

# SWARAJYA

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)  
Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI No. 35

MADRAS, MARCH 3, 1962

Price 15 nP

## JOINT PERSONALITY CULT

Mr. Nehru detected the existence of a "tortured soul" in Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as the cause of the Swatantra movement. Irrespective of the statistical results of the election, the Swatantra movement is going to be a live force for the rescue of India from a regime of monopolist power indistinguishable from the communist cult. Before an alleged three-lakh audience in Gwalior, the Prime Minister said that after all he was somebody in the country entitled to full publicity for his speeches, and in his rage, under the spur of imperfect information, he refrained from uttering a word of rebuke to his partymen who led a march to a newspaper-house and burnt copies as part of the pro-Menon campaign in North Bombay.

The grievance that the Prime Minister's voice is being stifled is highly synthetic, and Mr. Nehru cannot really complain, as an aggrieved party, when critics on the whole have been comparatively blanketed through all the media of publicity controlled by the party-in-power thirsting for a perpetual lease of power.

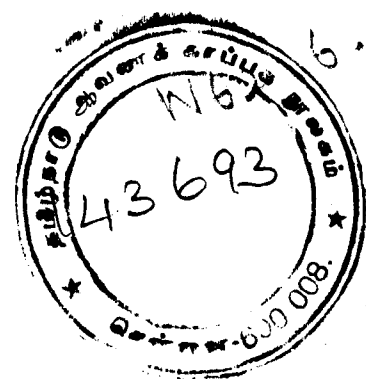
Mr. Nehru's complaint about capitalists throttling official publicity coincided with the U.N. Seminar on Freedom of Information, which Vice-President Radhakrishnan opened with a homily to the effect that press-activity should be regulated by individual conscience and concern for public welfare. The visiting journalists—80 delegates and observers from 17

countries in the ECAFE region—settled down to a two-week seminar discussing the role of the Government, publishers, professional journalists and readers at large, on Freedom of Information. From Mr. Nehru's recent harangue about electoral publicity, our guests might infer that conditions in India are similar to those prevailing in Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan and other fraternal countries under the stranglehold of censorship.

The Prime Minister betrayed his real attitude, on the launching of the anti-Kripalani campaign, by asking rhetorically what he could do to educate the newspapers in India as if he alone knew all about the rights and duties of editors and of publishers. For Mr. Menon it is a matter of lordly indifference since in his eyes the "jute-press" controls hacks who are far too gone for useful instruction in a capitalist society. If Mr. Nehru had spent a few moments in introspection after actually reading the manifestos of other parties and scanning offensive columns in the press without being guided second-hand by cock-and-bull stories about disrespect to the P.M. from flunkey-crowds, he is likely to gain a glimpse of the fact that in matters of policy, domestic or foreign, the last word rests with Mr. Krishna Menon and himself. Other people in the country are semi-illiterates in the laying down of foreign policy and the moulding of productive economy in the country under soar-

ing conditions of prosperity on the Avadi principles of equal distribution—despite staggering evidence of gradual impoverishment. Once a Congress tycoon, who claimed, without contradiction, that he had financed a wholesale election from the Bihar province, said something out of harmony with Panditji's intensive views about neutralism (now exploited by more astute neighbours), he flared up (and lashed out) in withering contempt: "Because he has money he imagines himself fit to discuss foreign policy!"

In alliance with his world-mentor, Mr. Nehru's line of esoteric argument leads only to a rather sophisticated version of the nursery-rhyme: "Love me, Love my dog". Mr. Nehru assumes it as an elementary democratic principle that once he is chosen Prime Minister of the country it is entirely his pleasure to nominate a colleague regardless of unpopularity and distrust of his real principles of conduct, besides the buried records of the past. The presumption is wrong, but he is so mesmerised that he cannot grasp any limitation to his claim. There is a legal maxim that a delegated power cannot be re-delegated by the holders of it to another. To claim that the later aspirant enjoys "private confidence" and that any distinction between two minds would be taken by Mr. Nehru as an "insult to my intelligence" involves a fallacy. No statesman dare go too far with the proposition that



a relationship however intimate between Mr. A and B should also be tolerable if B and C are friendly—and that *ergo* the same should be assumed as unconditionally fair and valid between A and C in the transaction of delicate affairs.

This kind of tortured logic is at the bottom of the reasoning built up by Mr. Nehru as a pattern of argument for installing Mr. Krishna Menon as proxy-holder. The question whether Mr. Menon is a communist, within Congress infiltration, could be plainly answered by himself without intermediary interpreters. There is nothing unworthy in being an honest Communist and holding the view of the greatest Marxian theorist like Mikail Suslov that co-existence between two incompatible systems is unthinkable in the world. The marching hordes of Mao and Chou-En-Lai will adhere to the thesis, mouthing *Panch Sheela* and attempting to drug India into forgetfulness by the hypnotist's crystal-ball of Pakistan's larger acreage of aggression. As if the matter could be easily disposed of, Mr. Nehru says that if he (Prime Minister) is a socialist, then Mr. Menon too is a socialist. The anterior question is: "Am I not a mere socialist?" That premise is assumed and by the device of a crutch-argument, the deduction is plain as pike-staff. It is a model of reasoning followed by the future Congress President herself when addressing a women's meeting in Bombay. She suddenly asked the dames present whether they took her to be a communist. Nobody would say 'No', and there is no reason for any sisterly admirer to take on a burden of proof to establish the contrary at the risk of being instantly smothered. Indira Gandhi then proceeded (exact words): "I have known Mr. Menon for several years. If I am a communist, then Mr. Menon is also a communist". The Madhav Bagh listeners resumed their garlanding before dispersing. To quote the children's book: "Brer Rabbit lay low and said nuffin".

—POTHAN JOSEPH

## TOWARDS A NEW LIBERALISM

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The deepest challenge of the times to the assumptions of the present social order comes from communism in its Marxist-Russian variety. The central nerve of this disturbing ideal is indicated by the dread notion of *class war*. No new system of governance and social idealism has any chance of acquiring the allegiance of men in the long run, unless it holds a viable promise of providing a constructive alternative to the charge of class war, while preserving what is of permanent worth by way of human values and insight into human psychology in the older dispensation of property, freedom and hierarchy. The essence of the older democracy is liberty which has to be reconciled with the equally indispensable values of equality and fraternity. Only if this goal is meaningfully fulfilled can any new blue-print for social change hope to acquire decisive influence.

It is from this point of view that we have to examine the schemes of alternative government and social dispensation embodied in the manifestos of political parties genuinely opposed to that of the ruling party, viz, the Congress.

In the ultimate analysis, there are only two such true Opposition parties in the field today soliciting the suffrages of the people, the Swatantra and Jana Sangh Parties. For, the PSP, the Socialist and Communist Parties as well as the Congress Party after the Avadi session, when it openly abandoned Gandhism and embraced (the communist variety of) socialism, all fall into line as articulations of socialism. The difference lies largely in the *pace* of socialization, only the Communist Party differing in the *content* of democracy and the absence of any qualms in the use of violence (when necessary) for achieving its goal. All are class parties envisaging the State as the instrument of class; their goal being thus to change the role of the State from being the agent of the possessing class to that of the proletariat led by the Communist Party.

The industrial policy declaration of 1956 and the Congress election manifesto (1962) announce the goal of the expansion of the public sector and the gradual squeezing out of the citizen sector, leaving the State as the sole producer, combining both

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political power (i.e., police and military power) and economic power (of employment and dismissal) in the same hands. This is a concentration of power more oppressive than that of mere economic power in the hands of the commercial and industrial classes. This is destructive of human values though it may result in high construction in the economic and military fields through regimentation of the people in all spheres of life. The Opposition parties are aware of this inevitable outcome of the socialist pattern of society adopted by the Congress in abject surrender to the towering personality of Mr. Nehru. They, therefore, build their scheme of governance and social order with the freedom and dignity of the individual as the centre of interest and value.

They refer to *dharma* for recovery of the sense of social solidarity (*loka sangraha*) and recognize the inevitable pluralism inherent in social differentiation as the pathway of progress. To merge the vast diversity of social functions back into the mother institution of society, namely, the State, is to destroy the progress thus far made by humanity. In psycho-analytic terms, it is to yearn to go back to the safety of the womb! It is *reactionary* in the deepest evolutionary sense.

"Class war" is to be conquered not by abolishing the possessing class—as socialist-communist thought tries to do. It is to be conquered rather by building a social system that provides a ladder of ascent to every member of society. In addition to assuring employment (with social security, i.e., unemployment and sickness and disability insurance) to all (whether skilled or unskilled) with a minimum wage, society should construct a ladder of opportunity, whereby the able and ambitious worker can rise to higher levels. A country-wide system of polytechnics with a shorter working day, to afford leisure to take advantage of them after working hours at different levels, will open the door of opportunity for acquiring skills and capacity to earn



higher wages. Japan has long offered an example in this respect. *Career open to talent*—is the *open sesame* whereby the misanthropic idea of class war can be successfully bypassed. It was the secret of the success of Napoleon's policy in collecting vast armies time after time, for each recruit felt that his knapsack contained a marshal's baton, though visible only to the eye of faith! This confidence is born of a genuine nationalism or patriotic, social fraternity that envelopes every citizen with an inspiring atmosphere of sympathetic communion akin to blood kinship. Genuine nationalism covers every citizen with a mantle of protectiveness and fosters a sense of *belonging* to the same brotherhood. Such nationalism naturally issues in democracy seeking in political institutions to translate this social sympathy into ways of mutual helpfulness in established ways.

Freedom by itself means only an absence of restraint. But such negative freedom from constraint is not enough. It should be completed by concrete freedom.

The first step of concrete freedom is a system of educational opportunities—with scholarships, free midday meals to the poor and special openings to the talented to rise to the top of their

genius. This will begin the equalization of opportunity. This educational ladder should be followed up (as already indicated) by an economic ladder with opportunities offered by the State to the able and ambitious to acquire additional skills. To bridge the gulf between the haves and have-nots, it is not necessary to do away with the class of the rich. It is only necessary to open the door by which the poor can acquire property either through superior service in mills and offices, or by entering the learned services like land and teaching, engineering and accounting and auditing, or advertising, or newspaper work. The worker can also start small workshops or factories aided with credit from public or private banking institutions and become an owner of capital himself. He could enhance his savings through capital appreciation of shareholdings. In America millions of workers own shares of public companies and become independent entrepreneurs and owner-managers themselves.

Thus the *new liberalism* has a programme of *positive freedom* offering to the poorest a ladder of opportunity to rise into the owning class through creative contribution, for which the whole social system of institutions, educational and economic, is geared.



## CURRENT EVENTS::

Election-week in India was packed with ominous developments abroad. The proposal of an 18-member Disarmament Conference in Geneva appeared still-born, though Mr. Menon conceded animation enough to name it a "circus". After his whirlwind tour of nine days (with an average of six speeches *per diem* during endless processions) the Prime Minister returned to New Delhi, hale and hearty, and he wanted time to consider the question of saying "No" to the Geneva offer; but additional circumstances foredoom the plan to failure, and Mr. Krishna Menon has announced that Mr. Nehru would be presently preoccupied with post-election arrangements rather than manoeuvres of world-policy. Further, a surprise decision has been taken by the United States and Britain that, for the efficiency of their own thermonuclear defences against potential aggressors, they should, on the

advice of experts, test their latest devices in atomic weaponry.

Mr. Krishna Menon promptly declared that it is the decision that is a menace to the world and not the identity of those who so decided to launch on experimentation. As for the breach of the test-moratorium, the Defence Minister long ago caused annoyance to the White House authorities by "equating" Soviet Russia with atom-pedlars in the opposite Camp, whilst the Afro-Asian bloc was busy strengthening the majority in the UNO for future contests. As if to highlight the trend of opinion, Mr. Krishna Menon in a Bandra rally made a neat point for his own prescience. On Khrushchov launching megaton explosions, a Senate Committee was discussing the armament-question in Capitol Hill when one of the knowledgeable witnesses testified that for underground-tests, advance preparations are indispensable. Both sides were obviously indulging in secret preparations. Mr. Menon read aloud that confession from Senate-records to the perturbation of U.S. diplomats inclined to claim absolute innocence as to their attitude towards the moratorium. Both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan have owned up to preparatory research, Great Britain allowing American operations in the vicinity of Christmas Islands, and America allotting space in Nevada for British scientists to evaluate the merits of their latest stockpile. To enliven the scene, Francis Powers whose U-2 flight diverged into Russian space has been handed over to American patrols in exchange for Abel, a Soviet suspect in secret orbit. The Mosaic law had been slightly varied into "A Spy for a Spy", without any reference to a "tooth for a tooth" which cannot be of equal consequence at an age of exquisite dentures in America.

That spying, counter-spying and clandestine production of

novel weapons are on cannot be denied, when the prospects of an Algerian compromise are under the blast of the OAS of General Salan (under sentence of death) mysteriously controlling a powerful private army, and sabotaging the course of General de Gaulle's negotiations with a new provisional Government wishful of a compromise after seven years of bloodshed. Mr. Menon in his anti-Yankee peace-offensives in New York adhered to his view that the appearance of faceless innocence amongst Big Power blocs should not lull the world into a sense of security; but then he has his own way of putting it which in the folksy slangue of ex-President Truman meant "ants in the pants" for Uncle Sam. The Big Powers are also badly stuck over the Laos question (and we are not allowed to forget that India is Chairman of the International Conciliation Commission, the chair being presently occupied by Mr. C. Parthasarathy) so that the prospect of tension being relaxed in South East Asia, and a neutral State being stabilized, has unfortunately receded. Small affairs, like the infringement of air-space, halt big projects of disarmament as in the breakdown of the Paris negotiations following the U-2 misadventure. All nations seem uncommitted as to what they do next and how they could wreck a moratorium. In order to milden this disease of self-righteousness, we may quote the speech delivered before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on January 14, 1960 by Comrade Nikita Khrushchov:

The Soviet Government, with the aim of creating more opportune conditions for agreeing soon on an ending to the tests, will also in the future stick to its self-imposed obligation not to resume experimental nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union if the Western Powers do not begin testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Should any side violate the obligations to which it has committed itself, the instigators of such violations will cover themselves with shame, and they will be condemned by the peoples of the world.

Wolf, Wolf! In a parting shower of epithets, Mr. Nehru wound up

his election-campaign by the alarmist cry that McCarthyism had made way to India. Already he spoke of "outside people" (no names of culprit-countries mentioned) taking a hand in Indian elections. Joseph McCarthy, the Senator from Wisconsin, suffered from the obsession that he was the inspired guardian of the United States against communist infiltration, especially into the State Department, a charge to which he adhered after a West Virginia oration in February 1950. He demanded investigation, and one of the victims of his attack was Alger Hiss, an eminent student of law who had figured at an International Conference of Jurists. In a way, Prime Minister Nehru shares the McCarthyian trait of imagining that he monopolizes in himself patriotic concern for the future of India, and entertains an equal degree of scorn for impediments in the Constitution exalting the role of judges. Mr. Nehru has more than once betrayed a spirit of disparagement for "these High Court judges", but overlooking personal traits, one could figure out in him a zest for witch-hunting which results in the phantoms of opponents appearing as 'unpatriotic' elements in the country.

What the fear of communism was in the mind of Senator McCarthy, the scare of Swatantra is to the vigilant eyes of Prime Minister Nehru. C.R. has been the subject of his denunciations and caricatures. He has been described as the cadger and custodian of vested interests given to sacrificing the future of the country, a sordid reactionary found in the company of the plutocratic order, a renegade to the Congress cause with a past that would reveal him as a near-wrecker of national Independence even in Gandhian days, when worthier soldiers of Freedom fortunately accomplished the feat of "wresting Freedom from unwilling hands". Incidentally, there is the dissimilarity that McCarthy always opposed secret manoeuvres and insisted on a television hear-

ing for 36 days without any hush-hush for the misdeeds of court-favourites. His implacable sense of being the very incarnation of American patriotism drove him to the self-righteous pose resulting in character-assassination. Mr. Nehru's latter-day speeches reek with personalities and he parades arguments against those who differ in terms amounting to character-assassination. Another difference is that McCarthy abstained from mystification in the naming of Un-American Activities whereas the Prime Minister prefers to make the flesh creep by reference to "outsiders" interfering with India's general elections. If McCarthyism has broken into the Indian scene, Mr. Nehru should shoulder his share for the introduction of mercenary motives and vilificatory rhetoric without even closely reading the material on which he speaks for the beguilement of the masses. Alger Hiss is now on the bench of the International Court at Geneva, despite McCarthyian rancour.

In a short sentence, Rajaji has given a warning to those who imagine that as they are Fortune's Darlings they could go any way they like: "No one can receive help and retain independence." Export of sublime opinions on what mankind should do, cannot count as substitute for foreign exchange, alignment or non-alignment with hands held out in both directions. The despatch of dollar-aid to Laos was suspended near about the middle of February, since subsidies seem to make no difference to the cause of stable neutralism in that buffer-State. It is elementary human nature that when money is misused, the donor rubs his eyes. No deep psychological study is needed to anticipate the sequel. A responsible parent sees to it that remittances sent to the boy in college are not wantonly spent; if he comes to know of it, he, as sane guardian, goes the length of cutting off supplies. There is no lack of idealism when such a cut is made. In the story of many American families including the

education of the Kennedy Brothers, the millionaire-father Joseph Kennedy kept a check on accounts for the good of his own sons and to keep scroungers off. Motilal Nehru was proud of his son and by no means stingy when it came to a liberal intra-family allowance, but when young Jawaharlal proposed the idea of his having a luxury-car in London to assist him in his education, the fond father knew it was time to pull up. With consummate discretion and tact (traits not always hereditary), he wrote to Jawaharlal that his driving a car about would give anxiety about possible accidents among those at home in Anand Bhavan and that he had better get on as usual. P.J

The following particulars regarding the ownership of the 'SWARAJYA' the English weekly newspaper, are published, as called for by Rule 8 of the Registration of Newspapers (Central) Rules, 1956

### FORM IV

1. Place of Publication: Madras
2. Periodicity of its Publication: Weekly
3. Name of Printer: R. Ananthanarayanan  
Nationality: Indian  
Address: 20, Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar Road Kilpauk, Madras-10
4. Name of Publisher: T. Sadasivam  
Nationality: Indian  
Address: 20, Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar Road Kilpauk, Madras-10
5. Name of Editor: Pothan Joseph  
Nationality: Indian  
Address: 22-B Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bangalore
6. Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital:

Sri T. Sadasivam, 20, Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar Road, Madras-10. Srimathi M. S. Subbulakshmi, 20, Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar Road, Madras-10. Sri R. Ananthanarayanan, 20, Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar Road, Madras-10. Sri K. Rajendran, 1, Fifth Street, New Colony, Lake Area, Madras-6. Sri M. P. Kalyanasundaram, 3, Water Works Colony, Kilpauk, Madras-10. Sri V. Vaidyanathan, 3, Varadarajulu Naidu Road, Madras-8. Sri K. R. Athmanathan, 20, Dr. Guruswami Mudaliar Road, Kilpauk, Madras-10.

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## OPPOSITIONAL CONFUSIONS

By PREMA

To a reader of our newspapers, the criticisms advanced by various 'leaders' against the Swatantra Party and its founder make tremendous entertainment. Oppositional demoralization can apparently go no further!

T.T.K., fresh from his Tiruchendur 'victory' says that Rajaji's leadership of the Swatantra Party is an accident; not Rajaji, but Northern Big Business is the Swatantra Party (meaning, I suppose, that Southern Big Business is behind the Congress). On the other hand, our Blissful Humorist (a contemporary of *Kalki*) very humorously says (editorially too!) that Rajaji is the whole of the Swatantra Party—its platform, its leader, its following, its body, its soul.

Chief Minister Kamaraj says that the Swatantra Party's appeal is only to the intellectuals: but the P.M. says that the Swatantra

leaders stand for all that is anachronistic. Congress President Sanjeeva Reddy says that the Swatantra Party is a 'still-born child'. Yet this 'still-born' wants to bring about the rule of the 100 millionaires—we are not told how many of these 100 and how many others are the Congress millionaires. In another speech, the 'still-born child' becomes a miscellany of disgruntled congressmen who have come together for a selfish purpose. What propensity to mischief in a 'still-born child'!

When the Swatantra Party was founded two years ago, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju declared that it had no 'future'. Today every Congress leader sees in it the main, almost the sole, threat to the perpetuation of Congress rule. China, Pakistan, communism, communalism, disintegration—these are nothing; only the Swatantra

Party is the sole spectre that disturbs the congressman's slumbers.

Of course, the P.M.'s fulminations are in a class apart, and deserve encyclopaedic categorization. What he says one day will contradict what he had said the previous day: what he says this second will be contradicted by what he will say the next second. Like Hamlet, the P.M. too is our great Darling of Versatility. Thus: 'The Swatantra Party is pure 19th century'; '16th or 15th century'; 'I don't know which century'. Then, next day, 'The Swatantra is the helicopter party' (which means perhaps that it is the party of the future!). He has respect for the founder of the party, but it is beneath the P.M.'s 'shan' (prestige) to talk about this 'low-down' Swatantra Party. Still he must talk about it all—or almost all—the time! One day the P.M. says he doesn't understand what Swatantra stands for or what Rajaji says; on another day he understands them enough to call the party a Fascist party, implying that Rajaji is a Fascist in contradistinction to himself, the great Democrat! How could the arch-laissez faireist be also the arch-Fascist?

Who is to unravel these oppositional confusions? That the Swatantra Party stands for individual freedom, which is the seed of all, without which we cannot have the 'groceries' of economic advance; that the Swatantra Party promises general, ordered well-being, which is the basis of its sanity and humanity; that it swears by God, *dharma*, and the Gandhian Way, which gives it a clear and infallible sense of direction; that it puts faith on the people, not on the commissars, the foreign experts, or on negotiated loans and patronising gifts, which gives the Swatantra Party its sense of stern self-respect; and that its founder-leader is a great patriot with over 50 years of tested record of service to the nation in many fields of activity, that he is a humanist and a man of God, which is a guarantee that the party will achieve ultimate success—how could the purblind, half-headed, or wrong-headed Congress understand all this?

## POST-ELECTION REFLECTIONS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is interesting to read INSAF (the well-known journalist) writing in his Indian News and Feature Alliance article:

When the Constitution was drafted and election laws were drawn up, the Congress Party kept down the limit of legitimate expenses because it was afraid that landlords and princes with their long purse would put Congress at a disadvantage.

Now it is the other way about. Congress resources vastly out-match those of other parties. These funds are largely procured from the business community. There are Lok Sabha constituencies where election expenditure has probably amounted between half a lakh and two lakhs. How is this to be accounted for? It will not be surprising if the Congress Party undertakes to amend the election law to raise the limit of legitimate expenditure.

The election campaign has been financed from two sources—the funds allotted to a candidate from the party chest and those raised by the candidate himself. In many constituencies, businessmen have financed the campaign with 'black' money. Since they cannot disclose these funds for fear of being taxed, they use them to help election campaigns of parties and candidates who later reward the businessmen under the 'permit-licence-raj'. Indeed it is calculated that use of 'black' money amounts several times the legitimate funds which a candidate may spend.

These remarks are very relevant, important observations. It is a pity that the Congress Party in full power, almost totalitarian, has not realized its special responsibilities in respect of the morality of the people. For the shortsighted policy of gaining a victory in one election, the moral resistance of the poorer sections of the electorate is being recklessly undermined, thereby permanently damaging democracy in India.

There is now a very substantial increase in the polling. Simultaneously every one has noticed plenty of open and unabashed distribution of money in the poor districts of each constituency, urban or rural. In the earlier Congress elections no one had heard much of bribery.

The percentage of voters that then went to the polls was not high. A higher percentage of voting is not by itself an improvement, if it is largely or partly due to the fact that it is made worthwhile (in the lowest sense) for the voter to go to the polling booth.

★

At Kancheepuram where I was on the platform with Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar and Mr. C. N. Annadurai, leader of the D.M.K. Party, one of the adherents of the latter brought a large bundle of one-rupee notes and handed it over to his chief as a contribution to the party fund, saying it was money handed to him by poor villagers who had received the amount from another party's workers as payment for votes, which they took only with the intention of handing it over thus in public to the D.M.K. chief. There may be informative links in this testimony but it seemed to be a very likely affair and not just a made-up story. Obviously the money had been distributed indiscriminately, among staunch D.M.K. men as well as others, and the former took it as it would be interesting and helpful in exposing the affairs. What good is democracy if the purchase of votes becomes a regular feature? The only way out of this in our poverty-ridden country is what I have called the nationalization of elections.

★

The press reporters write with enthusiastic picturesqueness about the long queues of men and women voters waiting patiently from an early hour. When we reflect on the fact that all these early waiting queues are from the slums of the city, the question arises, how did this section among all the sections of the electorate become so interested in public affairs, and so patient in the discharge of their civic duty of casting their votes? Common sense would see only one explanation for this phenomenon at all the centres, viz., bribery. Purchase

of votes entails prompt and patient performance of the contract entered into, and in some areas the managers of the transaction probably insist on the voters showing the ink-mark on the finger before encashment. The sorry business of bribery involves a lot of misappropriation, and the whole thing should be ended. It *can* be done, if the business of collecting votes is nationalized, as I have suggested, and not left to a form of private enterprise.

★

A new and interesting form of bribing at elections has come into being. Money is given to voters in selected poor areas not for voting for anybody, but for remaining at home *without voting* and have their finger marked with the indelible ink, in return for the money! This is indeed an easier bait than the usual one which involves going to the booth and voting against one's own inclination. To prevent voting for the opposing candidate is a sizable though negative gain where one cannot make headway for oneself.

★

The noting of numbers at the time of polling is only for safeguarding the necessary data, should any occasion arise for an enquiry. But there is no doubt officials, both high and low, did apprehend that a vote adverse to the ruling party may lead to some difficulty for them—or victimization. I had underrated this at first. But I find that actually when standing before the polling officers' desk as and when the noting is done, even fairly brave officials do get nervous. The 'advice' of the Home Ministry that officials should not attend election meetings has not been properly countermanded by the P.M. who gave an evasive answer when he dealt with the matter at a public meeting in Delhi. This added to the reasons for officials feeling apprehensive as to what might happen if their voting were known to the Government party. The postal voting of Government servants engaged in election work, and in the security arrangements has also led to considerable compulsory



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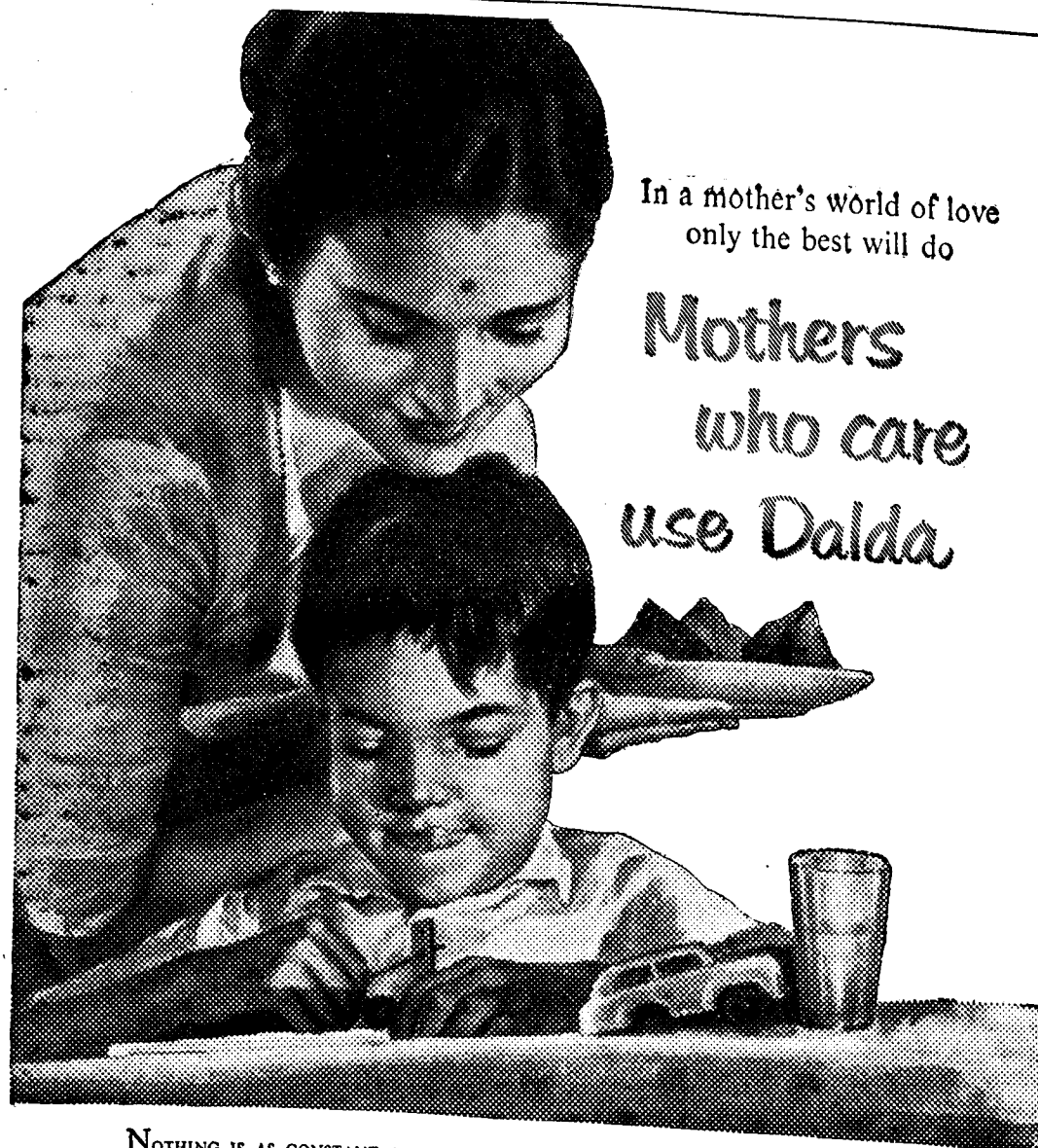
March 3, 1962

voting in favour of the ruling party. These are all definitely unsatisfactory elements in the procedure.

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As I write this, the polling results have begun to appear. The city of Madras has certainly let the Swatantra Party down. The

returns elsewhere, too, in this State have been bad for Swatantra. Indeed, I admit it is a rout. Most of the party candidates have forfeited their deposits. Organization, money and the many advantages arising out of holding office, have all done their work. The battle for freedom when

it is against a party in power is not easy or fought out in one round. But the awakening has certainly begun as some striking Congress defeats in various parts of India have demonstrated. The question is whether we have patience and grit enough to rally after this rout.



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only the best will do

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March 3, 1962

SWARAJYA

## DOCTRINAIRE EQUALITY

By BALACHANDRAN

It is futile to pretend any longer that the philosophic ideal or the practical operation of our social life is based on equality. While there can be no effective synthesis of liberty and equality, the direct reverse of free democracy is not equality as such but its logical end, for which equality has come to be a vain euphemism. Where this reverse obtains—and it is inevitable if equality becomes the ruling passion—the genius will be invariably ranked lower than the dunderhead. And this social order is by no means actuated by either doctrinaire equality which is insensitive or natural inequality which is partial to distinctive values. For men possessing qualitative distinctions meet with a fate worse than a gross, indiscriminate, collective uniformity, as these qualities and the values and distinctions they entail constitute in effect social offences to be smothered by

the deliberate and absolute encouragement of people lacking them.

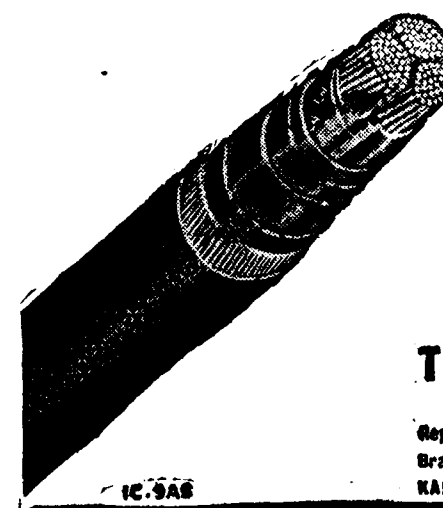
The only qualification for special privileges, then, is a total incapacity for any excellence. A new term is thus necessary and we may employ 'disequality' to signify a social system where democracy turns turtle. In this topsyturvydom, since social sanctions are directed towards perverse differentiation, it comes to mean that nobody can have any individual excellence which does not privilege the rabble, and this is guaranteed not to be an invitation to vulgarity. But we are yet to invent a scheme of social life which will preserve and promote excellence by safeguarding and encouraging the dud.

Some years ago it was stated by someone in the *Times Literary Supplement* that if we went on

levelling, we would, sooner or later, find ourselves digging. By digging, it cannot be denied that we are pushing up what belongs down below, and in this process the bulldozer inevitably roots out what stands high aloft, crushing it underneath the earthy stuff. While social levelling is quite noxious by itself, there can be no levelling which does not end up in digging. The pursuit of the egalitarian ideal was once likened to the handicap event in sports, in which 'starts' are given according to the runners' abilities, so that they might all finish in line abreast, an object seldom realized.

The current obsession seems to be to enforce the handicap on quality once for all, and prevent the abler from getting ahead of others despite the initial starts. And the only way to do it is to decide that the race shall not proceed beyond the starts, the destinations are where we are—and socialist inequality is the best of all possible worlds!

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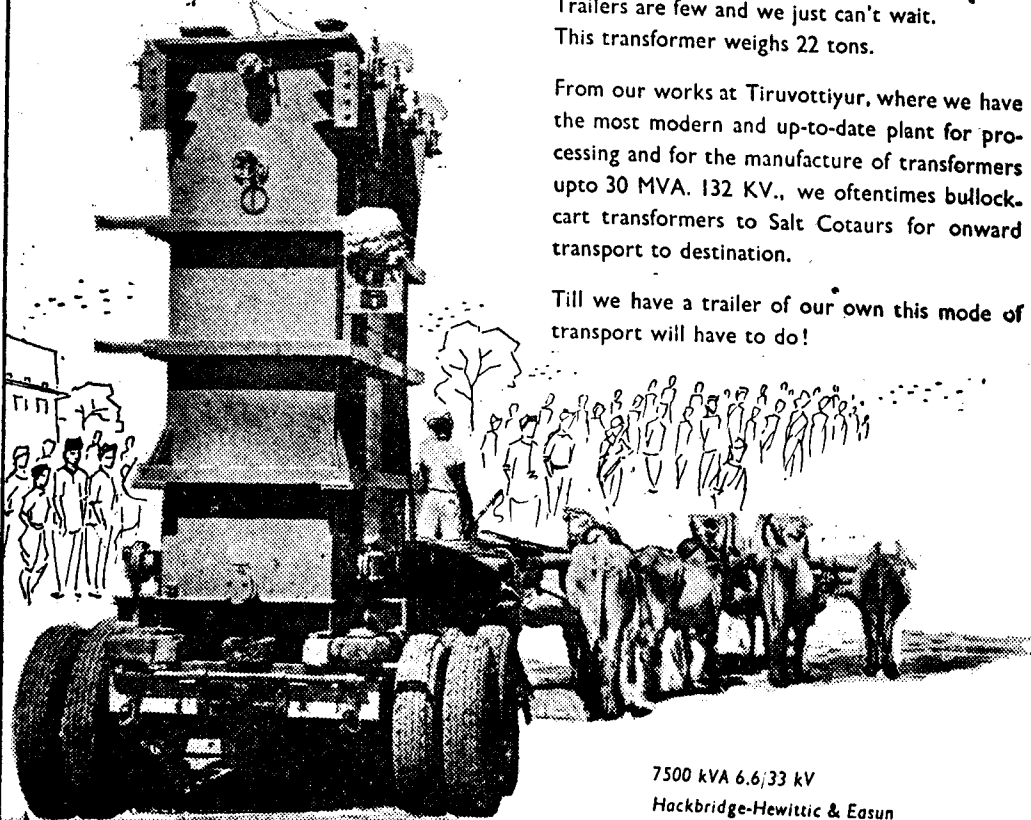
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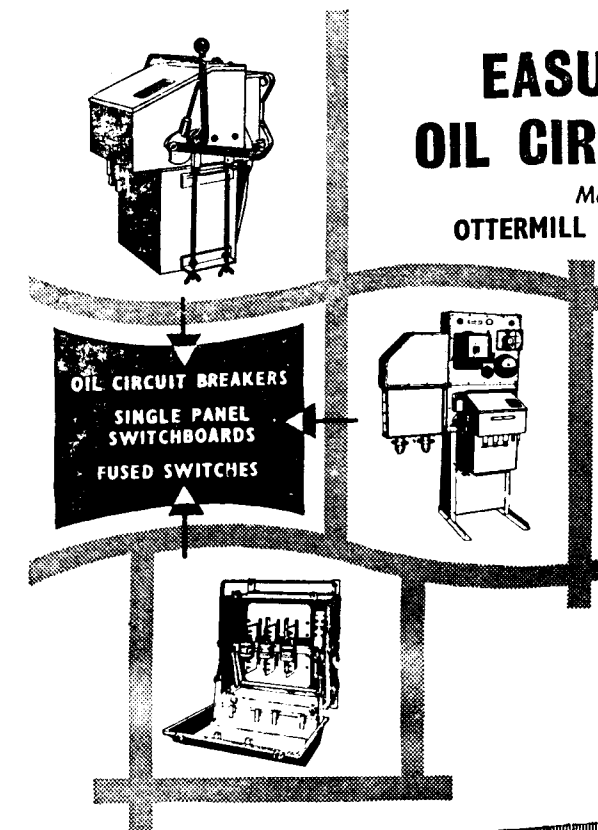
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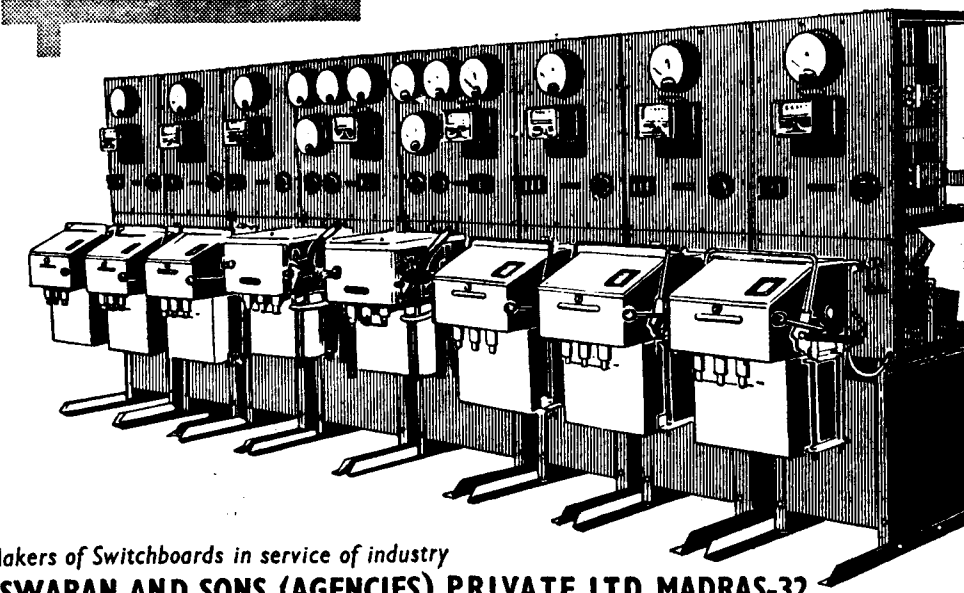
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EP-EO 1

March 3, 1962

## Dear Reader

One of the episodes in this election campaign is the theory of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari that I have been "trapped by the vested interests". I shall deal with the charge and not with the person making it. The "vested interest" I have been charged with defending is what the Constitution has itself directed and ordained that the laws should protect. The right to work, earn, own and possess what has been acquired,—this fundamental of civilization is sought to be done away with by giving it a bad name.

If the brilliant intellects of the party that has seized power and continues holding it believe that the bigger farmers do not make the best out of their land, that they should be dispossessed of it, and that it should be handed over for better utilization to others who have no capital, let it be done after

giving full and proper compensation. Let the nation pay for the re-arrangement. No one would object to land acquisition if the fundamental law of compensation were duly respected.

If similarly the party in power, in its wisdom, decides to abolish small farms and collectivize them, and attempts to improve the output by mechanization, let it be done after giving due compensation to owners, and not give it the false name of co-operative farming.

To call this stand a defence of "vested interests" is to make the whole Constitution a house of cards. Property is not just a vested interest. It is an interest protected by the Constitution as it was originally framed, in order that freedom may be a reality. There can be no freedom if the right to earn and hold property is not protected. That the Swatantra Party is a grand conspiracy of bad people and that I have been 'trapped' into it on account of my inadequate intelligence is not a presentable theory.

There are a great many non-aligned good men and good women (particularly the latter) in our country who do not bother about policies and issues, political or economic, who look upon all disputes as just personal quarrels, and who would want these big men to stop quarrelling and be "united". This attitude is the hang-over of long monarchic tradition. In a democracy the call for such union amounts to a call for one-party rule or for personal dictatorship, which would be the end of democracy. The system of governance called parliamentary democracy is government by debate and dispute. Without an Opposition, parliamentary democracy would be like a broken pair of scissors where one of the blades is absent. Parliamentary government cannot work without Opposition.

A telegram from the employees of the Heavy Electricals in Bhopal reinforces the point made by the Swatantra Party that workers stand to lose by socialism: "Industrial dispute being solved with police repressions, lathi-charging, tear-gassing, firing. Public undertakings worse than private undertakings." It is suicidal for workers to vote for State socialism. Even if the Government were a Trade Unions government, the employees would lose the necessary third watching and arbitrating element when the State itself becomes the management.

The D.M.K. chief, Mr. Annadurai, issued an appeal to North Bombay South Indians to vote for Mr. Kripalani. An argument was aired in opposition to this by a Congress leader who ought to have known to argue better, that this was contrary to the D.M.K. creed of opposition to Northerners. The Congress leader impliedly pleads for a vote on communal grounds, South v. North. Apart from this, the D.M.K.'s policy referred to is a protest against discriminations, and it should not prevent a D.M.K. follower or chief to support Mr. Kripalani or to oppose a particular Southerner's candidature. This is obvious, but obvious things are forgotten by some leaders in the heat of their desire or anger.

Another argument and a still more naive one was put forward and this was also from a 'leader'. "Mr. Annadurai wants separation from the North," says he, "why then does he intervene in the North Bombay election?" If this be sense, it may even be asked, why does Mr. Annadurai vote at all for any Lok Sabha candidate in the Madras State when he does not want the New Delhi Parliament to rule over the South! It seems as if elementary education in political matters needs to be given to some of our leaders. One might have stood for the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, and yet until sena-

March 3, 1962

ration was achieved the Home Rule party had the right to participate and be very much interested in the parliamentary affairs of Great Britain.

