B. R. KUMAR.

At the first seminar of the Gandhi School of Politics, which re-opened after the vacation, the topic of discussion was "what practical steps were possible, and indispensable, to tone up the general level of our popular ministers—both at the Centre and the States—so that the steel frame left us by the Britisher did not shatter to pieces in our hands—as it was undoubtedly doing." It was agreed on all hands that most of the mischief of our political disintegration and economic malaise of the last 15 years since Independence was due to the quality of our ministers. But it was also admitted that given adult franchise in the present circumstances of our country—political, economic, cultural—the quality of the ministers could not be otherwise. It was also impossible to lay down qualifications of education or property for our ministers, without laying down similar criteria for the members of the legislatures from whence the ministers were chosen. And this latter was not possible without restricting the 'divine' principle of adult franchise—for how can the adult voter be considered unfit to exercise the vote in his own favour even?

The question therefore arose as to how "it was possible to change the quality of our ministers without meddling with the fundamental rights conferred on every citizen of India to exercise his vote irrespective of any intellectual or moral qualification of the candidate." Plato could suggest a whole life-time of training for the rulers of his Republic; the Chinese could build up a quality class of rulers who kept the country together, in spite of disintegrating tendencies at the top, in the form of bandit generals; for in neither case were they bedevilled with the ghost of adult franchise. But in the India of 1962, under the umbrella of our Constitution, was there any remedy, or must we re-

sign ourselves for ever and ever to the rule of comparatively ignorant nonentities, clothed with all the terrible powers of the modern State?

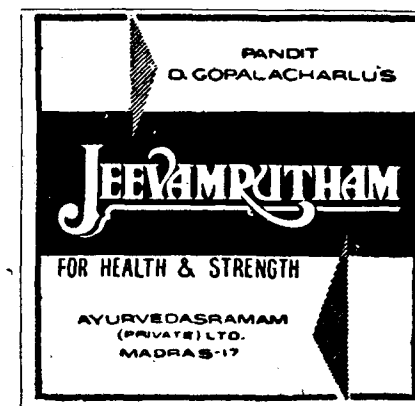
It was at this stage that Professor Jagai, who had recently been appointed to the staff of the School, startled the whole house, by his novel suggestion that there was a way, and that was that no one should be appointed to the office of minister at the Centre or the States, unless after being elected to the legislature, he had taken out a driving licence! For, contended Mr. Jagai, there was a vital connection between the art of a skilful driver and that of a successful minister; and that just as a minute dose of a catalytic agent changes the whole character and composition of a compound making it a new thing, even so a course in efficient car-driving would imperceptibly change the quality of our ministers. A skilful and efficient driver is fundamentally a mature man; the need to earn a driving licence may give maturity to our ministers, too.

For consider the qualifications of a good driver. He must know the mechanism of his car—its first principles, the economic use of petrol, and tyres, and brakes; the rhythm of the engine; the place of the cooling system; of oils and lubricants; of service and co-ordination. He must know, too, the maximum strains which it can bear; the maximum speed to which it can be accelerated with safety to the machine and comfort of the passengers. He must know when to gear and how to gear, how to slow down and how to accelerate; when to apply the brake and how. He must keep the wind shield clear of all dust, to have a clear vision of the road, and of his goal. He must know how to maintain a steady speed, taking into account the condition of the road—its surface,

its curves, and its width—and the traffic on it. All this and more the efficient driver must learn, and it is a sign of his mastery of the art, that the car almost glides along the road with an effortless ease.

Compare with this the handling of the State affairs by our ministers during the last 15 years; they much resemble the novice at the wheel—holding it firmly with both hands, pushing the accelerator with all his might; jumping down on the brakes all of a sudden; turning to right or left without rhyme or reason; shouting to all the passers-by to admire his machine, which internally would have been damaged beyond his wildest fancy; possessed only by a single desire, to go somewhere at the top most speed, to show off his new toy and his skill.

Take any of the tragic events of the last 15 years as an illustration, of the childish immaturity of our ministers. Take the story of the linguistic States. No Andhra one day, only too soon to be followed by the formation of the Andhra State. No Gujarat, to be followed by the division of Bombay. No Nagaland, to be followed by the formation of a hill State! Or, take again the meddling with the educational system; the change-over to the mother-tongue without any preparation at the university level or even at the school level as regards books or teachers. Or the change-over at the university level to the pre-university course. Or take the industrial policy or the import and



export policy or the Hindi policy. At every level and on every occasion, the looker-on cannot but be aghast at the foolhardiness of the man at the wheel. No one knows when he will turn or which direction he will take; or when he will suddenly step on the brakes;

or as suddenly press the accelerator.

And so Professor Jagai maintained that as our rulers cannot be made into philosophers, as Plato desired, at least let them be made into good mechanics. For, then, they will apply all the

lessons of the car to the machinery of the State, and thus realize our dream of a good government as an essential goal of democratic politics. At present, we are but given stones when we hunger for bread, because ignorance is enthroned in the seat of power.

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Dear Reader

Reuter informs the world that Earl Russell has decided to leave London on Monday, May 13 and arrive twenty days later in the international waters around Christmas Island in the Pacific where nuclear test explosions are to take place.

It is gratifying to read in the *Indian Express* (May 7) an unqualified correction and expression of regret for the report published about the so-called defeat of Mr. M. R. Masani in the Parliamentary election in Himachal Pradesh. This is what the *Indian Express* has now said:

"A report appeared in the *Indian Express* on May 2 and an editorial comment on May 5 to the effect that Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, had been defeated in the Chamba Parliamentary election. This was incorrect. Mr. Masani had announced his retirement from the contest on March 6. His name remained in the ballot paper for technical reasons only. We apologise to our readers and to Mr. Masani for this error."

It is good that someone has come out and confesses frankly that aid to undeveloped nations is a part of the cold war phenomenon. Mr. N. J. P. Arnold's book, which has been publicised by Reuter, brings out the extent of Western aid which has helped the backward nations. We may talk of the cold war as an evil thing which we thoroughly dislike and would like to end. But out of it, and as an integrated branch of it, have grown these competitive charities from the cold war Powers. We are deliberately thriving on the cold war. The receiver of stolen property or the junk-seller trading on it cannot preach a sermon on the immorality of stealing without exposing himself to the charge of pious hypocrisy. All these aids with which we seek to slake our thirst for progress are 'tainted money'.

Someone has discovered that the new excise duties on production of cloth by mills will hit the common man. Not only these duties but the burden of every tax, every duty and levy of any kind imposed on anybody, at any level, will be conveyed down until it falls on the common consumer. All levies, direct or indirect, ultimately find the back of the common man as water finds its lowest level, and this by a natural law which cannot be altered by any dictator or any Finance Minister. It is an inescapable consequence of the interconnected economy of civilized life and the inter-dependence of its several layers.

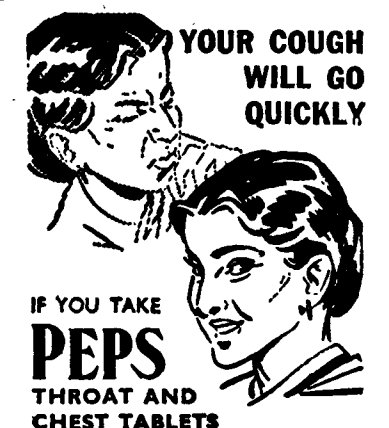
A letter of condolence written by a police constable on the death of the recipient's mother was construed as an indication of the writer's political leanings towards the DMK, because it was the editor of a DMK weekly who had lost his mother and to whom the condolence letter was written. The High Court held, on a writ petition, that it could not go into the adequacy of evidence and refused to interfere.

Mr. Justice Veeraswami may be justified in law to shut the door against attempts to use the writ procedure to obtain an appeal on facts. But in order to prevent party governments from running amuck, which sometimes they may do, it is good to keep the door ajar as a psychological deterrent of gross injustice and not shut and bolt and bar the entrance.

Granting that the decree of the Government was final on the inference to be drawn, must a political leaning towards the DMK be held as a bar to hold office? Would a leaning towards the Congress Party disqualify? Constables have votes under the Constitution and a policeman can cast his vote for the DMK or the Congress, or any other party he chooses. The exercise of a vote is by itself proof of some politi-

cal leaning or other. Going to the polling booth would be clearer proof than the writing of a condolence letter. If the rule is in respect of any political leaning and not only in respect of a leaning towards a party not in office, it seems absurd and inappropriate for present times. It has come down from a regime wherein all politics was banned for officials, and officials had no votes. What could be objected to, would be some action connected with the constable's work disclosing want of impartiality. The case borders on the ridiculous in the context of the condolence letter.

The morning papers of the same date, wherein this judgment was reported, carry the Government of India's reply to a communist member's question, which gave the assurance that no person is to be considered unfit for government service on account of his political opinions. A deviation



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from impartiality in his conduct as a public servant is something that can be deemed to disqualify an official, not some indirect proof of his political leanings or opinions inferred from his letters of congratulations or condolence. If the High Court will not, or cannot, interfere in cases of such injustice, democracy can easily become tyranny. Let us hope that in this case Government itself may re-examine the case and revise the order and render justice which the High Court has found it impossible to do.

★

Our columnist writing FROM THE CAPITAL gives a long story about the disputes and clashes inside the Indian Communist Party. The party having lost its thunder to the ruling party, these consequences must necessarily follow. The Congress and the Communist parties must merge and remove the fiddlestick needlessly lying between them. There is no divergence in goals or means and a merger would save a lot of national energy and confusion among the unintelligent.

★

It was only after the last issue of SWARAJYA was printed that I saw the communication of "A Compromise-seeker". It gave me the greatest pleasure to read it as it gives me now to assure him of every effort on my part to achieve the common object. A united front is a *sine quo non* for success at the polls against the present ruling party, and for halting its totalitarian regime. When the stage is reached for it, steps will be taken to introduce the single transferable vote or some other effective means of securing proportional representation, not only that true democracy may prevail but also that those who join the front do not stand to lose by such cooperation. I am glad that my appeal made on February 24 has evoked positive response expressed in such a reasonable form as this correspondent's letter in SWARAJYA of May 5.

C.R.

May 12, 1962

SWARAJYA

15

TAXES AND PRICES

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

The behaviour of prices has followed the pattern set by the last budget. First, there was the withholding of supplies, then rise in prices of articles newly taxed, generally by much more than the tax, next the rise in prices of all commodities, and lastly, stabilization of a new price level from which there is no going back. There are however two new features this year, of which the first is the tax on cloth, which may add up to 20 per cent. According to the National Sample Survey, cloth constitutes 9.6 per cent of the expenditure pattern, taking second place after food. Since requirements of cloth—which have fallen since 1939—cannot be reduced, the increase in prices will be borne by the entire public, causing a general rise in wages and prices. The second feature is that, according to statistics (to the extent they can be relied upon), the country's food production is a record, which with the American supplies available should depress prices. If this does not happen, the failure should be attributed to (1) incorrect statistics, (2) artificial scarcities continuing on account of controls, and (3) the increase in prices of consumer goods relatively increasing food consumption, particularly of the urban population. Apparently the Finance Minister is gambling on the stability of food prices, but he may find that the wave of inflation induced by the Budget may also increase food prices further, as cultivators may be more disposed to withhold supplies. A general rise by 10 points of the index of prices, therefore, seems unavoidable.

In an economy closed to foreign imports and subject to licensing, both of trade and industry of the more important items, all taxes, direct and indirect, are borne by the consumers and not by the producers. This is factually evident from the continual increase in profits of industrial undertakings and is a logical inference from

the increase of investment in industrial equities. Consumer resistance, which alone can depress prices and make profits absorb taxes, is absent in India for two reasons: (1) the demand for consumer goods is far from satisfied, and (2) Government is creating so much money that new consumers replace those who cannot meet the rise in prices. In these circumstances, it can be concluded that taxation will not reduce production or consumption but will only increase prices.

Rising prices will militate against the four objectives set out by the Finance Minister. First, savings will be discouraged particularly in government loans and insurance, because with the continual fall in the value of the rupee what will be repaid in terms of real values will be only a fraction of what is paid. In fact, if the general public became aware of this, there would be a run from which government loans and insurance could collapse. In the meanwhile, the Government is aware that investment is turning away from it as well as banks in favour of industry. As regards the second objective of increase of exports, any increase of prices over the present level, already on an average 50 per cent above world level, will be fatal to exports, not only because production would be attracted to internal consumption but also because no concessions could make our prices competitive in the open market. To the extent our exports shrink, there will be no foreign exchange to meet even part of the requirements of the newly established industrial capacity. The consequent unemployment, both of labour and capital, will have serious repercussions on the economy. The third objective is that of better balance between supply and demand of individual commodities. In the first place our production is so largely of necessities that it cannot be altered by changes in

prices. In respect of the remaining articles, since the Government itself has licensed the production, it is both uneconomic and unfair to throttle it. The fourth objective is 'social justice'. If it is admitted that in a closed and controlled economy all taxes fall on the consumers, there is no 'social justice' in making the masses pay for the Plans of the Government, which do not benefit them directly now though it may indirectly and only in the remote future. Secondly, the continual fall in the value of money increases the value of industrials and property investment, further widening the economic disparities. In so far as new enterprises are more highly capitalized, an unearned increment is conferred on the older investments, which leads to extravagance on their part, which is economically mischievous.