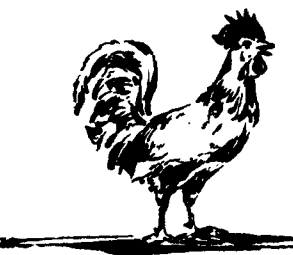
\*

A leading journal in its editorial of February 23 has rightly written that Gandhiji was the greatest socialist of us all and that Gandhiji's socialism was not "a doctrine of appropriation and acquisitiveness, maligning and penalizing one class for the alleged benefit of another as is Congress's socialism, but was for a sharing and distribution of the wealth which an under-developed country might make for the greatest good of the greatest number". The concluding sentence of the leading article puts the question in a nutshell: "Are we for Gandhism or Marxism?" This, though written in connection with the North Bombay election, is indeed the question not only for the voters of North Bombay, but for all the voters in India in this general election, wherein the Congress Party seeks a fresh lease of power in order to put into effect the Marxian policy which it has adopted. It is a feature worth noting in this election that the Communist Party (which does not clothe its Marxism in tricolour and charka) invariably campaigned for a vote for itself and, in the alternative, appealed that it may be given to the Congress Party.

\*

Mr. Kamaraj Nadar cannot succeed in making people blind to the partnership between himself and E. V. R. Periar, the 'archbishop' of communalism in Madras, by attributing the successes of the D.M.K. to me. These successes are due to the defects in the Congress and not to my persistent plea for minimum power being vested in government and officials and reducing of restrictions, if not termination of the Permit-Licence-Raj.

C.R.



## A Crowing Chanticleer

As an *ad hoc* farming expert, the Prime Minister has been lashing at cultivators who work with the same old plough scratching the soil. At the next elections, the Congress symbol will not be a picture of yoked-bulls, but a huge tractor rushing through plots of land, handkerchief-size, behind cottages.

The gap in funds at the start of the Third Five-Year Plan will be filled, according to an anonymous spokesman in New Delhi who is known to be lobbying in reliable quarters. To fill the gap is better than to bridge the gap, though the price of cement has doubled itself after official takeover.

Now that general elections are virtually over, an exhibition of posters and handbills is worth holding in New Delhi. If a prize is instituted by the High Command, the following contents of a hand-bulletin should be hard to beat:

Sri Gangaraj Humpty-Dumpty, B.A., LL.B.,  
Who stands for the State Legislature  
on the Congress ticket for the Apricot

Constituency, is  
A champion of anti-corruption  
A real friend of the poor  
A fountain of justice  
An impartial democrat—and  
he has the ability to solve complicated  
and critical problems with ease and  
grace quickly.

Propaganda for elections is in the air. Some false, strange, unfounded and fantastic rumours are being exploded here and there by the contesting parties. But you must not be carried away by such a passing propaganda, which is only a momentary phase, and VOTE ONLY FOR THE CONGRESS in view of the above qualities and dignity of the Congress candidate.

FOR THE PROSPERITY OF OUR  
COUNTRY VOTE CONGRESS.

On visiting strike-fevered Bhopal, the Prime Minister told workers that "a strike would be tantamount to putting a dagger in the body of Bharat Mata." A large number of pinpricks borne by employees in the Bhopal public sector would be tantamount to a dagger thrust.

The Chinese incursion into Indian territory was defined by the Defence Minister as a stab in the back of Bharat Mata, but when he mentions China it is habitual with him to call attention to aggression by Pakistan; which speaks of India as "Bharat" with supercilious term "Bharat", oblivious of the fact that under the Constitution it is India that is Bharat.

The strike at Bhopal again (said Mr. Nehru, clarifying) is tantamount to "cutting India's throat". Were it the object of workers to spite India, the labour union would have cut the nose, not the jugular nexus at the top-end of the system.

"Raising his voice," Mr. Nehru told the audience: "We did not accept the two-nation theory of Jinnah Saheb, even after the formation of Pakistan and we will never accept it". Jayaprakash Narayan would like to know why, in the circumstances, Jawaharlal Nehru should inveigh (heightening the silken voice) against the concept of an Indo-Pakistan confederation, if only as a safety-measure against Chinese expansionism which he had detected even before the gifting away of Tibet.

"I heard your daughter speaks Esperanto. Does she speak it fluently?"  
"Just like a native." P.J.

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## A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

By G. V. RAMACHANDRA AIYAH

There lived an affluent zamindar with a vast estate. Just when the family was revelling in prosperity, so to speak, a foreigner came to the village wanting to do business, became so friendly with the zamindar that he was virtually a member of the family, offering now and then advice to the zamindar and his family. He soon managed to sow dissensions in the family, and eventually took absolute control of the zamindari.

Two generations later, a descendant of the family resolved to win back his lost heritage, the estate. He raised his lone voice of protest, underwent great hardships, slowly gained adherents, did penance, underwent incarceration and other untold miseries. Years later he collected enough material and filed a suit *in forma pauperis*, argued his own case, and finally got a decree in his favour. No sooner than he obtained the decree, several of his kith and kin who had been actively assisting his opponents and even scoffing at all his 'vain' efforts, suddenly veered round, becoming his camp-followers. They also claimed all the benefits of the decree. But the decree he got was a qualified one; his kinsmen by the Muslim wife of an ancestor of his were granted a separate portion of the estate. He had thought it better to yield to the court's condition rather than take the matter in appeal.

He had himself several sons, and all the time he had been fighting the foreigner, all his sons were actively co-operating with the foreigner!

He had five sons, the eldest known as Chanchala Buddhi. He was quite sincere and well-meaning, but too gullible and impulsive. He kept on helping the father to the best of his ability. The second son was as pious as the father and intelligent, very wordly-wise, who was guided by logic and reason more than emotion. His name was Sthira Buddhi. The third son, Nasa Buddhi, was always saying: "I will achieve

what I want with outside help. I do not believe in peace and prosperity. I will gain all that I want by applying the principle 'the end justifies the means'." He was the atheist of the family. The next two were twins, Durbuddhi and Alpa Buddhi. Durbuddhi had no aspirations, had no view of his own but gladly supported all acts of his eldest brother, good or bad, moved by his hatred of the second brother Sthira Buddhi. Alpa Buddhi was selfish and did not care for others, nor could ever conceive of the big family as one entity.

The old father strove to carry on the management of the retrieved estate but very soon found that internecine quarrels frequently cropped up, and also found that his eldest son had got into bad company by associating himself with all kinds of self-seekers. The father warned him, but it all fell into deaf ears. So the father kept aloof.

Now Chanchala Buddhi became the manager of all family affairs. After some time, Chanchala got into the habit of borrowing heavily and managing family affairs rather very imprudently, so much so the other members of the family began to fear they would inevitably have to go into bankruptcy. When rumours of discontent in the family reached his ears, Chanchala gathered round him a coterie of flatterers and resorted to shouting at all the rest of the members of the family. He was warmly supported by his brother, Durbuddhi.

Sthira Buddhi, who quietly got himself separated, pleaded with his brothers saying their father was highly pious, wise, and self-sacrificing. He pleaded that corruption and evil should be ruthlessly put out and the management of the family established on a firm basis reducing the borrowings to the minimum, and that the spiritual traditions and heritage of the family be maintained. But Chanchala did not approve of the ways of Sthira Buddhi and abused him.

Alpa Buddhi stated he did not care what happened to others. He wanted *his* share of the estate to be carved out, whatever might be the fate of others.

Nasa Buddhi thought that after all the eldest brother Chanchala did only what he himself would do if he were in the other's position. There was nothing wrong in defeating the creditors and putting down all rebellious elements in the household with an iron hand. If the management was handed over to him, he would only quicken the pace and rule with an iron hand.

Has this allegory not a lesson to teach us?

### JANA SANGH LEADER EXPLAINS

We gladly publish the following letter:

Sir.—In the issue of SWARAJYA of 24th February, Rajaji writing under the caption "A United Front" makes a reference to the Jana Sangh in the North as having a slant "against non-Hindus on behalf of Nationalism". As one intimately associated with the Jana Sangh in Tamil Nad I hasten to reply to it.

Rajaji's observation that we have a slant "against non-Hindus in the North" is based on an erroneous impression. The Jana Sangh has no slant against anybody, whether in the North or in the South, and its doors are open to all irrespective of their faith. It was founded by the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee specifically for the reason that a well-known Hindu political organization would not admit non-Hindus into it. The Jana Sangh considers all citizens of Hindustan as Hindus but there is no place in it for those who are not loyal to the Motherland and who have extra-territorial political leanings or loyalties. Those who have a clear conscience in this respect are welcome to join it. It does not view the people of this country in terms of communities but as Indians and Bharathias. The Madras State branch itself was started by and at the initiative of the late Dr. V. K. John, a prominent non-Hindu, after fully acquainting himself with the Jana Sangh ideals and policies and after a full discussion with some of its all-India top leaders. There need not be any doubt whatever, on this point, in the mind of any section of the public.

On the question of merger of the opposition forces in the interest of a United Opposition, however desirable

it might be and however welcome the proposal, it is a question of time when all parties would have to shed their egotism and decide to unite on the basis of common principles and policies, or at least when there is sufficient area of agreement among them regarding many public questions, which they should be ready to imple-

ment in case occasion arises for them to form an alternative government. It cannot be based on a mere opposition to the ruling party but on the basis of national vs. anti-national and totalitarian forces. Personally speaking and not as a party man, I feel that in the peculiar circumstances in which this country is placed a two-party system

would be better than a multi-party system, and I appreciate the trend in this direction. Until that day comes when the Opposition could unite on the basis of common policies, the different parties would have to work in friendly co-operation whenever that is possible, in the larger interest of the country's well-being.

V. RAJAGOPALACHARI

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Complexion lovelier!

Savitri has a secret worth knowing! Look at her clear, smooth complexion. She believes in the gentle care of pure, mild LUX. Make LUX your beauty secret, too! Use LUX... that mild LUX lather creams your complexion to new beauty. Use LUX... it weaves its wonderful fragrance about you. Use LUX... you have a rainbow of colours to choose from—as well as the white you love. Let LUX TOILET SOAP leave you lovelier.

THE PURE, MILD  
BEAUTY SOAP OF  
THE FILM STARS



'Colours so pretty, a soap so gentle,' says Savitri

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## P. M. IN FARMER'S ROLE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Unlike the Prime Minister his *alter ego*, Mr. Krishna Menon, does not quickly react to surroundings, his pose in handling an audience being the role of Lucifer—hauteur supreme, as his eyes roam over the horizon. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, involuntarily merges his self into the collective animation of listeners and registers instant response to changing environments. In the time of Gandhian tutelage, he didn't take long to be a master-spinner; when Marshal and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek visited Delhi, he moved around the eminent guests as one of them with apt quotations from Confucius during brief utterances; when the INA trial opened in the Red Fort, Mr. Nehru donned his black gown and swirled round the court with heavy tones, so full of the nuances of the occasion, that Mr. Mundhra, were he there, would have booked him as permanent counsel, whereas actual advocacy fell to the lot of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who ultimately had his reward! On the eve of Kashmir's accession, Mr. Nehru was more zealous than Sheikh Abdullah, and no one could have identified himself more than Jawaharlal Nehru with the functions of the National Conference that opted. There are many instances in his life where his enthusiasm is fired by the situation conditioning his appearance as central hero.

Amongst children there can be no one more frolicsome than Chacha Nehru. His ebullience of *joie de vivre* is such that if he had a baby-kangaroo as his pet instead of the caged Kolas, now his favourites, the Prime Minister might have in his cheery mornings astonished spectators round the meadow by a jolly effort to out-hop his Australian pet. Among atomic scientists, he gets excited over what he knows of reactors, thanks to his sensitiveness to modern advancement in which he wants India to participate, unlike the hoary ancients of the Swatantra Party.

Recent impacts in connection with the promotion of agriculture has led Mr. Nehru to "lash out" against Indian farmers, lecturing them to end the "Plough Age", now that huge tractors have arrived and the picture on the Congress symbol is about to "eschew" the old pair of bullocks. At a meeting of one lakh attended by ryots he castigated them, asserting that with the use of their primitive implements like the plough, they might as well scratch the soil with their fingers. But for his presence attracting semi-idolatrous crowds to have *darshan*, hearers might have taken him for an experienced cultivator, himself tracing his ancestry to a sturdy peasant-stock!

Ambassador Kenneth Galbraith was first a graduate in Agriculture and, therefore, familiar with the chores of mechanical farming. Again, there is the vision of Nikita Krushchov taking the scythe and showing Ukrainian farmers how to gather the harvest by personal example—a practical reformer at home, while at the same time he is a master abroad in the prosecution of foreign policy.

In Mr. Nehru's view agricultural self-sufficiency is as good as achieved since standards of living are in his personal observation higher than ever, and children look plump on pavements as they wave flags. In reality, on a normal day when the Prime Minister or the VIP currently on tour is not greeted, more beggars than ever appear in increasing quota. The very fact that the 14th million ton of American grain has been received, to relieve deficit-conditions in agricultural output, should deter him from making extravagant claims of success in the agricultural sector through "social engineering"; it must give even the biggest partisan time to pause and to reflect.

Those who do not agree with claims of soaring output and assertions about well-held prices are out of court. Indeed, after the

passing of the Nagpur Resolution the Prime Minister "lashed out" bidding that those who did not accept the potency of the Plan had better quit. In his denunciation of the Swatantra Party, he recently wanted Swatantra masqueraders within the Congress Party to clear out, under the illusion that Swatantra infiltrationists were lobbying within the ruling party. Some second-in-command harps on the Trojan horse. It is F.N. (fantastic nonsense) to suspect that Swatantra leaders are hiding themselves behind the ramparts of the ruling party. As for the plough-business, there are experts who say that the present pseudo-scientific attitude to cope with food-deficit is being overdone. Space forbids quotations from Planning literature itself about the study of imitative methods, including Japanese cultivation which is *tom-tommed*. Random talks about modern fertilizers, seed distribution, and novel techniques reflect aggressive sapientcy, but wisdom on agrarian economy is peddled in accents of vast experience. Recently there was a stunt about an exotic novelty from the Food and Agricultural Ministry promoting a "package programme of intensive agricultural production in selected districts, the aim of the programme being to step up the input of chemical fertilizers". Here I quote an authoritative summary of the upshot:

The working of the programme in the Tanjore district in Madras State has shown, however, that the consumption of ammonium sulphate has not increased. Whereas the original target was to achieve an offtake of 150 lbs per acre in the package area, the target was subsequently revised to 100 lbs and even this has not been realized since the cultivator's actual consumption does not average more than 50 lbs. It should be tempting to criticize the Tanjore peasant for his "backwardness" in not accepting all the ammonium sulphate that is being offered to him, but the fact is that the thin straw of the local paddy strains leads to the lodging of the crop under conditions of heavy nitrogen manuring, a point which the modernizers, in their zeal,

(Continued on next page)

## I AM UNREPENTANT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There is no doubt a great defeat amounting to a rout has been inflicted on me and the Swatantra Party in Madras. In some other States, the party has not done badly, and in some places it has done very well. All the same the over-all picture is a resounding victory for the ruling party. But let me say at once I am unrepentant. We had hoped for a miracle but it did not fructify. The Leviathan proved too tough for us. Everything was against us except reason, and reason proved of no avail in the ballot. Our party lacked everything that was needed, easy conscience included, for a victory in this election. No election results, however brought about, can convince me that I was wrong in pleading for the maintenance of fundamental rights. I feel, in spite of all the election scores, that I was right in starting a party to oppose Permit-Licence-Raj.

The course I took was for the preservation of democracy, and for changing the regime into one consistent with the prin-

THE P.M. IN FARMERS ROLE ...  
(Continued from page 2)

seem to have overlooked. Similarly much of the abracadabra of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation is really irrelevant to conditions in this country. Let us have scientific farming by all means, but let us make sure that what we are advocating is really scientific.

There was a time when priority was given to food self-sufficiency, but Public Law 480 of the United States made planners relax. At the same time the sponsorship of a proud peasantry in the manner of a farming expert despite proved failures of regimentation in communist countries, can nowhere tally with the targets of internal productivity. Bread is the staff of life, and it means agriculture as a steady industry. Exhortations can hardly carry us forward in India's foundational industry through slogan-ridden propaganda.

principles for which Mahatmaji stood. What the present Congress Party is maintaining, viz., a government that intervenes in every activity of the citizen and runs a Statist economic policy, a regime wherein the routine administration is daily interfered with by party bosses, and wherein the once courageous body of officials are being converted into servile tools, is entirely opposed to the government of Free India as Gandhiji had visualized. I still hold the view, in spite of the overwhelming victory of the Congress at the polls, that without a strong Opposition, Congress Party rule with all economic power concentrated in its hands is not democracy. It leads steadily and swiftly to totalitarianism. The success of the Congress Party at the polls has been brought about through means that do not help any change of view in me.

If the people of India do not want the dictatorship of a single party, if we desire to preserve democracy, if we wish to restore public morality, if we want good government, we must rally our forces and give battle again. If we do not, there will be neither democracy nor good government. The permanent services will deteriorate, the voters will get more and more used to being purchased. All round degradation of values will prevail if the evil is not resisted. Ballot-box-bribery is no better than a mean and cowardly form of violence. Fascism—organizing to seize power through force—is bad but perhaps it is better than Fascism through money. We must eschew this at whatever cost; we may have to lose many elections, but there is no good trying to hasten victory by using the power of money to secure poor and miserable people's votes that turn the scales—even if we have the money as some other parties have.

For the Congress to be the recipient of power in 1947 was easy and to get a renewal of the char-

ter from time to time was easy also. But when, later, economic power was added to the inheritance, the perpetuation of the Congress Party's political power became all too easy. The task of those who have vision and see the double evil of single party rule, and of over-government, has thereby become extremely difficult, and will be still more so as the years pass. All the same, every evil must one day reach a climax and, by a natural law, the remedy must arrive.

Some people hold the view that we have incapacitated ourselves permanently by reason of the adoption of adult suffrage when the people were not ready for it. I believe however that the mischief was not in adult suffrage. Uncorrupted, the adults of our country, poor and uneducated as the bulk of them may be, would distinguish between right and wrong. The fatal mistake was committed when intelligent and good men thoughtlessly gave sanction to a party to seize total economic power. This makes it very difficult to retrieve the position. But retrieve we must. If people make up their mind, nothing is impossible; they have to be educated to do it.

There is a large body of intelligent people in our Congress-hypnotized country, especially in the section over which Permit-Licence-Raj has thrown its darkest shadow, which thinks that India must rest content with what has been called 'an inner-party democracy', that is with an opposition inside the party instead of an effective Opposition in Parliament. This belief in party discussions conducted more or less secretly, about which the public have to rely for enlightenment mostly on columnists and reporters writing from Delhi to rich journals in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras—is pathetic. Every one knows that these 'inner democracy' discussions and debates all end in careeristic competition for accord with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and take things nowhere in democracy. It is a harem business. At best, these

(Continued on page 4)



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

## THE BURMA COUP

By: C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A 'bloodless coup' was staged by Gen. Ne Win, Commander-in-Chief of Burma, and the administration was taken over. Army personnel went round at night and arrested the President, the Prime Minister, both Speakers of the Houses of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers and the Chief Justice. On the morning of March 2, Gen. Ne Win declared over the Burma broadcast: "The Army has taken control of a vastly deteriorating situation. The people must remain calm. Government servants must carry on their duty as usual. We assure you that we will make all possible efforts to serve the Burmese people's interest". The declaration followed the pattern of all such coups. The people remained calm. The situation in Rangoon was quiet and shops were opened as usual.

A seventeen-member Revolutionary Council, headed by himself, was announced by the Commander-in-Chief who reserved for himself Defence, Finance, Revenue and Judiciary portfolios, and distributed the rest among a number of brigadiers, colonels and commanders. So democracy came to a full stop in Rangoon.

Standing armies hold democracy at their mercy. For a long time, the British people insisted on the King keeping no standing army. But as, in course of time, national life developed from a simple to a complex pattern, permanent professional armies became necessary everywhere in the world. So we have now all over the

world democracies as well as standing armies (maintained by those democracies), hanging like Damocles' swords over them all.

An eminent modern historian Dr. Cary has, after analysing and examining all probable contributory causes for the downfall of the Roman Empire, given the highest place to the absence of a good citizen army to balance the power of the professional armies serving the Roman Empire. The lesson should be taken for granted in India without argument, and greater attention bestowed on our territorial army. It should not be a mere tail of the regular army but be good enough to function by itself.

Apart from this balancing of the element of physical force, and more important even, the people should develop and retain the power of resistance. No General even with all the professional army behind him can possibly maintain power for over a few weeks, if the people do not like it, and refuse to feed and keep the army going and supplied with weapons and ammunition. Non-cooperation is an invincible weapon against any national army and its generals who turn against the nation, Gandhiji, whenever he talked of democracy, insisted that the people should develop and maintain their powers of resistance against their own government. He held that, otherwise, there would be no true democracy.

Under over-government, people get steadily weakened. Finally

they are unable to resist any regime imposed on them by physical force. A coup at midnight is followed by a broadcast next morning, which assures the people that their interest will be safeguarded and that they should remain calm. The shops are opened as usual and the situation is quiet, as the newsmen report in all such instances! The greatest evil of over-government is this steady and certain loss of national vitality and power of resistance. Over and over again, and in language not properly and fully appreciated, did Gandhiji lay stress on this aspect, whenever he pleaded for minimum government: "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. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."

Over-government, like over-eating, is pleasant. Irresponsibility is always pleasant. But it is a thoughtless pleasure which results in prostration, disease and death. Democracy is bound to die under over-government. The sapping of the people's power of resistance, which is the inevitable result of over-government, and of permits, controls and quotas, makes them an easy prey to any kind of coup, good or bad. We see this taking place before our own eyes, in instance after instance.

## P. M. IN FARMER'S ROLE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Unlike the Prime Minister his *alter ego*, Mr. Krishna Menon, does not quickly react to surroundings, his pose in handling an audience being the role of Lucifer—hauteur supreme, as his eyes roam over the horizon. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, involuntarily merges his self into the collective animation of listeners and registers instant response to changing environments. In the time of Gandhian tutelage, he didn't take long to be a master-spinner; when Marshal and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek visited Delhi, he moved around the eminent guests as one of them with apt quotations from Confucius during brief utterances; when the INA trial opened in the Red Fort, Mr. Nehru donned his black gown and swirled round the court with heavy tones, so full of the nuances of the occasion, that Mr. Mundhra, were he there, would have booked him as permanent counsel, whereas actual advocacy fell to the lot of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who ultimately had his reward! On the eve of Kashmir's accession, Mr. Nehru was more zealous than Sheikh Abdullah, and no one could have identified himself more than Jawaharlal Nehru with the functions of the National Conference that opted. There are many instances in his life where his enthusiasm is fired by the situation conditioning his appearance as central hero.

Amongst children there can be no one more frolicsome than *Chacha* Nehru. His ebullience of *joie de vivre* is such that if he had a baby-kangaroo as his pet instead of the caged Kolas, now his favourites, the Prime Minister might have in his cheery mornings astonished spectators round the meadow by a jolly effort to out-hop his Australian pet. Among atomic scientists, he gets excited over what he knows of reactors, thanks to his sensitiveness to modern advancement in which he wants India to participate, unlike the hoary ancients of the Swatantra Party.

Recent impacts in connection with the promotion of agriculture has led Mr. Nehru to "lash out" against Indian farmers, lecturing them to end the "Plough Age", now that huge tractors have arrived and the picture on the Congress symbol is about to "eschew" the old pair of bullocks. At a meeting of one lakh attended by ryots he castigated them, asserting that with the use of their primitive implements like the plough, they might as well scratch the soil with their fingers. But for his presence attracting semi-idolatrous crowds to have *darshan*, hearers might have taken him for an experienced cultivator, himself tracing his ancestry to a sturdy peasant-stock!

Ambassador Kenneth Galbraith was first a graduate in Agriculture and, therefore, familiar with the chores of mechanical farming. Again, there is the vision of Nikita Krushchov taking the scythe and showing Ukrainian farmers how to gather the harvest by personal example—a practical reformer at home, while at the same time he is a master abroad in the prosecution of foreign policy.

In Mr. Nehru's view agricultural self-sufficiency is as good as achieved since standards of living are in his personal observation higher than ever, and children look plump on pavements as they wave flags. In reality, on a normal day when the Prime Minister or the VIP currently on tour is not greeted, more beggars than ever appear in increasing quota. The very fact that the 14th million ton of American grain has been received, to relieve deficit-conditions in agricultural output, should deter him from making extravagant claims of success in the agricultural sector through "social engineering"; it must give even the biggest partisan time to pause and to reflect.

Those who do not agree with claims of soaring output and assertions about well-held prices are out of court. Indeed, after the

passing of the Nagpur Resolution the Prime Minister "lashed out" bidding that those who did not accept the potency of the Plan had better quit. In his denunciation of the Swatantra Party, he recently wanted Swatantra masqueraders within the Congress Party to clear out, under the illusion that Swatantra infiltrationists were lobbying within the ruling party. Some second-in-command harps on the Trojan horse. It is F.N. (fantastic nonsense) to suspect that Swatantra leaders are hiding themselves behind the ramparts of the ruling party. As for the plough-business, there are experts who say that the present pseudo-scientific attitude to cope with food-deficit is being overdone. Space forbids quotations from Planning literature itself about the study of imitative methods, including Japanese cultivation which is *tom-tommed*. Random talks about modern fertilizers, seed distribution, and novel techniques reflect aggressive sapience, but wisdom on agrarian economy is peddled in accents of vast experience. Recently there was a stunt about an exotic novelty from the Food and Agricultural Ministry promoting a "package programme of intensive agricultural production in selected districts, the aim of the programme being to step up the input of chemical fertilizers". Here I quote an authoritative summary of the upshot:

The working of the programme in the Tanjore district in Madras State has shown, however, that the consumption of ammonium sulphate has not increased. Whereas the original target was to achieve an offtake of 150 lbs per acre in the package area, the target was subsequently revised to 100 lbs and even this has not been realized since the cultivator's actual consumption does not average more than 50 lbs. It should be tempting to criticize the Tanjore peasant for his "backwardness" in not accepting all the ammonium sulphate that is being offered to him, but the fact is that the thin straw of the local paddy strains leads to the lodging of the crop under conditions of heavy nitrogen manuring, a point which the modernizers, in their zeal,

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## I AM UNREPENTANT

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There is no doubt a great defeat amounting to a rout has been inflicted on me and the Swatantra Party in Madras. In some other States, the party has not done badly, and in some places it has done very well. All the same the over-all picture is a resounding victory for the ruling party. But let me say at once I am unrepentant. We had hoped for a miracle but it did not fructify. The Leviathan proved too tough for us. Everything was against us except reason, and reason proved of no avail in the ballot. Our party lacked everything that was needed, easy conscience included, for a victory in this election. No election results, however brought about, can convince me that I was wrong in pleading for the maintenance of fundamental rights. I feel, in spite of all the election scores, that I was right in starting a party to oppose Permit-Licence-Raj.

The course I took was for the preservation of democracy, and for changing the regime into one consistent with the prin-

THE P.M. IN FARMERS ROLE ...  
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seem to have overlooked. Similarly much of the abracadabra of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation is really irrelevant to conditions in this country. Let us have scientific farming by all means, but let us make sure that what we are advocating is really scientific.

There was a time when priority was given to food self-sufficiency, but Public Law 480 of the United States made planners relax. At the same time the sponsorship of a proud peasantry in the manner of a farming expert despite proved failures of regimentation in communist countries, can nowhere tally with the targets of internal productivity. Bread is the staff of life, and it means agriculture as a steady industry. Exhortations can hardly carry us forward in India's foundational industry through slogan-ridden propaganda.

principles for which Mahatmaji stood. What the present Congress Party is maintaining, viz., a government that intervenes in every activity of the citizen and runs a Statist economic policy, a regime wherein the routine administration is daily interfered with by party bosses, and wherein the once courageous body of officials are being converted into servile tools, is entirely opposed to the government of Free India as Gandhiji had visualized. I still hold the view, in spite of the overwhelming victory of the Congress at the polls, that without a strong Opposition, Congress Party rule with all economic power concentrated in its hands is not democracy. It leads steadily and swiftly to totalitarianism. The success of the Congress Party at the polls has been brought about through means that do not help any change of view in me.

If the people of India do not want the dictatorship of a single party, if we desire to preserve democracy, if we wish to restore public morality, if we want good government, we must rally our forces and give battle again. If we do not, there will be neither democracy nor good government. The permanent services will deteriorate, the voters will get more and more used to being purchased. All round degradation of values will prevail if the evil is not resisted. Ballot-box-bribery is no better than a mean and cowardly form of violence. Fascism—organizing to seize power through force—is bad but perhaps it is better than Fascism through money. We must eschew this at whatever cost; we may have to lose many elections, but there is no good trying to hasten victory by using the power of money to secure poor and miserable people's votes that turn the scales—even if we had the money as some other parties have.

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ter from time to time was easy also. But when, later, economic power was added to the inheritance, the perpetuation of the Congress Party's political power became all too easy. The task of those who have vision and see the double evil of single party rule, and of over-government, has thereby become extremely difficult, and will be still more so as the years pass. All the same, every evil must one day reach a climax and, by a natural law, the remedy must arrive.

Some people hold the view that we have incapacitated ourselves permanently by reason of the adoption of adult suffrage when the people were not ready for it. I believe however that the mischief was not in adult suffrage. Uncorrupted, the adults of our country, poor and uneducated as the bulk of them may be, would distinguish between right and wrong. The fatal mistake was committed when intelligent and good men thoughtlessly gave sanction to a party to seize total economic power. This makes it very difficult to retrieve the position. But retrieve we must. If people make up their mind, nothing is impossible; they have to be educated to do it.

There is a large body of intelligent people in our Congress-hypnotized country, especially in the section over which Permit-Licence-Raj has thrown its darkest shadow, which thinks that India must rest content with what has been called 'an inner-party democracy', that is with an opposition inside the party instead of an effective Opposition in Parliament. This belief in party discussions conducted more or less secretly, about which the public have to rely for enlightenment mostly on columnists and reporters writing from Delhi to rich journals in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras—is pathetic. Every one knows that these 'inner democracy' discussions and debates all end in careeristic competition for accord with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and take things nowhere in democracy. It is a harem business. At best, these

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## CURRENT EVENTS::

Some of the Gloomy Deans of Indian politics have been heard to remark that we have had the last of an all-India poll in the country, but it is not clear why they anticipate a crisis-ridden quinquennium when things have a way of settling down, unless a debacle is followed by reactions at home and abroad affecting the economic vitality of the country. The congratulatory message of President Kennedy to Prime Minister Nehru is indicative of America's resolve to maintain dollar-aid and technological know-how to India, irrespective of inter-party adjustments within the country or accusations against outsiders meddling in our suffrages. It is not in India alone that the changes and chances of a general election are being registered. In a matter of weeks, the world is going to witness polling in countries like France, Egypt, our next-door neighbour Pakistan (with its mystery of Basic Democracy coupled with the continuance of the martial law regime), the prospect of some form of referendum in East Germany stemming from the latest conference between Khrushchov and Ulbricht at the end of which both reported complete agreement on treaty-relations consistent with the ascertained will in the People's Democracy—all these developments, chalked high on the walls, are due to furnish excitement as the year proceeds.

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debates are 'struggles for power' which will be put down with a 'strong hand'. There is no hope for parliamentary democracy in India unless there is effective and public opposition instead of competition for the Prime Minister's favour.

The battle for freedom should not be given up in consequence of our having fared badly in 1962. The issue of freedom and minimum government, and the ending

All is not lost, and as far as the Opposition parties are concerned in India, though overwhelmed by the Congress victory, there is no room for lamentation. To quote the first remark of the founder-leader of the Swatantra Party figured out by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru as Enemy No. 1 of the Congress regime, "the question is whether we have patience and grit enough to rally after this rout".

A glance at the tabulation of results given in the press would suggest that patience and grit are not likely to disappear from the debris merely because, by the early momentum of Congress prestige, superior organization well-stereotyped during the Gandhian struggle, the sly mobilization of funds under cover of legality, the imposition of unequal terms, the reservation of administrative machinery and publicity-media for the party-in-power obdurately refusing to stand down during a brief interregnum, and many other factors of unseemly self-regard for the pulling of strings, gave all the advantage to the Congress for ensuring a walk-over. We grant that worse conditions of referendum prevail in other countries, but that is no excuse for the rampant abuses attending the ascertainment of the popular will in India. It is no use now mourning over the bad example set, but

of concentrated economic power obtained through controls and licences, is the only issue and the nation should organize an Opposition to the ruling party on that issue. Opposition based on other issues cannot save democracy. If the leaders of the people get lost in a hunt for personal careers or advantages, they will betray the nation. We cannot let Gandhiji's principles go to the wall and allow Statism to envelop India as the ultimate condition of political and economic life, as in Russia or other communist countries.

one thing is certain, namely, the consequences of the discovery that the number of splinter-parties on the Opposition side is more than the traffic can bear.

Many party-chiefs have been bowled over and the tendency towards coalescence will gradually assert itself, so that the differences between the Congress-brand of socialism and sounder concepts of national economy could get polarized, with the sequel that artificial groupism might tend to become a nightmare-memory of the past. Although Mr. Nehru was in a frenzy to win total victory scattering all who differed from his *mantras* and mandates, he in his campaign would spasmodically concede that an Opposition in a democratic system would be a "good thing" provided it is "healthy". The merit of the view is vitiated by the exclusive prerogative of issuing the health-certificate.

Election-returns show beyond doubt that if the contest had been between the Congress and its critics in substantial combination, official candidates would have had not much of a chance to blast such a united front. The majority of votes won by the Congress had its numerical value in the divided votes of the 14 other parties with bewildering symbols. Even in the United Kingdom the survival of the old Liberal Party

We must learn a lesson from the D.M.K. workers who labour for love and not for money. The devotion of the D.M.K. workers, which I saw in this election, reminded me of the old Congress workers, a tribe that had disappeared thirty years ago. We must again develop a body of devoted young men who would passionately love the free way of life and hate the Permit-Licence-Raj which has seized our country as the East India Company did two centuries ago.

under the leadership of Jo Grimmond is a burden on the traditional system of parliamentary democracy. As for the United States, the two-party system is considered adequate, although during election year freak-candidates appear to enliven headlines.

In India the next stage of popular education must be towards the elimination of redundant parties, a process which may be hastened by the overthrow of some leaders in the last elections. The study of split-votes and the evidence of communal factionalism in electoral returns must awaken in the next generation the desire for a simpler economy in the competition of progressive ideas. Let us imagine that there is a two-party system of democracy in India, with some code of decency still unestablished, calling them Rightists and Leftists. One of the stale jests about America begins with a question put to earnest visitors from abroad asking them if, after all, they had found out the exact difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. In his random shots, the

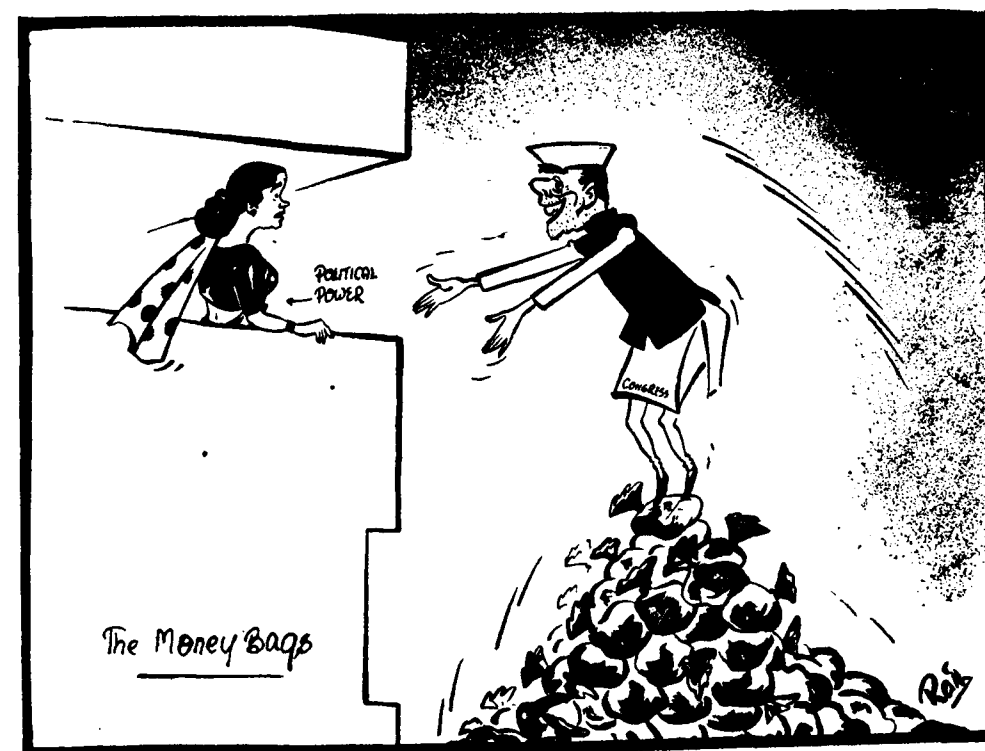
Prime Minister charged opponents with being Fascists suffering from McCarthy-mindedness, whereas the dangers of oneparty rule are more apparent in him and the lieutenants of his party being all agog to ride the high horse on principles of Statism and the public-sectorizing of developmental activities. In such a picture there would be the rudimentary outline of a straight two-party system, Rightists and Leftists, to serve as mutual curbs, since in experience no one has proved himself as infallible, or above the consequences of highhandedness, thus sparing the nation at large indefinite con-

tinuance of any follies in administration generated by overweening love of power.

As bulletins announcing progress of the poll were radioed, there was excitement at all listening posts. The overthrow of party-leaders and of certain fixtures in recent ministries, evoked jubilation; and to a certain extent there is the appearance of packs of cards, including court-cards, lying scattered all over the floor before resumption of the game at the table. First in foreign comment about Mr. Krishna Menon's assured victory was the *New York Times*'s remark that "his success probably means that Mr. Menon will continue in Mr. Nehru's future Cabinet as Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs trouble-maker". For White House politicians Mr. Krishna Menon is worse than a gadfly; indeed a wasp rather than a bee, since a wasp is aggressive in stinging whereas the bee darts in self-protection.

The comment proceeds that there can be no question of Mr.

Menon being dropped from leadership of delegations, and indeed the report is already abroad that he would be the Chairman of India's delegation to the 18-Power Disarmament Conference at Geneva despite his contemptuous reference to the move as a circus. The *New York Times* concludes: "The West will continue to have to live not only with Mr. Menon but, alas, with a reaffirmed Nehru-Menon affinity". In Frank Moraes's book, the author mentions that Indian visitors to America used to feel embarrassed when asked why so unpopular and cantankerous a person like Mr. Krishna Menon was persistently put forward to head delicate missions in the US, they found it convenient to reply with a counter-query as to why John Foster Dulles, who had very few fans in the East, was being pathetically trusted and pushed forward by President Eisenhower. The equation would then put an uneasy stop to the discussion; but with the passing of Dulles the argument cannot be repeated. What Dulles was at the head of the Eisenhower outfit, Menon is in the coach-seat of the Nehru caravan. P.J.



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| Netherlands  | ... .. | 9.0                              | 44.8                     |
| U. K.        | ... .. | 18.5                             | 19.9                     |
| U. S. A.     | ... .. | 8.0                              | 20.6                     |
| West Germany | ... .. | 17.2                             | 27.1                     |

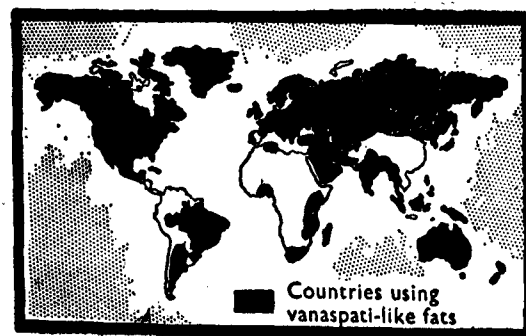
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## THE VOTES AND THEIR MEANING

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Although the Swatantra Party has not fared as well as had been hoped for in some places, and very badly indeed in some others, particularly in Madras, some figures, taken not at random but with a view to bringing out a particular point, call for consideration. Reflection on these figures would bring out the fact that the general results as to seats lost or won may mislead. All is not so well with the Congress as it may appear on merely reading the 'score-boards' in the papers. With the tremendous backing of official power, party organization, prestige, money, and last but not least, seasoned election-managers, and the casting aside of scruples in the business of securing votes, all these ranged in favour of the ruling party against the only two-and-half-year old Swatantra Party with no powers derived from office and with little money—and the Prime Minister training all his guns upon it all the time—it may be useful to reflect upon the relative position in the following Lok Sabha contests:

|             |           |          |
|-------------|-----------|----------|
| Melur       | Congress  | 1,55,629 |
|             | Swatantra | 1,42,710 |
| Tindivanam  | Congress  | 1,32,330 |
|             | Swatantra | 1,18,033 |
| Tirunelveli | Congress  | 1,51,822 |
|             | Swatantra | 1,29,803 |
| Karur       | Congress  | 1,39,385 |
|             | Swatantra | 1,00,229 |
| Ramnad      | Congress  | 1,45,396 |
|             | Swatantra | 1,14,513 |
| Kavali      | Congress  | 1,67,031 |
|             | Swatantra | 1,39,068 |
| Chittoor    | Congress  | 1,30,028 |
|             | Swatantra | 1,06,062 |
| Anakapalle  | Congress  | 96,985   |
|             | Swatantra | 80,685   |
| Gulbarga    | Congress  | 92,399   |
|             | Swatantra | 84,326   |

Nearly three lakh votes were cast in each of these nine constituencies for election to Parliament, and it is seen that less than ten per cent made the difference between Congress and Swatantra candidates for election to Parlia-

ment. These are cases where the Congress has won. There are places where Swatantra has won, which still further emphasizes the point.

The Congress which set up candidates for all the 206 seats in the Madras State Assembly obtained 57 lakhs votes—46 per cent of the votes polled. The Swatantra Party which, for lack of funds, contested only a hundred seats (including the Forward Bloc candidates) secured nearly twelve lakh votes. Considering all the circumstances, particularly the fact that in Madras the resentment against the Congress found its expression in a ready-made channel, in greatly increased support to the D.M.K. which had been fighting the local Congress for many years past, the twelve lakh votes cast in the Assembly elections in a single State against the Permit-Licence-Raj must make wise men think.

The total number that polled respectively for Congress and for Swatantra in the Parliamentary constituencies that the Swatantra Party contested in Madras are:

## Individual Freedom

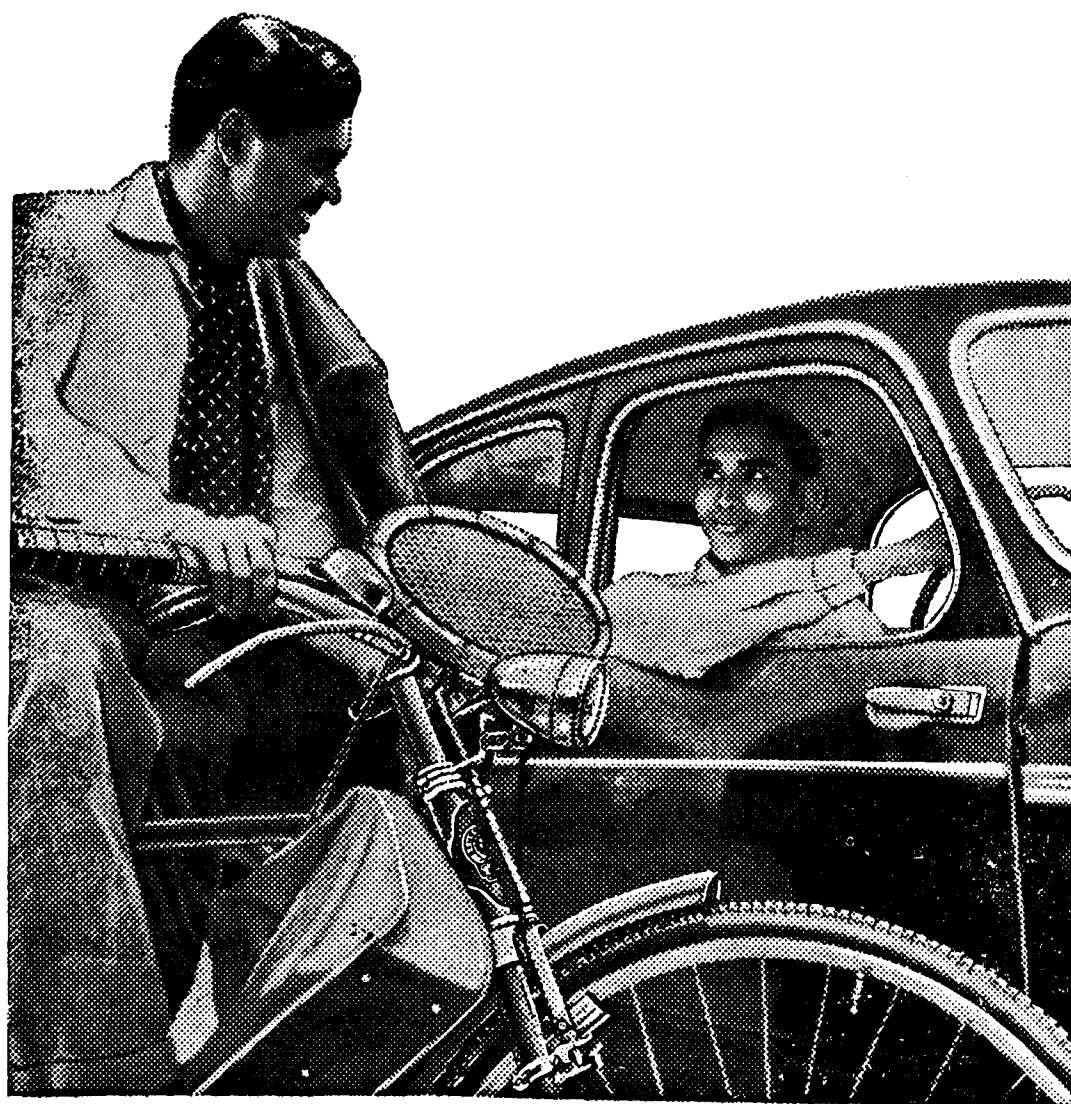
If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horns or a tail, so he will not exist as man if he has no mind of his own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own. Modern editions of Chingiz Khan retain their own.—  
GANDEHIJI

|           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| Congress  | 24,64,837 |
| Swatantra | 14,76,296 |

That nearly 15 lakh voters cast their votes against Permit-Licence-Raj in the Parliamentary elections reinforces the point made above.

The Congress has won most seats but the voting trend certainly indicates the need for introspection in those who are in authority by licence and not by divine right.





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## THE PULL OF THE FIVE Ps

By PREMA

All is over, bar the shouting. (Even the shouting has begun, and it might presently swell into a roar).

The ruling party has 'won' the elections. The 'people' have voted the Congress back to power. It is true that in Kerala, only 6 out of the 18 Lok Sabha seats have gone to the ruling party—the electorate being identical with the electorate that voted the Congress-PSP into power in the State two years ago. It is true again that, except in Maharashtra (thanks to the 'Goa action'), everywhere else the Congress Party has returned with diminished strength. Yet victory is victory—even if it be without *glory*. Let us study objectively the causes that have contributed to the victory of the ruling party. These causes, of course, stem partly from the composition and distribution of the electorate, partly from the weaknesses of the Opposition parties, but mainly from the advantages enjoyed (or seized) by the ruling party. I shall confine myself to the last.

First comes the Pull of Power. The fact of present power facilitates success in the elections. Success leads to a fresh lease of power. And so the cycle goes on. The fact of power may not matter much in a country like UK or USA, where the average citizen lives the dictum, "A cat can look at a King", and where the men in power wield it with becoming restraint: no IAF *de luxe* plane for helping the P.M. to do hectic propaganda; no permit-licence-quota system to siphon off funds from the rich private (and occasionally even the public) sector for the Congress election fund; no camouflaging of a political rally as an official function. Just before the election, the increased scales of pay for men in the Army and in the Central police force was announced, to take effect from 1st April 1961. Also, the Central servants were 'advised' not to attend election meetings. In this hand the sugar plum; in the other, the

show of the rod—the same old story!

Next comes the Personality cult. The Nehru cult in the all-India plane, the other smaller cults in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. They are more than the party—the indispensables. E.V.R. asked people to vote not the Congress, but Kamaraj to power. Everywhere *Chacha* Nehru's portrait (like Big Brother's in Orwell's novel) stared at the voters. The mass of voters were asked to vote, not for this or that candidate, on the basis of his local standing and record of service or reputation for integrity; not even (ultimately) for the Congress—but for Mr. Nehru. He has made us achieve 50 years' 'progress' in 15 years!

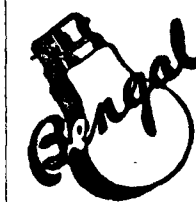
Then the power of the Purse. Mr. K. Santanam recently estimated that at least Re. 1 lakh is required on an average to fight a Lok Sabha election, and about half that sum for an Assembly election. Not only the candidates spend, but the party also spends. Even if voters are not literally bribed, there are various ways in which money power makes itself felt. Travel, posters, literature, election offices, managers, paid workers and 'volunteers', election meetings, transport, all are money-consuming. Gone are the days when the record of service and sacrifice by themselves helped the Yellow Boxes in Tamil Nad to fill. Today it is money, money, money, all the way!

Now the power of Propaganda, positive as well as negative,—*suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*. The Congress Party flag (in appearance) is very much like the National Government flag. The 'Congress' bulls on the postal stamp may refer to a rare breed, but 99.9 per cent of our people are more likely to identify it with the Congress election symbol. There are, then, the 'achievements' of the Congress in the last 15 years. We dress better, eat more; the bullock-cart age is gone; the bicycle age

has come, and the scooter age is round the corner; the children are so happy; we are a mature nation, and the whole world is admiring us! All this boost goes necessarily with the denunciation of the Opposition parties—and especially Swatantra. My doxy is patriotism, socialism, integrationism. Your doxy is reaction, vested-interestism, and separatism. This double-engined propaganda, with all the mass media of communication that a modern Government has at its disposal, plays a decisive part in an election, especially when the ruling party chooses to be unscrupulous, fighting with merciless vigour so-called 'prestige' seats—to exterminate all possible dissent or criticism.

Last comes that Alnascarian Document, the Third Five-Year Plan. So many more thousands of villages will be electrified: so many more millions will be educated; so many thousands of mileage of railway lines, new roads etc., so many new factories, so many new Blocks, and so many tens of thousands of pumps, wells, etc. etc. (As for the loans and gifts and taxes, silence for the present). We have come to the take-off stage. Lo and behold (put us back in power!), we are taking off! Marching ahead—fast—faster. But whither?

No wonder, with the pull of these Five P's (Power, Personality cult, Purse, Propaganda, and Plan boost) the ruling party has returned to power. What is strange is *not* that the ruling party has returned to power, but that it has not made all India a repetition of the 'election' in Kashmir! For this, thanks.



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**Bata**

## THE PYRAMID OF SOCIALISM

By GEORGE THECKEDATH

The general elections, which have just concluded, made the advocates of vested interests in the Congress Party become the champions overnight of distributive justice and humanitarians pleading for the uplift of the poor. The newly hatched 'socialists' of the Congress furiously displayed the achievements of State planning, hiding all the while the horrifying side of the national wastage involved in it.

Those who oppose this State domination of every means of production and distribution are dubbed by the Congress leaders as "reactionaries and capitalists". It is surprising how congressmen at whom such epithets were flung not long ago by the communists, have now begun to sling these very phrases of opprobrium at those who try to uphold the canons of democracy in India. The use of this sort of desperate language by the spokesmen of the Congress is just a natural consequence of the fatal turn of this once great organization to the Left. The Congress seems to be vying with the communists and other socialists to get the right of primogeniture amongst them.

Hence in India we are now face to face with a struggle which is of no less importance and magnitude than our Freedom struggle. During the Freedom struggle we were fighting a foreign Power which believed in democracy and which was governed by democratic conventions. But now we are in a different situation. The very basic rights for which our people fought, and some of them gave their lives, are at stake. The amendments to the Constitution and the scores of orders passed by the Government bear witness to this wrong and objectionable tendency of our rulers to curb the liberty of the citizens of this 'sovereign democratic Republic'. The recent Government Order on the use of newsprint, issued in the wake of the judgment of the Supreme Court quashing the Price-Page

Schedule Order, is a clear case of the totalitarian mentality of the Government to stifle the freedom of opposition of the people. If this trend goes on uncurbed, our Independence would come to mean for us only a change of rulers without real political and individual freedom for the people.

It is by slow degrees that a nation is led into the clutches of dictatorship. The artisans of the Congress Party's socialism know it only too well that the most effective way for a political party to perpetuate its power is to control the entire economic activity of the nation. They would, therefore, make a constant struggle to prevent the citizens from exercising their freedom of enterprise, since the success in that direction on the part of the people would be the death-blow to socialism.

Here is what Khrushchov told the Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1956: "As for our country, the Communist Party was, is, and will be the ruler of thought, the inspirer of ideas and aspirations, the leader and organizer of the people in the entire course of their struggle for communism". (*Pravda*, July 6, 1956). These words are crystal clear in meaning. The dominance over the mind and the total control of the activities of the citizens are to be perpetual features of any socialist-communist system of government. It is the logical conclusion to which a materialistic interpretation of human life is bound to lead a nation.

The leaders of the Congress Party in their eagerness to have at their disposal as much power as the Russians have acquired, do not stop to think of the evil consequences, such as the encroachment on individual liberty and human dignity that any centralized total State planning is bound to bring in its wake. It will spread a reign of terror which would force the citizens to work like prisoners in their own land,

since they would be at the mercy of bureaucrats with unlimited power. It was in this manner that absolute monarchs like Genghis Khan and Tamburlane ruled over their conquered territories. The system is not so modern as some congressmen try to proclaim to the ignorant masses in our undeveloped areas; it is as old as the rule of the Pharaohs of Egypt, though it is much more rigid and impregnable.

Socialism is an antiquated mummy which is enshrined in a pyramid. Like the bricks which go to build up the pyramid, the citizens lose their identity when cemented together with the plaster of totalitarian control which prevails in a socialist system of government. But democracy is like a tree planted beside the waters of Liberty, where the citizens grow like the branches and foliage of the tree. The growth of the branches and the leaves contributes to the growth of the tree as a whole. There is life in the tree and a bond of vital unity. That is what we must plant in India, a tree of democracy which will take deep roots in the soil of our cultural heritage.

### INTELLIGENTSIA'S APATHY

We reproduce the following letter addressed to the founder-leader of the Swatantra Party:

Revered Rajaji,—I am writing this with a very heavy heart. Both in Madras and Mysore States, the electorate have badly let down the Swatantra Party candidates. Even in Bangalore City, inspite of the intensive and continuous propaganda done for several months, hardly 25 per cent of the intelligentsia cared to cast their votes. These votes were swamped by the slum votes which were cast almost cent per cent, having been purchased by the ruling party as in previous elections. Those of us who offered to stand for election with faith in the principles and policies of the party founded by you have been very rudely shocked by the way the electorate

March 10, 1962

appears to have swallowed the lies spread by the Congress leaders about our party and other political parties, to gain their own ends.

I know how you must be feeling—particularly in view of the reverses sustained by stalwarts like Acharya Ranga.

Our hearts go out to you in the great distress you must be feeling at the disappointing news as to how the party candidates are faring all over the country which can only mean that the die has been cast and our unfortunate country will go to pieces before the elections of

1967, when it might be too late to salvage the wreckage.

It was just as you had feared, and so expressed on several occasions, money and power of office held by the Congress that have won the elections for that party.

Yours sincerely,  
V. T. SREENIVASAN

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Dear Reader —

The inherent weaknesses and errors in the Plans have added to the burdens of the people without bettering their condition, as inflation has outrun any gains. The Congress Party's regime has not added to material happiness in the life of the poor. But it has by its continually reiterated philosophy certainly awakened all people to the bright aim of making money. I do not consider this 'awakening' as good. It is not day, but dark night, that has come with the hunger for money.

Yasyaam jaagrati bhootaani  
Saa nishaa pasyato muneh.

How insistently was Gandhiji warning us against mammon worship even before Independence. "I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress. I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by mammon worship. Swaraj government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life." All this and more he said, not once but repeated them on every relevant occasion. He had hoped that after he passed out "my political heir will speak my language". But that has not happened.

The Election Commissioner's hand-out of figures tell us, according to a press report from Delhi, that "the Swatantra Party which fought the current elections for the first time has obtained a total of 167 seats and has emerged as the largest political organization next to the Congress in terms of the total number of seats captured in all the State Assemblies". With the

merger of the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa, it will be 203 seats in all. That this party comes next only to the ruling party is reassuring. But the party's aim is not to come on top of the Opposition parties but to end the Permit-Licence-Quota-Raj. And until this corrupting policy is put an end to we must work as hard as we can, bring the power of money and the abuse of it to an end, and save our people from being progressively ruined in character by bribery at elections. Achieved and attempted purchase of votes reached, during this current election, a sickening level. Anyone anywhere may be asked if what I have said is an exaggeration.

In addition, the canvassing has gone to the extent of telling those holding jobs under the Government that the ballot papers are numbered and the numbers will be noted by the polling officers. Not only is the rule of secrecy technically violated by this noting of numbers, but the violation has been used in the pre-polling propaganda as a means to intimidate holders of petty jobs under Government and others in a similar situation. Even if the Election Commissioner and his subordinates held the secret tight, the arrangement has lent itself as a means to intimidate and rob the election of complete freedom.

As just, stated the most anxious thought in my mind is the mounting of unashamed, open distribution of money. It threatens to become a permanent feature. People have not yet learnt to forget natural instinct. They vote for those who gave the petty bribe and not as free men. If they did the latter way, soon the bribe-givers would learn that it does not pay to bribe and, therefore, stop investing in such form of canvassing.

The phenomenal increase in polling at this election was due primarily to the campaign being

intensified on account of the entry of the Swatantra Party. It may also, unfortunately and partly, be due to the purchase of votes of the large slum population, who after receiving money must have felt it their duty to go and vote and discharge their debt of 'honour'.

Here is the *Hindustan Times's* special correspondent's report of overall results:

An assessment of the election results in the States so far declared (the results of 2,906 Assembly seats are now known) shows that the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party alone, of all the major political parties, have suffered serious reverses. The Swatantra Party, making its maiden appearance in the general election, has registered the most phenomenal gains with 167 wins retaining an early lead, it has emerged as the second largest political group. The Jan Sangh and the Socialist Party which returned to the election fray as a separate entity after a five-year interlude, follow close behind. The Jan Sangh has secured 115 seats, more than double the number it had in 1957 (46). The Socialists have won 59 seats.

The Communist Party's total score is more respectable than it appears when broken State-wise. It has improved its tally by 46 seats—most of them in Andhra. It will have a total of 153 representatives in 13 legislatures as against 107 in the last election.

In the new party-ranking, the Communists maintain their position as the third largest group. The Praja Socialist Party, which was second, is relegated to the fourth position. It has won 149 seats in the election against 188 in the 1957 poll.

The Congress has suffered far more heavily and lost nearly four times as many seats as the PSP, its present strength of 1,768 in the State legislatures is 145 short of its 1957 level.

The swing against the Congress in the country's third general election has not been as sharply marked in the Centre as it is in most States, though its overall strength has slightly gone down.

Out of 437 seats in a House of 494, the party has won 341. Even if it were to annex all the remaining seats, which is hardly likely, it would not gain its 1957 strength of 372 seats. The party would, however, have a two-thirds majority, which is

considered essential for putting through constitutional amendments.

There has been a significant rise in the poll percentage in the 1962 election, as compared to previous polling averages.

★  
Prajā Socialist leader, Mr. N. Shahi has issued a statement: "The disastrous defeat of the P.S.P. and the Socialist Party all over the country in this general election is a deluge which can wash away the socialist movement". I would say, in this connection, that if the leaders of these parties believe in State socialism as they appear to do, they should extinguish themselves in a merger with the Congress Party and not stand out as an Opposition, helping thereby to give the false position of a middle-of-the-road party to the Congress. The Congress is a hundred per cent State socialist party.

★  
I had foolishly thought the Great Powers had lapsed into good sense somehow and stopped the competitive nuclear poisoning of God's world. But President Kennedy has "offered" two months' time to conclude a test-ban treaty, or, we are told, the world must face new US-testing in the atmosphere. It is not Khrushchov that must face the prospect of new atmosphere testing and added nuclear fall-out. It is not Khrushchov or Russia but the world-atmosphere that is going to be further poisoned by the fall-out that these Powers are arranging for.

The Soviet authorities have immediately replied to President Kennedy's broadcast: "The US decision to resume atmospheric testing will force the Soviet Union to 'take all necessary measures to strengthen its own defensive power'". So the race will go on. Retaliatory nuclear blasts equivalent to or in greater measure than that of the United States will be started by Russia. It is not the American or the Russian people that face each other in this Satanic threat of poisoning, but all the world's people and their friends in the animal world. What is the good of the United Nations Orga-

"My centre yields, my right draws back, the situation is excellent, I attack"—with these words Marshal Foch is reported to have made the decision to attack the enemy at one of the most critical battles of the First World War, and won. It is in this spirit that the leaders of the Swatantra Party, in the moment of the disaster that has overwhelmed the party in the first electoral campaign they entered, must continue the struggle. The party has lost this battle but it must win the war which may spread over years. For win it must, if India is to be saved from the ruin that awaits her if the Congress Party is to continue in power longer than the five years which it has earned the right to remain in office by its successes in the recent elections.

The ideals and the principles of the Swatantra Party are so good, so conducive to the substantial and lasting prosperity of the people, so necessary for the political salvation of the country, that it would be sheer poltroonery for its lea-

nization if it cannot stop this? Katanga's claim of autonomy against new Congo is not so much a danger to the world. This threatened and immediate nuclear poisonous fall-out warfare against us all that is proposed to be again started is a crime against the world that should be taken up and prevented.

★  
A news item from Moscow says: "Two NCOs Grigori Gurevich and Nicolai Nnanov who had served in the German Army were sentenced to death on March 2 after being found guilty on charges of exterminating civilians during World War II." If exterminating civilians during war is a capital offence and two NCOs found guilty of it should lose their lives, what about the great nuclear Powers making it almost their sole business now to poison civilians, men, women and children?

## FIGHT ON!

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

ders and organizers to falter, to throw up the sponge in the first round, although it has ended in a knock-out. And the people have shown themselves so ready to welcome it, and its principles, as shown by the large masses attending its electoral meetings and a large proportion of the voters actually voting for its candidates all over India that it would be sheer treason to the people to abandon them to the fatal embraces of the Congress Party.

If the people are so much in favour of the principles of the Swatantra Party, why did the party lose the elections to this disastrous extent? The Swatantra Party lost to the Congress not on account of the superiority of the latter's principles and policies and programmes, but on account of its superiority in organization, in campaign funds, and the political power which comes to a party in office—and which it made use of to the full. Once again it has been proved in political history that an idea, however excellent, will not make way in the world

The anti-test demonstrators in New York deserve to be congratulated for their brave stand. Considerable grit over and above firm conviction is required to do something contrary to the defence passion of the American people which has mounted up under Russian provocation almost to a form of hysteria.

★  
Acharya Kripalani and the joint committee could not convince the North Bombay voters. Reason could not prevail. Other forces were at work. If the Burma coup had happened a week earlier perhaps, the results in North Bombay might have been different. In the teaching of Science reason is supported by what are called demonstrations. Without these, scientific instruction fails to educate.

C.R.

unless it has organization behind it. And the organizational strength of the Congress Party has been due to its enormous financial resources and to power of office. These resources enabled it to have, and use, the army of workers, paid for the most part, which enabled it to canvass the voters day by day, work upon their minds from day to day and, most decisive of all, bring (in fact carry) them to the polling booth on election day, and in the last resort make use of pecuniary persuasion if all else failed. The Swatantra Party could not use any of these devices, if only because it had not the money. In the best-placed of States it could afford only one-tenth of the money put up by the Congress Party. Its election work started seriously only from the time the candidates were selected. It is the Congress machine that won the election—not its ideas, not even its personalities, glamorous as a few of them were.

And if the Swatantra Party is to make a better show at the next elections, it must improve its machine. It must begin to work on the improvement of its organization from the morrow of defeat. It must organize the gathering of financial resources. From the display of its voting strength at the recent elections, the people who can contribute to its funds ought to conclude that it is a party with a future. If the number of its seats in the legislatures corresponded to the number of votes cast in its favour, it should be entitled to at least one-third of the seats in most legislatures. It is because of the single-member constituency electoral device that the Congress Party enjoys legislative strength out of all proportion to its electoral strength. Not merely from speculative donors and supporters but from its actual members the party's funds must be collected. The membership drive must start from now on. The membership in each State must go up at the rate of at least 100,000 per year. An impressive organizational strength growing from year to

year and shown in the growth of its membership, in its use of publicity and propaganda, in the number and activity of its offices and workers, will also attract funds from people outside the party. It is because the organization of the party was not impressive, was not seen to be impressive, that it attracted so little financial support in the past two years. The party must mean business and show it, if it wants to attract financial support from business people. The party must show that it has a sporting chance of winning at the next elections if it wants people to put money on it.

And the party need not despair. For a party barely two years old, it has done well. It has secured seats in State Legislatures and in Parliament. It has done better than the Labour Party in England. At the general election of 1900, only one year after the formation of the Labour Representative Committee, two Labour members were returned to Parliament. In the general election of 1906, which proved so disastrous for the long-ruling Conservative Party, the Labour membership rose to 30. It was not till 1922 that it replaced the Liberals as one of the two major British parties. If the Swatantra Party goes to it as the Labour Party in England did from the 1900's, if it goes on from now with dogged perseverance increasing its membership month by month, improving its organization year by year, and making it increasingly impressive as the next five years go by, it might rise quicker to power than the Labour Party did in England. Already, the Swatantra Party has shown that it is the only alternative to the Congress Party. The great political debate that preceeded the recent elections was between the representatives of the two parties. The party need not despair either of itself or of the people. The people are with it, are for it—only they must be brought to vote for it. That the power of money and official position is not so formidable as we had feared has been proved by the resounding

victories of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. If we had their organization, their devoted workers, their activity, we could do as well if not better—with our principles and programmes. And so the fight must go on till we win.

Say not, the struggle naught availeth,  
The labour and the wounds are vain,  
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,  
And as things have been, they remain.

For, while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

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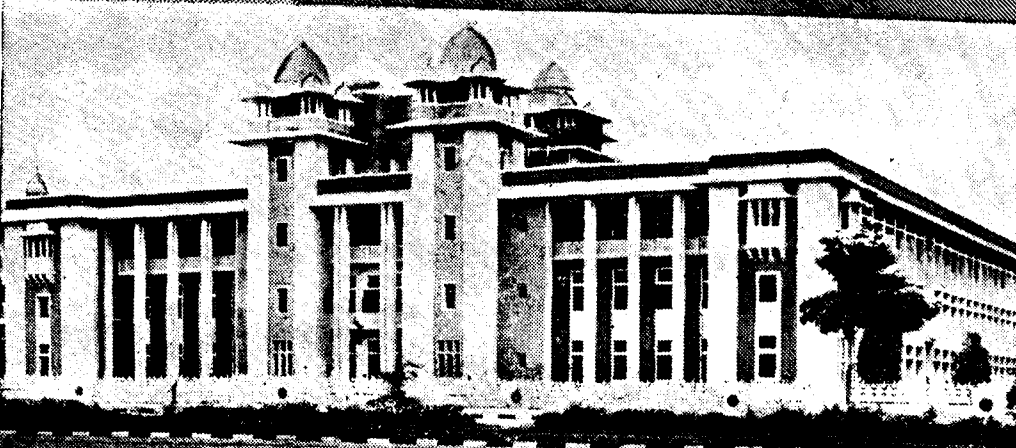
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## THE PRESS ON SWATANTRA RESULTS

*The Mail* writes in its editorial:

As the first results of the general elections in Madras State came in, the founder-leader of the Swatantra Party wrote from the Slough of Despond: "The city of Madras has certainly let the Swatantra Party down. The returns elsewhere, too, in this State have been bad for Swatantra. Indeed, I admit it is a rout...The question is whether we have patience and grit enough to rally after this rout." The all-India picture which has since emerged in almost full detail should not only dissipate his gloom, but induce in him a mood of buoyant hope for the future. For a party not three years old, and seeking the people's suffrage for the first time, Swatantra has done much better than its leaders had a right to expect. Its organization was inevitably poor, the odds against it were almost impossibly heavy. Yet, numerically, it has scored more successes in the State legislatures than any other Opposition party. According to the latest results, it has won 161 seats against the communists' 134, the PSP's 127 and the Jan Sangh's 109. In Rajasthan, with 36 representatives, it has emerged as the main Opposition, as also in Bihar (48) and Gujarat (23). It has made a respectable showing in Andhra and UP. In Madras itself, some of its representatives were second only to those of the Congress. Considering the reverses of well-known leaders of such established parties as the DMK, the PSP and the Jan Sangh, not to mention the defeats of numerous Congress ministers, the "rout" of some Swatantra candidates of which Mr. Rajagopalachari speaks need not be taken too seriously to heart.

The lesson is such as he who runs may read. The Swatantra manifesto began with the statement that "after fifteen years of national Independence, the Indian people experience a sense of deep disappointment". This is evident not only from Swatantra's own substantial score, but from the reduced majorities of the Congress in most States and the successes of no fewer than 259 Independents. So far as Swatantra itself is concerned, the inference is irresistible that its manifesto, which (in spite of what the Prime Minister has said) is a detailed and reasoned document, has made an appeal to a large section of the electorate. Whether or not the policies the party espouses are right, they are precise, presented with conviction and offer the

(Continued on p. 18, col. 1)

*The Times of India* writes in its leading article:

The political statisticians will doubtless be busy for the next few weeks playing with dry figures, trying to discover the nuances in the electorate's verdict; and we can be fairly certain that the more imaginative among them will even prove that contrary to the layman's impression the Praja Socialist Party, for instance, has wider support in the country than ever before. But in a country such as India where no two regions are quite the same, where factors like caste and community influence the voter in degrees which differ not only from State to State but even from one constituency to another, the political variables are far too many to permit any meaningful statistical analysis. In these circumstances, what is apparent and can be readily seen is likely to approximate fairly closely to the real situation. Mr. Nehru would do well to bear this in mind when he makes his assessment of the nation's political temper from the electoral results. It would seem that broadly speaking if the second general election was notable for the strength shown by the extreme left, this election is notable for the emergence of the right as an identifiable and well-organized force in the country's political life. The Congress remains in power, but the face of the Opposition has changed. For the first time, a right-wing or conservative party will form the main Opposition in a number of States. In Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, the Jan Sangh has displaced the PSP as the main Opposition party; in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bihar the Swatantra Party has gained this distinction, which is surely a remarkable achievement for a party which came on the political scene barely three years ago. Since the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa has merged with the Swatantra Party, the newest of the national political parties will be the main Opposition in four States. And we can be certain that it will be an Opposition to reckon with.

It may be conceded that the setbacks suffered by the Congress in many States are at least partly due to internal dissensions. In Rajasthan, for instance, the divisions within the Congress were particularly serious, with almost the entire "old guard" nursing a sense of grievance. It is possible to suspect that the Congress was also significantly weakened by dissensions in

(Continued on p. 18, cols. 1 and 2)

*Mysindia*, in the course of its editorial, says:

Elections fill the victors with arrogance and the defeated with bitterness, complain the Sarvodaya critics of the party system. Unless they propose to abolish elections too, they must explain how to avoid this result. Indeed they will have to abolish human nature.

But though it is human to feel such emotions, it is also human to overcome them, and if politicians are to be of any use they must achieve some degree of self-control. Unlike the electoral process, public business is continuous. The business of studying affairs, discussing them, and bringing pressure to bear upon the holders of power goes on, and few of those in positions at the top dare to forget for long the votes obtained by their opponents in the last election or those they are likely to get in the next.

Those who have worked over the past few years to give organized expression to the hitherto unrepresented bodies of opinion on the economic and the cultural "right" should not conclude that they have wasted their time. The Prime Minister's short-sighted and peevish campaign to stifle at birth the rising parties of the right has not been a complete success, even if he has kept them down to a number of seats far smaller than they hoped for. We have not reached the stage of physical liquidation yet, and though it is partially choked, discontent remains and will continue to grow unless the Government subjects itself to much prudent reform.

Nevertheless it is not a matter of indifference who is elected. In the short term it can decide a good deal, and in critical conditions those who happen to control the State power can turn the current of events permanently in one direction or another. We consider the Prime Minister's campaign short-sighted because it has come at what may prove to be such a critical time, and it may permit the current of events to be turned in a direction which he would not approve of if he were to live to see it.

As the most pleasing result of the election is the reduction in the number of communist representatives—no doubt because of their equivocal attitude towards the Chinese invasion—so the most ominous is the success of the sinister Krishna Menon. It must be attributed, as must the victory of the Congress generally, to the extraordinary

(Continued on p. 18, cols. 2 and 3)

# THE PRESS ON SWATANTRA ... THE MAIL

(Continued from p. 17 col. 1)

country a clear-cut alternative to those on which the ruling party is bent. In so far, therefore, as Swatantra could conceivably replace the Congress in the government of the country, its emergence as the main Opposition party deserves to be welcomed. It can never be to the national interest that power should be monopolized by one party without the prospect of its ever having to part with it.

The Congress can be in no doubt that Swatantra has come to stay. This should be obvious because most of the other opposition parties swear by socialism, and, to the extent that Swatantra has scored, the electorate must be presumed to have endorsed policies opposed not only to those of the Congress but to those of others too like the Socialists, the Praja Socialists and the Communists. Swatantra leadership may be trusted to derive the fullest profit from such lessons as the present election has disclosed and to draw into its fold those among the large number of successful Independents who can see their way to subscribing to its policies. The next five years will have given it ample time to convince the waverers. The other parties will also have seen the futility of maintaining a separate and impotent existence. Swatantra promises to lead the way to a two-party system which alone can break the present stranglehold and ensure good government for the nation. Given Swatantra's manifesto, the party's success must be interpreted as a tribute to the growing political maturity of the electorate.

## TIMES OF INDIA

(Continued from p. 17 col. 2)

Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra. Indeed it entered the campaign as a united party only in a few States, notably Maharashtra and West Bengal. But it would be wrong to attribute the setbacks suffered by the Congress mainly to the lack of unity in the party's ranks and to disputes between the ministerial and organizational wings. These dissensions are an old story, and they certainly existed during the second general elections. The main reason for the strong showing of the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh must therefore be sought elsewhere. Their hard organizational work has paid dividends, but their success surely is primarily due to the fact that they voice the political aspirations of a large section of the electorate

which is becoming increasingly critical of the economic policies of the Congress. It is doubtful whether the Jan Sangh's and the Swatantra party's criticism of the government's handling of the Sino-Indian border dispute influenced the electorate appreciably. The vote received by these two parties must therefore be regarded principally as a vote against the Congress Party's socialism. The conservatives can legitimately derive satisfaction from their electoral performance. They are now in a position to exert on the Congress a degree of influence fully comparable with the pressures exerted so far by the political left and thereby correct an imbalance which has marred the national political scene ever since Independence.

## MYSINDIA

(Continued from p. 17 col. 3)

nary electioneering skill of the Prime Minister. Whether he annexed Goa for this purpose or not, he certainly claimed credit with the electorate for it, and it must have counted in North Bombay.

Even with that asset, Menon's victory is an astonishing performance. Kripalani's record in the national movement is as good as anybody's; his personal reputation is without a blemish, and in fact he has shown exceptional freedom from the common desire to cash in on the political credit earned in those days.

Menon took no part in the national movement. In any other country in the world; even if he had got a party ticket he would have lost his deposit; here, the Prime Minister can win for him a victory by almost two to one over Kripalani. A man who can achieve that can do anything with the Indian public, and the Swatantra Party, though it is understandably mortified, should not be surprised at the way in which he has dashed its hopes.

But the Prime Minister's sway over the electorate is one thing: his political judgment is quite another. We must expect all the Prime Minister's other ill-judged policies to be pushed sharply ahead.

Even he must sometimes sense the truth in Mr. Hanumanthaiya's remark that Nehru's socialism, like Akbar's Din Ilahi, will perish with its author. He must know that he has not many more years in which to fasten socialism upon this long suffering country and make it secure against the inevitable falling away. He will certainly crowd everything possible into the time that is left to him. In fact Mr. Krishnama-

chari—compelled to resign owing to a financial scandal, but now back again and apparently still in the Prime Minister's confidence—has promised drastic socialist legislation.

India has always been a land of paradoxes. She appears to be destined to experience one more. India under the coming drive for socialism in double quick time will be known as the land in which honest constructive enterprise which gives employment and increases the nation's wealth is a sin, but a man wins the approval of the highest authorities if he makes a lot of money by taking improper advantage of his political position.

W. S. Gilbert was regarded as a merciless satirist of the politics of his day when he wrote:

Stick close to your desks and never go to sea,  
And you all may be rulers of the Queen's Navee.

If he had lived in India in our time he would have had to write with considerably more kick. We do not claim that the following lines are worthy of him, but we feel sure he would have advised the aspiring young in some such sense.

You buy for the Army quite a lot of jeeps  
All picked by Mr. Potter off the French scrap-heaps;  
You buy for the Air Force blankets full of lice,  
And the P.A. Committee's comments won't sound nice;  
You buy for the Army guns that will not fire,  
And the loss to the exchequer will grow higher and higher;  
You buy for the Air Force planes that will not fly,  
No matter: Potter's profits soon will reach the sky;  
Of your country's territory a good fat slice  
You present to the enemy and ask no price;  
These deals will demonstrate your competence,  
And your countrymen must give you charge of their defence.

But the grim developments that will be promoted by Menon's success cannot be defeated by satire. Despite the Prime Minister's indignant denials there is no reason to doubt that Menon is preparing for the assumption of power by the communists in the confusion that every observer expects a few years ahead, and that his hope is that he can use the Congress and the administration for this purpose.

The Prime Minister is helping him, deliberately or otherwise, by foisting  
(Continued on p. 19, col. 1)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE TIRUMAYAM MIRACLE!

Sir,—I give below an extract from the 27th February issue of the *Hindu*:

TIRUMAYAM

Mr. V. Ramiah (Congress), Minister for Electricity, was declared elected.

|                         |        |
|-------------------------|--------|
| Total Electorate        | 95,588 |
| Votes Polled            | 64,753 |
| V. Ramiah (Cong.)       | 28,219 |
| Balakrishnan (Ind.)     | 17,916 |
| Rama Srinivasan (Swat.) | 16,915 |
| Muthu (Ind.)            | 1,703  |

Congress retains seat.

It is really surprising, if not unbelievable, that there should be not even a single invalid vote. Among the uneducated rural class of people, there is bound to be a large number of invalid votes.

## THE PRESS ON SWATANTRA ...

MYSINDIA

him on an unwilling party and public, and also by systematically frustrating the efforts of patriotic and far-sighted people to set up powerful political organizations free from communist and socialist influence. The frustration he is causing by these wrecking tactics is itself a condition very favourable for a silent seizure of power by a shrewd minority.

Frustration takes many forms other than simple disgust and apathy. A common one is a lofty superiority, which refuses to have any truck with practical politics until it has been reformed into a condition worthy of one's participation. A similar one is the pursuit, armchair or active, of some utopian scheme like Sarvodaya or partyless politics. The advocacy of these abstractly attractive but quite impracticable nostrums only serves to increase disgust with the system which is actually in operation, enforced by the law and accepted by the majority.

There are only two ways of dealing with a system which is in practical operation, as the present democratic system is. One is to help those who are most nearly in agreement with one's aims in their efforts to achieve them by the operation of the existing machinery. The other is to organize in secret to seize power by an illegal coup, as the communists are doing. Anybody who is not content with idle repining but really wishes to do something to improve the society about him must choose between these two. There is no third way.

I feel almost certain of there being at least some invalid votes, though perhaps not many. One doubts the genuineness of the way in which the counting was done.

Mudalaipatti R. M. SOMASUNDARAM  
[It is to be noted that in all other constituencies in the State wherever counting of votes has taken place, quite a large number of 'invalid votes' were recorded. It is really remarkable that in Tirumayam constituency alone, not a single invalid vote was found. Unless there has been an error in the handout given to the press, this unique total validity of all the 64 odd thousand votes polled in the constituency is a miracle, or something has happened.—Ed. S]

## IS IT SECRET BALLOT?

Sir,—In order that the voters may not be intimidated by the party in power, adult voting by secret ballot is in practice all over the world in democratic countries. It was so in our own country in the two previous general elections, in 1952 and 1957. But this year I found that the ballot papers were numbered, and that these numbers were noted against the name of each voter in the electoral register. Thus, if desired, the ballots being the Government property, it can be known as to who cast his vote in whose favour. It is quite another question if the party in power will resort to such abuse.

If the numbering of the ballot papers is essential in order to verify their genuineness should the matter arise in an election petition, the numbers of the ballot papers issued could have been noted on a separate register and signed, after the polling is over, by the various polling agents. But noting of the numbers against the name of each voter is totally in violation of secret voting as granted by the Constitution.

Allahabad-3

B. N. MEHROTRA

## RETROSPECTIVE SANCTIONS

Sir,—Sanctions to items of expenditure with retrospective effect are wrong in principle, save when given in fulfilment of an undertaking in the course of normal bargaining, i.e., not under duress; firstly, because it is not easy to determine, within reason, the extent of such retrospective effect, the tendency being to overlook its financial impact, and secondly because it is difficult to find funds for items of expenditure not contemplated in the ordi-

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nary course and provided for in the budget for the year. Thus the inviolable practice of the Government is to give effect to any sanction from the date on which such sanction is promulgated—there used to be such a rule in the *Civil Account Code* in old times—or at the best from the beginning of the financial year then running.

Certain recent sanctions appear to violate the principle. By a recent order the scale of pay of Police Officers was increased with effect from the 1st April 1960. Some time earlier an order had been passed raising the rates of pay in the Army Department with effect from a much earlier date. The other day appeared a clarification of the orders of the Government enhancing the rates of temporary increases in pensions of the Army Forces pensioners with effect from April 1, 1958. These invidious distinctions in dates from which these several sanctions have retrospective effect are bound to create discontent among the services.

Is there more than what meets the eye in the matter of the special treatment which has been accorded to the Army services?  
K. V. IYER

## SARVODAYA 'CONSPIRACY'

Sir,—The public are told (and are aware of the fact) that the Karnataka Sarvodaya Mandal is a non-party and a non-political organization, which stands for promoting and spreading the use of khadi in Mysore State, and as such the Government finances its work through the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. The members are partly drawn from among the persons who were working with Vinobaji's movement. As an organization it is outside its scope to lend support to any political party.

But to our utter amazement the flags of the Congress Party were spectacularly displayed in the premises of the Khadi Vasthralaya, Fort, Bangalore, where the Mandal sells its goods. This has misled the public to confirm the already prevailing misconception that all khadi workers are congressmen.

All this kind of display in favour of a particular political party is in violation of the very principles of Sarvodaya, which stands for a *Partyless Government*.

Bangalore P. S. SAIDHARA MURTHY

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## THE LAND POLICY

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

(The present land policy of the Congress Party has nothing to do with the programme of doing away with feudal intermediaries. These intermediaries have long ago been removed by the abolition of zamindari estates. There is no dispute over that policy and there is no party that asks for the restoration of rajas or zamindars. The present land programme of the Congress Party deals not with zamindars but with ryots, the real owners of land, who pay land taxes to government direct. We should clear away the dust raised about intermediaries and zamindars, which cloud the issue and mislead people.)

(The land policy that is open to objection is the programme launched by the Congress to deprive the peasant of his property and to get this infringement of fundamental rights legalised—the programme of collectivization under the name of 'co-operation' and of laws designed to extinguish ownership above a certain acreage of land.)

What are the professed aims of these measures apart from their propriety or legality? One stated object is the increase of production, a laudable object but one which will not be realized. Another professed object is to remove disparities of wealth. The obvious objection to this is that land is not the only form of wealth and no reasons have been offered to justify an attack on one form of wealth leaving all the rest free. It is idle to think that general disparity will be removed by redis-

tribution of land when every other kind of property and the disparities in those fields are left to remain as they are.

It is very doubtful, to put it at the mildest, that by the redistribution of land by cutting up the larger holdings and handing the pieces to new peasants, who have no capacity to invest capital on improved agriculture and who have been hitherto working usefully and gainfully on other people's lands, the nation will have increased food production. Nor is the other claim proved, that by collectivization there will be an increase in the yield of land. On the contrary, experience as well as argument prove that there will be loss of interest and attention, and the reduction of incentive will result in reduction of outturn.

• Even assuming that the yield will be better by collectivization in the one case and fragmentation in the other, which both are the two contradictory arms of the Congress Party's land policy, and taking it for granted also that disparities in this form of property only should be removed while more glaring disparities in other forms of property should be left alone, and assuming that this policy must be pursued for the good of the people, the question arises, who is to foot the bill for this grand doubtful social project? It should certainly fall on the nation, that is to say, the State should pay for it out of the revenues derived from all tax-payers and full compensation paid to the owners

after ascertaining the market value of the land taken away from their owners. The property may then be vested in the persons to whom the State transfers the land or in the societies to be formed for collective farming operations. The burden of a new and doubtful social project should not fall only on the unfortunate few who are to be deprived of their property. There should be no artifice legally devised for wiping off or reducing the obligation to pay compensation otherwise than by paying present market-value.