Lastly the fall in the value of money affects Government most. Though the return from taxes can increase from higher prices on which they are collected, it has been found every year to be less than the expenditure of government on salaries and contracts. This is why the total expenditure of the Government has increased seven times since 1950-51, without increase in output in any equivalent proportion. Though the Finance Minister may say that the taxes required for the Third Plan will be completed by the Budget of this year, there is no doubt that he will ask for more next year, because under rising prices the revenues of government will be outpaced by its expenditure.

RAM MOHAN

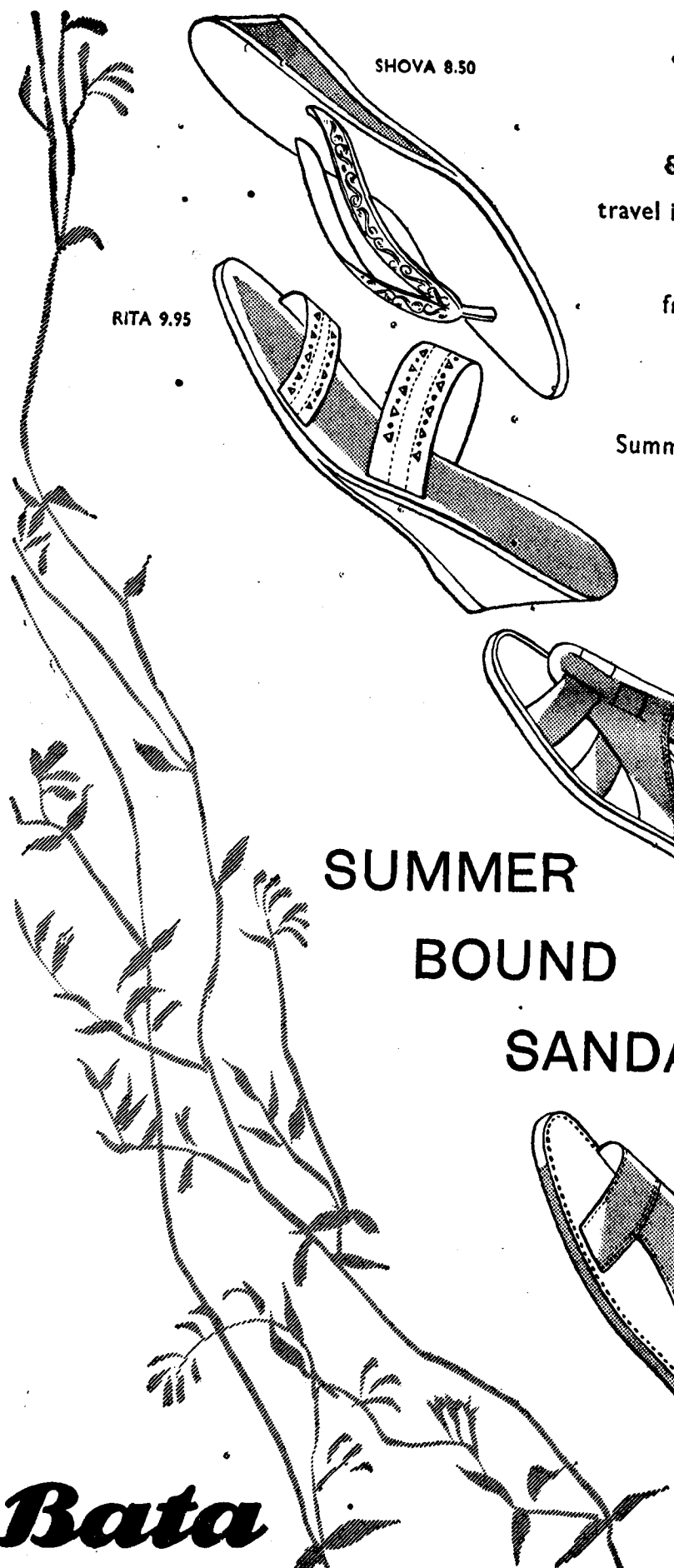
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A Crowing Chanticleer

The Social Welfare Staff of a State has prosecuted and put a gang to sentence for cheating a child. Sometimes, those who are more innocent in the ways of the world, born credulous, suffer likewise—journalists being of the type often led up the garden-path. Deputy Minister Abid Ali who finds no place in the Nehru Ministry to lend aid can be rated as one of them, not sorely missed.

Planning Minister Nanda tells the Lok Sabha that the cost of living index has been steady since August last but that all the same "we have to be very careful and watchful about consumer-prices". The effort would be superfluous if Finance Minister Morarji Desai succeeds in his policy of cutting down consumption and so throttling the demand for additional wages.

Between the Prime Minister and King Mahendra there was no conspicuous exchange of presents to mark the re-union. Had there been any flaunting of scarves as at the Dalai Lama's reception, the vogue of Nepal notabilities wearing an open coat over a bare-necked shirt could have been surmounted by the Kathmandu mission for a change.

Disapproving Pakistan's act (unilateral, not bilateral) in connection with the build-up of the Karnafuli Dam Project in East Pakistan where India has a stake, the Nehru Government has charged the Ayub Government with "international delinquency" and reserved the right of retaliation. Deterrent action cannot be questioned as soon as an International Institute for Borstal Offenders is established, since it is no case for dismissal with a warning.

Deputy Minister A. M. Thomas told the Lok Sabha that "the chances of finding a suitable colour for Vanaspati appeared remote". What may be suitable is not always accessible even in the realms and laboratories of advanced science. In the purification of cosmetics, there is the possibility of poisonous lipsticks being shunned by beauty-queens if they are blended in the pure

eye-black of the traditional Indian boudoir.

A High Court has admitted a petition questioning the validity of the Gift Tax. The All-India Union of Waiters might intervene to make sure that the result should have no bearing on the validity of tips.

After the elections in the Argentine, the entire Cabinet and party have been told by the Peronists that their returns

are invalid. To scrap an election would be preposterous and obnoxious to India, and no party in the recent election-manifestos ever hinted at such unconstitutional intentions once the returns had been duly gazetted.

During a holiday-festival, four mofussil professors were nabbed at the gambling floor by a sleepy policeman at dawn disturbed in the non-performance of duties. They manfully admitted their breach of the law, but the learned magistrate was a little severe on the professor of English that he had omitted to quote Shakespeare in time:

*But, look, the morn,
in russet mantle clad,
Walks o'er the dew of yon
light eastern hill.*

From the answer-paper of a Public Services Commission Exam: Air-hostess is the wife of an Air Force Officer.—P.J.

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FROM THE CAPITAL:

AN ILL-WIND FOR THE C.P.I.?

By SANJAYA

NEW DELHI: After an agonizing search climaxed by an unprecedentedly acrimonious meeting, the National Council of the Communist Party of India has finally elected Mr. S. A. Dange as the party's Chairman and Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad its General Secretary. A report has it that to facilitate this the party constitution has had to be amended, as originally there was no provision for a 'Chairman'.

The former General Secretary (the late Mr. Ajoy Ghosh) maintained some sort of balance between the so-called 'rightists' and 'leftists' in the party. But his sudden demise forced into the open the internal differences, each group being anxious to have its own nominee in that all-important post. The 'rightists' and the 'centrists', who were in a majority in the National Council, found a way out by having at the top a 'Chairman' also besides the General Secretary. The suggestion was accepted, but there was initially some difficulty over the names proposed.

It appears Mr. Dange's nomination was opposed particularly by the leftists headed by the Andhra and Bengal contingents. These lean more towards China than towards Russia in their ideological thinking; and as a corollary, they are for condoning the Chinese aggression on India's northern frontiers. Claiming to be 'fair-minded' and 'non-chauvinistic', they take the line that China has done no wrong, indeed could do no wrong, that the territory occupied by it rightly belonged to it! The leftists also advocate what is known as the thesis of 'alternate government', which is a euphemism for a call to revolution. This is opposed to the 'Amritsar thesis' of capture of power through the ballot-box. Mr. Dange is said to differ from the leftists only in his attitude to Chinese aggression. He is for a more 'national', a more 'patriotic' attitude. He condemns Chinese activity on our northern borders, tactically or otherwise. Little wonder he has not been exactly popular with the leftists.

The week-long session which ended last Sunday, was (as expected) a stormy one. The leftists made it known from the start that they would have nothing to do with Mr. Dange; they would not yield until the position reached a deadlock.

Of the nine members of the new secretariat, including the Chairman and

the General Secretary, four are avowed leftists: Mr. P. Sundarayya, leader of the communist group in the Andhra Assembly; Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, MP; Mr. Jyoti Basu, leader of the communist group in the West Bengal Assembly; and Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, General Secretary of the Punjab unit of the CPI. As against these, there are only two rightists: Mr. Govindan Nair of Kerala and Mr. Yogendra Sharma of Bihar, who both desire to give unqualified support to the Nehru Government's domestic and foreign policies, including the policy towards China. The three others—Mr. Dange, Mr. Namboodiripad and Mr. Z. A. Ahmed, leader of the communist group in the UP Assembly—are what are known as 'left-centrists'. These support the leftists' demand for 'alternate government', but not their attitude on the China issue.

The fact that the long-drawn meeting was taken up wholly with haggling over the issue of leadership and devoted no time to other subjects, the ill-concealed bitterness during the discussions, the patchwork unity ultimately effected, and the amendment of the party's own constitution in the process, are not without significance. An amendment was consented to even without the stipulated two months' notice, the ground of emergency being the demise of Mr. Ajoy Ghosh—some months back!

Trotsky's famous remark about the Kerensky government—"a cork held up on three pins"—has been recalled by a commentator to describe the present state of affairs within the party. The CPI's position has become increasingly untenable, despite the seeming improvement in the popular support for the party in the recent elections. Its inner contradictions have increased, especially since the ideological rift between Russia and China. Even in its domestic policies, the CPI speaks with two voices. For instance, its self-righteous condemnation of 'right reaction' and communalism and its talk of a campaign against the government's price and taxation policies go ill with its call for a 'national democratic front', including 'progressive congressmen'. This is nothing but whistling in the dark. Also, despite denials, personalities are assuming more and more importance than policies in the party counsels.

The Indian communists, remarked an acute observer, are a dying race, though (he quickly added) this should not induce complacency among democrats.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

IN THE GRIP OF FEAR

Sir,—There was a time when people enjoyed the freedom from fear and even the newspapers did not hesitate to attack the Government whenever it sought to diminish people's rights or lost its sense. The *Hindu* reviewed scathingly the administration of Sir Arthur Lawley and the late Prakasam's *Swarajya* that of Lord Willingdon.

But now, even when we are supposed to be under a sovereign democratic Republic both the people and the press seem to be in the grip of fear.

Pandit Malaviya once said: "The greatest security for good government is the national representation and the free expression of public opinion". It becomes the duty of the government therefore to see that fear is banished from the heart by one and all of the people. A distinguished Viceroy once said that "the seat of the Indian public opinion is not in the Indian National Congress, but it is in the Central legislature". Now, even the legislatures do not represent the true Indian public opinion, because they have been formed only under mass illiteracy which is inherent in adult franchise. Let us hope wisdom will dawn on the educated and thoughtful men to enable them to find a way out of the difficulties created by an adult franchise too soon extended.

Sirkali R. RAMACHANDRA IYER

LANGUAGE AND OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Sir,—I am amused to read the comments of a writer from Bangalore in *SWARAJYA* of April 28 on Mr. C. Subramaniam having taken the oath of allegiance in *Tamil*. In Madras State, the oath of secrecy is being taken only in *Tamil*; nowhere has it been stated that in the Centre the oath of allegiance should be in a particular language only. No doubt, the thrusting of Hindi as official language is much resented in South India, and if his action is construed to mean that he, too, is opposed to the enforcement of Hindi by the State, his gesture ought to be welcomed, as even a minister has the right, like others, to reflect the feelings of the people he represents—may be in a milder form—and he should not be accused of any ulterior motive.

I am sure, if Mr. C. Subramaniam offers his prayers to God in his own way, or for that matter if he attends a reception given by the Tamilian community at Delhi and speaks to them in *Tamil*, it will not be objected to, holding that such acts do not

contribute to national and emotional integration! •
New Delhi-5 R. RAMANATHAN

"SCRAMBLE FOR OFFICE"

Sir,—The article under the above heading appearing in the issue dated 28th April has yet another lesson for us.

The total work turned out in any administration is the number of persons employed multiplied by the effi-

ciency standard. If the total work goes up and the efficiency standard remains the same, the number of persons employed should necessarily increase.

The former Executive Council members were tied down to their jobs, whereas our ministers have now multifarious duties to attend to such as laying foundation-stones, opening shows and buildings, going on foreign tours, attending party meetings, running up and down Delhi to have consultations with the High Command, meeting VIPs whose number is ever increasing, etc. Kumbakonam Jisior

FROM A NEW M. P.

Friday the 27th April was private members' resolutions-day in the Council of States, and Mr. Vajpaye, the leader of the Jan Sangh group, moved a resolution calling upon the Government to restore all the 200 odd employees of the Central Government, who had struck work in June 1960 and still remain unrestored to their offices in pursuance of its new policy. Mr. Vajpaye looks like a wrestler. Although in private conversation he is gentle and smiling, when on his feet and speaking in the House, he is vehement, denunciatory, has a monotonously high-pitched voice, his manner of speaking being more appropriate to a mass meeting. He speaks too loud in a small House like that of the Council of States. Messrs Avanshilingam and Santanam from Madras took the high constitutional tone that government servants had no right to strike. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the leader of the communist group, raised the debate from the sedateness into which it had fallen. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta wears an ear-aid and speaks loud and long as at a public meeting. His interventions at question-hour are sudden, vehement and long every time—in fact they are short speeches! The Chairman finds it difficult to repress him.