The correctness of this position is admitted in the abstract. The Congress Party's legislation says compensation will be given to all those whose lands are taken away. A pretence is made of paying compensation by what is nothing but tampering with weights and measures. "Principles" are legislatively laid down for computing market-value and these so-called principles are not justiciable. Courts are debarred from examining the correctness of these so-called principles or the adequacy of the compensation calculated on that basis. It is a fraud on the powers taken by Constitutional amendments.

The State should also give compensation to those whose lands go under collectivization to a co-operative society and who will lose all the benefits of their property except in name.

If just compensation, which can be examined and revised by courts, were provided for, we

could reconcile ourselves to any food or land programme undertaken by the new Tughlaks holding the reigns of sovereignty in our country. But without paying just and full compensation, to launch a foolish programme of taking over land from their lawful owners is robbery and ruin.

Let us not forget that agricultural production, like all other kinds of production involving tiresome work, continuous vigilance and willing sacrifice by reinvestment of savings, depends on incentive, experience and

personal interest. Let us remember also what cannot be lightheartedly contradicted, that human civilization depends on law and order and the institution of property and respect for it as something unequivocally guaranteed by the community. If this is thoughtlessly or madly forgotten or infringed, we lay the axe at civilization and not only at the Constitution which we have solemnly adopted. We may invent an attractive name for chaos; but chaos it will be, and a reversion to primitive conditions.

## OPPORTUNITY FOR THE OPPOSITION

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

Now that the Opposition parties or groups have grown in numbers as a result of the recent general elections, it is up to them to make the best use of the opportunity given to them. Except in three State Assemblies where, combined, they are very near in strength to the Congress Party, in all the other State Assemblies and in Parliament they would be too few to make any indent on the voting strength of the Congress Government.

"The duty of an Opposition is to oppose," said Lord Randolph Churchill, father of Sir Winston, the *enfant terrible* of the Conservative Party of the 90's of the last century. Our Oppositions need not go so far as that, by opposing everything that the Congress governments say or do, if only because of the futility of it. But they could seize every occasion offered to them to expose the sins of omission and commission which Congress governments will continue to make in the administration of the affairs of the country. For, they are committed to a political philosophy which holds them as in a vice. As it is not the good of the country,—the improvement of the condition of the people, the furtherance of their prosperity by the means dictated by the conditions and circumstances of the country and the people,—which is the motive of their policies and plans, but the implementation of an ideology, mistakes are sure to abound. And the occasions to pin-point such mistakes of the Government, will be many.

One such occasion, a daily occasion, during the sessions of the legislatures is the 'question-hour'. It is the field-day of the private member. Now that most of the time of Parliament is taken up by government business and the private

member rarely is able to move resolutions or bills of his own, it is the 'question-hour' that offers him an occasion to bring to the notice of the Government and Parliament and the public the things in which he is interested as representative of the people, especially of his constituencies. It is the day-to-day administration by the Government that comes home to the business and bosom of the people. Most of the grievances of the people in regard to their conditions or interests, so far as they are affected by governments, arise as a result of administrative acts. The question-hour gives an opportunity to put questions to ministers on these matters, to insist on getting a reply then and there or later, and to put further questions (called supplementary questions) on the replies of ministers. A skilful member, like the late Mr. Satyamurti in the old Madras Legislative Council, could worry and harry ministers. The members of the Opposition in the new legislatures should make the fullest use of the question-hour. To this end, they must be in close touch with their constituents, inviting them to give them material for such questions, while they themselves should, on their own account, get acquainted with the defects and shortcomings of ministers and their departments in the administration of the affairs of their constituency or of the State or the country in general. A good question must be based on study (of governmental reports and other papers), on a careful reading of newspapers, on their familiarity with the affairs of their constituency, their district, and their State, on their alertness and their daily and assiduous attendance in the legislature and their observance of the rules governing the put-

ting of questions which can be learnt from a perusal of the rules of procedure.

After the question-hour comes the general business of the legislature—which consists mostly in resolutions on legislative bills moved by government. In regard to all such matters the faithful member—he owes faith to his electors—must be prepared to take an intelligent part in the debates on these matters. Preparing amendments to enforce a bill or to resolutions in the direction of his party's policy is another activity of the Opposition member. He can prepare himself only by diligent study of the papers that will be circulated to him by the Government (drafts of bills, notices of resolutions to be moved, white papers on important questions with explanatory matter) and by making use of all the knowledge (past or current) derived from books, newspapers, and experience. As no member can be an expert on all kinds of questions it would be well for a member as soon as he is elected to decide on what types of questions he is interested in—public works, or education, or agriculture, or industry—and make special studies of such questions without detaching himself altogether from general affairs.

Apart from taking part in the general business of Parliament, one important way in which a member of the Opposition can call parliamentary and public attention to the acts of malfeasance or misfeasance of the Government is "to move the adjournment of the business of the House to consider a matter of urgent public importance". The Speakers of Indian legislatures are chary of admitting such motions, applying with rigour the rules controlling their admission. But an half-hour discussion at the end of certain days (Wednesdays and Fridays) to allow members who could not get satisfactory answers to questions during the question-hour, is now easily available.

It is in these and similar ways that the Opposition can do its work. On account of its numerical weakness it cannot hope to overturn the government, except perhaps in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. In the other States, and in Parliament all it can do is to expose the weaknesses and follies of the government from day to day. Its business is to show to the people how misplaced their confidence was in the party they had put in power. Exposure of its defects and deficiencies not only to the people in this country but also to the world in general is what the present Congress fears the most. It is especially sensitive to international opinion, for it depends on the good-

will of foreign opinion for the foreign loans on which it is dependent for the implementation of its grandiose Plans.

These suggestions are made to all sections of the Opposition—except the communists. For the communists cannot form part of a genuine Opposition to the Congress Government. Communism is only an extension of socialism. In foreign policy the communists would be only softer to the Chinese and Russia than the Congress Government. In domestic policy they would want a larger dose of socialism. Other socialist parties have been dealt with roughly by the electorate. There remains only the Jan Sangh in the north, the D.M.K. in the south, and the Swatantra Party in all States and in Parliament. If the Jan Sangh in the north and the D.M.K. in Madras could merge with the Swatantra Party—for their economic and social policies are identical—the Opposition would present a strong front. But whether that consummation comes off or not, the Swatantra Party would stand as the real and straightforward Opposition to the Congress Party, because it is its real opposite and alternative. It is the members of the Swatantra Party in Parliament and the States that are called upon, by their initial success and future prospects, to make use of their legislative opportunities to the full, preparing themselves by work, assiduous attendance, and activity. In the five years before them the Swatantra Party must prove to the people how much better government it can give them than the Congress Government to whose large but leaky ship they have committed the fortunes of their country.

## OUR STRANGLED DEMOCRACY

By GEORGE THECKEDATH

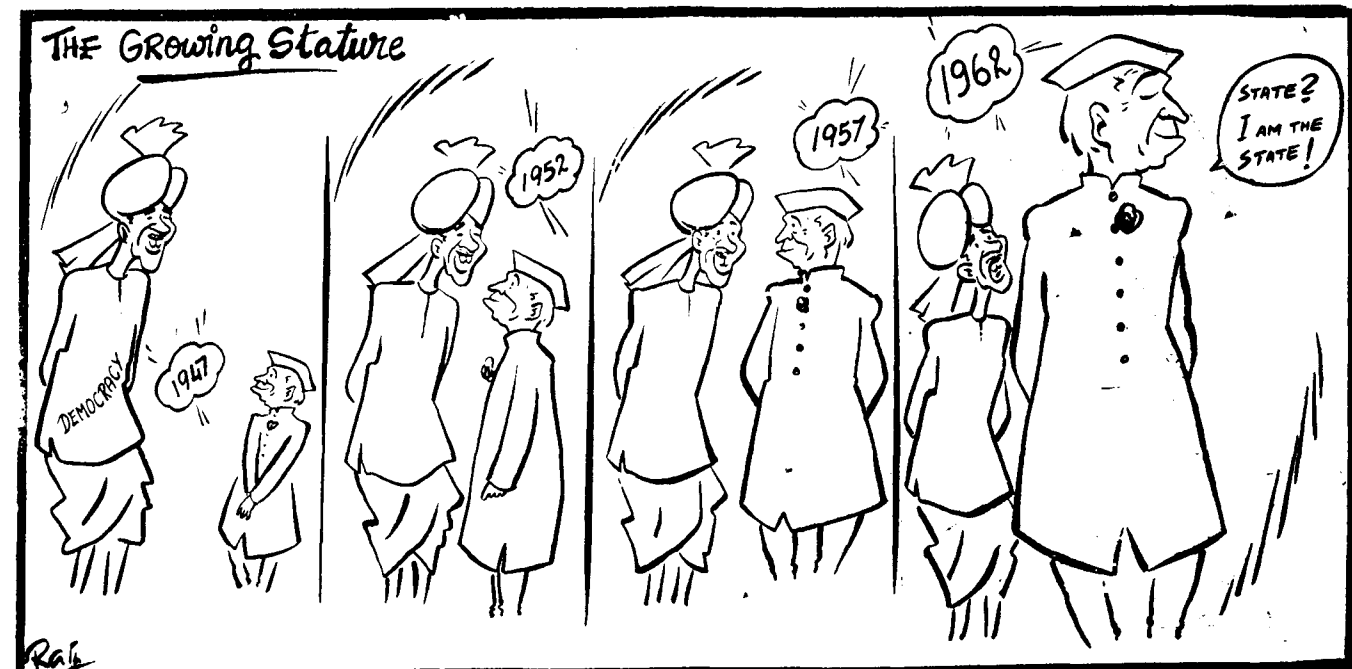
In India we are now engaged in a struggle which is no less intense and importance than our fight for Independence. This struggle is between the forces that stand for freedom and democracy on the one hand and the powers that are striving with a desperate fury, on the other, to enslave us with chains of an imported Marxist socialism. It is rather strange that some of our trusted leaders who were wedded to the cause of the Freedom struggle, should have become the victims of Marxist indoctrination, and, in their turn, should propagate this aggressive but impoverishing politico-economic system—which has enslaved the nations of Eastern Europe.

Modern history bears witness to the fact that where a nation has not been perpetually vigilant about the policies and activities of its rulers, it has paid for its neglect with the dear price of untold sufferings and oppression. The glamour attaching itself to the name of some national hero had often been a cover behind which unscrupulous politicians have worked their way to emerge as dictators. No self-complacency should prevent us from realizing that we are not immune to such a danger in this country.

During the last fifteen years we took rather too lightly the obligations imposed on us by democratic self-government, and allowed the Congress Party to sow the seeds of the socialist weed

in the fields of our democratic institutions. The credit for awakening the nation's conscience to this danger goes to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. He has aroused the people, before it was too late, from the lukewarmness and suicidal torpor into which the Congress had lulled them. The Planners, and the bureaucracy which thrives on the 'Plans', have lost the capacity to speak in their true voices; they have been playing, the pleasant game of speaking through the loudspeakers of the Planning forums to deceive the masses with promises of future prosperity.

This systematic exploitation of human credulity has blinded our leaders to the evils they have spread during these last many years. Under the guise of nationalization, disorder and confusion are holding sway over our transportation systems. Our nationalized Railways have become a by-word for inefficiency and irresponsibility. Trains running to schedule have become the exception rather than the rule, and the spate of serious accidents have shaken the confidence of the travelling public. In our State Transport buses overloading has come to stay as an undisputed norm. Police officers, who ought to take action against these violations of the provisions of the Motor Vehicles Act, could be seen even in capital cities like Trivandrum gazing like helpless witnesses of these punishable offences perpetrated by the Government's own



transport undertaking. Wherever the State has taken over the monopoly of road transport, the people are forced, by necessity, to bear like "captive consumers" the harassments that usually follow. None of the high-brows in the socialist camp of the Congress seems to be interested in the sad plight of the masses who pay the penalty

for this nationalization. Congressmen have written their names large in favour of high Utopian ideas, but are not prepared to put them to work in the market place of everyday living. They are tirelessly preaching sermons from the hill-tops of the Planning forums which cannot be heard in the valleys of commotion.

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The other day Mr. Krishna Menon was reported to have threatened the nation with the possibility of an impending revolution, if the socialistic trend of the Congress would be arrested by the people. It is a political irony that a nation which has subdued the lion of British imperialism should now be intimidated by the votaries of the bear of Marxist-Leninist socialism. Mr. Krishna Menon is behind schedule in feeling the pulse of the nation, as he has been in warding off the Chinese aggression on our northern borders. His comrades and he cannot presume for long to ignore the revolutionary resistance which the people have begun to put up against the many-headed hydra of Congress socialism.

Instead of concentrating its energies on great enterprises like the hydel projects and dams, iron and steel plants, fertilizers and other heavy industries, the Government is hampering the initiative of the people by the arbitrary imposition of unwanted controls on the starting of industries of the people's own choice, based on their own dynamism and drive for development. Real industrial progress can be achieved only when the people are left free to manufacture those goods for which they have the resources and the possibility of the improvement of standards through a healthy competition. For other items of daily use which cannot be profitably manufactured in our country at this stage of our industrialization, a more liberal import policy should be followed. The so-called progressive socialists must dispel the antiquated notion that cheap cars and scooters imported from abroad are "luxury goods" for the masses. In a healthy and progressive democracy every attempt should be made to give to all citizens equal opportunities to benefit by the inventions of modern science and technology. To appropriate this benefit for the rulers, and to make it practically impossible for the common man to enjoy it, by the imposition of rigid controls, is not socialism.

The greatest harm caused by this hotch-potch of socialism is its impersonal morbidity and unresponsive rigidity towards all attempts to raise the living standards of the common man. This irresponsible impersonality of socialism strangles our democratic rights.

March 17, 1962

SWARAJYA

5

## CURRENT EVENTS::

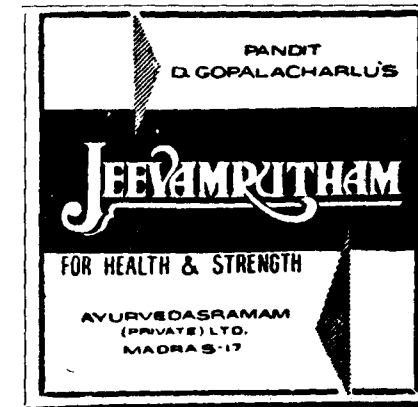
Mr. M. R. Masani in withdrawing nomination has rated the importance of organization in the country much above the value of scoring debating points in a loaded Parliament virtually determined on riddling the Constitution as well as the fabric of the Fundamental Rights, by a succession of amendments to create a system not contemplated by the Founding Fathers under the Gandhian counsel. There is much more of consequence to be done outside the legislature, especially when the Prime Minister keeps reiterating that the millions of India have renewed their mandate to him and the Congress Party to get on with basic policies, domestic and foreign, now ratified by proof of electoral success. Incidentally, Prof. Ranga and Mr. Masani in Parliament are eyesore to Mr. Nehru, which affects his temper. If exception has been taken about President Kennedy's greetings to Mr. Nehru and the party supporting him, we should not be dense to the impress of personality in adolescence, more a matter of emotion than of intellectualism in the weightment of international policy in years of heavy responsibility. For instance, President Kennedy had been in Harvard the year Mr. Nehru's *Autobiography* appeared, ready for translation into forty languages, quite the book of the year with its content of the Gandhian technique of suffering and Satyagraha in lieu of violent revolt to achieve the Independence of a country as in 1784. The image of Jawaharlal passed into the permanent print of youth and there got fully established, psychological facts of which endure in Kennedy's *Profiles of Courage*. The romantic stamp remains unchanged with the progress of years, unless, as in the case of Hitler, epileptic fits of egoism and betrayal occur after the forties. In his Inaugural Address when President Kennedy paid a tribute to the "Lofty Idealism of Nehru", there was a wry face in Pakistan

which later won a compliment from the young American President in honour of Field Marshal Ayub Khan who was complimented during his visit as a "friend of constancy and immediacy," whatever interpretation the twin virtues might convey in practical politics. President Kennedy meant no discount in his appreciation when he referred later to Prime Minister Nehru as a blend of Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In his congratulations to Mr. Nehru he had more the man in mind than the implications of the Avadi doctrine corroding the Constitution of India and upsetting the balance of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary as valued in the United States of America. The portrayal in the mind cannot easily fade out, and Mr. Nehru is quite ready, for his part, to exploit such courtesy for the exaltation of his party as indeed was subsequently made clear on a message from King Mahendra of Nepal.

The Prime Minister in his reply contended that his electoral success meant the triumph of his basic policies (domestic cum foreign) and that His Majesty's presence at New Delhi would be welcome for the discussion of pending questions of "mutual interest". It is all part of diplomacy when those who are engaged maximize casual advantages of language about which undue notice need not be taken as a controversial topic. President Kennedy has signified his intention of continuing aid to the undeveloped country as on the scale first designed.

From subsequent news, one of the provocations of the "young colonels" in the army-revolution of Burma was the spread of economic demoralization already visible in market-prices. The former Premier was in distress that Burmese traders were selling their import licences to foreign

operators through methods now all too familiar to money-spinners in Delhi, Bombay, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Madras and other growing exchanges in the country. Finance Minister Thakin Tin was a suspect. On the day of the *coup*, the policy of nationalizing import-trade to the extent of 25 per cent was to come into force when even to juniors in cantonment, it had become clear that the "tentative" policy of nationalization would be a greater evil—even shopping army-captains being ready to back the protests of businessmen in despair. State trading has subtle repercussions, and in New Delhi (March 5) the State Trading Corporation of India came in for vehement criticism at the two-day meeting of the Export Promotion and Import Advisory Council. Amateur bureaucrats elevated to the role of businessmen in tempting surroundings, have been put in charge of trade over 50 or 60 commodities which cannot move without half-a-dozen permits and licences on procurement only at the Central Secretariat, as also corresponding offices at points of destination. There were Indian businessmen present at the joint sessions. The Vice-President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Shriyans Prasad Jain said that the State Trading Corporation had not justified its existence and called for a thorough review of its activities and working. The investigation must prove prolonged and expensive, licence-brokers monopolizing Delhi's accommodation in *de luxe* hotels erected by Government. P.J.



## Dear Reader

One of the more important industrialist bosses of the Congress Party has publicly expressed his apprehensions about the success of the Third Plan. In addition to this, according to the columnist in the *Hindu*, ECAFE in its survey has unmistakably disapproved of the 'investment strategy' of Indian planning. 'Investment strategy' is fundamental policy. According to this authority, Indian planning

"did not explore fully the avenues which could have secured a more rapid expansion of outputs with relatively smaller inputs of capital or foreign exchange. The current rates of income growth have been small in relation to the efforts implied in the high rates of investment and to the sacrifices implied in scooping domestic savings out of low *per capita* income. Part of the increase in domestic savings was forced through a rise in prices".

These are serious condemnations and go to the root of things. The remarks are smothered in jargon but the meaning is clear enough. "Foreign aid could have been sought more as grants than as loans," says the ECAFE survey. This is a very mild exposure of the absurdity of what may be called the proud mendicancy of the Congress, the inordinate foreign borrowing programme with no potentiality or plan of

repayment. Finally comes the overall verdict: "The private sector in India has proved itself to be more dynamic (than the public sector) and, therefore, could have been given greater scope for expansion without being allowed to run wild". All this runs as close to Swatantra criticism as friendly criticism from official quarters like ECAFE can go. The considered verdict of an impartial and competent body like ECAFE carries much more weight than the parrot-cry defence of the Union Minister made in Tokyo.

What is democracy? Wherein lies the life-sustaining secret of popular government? Democracy's roots are down in the citizen's stamina and good sense, and courage, not only against enemies abroad and in the daily struggle for bread, but against the enemies of freedom and power-grabbers within the nation. If by a perversion of nature the tree-top sucks all the sap from the roots and the roots go dry, the tree crashes down at the first ill-wind and perishes. Which ever political parliamentary party is in power, it should not, if it believes in democracy, be too greedy and foolishly suck too much for the top, drying up the roots.

The enfeeblement of the people proceeds with accelerated pace as a result of indulgence in over-government

whatever be its motive, good or bad. 'Welfare State' policies putting the majority of the people in a state of daily dependence on the government, makes the nation an easy prey when a coup is organized by an ambitious and determined individual or by a sternly organized group be it of military or communist partymen. Democracy is not a mere form of government. Without stamina in the individuals composing the nation and power of resistance against forces which may seek to overpower them, there can be no democracy but only a form of government classified as democracy. Nominal democracies of that type serve as handy instruments for scheming and ambitious persons working under the orders of a leader or a well-knit and disciplined group. They are really dictatorships imposing their rule on the people by force. Unless we nurse individual strength and power of resistance, broad-based on the whole nation, democracy can at any time be extinguished by the perversion of the very instruments established for national security. A system wherein enormous centralized power rests in the State and the citizen's stamina is undermined, a great standing army with its own insulated leaders is a standing threat. Democracy under such conditions can crumble like a house of cards when ambitious and designing men make a bid for power.

So not only the arguments of industrial and agricultural production, but also the dynamics of modern democracy demand the utmost regard for individual freedom and contra-indicate Statism. It is easy to be deluded by figures as to industrial production and national and *per capita* incomes. It is not only the arithmetic of rupees and paise that governs men and their affairs. *Per capita* moral stamina counts far more than anything else. Destroy the *per capita* stamina of soul and you destroy democracy.

Taking only the votes cast in the case of the successful Parlia-

mentary candidates of the Swatantra Party and those who made common cause with the party, it will be seen from published figures that nearly two and three quarter million votes (to be exact, 27,25,756) were cast against Permit-Licence-Raj. If we add to this, as we should, the votes cast in favour of Swatantra and Ganatantra candidates who missed success in the ballot, it totals up to nearly nine million votes for a free economy as against the near-communist regimentation policies of the Congress Party. Be it remembered that for reasons arising out of limitations of party-finances, the number of seats contested by the Swatantra and allied parties in this election were only 183 out of nearly 500 in all. Be it remembered also that this number does not include the votes polled for Swatantra candidates for State Assembly seats outside the contested parliamentary constituencies. We are a young party, very young as compared with the years put in by the Congress. Age has reason to be "full of care" in spite of its

pride as a result of the voting in the elections just completed.

As Acharya Ranga said to me in Madras last week, the success of the Congress is due, not to any reformist policy, but to the essential conservatism of our people. The Congress vote is old conservatism writ anew. People, even intellectuals, tend to stick to their old party merely by reason of habit, whatever their doubts and dissent may be. Fundamentally, it is political inertia, not zeal for socialism or any other considered preference.

While democracy's life-sap is down below, national culture is something that must flow from above down to the roots, there to mix organically with the toil and the daily life of the folk, and out of the synthesis produce the folk-songs, the folk-dances and the folk festivals which every modern snob claims to admire and enjoy, even as he visits the old temples to admire the sculpture and the

architecture, without caring to reflect how it all grew out of the faith, the worship, the mythology and the rituals about which he is indifferent and ignorant, if not antipathetic. Culture that flows down from above to the folk-life below has evolved and developed our folk-songs, our dances and our rural festivals.

Today in what State is culture at the top that must percolate downwards? The culture at the top is not Indian but a foreign brand. The long coat and Rajput breeches and the Gandhi cap are just external. What is inside it all is something exotic—more English than Indian. We may change the names of streets and highways and replace English and historic names by those of Indians but these and other similar authoritarian activities do not affect culture, which is something deeper and spiritual and inextricably connected with the life and the faith of the millions who are India. The culture of the New Delhi ruling caste is English culture with a dash of American—and an attitude of condes-

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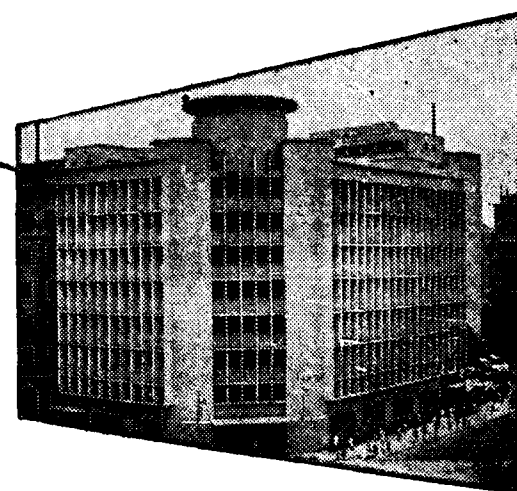
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cension and pity towards the indigenous.

★  
 'Public memory is short'. This puzzling proverb is often repeated. But probably few know the reason behind the truth it conveys. The steady wiping out of the moral sense is at the root of it. The preoccupations of daily life make people forget what their conscience is not alarmed at. One can see how the terrible volume of open bribery practised at the recent elections is already being forgotten. Every newspaper now spreads itself out in analysis of subtle causes and, clambering to the judgment seat with scarcely any hesitation, gives its opinion and admonishes us that we overdid criticism or committed this or that fault, and attributes the majority vote in favour of the Congress to such and such errors on our part. Most seats this time were a neck-to-neck race and the Congress won, not for subtle but gross causes. A few thousand votes turning the scales meant success, although a hundred thousand honest eager votes were cast against the ruling party. There are people who believe that given some time, democracy will settle down in a clean way. It is a vain hope. Time alone will not, and cannot, improve matters if the moral sense disappears at an accelerating pace as we have seen. Corruption will surely lead us not to clean elections but somewhere else—away from democracy.

The buying is not over with the elections. From retail the business has gone to wholesale. Successful independent candidates are asked how much they had to spend and what percentage of it, 50, 75 or 125 per cent would buy their alignment. Money collected for election work has not all been yet spent. A good bit still lies unspent which clamours for investment. Money cannot remain idle.

★  
 Mr. Bijayanand Patnaik represents the totalitarian and other dangerous characteristics of the new Congress. No leading newspaper editor has found any excuse for his unconstitutional and crude conduct at the recent

sitting of the Orissa Assembly. The 'unmitigated' and, we may add, unintelligent socialism for which he declared that his party stood, is the natural evolution of success obtained in all sorts of ways under the banner of Mr. Nehru. He will, he says, wipe out the private sector. This unmixed economy, according to him, is an unmixed evil and is the cause of the emergence and rise of the Swatantra Party. He forgets that the mixed economy is the source of all the ruling party's exchequer and the main explanation for that party's success at the polls. If partisan prayers could be blessed with fulfilment, the Swatantra partymen might really pray for the ruling party to bring about total nationalization at once as Mr. Patnaik wants, so that at the next elections that party would be isolated from Big Business and have to fight with only what remains of the election fund collections of 1962, and only on the issue of proper management of government-administered concerns. One could predict the result safely even now. But we can't pray for the ruin of the country for the sake of putting the ruling party in trouble! In his inordinate cocksureness Mr. Patnaik has not realized that it is the private sector that has given the face of some measure of success to the present policies of the Government of India and saved it from condemnation and disgrace. Mr. Patnaik has done a form of national service by disclosing the mentality of the party once again voted to power.

★  
 "Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to be greatly abused. The remedy, therefore, is not avoidance of democracy but reduction of possibility of abuse to a minimum."

"Democracy will break under the strain of apron strings. It can exist only on trust."

"Self-Government means continuous effort to be independent of government control, whether it is foreign government or whether it is national. Swaraj Government will be a sorry

affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life."

"I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear."

These are all words of the Father of the Nation. He never said anything which he did not mean.

★  
 M. S. Aney (Ind) 1,31,740  
 R. K. Sharma (Cong) 84,872

Veteran leader Mr. M. S. Aney, who defeated the Congress in the Nagpur city constituency, has decided to join the Swatantra Party as soon as his present term in the Lok Sabha ends on March 31, and will be one of the Swatantra party members in the new Parliament. He has just written a long letter to me in the course of which he says:

"Even the Congressmen who are indulging in tall talk today will feel soon that the so-called achievements of their party in the last fifteen years have been more or less illusory, and even if these be something stable, found at the bottom, it is at an immense cost to their manhood, the qualities that distinguish man from the rest of the creation on the face of this earth ..... The very fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has to single out the Swatantra Party for a special attack in his electioneering campaign is proof enough to indicate that the progress the party has made in the last campaign has made him restless ..... In the session which begins on the 12th and will end on 31st March, I will be on the Congress benches. My membership of the Congress Party ends automatically on that day. I will inform the Speaker to include me as a member of the Swatantra Party in the new Lok Sabha."



M. S. ANEY

## DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN INDIA

By PRANAB BARDHAN

We are reproducing below important extracts from an article published in the latest issue of *Quest*:

In India we have adopted, as our leaders are never tired of assuring us, the objective of achieving rapid economic growth along with socialist ideals. The experience of the last decade, however, may easily lead one to suspect that we are having neither rapid growth nor economic equality. Over the decade the economic distance that separated India from most of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, China and Japan has lengthened rather than narrowed. Our rate of growth of income of 3.5 per cent per year has been half of that of Turkey and a third of Iraq's. Even apart from the question of the rate of growth, there is the problem of income distribution. The common man is often heard to complain that after ten years of planned development, his lot is none the better for it. Where then has the increase in the nation's income accrued? This is a question so often parried ... The Government has appointed, under popular pressure, a Committee with Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis in the chair, for investigation. But more than one year has elapsed, and we are still in the dark about its findings. One only hopes that this does not turn out to be one more instance of the appointment of a Committee to shelve issues of public urgency allowing time to do its proverbial healing.

Data relating to income distribution in India are meagre as well as scattered, and it is very difficult to make a comprehensive study. But information from miscellaneous sources can still be marshalled and used to work out some tentative hypotheses regarding changes in the distribution pattern over the last decade. For all the limitations of the data available, some impressionistic conclusions may not be entirely valueless.

In a mixed economy, one of the most important instruments of redistribution is the tax policy. Our tax system over the decade has achieved precious little in that direction. In the middle of the last decade a number of brave new direct taxes (theoretically 'progressive') were introduced with much ado. What with ineffective administration and what with unduly liberal exemptions, they have practically

made no dent at all. In a country where the income from property is estimated to contribute more than 25 per cent of the national income, receipts from the Wealth tax in 1960-61 constituted only 0.05 per cent of the national income. The total yield of the Estate duty, the Gifts tax, the Expenditure tax and the Wealth tax in 1960-61 came to 0.08 per cent of the national income of that year. The mountain has evidently produced a poor little mouse.

It is also important to note that despite all the innovations in our direct tax structure, indirect taxes continue to be the mainstay of our budgets. Over the last decade, there has been a decline in the importance of direct vis-a-vis indirect taxation. Taxes on income and property contributed 32.6 per cent of our total tax receipts in 1951-52; the percentage has gone down to 29.5 per cent in 1960-61. The percentage for taxes on commodities and services was 59.3 per cent in 1951-52 and 62.7 per cent in 1960-61. Which section of the population is hit hardest by these indirect taxes will be evident if we note, as an illustration, that whereas in 1950-51 'wage-goods' (e.g. kerosene, sugar, matches, tea, footwear, soap, cotton cloth, etc.) contributed 43 per cent of total Central Excises, in 1959-60 their importance increased to nearly 50 per cent; more important still, the contribution of 'amenities and luxuries' (e.g. motor cars, wollen fabrics, artificial silk, electrical fans, tobacco, etc.) to Central Excise declined from 48 per cent to 26 per cent over the same period (*Tata Quarterly*, Oct. 1959).

What about the economic position of the Indian labourer? Agricultural labour (accounting for nearly one-third of the rural population) constitute, socially and economically, by far the most depressed class in India; the per capita income of agricultural labour households was about 34 per cent of the national per capita income of Rs. 292 in 1956-57. One of the major findings of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry was that while between 1950-51 and 1956-57 agricultural income at current prices rose by 13 per cent, the total income of agricultural labour families fell absolutely by 11 per cent (the share of participants other than labour rose by 17 per cent) and the average annual income per family declined by 2.2 per cent in spite of 10 per cent increase in the number of earners per family. Nothing

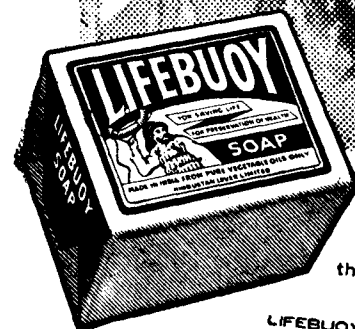
indeed can be more ominous in an economy supposed to have been undergoing planned development. Though sampling and definitional anomalies detract much from the reliability of the findings, there is no doubt that the income of this under-privileged section of our population has failed to keep pace with the growth of national income and that some structural changes in the rural economy (such as land reforms leading to mass evictions, resumption of land for personal cultivation, etc.) have actually weakened the economic position of the agricultural labour.

The share of organized industrial labour in national income, as Sri B. N. Datar recently pointed out, remained more or less constant over 1948-58, in spite of expanding wage-paid employment and increasing importance of factory establishments in total output. While the index of productivity went up to 132.7 in 1958 (base: 1953), the index of real earnings of industrial workers only crept up to 102.6. Real earnings of workers have thus kept a respectable distance behind productivity rise.

Finally, no study of the economic position of Indian labour can be complete without a consideration of the mounting level of unemployment and underemployment in this country. The Second Plan started with an estimated backlog of unemployment of about 5 million persons: by the end of the Second Plan, the backlog has increased to 9 million. In addition, underemployment in the sense of those who have some work but are willing to take up additional work is believed to be of the order of 15-18 million.

Data relating to consumer expenditure may also give us some broad indications as to the changing pattern of income distribution. From N.S.S. data on household consumer expenditure on an all-India level, it has been found by Sm. S. Basu (*Economic Weekly*, August 12, 1961) that there was hardly any change in the share of the lowest 75 per cent of the population, which remained at about 50 per cent of the expenditure of the total population from 1952-53 to 1958-57. The top 10 per cent of the population, on the other hand, accounted for 25 per cent of the total expenditure in 1952-53 and 28 per cent in 1958-57. The situation is actually worse from the income-distribution point of view, since for the poorer people income notoriously lags behind expenditure levels. A Middle Class Family Living Survey by C.S.O. in 1958-59 reveals that the families earn-

C.R.



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ing below Rs. 200 per month are burdened with chronic deficit budgets.

The disparities in standards of living are most striking in the urban areas. While there was a decline in the share of the poorer three-fourths of the urban population from 49 per cent of total urban expenditure in 1952-53 to 46 per cent in 1956-57, the top 10 per cent increased their share from 30.8 per cent to 33.1 per cent over the period. Sustained inflation, prosperous trading and speculative activity, protected markets due to import controls, monopolistic restrictions and a general buoyancy lent by the tempo of economic development—all these have swelled the profits of the urban business and industrialist class, a large part of which ingeniously escapes the tax net.

Despite all the talk about a progress towards a 'socialistic pattern of society' (this unfortunate phrase will no doubt be repeated times without number in this election year) and our professed aim of a 'reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power'—to quote from that monument of platitudes and clichés, *The Third Five Year Plan*—ten years of planned economic development seems to have been taking us in a different direction.

In a country where the teeming millions continue to be pressed down to miserable living standards, while the demonstrably increasing prosperity of the fortunate few stands in ranking contrast, it is precisely the incentives to work and participate in the nation's development that are most seriously affected. Here, and not elsewhere, lies the main reason why our Plans have admittedly failed to elicit in the people that sense of active participation which is vital to their success, why we find so many around us simmering with an enervating discontent and why many others stifle yawns as the Government documentary films thrust upon their eyes glowing blast furnaces, gigantic dams and all the other monuments of progress in sweeping succession. Nor can we say, the economist's theory of consumption notwithstanding, that the increasing inequality of income distribution has served to promote savings significantly. According to the latest estimate of the Reserve Bank, our savings as a proportion of national income rose from 6.7 per cent in 1950-51 to only 7.7 per cent in 1958-59.

One may very well question the political wisdom in the long run of a policy that continues to connive at the widening economic disparities, while all the time ceremoniously passing pious socialist resolutions.



## A Crowing Chanticleer

The Italian Premier-designate Amintore Fanfani decided to form a three-party Coalition Government, which no doubt reminded a solo-party leader of the joke he had cracked about a Troika-combination in support of Acharya Kripalani, only the other day.

Another candidate in the Punjab disappeared on the eve of elections. When the Prime Minister attends post-election arrangements, it is hoped that there will be an exchange of kidnapees on the Russo-American model of swapping Pilot Powers for Spy-master Abel, all talk of prosecution being dropped.

"I respect the cow, I don't worship it," says Mr. Nehru. He will raise the hat, but there will be no prostration.

Robert Kennedy, brother of President Kennedy and Attorney-General of the U.S., remarked during his brief halt at Calcutta that South-East Asian countries were endeavouring to develop in the spirit that "the State is for the individual, not the individual for the State". The *Fortune Magazine* has also, after a business-survey, reached this conclusion: "Now that socialism and Planning have failed wherever they have been tried abroad, it is all the more necessary that Americans look to those institutions which have tended to preserve their own flexible, dynamic and competitive society". But Swatantra is an abomination against which the Prime Minister keeps lashing to create the whale of a multipurpose of society, continuously dollar-fed.

Acharya Vinoba Bhawe approves of Ramakrishna Bajaj's stand that Krishna Menon is an undepend-

able. And this after the Prime Minister's eulogy of Vinobaji a week ago, adding that he stood for "spiritualism and science", same as Jawaharlalji. The present recreancy calls for a loud clout like the one received by Jayaprakash Narayan whose attitude to Mr. Menon, the Prime Minister cannot understand from 'head to foot'.

By the way, "spiritualism" means the cult of communicating with the dead, summoning spooks etc., but the P.M. must be thinking of "spirituality" which may otherwise be too abstruse to make out, head or tail.

The two-year-old Congress-P.S.P. Coalition Ministry (Muslim League out) claims that "Coalition has paved the way for industrial advance". It is inferred that the E.M.S. Ministry, defying the challenge of the industrial age, had contrived a slump, especially on the question of the Cochin Harbour idea for the West Coast.

Many spectacular successes have been reported from Maharashtra, the *Jan Sangh* nominees being "swept out". At the next elections their symbol should be the "Broomstick".

We must not speak disparagingly of the "broomstick" if only we recall one of the finest essays of Dean Swift under the title "Meditations on a broomstick", whereas the Congress emblem may continue to be the old pair of bulls.

In Nepal the life of a bull is as sacred as the life of a human being, and if a bull is killed, it is punishable with death like a murder. Which of course means that what is heroic sport in Spain is

rank crime in Nepal where the national entertainment of bull-fighting is maintained by champion matadors.

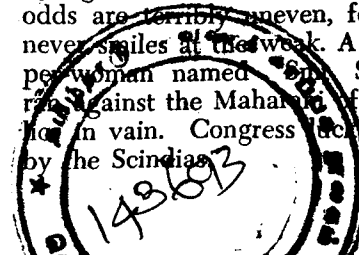
The Soviet Union has extended the death penalty to cover taking of bribes. It is clear that Moscow Communists are dead set against practices intimately associated with what is called license-permit-quota raj.

Though late in the day to figure in the Menon-Kripalani contest, Kaka Kalelkar has rushed in with the opinion that Goa had been won by non-violence. He described the display of huge military forces as non-violent tactics which served to scare the Portuguese from Goa. President Sukarno took the same view until Dutch forces in West Irian took it into their heads to repeal paratroopers by torpedoing tactics. It is an exaggeration to say that history repeats itself.

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting Dr. B. V. Keskar has been routed, a humble competitor named Gaur Baba having won by nearly 30,000 votes. Migration to Paris as Ambassador to France is strongly indicated since Dr. Keskar is known to Mr. Nehru as an accomplished master of the French language.

Luck has been on the side of the Congress. In the Mahad constituency of the Maharashtra Assembly both the Congress and the P.S.P. candidates polled equal number of votes—dead-heat, photofinish. The tie was solved by lots, the Congressman winning the seat. One man's good luck is another person's bad luck.

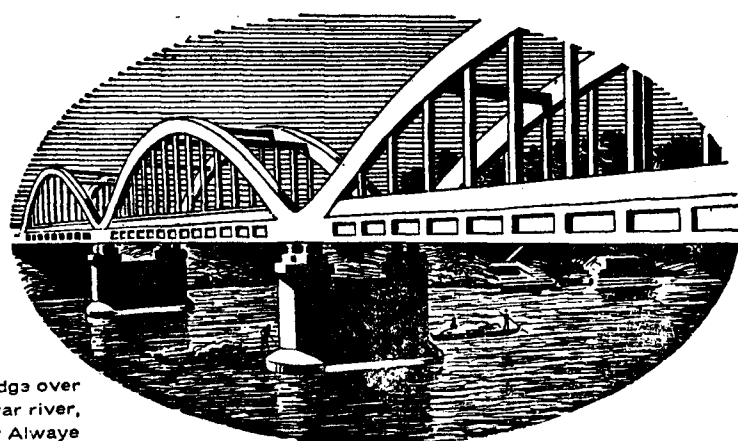
Many phenomenal characters from Hannibal to Hitler believed in luck and oracles flourished on ambiguous forecasts; but when odds are terribly uneven, fortune never smiles at the weak. A sweet woman named Sukwo ran against the Mahad Congress candidate in vain. Congress stood by the Scindias. P.J.



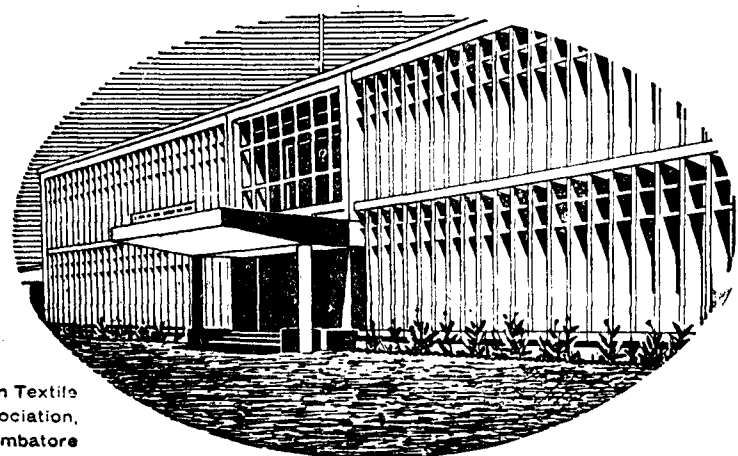
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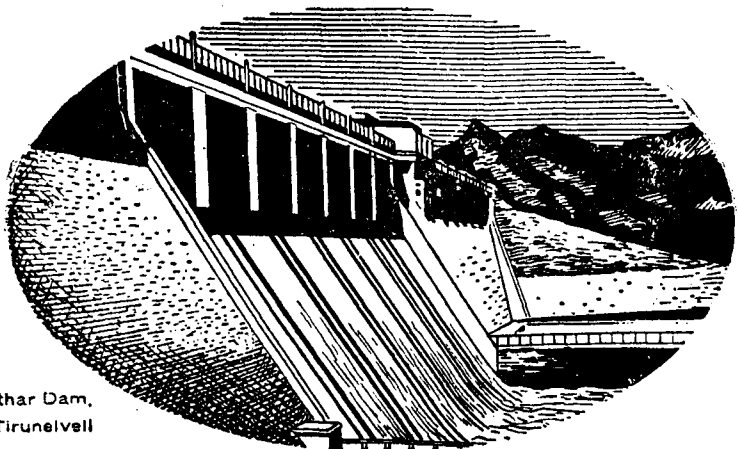
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WT-CH. 171

## MORE PRESS OPINIONS

The *Indian Express*, in its issue dated March 10, 1962, writes editorially:

Considering that it was making its debut in the third general elections, the Swatantra Party is entitled to every satisfaction on its showing. Among Opposition parties, it has gained the largest number of seats in Bihar, Gujarat and Rajasthan respectively and it thus becomes the official Opposition in these States. A similar result has been achieved in Orissa (which had no poll for the State legislature) owing to the merger of the Ganatantra Parishad in the Swatantra Party. It must be conceded that these striking successes have been counter-balanced in Assam, West Bengal and Maharashtra where the party has drawn a blank.