In the afternoon on April 30, in the House of the People, I heard Mr. Manoharan, the DMK member from South Madras, speak. Short, slight of build and mild-looking, he made a matter-of-fact speech, and was easy in manner. He showed, quoting from a Home Ministry's circular, how Hindi was being thrust on non-Hindi-speaking government employees under threat of blocking their promotion. Mr. P. K. Deo, acting leader of the Swatantra Party, accused the Congress of malpractices at the polling.

'May Day' in the Council was distinguished for Mr. Annadurai's speech on the President's address. He spoke fluently in English in an even tone. He

was restrained and tried his best not to give offence, even under the provocation of interruptions. He put forth his case for Dravidanad showing by the way that the Congress Party was neither democratic nor socialistic nor national as the President's address had claimed it to be. He was cheered when he sat down, not merely because it was his maiden speech. It is a pity he had to leave Delhi that very day to attend an executive committee meeting of his party at Madras and not remain to hear the criticism in the afternoon and the next day, when Congress and communist members accused him, one after another, of high crimes and misdemeanours, including that of treason.

There was a long list of members to speak in both Houses both on May 2nd and 3rd. An interesting speech in the afternoon in Rajya Sabha was that of Mrs. Chetty, the popular wife of a Natukottai Chettiar who owns tea-plantations in Assam. Slight of build, and pleasant-faced, she made a strong, sturdy plea for governmental attention to the welfare of the hill-people. In the Lok Sabha, Maharani Gayatri Devi made a simple, straightforward and telling speech.

Among the speakers of the Swatantra Party who spoke on the President's address were Messrs Dayabhai Patel who is always forthright and uncompromising, and Mr. Ruthnaswamy whose quiet manner is well known. The Maharaja of Jaipur, who sits on the front bench on the Opposition side, made his maiden speech in five minutes, asking the civil authorities to give a free hand to the Army in the defence of India.

A CORRECTION

In last week's story, the socialist member's suggestion to give a Deputy Minister to help the Irrigation Minister was wrongly mentioned in connection with the Finance Minister. The error is regretted.

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THE RASHTRAPATHI

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"Philosopher, sir?" "An observer of human nature, sir," said Mr. Pickwick.

Bertrand Russell greeted Dr. Radhakrishnan with the remark that his election as President was an honour to philosophy. So also can the profession of teaching claim it as an honour done to it, for Dr. Radhakrishnan was for years a professor in the Madras Presidency College. Every other virtue—and there are ever so many—possessed by the new President can sincerely be a reason, for the section with whom that characteristic is specially associated, to claim for itself honour by this appointment. Indeed the election is universally acclaimed.

But behind all this satisfaction is a cloud that this is not a complete fulfilment of Plato's ideal. The office carries no power or responsibility. The philosopher has not become king. He is king only in name. The kings are still the non-philosophers as before. If by some impossible constitutional miracle a binding ordinance were proclaimed today that from now onwards, the President may in his 'individual discretion', in such and such cases, veto the acts of Government notwithstanding any advice to the contrary given to him by the Government in power, it would be universally welcomed. In fact some pundits have recently been expressing their opinion in favour of conferment of some such powers. But as the Constitution stands today, this is impossible.

Such powers were not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. The President was intended to be, and is, in fact only a figurehead, a nominal head of the State without real authority or responsibility, a signing machine. So was good Rajendra Prasad, and so must Dr. Radhakrishnan be content to remain.

All the same, there is a halo round this seat of honour, and a feeling of immense respect flows towards it, to which the new President has been inducted, which he fully deserves by his eminence and character. Leadership without real authority is relieved by a few exclusive courtesies and forms of distinction which belong to it, such as the receiving of salutes from the armed forces, and occupying the place of honour on ceremonial occasions, etc., in which the State is symbolized by the President to save it from being utterly confused with the party in power. These forms, however unsubstantial, keep minorities of all kinds in integrated union with the nation as a whole, who are thereby saved from sinking into a sense of complete insignificance. These are most important and should be carefully guarded from being ignored or forgotten.

The hereditary principle would best suit such positions of honour and rank which are important, though not associated with real political authority. This is illus-

trated by the great popularity and continuing vigour of the institution of monarchy in England. In a lesser, but no less striking, way this is demonstrated by the popularity and position still enjoyed by some of the bigger personalities among the rulers of the defunct Indian States. The chief ministers in these areas, who now enjoy vast political and other powers, have failed to reach up to the dignity and popularity still enjoyed by the ex-rulers. The hereditary principle releases the incumbent from the obligation to canvass popularity, and gives him independence and a glory which outshines that of those elected to power, who can be thrust into deep oblivion by a vote some time, in some way, by some means, fair or foul.

Babu Rajendra Prasad was one of the illustrious old guard of National Liberation and he filled the office of Rashtrapathi with almost the lustre of a hereditary monarch. Dr. Radhakrishnan has not this advantage of having been one of the fathers of Freedom, but he has attainments and qualities of his own that amply make up for it. He stands blessed by the *rshis* whose language he has been speaking all his life and whose message he has been conveying to the whole world. He represents that holy family, and may he be blessed with the strength to do so with purposefulness and power.

THE PACIFIC CALLING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The tenth test in the present US series was exploded on Saturday last. Bertrand Russell's appeal still awaits action on the part of the governments of neutral countries. The USSR has proclaimed its intention of following up the American explosions with its own. It is a deplorable situation.

It is appropriate that American and British protests are organized through private bodies, because they have to offer civil resistance against their own Governments. But in India we are in a different situation. The Government is in complete agreement with the protest movement. It is legitimate and proper, therefore, that the Government itself takes action as Bertrand Russell has suggested.

Mr. Nehru has no objection to any private ship from India going to the US nuclear test area. But he feels he cannot ask the Government to take any part in that business. If that were done, it would really amount to the Government sending a ship, which he thinks would create complications. There would be little or no value in the civil resistance of private individuals; it would be too tiny an adventure to have any significance in the present context. It would only be a ritual, if not cant. Whereas, if any one or more neutral governments questioned the legality of US's action by way of direct action, seeing that protests have miserably failed, it would be an effective Gandhian challenge. If the Government of India made up its mind to question the legitimacy of these nuclear tests as suggested, it would no doubt create complications. But it is the creating of complications which forms the sanction in civil resistance and gives to it its effectiveness. Government action will have the enthusiastic support of the people. Government action will be real resistance and act as a check. The sending of non-governmental boats, small or big, will be only a

kind of ritual. No doubt such action may be good propaganda, but we have had enough of propaganda. What is now wanted is the halting of the present series of the American tests, and thereby preventing USSR's counter-series. It is still to be hoped that the Government will decide to send out a ship to challenge US's action, notice of it being given to America along with an appeal to other neutral nations for taking similar action.

The Government of India avoids following up its own conviction because of a desire not to do anything which may be interpreted as a hostile act against a friendly Power. But no private organization, not even the Gandhi Peace Foundation, can take any steps without adequate Government encouragement and co-operation. The Prime Minister is intimately associated with the Peace Foundation and the Gandhi Nidhi of which it is a department. The friendly Power whose goodwill we wish to save would expect the Government of India to prevent any such private adventure, even if it does not expressly ask the Prime Minister to stop it. America is bound to interpret the standing aloof of the Government as hostility, and nothing will therefore be gained. Any appearance of non-participation would be futile. We shall, at the same time, be losing all the effectiveness of the action proposed. The devious course will not save goodwill.

If the Prime Minister sympathizes with the proposal to challenge the legitimacy of US test explosions and is earnestly desirous of doing something to stop its further progress and to prevent the USSR's retaliatory series, he must decide to order a government ship out without further delay. No law or Constitution stands in the way, and it will be met with enthusiastic popular approval.

RAJAJI - NEHRU CORRESPONDENCE

Letter dated the 22nd April, 1962 from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to the Prime Minister.

I hope you are rapidly getting normal in health and strength.

If you are responding positively to Bertrand Russell's appeal to the non-aligned nations to send cruisers and ships to the testing area, do register me as a civilian going with the 'resisters'. I do wish the appeal is accepted. It is the only and sure way to stop the American programme of starting a chain of explosions and counter-explosions now.

God bless you.

Letter No. 591-PMH/62, dated the 23rd April, 1962 from the Prime Minister to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd April. I am fairly well now. Having got over the little trouble I had, I have now got to overcome the after-effects of the large number of antibiotic pills that I had to swallow.

I have received a request from Bertrand Russell to send a ship to the Christmas Island. I admire the crusading enthusiasm of Bertrand Russell, but I do not quite see how I can order one of our warships to go to this place. That would be almost a hostile act against the United States and might have far-reaching consequences. If we are to stop the American test programme, it seems to me that more friendly and peaceful approaches are likely to have greater effect.

Letter dated the 25th April, 1962 from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to the Prime Minister.

Thank you for your kind letter. Our civil resistance cannot be possibly treated as an unfriendly gesture, more especially if the other neutral Governments also co-operate and send similar ships. Of course, we shall have notified our procedure in time for the United States Government to know what we are doing and we can explain fully our motive and our friendly attitude. Our oppo-

sition would be only to the tests and not to the Government. It would be nothing more than the attitude we are showing at Geneva through our representatives. It would be only "direct action" as distinguished from mere friendly persuasion. I do not believe that anything else will now stay American hands. Possibly—very probably—if you write and notify your intention to send a ship as suggested by Bertrand Russell, the American Government may revise its attitude even before actually any ship is sent. Kindly consider this and other things before refusing to comply with Bertrand Russell's appeal. It cannot reasonably be considered a 'hostile' act.

I am sure you are taking some good type vitamins to make up for the effect of antibiotic drugs consumed.

Letter No. 648-PMH/62, dated 5th May, 1962 from the Prime Minister to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Thank you for your letter of the 25th April. I am afraid I have not yet been convinced by what you have written about sending a ship to Christmas Island. I have consulted all my colleagues in the Cabinet and outside. I have even mentioned this to the Gandhi Peace Foundation and they agreed that we could not send a warship.

The most we could do is to allow a private ship to go there. Government cannot organize such a private ship. It will cease to be private then.

The situation is bad enough, with these nuclear tests. I do not want to take the risk of making it worse.

Bertrand Russell himself wrote to me and said that he did not suggest a warship or anything of that type to be sent. He suggested a tramp. How are we to organize a tramp? Who is to man it? It will be easy enough to find some passengers who will take the risk.

There is no doubt that any step of this

kind that we take would be considered a hostile act against the United States. Unfortunately, feeling there is very much worked up. It will not be any kind of direct action by friendly persuasion, but will be considered something to come in the way of the United States' legitimate activities.

Letter dated the 8th May, 1962 from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to the Prime Minister.

Thank you for your letter of May 5.

I regret to note that I have not been able to persuade you that Governments, too, can offer civil resistance to more powerful Governments who seek to do acts contrary to international law to the prejudice of nations, even as individuals can do it as against their own Governments or against individual wrong-doers. I hold the view that Governments can replace the traditional resort to war by peaceful civil resistance.

You say in your last letter that even if a 'private' ship were to be sent, it would cease to be 'private' if organized by Government. That is quite true. But why, I ask, should government action be ruled out as improper? This is the real point of difference between us. A Government's non-violent resistance may be 'hostile' in the sense of being an act intended to prevent the other Government's intended activities in that regard.

It may be unpleasant. But it cannot be deemed an act of war or as anything different from our civil resistance in our campaign against Britain.

Even the US Government cannot be feeling that its action is quite legitimate. Our direct action cannot be illegitimate in the circumstances. There have been such wide and important protests from people who know what these tests will lead to.

I feel I am needlessly sermonising. You know all that I am talking. The question is whether we would do well in making it somewhat difficult for America to go on as it is doing. I feel we would be doing well in this particular case, the issue being of such worldwide importance and our action being in the interest of world welfare.

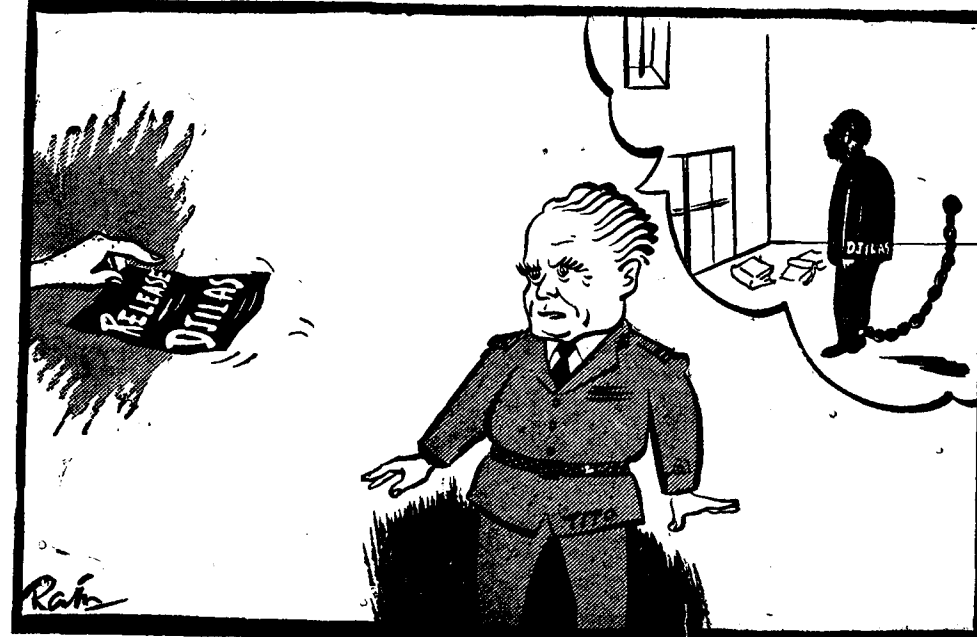
The opposition to these nuclear tests is eminently in the field of Governments and not a matter to be left to private persons.