But throughout the country, according to Mr. M. R. Masani, its general secretary, the Swatantra Party has gained more members of Legislative Assemblies than any other Opposition party. In the Lok Sabha, too, it has made an impressive entrance. It won 19 seats at the polls and with the addition of three Ganatantra Parishad members and three Independents who have joined it, it already commands a strength of 25. If more Independents join it, as Mr. Masani evidently hopes, the Swatantra Party might even dislodge the Communist Party as the leading Opposition party in Parliament.

This is a commendable beginning, by any criterion, for any newly formed party. Ironically, at least a part of the credit of the Swatantra success goes to Mr. Nehru who singled out that party for criticism in his electoral campaign. It was condemned as a reactionary party and no ridicule was too sweeping for it. This free publicity from such high quarters came as a windfall for the Swatantra candidates who had never disguised the principles for which they stood in the hustings. Even those who pay lip homage to the socialist pattern cannot deny the fact that we have had too much of Statism masquerading as socialism and that individual initiative and enterprise are throttled in "the licence-permit-raj" against which Mr. Rajagopalachari has lost no opportunity of inveighing during these last two years.

It was altogether unrealistic of the Swatantra leaders to expect to oust the ruling party with its very first assault. Such miracles (as Rajaji apparently hoped for) do not occur in politics. Prolonged and devoted efforts will be obviously necessary before the Swatantra Party can be in a position to form

an alternative government in any State. A right party must guard itself against becoming a refuge of reactionaries and the Swatantra Party must be wary of the feudal elements which have adhered to it in Rajasthan and elsewhere. It must increasingly draw its support and strength from the common people, not merely by a negative attack on the Congress but by convincing them that their interests would be safer and their progress more secure under the Swatantra banner.

In the course of its editorial, the *Eastern Economist* (2-3-1962) writes:

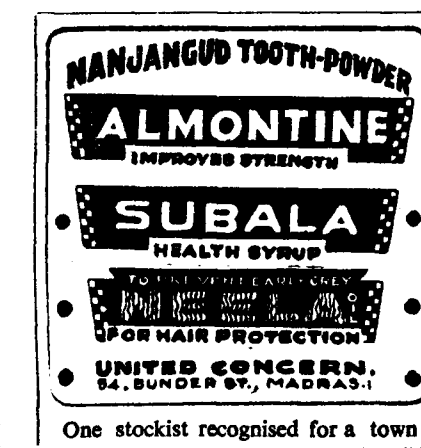
The sovereign people have spoken; it seems clear from the results already available that they are determined to exercise their sovereignty in their own independent way. Delhi itself has been so overwhelmed by the complete victory of the Congress Party in five Lok Sabha seats as well as in the Corporation that it does not seem to have taken note of the major vote of censure that has been inflicted on the Congress Party almost throughout the country. Similarly, for the outside world, whose attention was improperly rivetted on North Bombay, the overwhelming vote of confidence that Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon has received might again lead it to believe that the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister have received a new and abiding vote of confidence. Anyone who reads the election results in this simple way will be doing great violence to the facts. The essence of the major results of this election has been a severe rebuke to the Congress Party in the States, with only two or three exceptions. The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh has been unseated; a number of ministers in the States have fallen the total number of such ministers being no less than 34. The Congress Party has failed to get a majority in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan; in the Punjab the loss of thirty seats and the Chief Minister's victory by 34 votes in one of the most dubious elections in the country, must make one feel that the majority of thirteen seats there means very little in itself. In the South, the D.M.K. has inflicted a terrible blow even upon the placid ascendancy of Mr. Kamaraj Nadar. For the present the emphasis is so much on Congress discomfiture that the larger meaning of all these reverses has not been seen. There is no vote for socialism in the results of this election.

On the other hand, the Swatantra Party, with just two years of election-

ering, has already become a major contender for power, being the chief Opposition party in Bihar and Rajasthan and a major force to reckon with in Gujarat. In fact today the Swatantra Party with 164 seats in the State Assemblies is the largest Opposition party in the country. When to its regular seats are added the Ganatantra Parishad Lok Sabha victories and three Akalis, who are really Swatantra men in origin, the showing in the Lok Sabha would also be large enough to carry conviction that the country has moved substantially to the Right. ... The Swatantra Party is one of the waves of India's future.

The rise of the Jan Sangh, decried as a 'communal' party by the Prime Minister among others, is as spectacular as that of the Swatantra Party. It is the Jan Sangh which has made itself the leading Opposition in Madhya Pradesh as well as in Uttar Pradesh. It is the Jan Sangh again that promises, because of its militant and disciplined character, a far greater Opposition to the Congress in the years to come. One might, or might not, like this particular expression of opinion of the Hindi electorate, but it is undoubtedly a force of great importance which needs quickly to be evaluated.

While the Congress has been voted back to power in practically every State of the Indian Union, it is visibly on the decline so far as its appeal to the Indian electorate is concerned. There are personal currents to endorse this view. The Prime Minister's own majority over Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was much lower than expected, and the majorities of most Chief Ministers—except that of Dr. B. C. Roy, who has had a resounding triumph in the difficult constituency of Chowringhee—do not carry intense conviction that the electorate is wholly satisfied even with



One stockist recognised for a town

the leading personalities. The vigorous rebuke given to Dr. Katju, who had been imposed on that State for no better reason than that the Prime Minister seems to have blind confidence in him, is a warning which should not pass unheeded. ... The Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party have won so much largely because they appeal to something deep in the emotions of the Indian people. If the Congress Party does not heed these signs, there will be worse to come in 1967.

The *Eastern Economist* believes that, should the Prime Minister proceed Left, and somewhat recklessly embark on public sector experiments which prove costly or wasteful, he will hasten the decline of the Congress, which is written into the figures already released.

In 1952 the warning came from the Left. In 1962 it has come from the Right. It (the Congress Party) can prolong its life for a short period by a wise concession to the electorate. It can hasten its own downfall by the worship of dogma and the refusal to recognize the warnings that it has clearly received.

The following are excerpts from the leading article of the *Times of India* (8-3-1962):

The large margin between the Congress Party's share of the poll and the D.M.K.'s share is more apparent than real. The former put up 205 candidates, while only 142 candidates contested under the D.M.K.'s banner—and one finds that while each Congress candidate on an average polled 28,000 votes, each D.M.K. candidate polled as many as 24,000 votes. This gives a more realistic indication of the D.M.K.'s strength. It would be imprudent to minimize the challenge posed by the D.M.K. on the ground that the demand for an independent Dravidanad has no support outside Madras State. The D.M.K. has not only won 50 seats and emerged as the only Opposition party worth the name in Madras; it failed to capture many other seats only by small margins. The possibility that it may in the years to come wrest power from the Congress in that State can no longer be dismissed lightly.

So far, the Congress in Madras has adopted a defensive posture against the D.M.K. It has tried to disarm this part of the Opposition by stealing some of its casteist and obscurantist thunder by seeking the support—and getting it, too—of the Dravida Kazhagam, the party of which the D.M.K. is a splinter group. Moreover, it has at times echoed the D.M.K.'s demonstrably false accusation that "the South" is getting a raw deal from the Union Government in econo-

mic and other matters. Its attitude towards the development of Hindi is also calculated to appease the D.M.K. and the other "Tamil" parties. The Congress in Madras would do well to realize that the challenge of the D.M.K. cannot be defeated by evading it; it can be defeated only by boldly exposing the dangerously demagogic nature of the D.M.K.'s political platform.)

The *Mail* (9-3-1962) writes in its editorial:

Mr. Patnaik's extraordinary performance in the Orissa Assembly raises some questions to which he must give a considered answer. The first is whether he has cared to familiarize himself with the professed ideology of his own party. He may be an "ardent socialist", and his party may be committed to "undiluted socialism", but the people have been told that "undiluted socialism" is to be brought about by democratic means. That is why, for Mr. Patnaik's information, a general election was recently held and he is today in the Assembly to answer the criticism of the Opposition which also represents a section of the electorate. If it was open to Mr. Patnaik to "ignore" the Opposition there is no need for the taxpayer to support the costly farce of a legislature. The Opposition is there to ensure that Mr. Patnaik does not misuse the power which has been entrusted to him, that his Government discharges its obligations properly, and that if they both fail in their duties they may be made to make way for a better administration. These are the basic assumptions of democracy, and are fundamental to the Indian Constitution. Mr. Patnaik cannot get away from them by an ostentatious announcement of his decision to "ignore" the Opposition.

Another question that arises is whether Mr. Patnaik relies on his imagination or on facts in answering the Opposition. His statement that "Swatantra's manifesto is nothing but total opposition to Planning" shows that he has either not read, or has misread, that party's manifesto, which says that "the Swatantra Party stands for the balanced development of capital goods industries, organized consumer goods industries and rural industries," and further that "while not opposed to the development of heavy and basic industries commensurate with the availability of resources, the party rejects the lopsided priority given to heavy industry ...." Mr. Patnaik cannot expect to be heard with patience if he draws upon mythology for his answers, and the Opposition made its impatience very clear in the only effective way

open to it. Nor need Mr. Patnaik think, in his assumptions of his party's omniscience and infallibility on the subject of Planning, that the views of the Father of the Nation are irrelevant. "I would like the name of Gandhiji not to be dragged here" sounds too much like a pronouncement by Pooh-Bah.

The *Hindu* (10-3-1962) writes editorially as follows:

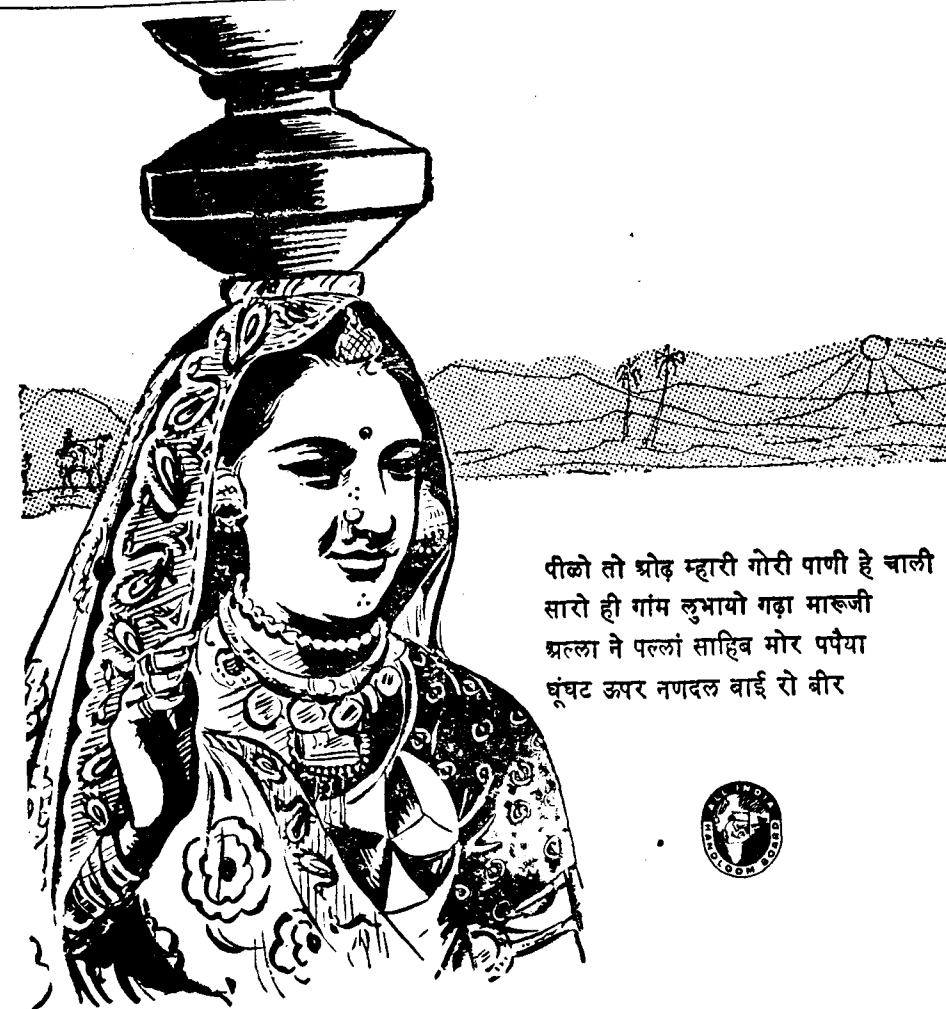
Orissa's Chief Minister, Mr. Bijoyananda Patnaik, apparently prides himself on being an unmitigated socialist. But in his new-found enthusiasm for his socialist credo, he seems to forget that he is the head of a party government in a parliamentary democracy and that there are obligations which go with this office which he has to respect. One such is the obligation to recognize the Opposition as an essential constituent of the parliamentary system. Mr. Patnaik, for reasons which he has not concealed, does not like the Swatantra Party. And the latter, for obvious reasons, may reciprocate the sentiment. But there are evidently other ways of exhibiting such mutual feelings than those witnessed in the Orissa Assembly. Mr. Patnaik clearly allowed his antipathies to outrun his discretion when he proclaimed in the Assembly that he would not reply to the Opposition leader's criticisms of the Government because he belonged to a party that was opposed to planning and therefore "anti-national". Apart from the *non-sequitur* implicit in this piece of reasoning, Mr. Patnaik did not seem to realize that a leading Opposition party in the Legislature cannot be dealt with that way. Mr. Patnaik seemed to think that because the Swatantra Party could not be expected to co-operate with the Congress brand of planning, he had no use either for its criticisms or its co-operation. He declared that he would not reply to any of the points raised by it. Mr. R. N. Singh Deo rightly took exception to this attitude and appealed to the Speaker to call upon the Chief Minister to withdraw his remarks. As this proved unavailing, the Opposition resorted at the earliest opportunity to the tactic of thumping the tables in chorus whenever the Chief Minister was on his legs, thus making it impossible for him to be heard in the House. The Speaker had to appeal to both sides to observe the decencies of parliamentary behaviour so that the proceedings of the House may go on smoothly.

After all the hubbub, this seems to have had some effect and it looks as if Mr. Patnaik recognizes that he cannot dismiss the Swatantra Party by a wave

of the hand. But he has yet to learn that you do not improve your case against an opponent by misrepresenting his stand or threatening to knock him down when arguments fail. Last week he made the astounding statement that "the administrative machinery should be used ruthlessly against those opposed to the socialist objectives". On Thurs-

day he announced his profound discovery that a "mixed economy was an unmixed evil" and that it was the Congress's laxity in permitting a mixed economy in this country that had enabled the Swatantra Party to raise its head! Mr. Patnaik asserted that the Congress Party had decided to go in for "undiluted socialism", though

there is little warrant for such a statement in the Congress manifesto. It is the totalitarian way of thinking of men like Mr. Patnaik that provides the best justification for the emergence of the Swatantra Party. More than ever India's nascent parliamentary democracy calls for the vigilance of a lively and vigorous Opposition.



पीको लो ओढ़ म्हारी गोरी पाणी हे चाली  
सारो ही गाँम लुभायो गढ़ा मारुजी  
अल्ला ने पल्ला साहिब मोर पपैया  
चूँचट ऊपर नणदल बाई रो बीर



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THE NATIONAL HERITAGE

## ARCADIES — NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL

By BHIKKU

Given as the world is today to the tyranny of sputniks, beatniks, comic fall-outs, existentialism and Algerian murders, there still seem to be some earthly paradise left. The country of the Paraveuses somewhere in Uruguay is one such den. The Paraveuses run their title State on the understandable basis that the rest of the world is mad. "Amongst its first laws are that no one talks of certain things: politics, business, religious prejudices, his own importance..." Anthropology retails the survival of another analogous people: the uni Indians of New Mexico

whom it characterises as a gentle, non-aggressive, non-competitive people who "try to lose races, try not to be superior to others, have nothing but contempt for those who wish for power and authority, and would have no chief at all were it not that certain individuals are compelled to assume chieftainship under threat of imprisonment". We in India are of course far too 'advanced' and 'modern' to equate with these Shangrilla dwellers. Still, one would have thought that the accepted creed of egalitarianism and socialism of the Congress that is held to sway

the thought of millions in this country had pointed ideational kinship with the unselfregarding principle that is implicit in the conduct of affairs by these arcadians. But what do we actually see?

On the one side there is a personality cult of Stalinist dimensions centred on our Prime Minister that the masses bow to, plastic as they are to sound and fury much more than to *sense* and *reason*. Greedy for the socialist carrots, they stand glamorized by the aura of power into a mesmerized means for its perpetuation. History does not lack instances of vast masses being bamboozled to perdition by individuals and to go on *wanting* to be bamboozled even with the pit gaping before them! Bernard Shaw says, "There is no harder scientific fact in the world than the fact that belief can be produced in practically unlimited quantities and intensity without observation and reasoning, and even in defiance of both by the simple desire to believe founded on a strong interest in believing".

On the other side, we have the astute and calculated lip service clever and able men pay to the principles which the chief compels acceptance, on pain of being asked to get out, solely for personal advancement. There is the dextrous art of overlooking what is visibly patent in the practical every day world: that the socialistic camel cannot be pushed through the eye of the economic needle, however supple the manipulations. Many of these sophisticated, socialized consciences have relapsed in dudgeon to pagan individualism and independence when their claim for Congress 'tickets' was disallowed. Five hundred and sixty-seven congressmen are officially said to be struck off the rolls for such 'deviationism'. But success is the justification of most rebellions, and many of these that have proved their muscles in the elections, are expected to be taken back into the fold on a nominal show of penitance, especially in States where the position of the Congress is marginal. Such make-

believes are apparently elementary powers in the game of politics, or, rather, the game of service to the country for love, but with a percentage as adjuvant.

It is said that socialism needs for its success men and nations to have a high sense of rectitude and morality but that it is adopt-

ed only by people whose ways of life take nepotism and corruption as normalities. It is also said that for the success of socialism a high level of prosperity is necessary, whereas only poor nations take to it. In anthropological curiosities of the kind mentioned earlier, socialism is not an imposed institu-

tion dragged from above by political reformers. The Pandora's box of evils has never been opened in them, and so bribery and corruption are not problems, and the lack of wealth in terms of money is no lack at all where there is no money and no wanting of created money.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## PRINTING OF BALLOT PAPERS

Sir,—While considerable improvement has been made in regard to ballot boxes used at the elections, much has to be done respecting the ballot papers which, as practice obtains at present, are liable to be misused. They are printed on ordinary white paper without any distinguishing mark, like waterlines, as in currency notes. Conse-

quently, it is not difficult to forge ballot papers with symbols and all without any likelihood of discovery. In the case of rich and powerful candidates, they can know in advance the serial numbers of the ballot papers to be sent to the various booths and they can also manœuvre to get their own men appointed as polling officers. It is not possible for candidates who are neither opulent nor have the backing of a big party to have polling agents representing them in each and every booth. It can easily be visualized what havoc could be done if the polling officer and the agent of the candidate collude without anyone else to observe. At the end of the polling, the contents of the box could be emptied on the table and ballot papers marked in favour of the rival candidate might be replaced by corresponding ballot papers from the bogus sheaf, and the seal affixed both by the polling officer and the candidate's agent. The other bits of paper in the box intended to serve as a preventive can likewise be replaced. This danger is real, particularly in distant and outlying areas where the illiterate and ignorant voters have no real idea of the secrecy of the ballot. Here is a possible explanation for the absence of invalid votes even in some backward rural parts.

I would therefore suggest that despite the cost involved, ballots should be printed on papers with distinctive features of a confidential nature and government seal should be affixed to them before being sent to the Returning Officer.

Sivaganga. M. G. GURUSWAMI AYYAR  
[The defects pointed out by the correspondent become important in the case of narrow wins, like Mr. Kairon's famous 34 and the recent reverses as in the case of Gonda.—Ed.]

## WASTAGE IN INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT

Sir,—Under the caption "Wastage in the Industries Department" (in your weekly of February 24, 62) there has appeared an article by a "Retired Accountant General" making some adverse comments without fully ascertaining the facts. The writer has also made some indirect insinuation against an IAS officer of outstanding merit. While generally criticizing the Government's policies and acts, Rajaji maintains a detached and impersonal attitude without bringing in individual officers into the picture. More than

anybody else, Rajaji himself knows the excellent qualities of this particular officer, his sincerity and his sterling character.

This officer's work as head of the Industries Department of Madras is very impressive, the Guindy Industrial Estate being a monument to his initiative and drive.

The writer of the article has proceeded from one wrong conclusion to another. He has stated that the officer was given promotion *after* the wastage was known.

May I ask if any officer can be so omnipotent as to be able to control the activities of all the staff in his department? After all, the audit report (referred to) has not pointed out any *irregularity* but only some *wastage* (in its opinion). Without proper enquiry, no particular item of expenditure could be concluded as 'wastage', and there could be more than one opinion in this matter. As regards the promotion of the IAS officer, it had nothing to do with any particular conduct but to what he was entitled by virtue of his seniority and merit.

It is well to remember that the pay and allowances paid to I.A.S. officers are not much if we take into consideration that people of even moderate abilities are being paid high salaries in private companies, merely because they are the sons of their fathers or near relatives of the Directors and Managing Directors of big companies. So the present trend is for able and brilliant educated men to seek service in private companies and firms rather than enter government service, shouldering responsibilities and incurring the odium of public criticism.

Coimbatore A CITIZEN

## Cigarettes Cause Lung Cancer

England's Royal College of Physicians in an eagerly-awaited report has stated that "death rates from lung cancer increase steeply with increasing consumption of cigarettes."

"Heavy cigarette smokers may have 30 times the death rate of non-smokers. Cigarette smokers are much more affected than pipe or cigar smokers", the report added.

The report is the work of a nine-man Medical Committee set up by the Royal College of Physicians in April 1959, to inquire into "the question of smoking and atmospheric pollution in relation to carcinoma (cancer) of the lung and other illnesses."

The report said: "Smoking is a cause of lung cancer though there are other causes as air pollution and substances met in a few occupations".

None of these is of such general importance as smoking. If the habit ceased, the number of deaths caused by lung cancer should fall steeply in the course of time. Those who give up smoking have a reduced death-rate".

Tobacco smoke was complex in composition, some 300 compounds having

been identified in it, the report said. Cigarettes, especially when smoked fast, burned at a higher temperature than pipes and cigars. Smokers who inhaled might absorb as much as 90 per cent of the nicotine in cigarettes while those who did not, as little as ten per cent. The chief effects of nicotine were

on the heart and blood vessels, the digestive tract and the kidneys.

"The benefits of smoking are almost entirely psychological and social. It may help some people to avoid obesity. There is no reason to suppose smoking prevents neurosis", the report said.—The Hindu.

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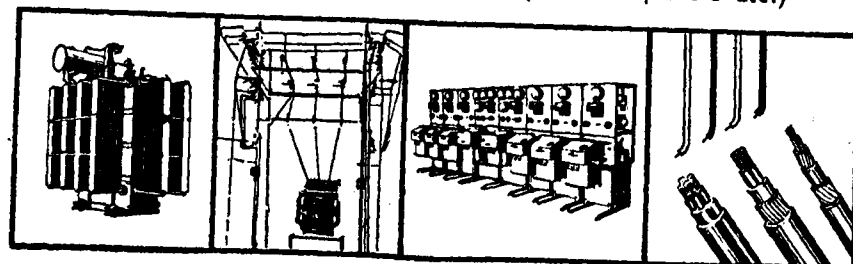
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Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10. Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

# SWARAJYA

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI, No. 88

MADRAS, MARCH 24, 1962

Price 15 nP

## SELF - ALIENATION

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In spite of the complications of modern progress and the political institutions of government that come into being consequent on that progress, the freedom of the individual should be maintained and preserved against being mortgaged away, sold or coerced out of existence. This is the creed of the Swatantra Party—not a going back to feudalism or the exploitation of the many by a few as interpreted maliciously by the Congress Party in its anxiety to remain in power.

Marx's own ideal is a society in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. But what he taught has led to such means being adopted in current communist practice as to yield the opposite result—the complete and ruthless destruction of the sense of the value of the individual by the party and the State and their officials.

Construction approximates to design in engineering. But where the complications of the human mind enter, and not only brick and stone and steel, the resulting construction is far from, and often the opposite of, the preceding design. The condition of the communist countries bears no likeness to what Marx had designed.

Hindu society is not what the caste system and the division of labour and the co-ordinated social service it represented, ought to have produced.

The religious marks worn on the face by men and women among Hindus were designed for a daily renewal of faith and surrender to the will of God, and open expression of it for mutual encouragement among those who followed the teachings of the same faith. But, in course of time, these marks became symbols not of humility, but of aggression and mutual isolation of denominations. So also do communist States totally differ from what had been designed by Marx. We often get the very opposite of what we made designs for. We may find explanations for it but that does not alter the position.

Whether they are communists or non-communists, socialists claim to work against capitalism in order to prevent what Marx called self-alienation. Where men are not free to follow their own nature but are compelled to labour for subsistence, and not as means to self-fulfilment, the condition is described by Marx as self-alienation, i.e., men selling their selves away. Socialist dogma following Marx is that market economy should be substituted by State control and State regulation. But the abolition of market economy does not guarantee the abolition of human self-alienation. The record and current spectacle of communist countries in operation show that the working man may be more alienated in a highly planned socialized economy than in an unplanned, mixed economy in

which political democracy is duly maintained as in Great Britain and America.

When self-alienation takes place in favour of the State with absolute power, the alienation is an unredeemable alienation which puts the individual in a totally helpless condition. When the State is, further, in the complete grip of a political party that utilizes the State resources for perpetuation of its regime, the position becomes tantamount to slavery.

There are no rights in the socialist countries, except for those who agree with the dictatorial rule of a minority in control. These countries are much farther removed from the Marxian ideal of a society of 'unalienated' men and women than even the imperfectly developed countries of the East where the psychology of *Dharma* is alive. It is not the mode of economic production but the mechanism of political decision which is of importance on the question of human freedom.

Every citizen who helps the State-socialist fanatics to hold power, on the ground that economics are more important than politics, is an accomplice in the crime of human self-alienation. Every citizen who remains silent or passive, when he might have lodged his protest, acts as an accomplice. The flame of individual freedom, which Gandhiji wanted to be kept burning in democracy, is as sacred as life itself. The State

socialists of the Congress Party are planning, knowingly or unknowingly, to put out this sacred flame. The unconscious accomplices, the voters, will get weaker and weaker as the process goes on. They will automatically become more and more passive and unresisting accomplices and hasten the destruction of freedom.

The movement of Swatantra should, therefore, be kept up with vigour, and not allowed to die

out with the excitement of the elections. We have initiated a great and patriotic national endeavour. The enemies of freedom are in power, and resistance to their march requires the vigilance and patriotism of devoted lovers of true human freedom. The election that is over was only the preliminary skirmish of a battle that must go on until State power is flung back to its proper boundaries.

## DRIVING DISCONTENT UNDERGROUND

By POTHAN JOSEPH

It is said that every man born into the world has in himself the makings of an author; the contents of at least one book are in his untapped cerebellum. Fortunately not all could write or the globe would be overwhelmed with a flood of books, unending against wastepipes in operation. No restrictive measures as in birth-control can prevent it, but fortunately only the urge of some acute emotional tension of love or hatred acts as the catalytic agent in the writing of latent volumes. Then it was said by some wiseacre that a man's career on earth would be imperfect without an emergence of a son of his loins. Failure entitles him to supplementary marriage or the adoption of an heir whose duty would be to light the funeral pyre and incidentally to save the departed person from a particular little hell from which the soul could be liberated by the *putra* in his turn.

Likewise, the record of history may be held as yielding a special lesson not commonly taught by professors, a lesson which has sprung into view after the First World War; namely, the urges of national consciousness crystallizing into the American doctrine sponsored by Woodrow Wilson who, however, was fated to burn his fingers over two conceptions, firstly, the League of Nations, and secondly, self-determination. Both teachings are in a parlous state under the baffling menace of the two Power blocs now in confron-

tation. The third plank of a dogma now stems from an old and cheap adage to the effect that every country has the government it deserves. No, no, let us not forget the corollary so widely illustrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America that every country has within its frontiers the ingredients of a provisional government which gets into coalescence through lack of good government, and produces midnight-revolutions of which the oppressed citizenry become aware only through an unscheduled broadcast.

The plots of a revolutionary council having matured, it is naturally the duty of the new dictator to rush into the palace announcing house-arrest and a prompt take-over. When General Iskandar Mirza was aroused from his sleep by Ayub Khan (another brother-officer from Sandhurst) and his henchmen, the Pakistan President tried a grab at the telephone. He was informed that all connections had been first cut and that he had better pack up with a minimum of jewellery in the kit belonging to the young "First Lady of the Land" who had but recently entered wedded bliss. The President left; the young army officers applauded; the abrogation of the Constitution was complete; foreign governments "hailed" the *de facto* authority without any UNO palaver.

Bloodless revolution over, the Ayub Khan regime remains. On

the other hand, when General Neguib and his coterie of young colonels drove away King Farouk, the royal personage himself jumped ahead into the vessel at the wharf and quitted fast to Italy. The replacement of General Neguib (now in house-custody) by President Nasser was not much dramatized, but under-surface elements of a provisional government in revolt had converged together in the form of a militarist government for due proclamation through the mike at the Cairo palace.

Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, on being ousted, is in Paris recuperating, all because he does not quite notice after the experience of eight years as Governor-General that an anti-Sirimavo rebellion was about to be sparked off in which he had been chalked as a suspect. By a margin of six hours the lady Prime Minister of Ceylon retained her authority and she has assumed emergency-powers banning all "anti-State activities" in the island. President Ne Win has also scrapped Burma's so-called democratic set-up; and thanks to the distribution of portfolios among the military staff, order is retained and he has promised to mop up the scene into some form of tidiness, first squashing the alliances of black-market looters, domestic and foreign, who had started pillaging consumers during loud drumbeats about Asian solidarity regardless of symptoms of noxious degeneracy. The same psychology underlies unrest in Latin American eruptions; and here and there, the elements lying disparate move into a cluster, and from that nucleus, a provisional government bursts into being sweeping out adventurers who had overstayed their welcome. If Batista had to be overthrown, a Fidel Castro was essential. Possibly there was never a happier time in Argentina than in the regime of Madame Eva Peron who fought for fairplay to workers and for what we call "emotional integration". When she passed away, her husband scrambled, the latest news being that his

## WHAT THE BUDGET GIVES AND TAKES

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Though the elections were assumed to be a mandate for Planning and socialism, the size of the 1962-63 Budget will be a surprise to those who had feared the worst. Revenue expenditure of Rs. 1,369 crores and Plan expenditure of Rs. 1,107 crores add up to about one-fifth of the national income. In 1950-51, the Revenue expenditure was Rs. 346 crores and the Capital expenditure was Rs. 182 crores, which add up to about one-fifth of the expenditure in the new Budget. Since during the same period the national income has risen only from Rs. 9,110 crores to Rs. 13,480 crores, the Government has taken three times as much from the people as it has given them. The claim of the Finance Minister

personal attendant has reported his disappearance from the dictator's shelter.

The main duty of a democratic government is to be alive to such potentialities of challenge to its own existence for lack of a steam-outlet which again depends on self-introspection on the part of rulers and the realization that no man is infallible; indeed, what is called the Opposition makes for automatic readjustments. On the other hand, the temptation on getting into power is to upset the balance of authority as illustrated in the functioning of the executive, the judiciary and the legislature. Attempts to tamper with such a mechanism of democracy amount to a sense of Fascistic self-complaisance, cliques majestically seated on the safety-valves.

Sober authority, on the other hand, knows when and where to stop; and never to drive discontents underground. Like the man who never wrote the book in him for lack of provocation to the grey matter, the wise practitioners of democracy seek to neutralize in time fermentations towards upheaval.

that additional taxation has contributed significantly for the enlargement of development and to the restraint of inflationary pressures, overlooks this basic ratio between the taxes paid and the incomes increased.

The Budget proposes an expenditure of Rs. 1,028 crores under civil heads. Except for an increase of Rs. 14.74 crores for social and development services, a net increase of Rs. 13.79 crores in the grants to the State governments and a sum of Rs. 5.28 crores on Goa, this vast expenditure does not offer anything new by way of welfare to the people. On the Plan projects, an expenditure by the Centre and the States of Rs. 1,446 crores is provided. The outstanding items of Plan expenditure mentioned, except for National Highways, are those which do not substantially, or immediately, benefit the people—for instance, Hindustan Steel, heavy engineering projects and atomic energy research. Why should the common people be taxed for such items, without ascertaining if private enterprise is willing to finance them from its own resources?

What the Government will take from the people is left to be decided by the new Parliament. In the meanwhile the Finance Minister has indicated that the uncovered gap in the current year (which was Rs. 121 crores) may increase to Rs. 147 crores next year. More taxation is therefore inevitable, which will probably not be direct as the limit for that has been reached, but indirect to be borne by the common people.

Next, the people will have to pay for loans on which the capital programme is largely based. On existing debt, the repayments will cost Rs. 227 crores next year. The new debts programmed for are Rs. 445 crores from foreign sources, Rs. 90 crores from P.L. 480 Deposits, Rs. 260 crores from market borrowing, Rs. 105 crores from Small Savings, and

Rs. 208 crores from miscellaneous accounts. Any degree of ordinary prudence would have halted new investments on borrowed money, when the existing ones make a return of only half a per cent and are diverting the transport and coal resources of the country to the point that private industries can work only at a part of their capacity.

The Finance Minister pleaded excuse for his taxes on the ground that prices had been checked and that agricultural production had gone up by 8.1 per cent and industrial production by 7.6 per cent. In the Rajya Sabha, at the same time, Congress member Babubhai Chinoy said: "The growth of industrial production in 1961 was lower than that of the previous year, due to the inadequacy of power and transport, and shortage of raw materials such as steel. Disposal of sugar surpluses will depend on overseas markets being available." The Finance Minister's figures based on the general index are, therefore, misleading. That he dared to press them when everyone is aware that cement and steel—which he boasted had increased in production—are scarce to the point of being available only in the black market, shows how he underestimates the intelligence and information of the people. He also claimed—on equally misleading statistics, inflated in this instance by inflated prices—that exports had increased and would reach Rs. 850 crores. He however conceded that the balance of payments position was worse.

The Finance Minister cannot be blamed because he is a prisoner of the Plan. If a budget with lower taxes and better results is to be finalized by the new Parliament, the Third Five-Year Plan should be first revised. The recent ECAFE report has left no doubt how our Plans have destroyed opportunities for development by being top-heavy without the foundation of agriculture and small industries. If this report is ignored by the new Parliament, our budgets will take much from and give little to the people.

## CURRENT EVENTS::

One of the consequences of the nascent Opposition against the Congress Party voting in splinter-groups, when mutual differences are not insurmountable, is the freezing-out of highly competent and fearless candidates for the task of pulling up an arbitrary regime now in the intoxication of power. There is of course more work to be done outside the legislature than in the rubber-stamp processes contemplated by the Congress Party within, but the intelligentsia, alarmed at totalitarian trends, had looked forward to a phalanx of sober law-makers as a counterpoise to the presence of men and women enjoying the main qualification of being 'ticket-holders' under the patronage of the High Command. Without any intention to discriminate amongst party-failures in the ballot, we may casually cite a couple of examples.

In the Lok Sabha struggle for the Gonda constituency, there was a recount as a result of which Mr. Ram Ratan Gupta (Congress) was credited with 80,937 votes, the runner-up Mr. N. Dhandekar (Swatantra) winning 80,439 votes. Miscellaneous voting accounted for the rest of the entries. The weight and wisdom of the Congress M.P. is not going to make any difference in well-informed debates or in any free decision on the call of the Congress whip, if and when the House divides. On the other hand, by any test of competence, Mr. Dhandekar might have proved invaluable in the discussion of issues, service in committees investigating problems, and the putting of supplementary questions in the morning. As far as semaphore-voting under Congress auspices is concerned, it makes no difference whether it is Mr. X or Mr. Y who is representing the people of Gonda.

A marginal upset thus eliminated the experience from the forum of a House rejoicing in

the claim that the millions of India had renewed their confidence in the "principles, programmes, Plans and policies" of the Congress which guarantees stability in the progress of our economy and the lift-up of a Welfare State. Like Mr. Dhandekar with his skill in analysing facts and figures, Mr. Lobo Prabhu finds himself beaten by a rival through last-minute surprise, another Swatantrite thus sinking with flying colours. He had ventured into the arena on the fear that the progress of the country was being jeopardized through the emergence of a monolithic party representing Yes-men. Local observers had anticipated success and from independent sources it is apparent that there was not a square deal in the vicinity of booths to account for what happened in the messing-up of State Assembly-voting and the casting of ballot-papers as Lok Sabha tokens. The Congress High Command has ordered enquiries of cases where some Congress "certainties" had floundered against ginger-group gallopers in the race, but if the judges of form would also inquire into reversal of expectations, they would probably find a lot of doping in connection with Congress success scored with pedigreeless, spavined mokes thrust on the turf. On the day Parliament met on March 12, the absence of those who were due to be out in the wilderness was really quite as impressive as the presence of those holding renewed tickets for another five years of saying "ditto to Mr. Burke."

With the conversion of the political scene into a scramble for the loaves and fishes of office, multiplication of top-ministers, ministers of State, deputy ministers, parliamentary secretaries *et hoc genus omne*, was inevitable on the excuse of training future statesmen and pumping in new blood into old arteries. In more than one State, personnel was settled before the assignment of

portfolios. An essay-competition on the naming of new portfolios with permutations and combinations of subjects to be distributed, would be too late to be offered; but consideration of the importance of keeping flunkies in contentment, whilst denouncing groupism and communalism, promotes the tie-up of incompatible files (like midday meals and measles) for red-tape authority, the functionaries themselves having but a nodding acquaintance of the responsibilities committed to their prentice hands. The taxpayer has not only to pay for the upkeep of novices to be placated, but also lengthier corridors to be negotiated, with pockets well-padded to quicken favourable orders.

If in advance of the general elections the Prime Minister had announced such a vast multiplication of jobs to constitute each State ministry, there would have been a revulsion of feeling against Congress leadership, and there would have been a crash of defeats amongst ticket-investors. In the UP a 42-member Ministry has been formed in the name of covering 'groupism'. The trend has infected other parts of the country, including Mysore where a former Chief Minister (and now M.P.C.C. President) has been routed at the poll as against two former chief ministers, Kadi Lal Manjappa and B. D. Jatti, who after success in open elections find themselves excluded from the Kanthi Cabinet with a vast following of the rag-tag and bob-tail crowd in array, apparently for papering up factions; not to mention the excuse about infusing new blood to vitalize a generation of trained statesmen. Had this project of jumble-expansion of offices to suit henchmen and placemen leaked out three months ago, there might have been a landslide in the opposite direction. But the High Command kept its tactics dark, as if the ruling party is also bound by its unpublished variation of some Official Secrets Act. P.J.

## A SECRETARIAT FOR THE OPPOSITION

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

If the Opposition in the new legislatures is to do its work—the work that is cut out for it by its parliamentary position and opportunities—it must have a secretariat. It may be small or large—but it must have one. If it is to do its work in the question-hour, during debates on resolutions and bills, and frame amendments and move adjournment motions, it must have the assistance of clerks, reference-finders etc., who will haunt the legislature secretariat and other departmental offices, hunt up references in the library, get the necessary facts and figures, do the other miscellaneous jobs that would assist a legislator in the Opposition to do his duty by it. The work of a modern legislature is so large, especially with a government like the Congress governments so legislation-and-plan-mad, so varied, so difficult and tedious that a legislator deprived of competent office assistance would be a legislator only in name. Legislators in the Opposition cannot afford to be legislators only in name. Their very numerical weakness ought to incite them to get the last ounce of their resources to enable them to act their part as critics and censors of the Government on behalf of their constituents and their country.

Such assistance has been found necessary elsewhere. In England the salary of the M.P. has been stepped

up to its present £ 1,000, in addition to which he gets an expense allowance to enable him to get this assistance himself in the form of a personal secretary. If Indian legislators' salaries are raised to this level, they might find and finance this assistance themselves. As an individual legislator cannot do it, members of the Opposition must pool their financial resources to get this secretarial assistance. Each of the main Opposition groups—the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh in the Central Parliament and the Swatantra with the D.M.K. or Jan Sangh in the State legislatures could do it. The communists are not concerned with this suggestion, as I have already pointed out that they are not part of a real Opposition. They are so ideologically allied with the Congress Party that they are more likely to act as cheer-leaders on the side lines than as real opponents of the Congress. The Swatantra, Jan Sangh and D.M.K. each, or in combination, ought to set about getting up a secretariat in Parliament and in the State legislatures—if they are to perform efficiently and effectively the task set them by their electors.

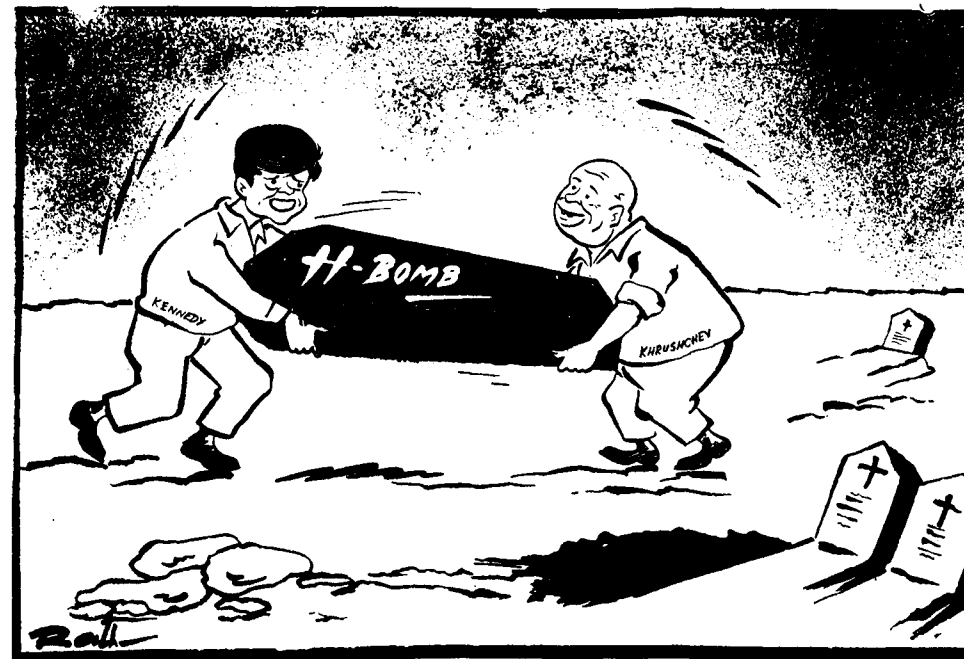
In combination they could set up such a secretariat at less expense to individual members, separately they would have to dig deeper into their pockets. In either case, for Rs. 500 a month they should be able to set up

the required secretariat. It need not be large—a secretary for Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 a month, a shorthand typist for Rs. 150 a month, and Rs. 150 a month for office contingencies would do.

Either of these parties—except the D.M.K. in Parliament—could find this money by taxing each individual member to the extent of Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 a month. No member should grudge this expense, as the assistance thus secured would vastly facilitate his work—that is, if he wants to *work* and not just claim his salary and allowances and put in the minimum attendance to keep his seat. And a good secretariat staff could be got at this cost. The secretary ought to be an Honours graduate in History, Politics and Economics and the shorthand typist-clerk ought to be able to render intelligent and efficient clerical assistance.

If this Opposition secretariat is to serve the Opposition, it must find a place in the legislature. First of all, in the legislative chamber itself. When the government has in every such chamber a gallery for its officials, they cannot grudge a gallery to the Opposition secretariat on the other side of the chamber. This is wanted by and for the Opposition for the very same reason that the official Front Bench want it. If in addition to all the assistance the occupants of that Bench get from their departments outside the chamber they want assistance from the official gallery for immediate and urgent need, for a similar reason the Opposition should have its own gallery for its secretariat; especially as the Opposition cannot command the official assistance which the Ministry gets outside the chambers. And room can be easily found for the Opposition secretariat. In the chamber of the House of the People there used to be a gallery on the Opposition side that in the old days used to be reserved for the Viceroy and Governor-General and his guests. It is now marked "Official Gallery" in a recent diagram of the chambers. That can be easily turned over to the Opposition for the use of its secretariat. Similarly, in State legislative chambers there is a gallery on the left of the Speaker or Chairman occupied by the press or other categories which could be turned over to the Opposition. That is the least governments can do for the Opposition—about whose virtues and ser-

### MAY WE HOPE FOR THIS?



vices ministers from the Prime Minister downwards never tire of singing—till they come inconveniently near and strong. Governments in this country may not go to the extent of paying a salary to the leader of the Opposition as they do in England. If they want to play the parliamentary game, they must place facilities at the disposal of the Opposition that will help it to play its part of responsible critical adviser of the government. When the Congress Party has offices in the Parliament building in New Delhi and in the State legisla-

tures the Government cannot deny office facilities to the Opposition parties.

Outside the chambers also the secretariat can be of use to the Opposition. In fact their assistance to the Opposition in the chamber will depend on the extent to which the members of the opposition secretariat equip themselves with useful knowledge in general and with information about the work of the legislature, its rules of procedure, its time-table and the questions, and the successive bills and resolutions and general business of the legislature.

They could also form part of the office of the party in places where the party has no office. But their services must be primarily and mainly to the party in the legislature.

However it may be with other parties, a legislative secretariat is indispensable to the Swatantra Party. That party's claim to increased support by the people in the future hangs on the work they do for the people in the legislature. They must prove by their action, patient and persevering work in the legislature, that they would be competent and serviceable representatives of the people. By their work in the Opposition they must prove their capacity for work and service in government. It is in Opposition they must prove their claim to office. Not only the electoral support of the people would thus be gained but the sinews for the next electoral war would thus be secured. If the Swatantra Party failed to attract funds by the unimpressiveness of their organization so far, let the Swatantra Party make up for it by the impressive work they do for the people in Opposition. It is this work in Opposition that will make good their claim to decisive support at the next elections.

#### JAYANTI SHIPPING CORPORATION

I refer to a news item published in the daily press about a loan agreement between the Government of India and the Jayanti Shipping Corporation, and ask for elucidation of the following points:

(a) According to a provision in the Third Five-Year Plan, Rs. 33 crores is to be given to the private sector. If Rs. 7 crores to be contributed by private shipping companies is deducted, there remains but a balance of Rs. 26 crores for allotment to the private sector. If out of this over Rs. 20 crores is made over to Jayanti Shipping alone, quite a large slice to a single company, the private sector allotment is very nearly exhausted. Why this favour?

(b) When the foreign ship-builders are going to supply the ships to Jayanti's on credit to be guaranteed by the Government of India, where is the need for cash?

(c) Who are the promoters and directors of this new star on the firmament of Indian shipping, and what are their credentials?

(d) Is it a sound capital structure that is contemplated and not a case of a private party being helped to do business with public funds?

M. V. SASTRI

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## EDUCATING OUR 'MASTERS'

By PREMA

Any political party that intends to give successful battle to the long (and well) entrenched ruling party in India today, would need to build itself much as a living human being is built and sustained. India is not a small country or island, but a sub-continent,—not a unitary State, but a union of States. Elections are normally simultaneous for the Assembly and the Lok Sabha, and the electors for both are the same, except that a Lok Sabha constituency is made up of a few Assembly constituencies. The mass of voters are illiterate. The elections have to be spread over quite a few days. All kinds of 'precautions' have to be taken, including the numbering of the voting-papers (a feature of our democracy that practically destroys the inviolable principle of secrecy of the ballot). Election days have to be holidays, involving dislocation of work, heavy police *bondobust*, and other peculiarities unheard of in a mature modern democracy like the United Kingdom. Illiteracy and multiple languages call for the allotment of symbols and stamping. Fear of impersonation on a large scale calls for the marking of the finger with indelible ink. Universal suffrage makes the task of preparing voters' lists very difficult, and the omissions and commissions outnumber the correct entries! No wonder invalid votes run to thousands—even tens of thousands—in most constituencies. And a dispersed electorate necessitates the conscription of whole armies of election officers who have to be sent far into the interior. Certainly, our democracy is like no other democracy. Nevertheless, we should see that it is democracy—the real thing—and not a quinquennial mockery or exercise in expensive self-deception. The question is: Given a democracy like ours, how should a political party function?

The first condition is that a political party in India should have an all-India status and function on an all-India basis. It should try to function in every State Assembly as also in the Lok Sabha. It is difficult enough for voters to affix the stamp on two papers across the same symbols; but it would be too much to expect the voter to stamp against one symbol for the Assembly and another for the Lok Sabha. (Among the factors that helped the Congress was the fact that it had means enough to contest every seat, both Assembly and Lok Sabha, all over India.) From

the centre to the circumference, the whole area has to be explored, and a political party that *wills* to make headway should embrace the whole of India, and try to speak for every part in its language and for the collective whole in its voice. This all-India vision should be the sustaining soul of a political party. This is what gives almost a spiritual dimension to a political party.

Besides this all-India vision and feeling of spiritual engagement, there is need for a steadfast, virile, intellectual leadership at the top. The overall policy—political, economic, administrative, social, internal, external—of a party is its directing mind. A body of thinkers should give their best to formulating the policies and programmes of the party, and making them sustainable at the intellectual level. Research should go on, and the experiences of other countries and of our own should be weighed, and the lessons of past and recent history should be drawn so that the policies of the party may be realistic and not chimerical. Governing a country (and a party that is not ready now or later to govern the country is but playing with politics) calls for great preparation, knowledge, hard and continuous thinking, and above all integrity in thinking. This, a core of central leadership and thinking should be able to provide.

There is next the need to enlist the services of a band—some thousands, in fact, for a country of the size of India—of workers (paid or voluntary) who would be able to translate the cardinal tenets or thinking or programmes of the party into the various languages of the country, and thereby organize an effective all-India bureau of purposive publicity and informative propaganda. This would mean magazines and brochures, periodical meetings and discussions, all over the country, *all the time*, not only for two months before the general election.

Even all this would not be enough. The message of the party—whether in its critical or its constructive aspects—has to be carried to every citizen, every worker and every villager, and this could be done only if there is a living and active unit of the party in every street of a town or city, in every village, in every cluster of a few houses or cottages. In India very few can read even today. The radio remains a luxury to most, and is even otherwise

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.

merely a limb of the Government and the ruling party. Unless there are people well-informed in every village, imbued with a sense of the old idealism, who are prepared to talk to workmen and farmers and artisans in a language they can understand, and translate the policies of the party into homely terms meaningful in the local context, little that is lasting can be achieved. We have to 'educate' our 'masters', which would be perfecting our own education in democracy; we have to 'stoop' to 'conquer', which would be the greater sacrifice we could make and the greater service that we could perform.

All-India vision and a sense of dedication to the Motherland; unflagging intellectual leadership at the top that presses all modern knowledge and research into service; a band of selfless workers all over India who can exploit to the best advantage all modern media of communication (press, platform, cinema, tape-recorder, etc.); sustained mass-contact—these would be the soul, the mind, the sinews and bone-structure, and the nerves and blood-streams of the body of a political party that means business in a democracy and is poised for success. Swatantra has the soul and the mind; but the sinews and bone-structure, the nerves and blood-streams, need to be strengthened greatly. The Congress is in power, but its decline has begun, the rot has set in; Swatantra is but in the Opposition—it is still only in the early stages of its rise and growth. What a mere two years could do we have seen. In another five years, what is not possible?

**TASTE**  
**SRI GANESH RAM'S**  
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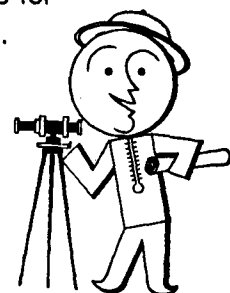
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## ELECTORAL REFORM

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

Experience of candidature for Parliament and the State Assembly in the February general election has brought home to many, including the present writer, the urgent necessity for a radical reform in election procedures. As a civil service officer just retired asked: "Why should we not adopt some changes in democratic procedures to mitigate the known evils of the adult suffrage system?" Indeed, there is urgent necessity for a creative adaptation of democratic methods if we are not to sacrifice substance and spirit to form and appearance.

The first change that occurs to the mind of the observer is that made by Rajaji since the starting of the Swatantra Party, namely, the resignation of the governments at the Centre and the States of the Union a few months before the commencement of the polling dates. In view of the large percentage of illiterates in the electorate, and the proved unwillingness of the Congress Party ministries to refrain from misusing official influence (and even authority and machinery) for party and individual advantage, contrary to the spirit of the rule of law and good morals, this reform should be adopted. Public opinion should be focussed on its need from now on until it becomes a universal demand by the time of the next elections and given effect to by Congress ministries in time.

Another shortcoming that has been noticed by all is the apathy of a large percentage of the voters—particularly of the educated middle and upper class voters. One remedy that has been suggested to meet this reluctance of the voter to exercise his right is to punish him for not going to the polls with a fine! Better than this penal measure (which is undesirable as contributing to the unpopularity of democratic government itself), is Rajaji's suggestion that vans of the Election Commission should go from house to house carrying polling officials,

and election agents of parties and candidates.

As each polling booth serves about a thousand voters and the area under its jurisdiction is small, this is quite a feasible proposition. If the mountain does not go to Mohamed, Mohamed should go to the mountain! The police may object to this idea as moving crowds following the vans in the streets may present a law and order problem. But it should be possible to overcome the difficulty by suitable regulations. Practice will suggest the regulations necessary (and sufficient) to meet the problem.

Corrupt practices of various kinds, of which the offer of vehicles to voters on the polling day is the least objectionable, have been noticed on a large scale. Mobilization of caste and religious loyalties has been made without shame, most of all by parties making the largest noise about national integration. Systematic and thorough bribery in cash and cloth, and drink and dinner, was made by the ruling party candidates. Very large sums were spent on such misuse of money—in several cases exceeding Rs. 3 lakhs. On the average a lakh of rupees for a Lok Sabha seat and Rs. 50,000 for an Assembly seat were spent in the areas that came under the observation of the present writer in Bangalore and environs.

Together with the force of the Gandhian legend and the notorious inability of the ignorant to entertain new ideas and conceive of alternative possibilities, money and patronage and official prestige conspired to bring the Congress Party back to office with its Constitution-amending power intact. This state of affairs will continue indefinitely. It is, therefore, essential to move from the outward forms of democracy to their inward spirit and efficacy to counteract these forces at the disposal of the Congress. The decisive way

to effect such a change would be to entrust the Election Commission with the task of presenting the candidates and their respective claims to the attention of voters impartially. The Commission should be the sole body to approach and inform the people. Candidates and parties should be forbidden to canvass support in public by organizations of their own.

The Commission will hold meetings in every constituency at which posters, photographs and pamphlets of all candidates will be made available to the public to make their choice. Candidates will make speeches at such meet-

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## THE NEW LEVIATHAN

By R. JAMEEL AHMED

The disinterested observer of the ways in which India is fashioning her politics will at once be struck by the growing centralization and the emergence of the State as the Leviathan, leading to the whittling down of individual liberty and initiative. Our Constitution itself revels in centralizing techniques. There is constant talk of changing society through legislation and the State is emerging as Mr. Know-All—a sort of Hegelian harmonization claiming to comprehend all, with remedies for everything from “the pedlar’s nuisance” in the street to the emancipation of women from social strangleholds! And this attempt at control goes on and on until presumably there will be very little left uncontrollable or unregulated.

I am neither an anarchist pleading for the elimination of all authority nor a revivalist who thinks the solution for the present authoritarian trends lies in the

**ELECTORAL REFORM ... contd.**  
ings under the chairmanship of electoral officers or gentlemen selected by them, and state their individual and party claims. The C.I.D. will be instructed to look for secret bribery and misuse of money or position, and book culprits. Details of course need to be worked out.

The fact that no other democracy has such methods is no argument against the proposal. The Sarvodaya leaders have suggested such procedures for village elections. They may well be universally adopted in place of the present undignified rivalries and misuse of money, power and patronage, rousing primitive passions of animosity, which have led to murders and attacks in many places. Unless such radical reforms are effected before the next elections, we will be condemned by the letter of democracy to suffer from the evils of Plutocracy under the facade of democracy.

restoration of the medieval system when (strictly speaking) there was no State at all. But the dangers inherent in the drift towards authoritarianism are manifest and cannot be glossed over. It is a historical truth that all attempts at centralization, giving the State the power “to enable it to dismiss even Hell with costs,” will be detrimental to individual liberty.

For one thing, one sceptical of the emerging pattern of “Statism” will have the satisfaction that it will take a long time for it to succeed in a country like ours. The whole Indian tradition militates against it, since our tradition has fundamentally been distrust of governmental power and belief in self-sufficiency. Omni-competent legislation has so far affected only the periphery of our society and has not affected its roots. But the dangers are real and cannot be taken lightly.

On what claims do legislatures rest their case for omni-competence? What is it but the twentieth century version of Rousseau’s all-powerful and all-knowing General Will? And if Rousseau’s concept was a striking instance of metaphysical confusion, what good would emerge out of its application now? And has not the State’s omnipotence, despite its coercive power, failed to deliver the goods? Collectivist solutions for modern political and economic problems are but anodynes—not real solutions. What are the sacrifices that are to be made for attaining this dubious millennium? Loss of liberty, of initiative and independent thought. The integrating process dwarfs the individual, cramps his initiative, and deadens his intellect.

And yet we cannot do without the State. The anarchists are wrong in wanting to destroy the State. The failure of anarchism is due to its ignorance of the fact that the impulse to cohesion is one of the strongest impulses of

the human mind, as a rational order of human society is impossible without organization of some type or other. Even the ants have it and every one knows that if we attempt to run our family on anarchist lines, the consequences will be rather unpleasant. What applies to the family applies to the State as well. So while individual liberty is important, the State could not be thrown away for that reason. The baby must not be thrown away with the bath water.

So there is need for the State; otherwise, anti-social elements will work havoc. We are all surrounded by social parasites who are eager to throttle our liberties and the industrial Pharaohs who are eager to build their industrial pyramids on our slavery. If they are inhibited from doing what perhaps they desire, it is because of the policeman round the corner. And the State with some authority is the only instrument through which order can be maintained in society. But we must remember that the State is *our* creation and *exists* for us—not we for it. Let us not make the State that all-powerful leviathan as it will ultimately annihilate us. And let us not make the same mistake with regard to the State as the modern scientists who, after inventing horrible weapons of destruction, find themselves helpless to control them. The State is necessary and so is its *force*, not the Absolute State which the timid Hobbes wanted, but a State hedged in by limitations necessary for liberty. Nothing is so valuable as individual liberty. As the great Irish patriot Daniel O’Connell once declared: “No man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity, and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty”. Let us have by all means the force of the State but let it not be used indiscriminately.

I plead for the “politics of co-operation” not the “politics of coercion”, for co-operation creates while coercion destroys the finest impulses that men are capable of.

*Dear Reader*

The Bombay meeting on March 15th was a great success. The hall was packed to full capacity with a spill-over and there was great enthusiasm. The speeches were received with acclamation; in particular the defeated candidate’s story was cheered to the echo. Mr. Pashabhai Patel, who had stood against Planning Minister Nanda and was defeated, spoke like one who had won. The spirit shown by the audience was most heartening.

★  
Throughout the country, I find, there has been no spirit of defeat but a sense of having made a very good beginning. The press has helped and encouraged us a great deal. If the nation does not want creeping totalitarianism, intolerable taxation, and Plans founded upon unreal foundations and soul-killing foreign obligations, and Statism, it should not wait till the next election, but should give effective public moral support to the Swatantra Party from now onwards. The P.S.P. and other parties, who equally disapprove of Statism with the Swatantra Party, should pool their political and spiritual energies in a combined attack on the ruling party. There is a lot of confusion about what socialism is. The Statism inextricably joined with the ‘welfare’ policies of the Congress programme is not what the workers of the P.S.P. desire. Those in the P.S.P. who believe in Statism should, as Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is reported to have advised, join the Congress and let all anti-Statists work together to oppose the totalitarianism of the ruling party.

★  
The ruling party should call itself Socialist Party and not sail under the banner of national Freedom to get votes for its State-socialism. The Congress that fought Britain non-violently and achieved Freedom belongs to all of us. It is a kind of usurpation for the Socialist Party to call it-

self the “Congress”. Not only the name but the tricolour flag and the *charkha* are deceptive symbols. If the ruling party has sufficient confidence in its socialism, it should give up the adventitious advantage of a name which belongs to the Swaraj struggle and not to socialism. It should give itself a name suitable to its special policy. Indeed State socialism should be indicated in its name if no deception is intended to be practised on a huge, illiterate and uneducated electorate. The *Statesman* of Calcutta has rightly commented on this subject.

★  
I received a letter soon after the election results were over, from which I feel inclined to quote. It is from a highly placed and competent friend. “Your election campaign would have been a remarkable achievement for a man half your age. I think you are too severe on yourself and your party when you speak of the election results as a ‘rout’ for your party. They are certainly not regarded as a rout in Delhi! There were some disappointing results and some scandalous doings, e.g. ....; but, for a first election, the results were significant. Notice has been given that there is now an Opposition and that it combines intellect with the national tradition, and with values higher than the merely expedient or mechanistic.”

★  
It is pleasant to be engaged in planning large expenditure. It is pleasant for each State to vie with every other to get a bigger ‘share’ of the Plan expenditure. It is pleasant also for the bosses at the Centre to be allotting for this and that out of what they hope to get into the till from abroad, and from the people of India through taxation and pressure collections of savings. But a point of time is reached when attention will have to be painfully bestowed on new taxation measures in order to fulfil the Plans pleasantly undertaken. That

is the other side of the Plan medal. When expectations from abroad begin to fade in colour and arithmeticians turn to internal resources to make up for it, facts begin to stare in one’s face. Whom and how are we to tax? How will tax proposals be received? It is true the elections are over. But the poll has shown that danger is ahead. It seems quite possible that men and women may not be led to the polling booths as blindly next time, as they were this year. Taxes have a knack of making people unreasonable and angry. The Congress hypnosis is not as heavy as it used to be. How did the Swatantra Party bag nine million votes? One cannot feel sure as to what may happen if the burden of taxes becomes yet more obvious in the next few years. The indirect excise technique is no doubt a good deceiver, but there is a point beyond which even this may fail. Hence there is a certain amount of trepidation beginning to show itself.

★  
The inherent weaknesses in the Plans have begun to disclose themselves. Illusions cannot last for all time. The Congress Government cannot play as easily with hopes for American money as they used to. There is a definite preference in America to put capital in the private sector rather than in the socialist ventures of the Nehru Government—if not for any ideological reason, on the ground that good management is essential for an investment to bear fruit, and public management is not good management.

★  
Defence expenditure is rapidly expanding under Mr. Menon—not necessarily for increasing the efficiency of the Defence services, but for covering a variety of lines of industrial production in order to increase the political power of the Defence Ministry. The Defence Minister probably feels that it is good to bring into the ambit of his own Ministry all kinds of production on the plea that his departments buy such commodities which his idle manpower could be put to producing. Soon it is found that the mere sol-

dier cannot produce them; industrial workers, skilled and unskilled, have to be employed. There is thus gradually evolved a big line of industrial activity attached to the Defence Ministry which may not be profitable or approved by Auditors-General, but it gives political power.

★

The Congress Command may set up enquiry committees to make research into the causes of reverses suffered by the party, attributing them all to various internal rivalries and sabotage and what not, to be probed into. But the cause of all these reverses is the infringement of the rule of governance recommended by Gandhiji—minimum government and maximum freedom. The policies of the Congress Party have, contrary to this rule, led to an unhealthy degree of power and opportunity for self-benefit, and to personal and group rivalries.

★

Too much power taken by ministers is bad not only for the citizens; it is bad for the party too, which misled by the first sweet fruits of abundant authority has taken gluttonously to more and more of it. The only proper and radical remedy is to shed excessive power, to restore the freedom and release the dynamism and dignity of the citizen. Statist policy has to be given up as fundamentally wrong. There is no good spraying D.D.T., leaving untouched the breeding-point of all this rivalry, sabotage and groupism, viz., excessive power and control over the life of the people. Swatantra is the only remedy, as I have so often repeated. This is not a party cry of mine. It is the voice of political science.

★

Dear Pothan Joseph, writing in the *Sunday Standard*, winds up a most readable review of Mr. Nehru's campaign-language thus: "The standard of 1962 oratory did not contribute to a glorious chapter of sober education for the 210 million adults in the voters' lists."

What is to be deplored most in the recent elections, however, is not the language but the terrible rise in election expenditure and the manner in which money flowed for the purchase of the votes of the poor and illiterate. Money running so alarmingly ahead of education, leads one to ask what hope or way out is there for democracy. The hunger for good government thus foiled inevitably leads to some form of violent escape which spells disaster for democracy.

★

If I may rush in where angels fear to tread, I may say that any insistence on international inspections is an unintelligent blocking of the passage to a ban treaty. As long as the world is not one State any intrusion and inspection would certainly lead to spying and misapprehensions. Khrushchov has given good reasons for not insisting on international inspections. It would be a great first step to reach a treaty banning tests and a very great achievement for civilization if a treaty banning the use of nuclear weapons could be signed.

★

Before a magistrate in Genoa (North Italy) a trial case was filed charging Mr. Khrushchov and his Defence Minister, Marshal Radion Malinovsky, with pollution of food-stuffs by radio-activity. The magistrate declared that the act denounced constituted a violation of an international obligation which, because of the lack of special laws, escaped the penal jurisdiction of the domestic courts and ordered the complaint to be placed in the Archives. The complainant lawyer, Dr. Nino Musio-sale, intends to appeal to the Prosecutor-General of the Republic to have the matter put before the Constitutional Court.

★

Forty per cent of the Congress members of the Punjab have got offices, writes the *Hindu's* correspondent from Ambala. No wonder there is a race for the party ticket during elections. No wonder also that Mr. Dhebar has had to issue a press statement that he

would be only an ordinary member in Parliament.

Mr. M. S. Rajalingan, formerly a Deputy Minister in Hyderabad State, has published a book of 103 pages entitled *All Over a Congress Ticket*. The subject-matter is true to the title of the book. The book is priced at Rs. 2.

★

Maharaja Karni Singh of Bikaner has tried to speak the truth in a hostile atmosphere. The bad administration of the Congress governments is responsible for the reverses, he declared in Parliament. Various forms of nepotism, he explained, necessarily issue from the policies adopted, and people resent bad administration. Not all the slogans and the mesmeric passes of the veterans of the old Congress can suppress popular resentment against bad government. "That a chief minister had to accept a situation wherein he felt and admitted that one or two Maharajas could turn the tables on the ruling party seemed a pathetic state of affairs to a firm believer in democracy and socialism like himself," the Maharaja of Bikaner is reported to have bluntly said. Ex-rulers without power did not bring about the reverses; misrule of congressmen in power in the States, and regionalism and nepotism, had created resentment in some sections and apathy in other sections of the people, the Maharaja of Bikaner explained. "You cannot have bad administration," he said, "and get away with it in a democracy."

This was from an ex-ruler who tries to keep on the right side of the Congress. From the Congress benches, too, came Mahavir Tyagi's lone and familiar voice. "The sense of patriotism," he said, "is disappearing from the country and people care less and less for social and moral values."

You cannot but reap what you sow. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked," said Paul the Apostle, "for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap."

C.R.



## A Crowing Chanticleer

In his scorching attacks on Acharya Kripalani in Bombay North, the Prime Minister wanted to know if the opponent of the Defence Minister knew how to handle a gun. Mr. Menon had deplored Pakistan's possession of American firearms saying that they could not all be restricted for protection against communists, since there could be no guns firing only in one direction.

Apparently Acharya Kripalani could not give a demonstration, pulling the trigger, unlike Mr. Krishna Menon who in World War I had been the chief of the Madras UTC (University Training Corps, Adyar Wing).

In the Kaiser's War, recruits from India went in large battalions. The Secretary of State had authorized a patriotic appeal to the King's subjects in India including university-students of military age. Mr. Krishna Menon figured as an enthusiastic volunteer heading juvenile marchers to training camps carrying dummy-rifles, an experience which might have qualified him unlike the Acharya who then had been a marked rebel against discipline in the Fergusson College under the eye of Principal R. P. Paranjpye.

The challenge about trigger-happy smartness when civilian authority supersedes the army-staff has, however, only rhetorical importance. And even if Mr. Menon could never shoulder a gun with effect, his claim to be in charge of defence cannot be lowered. The Goa campaign was virtually won without firing a shot.

It was Clemenceau who said that war is too serious a business to be left to generals. Lord Hal-

dane who organized the Territorial Army is said to have been the greatest Secretary of State for War, though personally a short-breathed individual with no record of having ever hit the bull's eye in a camp. Mr. Menon in his passion to organize India's fighting forces in all three branches is justified in office on the Haldane model of success.

Field Marshal Haig who led the British Army on the Continent acknowledged Haldane's foresight more than Kitchener's professional skill in winning victory. Was not a solicitor named David Lloyd George the first Minister of Munitions? He was a great success, though rather short in stature like Napoleon himself. The United States had a Cabinet-member in charge of manpower. And in Hitler's War, it was a newspaper-chief like Lord Beaverbrook who hastened production as Minister of Aircraft. Mr. Krishna Menon is both Minister of Manpower and Minister of Munitions with nearly Rs. 350 crores to spend at his disposal under the shelter of security.

When Lloyd George's son irreverently wrote last year on the foibles of his distinguished father, the author had a crack or two at lack of proficiency on his father becoming Britain's Prime Minister fit to lead a nation in war. It appears that as a poor Welsh lad, he had no training as a cadet.

Lloyd George, of course, was in World War I what Churchill proved to be in World War II; but Churchill had a Sandhurst background and Lloyd George the experience of a solicitor together with a capacity for romantic exploits on the sly, reminiscent of

Don Juan's apprenticeship as a soldier. Lord Byron writes thus of his hero:

*Then for accomplishments of chivalry  
In case our Lord the King  
should go to war again,  
He learn'd the arts of riding,  
fencing, gunnery,  
And how to scale a fortress  
—or a nunnery.*

Lloyd George's son and heir gives such a large number of erotic episodes that one realizes the difficulty of finding a copy of the book on the book-stalls or in the British Council's libraries, presumably on prestige-account. Near about the climax of the war, Lloyd George paid a prestige-visit to America, but in a fit of Byronic adventurism, he had managed to steal an excursion to Argentina. According to the second peer's testimony, the old boy was missing from his hotel one night. He however just managed to return before dawn after the spree minus half of his moustache, which he trimmed into a clip suitable to the climate of war.

Some of our leaders become enslaved to the notion that Indians, to safeguard their political freedom, should be adepts in the use of the rifle, the late Speaker Mavlankar toying the idea with the creation of rifle-clubs especially for Indian women, so that they should not be defenceless in the face of men intent on molesting honour. Mahatmaji did not extend patronage to rifle-range practice, because in his judgment, every woman was inviolably safe through stern resistance under divine aid of the kind invoked by Draupadi on the approach of Dussasana.

The rich and single aunt said to her nephew:

"I'm sorry you don't like your gift, but I asked you if you preferred a large check or a small one."

Replied the ungrateful nephew: "True enough, but I didn't know you were talking about neckties."

—P.J.

## BOOK REVIEW:

## TAGORE'S LIFE AND GENIUS

## TAGORE — A LIFE

By Krishna Kripalani  
Malancha, New Delhi  
Price Rs. 12.50 nP.

The protean energy of Rabindranath Tagore baffles analysis. Thinker, mystic, social reformer, India's cultural ambassador, educationist, citizen of the world, economic planner and builder, and man of letters—this pilgrim of eternity brought to this earth a rare and varied gift. But it is chiefly as a poet that he has won enduring fame. In the words of the German philosopher, Count Herman Keyserling, Rabindranath was "the most universal, the most encompassing, the most complete."

In *Tagore — A Life*—which is stated to be an abridgement of a full-length biography to be published shortly—Mr. Krishna Kripalani attempts within the space of 200 pages, an interpretation of Tagore's life in relation to his work, chiefly his literary work. There is no overcrowding of details, no attempt to force an effect, no shrillness; there is a controlled economy of phrasing, throughout the narrative, which is more expressive than mere huddling of epithets and fine writing. We see Tagore, the child, looking wistfully, like Amal of his *Post Office*, we see him going

through a hard routine of schooling within the house and outside, and, yet, finding time to fill a blue exercise book with verse. "The wonder-eyed child" opens into a poet after a tour with his father, the Maharishi, to Santiniketan and the Himalayas. The early poems like *Prakritir Khed*, *Banaphul* and *Bhanusinher Padavali* come into being through the stimulating influence of the elder brother, Dwijen-dranath Tagore. Then, the short stay in England, the dreary return, and shortly after, *Evening Songs*; and then, the first spiritual experience when "all of a sudden, a covering seemed to fall away from my eyes and I found the world bathed in a wonderful radiance, with waves of beauty and joy swelling on every side". This marks, as the author points out, the stepping into maturity of Tagore, the poet. From now, Tagore went on his own, from poem to poem, from one literary form to another, expressing something unique and personal at every step.

Because Tagore was a man of action, a philosopher and a poet, his response took different shapes. Sometimes, it was the founding of an institution like the school at Santiniketan or the fiery propaganda for and glorification of the political need of the moment as at the time of the partition of Bengal. At other times, it expressed itself as abstract speculation, shot naturally with poetry, as in *Sadhana* and *Creative Unity*. More often than not, it took shape as a magical interplay of thought and feeling and imagination in the lighted word-webs that we call poems.

The biographer of Tagore, therefore, has first to sketch the facts of his life, the stimuli. He has next to relate them to Tagore's inner life, the truth about him. He has then to harmonize these into that complex whole, a living personality. He has, besides, to interpret for us how this vital throbbing self expressed itself in thought, word and action—chiefly in word, for Tagore is primarily a poet. Tagore's life was long and varied and so to select and weave the facts of his life into a pattern is an arduous undertaking. To recognize and analyse the sum total of their influence on the evolution of a master spirit and to evaluate its expression—these can be done adequately only by the highest that the art of the biographer and literary critic can give.

Here in Mr. Kripalani's work, we get it. His narrative is a model of selection and relation; it is a true and

vivid portraiture of a great and many-faceted spirit coming to ripeness, time-warmed; it is a sympathetic study of the mystery of its expression as a novel, a play or a poem. Mr. Kripalani has the instinct of a true biographer. He has heard Tagore's detractors and wisely allows their voices to break through and reach us. Mr. Kripalani does not fail to mention how Tagore retired abruptly from the political scene when violence and terrorism broke out in the movement against the partition of Bengal. He admits frankly that Tagore was no Gandhi and adds: "He lacked the latter's infinite patience, his calm judgment and unruffled will, his genius for strategy and his unrivalled gift of leadership."

The judicious and balanced attitude of the critic blends with the sympathy of the biographer. It results in the light and shade of a portrait true to life. From the glowing pages, there emerges a human being, gifted beyond the common run of men, but nevertheless a human being, not an idol.

Mr. Kripalani's analysis of Tagore's inner life and how it flowed out as an attitude, an act or a living word is convincing. His comments on Tagore's literary works are at once a judgment and an illumination. Here, for instance, is his estimate of the novel *Gora*. "Gora is more than a mere novel; it is the epic of India in transition at the most crucially intellectual period of its modern history. No other book can claim so masterly an analysis of the complex of Indian social life with its teeming contradictions, or of the character of Indian Nationalism which draws its roots from renaissance Hinduism and stretches out its arms towards universal humanism. Nor is it any the less interesting as a novel. The characters are well drawn, not as individual freaks but as types, clearly recognizable, and their conflicts both as between themselves and within themselves as living and growing characters are delineated with great insight and sympathy. Despite the abundance of polemics in the book, inevitable in view of its theme, the author does not lose the thread of the main narrative whose interest is sustained to the end."

*Tagore — A Life* is an achievement. It is a sympathetic biography of a titan among men, a bright and inspiring delineation, a scholarly assessment. It is a fitting centenary tribute, noble, just and serene, to a world-poet. We look forward keenly, therefore, to the larger book on Tagore by Mr. Kripalani, the more spacious canvas that, we are told, will soon be given to us by this distinguished critic and biographer.

A. Srinivasa Raghavan

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## WHAT ABOUT HOME MINISTER'S ADVICE?

Sir,—It is reported that Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari recently addressed the Accountant General's Office Recreation Club at Madras on "Planned Economy", when he seems to have stressed the necessity to go ahead with nationalization at a faster pace. It is surprising that Mr. Krishnamachari was permitted to address government servants in their office and that the Accountant General presided on the occasion.

On the eve of the elections the (Central) Home Ministry 'advised' government servants not to attend any political meetings. That being so it is astonishing that a politician should have been permitted to address government servants, in their own den as it were, on a political subject. This is yet another glaring instance of the double standard adopted by the party in power.

The Plan is really the election manifesto of the Congress. It was bad enough that special propaganda was carried on for it in the colleges on the plea of 'Plan publicity', but to carry this propaganda into the portals of government offices is the limit, and it only illustrates how the party in power has lost all sense of rectitude.

What is even more alarming is that this incident should have taken place in the office of an Accountant General. One can understand any other department being helpless against a congressman invading its portals, but we thought that the Auditor-General had a certain degree of independence and that he, and his department, could resist such encroachments. That even an Accountant General had to swallow this humiliation shows the extent to which the services have been reduced to a status of servility to the party in power! Let us remember, in this context, that, today, Mr. Krishnamachari is just a Congress M.P. and is not a minister.

Bangalore

P. H. S. RAO

## AT WHOSE EXPENSE?

Sir,—The Congress High Command has, it appears, issued a directive to the leaders of the newly elected Congress Party in the legislature to see that their respective State Cabinets are 'broad-based' giving representation to all shades of opinion in the Congress. It is in consonance with this principle Gujarat and Rajasthan are to have 16 ministers each, Mysore 24, Punjab 30, and Maharashtra 31. Madras seems to be the solitary exception.

The idea behind such enlarged ministries is to reduce dissidence and counteract 'groupism'. But the taxpayer is entitled to know at whose expense this is being done and whether it does not amount to misuse by the Congress Party of its powers, albeit for strengthening its party organization?

Dharapuram

T. R.

## CONGRESS FLAG ON COPURAM

Sir,—Party politics in India has degenerated to such an extent that even the temples, which stand as monuments of our cultural heritage and religious outlook, are not exempt from being used for planting the Congress flag on their towers. At Srivilliputtur, the famous Vaishnavite pilgrim centre, the Congress Party flag was hoisted on the top of the Copuram in connection with Smt. Indira Gandhi's visit to this place!

Srivilliputtur

DEMOCRAT

## NO INVALID VOTES?

Sir,—While going through the election results of various constituencies in Andhra Pradesh, as published in the *Hindu*, I have come across about half-a-dozen instances where there were no invalid votes at all. As examples, I cite below, at least two cases which I have culled out from the *Hindu* dated 27th and 28th February.

## MADANAPALLE

Mr. D. Sitaramayya (Communist) has been declared elected.

|                            |        |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Total Electorate           | 63,691 |
| Total Votes Polled         | 33,517 |
| D. Sitaramayya (Com.)      | 17,357 |
| N. Radhakrishnaiah (Cong.) | 11,391 |
| Jayarama Reddy (Swat.)     | 4,769  |

## PAMARRU

Mr. S. B. P. Pattabhirama Rao (Congress) has been declared elected.

|                                      |        |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| Total Electorate                     | 57,188 |
| Total Votes Polled                   | 44,131 |
| S. B. P. Pattabhirama Rao (Congress) | 27,209 |
| N. Veeranna (Ind.)                   | 14,671 |
| Ch. Ranga Rao (Swat.)                | 2,251  |

It really looks odd that there is no invalid vote at all in respect of about 34,000 and 44,000 votes polled, whereas on an average the invalid votes account for about 5 per cent of the total votes polled.

Bangalore

K. P. SWAMY

## Under Two Flags

The following are excerpts from the leading article of *The Statesman* (17-3-62):

In a country where mass illiteracy obliges the Election Commission to allocate easily identifiable symbols for parties and candidates, things seen acquire an added importance. In spite of this prudent precaution, the number of invalid votes in the last election was inordinately large. There have been complaints, possibly exaggerated, that during the recent country-wide campaign some Congress candidates did not demonstrably respect the very healthy distinction between party and government, especially in the matter of tours on duty and those on campaigning. It would not be surprising if, in voting for the Congress, many simple-minded voters did not know whether they were voting for one political party among many or for the one and only Government. It is not impossible that the very close resemblance between the country's national flag and the Congress's party flag was responsible for some confusion in some minds, perhaps reflecting itself in some verdicts.

That the resemblance between the two flags was pronounced was noted by some members of the Constituent Assembly, who suggested other designs. That the similarity was deliberate, a mark of respect to the party flag which had once inspired many who were then anxious to see established a certain continuity between the struggle for independence and its attainment, was made clear by Mr. Nehru.

If there is to be a change, which should certainly be considered, which is to abandon its present flag, the country or the Congress? If, together with new ideas and new blood, the Congress gives itself a new flag, the result may be greater clarity in elector's minds. It is altogether too defeatist to think that Congressmen stand only to lose from this.

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

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VII No. 8962

MADRAS, MARCH 31, 1962

Price 15 nP

## HEARTS OR VOTES?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Those who are disturbed at my remarks about the D.M.K. and its chimerical demand being not denunciatory enough, do not understand the psychology of persuasion. They are unable, or refuse, to see the causes behind the symptoms. The D.M.K. and its demands are a symptom. Some softer and wiser policies are necessary for heart unity and national integration than the hurling of angry words like 'treason', 'traitors' and the like.

"If it is war, it will be war; but it will not be accepted," said Mr. Nehru in Parliament referring to the D.M.K.'s separatist demand. This is a projection of the Goa-action spirit. Even if these words of the Prime Minister meant nothing (as often things are said without thought in the hurry of the occasion, and before a cheering crowd), such minacious language does not help integration. Behind the separatist slogan is the want of a sense of kinship and cohesion. Military power cannot supply the cohesive force which India needs.

The notion that the four States of the South—Andhra, Karnataka, Madras and Kerala—will join together to fight for separation from the North, or the equally impossible notion that the State of Madras either alone or in combination with its neighbours, can live as an independent State separated politically from India is too chimerical to be thought of.

When I said that any ambition to be totally free, even on the part of a very small non-viable State, is not ignoble or unworthy or immoral, I also stated clearly at the same time that it is impractical and injurious to the best interests of every one concerned. Yet many persons felt and wrote that I was dangerously compromising with evil. I was reminded of a story Gandhiji told me long ago at my first meeting with him.

When Gandhiji arrived in India from S. Africa young men here had been busying themselves with crude bombs and Browning pistols to be used against Englishmen. Strong condemnation and drastic action were being directed against these activities, not only with no effect but irritating and provoking patriotic young men to greater enterprise in the same direction. Gandhiji adopted the method of appreciating the motive, the courage and the patriotism of these young men and sought to make friends, so to say, with them, with a view to converting them to a course other than violence. Gandhiji publicly adumbrated and initiated this campaign of conversion at a meeting in connection with the Banaras Hindu University. Mrs. Annie Besant and a whole lot of other leading men on the platform got

enraged and walked out in indignation at what they thought to be "Mr. Gandhi's" (as he then was) encouragement to violence.

It is not enough to hurl angry words against a large body of people who have been irritated to take up a wrong attitude. The D.M.K. certainly represents a considerable section of people in the Madras State. Smoothing the feelings of a mass of people, whoever they be and however wrong they may be, requires other techniques than mere condemnation. A verdict is not what is needed but a sympathetic approach.

Nor is the elevation of a few obedient individuals to offices and positions sufficient to allay the sense of general dissatisfaction and the irksome feeling of being consigned to second class citizenship. I have been crying hoarse for a more rational language policy for administrative purposes, and the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities have pleaded for a similar rational attitude towards the medium of collegiate instruction. But an intolerable variety of majority-rule is sought to be imposed in the matter of language. The single party regime serves by its all-India monolithic character to bolster up this erroneous plan and confuse the face of public opinion. Anger should give way to reason, love should replace prejudice, if hearts have to be won and not votes.

**NO MORE LAND REVENUE DEMANDS**

—Swatantra Party's platform

## CHINESE DRAGON SCARE

By POTHAN JOSEPH

In the post mortem study of the general elections, Congress critics of the Swatantra Party observe that sentiment had been alienated in North Bombay by Acharya Kripalani and his "troika" supporters (as Mr. Nehru called them) through "capitalizing" on Chinese aggression and denouncing the party in power for not ousting Chinese incursionists from Indian territory. The indictment is not correct, if the manifesto of the Swatantra Party, officialised at the Agra Convention (November 25, 26—1961), is consulted by political analysts in the Congress camp. What fevered up the backers of Mr. Krishna Menon from the anti-American caucus at one end to the glamour-array of marching film-stars at the other, had little to do with Chinese aggression (which India will not tolerate). The Jan Sangh, the P.S.P. and the Swatantra Party could not in combination deploy forces against invaders across Ladakh and Aksai Chin with the ease of a Goa take-over, and there was no bluff about it. The Prime Minister exercised demigod prestige over the masses.