P.S. Kindly get my first handwritten letter on this subject copied and send me a copy.

Telegram from the Prime Minister to Rajaji.

Primin 21082 New Delhi May 13

"Your telegram. You can certainly publish correspondence about nuclear tests—Jawaharlal Nehru."



CURRENT EVENTS::

The Prime Minister was in no mood for arbitration or appeasement in his attitude towards China as he spoke on the motion of thanks. In his party-speech he had gone the length of saying that defence organization, in respect of men, munitions and deployment of forces, had been so accelerated that the Chinese on second thoughts must be thinking that discretion was the better part of valour. We have installed two or three formidable check-posts for security purposes on the Sino-Indian frontier within our territory, though the Chinese claim that the location involves aggressive penetration into their region; an episode which they want to follow with attempts at repelling our patrols. In a telling article in the *Indian Express* (May 7) Mr. Frank Moraes asks, on the strength of facts and figures given, whether our preparations warrant the assumption of combat-readiness for a trial of strength with China, who, according to the Defence Minister, had already stabbed India in the back, earn-

ing a nervous plight of isolation in the world. Both Chou En-lai and Marshal Chen-Yi (Foreign Minister) had physically fought in mountains and valleys in their Freedom struggle, whereas Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon have won triumphs in the forum of debates, which makes a material difference in their publicity-mindedness.

It was only four years after the beginning of the Chinese encroachments that the incident could come to the notice of the Indian Parliament and people, thanks to what New Delhi would resentfully regard as newspaper-leakage. The advance-troops of the Chinese adhered to the policy of reticence. "Me No See, No hear, No speak" summed up their mobile strategy. As to the capacity to endure horror-scenes, Mr. Nehru is pathologically unequal to it; indeed, on his visit to Mexico when a bull-fight was staged in his honour, he scurried away from the stadium at the supreme moment of the kill. As for Mr. Krishna Menon, he, in spite of

his own title as the vegetarian tiger, would probably sicken at the prospect of raising a sacrificial knife at a paschal-lamb. Still in the dynamics of advance warning, they diverge from the reserve-tactics of the Chou En-lai-cum-Chen-Yi combination who refrain from advertising, except for the notice that the check-posts come within their territory which, according to China, has been truculently claimed and occupied by India to the extent of 32,000 square miles. Mr. Nehru's language about readiness to fight after the planting of reinforcements over a boundary of 2,500 miles is partly meant to alert the nation at large into the spirit of solidarity which is being pursued to secure emotional integration and a common political front. If the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of China were to regard publicity more than secrecy as part of military prudence, the world might now have echoed with stories about the largest army in the world and its armoured equipments, not to mention atomic missiles, since China is under no self-limitation to the effect that she should apply atomic energy exclusively to peaceful uses. The Defence Minister has obviously fortified Mr. Nehru in the brief that if clashes occur in these disputed check-posts, China is sure to get a hiding, and that she would then realize her folly of isolation through alienating India when the Indian official team's report on the border is already there for acceptance—which Peking refuses to honour as Holy writ. The people's Republic may speak scornfully of America as the paper-tiger, and they are now grimacing at paper-elephants!

The late Mr. Ernest Bevin, as Britain's Foreign Secretary, looked forward to the day when the people of the world

would be free to travel from end to end and even settle down for peaceful pursuits, without passports and visas. The conception was further elucidated in Wendell Wilkie's 'One World' theme. Restrictions in migration are traceable, in the last analysis, to the spirit of *apartheid*. The Macmillan Government has underlined colour-distinction with the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill, piloted by the Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler, who himself had been born as a "native" of India. Excuse for the alarm about cheap Asian labour and a casual small-pox eruption as ascribed to some Pakistani lascars, does not justify the adoption of hostile rules against coloured labour whether from Jamaica or Ceylon or India. When things are unjustly forbidden, there is a spread of illicit trade, and a roaring traffic in false passports is in progress all over the world. In England, prejudice against coloured immigrants becomes particularly galling. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Michael Ramsey, who was recently in New Delhi for the Unity Convention of Christian Churches, spoke against the Tory Bill in the House of Lords a passage which may be quoted:

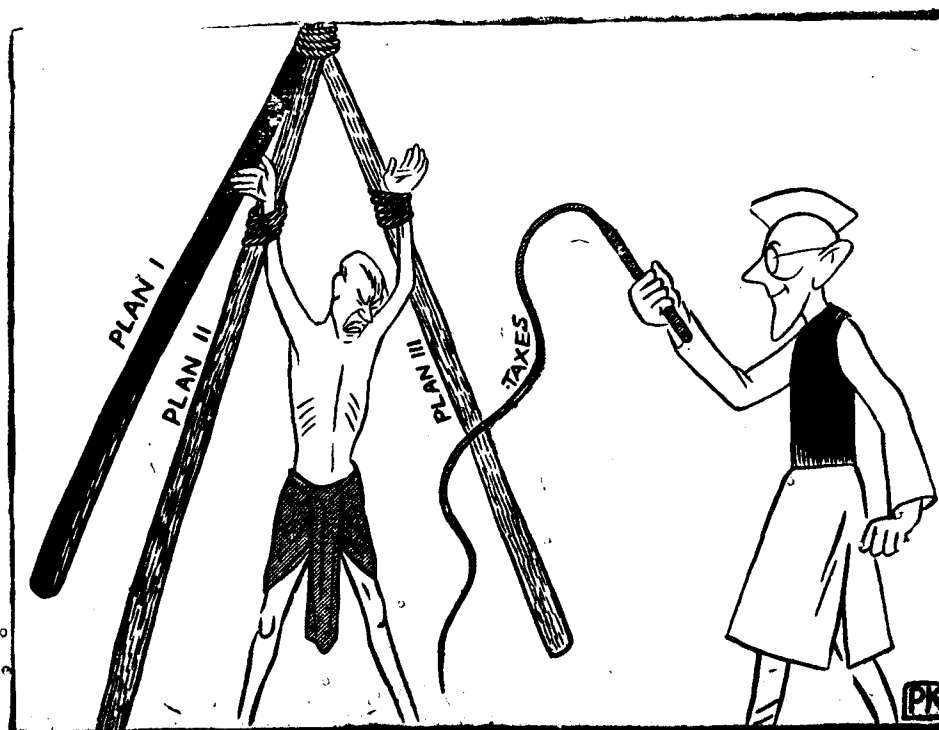
I most earnestly hope that the restrictions introduced by this lamentable Bill, this Bill introduced with repugnance, this Bill which is indeed deplorable, will be short-lived. And that the episode will arouse in the conscience of our country a new determination to attack again the conditions which have led to the reversal of one of our country's great traditions.

In bidding farewell to New Delhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad told the joint session of Parliament that unless expenditure on elections is curbed and regulated, as intended by the founding fathers of the Constitution, an appeal to the country would be a farce, unfair to public-spirited citizens of mo-

derate means. The recent elections had been originally unfair from beginning to end; although 120 million people are supposed to have exercised independent judgment, the sanctity of the secret ballot was hardly honoured. Universal suffrage permitting of herd-voting does not permit of open retreat, but the lessons of voting (with 15 parties waving different flags and symbols) have still to be learnt for the purification of democratic practice and the simpler polarization of balancing forces. Where Central interests and local problems began and ended, in the short period of casting slips of paper through slits in the box, could not have been lucidly perceived by the holiday-makers arriving in lorries, irrespective of all restrictions laid down, in order to equalise opportunities between the rich and the poor. The very term "tickets" issued by a central nominating body points to the temptation of mercenary traffic upon which Dr. Rajendra Prasad sadly dwelt. Officially the elections caused the Indian exchequer Rs. 7 crores, but abuses were as rampant as elusive. A contemporary gives a total estimate of Rs. 36 crores to highlight a pre-arranged *tamasha*. Why, the very first Congress tri-

umph of the election-drive has been proclaimed from Tiruchendur—where the unopposed candidate set the pace with a bag of success. Can the High Command lay its hand on the heart and say the victory was inexpensive?

An interesting book, *Last Glimpses of Bapu* by Maniben Gandhi, is on the market now. It is based on a diary kept by the author of the last thirty days of Mahatma, the habit of diary-keeping by Maniben having been long approved by him. Occasionally he would initial the entries. One of the trends after the transfer of power which agitated Gandhiji was the sudden onset of rot amongst congressmen installed in office, a phenomenon that partly influenced his decision that the Congress after the winning of Swaraj should be dissolved, its mission being over. Maniben puts in a passage these words of Mahatma Gandhi as a direct witness: "Why has the Congress degenerated to this extent? Members of legislatures are spreading corruption everywhere. How long will it go?" Corruption has gone pretty far since then. Absolute power absolutely corrupts and creates a craving for its interminable enjoyment. P.J.



VERSATILE VOCABULARIST

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Argument in the Security Council on Kashmir was over when the Russian delegate rose and declared Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan's long rigmarole as groundless and certified the State of Kashmir and Jammu as part and parcel of India. Although Mr. Krishna Menon's speech displayed vitriolic features, the day was won for us by Soviet Russia, and even if a delegation of minor MPs had represented India, our right to regard the Kashmir accession as final would have been well-sustained, without suspense as to the convenience of Mr. Krishna Menon to hop back to India via Geneva on Friday itself.

Roma locuta, causa finita (Rome has spoken, the cause is ended).

The Pakistan delegate had laboured for more than six hours, but Mr. Menon could afford to be brief, and the old marathon of 22 hours of rival-speaking was spared.

In a famous trial nearly 2,000 years ago at Jerusalem, the accused was charged with blaspheming. The Roman Governor could find no fault in him, but the Chief Priest questioned the offender and heard his answer. "Then the high priest rent his clothes and saith, what need we any further witness?" In a different context, the prospect of a prolonged trial of the Kashmir case by the Security Council was over without need for any further evidence. After the indirect veto which amounted to closure in time, there is the alternative of a reference to the General Assembly where each country would consult its own interests if it ever comes to voting. It was all very well for John Foster Dulles to say that neutrality on an issue of right and wrong bore the taint of immorality, but diplomats are not all Puritans and Presbyters; and all countries including India have at voting hour the choice between conscience and profit, what turns the scales being the elements of prudence and expediency. There is no need for Mr. Krishna Menon to return

to the World Assembly, his next place being the Defence Headquarters in India itself with casual, week-end visits to Geneva in order to promote the presence of neutrals at nuclear explosions and advance the general cause of disarmament in the world without infringement of sovereignty that cannot be "traded". The vast bulk of UNO membership, Ghana included, would veer to Dean Rusk's position that ultimately India and Pakistan must settle the problem between themselves.

*What's Hecuba to him
or he to Hecuba
That he should weep for her?*

A reciprocal contribution which India could make as the top-messenger of world-peace is that both the United States and Soviet Russia should sign a "No War Declaration" as proposed by Prime Minister Nehru, within our context, namely, a No-War Declaration between India and Pakistan.

Not that we were ill-equipped for a bout with Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan in the event of Soviet Russia non-intervening. Mr. Krishna Menon, famous for invectives, could also be soft, thanks to his genius for exploiting shades of meaning to differentiate synonyms. Just before boarding the Air International for New York he had told a Bombay audience that India was going to appear before the Security Council neither as a plaintiff nor a defendant. She will be there as a participant. His versatility as a vocabularist is phenomenal. When a complaint is lodged, the presiding authority had to deal with a complaint as well as the accused, in this case specifically named in the FIR, Pakistan. Mr. Menon's strategy was to deny the jurisdiction of the UNO, hence the substitution of the words came as a semantic precaution.

It was due to his deftness in phraseology that the demand for "vacating aggression" was grafted into the controversy, the advantage being that aggression stood

proved and that the pre-established offender must, in the first place, make amends by quitting violated territory and burying the error. The question of trespass itself is put out of debate, and the claim so drummed into the discussion was half the battle won for fixing guilt.

In his first hearings Mr. Menon had extended her propaganda significantly by saying that India "will not compound with felony". If India acquiesced, she would be an accessory after the event or a consenting party, an undignified position. Moreover, in the delinquent stalemate across the Cease-fire Line, there is the appearance of India being compelled to temporise with that felony, a state of toleration which jars when the Prime Minister was fond of saying: "Congress does not think in terms of compulsion". And Mr. Krishna Menon has had it maintained that there is no Kashmir "dispute" but only a "situation". That is an issue for international situationists, a conundrum to confound certain escapologists. In the early days of the Christian Church there was a controversy about the status of the Holy Ghost, it being granted that the Father and the Son were co-equal. The Athanasians were implacable, so that ultimately the compromise stated that the third person in the Trinity "proceedeth".

The formula about India being independent and still belonging to the Commonwealth so fascinated Mr. Nehru that Mr. Menon's spokesmanship defining the Queen as a "symbol" confirmed him in his authority as international gladiator.

As a master in the mutations of meaning for technical words, Mr. Menon has no rival. He could suddenly create an atmosphere of "No-definitions" or tie an opponent into knots by putting counter-questions with overbearing hints that the interlocutor is but an ignoramus.