If instead of Acharya Kripalani, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had run as candidate, he might have been defeated by a larger margin, the Prime Minister scoffing at his inability to hold a rifle, like Mr. Kripalani, in contrast with Mr. Krishna Menon apparently gifted with Napoleon's talent as an artillery-officer which stirred the whole of France when he made

his bow on the military stage. In the election-manifesto of the Swatantra Party there is but a passing paragraph of regret over Chinese aggression, not adequately met despite the fuss of ten years over *Panch Sheela* which was quoted in President Rajendra Prasad's recent address as a code of honour to be "strictly observed" in future instead of its being claimed as Peking's creed religiously practised by China, unlike certain neighbours (transparently unnamed) who had deviated from the doctrine at the cost of creating tension in the joint-leadership of Asia.

In no manner did the Swatantra Party gloat over the betrayal of Tibet or the "misbehaviours" of the Chinese in utter forgetfulness of 4,000 years of friendship vividly disclosed in the report of India's official team. In fact any such move to crow over China's aggression would have meant a childish attempt to exploit an awkward all-India situation under the notion that there would be a landslide in favour of Acharya Kripalani. In the speeches of Prime Minister Nehru, he exonerated the Defence Ministry and took over all responsibility for the Chinese pup-sale in his role as Foreign Minister, a line of reasoning not officially disputed by the two-year-old Swatantra Party against which Mr. Nehru had "lashed out" in different parts of the country during his epoch-making election-tour of nine days, millions listening to his story of C.R. having been bagged by the "rich men's party" rolling in profligate wealth, and pledged to the restoration of the Feudal Order. If a few casual references which irritated the Prime Minister were dropped from the Agra manifesto touching the ideological struggle ahead, what would remain would still be the essence of the Swatantra Cause *vis-a-vis* the Congress-brand of socialism. As a statement of policy it stands; and the post mortem experts of the

election would do well to cease pursuing enigmas to identify "outsiders" who were alleged to have taken a hand, pouring out funds in the North Bombay contest.

Excitement over the election has subsided as it happens in the thrill of Holi or Deepavali. The real emergence of the Swatantra Party must be dated back to the tide of events preceding the elections and foreshadowing economic and administrative policies adopted in monopolist leadership.

In the President's address, it is claimed that the success of the ruling party at the poll is highly "significant" and that there is mass-approval, firstly, of India's non-alignment policy, and secondly, the enforcement of Planning projects mainly by the allotment of growing funds for public sectorization. Here also Congress victors with tremendous panels of ministerial groups, read into the situation meanings strange to the mission of the Swatantra Party. If congressmen are proud of belonging to the confraternity of non-aligned countries, nobody in the Swatantra Party has in rivalry clamoured for alliance or any manner of an extra-tie-up with Timbuctoo or Shangrila. Swatantrites have expressed fear of Chinese expansionism. However, when it comes to problems of economic productivity, the framing of targets, the extent of slaughter-taxation, the incentives of farming, the quest for resources with the blare that bowls are held out *minus* strings etc., etc., those whose thinking is akin to the statement of policy issued by the Swatantra Party want to be heard. The perspective becomes "significant" in the sense hardly sought to be conveyed by the lesson of the general elections as slyly put in President Rajendra Prasad's farewell-address to Parliament under dissolution. The Prime Minister and his Congress-cohorts of ministerialists marshalled on a scale of gigantism dear to him, will find that the Declaration of the Swatantra Party was not an election-stunt totally *Swatantra* (devoid) of intelligence.

## THE RAILWAY BUDGET

By M. S. PARTHASARATHI

The Railway Budget for 1962-63 makes pretty dismal reading. This is not because the document lacks in the narration of the Railways' achievements. In fact, it abounds in self-praise. Evidently neither the Railway Minister nor his officials believe in modesty and letting facts speak for themselves. The review published along with the Railway Budget claims that the Railways established fresh records in the volume of passenger and goods traffic handled by them in 1960-61. If this can be a source of satisfaction, the Railways will have a ready-made pat on the back every year for at least the next decade—probably for two or three decades. It will indeed be surprising if the Railways do not carry increasing amounts of traffic year after year for many years. This obviously cannot be the yard-stick for judging the efficiency of the Railways. Instead, it is necessary to ask if they have been able properly and satisfactorily to carry the amount of traffic that is being offered. In regard to passenger traffic, the facts are clear. The Railway Minister himself has admitted in the past that the passengers will have to reconcile themselves to travelling in overcrowded trains for many years to come.

The review speaks of an increase of 25 per cent in passenger traffic over the Second Plan period, against the Plan provision of 15 per cent increase in passenger transport capacity. This reflects greater over-crowding in 1960-61 than in 1955-56.

It is common knowledge that the performance in moving goods has been no more praiseworthy. Nevertheless, the review contends that the metric ton kilometers carried was 3.6 per cent higher

in 1960-61 than the Plan target, though originating traffic was only 156.0 million metric tons, against the expected 164.6 million metric tons.

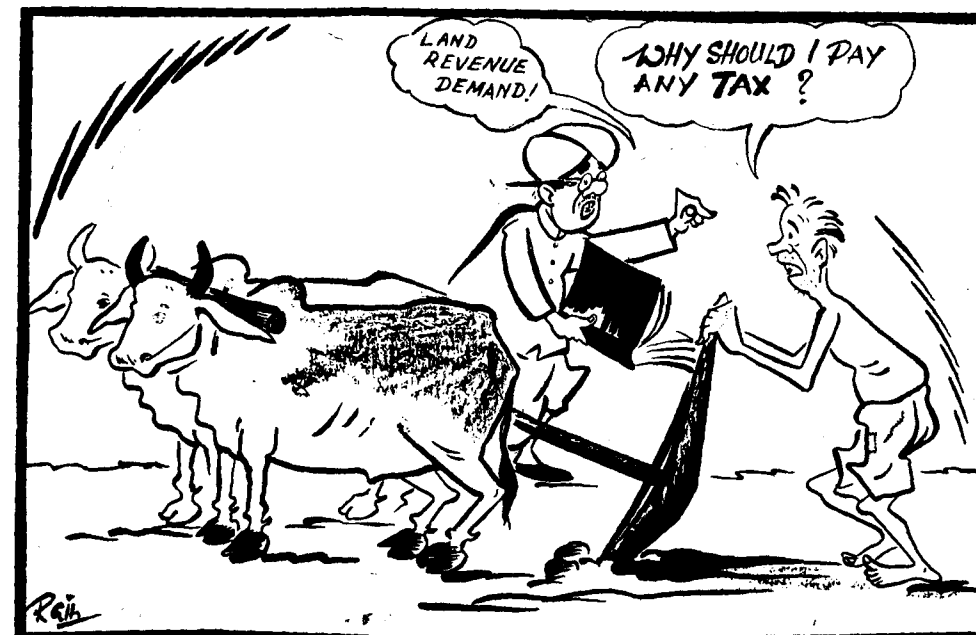
Elaborate data have been produced to show that the actual traffic pattern was different from what was expected. The principal difference is in the shortfall in the traffic caused by the steel plants. In spite of the smaller traffic to be moved in this area, the Railways were unable to perform their task efficiently, resulting in many problems at the plants. The failure in coal movement is only too well known. The Railways claim that more efficient use is being made of railway assets—engines, wagons, track, etc. Altogether a 15 per cent improvement has been effected between 1938-39 and 1960-61. No comparison is given of actual utilization with total capacity, with the pace of improvement shown by the railway system of Japan, the UK., France or any other Western nation.

The Budget contains the actual quota of complaints about financial problems. If this is an indication of any freight and fare rises to come, in the regular Budget to be presented to Parliament later,

a protest cannot be raised too strongly. Gross traffic receipts have been rising quite steadily, but total working expenses, including depreciation, have been rising faster. After deducting the dividend payable to general revenues, the net surplus will drop from Rs. 32 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 13 crores in 1961-62.

The Railways' claim to have improved their efficiency, looks ridiculous in this context, too. It is hoped that when the regular Budget is presented, the Railway Board will care to work out and publish more reliable indices of changes in the efficiency of their undertaking—such as the amount of traffic carried against demand, comparison of capacity utilization with foreign countries, and efficiency in reducing cost of operation.

After all, the final test of a business such as this is whether it has succeeded in reducing operating costs, while meeting the demand for its services. Once the Railways are able to meet all the traffic demands made on them with reasonable satisfaction, they may find meeting the competition of lorry traffic less difficult. They have no business to complain of unfair competition from road transport when they cannot carry what is now offered to them.



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## CURRENT EVENTS::

Mr. Krishna Menon's way-out formula gave a boost to India and he copiously quoted at Geneva the speeches of our Prime Minister in Parliament about peace, non-alignment, disarmament, thermo-nuclear arsenals, international tension, the need of the two Power-blocs making up in mutual confidence, and the consequent release of funds to sustain progress in underdeveloped areas ready with Plan-projects to give a face-lift to Welfare States, modelled on the "socialistic pattern" for mankind. Mr. Menon does not claim to have accomplished a break-through in the deadlock causing the arms-race, but he introduced the conception of the world-community being divided into two categories, the first being "uncommitted nations" and the other being countries and alliances linked-up in mutual security pacts for collective defence in the event of aggression. The classification is not between Nuclear Powers and non-Nuclear Powers, all being members of the UNO. The hackneyed distinction between rich nations and poorer dependents finds no place in the Menon Scheme of negotiations between super-armed Powers in the first instance and (here is the Roman hand of the Defence Minister) the issue of a mandate to treaty-bound States possessing atomic stockpiles, to report back within a week or a fortnight to the General Body subtly assuming plenary authority for collective action in the event of failure or discord.

Mr. Menon spoke extempore diligently perusing notes before him to give his plans the melodramatic effect of being dictated in detail by the Prime Minister in New Delhi, but he hastened to say at the end that his proposals of self-sterilization by Warsaw Powers and the United States (with her obligations of the NATO pledges and Latin American bonds) may be treated as

off-the-record, though in the lobby our permanent delegate at Geneva, Mr. Arthur Lall, explained the implications of Indian leadership to a crowd of press-men. Mr. Menon is back and busy after technicolouring the policy of non-alignment and neutralism (albeit dynamic) for all nations of the world. Dean Rusk did not take long to report that a total ban on nuclear tests without reciprocal commitments to abstain on communistic terms, would be unacceptable to President Kennedy. Since there is no solution or accord in the horizon, there will be plenty of time for a motion to the effect that progress-reports from time to time should be submitted to Mr. U. Thant of the World Assembly of the UNO for additional confusion in the shape of directives (un-vetoed) from New York and the opportunity of waging "Troika" battles in that sensitive forum subsisting on dollar-loans.

In his interim-budget Mr. Morarji Desai foreshadowed the approach of higher taxation when the new Parliament assembled to hear of the details of extra-defence expenditure, outlay in Planning capital, hopes of resources and the rise in civil expenditure to "march" with State-deficits and provincial subsidies to redress the large minus accounts of Ministries bent on social-welfare. None of these ventures can easily be traced in terms of increasing obligations. Projects capable of being developed on private enterprise with prudent calculations of profit and loss, are not likely to gain encouragement when the Prime Minister and the Planning Board feel the stimulus of a fresh mandate for the socialist drive and the distribution of enhanced wealth pre-figured as the certainty of the next quinquennium. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is already so impatient about it that in New Delhi the Prime Minister was

asked whether Mr. Morarji Desai, suspected to be slightly conservative, is going to be replaced by the South Indian Radical. We may in passing refer to President Kennedy's news-conference on March 14, when he was asked about possible curbs by Congress on his lavish outlay on Welfare in foreign countries. Critics have, in Capitol Hill, begun to murmur and the following sentence is worth quoting:

*The President:* Well, I know foreign aid is always open season on it, but I must say if anybody will look at a map, as I tried to say in the message, of our obligations in Europe and in NATO, the assistance which we have committed ourselves to, and the importance of the countries, countries like Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, the importance of India being able to maintain a viable economy, our commitments to Thailand, Viet-Nam, the Republic of China, South Korea, Africa itself, and now with the great commitments to Latin America and the Alliance for Progress, it seems to me that it would be extremely unwise not to give us the resources to assist these countries to maintain their independence.

The reference to "us" and the "importance of India being able to maintain a viable economy" seems exceptional in the light of the testimonials we quote from visiting VIPs. Many of them from the World Bank cannot have given up the professional habit of bankers furnishing secret reports to wealthy clients without injuring aloud even the lean credit of the posh-dressed borrower. We may have colossal exhibits of our Planning performance, but we cannot get over the fact that the actual dividend from the public sector (heavy industries) does not exceed .05 decimal zero five per cent of the estimates. It is an unpleasant reminder even when the Aid-India-Club offers to maintain solvency for as long as 50 years, despite fits of international tantrums during which India scorns the obvious purport of the very simple expression "Free World." P.J.

## OUR WINNING RULERS

By BHIKKU

There is something tawdry as well as frightening in the column after column in the newspapers, and in the endless Radio talks, detailing the flights to and fro of the various panjandrums for consultations, the secret ballotings, scarcely veiled animosities in the election of the chief and lesser ministrships, the division and sub-division of portfolios to accommodate the numerous entities who have to be provided for and in the sapient pronouncements of the chosen in their inaugural press interviews. The smug and conspiratorial atmosphere which pervades the air mystifies and alarms the common man, as though he was Ali Baba viewing from his tree-perch the goings on of the forty bearing their spoils to the cave.

One of the things that presage a good or bad government is whether the quantity of work determines the number of ministers or the number of ministers make up a quantity in terms of Parkinsonian laws. What comes out of the multitude of portfolios, and the feather-bedding of needy claimants for them, will be more rehashing of administrative set-ups and policies already hashed many times. Not many years ago local self-government in certain spheres was in vogue with district, taluk and union boards with a graded degree of powers. Then taluk boards were eliminated as redundant, and only district boards and unions with their name changed to panchayats, in a ghostly spirit of revival of pristine village bodies, were left. District boards are now squashed and we are altogether (and exclusively) for panchayats and a medley of Community Development Projects and Extension Schemes with different officials, sub-officers and assistant sub-officials—all making a bewildering show of enormous activity!

The lack of a cohesive public spirit rising above personal and

party partialities that made a failure of the old time self-governing institutions cannot be instilled and stabilized merely by scaffoldings of diverse kinds through administrative medleys. But the ministers and deputy ministers have to have grist for their mills to justify their being, and justify also the further load of burdens on the ass's back. The changes conceived bloodlessly in ministerial chambers through ministerial inspirations caught from the ether may bear slanted results that cut the core of life in a large body of people and yet may raise no out-cries or wails, for the dispersed misery that is man-made is hard to distinguish from that from the heavens to which long acclimatization has inured the people, especially when the former is clouded by loud and misty language.

The Prime Minister, in his speech in the Congress Subjects Committee meeting in January last, said that "every revolutionary step was bound to harm the interests of some people. But this could not be put forward as an argument against a revolutionary step that benefited a large majority of people". It may be that he was thinking of the zamindars and wealthy classes when he referred to people that were harmed but it is equally possible that, in his revolutionary fervour of sweeping aside all obstacles to his objectives, he included the mass of middle classes and fixed income groups also, who can by no means be designated as "some". In fact they form a very large moiety of the toilers in the nation whose suffering (although voiceless as of cattle at the slaughter) is none the less great and true. No doubt Hitler's philosophy of Aryan effulgence involved the liquidation of the Jews as an incidental and negligible casualty, even if the rest of the world considered it an insane debauch of power and fanaticism.

It is an unfortunate fact of history that men are never so heartless as when they look upon themselves as prophets of a new mission. The Ku-Klux-Klan and the "Holy" Inquisition are notorious examples. That the Congress has once again come to the top shoulder-high above the rest is by no means a vindication of its purposes or tenets. The origenic economy that obtains now is not even that simple, that it robs the rich few Peters to pay the innumerable poor Pauls. Its distorted prodigality covers the rich who worm or wheedle their way to more, and its handouts to the poor and the vociferous advertise a foretaste of plenty that is for ever receding in the concurrent subsidence of the value of money.

Thus both the haves and have-nots, in their united acclamation of the rulers, drown the groans of the in-betweens. What chance is there for arguing with an avalanche?

Little John valiantly put himself in honour to obey whatever be the decision of the coin that he tossed up. If it was head, he would go to the football match; if tail, he would go to the picture; but if it stood on edge he would sit and grind away at his homework. That in an election so heavily weighted against others than the ruling party, there should have been successes to this significant extent is a miracle of the tossed coin standing on edge and a symposium on the merits of the Swatantra Party and its progenitor.

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## NATIONAL INCOME — A RIDDLE

By K. N. SRIVATSAN

Our rulers are "planning" for raising our national income and for distributing it equitably. Figures are flung at our face to show that national income is on the increase. It is necessary to understand the great limitations of statistics if only to escape delusions. When the Central Statistical Organization mentions a figure for national income for a certain year, it would be useful to ask: Did the C.S.O. note the incomes of all persons and add them? Obviously not. How then did the C.S.O. arrive at the figure?

National income is a measure of the goods and services produced by a national economy. Our economy may be divided into three broad sectors (i) agriculture, (ii) the organized sector, and (iii) the unorganized sector. Estimates of agricultural produce obtained from annual sample surveys form the reasonable, if not the factual, basis for computing the contribution by agriculture to the national income, the produce being valued at market prices. So far as the organized sector is concerned, its very nature ensures detailed book-keeping on the part of the constituent units of this sector. The account books in this sector, if scrutinized and analysed properly, would yield reasonably valid data for the contribution to national income from this sector. Thus it would be seen that agriculture and the organized sector have, at least, figures (if not facts) of produce and services, estimated by limited annual surveys, however inadequate the data may be for pinning our faith upon.

The third sector, i.e., the unorganized sector has all along been the Achilles' heel for the national income experts, because nobody knows how much of goods and services are produced in this sector or how to evaluate them. Let us, for instance, take the evaluation of services of barbers in the country during the year, say, 1960-61. The aggregate of the takings of all barbers during that year would really give the value of their services. For this purpose, we would need two facts. One fact would obviously be the total number of barbers during 1960-61, and the second their average annual earning per head. The C.S.O. does not keep track of all the barbers, nor do the latter intimate their earnings to the C.S.O. The method adopted by the C.S.O. is disarmingly simple. This is how its mind works: Estimate somehow the total numbers of barbers by juggling with census returns of 1941

and 1951 in those years, and calculate their geometric growth-rate during 1941-51. Assume that the number of barbers would increase in future, too, according to that geometric law. Again assume, arbitrarily, some figure for their average earning. This would lead you to compute the total earnings of all barbers in 1960-61. That this line of thinking is highly arbitrary would be clear if we realize that barbers need not adhere to the law of geometric growth assumed by the C.S.O., nor can the C.S.O. give even a semblance of basis for assuming its figure for the average earning of a barber. The C.S.O. adopts similar arbitrary line in respect of the entire unorganized sector.

In short, official figures of national income originating from the unorganized sector are just wild guesses euphemistically called "estimates" which should better be termed "guesstimates"! Thus, it should be clear that whatever increase in national income is claimed for the unorganized sector, is purely statistical and has no relation to reality. One fleeting look at the following table compiled from official figures would throw up interesting results:

| Sectors                                                 | National income (in billion Rs. in current prices) |         |          |
|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|---------|----------|
|                                                         | 1960-61                                            | 1950-51 | Increase |
| 1. Agriculture                                          | 68.6                                               | 48.9    | 19.7     |
| 2. Organized Sector                                     |                                                    |         |          |
| (i) Railways, Communication and Govt. administration.   | 13.2                                               | 6.5     | 6.7      |
| (ii) Mining, factories, organized banking and insurance | 16.5                                               | 6.9     | 9.6      |
| 3. Un-organized sector                                  | 44.1                                               | 33.2    | 10.9     |
| Total net domestic product                              | 142.4                                              | 95.5    | 46.9     |

[Source: The C.S.O. white paper on national income dated March 9, 1962.]

Out of Rs. 46.9 billion shown as the total increase in national income for the year 1960-61 as compared with the year 1950-51, as much as Rs. 10.9 billion claimed for the unorganized sector is, as explained earlier, purely statistical and not real. The portions of the increase attributed to other sectors, particularly agriculture, are in large parts in the nature of statistical increase, as otherwise we would not be witnessing heavy annual arrivals of food-grains from the US.

A few more points are worth noting. As we are not exporting food-grains (the greater part of our agricultural produce) and as even the rich cannot

eat unlimited amount of food, it can safely be inferred that the increase of agricultural produce, valued at Rs. 19.7 billion, could not be eaten away by the rich. Secondly, the increase in the services of Railways, communications and government administration, which are valued at Rs. 6.7 billion should not have gone in favour of the rich under our socialistic government. Thirdly, the other-organized-sector, mostly private, is under the twin-grip of Permit-Licence Raj and aggressive trade-unionism, and thus the rich industrialists and intermediaries could not just corner the rise of Rs. 9.6 billion due from this sector in any illegal way, unnoticed (and not connived at) by the government. Lastly, the claimed rise in income attributed to the unorganized sector is, as shown earlier, pure fiction. Hence it was rather silly, in view of the large-scale guess-work involved in the computation of national income, that the Prime Minister expressed surprise in Parliament a year or so ago as to what had happened to the increased national income which he imagined the rich had stolen. The Planning Commission dutifully endorsed the surprise of its Chairman and appointed a committee consisting of Professor P. C. Mahalanobis and a few others to search, as it were,

the dark room for a black cat which, of course, was not there!

Reliable statistics of national income are the luxury of the highly industrialized economies which admit of large-scale book-keeping. The governments of the under-developed countries with a large unorganized sector (including agriculture) should wisely be content with seeing to it that the monies they spend on projects result in commensurate tangible objects such as increases in irrigated area, steel, transport equipment, fertilizers, schools, hospitals, roads etc., instead of clinging to half-baked figures of national income based mainly on guess-work for the purposes of judging the prosperity of the country.

## THE 'WHY' OF THE DEBASED RUPEE

Dr. B. R. Shenoy writes in the course of an illuminating article for the Indian News and Feature Alliance:

Agriculture, from which 70 per cent of the population draws its living and which yields 50 per cent of the national income, has remained less than stagnant. Since the intensification of planning in 1955-56, the rate of increase in agricultural production has lagged behind population growth, so that per capita agricultural income has fallen. Officially conducted Agricultural Labour Enquiries have revealed that the economic condition of agricultural workers, numbering about 72 million, has not improved since planning began. Between 1950-51, the pre-Plan year, and 1956-57, the first year of the Second Plan, wages—both money wages and real wages—and employment in agriculture declined and the indebtedness of agricultural workers increased.

The widely held view that industrial workers, who number about 3.4 million, have bettered their economic situation is not borne out by statistics.

The index of money wages during the nine years ending 1958 in 20 major industries was about the same as the rise in the cost of living, both being 118 (1949-100); for part of this period, however, wages had risen faster than the cost of living. Under inflation, the usual experience is that wage increases soon get more than wiped out by rising costs of living, so that real wages lag behind prices, though money wages may rise.

This applies also to the salaried classes. As a result of the debasement of the rupee, a family with a monthly income of Rs. 300 today is about as well off as a family with a monthly income of Rs. 63 before the war. A family with a monthly income of Rs. 300 before the war (that of, say, a head clerk) was about as affluent as a family with a monthly income of Rs. 1,440 today (that of, say, a Deputy Secretary to the Government of India).

With the intensification of planning in 1955-56, the value of money incomes has been falling at an annual rate of about 6.5 per cent, the fall in five years aggregating 39 per cent. The major beneficiaries of planning have been a thin top layer of the community—traders, businessmen, industrialists, the larger farmers, speculators, the corrupt among the politicians and administrators and their accomplices.

The level of water in the river will

sionary issue of money—inflation—has taken place, prices will rise. To attempt to hold the price line under inflation is sterile effort. The provision of certain necessities of life to favoured groups of people at low prices are but additional perquisites. They are a species of hush-

money. They are not an inflation cure even to the recipients of the perquisites, so long as prices in general keep moving up.

The malady is the reflex of the unmerited and perverse shifts of income from the pockets of wage-earners and other fixed-income groups, the largest bulk of the community, into the hands of a parasitical minority. This shift has

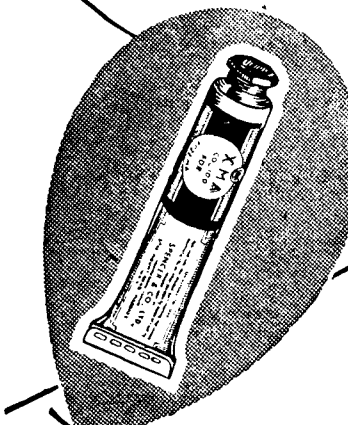
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resulted from inflation, or is effected through the instruments of Statist planning—import licences, public sector contracts, and miscellaneous controls, permits, quotas and concessions. Possession of these documents brings large incomes.

Wages constitute the largest part of the national income in all countries. If national income grew, wages must

grow. The crux of the matter is that the economic policies of the past decade have produced but sectoral prosperity at the expense of agriculture, the middle classes and the masses of the people.

This state of affairs cannot be corrected by first-aid measures to the victims of these policies. The corrective lies in removing the causes which

produce the victims. This demands putting a stop to the Himalayan income transfers, which, in the Indian context, are inhuman. The income transfers cannot be stopped without a cessation of the parasitical regime of licences, permits and other controls. This reform must be accompanied by an arrangement which will ensure that first things receive first attention.

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Dear Reader —

In the course of an article on West Germany a writer in the *New Leader* says:

"For too long a time, the CDU—its party machinery as well as its Parliamentary group—has been content to serve as a docile instrument of Chancellor Adenauer, a kind of prolonged arm of the Government. Weaned away from responsibility and self-reliance, faction-ridden and nearly paralyzed by its present leader's stern paternalism, it has paid for a decade of stability with an utter loss of vitality. Some observers pointed out this danger long ago. Now that it has to make up its mind about whom it wants to put in control after Adenauer, its power of decision, lacking superior guidance, has dwindled to a dangerously low point."

If we substitute "Congress" for CDU, this passage reads like a realistic comment on the state of the Congress Party in India. Representatives of our people voted for a republic in 1950 but in 1962 we live under a dictatorship clothed in the dress of parliamentary government. And most of us seem to take for granted that there is nothing especially bad about this!

Not a single morning brings the daily paper but it has prominent headlines about the drop in our foreign balances. We buy more than we sell. The dream of our Plans is that one day our international account will change from minus to plus and the plus's will so add up as to liquidate the many thousands of million rupees the Government has complacently borrowed and continues to borrow from cold war Powers. I repeat once again—though I have said it already many times—this is waiting for an arithmetical miracle which cannot happen.

How much better it would be if, instead of heaping up debts for a national admission of bankruptcy,

we let the cold war countries encourage their businessmen to enter into various forms of partnership with our businessmen and invest on their own responsibility! Not only would the prospect of bankruptcy be avoided, but there would be better management of money borrowed by the nation. Every one now knows how borrowed money goes in large part down the drain of the proliferated bureaucracy and uninterested administration.

Congress socialism believes in what rash youth in Western countries once believed (and have now rejected) that government controls are the answer for the problems of society, that government management is cheaper than personal operation, that interest is usury, that profit is robbery, and that rent is tyranny. Prosperity will not be handed to us on a gold platter. It came in free economy countries—in Germany, in Japan, in America and in England—because of the powerful incentives of competition and the assurance that what you earn is yours. It came through hard work and not through irresponsibility and dependence on government. Coercive redistribution of wealth leads to destruction of initiative and extinction of incentive for hard work.

When a businessman gets his permit or quota which enables him to get rich quick, he becomes an advocate of the permit system and argues that without controls there would be chaos, that is, there would be competition which would make the business of making money rather slow. This is what he calls chaos. Again, when a businessman has mismanaged his affairs or speculated beyond his depth, and has to cheat his creditors, he becomes an ardent socialist and Nehru-ite, and if possible a minister. He condemns 'wasteful competition' and wants a 'stable' government. If he

has to sell his business out and rid himself of an entanglement, he pleads for nationalization.

Suggesting paranthetically that the spoils of power are too alluring for any breakaway from the Congress Party in India, the London *Economist* predicts that in reaction against the slight popular swing to the right, there will be a government swing to the left in home affairs, and that foreign policy would continue just as it is. Mr. Krishna Menon having won 'hands down' in North Bombay, the *Economist* believes that Congress losses in some States will only "push him (Mr. Menon) into switching the party and the country a little faster to the left". It would mean no change, it adds, in the Congress ideology; it merely means that the Congress will put its ideology into practice. "The main uninspiring lesson of the election," it says, "is that India still has not found an Opposition." This is true, although it cannot at the same time be ignored that, as an experienced statesman put it to me, for the first time 'notice' has been given to the ruling party that there is a real Opposition. The nine million votes secured by Swatantra are not mere paper and cannot remain idle.

The correctness of the United Nations' policy of using military force to coerce recalcitrant Katanga is being much questioned in America. The "radical right" as well as many "ordinary" senators have been increasingly critical of the United States' support for the United Nations' armed action in the Congo to prevent the secession of Katanga from the Central Government. American memory of its own Civil War to prevent the secession of States is a great factor in the shaping of the United States' policy. But the Congo has problems of language and of tribes which did not exist in the US. Katanga furnishes half the revenue of the entire Congo, a situation which also did not exist in the US. A very loose form of federation is perhaps the only solution for the

March 31, 1962



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Congo tangle that has issued from its having been "prematurely launched upon the rough seas of autonomy".

Anti-communism dictates support to the Katanga secessionists. But pro-Katanga gives a handle to the communists and the so-called "uncommitted" world to raise the cry "imperialism!" To avoid the taint of imperialism as well as to keep the cold war out of the Congo is the difficult dilemma for the American nation on whom has been thrust the hegemonic responsibility of guiding the non-communist world.

★

"India's influence had in the past been strongly felt in the UN and in the peaceful settlement of disputes. But after the Goa action, India's voice at the United Nations is inevitably muted." This is what Mr. Dean Rusk thinks and has told the *Statesman* correspondent in a recent interview. Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the very important Foreign Relations Committee of the United States, has expressed (in an article in *Foreign Affairs*) the opinion that the idea of building a world order through reorganizing the United Nations is 'utterly fatuous' and is an 'exercise in futility'. These are his strong phrases. The Afro-Asian bloc as it is wrongly called—wrongly, because there is no such united aim and understanding as could justify the use of the term 'bloc'—is soon expected to number 52 out of 105 and more than 60 in the course of a little further time. The U.S. has no interest in an organization in which such a shift in voting strength has happened or will soon happen. India's loss of voice in the U.N., therefore, may perhaps not matter!

★

There is an illusion regarding annexation of territory, be it of foreign territory or, as a result of boundary re-organization, of a portion of the neighbouring State within the Indian Union. The illusion is that it is an acquisition of valuable land and, therefore, an addition to wealth. All the

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SWARAJYA

11

lands within the annexed area continue to belong to those who had owned them, and so also all the rest of wealth. The thing taken over is not property but responsibility for the welfare of the people in that area. Exultation over such taking over is therefore a vanity, something not only evanescent but altogether unreasonable. Goa has come into the possession of the Indian Union, but letters in the newspapers indicate that neither the Kannadigas nor the Maharashtrians are sure as between them whose 'gain' it should be; and so they welcome its hanging on to Delhi as an imperial pendant. Delhi itself decides to museum it as the habitat of special Portuguese culture and keep it apart and whole.

★

A question put in the Kerala Assembly recently brought to light the fact that text-books valued at very nearly one million rupees had been lying unsold with the Government, and were auctioned and sold as waste-paper. The accumulation, it was explained, was due to excess printing without any relation to requirements! Thus does nationalization show against private management, competition and the market economy. Who bears all the losses? Taxes must cover all the mismanagement.

★

Mr. Nehru told press interviewers that he had learnt that communists, Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party had combined together against the Congress. "Well, then," one may ask, "Have you reflected for a moment why this 'extraordinary joining together of contraries' took place?" Was it just in wicked sport? Or was it that there was something wrong in the Statism of the Congress to which all sorts of people saw reasons to object? When a government goes bad, every one dislikes it; but those who are running that government see only an extraordinary and wicked 'combination of contraries' opposing the just and inevitable.

Mr. Nehru has neither time nor patience to read the Swatantra Party's manifesto. "Right-wing parties were the greatest threat to progress." Why then should he read their trash? He does not see that the obvious meaning of this attitude is a disinclination to face or allow any opposition—which is a negation of parliamentary democracy. Socialism of the Congress brand which is an ally of Big Business, and which makes the selected few richer and yet richer, is bad enough; but this distaste for parliamentary opposition itself is worse than socialism. There are some people who, though seeing all this, have reconciled themselves to one-party rule hoping for internal within-party debate, and believing that wisdom and good government may issue therefrom. This is a forlorn hope, for we know how the Prime Minister dominates the party and has sapped its vitality.

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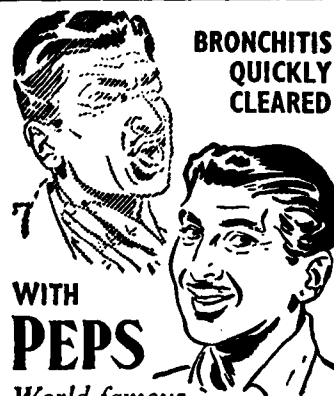
Blackmailers know how to take parts of photographs and put them together to create a false scene therewith to terrorise their intended victims. Film producers know how to use the camera so as to produce illusory fortresses and romantic scenery out of mere paste-board. Quoting of passages torn out of their context can similarly be used to further the spread of falsehood, conveying the exact opposite of the original meaning. Here is what Gandhiji wrote on a certain occasion long ago. Out of this passage, the italicized words were taken out of the context and reprinted and broadcast to further the Congress cause in Madras city during the recent elections:

"Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I are estranged. It will require much more than difference of opinions to estrange us. We have had the differences from the moment we became co-workers, and I have said for some years and say now that *not Rajaji but Jawaharlal will be my successor*. He says he does not understand my language and

he speaks a language foreign to me. That may or may not be true. But language is no bar to union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone, he will speak my language."

The italicized words alone were quoted to ask people not to vote for the Swatantra Party candidates in the belief that these words were written by Gandhi to show his want of agreement with me and his complete agreement with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru! Thousands of copies of this sentence torn out of its context and translated into Tamil were printed and distributed. Lies are dangerous but half-truths and taking words out from their context, making things appear something different altogether, are even more dangerous.

C.R



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## DO NOT BUILD SHELTERS BUT WORK FOR DISARMAMENT

In a special issue of the *Progressive* (53 year-old monthly of America) Mr. Sidney Lens tears to pieces the data, the logic and the utility of the civil defence measures being taken in America, and considers these measures to be dangerous, leading to a false sense of security. Summing up the situation, he says that the only way out of this world threat is total disarmament.

"There is risk, of course, in every alternative. There is risk in the arms race and its theory of deterrence—risk of accidental war, risk, as President Kennedy has pointed out, of ceaseless escalation. There is risk also in disarmament. Mere disarmament in itself will certainly not resolve the world's political frictions. There may even be some cheating and 'brush-fire' wars.

"Yet, which risk is preferable, the one which virtually assures annihilation, or the one which offers time to work out world difficulties? The arms race only makes more difficult the task of negotiating every problem, whether it be Formosa, Vietnam, the Congo, Berlin, or Cuba—for each source of tension intensifies the arms race itself. But disarmament would at the very least gradually evolve a climate of hope, to replace our own suffocating atmosphere of near-certain doom.

"Certainly there would be conflict—man cannot exist without conflict. Certainly there would be dispute, argument, harassment. Yet in a disarmed world the risk to life itself would not be nearly so great. The climate of reduced tension

would make it possible for man to concentrate on the peaceful pursuits of conquering hunger, poverty and ignorance. The tense climate today makes the achievement of these goals difficult, for the world's energies are channelled into the primary emphasis on a 'defence' that cannot defend."

In answer to the likely argument that total disarmament is as difficult (if not impossible) as shelters against nuclear attacks, the article puts the case thus:

## "LIFE" ON SWATANTRA

The following are excerpts from the editorial in *Life* magazine (March 18, 1962) of America:

If progress of Latin America is of concern to the U.S., so is that of the biggest democracy in Asia. India has just held the biggest free election in history (some 125 million voters) and its results are worth notice.

Nehru's Congress Party easily retained its near-monopoly of effective power, winning nearly three-fourths of the seats in Parliament. Yet it polled only 45 per cent of the popular vote. A strong opposition to the Congress, badly needed to make Indian democracy more vigorous, is growing but is still fragmented into a score of local and fringe parties. This helps the communists, who polled a tenth of the votes, consolidating their position as the No. 2 party. But a new hopeful party, the Swatantra (Freedom), is now third (about 8 per cent).

During the electioneering, it was the Swatantra Party that irritated Nehru the most. This is because the Swatantra leaders, notably incisive old C. Rajagopalachari, attacked his government's most vulnerable spot. As usual with monopolies, this spot is inefficiency, bureaucracy and corruption. C.R. used the epithet "permit-licence raj" to explain the sluggish pace of India's over-centralized growth, and "harem

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

"We are so wedded to the patterns of the past that we have not truly tried—hard enough—to achieve complete, universal disarmament by negotiated agreement. We are quick to give our treasure, our energies, and our brains, and, if need be, our lives, to the development of new monsters of war and new gadgets of defence, but we are slow and stingy in exploring new frontiers of peace-making."

business" to expose the crony system of industrialists and bureaucrats that Nehru fondly thinks of as "socialism." When Congress independents expressed their own opposition to these evils, Nehru lashed out at them: "Go, join the Swatantra!"

That's not bad advice for those moderates and free-enterprisers whom Nehru, encouraged by Menon, may now try to purge from his party's ranks. From an American point of view, a strong Swatantra opposition looks like the best hope for India. Its platform is anti-Statism, pro-Bill of Rights, strongly in favour of small business and independent farmers and free labour unions, pro-private capital, both domestic and foreign, and against shilly-shallying with Red aggression. Above all, in this campaign it stood for a clean and efficient government that puts first things first, which in India's case means roads and education, instead of industrial "gigantism," inflation and over-planning.

India has made progress under Nehru and the people are not likely to depose their George Washington while he lives. But the Swatantra programme could really get that huge country moving, and in a direction favourable to free institutions. The free world can wish this little party a big future.

## SWATANTRA'S FUTURE IN ANDHRA PRADESH

The following letter has been received from some prominent citizens of Hyderabad:

The emergence of the Swatantra star on the political firmament augurs well for the people and the body politic of India. At a time when those who believe in righteous action have felt frustrated, Rajaji's clarion call has heartened us. Save the realistic and the few honest leaders, the rest have been hesitant because the Swatantra Party has no plums (of office) to offer. Besides, association with the party calls for hard work and even self-denial. To those who had felt that the situation was hopeless, it has verily proved a beacon-light 'in the encircling gloom'.

The recent elections have amply demonstrated the potentialities of the Swatantra Party and its emotional appeal to the people. While this is a correct appraisal, the following, among other factors, have contributed to the relatively poor success of the party in the States of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Bombay:

- (1) Inherent conservatism of the people and their reluctance to discard the old and adopt the new.
- (2) Casteism and parochialism.
- (3) Ineffective organizational set-up.
- (4) Lack of competent and energetic field-workers.
- (5) Want of sufficient preparation in the election campaign.
- (6) Inadequate dissemination of the ideals and objectives of the party, especially in the rural areas.
- (7) Insufficiency of funds.

The causes detailed are by no means comprehensive; we think these account for the poor showing of the party in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, and Telengana in general.

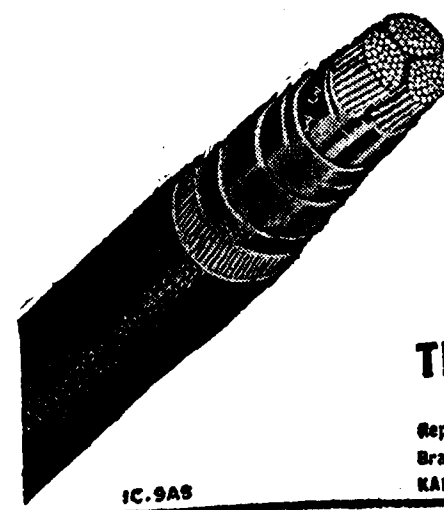
Transformation in political thinking, in a vast country like ours, is necessarily a slow and arduous process. The Swatantra Party's adherence to democratic principles and peace-loving tradition makes the task of the party even more

difficult. Also it has to combat the two-pronged offensive of congressmen and the communists—strange bed-fellows. Complacency, in the circumstances, would spell ruin. With a master mariner like Rajaji at its helm, this tiny vessel of Swatantra will be steered safe through the turbulent waters of Indian politics.

The present climate is propitious for the spread of the creed of Swatantra; the tempo has not only to be maintained but quickened, particularly in the backward region of Telengana and the twin cities of Secunderabad and Hyderabad, which have remained largely apathetic in the recent elections.

Arm-chair politicians and merchants turned temporarily politicians can hardly grapple with the brass-tacks of politics. The mercantile interests in Secunderabad were expecting a nominee of their choice to be set up by the Congress, and in this they were not disappointed. Thereafter, they did precious little to support, campaign, or work for even the candidates set up. Party machinery in the hands of those who sit on the fence, so to speak, is not calculated to strengthen any party.

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castes and creeds, will readily work for the party at his call. The Muslims, too, are fed up with their party, the Ittehad-ul-Muslims. We are inclined to believe that if a proper approach is made, they will abandon the fruitless communal politics and work for Swatantra. Our friends who have rendered

great services in the cause of the country since 1942, and who have largely been instrumental in the overthrow of the Razakar regime, may also be agreeable to working under Rajaji's leadership, since the prevailing corrupt and malignant atmosphere has deeply distressed them.



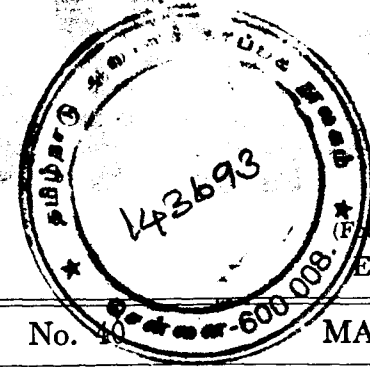
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## DON'T BE BAMBOOZLED

1962

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

One of the main causes for the erosion of State sovereignty and increased centralization of authority and power in New Delhi is the single-party domination all over India. The monolithism of government is supported by the monolithic character of the ruling party. The dogmas and slants of the so-called Congress High Command override the rights and feelings of the people of the States. The Congress bosses in charge of affairs in the States meekly submit to the decisions of the party at the top and explain, equivocate, procrastinate and bamboozle the people in their respective States. The slogan of 'unity' is used to cover up every defeat at the hands of a majority in the party. Careerist ambition serves to blunt any feelings of pride or inclination to revolt. The history of the language issue and the evolution of State finances furnish ample proof of this withering away of the principle of federation and the installation of monolithism in its place. State budgets have become a pretence. State governments now live on grants and for the rest act as bill collectors on behalf of the Planning Commission. Unity degenerates into imperialism, if through a monolithic party all power passes to a majority operating at the Centre.