Suddenly in New York he stared at the Pakistan advocate and asked: "What right has Pakistan in India?" Zafrullah's jaws dropped. Then he affirmed that

IMPLICATIONS OF NATIONALIZATION

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Mr. A. D. Mani (Ind.), speaking in Parliament on the Budget, followed the criticism of a Congress member that State enterprises were "disappointing and discouraging", with the suggestion that they should be denationalized at least up to 49 per cent. Nearly a year ago, the Prime Minister himself had declared that the idea of denationalization should be investigated. There are many precedents for this. Steel was denationalized in England and the Burmese Premier declared in 1960 that the Burmese "policy must be one of gradual withdrawal from economic activity, until its scope becomes narrow enough for the available manpower to handle it with efficiency". That our manpower is put to much strain and that our inefficiency is higher makes denationalization more urgent for us.

Nationalization is not socialism, because mere transfer of ownership to the Government does not add to the resources available for the greater satisfaction of the masses. On the other hand, the transfer places the burden of loans and taxes on the common people, assuring the previous owners of a steady income without risking anything. This obvious equation has been obscured by platitudinous talk of reducing economic inequalities when, in actual fact, they have been increased by the contracts and licences inherent in State enterprises. In England the Socialist Party has discovered that "socialism will suffer a set-back if nationalized industries show disappointing results".

India was not there for "trading sovereignty", whether it was Pakistan or China—all statements stemming from the charge of aggression being so obvious as to render debate into an absurdity. Any progress of World Government must involve attribution of sovereignty by slow degrees, but a sudden question about "trading" sovereignty would be like speaking of qualified sovereignty or moderate chastity. The listener is stunned by the bludgeoning of the vocabularist carrying a heavy club with knobs on. Any nation with a grievance can write a letter to the UNO Secretary-General, that the UNO Charter has been violated, because it is a phenomenal document of vagaries and no definitions. Mr. Krishna

Menon reminds hostile listeners that aggression is not defined, much less war. All the same, the world organization talks of waging war against malaria and fighting tuberculosis. In the jumble of figures of speech and elusive metaphors, the wizard of words is in paradise as against simple interpreters of language. Mr. Menon is in this sense invincible; and in every foreign assignment he is meticulously careful in quoting the authority of "My Prime Minister". He says that India would never start a row entailing force, but in his supple logic he knows to tailor *dicta* to occasions as when he affirmed with frequency towards the end of 1961: "My country has never abjured violence".

Nationalization does not add to the revenue of the Government. A ten-year tabulation of budgets shows that, in spite of an expenditure of Rs. 74 crores in the First Plan and Rs. 900 crores in the Second Plan, the income from all State enterprises, the mint excepted, is now less than in 1950-51. To this must be added the loss of potential taxes which would have accrued from the same investment being in the private sector. The higher prices paid, now on an average 50 per cent above world level, for the sake of taxes and loans required for State enterprises, extort from the whole population the cost and the loss from State enterprises located in a few selected areas. Of the loss, everyone is already familiar. It is just reported that the State Transport in Bombay, the best in the country, is running at a recurring loss covered by increased rates in the electricity enterprise combined with it. The Hindustan Shipyard received a subsidy in 1960-61 of Rs. 456 lakhs to cover its losses even when the production was less than half the capacity of the yard. The Sindri Fertilizer Factory which is carrying a book debt of Rs. 358 lakhs is merrily increasing its staff, the non-technical one by 100 per cent, even when its production was reduced from 332,000 tons to 285,000 tons, and its prices increased to more than 50 per cent above world level. The Hindustan Aircraft has the same record of increasing staff out of all proportion to the increase in production. The direct relation of higher

prices with State enterprises is demonstrated by steel, for which the retention prices have been increased—even for private production—to cover the higher cost of government steel. In another way State enterprises add to inflation, because to the extent they absorb the foreign exchange available, imports on private account are ruthlessly reduced, which not only allows indigenous production monopoly prices but also adds to the prices from established industrial capacity kept idle for want of required imports. Then, again, State enterprises have exercised their priority for transport and power at the cost of private enterprises which supply consumer goods to the public. Other priorities, like that for manpower, starve services directly concerned with the immediate interests of the people.

If Government and Parliament do not shut their eyes to these and other serious consequences, there should be no further extension of State enterprises. Apart from it, there should also be a substantial measure of denationalization. In the first instance, this will reduce the budget, making it possible not only to avoid the new taxes and loans, but also to reduce some of the taxes already imposed which are depressing both production and consumption of items required to improve the standard of living. Secondly, partial denationalization by introducing a measure of personal interest will check the inefficiency and waste arising from official disinterestedness. Thirdly, to the extent private savings are attracted to investment in State enterprises, the money supply will be reduced with deflationary consequences. The position will be reversed, the people becoming debtors of Government instead of creditors of the vast national debt which has grown up in the last ten years. This mechanism of making the people indebted can be carried further by the West German system of 'tax certificates' which issues government securities as loans to private enterprises. Fourthly, to the extent that State enterprises are arrested, the future generations will be saved from industrialization at the present high costs.

The opportunity provided by the budget, therefore, should not be lost to change the policy regarding nationalization. The least that should be secured may be the appointment of an independent High Power Committee to examine the economic consequences of State enterprises. Without doubt, such a committee, particularly if it includes foreign experts, will establish the imperative necessity of the government disengaging itself from economic activity.



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CENTRE'S CURRENT EXPENDITURE

By K. N. SRIVATSAN

The revenue Budget of the Centre for 1962-63 would be very revealing if a few facts are borne in mind. First, it contains a part of the States' budgets also in the form of the States' share in the Union excise duties. Again, Central grants to the States are, in reality, the revenue of the States collected by the Centre which has usurped their lucrative resources. We have to take out these two State items from the Central Budget if we are to know the real revenue and expenditure of the Centre. Secondly, the accounts of both revenue and expenditure contain seven common heads, i.e., debt services, administrative services, social and development services, river-schemes, public works, transport and communication, and currency and mint, meaning thereby that these heads bring income apart from the incurring of expenditure on them. Barring currency and mint, all the other six items are invariably more spending than earning, and thus they deserve, for our analysis, to be shown only on expenditure-account with their net expenditure. The item of currency and mint should be shown only in revenue accounts as it earns much more than is spent on it. Thirdly, the cost of collection of taxes may be subtracted from the tax proceeds, and thus the net tax proceeds may be shown in the revenue account obviating the entry of cost of collection on the expenditure side of the Budget.

I give below in the form of table a summary of the latest Central revenue Budget recast on the basis of the points mentioned earlier:

Certain interesting facts emerge from the table. First, the defence expenditure (net) is more than two-fifths of the Centre's expenditure and not just one-fourth of the current Central spending as given in the gross accounts presented in the Budget statement. If to this we add the civil expenditure connected with the defence, then the charge on defence-account would, perhaps, claim half the Central revenues as its share. This is perhaps inevitable in view of our hostile neighbours, though a lot of wasteful spending, on prestigious show-pieces like aircraft carriers, could be cut out straight away. Secondly, out of the total increase of Rs. 123 crores in expenditure in 1962-63 compared to the last year, as much as Rs. 96 crores or 78 per cent is clearly spent on non-Plan items, i.e., defence and miscellaneous civil expenditure. Again, out of the remaining Rs. 27 crores, about Rs. 11 crores are to go to meet the increased cost of debt and administration. It is clear that only Rs. 16 crores, if at all, of the total increase in spending would go to 'Plan-finance'. Should the Rs. 61-crore additional taxation proposals, made on the pretext of Plan-requirements, yield—if at all—only Rs. 16 crores for the Plan? Thirdly, the tax proposals are, it seems, meant to cover (i) the recommendations of the Third Finance Commission for just shares to the States out of the Central till, (ii) the highly deteriorating debt position, and (iii) the increased military spending. In short, the Budget is just a patch-up one covering the big holes dug up by debts and defence in the Central finance.

	(In Rs. crores)		
	1961-62 (Revised)	1962-63 (Budget)	Increase
(A) Net Expenditure			
(a) Debt services, Administrative services and four other civil services.	267	294	27
(b) Miscellaneous civil expenditure.	99	154	55
(c) Defence expenditure (net)	302	343	41
(d) Savings.	34	—	(-) 34
Total	702	791	89
(B) Net Revenue			
(a) Tax-proceeds (net) of cost of collection and disbursement to States.	602	653	51
(b) Currency and Mint.	42	49	7
(c) Miscellaneous.	58	89	31
Total	702	791	89

Were the additional taxes inevitable? Could not economies honestly effected in certain sectors make up for the short fall? Economies can certainly be tried in three directions. There is an unjustifiable rise of Rs. 10 crores in expenditure under "administration" which can be struck off by rationalizing the bloated Central administration. A strict watch on expenditure under the head "Currency and Mint" in the Budget would certainly result in an economy of Rs. 5 crores. Again, there is a big rise of Rs. 29 crores under "other Miscellaneous" expenditure; even if we take account for Rs. 7 crores, under this item, as the increase in dearness allowance for government servants who are by no means alone in facing up the ever-rising price-wall, the remaining Rs. 22 crores can certainly be cut off as it is spent on non-essential non-Plan civil expenditure. Thus internal economies alone would result in the saving of at least Rs. 37 crores. There remains a gap of Rs. 24 crores, which can be easily covered by the usually underestimated tax-returns, underestimated by the greedy Centre. At worst people should, in fairness, have been asked to pay, if at all, Rs. 24 crores by way of additional taxes and not Rs. 61 crores, as this Budget does not ever contribute to "Plan-finance" which is stated to be the *raison d'être* of the tax proposals.

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WANTED FREE TRADE UNIONS

By MONI BHATTACHARYA

Today the trade union movement in India has lost its freedom to Congress Statism. The leaders of the different trade union organizations have rallied in and around Congress Statism and are vying with one another to invite State intervention in the relation of the employer with the employees. As a result, not only the rift between the employer and the employees but also the gulf among the different trade union centres in India has widened, imperilling whatever industrial progress our country has made. The repeated attempts made to unify different trade union centres into a single one, under pressure from below, have utterly failed because of the Statist view of the trade union bosses. Not the interest of the workers but the ambition for the share of the spoils of State power is dominant in the minds of the leading figures of our trade union movement. This is the reason why unity is not being effected in the trade union movement.

The bargaining power of Indian workers can be enhanced only on the basis of a single trade union centre. But trade union unity cannot be achieved on the basis of Congress Statism as the regulator of the relation between the employer and the employees. State regulation of the labour relation is harmful to the interest of both the employer and the employees, as it leads to the sporadic outburst of strikes and lock-outs hampering industrial peace and prosperity. The regulation of the labour relation by Congress Statism has not decreased strikes and lock-outs, but increased them! So free trade unionism is the only alternative to get industrial peace and prosperity by minimizing strikes and lock-outs and by maximizing production in the interest of both the employer and the employees.

It is due to the fear of the employer of the trade union movement that there has arisen Congress Statism regulating the labour relation to safeguard the interest of the employer. But as a matter

of fact, Congress Statism has no power to safeguard the interest of the employer against the sporadic outburst of strikes. Due to the failure of Congress Statism to stop sporadic strikes, the employer has been resorting to lock-out as a retaliatory measure. In this way strikes and lock-outs have been increasing in numbers and continue to last for prolonged periods. This is the inevitable result of Congress Statism used as an instrument to remove the unfounded fear of the employer for the trade union movement. So the uncalled-for fear of the employer for the trade union movement can be overcome only on the basis of free trade

unions which are as much in the interest of the employees as in that of the employer.

The Indian working class is the worst victim of, and therefore constitutes the bulwark against, Congress Statism. No section of Indian population will be able to fight against Congress Statism so faithfully and heroically as the Indian working class. In this condition the newly born Swatantra movement, which is pledged to fight against Congress Statism, should not remain indifferent to the Indian trade union movement. Swatantrites should come forward to organize free trade unions as a great asset to the Swatantra movement and must try to forge unity of the different trade union centres in India on the basis of free trade unionism.

CONSEQUENCES OF INFLATION

The protests of the thinking section of the Indian people against the present Government's policy of continued inflation are no more than a cry in the wilderness, especially as the ruling party claims that its resounding success in the recent elections is a mandate to it to continue its policies. As Mr. Nehru often quotes foreign authorities in support of his policies, I give below two extracts from *Inflation and Society*, a book by Graham Hutton, the well known British economist and journalist:

"Consumption and speculation and quick-turnover ventures are stimulated by inflation—the more so the more rapid the inflation—at the expense of long term investment in normal enduring productive capital.

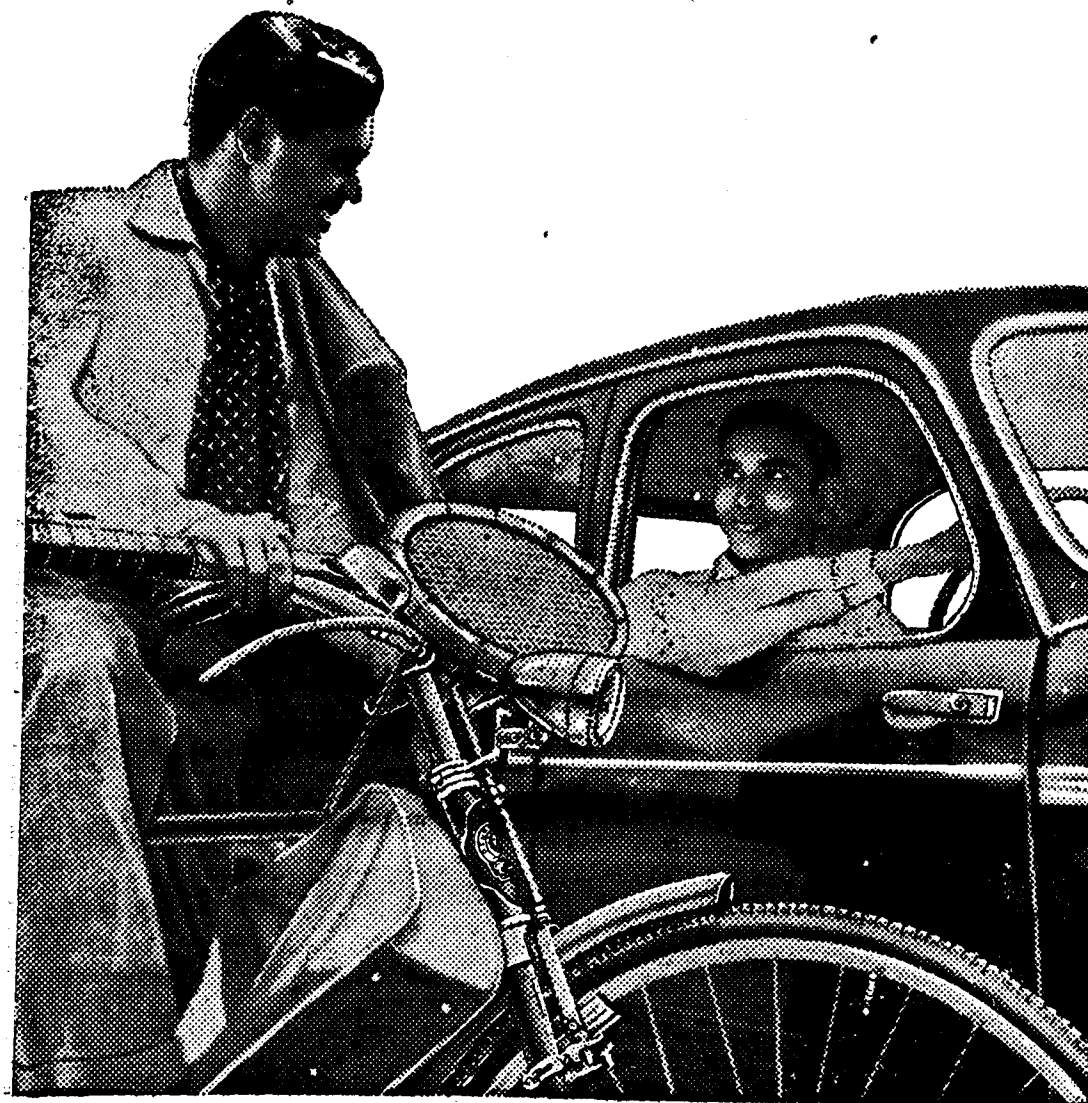
"When this awareness of inflation, of preference for present goods over future goods, becomes general, democratic governments have desperate recourse to State controls and permits over the real things over the normal business, jobs and other economic activities of their citizens. They try to stop the present hectic rush to get rid of depreciating money. They attempt, by cooling the thermometer, to cure the patient's fever. They attack only the symptoms, not the disease which still proceeds. And so an inflating industrial democracy hampers its own growth, jeopardizes its future, and eventually undemo-

cratizes itself. The inflating democracy inflates democracy away."

We are already experiencing almost all the evils indicated so forcefully by Mr. Hutton. Compulsory savings and the rigid controls on banks, etc. are all attempts to throw a smoke-screen around the inevitable consequences of irresponsible inflation. And this resort to inflation is forced on Government because it persists in planning expenditure beyond the capacity of the country. Let it heed the warning of the author in the last sentence of the book:

"Planned, progressive inflation as a policy ends in unplanned, unwanted, but inescapable—and, above all, unforeseen—disaster. This is the lesson of all inflation in history."

—P. H. S. RAO



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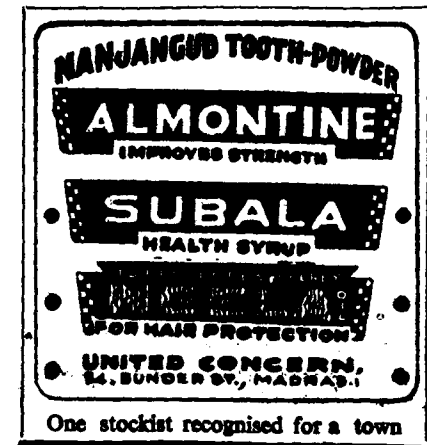
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THE HANDLOOM AND NEW TAXES

By M. SOMAPPA

The new Central Budget proposals have come as a rude shock to the handloom industry. While on the one hand the excise duty on yarn consumed by the handloom industry has been raised, the duty on grey mill fabrics, on the other, has been lowered, which will have the direct effect of widening the disparity in prices between handloom and mill fabrics, to the detriment of the former.

For the yarn consumed by the handloom industry, there was no duty in the previous budget for counts from 1 to 40s, and for counts above 40s the duty was 5nP per Kg. Handloom weavers all over the country agitated against this levy. It is very well known that the handloom industry is at a handicap in the matter of yarn alone when compared to the mill industry, since it gets yarn at prices 15 per cent to 20 per cent higher than what the composite mills pay. The industry has always asked for the removal of this handicap as also the handicap in preparatory processes and weaving, by

levy of suitable excise on mill cloth, so that the price of mill fabrics are brought on par with those of handloom fabrics. In spite of our repeated representations the excise duties on yarn for the handloom industry were not lifted at the time of the previous budget.

While the industry had been hoping that in the current year's budget the levy of duty on counts above 40s will be removed, to its amazement, not only have duties been levied on certain counts which were formerly free of duty but also duties were enhanced in respect of certain other counts as the following table will disclose:

Counts	Old rates (nP • per Kg)	New rates (nP per Kg)
Upto 16s	Nil	Nil
17s to 34s	Nil	3.5
35s to 40s	Nil	9.0
41s to 47s	5	8.0
48s and above	5	17.0

The idea of class war does not appeal to me. In India a class war is not only not inevitable, but it is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence. Those who talk about class war as being inevitable have not understood the implications of non-violence or have understood them only skin-deep.

—MAHATMA GANDHI

In facing competition with mills, the handloom weavers hardly get a subsistence wage. At the slightest sign of trouble, price adjustments are made by the handloom weaver, by tightening his belt and cutting into his already low wages—since he has no control whatsoever on other factors which go into the composition of the price structure. The increase in the levy of duty on yarn consumed by the handloom industry will go to further adversely affect the weaver and make his position precarious.

To aggravate the handloom weaver's troubles, the duty on mill fabrics has also been lowered! While the new Budget proposals might give a wrong impression that the reduction in duty has been confined only to coarse and medium mill fabrics, the fact is otherwise. The reduction in duty has been on all varieties of fabrics, coarse, lower medium, higher medium, fine as well as superfine. Even as it is, the industry is facing stiff competition from mill production. If, as envisaged in the new taxation measures, the duty on mill fabrics is reduced, the cumulative effect of increase in duty on yarn consumed by the handloom industry coupled with reduction in duty on grey mill fabrics, will go to make the price disparity between the handloom and mill fabrics wider and result in crippling vast sections of the handloom industry.

While the mills have secured reliefs, the handlooms have been taxed, though 20 millions are dependent on this ancient cottage industry for their very livelihood. When the Government of India would seem to have realized the importance of the industry in the country's economic set-up, it is strange and anomalous that it should take any step, be it a fiscal measure or otherwise, which will weaken the position of handlooms.

May I, therefore, urge the Government of India to lift the duties levied on yarn issued in hank form intended for the handlooms.

Dear Reader

No truer or more important statement can be made than what U. Thant, UN Secretary-General, told at Copenhagen. The risk of war by 'accident' is very great and growing daily.

soon the tragedy gets unfolded. Where are we going to be landed with this military expenditure pattern?

There is great wailing and lamentation over the new taxes and levies and over the common man's lot getting worse and worse. Can we agree to the Plan and object to its necessary corollaries? We cannot get a daughter-in-law from a duke's house and object to milliners' bills and petrol consumption.

After levying taxes and duties resulting in intolerable rise in prices, the Government offers to finance consumers' co-operatives in the hope that such societies may be able to hold the prices down. This will result in the State itself taking up an unmanageable quantum of centralized trading and the responsibility of finding the capital and the management required to cover nation-wide distribution. The net total result may be such as to furnish reason for great financial lamentation. We raise money to make up for the demands of the Plan by taxes and levies, and then we undertake to raise money to buy all the production and do the distribution. It is easy to see that this is a process of self-defeating entanglement which may land the Government in greater and greater trouble.

Not content with the purchase of an aircraft-carrier the Defence Ministry of India is contemplating the purchase of guided missiles from Moscow. We are told that without such equipment the I.A.F. will not be able to utilise the Russian M.I.G.s with full effectiveness. From one thing to another and from that to yet another, the chain of ruinous commitments will go on. It is easy and even pleasant to begin a course. But

You can't build a new village but you also first fix up the place where you will bury or burn the dead. Likewise, in the eager competition for the location of atomic power-houses, it should not be forgotten that a 'suitable' place should be found for disposing of the radio-active waste, the deadly ashes and debris of atomic power-generation. As much death as power is manufactured in Faust's power-house, and we must know where to stow away the unwanted product. It is not like nature's excreta, either of the vegetable or animal world, which mother-earth receives and converts into leaf and fruit again by her wonderful alchemy. It is deadly poison for which there is no alchemy, because it is not of nature's making, but the Devil's.

We shall not be able to get and read the recently issued 700-page book of the US Atomic Energy Commission. But one thing is clear that it is admitted authoritatively that in spite of all conceivable precautions, nuclear weapons may get hot enough some times to cause the fissionable material in them to melt and become extremely sensitive to shock and may detonate by accident. Especially, when the weapons are assembled and stored during loading and transportation, or when actually in the delivery vehicle, such accidents are more than possible.

Selichi Matsushima, an atom bomb patient, stabbed himself to death in front of a peace memorial at Hiroshima on May 6, as a protest against the resumption of nuclear tests. But who cares? America can say that this old man could not and did not understand the difficult position in which America is now placed. He was

in hospital under treatment for what the Hiroshima bombing did for him and he escaped from there and made this grim demonstration, because he was convinced that that was the only good use to which he could put his life.

We realize the general feeling in America. It is no doubt difficult for the President to resist the demand for equivalent test explosions to balance the Russian blasts of last autumn. In fact the resistance so far shown is itself admirable. But we ask for more like Oliver Twist. Those who are called to posts of guidance should guide, and not be guided by the ignorant or the angry. The issue is too grave to admit the abdication of this duty.

The Soviet "space-man" has assured us through a press conference given at Seattle on May 6, that though he searched (full twenty-five hours!) while flying round the earth, he did not find God. Gagarin and Titov are satisfied after their sojourn in their space-ship capsules that there is no God to worry about, because they did not catch the great Thief though they went so far out as 200 miles above from the earth's surface and circled the planet.

It is pretty clear that technology is very different from science or logic. Isn't it naive for these space-sailors to believe that they have vanquished all philosophy and metaphysics by their whirligig adventure at 200-mile altitude in a universe wherein the light of some of the stars takes a million years to reach us? Even materially speaking, these achievements are infra-lilliputian in relation to the known dimensions of the universe. Supposing someone reached the nebulae in the milky way, even then, it is not the way leading to the mystery called God! "Man, his strength and his reason," to which exclusively Major Titov attributes the great Soviet rockets, are in themselves demonstrations of the mystery to which we turn



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May 19, 1962

in awe and worship and have given the name God. The hobbledehoyhood of these Soviet technicians and their admirers is amusing, had there not been the tragedy of so much gullibility in the present-day busy world.

*

It has at last transpired that the Government of Madras was consulted in regard to the lease of the land in Island Grounds to the 'Indian International House'. Surely it must have been known that the lease was for building pur-

poses and not for cultivation! When we took over the Provincial Government in 1937 my colleague for P.W.D., Mr. Yakub Hassan, had plans ready for a fine legislative assembly palace to be erected on the Island Grounds. I scotched the plan much to his disappointment on this same ground of the need to keep the great lung of the city unchoked. Then in 1952 came a proposal to build the Madras offices of the Reserve Bank of India there. I firmly stood against it and the proposal was dropped. They have built it else-

where, although even that to some extent shuts out the sea air from the city. Many other structures have since come into being with ill effects on citizen's health. But let us hope no commitments made without full understanding will stand in the way of keeping the Island Grounds completely free from buildings and appurtenances. There is enough space along the electric suburban railway line for every kind of new institution.

C.R.

IN THE GRIP OF TYRANNY

By GEORGE THECKEDATH

In the modern world even the most tyrannous dictatorships, which have come to stay in some of the new nations, parade under the flag of democracy. Dictators who suppress liberty of opinion and make decisions even in the most minute details of their administration, have perforce to give to the world at large an impression that they, too, are upholders of democracy. Evil makes efforts unceasingly to hide its true nature under the mask of goodness. During the past fifteen years the Congress Party has deviated far away from the path of democracy and has sowed the seeds of autocracy in its organizational set-up as well as in its administration.

An organization which suffers the opinion of one lone leader to forbid the free discussion of any problem, has absolutely no claim to be called a democratic body. During the recent general elections in the country, Mr. Nehru, the leader of the Congress Party in Parliament, was reported to have asked congressmen who opposed his notions of 'socialism' to quit the party instead of opposing it from within. This is not the way that a democratic way of life could be fostered and built up. It must be recognized that even the humblest of congressmen has the inalienable right and duty to persuade the Congress leadership to abandon a policy which he thinks is harmful to the nation as a whole. This liberty to differ from others and to express the truth as one sees it, is the fundamental prerequisite for the preservation of democratic rights.

We as a nation should not degrade ourselves into becoming blind wor-

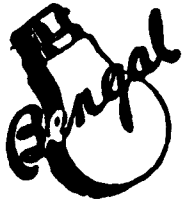
shippers of any one leader. It would be fatal for a nation to be intimidated into submission by any political leader or accept mutely any stiff, unproductive, doctrinaire theory which he may think is a remedy for its problems. Religious fanaticism is bad enough, but political fanaticism is even more harmful and far-reaching in its pernicious effects.

The Congress Party has falsely spread the notion that 'socialism' is good for the common man, and that the party would always protect the interests of the working people. But the intrinsic and incurable evil of this menace of 'socialism' is that it lures the common people treacherously into its snare and binds them up with the rigidity of its organization, so that when the socialization of society is complete, the workers become just slaves of the bureaucrats who run the factories.

The Kerala State Transport department runs a Fast Passenger service leaving Trivandrum at 5 p.m. and reaching Punalur at 7-45 p.m. On the 31st March last the bus was late by one hour when it left Trivandrum central bus station. On enquiries made, I learnt that the bus scheduled for this Fast Passenger service had been diverted to another route as late as near about 4-15 p.m. At about 6 p.m. another bus was allotted for the Fast Passenger service, and since no reserve driver was available at hand, a certain driver who had been on duty from 9 a.m. to 5-30 p.m. in another route, was directed to drive (at 6 p.m.) the Fast Passenger service to Punalur, which is a run of about three hours. That involved 12 hours' driving at a

stretch, and the driver was asked by the bureaucrats of the 'socialist' Government to work at such strain! The poor driver was thoroughly fatigued and those of us who were in that bus could do nothing else but sympathize with him and with hundreds of other workers who are similarly oppressed by the witchcraft of socialism.

Socialism has no ear to listen to incidents of the sort just mentioned. It maintains that individuals are to be sacrificed for the good of the rulers. In India we are already in the grip of such a tyrannous system. But the only silver lining in the cloud is that our Constitution guarantees some fundamental rights which the so-called socialists of the Congress camp have not dared to abrogate. But such abrogation by some future dictator, now being reared by the Congress Party, is not an impossibility. Where the freedom of the nation is involved, we ought not to leave anything to chance. It is for the lovers of freedom and the fighters for the democratic rights to nip this tyranny in the bud, so that those who gave their lives in the struggle for our Independence will not have died in vain.



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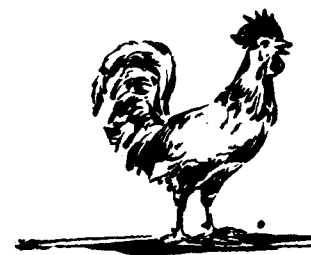
May 19, 1962

FROM A NEW M. P.

May 4: Almost the whole of the day was taken up in the Council of States by Mr. Bupesh Gupta, the leader of the Communist Party in this House. He brought in three resolutions seeking to amend the Constitution so as (1) to make it obligatory (in so many words) for the President to accept the advice of the Council of Ministers, (2) to reduce the President's salary to Rs. 2,500, (3) to empower the Supreme and High Courts to appoint judges of their respective courts instead of the President (as at present) representing the Executive. He spoils good speaking and plausible argument by monotonous shouting. He is hard of hearing and thinks other people are also deaf.

May 5: The cultural break in this week of Parliament was the Tamil play *Chanakya Sapatham* enacted at the Fine Arts and Crafts Society by the Manohar troupe from Madras. The scenes were attractive and followed in rapid succession. The costumes as generally in all Indian displays were more glittering than historically appropriate. The kings were clothed in brocade and the queens in Banaras sarees. One queen, for instance, got up from sleep as if she were dressed for a wedding party—with silks, jewels up to the neck, and flower-decked hair! But the play went with a swing. Although the events depicted were fairly historical, in display of character the actors were not. The player who acted Chanakya came in as a South Indian Brahmin, and acted more the part of villain than that of the hero of the piece. He came into the stage for the first time with a bound, as if he were a warrior going into battle. He was loud, boastful, and threw his weight all about the place. He was revengeful rather than heroic. We know little about the historical Chanakya. But if he was the Indian counterpart of Machiavelli (as in the Indian tradition), his acting of the part showed none of the quietness, the subtlety and the behind-the-scene activity which we associate with the minister of *realpolitik* that Chanakya is held to have been.

The minor actors were more true to type. Though the Greeks headed by Alexander, who was brought into the story by a stretch of historical imagination, were correct in costume and behaviour, Alexander was made to appear more like a temperamental Napoleon than the cultured Greek and pupil of Aristotle he was. He paced up and down on the stage with his hands crossed behind his back as Napoleon is said to have done in tense moments! It was the minor characters, e.g., Virata the boon companion of Chandragupta,



A Crowing Chanticleer

Plato had banished poets from his Republic, but in the Indian Parliament we have renowned versifiers who break into odes. Thus Maitili Saran Gupta sang in praise of the retiring President, Rajendra Prasad, as part of his remarks on the joint-address to Parliament. His colleague in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. C. N. Annadurai, had no Tamil *paadals* ready to match the Hindi panegyric. Poems in politics invariably misfire.

On the partition of India, Pakistanis were so ecstatic that they sang in the streets:

"Hasne Lenge Pakistan
Larke Lenga Hindustan"

Which being interpreted meant: "Laughing we took Pakistan, Fighting we shall take Hindustan."

The Chinese, on the other hand, refrain from singing as they swallow "chunks" of territory, not unaccompanied by prosaic protests from India—Mr. Krishna Menon making it clear that "China can no more swallow us than we can swallow China".

When two pythons attempt swallowing each other from the tail-end, they reach a stage usually described by diplomats as an *impasse*, special correspondents cabling in all directions that the problem is to ease the *impasse*.

India has again asked China to "correct her errors", but China charges India with aggression and incorrigibility. Since neither side would vacate aggression, both sides are compelled to temporise with felony.

and the Greek princess and her maid in disguise in quest of Chandragupta that made the acting ring true. But in spite of the major defect of the play, it proved attractive and drew a large Tamil audience which crowded the small theatre and enjoyed this delightful Tamil play. That the performance gave much pleasure to the audience is proved by the fact that it has been twice repeated.

May 7 to 9: Debate on the Budget continues in the two Houses, dull for

A Lieutenant-Governor will take over Goa. Any congressman who goes in for a second round for election to a created vacancy, and still slips, may be deemed eligible for the office.

Coinciding with the decision taken at New Delhi is the occurrence of anti-Salazar riots in Lisbon, blame for which is ascribed to communist incitement as usual, and never to popular disgust.

The Prime Minister announced in the Lok Sabha that in the tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan, India backed the Royal Government of King Zahir Shah in Afghanistan. The Durand Line is as sacred to Pakistan as the McMahon line is to India in her confrontation of China.

On May 2, the Rajya Sabha was adjourned by the Chairman since no minister was found on the Treasury Bench. Dr. Radhakrishnan expressed the hope that such total absence would not occur again, but it proves the need of "broadbasing" the Ministry further, the increase up to 19 being clearly inadequate.

The commercial traveller in the small country hotel tried to make conversation with the man beside him at breakfast.

"Awful rainy spell—like the flood."

"What flood?"

The tone was polite, but inquiring.

"The flood—Noah, the Ark, Mount Ararat."

The other bit off half a slice of bread, shook his head and mumbled thickly: "I haven't read today's paper yet."—P.J.

most part of the time, except when women-speakers intervene like Dr. Paramanand of Madhya Pradesh and Mrs. Vasisht of Delhi in the Council and Maharani Gayatri Devi in the Lok Sabha, who bring sound domestic commonsense to bear on national questions.

Mr. Morarji Desai replied to the Budget debate in the Council on May 9th. Although plausible in argument, he spoke extempore, in pleasant voice and manner, ready in reply to interruptions, and sure of himself.

This is Gomti Devi. Her husband died in 1960. "I am all alone now," she said. "We had no children." Yet she sits there in serenity, reading her prayer book.

Someone lonely, someone loved

Her husband used to earn only Rs. 250 a month. He died young—suddenly, of heart failure. Yet he left her Rs. 5,000. "I got this from his Life Insurance policy*", she explained.

So Gomti Devi has some money to fall back on, some security in life. Today she can sit there in serenity, reading her prayer book, because her husband had the forethought to insure his life. She is lonely today, but she has the memory of his love.

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VEDA AND SUVEDA

I MEET RAJAJI

By MONICA FELTON
Macmillan & Co. Ltd.
Price: Rs. 15.

Who does not know Rajaji? And yet who knows him? An Upanishad distinguishes knowledge of a part (*Veda*) from knowledge of the whole (*Suveda*). Man's error is in taking the first, which just makes for the recognition of the object, for the second which alone can bring fullness and certitude in understanding. Error of this kind is easy where the subject for study is a many-sided personality even as a many-peaked mountain range. Errors can be guarded against if one has for guide a mind-portraitist of the skill of Mrs. Felton.

Mrs. Felton has both the perspicacity and the adroitness to get her sitter into self-revealing moods and postures. At their first meeting on the 1st of December, 1956, she contrived to turn the talk upon the need of Religion as a basis for good conduct, about which she seems to have been in doubt herself, and she found him insisting on the necessity of Religion. His Mazzinian depreciation of statesmanship divorced from the laws of God was expressed in the self-reproof: "God has had enough of us." This attitude of relating man's aspiration and effort to faith in God recurs again and again in their lively exchanges of views.

It is the philosopher that speaks through the outer politician; behind the commentator on affairs is the scholar; and behind the idealist is at work the realist. Rajaji upholds non-violence, but is a good shot nevertheless and did not hesitate to use his gun in self-defence. He is abstemious, but thinks milk a clumsy food. Such delightful paradoxes and enlivening enigmas serve only to show that a great man's life is much more than a smooth flow of obvious logic. There is below all the seeming contradictions an inner coherence discernible only by those who have learnt to look beneath the surface. Towards such a clear understanding of the man, one is greatly helped by the interview-records of Mrs. Felton.

Mrs. Felton's interrogations hit like flint on steel, evoking sparks of illuminating reflection or comment. A major portion of the book is naturally devoted to politics—both national and international, Nehru and Khrushchov coming in frequently. But the subjects covered by the thirty-three

chapters are three or four times as numerous. Literature and art, economics and domestic, religious disciplines, national and group habits, imitation of foreigners and preservation of *Dharma*—a hundred such things come within the compass.

The popularity of a man betokens a measure of close correspondence between some attribute of his and some quality prized by those among whom he is popular. This correspondence, however, can come about in one of two ways: either by his coming down to their level or by lifting those below to his own. Rajaji's is the latter way. He transcends all shibboleths. Here is an instance: referring to the plea for raising the standard of living, he says—

"What is wanted is that people like us should push down our standard. If we all had less and stopped demanding more, the poor people would find a way of lifting themselves up. . . . Why should these good social reformers try to get admission for Negroes into white schools? If they really believed in their principles, they would send their own children to Negro schools instead."

Literary evaluations are found here and there in this volume. Rajaji is an admirer of Wordsworth. Mrs. Felton suggests that "Wordsworth was a dull man with a guilty conscience". She probably had in mind the simpler pastoral pieces of the poet, and his affair of the heart as a young man when in Paris. The first is a matter of subjective susceptibility; and on the second, it can only be that she has evidently not seen the later findings of biographical research. Thackeray is yet another favourite author of Rajaji, but Jane Austen and Trollope are not neglected. Here is a profound remark: "I always liked Thackeray's goody-goody characters. . . . Goody-goody characters appear so boring probably because they are not seen in conflict. . . . There is no tension, no struggle." This incidentally explains the eclipse of our pre-Gandhi public men. Man is at bottom a combative animal. If he cannot fight, he loves to see others fight, and if not in a fight of arms, then in a fight of words (*Vaakyarthas*).

Interesting sidelights are strewn here and there on certain aspects of recent political history. The Cripps Mission of 1942 failed because Rajaji's colleagues, though not Rajaji, opposed it. Cripps was "a very good man. He had no taint of careerism." Non-

careerists do not succeed because "they are not sufficiently accommodating. . . . Careerists accommodate, and accommodation is the thing." Was Rajaji a careerist? Here are facts: Gopalaswami Iyengar had really been the choice, unanimously made, for the Governorship of West Bengal. "He hesitated and said he needed time. . . . Next day he came back and said that his wife would not agree. That is how I became Governor." Mrs. Felton one day said to Rajaji, "if I were the mother of you and the Prime Minister, I would bang your two heads together and tell you to settle down and run things together". And this was C.R.'s reply: "When I left Delhi, there was no quarrel. . . . If I had written to Mr. Nehru and said that I had a nostalgia for Delhi, he would certainly have invited me to return".

The thought of a new public organization—which has since taken shape as the Swatantra Party—arose at first in February 1959 as of a "non-political organization with two objects: to restore moral values and to harass the Government". "How can it be non-political if you are going to harass the Government?" "It is going to be non-political in the sense that we are not going to put up candidates in elections". From 'non-election' the Swatantra has gone forward into elections, because of the state of public feeling revealed to it since its formation, after studying the country's reaction.

Rajaji cherishes certain deep inner pieties which mean much to man's inner life, provided he has cognizance of such a thing as an inner being. To a Japanese scholar and historian who had come to Rajaji as a missionary for world-peace, Rajaji said: "I am giving you a little water from the Ganges, which, as you know, is a sacred river for Buddhists as well as for Hindus". He put the phial into Dr. Hirano's

(Contd. on next page)

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FROM THE CAPITAL:

REACTIONS TO MR. ANNADURAI'S SPEECH

By SANJAYA

NEW DELHI: Not unexpectedly, the Capital's first reaction to Mr. C. N. Annadurai's maiden speech in the Rajya Sabha was sharp, even bordering on the hysterical. His demand for 'self-determination' for the South came towards the end, and was but a part of a fairly effectively delivered speech on the relative neglect of the region in the matter of development and on the growing fear of what has come to be called Hindi imperialism. But the demand for separation was taken out of the context and was highlighted in the newspapers here.

Under a three-column heading "Voice of secession is raised in Rajya Sabha; DMK leader attacks basis of Indian Union", the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* said that "for the first time in Parliament since Independence a demand for secession from the Indian Union was heard". This was the first lead story in the paper that morning. The *Times of India's* reporter said much the same thing: he called the speech "a naked plea for the dismemberment of the country" and

"a stunning performance". The treatment of the speech by the *Statesman* and the *Indian Express* was factual, in contrast. Incidentally, all were agreed that the DMK leader had, from the point of eloquence, made "quite an impact" on the House.

The immediate reaction, in the House as elsewhere, was to single out the Dravidanad demand for comment or criticism and to ignore almost completely the specific grievances of the South voiced by Mr. Annadurai. One Congress member, for instance, said that to demand separation from the Indian Union after having taken the oath of allegiance to the Constitution was "a violation done to the pledge". The suggestion was even made in the House, the next day, for an amendment of the Constitution so as to make any demand for secession 'treasonable'. And communist members, ever the eager defenders of the country's 'democratic unity', described the philosophy behind the demand as 'dangerous'. The Prime Minister, for his part, spoke with his customary world perspective. He said he never took the Dravidanad demand very seriously "because it seems to have so little to do with the various currents in the world". Then, airily: "I think it must be due to some local reason".

Editorial writers in all the four Capital English dailies, which commented promptly on the speech, did not evidently share this disdain. Nor could they afford the superficiality or the easy impatience that marked the Rajya Sabha reactions to the speech. The editorial writers' approach to the matter was, in sharp contrast, informed with a transparent anxiety to probe the causes of the Dravidanad demand.

Of course none of them supported the demand—they pronounced it unreal and unwise—but all were agreed that it was good Mr. Annadurai had spoken his mind on it. "The hush which has been maintained on this question by different parties for different reasons and in different stages," as the *Indian Express* said, "has served no purpose, positive or negative." The paper called for an examination of the specific grievances to which Mr. Annadurai gave expression, "with a view to affording redress where it is due or feasible, or exposing the falsity of such claims as are baseless or unreasonable". The Hindi question, the paper said, stood on a different footing. "In this case, emo-

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tional considerations are so strongly reinforced by practical handicaps that it is the more impatient enthusiasts of Hindi who seem determined to beat the Kazhagamites in political perversity". The language controversy could not be set at rest until all parties agreed to continue English in its former position almost indefinitely. The *Statesman* also expressed a similar view. It said the DMK's demand for secession, "however outrageous it may sound, should at least jolt the Hindi fanatics into realization that resentment against the imposition of Hindi is deep".

An answer to the DMK demand, the *Hindustan Times* said, had to be found "in terms of the specific issues raised". The question of neglect of the South in development, for instance. "The more serious part of the problem, as Mr. Rajagopalachari has repeatedly pointed out, stems from the fear of domination by the Hindi-speaking North in regard to public services and public attitudes. Questions of this kind raise emotional issues which cannot be met by general appeals for national unity or any narrowly legal objections."

The *Times of India* felt the charge of neglect of the South in development "cannot fairly be substantiated"; but it agreed on the existence of "a sense of uncertainty and resentment in large areas of the South regarding the pace of change to Hindi, sometimes advocated by some of its more belligerent but less thoughtful protagonists in the North. ... This is a genuine fear and can only be overcome by patience and goodwill".

In so far as it has effectively stirred the Capital's attention to some of the grievances of the South, Mr. Annadurai's maiden speech in the Rajya Sabha, it would seem, has not gone in vain.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SWATANTRA PARTY IN MAHARASHTRA

Sir,—It is only in two talukas of the Satara and Sangli districts of Maharashtra that the Swatantra Party was able to set up candidates in the recent general elections, since the decision to contest the elections was taken late. We visited quite a number of places, big and small explaining the ideals for which the party stood, and it was gratifying to see that several thousands of people attended the meetings, and what was more, welcomed the coming into existence of a political party with its high ideals which, if transformed into reality, gave hope for the future. About a lakh of people must have listened to the message of the Swatantra Party in the two constituencies. And what is of significance for the future of the party is the fact that in the two constituencies, where our candidates contested against the Congress, voters of some 80 per cent of the villages voted for our candidates. It is also of good augury for the party's future because 20,000 voters of this State, all educated and knowing, cast their votes for them. This is a very promising beginning for a new party.

In some places some Congress workers obstructed the holding of meetings, and even broke-up a few others by resorting to discreditable tactics including throwing of stones, as their object was to see that our leaders did not get even a hearing. But those tactics, far from proving successful, only created an adverse effect in the minds of the public.

The people are coming, more and more, to think that it is only our party that can do good to the people, and not the Congress. Almost all the votes cast for the Congress are those of the helpless and unthinking voters. And they voted Congress only because they felt that there was no other political party as an effective alternative to it, and feared that if they did not vote Congress, they would be risking the consequences of disruption of day-to-day life which was miserable enough even as it was. So it was that they chose the obvious safe course of voting for the ruling party.

Even so, I am certain that before long the people will come to realize their shortsightedness and turn the Congress out from power, the moment a strong, well-knit party, on which they could rely to work for the welfare of the people, was ready to take over the reins of power. If our party will in-

flexibly stick to its ideals and principles and set up a large number of candidates in the next elections, I am certain that success is ours.

—A SWATANTRA WORKER

FORM 5 OF RETURN OF INCOME

Sir,—The Income-tax Rules, 1962 prescribe a certificate of the assessee's representative to be accompanied in respect of return of income as in Form 5. The certificate has to declare that "the return gives a true and fair view of the income from all sources for the relevant previous year". No representative can be expected to investigate into the affairs or to have a vigilant check over the affairs and accounts of the particular assessee and hence it is not proper to expect a certificate, in the prescribed form. A prudent representative may not like to give such a certificate and this would create an impression that there is suppression of income by the assessee. A conscientious worker will have no place in the field of income-tax practice.

The rules framed thereunder in Rule 12(5) read with Form 5 go beyond the provisions of the Act. The framing of such rules without inviting comments from the public or representative bodies such as the Income-tax Practitioners' Association, the Chartered Accountants' Association and various Chambers of Commerce cannot be considered as justifiable or as good practice. There are many stringent provisions in the Income-tax Act, 1961 and the necessity for a certificate in Form 5 from the representative is not warranted.

So the authorities should consider the difficulties of the members of the profession and try to delete the rule and form from the Income-tax Rules, 1962.

Madurai

T. S. RAJU

WORKING OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Sir,—Now that the excitement and passion of elections have somewhat cooled, it is time we examine objectively some of their consequences.

Fair and free elections are said to be the bulwark of liberal democracy but serious doubts assail our minds about the future of parliamentary democracy in India. India is the largest democracy

in the world and is perhaps the last bastion of democracy in Asia; so it has a special responsibility. But nowhere else in the world's democracies there have been so many complaints of alleged malpractices as in India. Scores of candidates have filed petitions and a dozen parties have accused the ruling party of using unfair means for securing victory for its henchmen. The ruling party has arraigned the Opposition parties of false propaganda and "pandering for votes". It is even hinted that ballot-boxes have been tampered with, besides other numerous charges. The Election Commission, in certain instances, has failed to dispel suspicions. All this does not augur well for a nascent Indian democracy, which is beset with many other handicaps—want of an effective Opposition, multiple parties, corruption, illiteracy, lack of political consciousness, etc.

An impartial *ad hoc* Committee composed of a former Chief Justice and other eminent non-party men, should be set up on the model of the Lord Bryce Committee (of 1917-1918) on electoral reforms in Britain, to probe into these alleged malpractices to make its candid recommendations to make India safe for the efflorescence of parliamentary democracy; otherwise, in the words of Mr. H. V. Kamath, M.P., the "prospects for a puissant democracy are bleak in India."

GANESHA SINGH PAKHTOON

New Delhi

MYSORE ADMINISTRATION: REAL OR FANCIED?

Sir,—I am writing this letter with some hesitancy, as it is a comment on Sri Rajaji's remarks on Mysore administration in your issue of April 21. This is what he says in paying his tribute to Sir M. Visvesvaraya:

"No memorial need be thought of for him. The efficiency of Mysore administration is itself a memorial, which, let us hope, will not be allowed to deteriorate."

If one were to reflect upon the present Mysore administration—specially when compared to even the present Madras administration—Rajaji's characterization of the administration in Mysore seems more an ironic comment than a true appraisal.

As no one could charge Rajaji with insincerity, his implied praise of Mysore administration may be seized by those concerned as a "certificate" to their advantage.

Mysore State

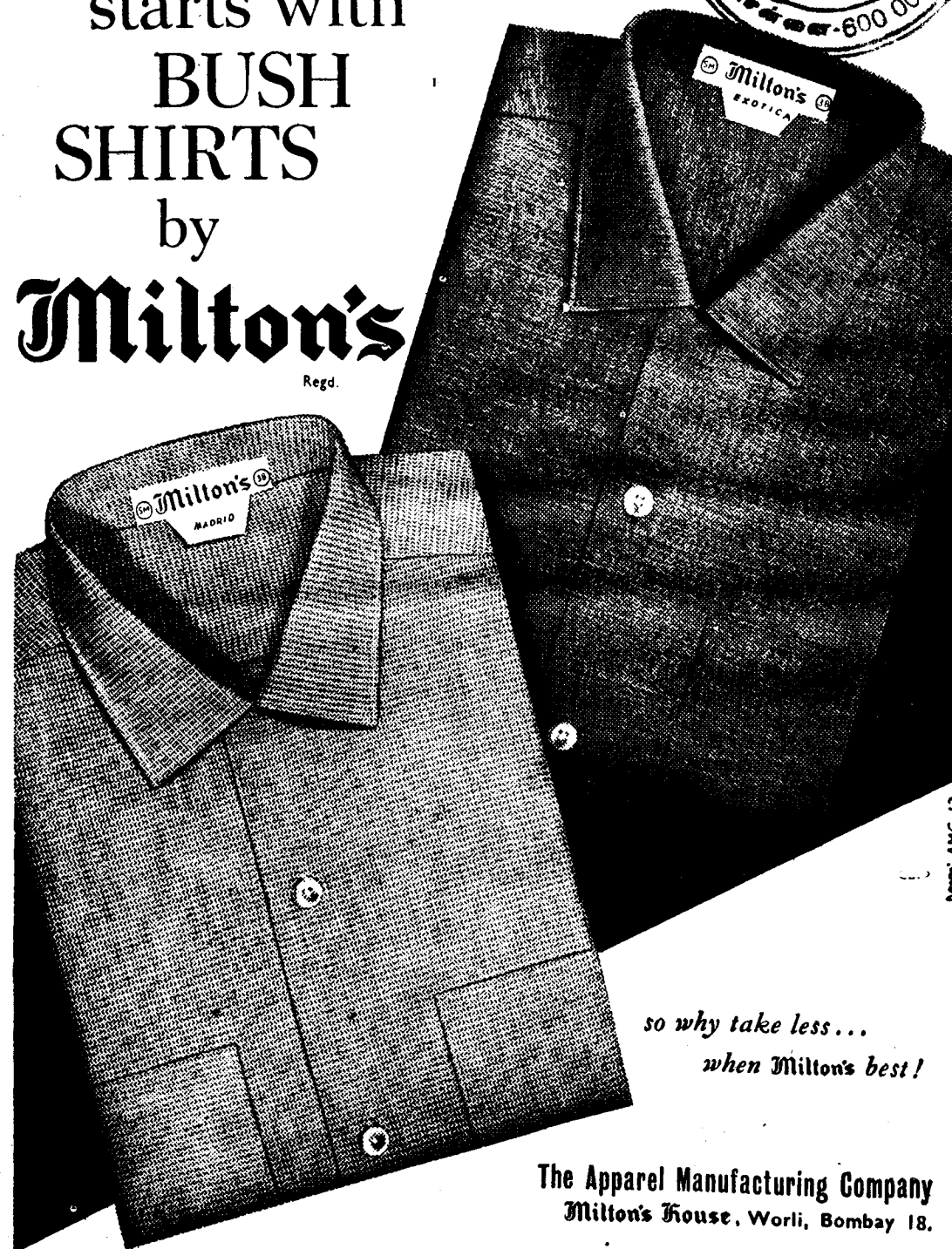
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