The Swatantra Party should not be misled by the charge of negativism which is used to hypnotize the intelligentsia and to create an illusion of guilt. There is no crime or lapse involved in being nega-

tive, and strongly negative, against error and crime. The passion for freedom is always negative in the sense that it is a call of the human spirit to fulfil itself by resisting and revolting against external restraint. The movement for Swaraj of 1920 was also negative in this sense. The Swatantra movement of 1959 is just as negative and as necessary as the Swaraj movement of 1920 had been. We revolt now against the suppressions which form the policy of the Congress Party. The Swatantra Party is a party organized for freedom from the swadeshi imperialism that invades the farm, family and shop. The Swatantra Party should relentlessly work for the achievement of its goal, whatever name the ruling party may in its own self-defence give it.

### POTENTIAL DANGER

"Where a great deal of power is concentrated in the name of welfare of the people, and an army is maintained for its protection, democracy digs its own grave by its own hands ..... Whether in India or in any other country, if the people are taught to depend on Government for everything, then whatever the nature of the Government, the situation is potentially dangerous."

—ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

A party that symbolizes suppression is on the Delhi throne and it must be dethroned. The Swatantra Party and all its units and members should engage themselves in the sacred negative task of pulling down the Permit-Licence-Raj from the throne and placing the Goddess of Freedom on the seat of authority. Honesty is negative because lying is positive. Integrity is negative because corruption is a positive evil. Free economy is negative because the present Permit-Licence-Raj is an intolerable positive evil. Let us unite and serve this great movement of freeing the nation from the leviathan-grip that every day relentlessly tightens its hold. Swatantra may be called by any mathematical name, but it is a sacred cause and we should not be frightened by words and bamboozled into inaction.

The electorate at all levels should be made to realize that government by a political party without a strong enough Opposition, strong enough to threaten its overthrow, cannot function very long as a good government. They should be made to understand that apart from all questions of alternative policies and ideologies, unless such an Opposition party is placed in position, the people cannot have just administration with due respect for the rights of the people and not looking only to the advantage of the vested interests of the party in office. The electorate should be educated on the mechanism of parliamentary gov-

ernment and helped to see that it is not merely a question of whom one prefers between two sides but how far one can be trusted to carry on without having the other to watch and check, and to expose neglect and misdoings. The electorate should be educated about what they should do with their votes in order to put such a balance of power in effective operation. If all this education is duly undertaken and the

fallacy of the 'negative' dispelled, the Swatantra Party will have fulfilled a national duty. Success or failure does not matter.

We should long for a free economy as passionately as prisoners long for liberty. With the passion that prisoners hunger for liberty, we should hunger for national life free from the incubus of this permit-licence-favouritism sitting over our chests and choking the people's dynamism.

## SCOURGE OF SEMANTICS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Mr. Krishna Menon's first move on the Geneva chess-board was startlingly original. He drew a distinction between committed nations and uncommitted nations, dividing the sheep from the goats, and then entrusting the uncommitted nations with the task of watch-crew recording the occurrence of atomic blasts from electronic towers erected under international authority, and then reporting from time to time on the progress of explosions, a proposition which evoked President Kennedy's instant answer that nothing short of on-the-site inspection would serve as verification. If New Delhi thinks that an advance in negotiations and also in the prestige-battle could be accomplished by the elevation of "uncommitted" nations, then we have, in response to the American attitude, to take a fresh look at the proposition. The trick of semantics (the science and art of conveying different meanings through the same words) comes into play together with the traditional sense of moral superiority associated with detachment in contrast with the traits of involvement. In the ecclesiastical administrations of all religions, the ascetic is conceded a higher grade of sincerity and saintliness. In the Christian Church, for instance, there has always been a core of controversy as between the merits of celibate priesthood and the married clergy, the presumption of greater approach to holiness being ascribed to the former class

of devotees, although in point of fact the record of lay-workers might, in venues of competitive service, demonstrate greater attention to congregational welfare.

When we say that an uncommitted nation should step high into the umpire's chair, there is the suggestion of impartial verdicts which underlies the struggle of belligerents contesting for the prize. Neither of the two great Power blocs would accept the dichotomy behind the logic of Pharisaical claims on behalf of the uncommitted.

From the dawn of time the very word "commit" signified moral reproach. The seventh commandment of Moses ("Thou shalt not commit adultery") put the term in opprobrium. Similar is the implication when the magistrate on palpable evidence commits the accused for regular sessions trial. The intention to give non-commitment or non-alignment or neutralism a halo, could be read into the first move on the chess-board, but observe on the other hand the same word is amenable to a contrary import. I quote President Kennedy's special message to Congress for foreign aid funds. Keep a careful eye on the use of the word "commit" in the President's thrice-distilled text in the message. A passage from the cabled report reads:

Mr. Kennedy said that, thanks to the new powers granted to him last year by Congress, the United States has entered into a new type

of long-term commitment with Pakistan and Tanganyika "after the most painstaking review of their proposed development plans", and added that others would follow.

The President also mentioned programmes developed with Nigeria and India.

The language is restrained, but the President has committed the United States to a course of meritorious and soulful action. He cannot, on that account, claim a place among the uncommitted nations which India had in mind during the preliminary exposition at Geneva.

In many of the statements of policy where equivocations show up or where wisdom is clouded, the prevaricating use of phrases comes as "a present help in time of trouble" to diplomats. If India takes pride in being an uncommitted nation buoyed up with dollar-aid in stormy waters, President Kennedy cannot say that he is uncommitted, since he openly confesses to responsibility over obligations openly shouldered, without casuistry.

At this rate of logic, even 'Revolutionary Councils' ousting civil government as in Burma could pat themselves on their back that they are in non-alignment and, therefore, eligible for a higher seat in the Disarmament Inspectorate. To balance parity of strength, the President wants tests, and he deems it his duty to overtake the violator of the previous moratorium.

Play on phrases with semantic agility might as well move debates to a further shift in meaning. The People's Republic of China is not only out of commitment, but besides being thus uncommitted, she has also the superior qualification of being the largest non-admitted nation at the door of the World Assembly. Is it not open, therefore, to the Peking Government to assert pre-eminence as sole judge, when she has the largest population in a world under the rule of adult-voting? Nimble suavity in the use of words cannot save statesmen out of the welter of semantics.

## IS THE PRIME MINISTER LEARNING?

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It is a matter for congratulation that the Prime Minister—at least when he is breathing the atmosphere of a Conference of businessmen—is impressed by the major part that private enterprise plays in the nation's economy. Private enterprise is by no means a private affair. It is a public concern quite as much as the large-looking show-pieces run on tax-money and managed by government employees.

Commenting on the recent meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers, the *Hindu* has referred to the "new confidence in the entrepreneurial ability among Indian businessmen that has attracted attention abroad". It is good that evidence comes from abroad, because outside certificates appear to carry more weight with us in any matter than what we see with our own eyes here. The *Hindu* then refers to the social obligations of private enterprise in terms that are a secular paraphrase of what Gandhiji had called by the name of the principle of trusteeship and what the *Kural* calls

(ஒப்புநாடு) oppuravu and for which the operative sanction is not law but social pressure, appreciation and good name. The very important voluntary character of self-imposed restrictions on one's right has clear superiority over what can be achieved by the State through taxes or through direct management. And this is what S W A T A N T R A stands for.

The consumer has been rightly brought into the picture by the *Hindu* in its comments. There is much unreal talk about monopoly in this connection. Monopoly is created more by the Permit-Licence-Raj of Congress socialism than by the size

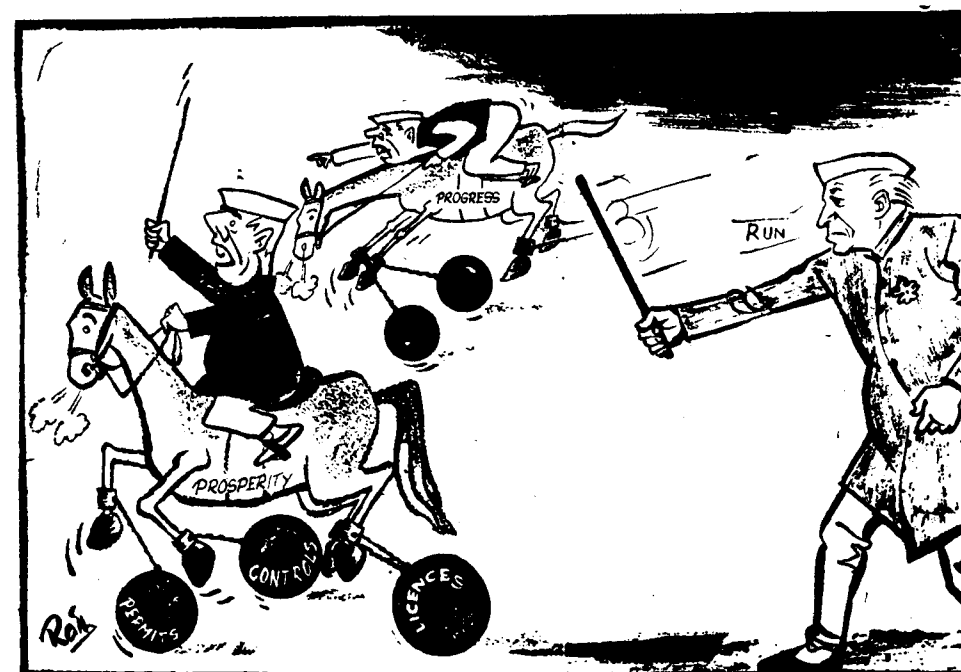
of any free enterprise in India. Where there is the market control and free economy, besides the Government to watch things, it is difficult for any monopoly to establish itself, as the State can always intervene when necessary. It is only where the State with its party government itself runs business that favourites get monopolies in India.

It is most gratifying that the socialist Prime Minister gave out his view that the right kind of private enterprise is good for India and that any suppression of such enterprise would be very bad. What is the 'right' kind and what is not depends of course on the length of the Chancellor's foot. If Mr. Nehru is, as he said at the Federation's meeting, opposed to monopoly and favours 'decentralization', he ought to see that his Government reduces its permit-licence-regime to the minimum. But socialism, like China in the Himalayan border, has a tendency towards aggression. The Prime Minister's latest favourite in Orissa the other day, described,

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mixed economy as an unmixed evil. Monopoly is bad for customers, whether it be a State monopoly or a licensee's monopoly or any other's.

There was some audible socialism of the vague variety mouthed by some businessmen, too, at the Federation. If socialism meant just all-round honesty, it was good advice. If, on the other hand, it was mere courtier-talk to please the Prime Minister, there was nothing very brave in it. It was courageous on the part of some businessmen openly to help the Congress when it fought the angry British Government. But expression of socialist views in the hearing of the P.M. is easy and means nothing but courting favour. On the other hand, it requires courage to serve the people by standing up to the falsehood which, clothed with power, ruins the initiative and the dynamism inherent in those who stake their savings in productive ventures.



## CURRENT EVENTS::

Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's hospitalisation for a week interfered with the instalmentary plan of broadbasing ministries in semi-formation, but since the pause was likely to intensify group-clamour for amplifying the top as well, through the creation of full Cabinet-jobs for disgruntled seniors in mid-career, the Chief Minister of Andhra was assigned the role of deputising in Mysore for the distinguished patient at New Delhi. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is attached to the doctrine of expanded ministries for heightening efficiency and draining the Congress-administration of corruption now on the soak. The task has not been committed to the Chief Minister of Madras who keeps to normal size for the Cabinet, though Mr. Sanjiva Reddy ascribes it to Madras being "a compact" province. Ministers and ministry-fakers, who pay week-end visits to New Delhi for instructions on behalf of the electors who had recently cast their votes, are very politely received by the Prime Minister who disowns the policy of ballooning expansion, and he also repudiates authorship of any directive of the High Command, seeing that he is not even a member of the Congress Parliamentary Board which meets in the hall of the Prime Minister's house, with himself as a mere invitee.

Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar has, in inaugurating a Delhi exhi-

bition, indicated that "he may not be the Speaker next time", and in the language of special correspondents claiming inside knowledge, he "may consider the offer of becoming a Governor" if such a proposition is tendered to him for favourable consideration. All this involution of language, when a plain sentence should suffice, is in accord with the puppetry of a new system of procedure in which the figures move in front of the lighted screen, but the strings are in the unseen hands of the master-craftsman disclaiming presence. The extension of patronage to pacify malcontents is being stretched to breaking-point, but any objection raised merely provokes old election-language, chockful of epithets deserving a burial. Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar had contended that the Speaker's constituency should be inviolate, but the Speakership seems to be also negotiable after the poll, according to the bestowal of patronage. The principle was bandied in argument during a debate in the Mysore Legislature when Chief Minister Kanthi (same as the ex-Speaker of the House) was away in New Delhi for Executive mandate to enlarge his ministry.

Why on earth is the Maharaja of Mysore continuing as Governor when the States Reorganization Commission had laid it down that no Ruler should serve as Governor of his State? As a matter of fact, the Head of the State in Mysore prefers to be known as a commoner with the title "Shri" prefixed to his name. This deviation from the S.R.C. recommendations is by no means an aberration. Once the linguistic test was adopted, the Fazal Ali Commission had to trace a new map accompanied by safeguards mitigating the writs of centrifugalism; indeed if its plan had been enforced *in toto* instead of being subjected to piecemeal application (as illustrated in the latest act of separatism between Maha-

gujerat and Maharashtra) there would have been logic without grudging autonomy to certain areas of true compactness in order to procure all-India sway for unilinguism—and all this at the sacrifice of healthy State-autonomy provided in the Constitution of India to be shortly riddled out of shape by a secret barrage of amendments, unless a live Opposition fights for the safety of the Constitution and the validity of Fundamental Rights.

An important issue pertains to the status and integrity of the judiciary which a totalitarian caucus in power seeks always to enfeeble into a condition of subservience. For instance, the S.R.C. recommended that judges of High Courts should be above the range of controversy and local politics, since they owe their selection to the President who appoints them, and in extreme cases becoming liable to impeachment. The first precaution was that the Chief Justice of a State should be above the slightest taint and temptation of parochialism. The Law Commission maintained the principle and the general sense of the legal profession has approved of the safeguard, also ratified in a speech by the late Gobind Ballabh Pant in Parliament. Present transformation deprives the order of some of its all-India prestige. The Chief Justice of Madras is Mr. Ramachandra Iyer; the Chief Justice of Andhra is Mr. Chandra Reddy; Chief Justice Ansari of Kerala has been succeeded by Mr. Menon, an eminent lawyer of Kerala vintage; and now a Presidential notification announces that Mr. Nittoor Srinivasa Rao has been confirmed as the permanent Chief Justice of Mysore. Acknowledged though he is as a jurist of no mean calibre and a model of rare intellectual purity, the old question-mark still seems imprinted all over the area claimed by D.M.K. autonomists to explain the pull of a separate constitutional existence, free from the menace of the big-stick dictatorship of the North.

—P.J.

## INDIAN DEMOCRACY'S TRAVAILS

By Mrs. PREMA NANDAKUMAR

Alexis de Toqueville said: "Some countries are so large that the different populations which inhabit them, although united under the same government, have contradictory interests; and they may consequently be in a perpetual state of opposition". This is exactly so in the present Indian democracy. There are five main "contradictory interests" that form a "perpetual state of opposition", thereby hindering the smooth working of the democracy of our founding fathers. It is not wisdom to close our eyes to facts, and it would be criminal to exploit them for personal or sectional ends. The way of wisdom lies in facing the facts and trying to minimize their prejudicial effects on our democracy.

The most obvious of these divisive forces is linguism or the problem of languages. The Constitution itself lists 14 languages; there is neglected Maithili; there are the innumerable hill and country dialects; and there is (Goan) Konkani. Some sabre-rattling there has been to establish Hindi as both the 'official' and the 'national' language. But each linguistic province would be largely incomprehensible to its neighbour were it not for English continuing as the single—though rather weak or *weakened*—unifying force binding the different linguistic regions together. The average elected candidate to Parliament or the State legislatures, being inevitably conditioned by his

linguistic electorate, is apt to lack the necessary unifying vision if he were to concern himself with his country's total welfare. The projection of India from Himavanta to Kumari as a power to inspire and sustain us seems to be far from realizable.

Even more inimical and detrimental is the bane of communal rivalries. As Vignaneswara wrote: "Communalism is the current avatar of that poverty of spirit which is fast reducing our freedom to a fraud". A prudent chief minister has to choose his cabinet colleagues, not on the basis of their essential fitness for their responsibilities, but with a view to placating the different communal or sub-communal groups. It is not who is the fit person to hold this or that portfolio that determines assignments, but

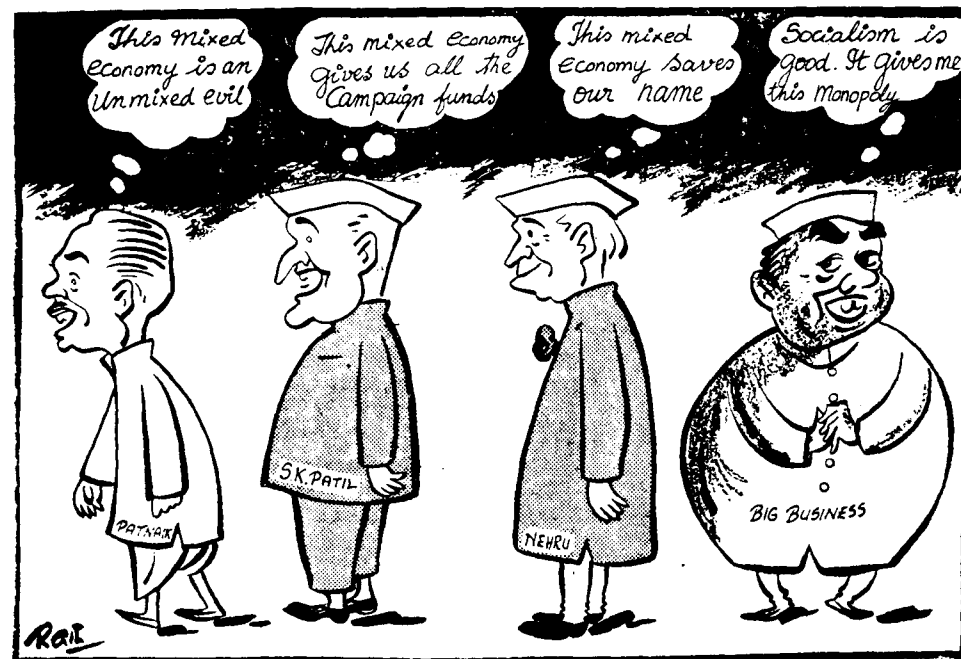
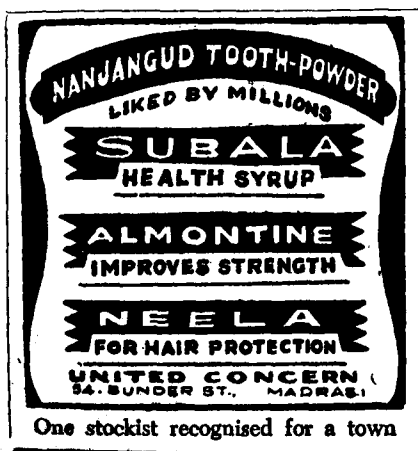
rather who is likely to control communal votes in the party.

A subtler, more sinister, force is casteism, which is really atomized communalism. In an effort to retain the so-called 'prestige' seats, the ruling party set up Mudaliar against Mudaliar, Reddi against Reddi, Padayachi against Padayachi, Lingayat against Lingayat, and so on. There is constant manoeuvring—for the sake of supposed 'status' to want to be a 'higher' caste, but for government's preferential treatment to want to be classed as 'backward'. In election-time, the caste consciousness is exploited to the uttermost, and most by the ruling party.

Of more recent origin, yet full of menacing import, is the sedulously promoted class-conflict. The so-called middle-class has been nearly decimated; the steep rise in the cost of living is driving the middle-class (the bulwark of order in all normal societies) to nirvana through *prayopavesa*. The favoured children of Parkinson's First Law,—in other words, the army of bureaucrats drawing comfortable salaries,—are the votaries of indifference, and live an uncommitted life of pseudo-thinking, dieting on 'Digests' and illustrated magazines. The intellectuals are a vanishing class in the country. The very poor continue to be as poor as ever before, and are even more ex-

ploited. As for the millionaire class, the ruling party has most of it in its equipage. The only hope of an effective democratic Opposition is in the emergence of a group of men and women who would make (to borrow Rajaji's language) public interest *their* vested interest. By hunting with the crypto-communists and running with Big Business, the ruling party has been able to make capital out of a stimulated class strife. Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastri has warned that "the moment the princes organize themselves in a party", instead of living good and comfortable lives as individuals, it would become a matter of "concern to all"! And Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik's annoyed refusal to recognize the main Opposition party in his State and his petulant threat that the administrative machinery would be used ruthlessly against those opposed to socialistic objectives are bad omens for the future. The ruling party is afraid of the princes, even when they have become ordinary citizens; it is afraid of government servants; it is afraid of the parliamentary Opposition; it is afraid of the press—all which means that the party is afraid of democracy itself!

Separatism is the spectre which looms most ominously on the horizon. North looks askance at the South; South is apprehensive of the North. It is seldom that a candidate from one part of the country is able successfully to contest a seat for the Lok Sabha from another part or linguistic region. The emergence of the DMK too is a



fact of some consequence. We should try to understand it and attempt to convert it; it will not do merely to abuse the DMK or to try to dismiss it with a wave of the hand, as a thing of inconsequence. What it stands for, and why, needs to be looked into first. It would then be possible perhaps to remove current irritations and pave the way for real and lasting unity of hearts and minds.

These, then, are the forces we have to contend with: Separatism, Classism (or 'dialectical materialism'), casteism, communalism, and linguism. They should not be ignored through mere wishful thinking; they could 'dish' our democracy and destroy it. Nor can they be rooted out overnight by a mere flourish of the P.M.'s rhetoric. We have to learn to live with them for a little while longer, but we have also to try to blunt their edges,

and gradually to purge them of their present menacing force. Unfortunately, to keep itself permanently in power, the ruling party has been making either compromises with or exploiting these forces for its own ends. A strong and healthy Opposition, with an all-India outlook, welded to democratic values, can help India to establish a progressive but permissive (not coercive) society. Peering through the current political fog in the country, one can still see the sharp polarization between Congress Statism and the Swatantra Party's ideal of democracy and promise of a healthy permissive society.

Let us hope and pray that at a time when the lights of democracy are going out in several Asiatic countries, here in India at least the possibility of government of the people for the people by the people will not be denied full realization.

### The Writing on The Wall

In India the first co-operative farming society was attempted on a voluntary basis in 1932-33 in the Kaira district in Gujarat, long before Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advocated it. After some 12 months' trial it was wound up because of very poor results and severe losses it had. Some efforts were also made in the 'thirties in the Poona area without any success. The Reserve Bank of India in its statistical statements relating to the co-operative movement in India for the year 1957-58 disclosed that there were 3,646 co-operative farming societies in India. The acreage under coverage was not given but it was said that the working of these societies during the year under review incurred a net loss of Rs. 1,04,000. The latest available report reviews the progress made by co-operative farming societies during the year 1959-60. The number of societies improved to 5,631, by two thousand societies with a net sown area of 6,17,060 acres. Some earned profits, a few neither loss nor profit and others suffered losses. The final results disclosed a net loss of Rs. six and half lakhs, at the rate of Rs. 1.05 per acre. In 1959-60, Gujarat alone had 364 societies commanding a net sown area of 62,000 acres. These societies also incurred a net loss of Rs. 94,000, at the rate of Rs. 1.52 per acre.

Will Pandit Nehru make a note of the results of experiments tried in India and abroad and cry a halt to his plan of co-operative farming?—Courtesy: *Salvati Newsletter*

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### WHAT PRICE 'PROGRESS'!

By A. K. SEN

One of the factors which have not helped to endear the underdeveloped countries to the outside world is the extraordinary amount of sanctimony that has accompanied their debut on the world stage. Whatever the problem, from moral rearmament to total disarmament, their leaders have not been found wanting in cocksure answers dripping with righteousness.

I have kept no record, but I think I am safe in saying that no such leader has, to date, refused a single invitation to an international conference on any subject. The pressing problems of internal administration and development, intractable enough in all conscience, have had to give way before the even more pressing desire to hold forth, at interminable length, before a world-wide audience. What, after all, are a few weeks away from desks when, thanks to their unaided efforts, the millennium has been brought just around the corner?

A rooted propensity to gild the lily is what marks out the leaders of the underdeveloped world from all other species of humanity. Where progress is difficult to achieve, or where interference is uncalled for, they have not hesitated to sacrifice the substance for the semblance. The desire to make their presence felt has led to some grotesque stances in international affairs.

For the outside world this is but a nuisance, a flea bite, part of the price to be paid for indulging in cold wars. It is in the internal administration of their countries, where their word is law and their brain-waves assume the dimensions of immutable principles, that the really disastrous results have been seen. It has led, in our country, to such expensive window-dressing as Community Development—a borrowed concept without a single original thought behind it. It has provided the incongruous spectacle of sophisticated ladies and gentlemen indulging in jeep rides

at public expense, to lecture to pathetic villagers upon better ways of delivering babies, and the aesthetic and spiritual values of embroidery and community singing.

One would have thought that a country that had scraped the barrel of its foreign exchange reserves to import food, and now lives on thinly-disguised charity, would make a serious effort to put its agriculture on a paying and efficient basis. Instead, what it does is to hinder its already inadequate food production by further fragmenting its already fragmented holdings through the application of land ceilings and levies. Agriculture is an occupation that defies the laws of economics, and it is never safe to generalize upon it. This much, however, is a fact of observed experience: the smaller the holding, the less the incentive to grow for the market. A marginal income, dependent upon the vagaries of weather and market, is not really a prize worth striving for. The imposition of land ceilings may, therefore, be expected to accentuate the food problem.

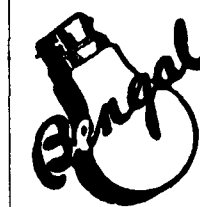
Never at a loss for facile answers, the ruling party has prescribed the panacea of joint co-operative farming. The fact that co-operative farming plays no significant part in the life of any democratic country has been carefully ignored; as also the fact that, where forcibly imposed, it has been a signal failure in its primary objective of raising food production. The Government has discharged its responsibility by thinking aloud. The onus of all subsequent failures now devolves squarely on the subjects!

If this was all, it could be overlooked as an isolated aberration. What cannot be ignored is the consistent pattern of slipshod thinking that characterizes all the processes of government planning. A country that has yet to satisfy its demand for simple essentials, like coal and cement, is already in the rarefied realms of top-

secrets, when it comes to such things as atomic energy and supersonic planes. Progress has to be paid for; and a part of the price, apparently, is flourishing blackmarkets in essentials.

While our standards of housing, public health and nutrition are some of the lowest in the world, our planners have seen nothing ludicrous about granting licences for the manufacture of such luxuries and peripheral necessities as air-conditioners, refrigerators and radio sets—a strange beginning, indeed, for a 'socialistic pattern' of society. A nation that allows ninety per cent of its overseas trade to be carried in foreign ships, and whose internal transport system is not even barely adequate, nevertheless enters the risky and only marginally-profitable business of international air transport in a big way, matching the prosperous aid-giving nations, plane for plane and route-mile for route-mile. The question might well be asked: Why? And the answer could plausibly be that so many million gross registered tons of shipping acquired would be no more than a line of uninspiring statistics to chair-bound planners whereas an airliner, like an air conditioner, is to them an article of daily necessity.

These are only a few examples, picked at random, of the preponderantly bogus element of socialistic planning, but they are indicative of the callousness and irresponsibility that *near-absolute power* breeds in governments and they explain, at least partially, why every alleged improvement in the national income is accompanied by experienced hardships for the common man.



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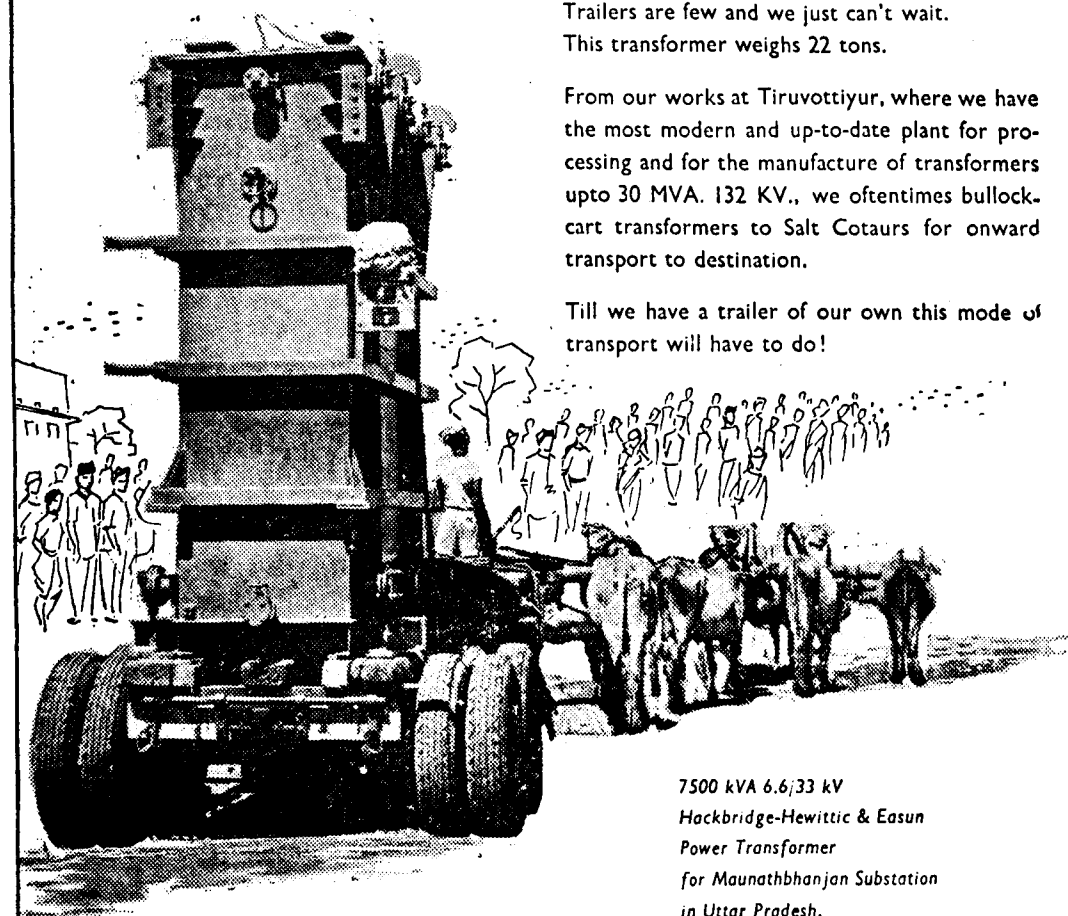
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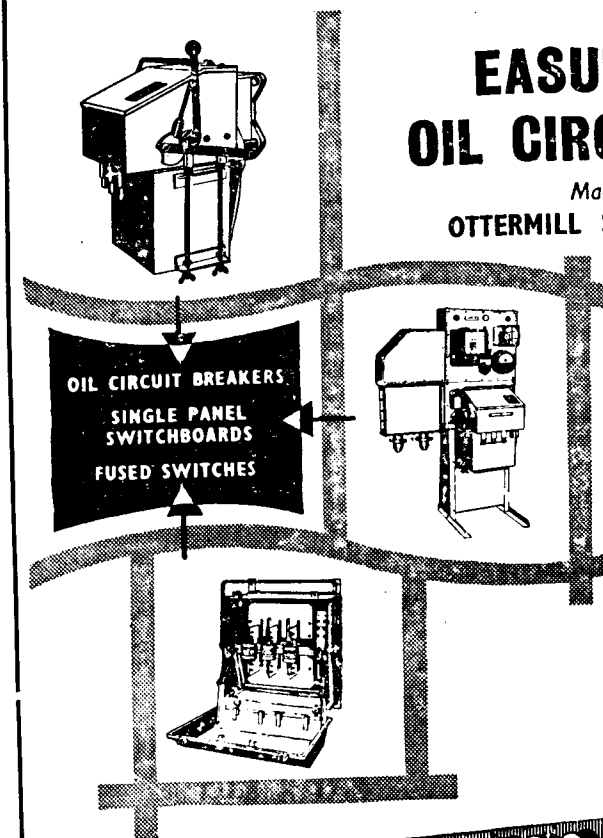
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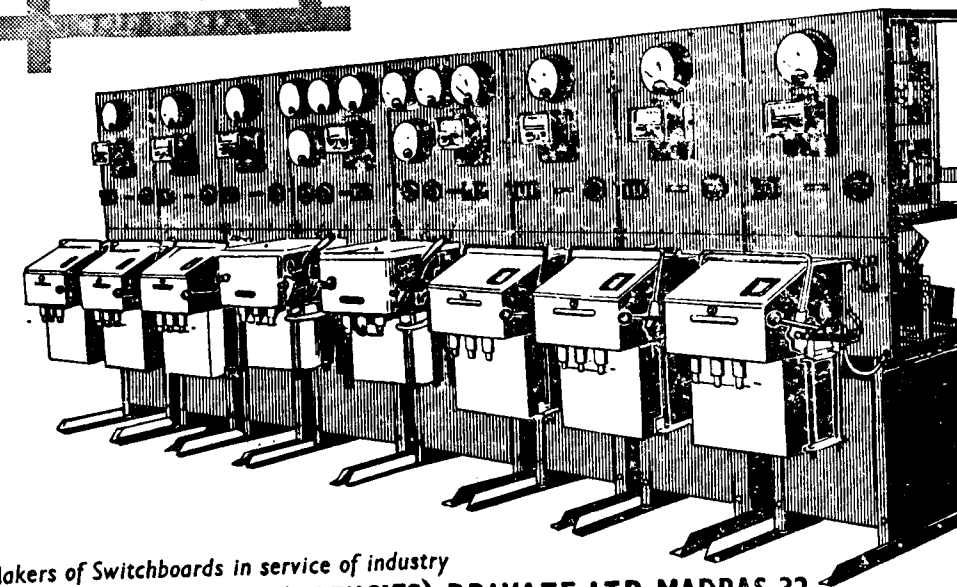
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## SWATANTRA PARTY AND PLANNING

By M. R. MASANI

Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik, the Chief Minister of Orissa, has evidently a wrong conception of the role of an Opposition in parliamentary democracy. Speaking in his State Legislative Assembly in the second week of March, he averred that the Swatantra Party's election manifesto "was nothing but total opposition to planning" and, therefore, "he was right in saying that their way of thinking is anti-national". Both averments of his raise far-reaching issues, which require to be examined.

As regards the second averment, it appears to me that Mr. Patnaik has misconceived the role of an Opposition. It is only in communist and Fascist countries that opposition to the policies of the government of the day in respect of planning, or any other activity, is assumed to be "anti-national" or "subversive". In a parliamentary democracy, the Constitution alone is considered sacrosanct and not the policies of the government in office, which are always open to criticism and debate. The whole purpose and scheme underlying the freedom of choice given to the electorate would be nullified if all political parties were to be compelled to subscribe to policies, economic or other, adumbrated by the ruling party.

Mr. Patnaik's comment on the Swatantra Party's attitude to the ruling party's planning betrays an authoritarian trend in thinking, full of sinister meaning. Coming from the Chief Minister of a State, who has taken the oath of loyalty to our democratic Constitution, the attitude is most deplorable.

There is no warrant for Mr. Patnaik's assumption that the Swatantra Party's manifesto expresses total opposition to planning. Here is the relevant passage in the manifesto which refers to planning (and is entitled "Planning— which Type?"):

The Swatantra Party rejects the current pattern of centralized and top-heavy planning of the Soviet type involving a series of targets that are not achieved and of restrictions which are intolerable, and which are calculated to perpetuate the regime of the party in power. The Swatantra Party stands for planning carried out within the limits of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, to develop the growth of conditions in which the people's enterprise will find full and unfettered scope. It believes that the appropriate organization for such planning of the affairs of the nation, and for

submitting the annual programme, is the Cabinet responsible to Parliament and through it to the people; and that, while the Government may resort to such expert assistance as it desires, there should be no other body which in effect usurps the power of making policy affecting the life of the nation.

Quite apart from the manifesto, spokesmen of the Swatantra Party have made it clear over and over again, during the recent general election and even earlier, that it is not to planning as such that the party is opposed but to the pattern of planning which is currently in vogue, which is least suited to eradicate either poverty or unemployment, and where the freedom of choice of the consumer, the producer and the investor is subordinated to the arbitrary dictates of the National Planning Commission. We are opposed, in short, to a system which, in the name of planning, increasingly curtails

## PAY HEED TO WARNING SIGNS

By P. H. S. RAO

Mr. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari have treated the country to some plain speaking while interpreting the Congress Party's objectives, and this should be an eye opener to those who light-heartedly voted Congress hoping that, somehow, all would be well. It is now clear that individual enterprise is to be progressively liquidated and that the levelling down process, according to Mr. Krishnamachari, "will be accelerated". Mr. Patnaik has also warned us that the administrative machinery will be "ruthlessly used" to liquidate the opponents of the Congress brand of socialism. Let us not delude ourselves that Mr. Patnaik is talking through his hat and that his views do not represent those of the Congress or of Mr. Nehru. Any doubts on this point should have been dispelled by Mr. Nehru's statement during his latest press conference, when he is reported to have remarked that the emergence of the rightist party, in some strength, "should impel us to hasten the process of socialization". The truth is that Mr. Patnaik lacks only the finesse of the high-ups and has therefore let the cat out of the bag. It is up to the nation to profit by this 'lapse' on the part of Mr. Patnaik.

the liberties and the free choice of the people, and leads inevitably to a regimented society in which the robust initiative of the individual is extinguished and replaced by the all-powerful State doling out its favours to those who do its bidding.

Planning is a part of civilization and everyone plans, from the housewife and the businessman to the Cabinet Minister. The Swatantra Party accepts the concept of planning. The kind of plan it favours has been practised with outstanding success in many of the advanced countries of the world, including Japan and West Germany. In Britain and France, a pattern of planning is emerging, flexible and free of dogma. The National Economic Development Council of twenty proposed to be set up in Britain is to consist of three ministers, two representatives of nationalized industries, six representatives of private enterprise, six trade unionists, two independent non-officials and one ex-officio Executive Director of the Office. The Swatantra Party would welcome the replacement of the present National Planning Commission by a body similarly constituted.

The President was technically correct when he told the joint session of both Houses of Parliament that the result of the last elections is a clear vote for continuing the current policies of the Congress, but all dispassionate observers of the state of affairs in the country know that it is not so. All passionate believers in democracy, individual liberty and human dignity must now do some urgent and serious heart-searching, and decide where their duty lies, irrespective of party affiliations, at the present juncture when the country is at the cross-roads between totalitarianism and a free society. Let them also take note of the ominous statements of Mr. Nehru that (1) he wants to accomplish in his lifetime what he has set out to do, and (2) the next five years will be crucial years. Yes, the next five years will be crucial years, indeed, because the fate of the country will be decided irrevocably within this period. That should underscore the urgency of the problem faced by the country and the danger involved in waiting for the next elections. It will then be too late.

Desperate situations call for desperate remedies and the country today faces a very desperate situation in-

(Continued on Page 15)

Dear Reader

Mr. M. Anantasayanam is retiring from politics after a long and strenuous period of good service done to democracy in India. He will now, it appears, be Governor of Bihar. I wish him all success in his new assignment. His Speaker's experience specially qualifies him for the job of Governorship where non-partisanship must be positively practised even as in the Lok Sabha chair, and lynx-eyed wisdom should watch and continuously function to strengthen good government without being noticed. There should be no room given for any one to doubt the impartiality and the detachment of the person functioning as Governor. He should be independent of party pressure either at the Centre or in the State, and exercise authority without appearing to do it.

The people of Chittoor have now a chance that has come to them by a lucky windfall, to restore Acharya N. G. Ranga to Parliament. Without Ranga, Masani, Kripalani and Asoka Mehta, the Lok Sabha cannot be what it ought to be. I do hope the people of Chittoor and all Andhra, and the influential language press, will realize their obvious duty now and help the return of Acharya Ranga from Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar's constituency without much ado. It would be just and proper restitution and a great service done to what may be called working democracy.

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Any one can see for oneself the criminal waste involved in the administration of the organizations which come into being as corollaries of the socialist regime. But if confessions are wanted, we can turn to the Estimates Committee's report on the working of the National Projects Construction Corporation.

This has been the subject of a stinging editorial of the *Hindu* of March 28.

The Estimates Committee's report on the working of the National Projects Construction Corporation during the five years of its existence presents the dismal story of the organization's unrelieved record of failure. Not one of the expectations with which the Corporation was set up has been realized. It was expected to function on a commercial basis in competition with other agencies. It woefully failed to live up to its objectives. It could not secure the contract for any major projects. The rates quoted by the Corporation were higher by a large percentage over estimated costs than the rates of private contractors. There have been delays of one to two years in the completion of works undertaken.

The percentage of gross profits to the value of work done has declined steeply from 24 in 1957-58 to 7.2 in 1960-61. The percentage of net profits to total capital has gone down during this period from 3.73 to 1.23. At a time when building firms throughout the country are making sizable profits, the Corporation has been declaring dividends around 1 per cent.

Its orderly winding up would be the most sensible way of preventing further money going down the drain in a futile attempt to keep a white elephant alive.

★

The following noteworthy observations were made by Mr. J.R.D. Tata at the Central Advisory Council for Industries:

Our planners do not appreciate the crises which face them and set impossible targets for the public and private sectors. Shortages in foreign exchange, coal, power and transport are dangerously ignored. Our Plan is based sometimes on unrealistic assessments. It has taken ten years to raise coal production from 35 to 45 million tons. Yet the target set for the Third Plan is 110 million tons which has to be achieved in the next four years. I do not think our planners appreciate what it means to raise coal, particularly from new areas.

It has not been realized by Government that what industry wants is not ordinary carbon steel but quality steel. If instead of spending huge resources on developing ordinary

steel, concentrated on making quality steel, we would be saving foreign exchange.

Non-essential controls should be removed and Company Law procedures should be simplified and coordinating machinery of the various Ministries and departments should be brought into being to deal with licensing and other matters connected with new industrial project.

Mr. Nehru tells his people that the Swatantra Party stands for brakes. On the contrary, the party stands for the easing of brakes while the Licence-Permit-Raj is a regime of unmitigated brakes and clogs.

★

Syria has gone under Army dictatorship, whatever be the reasons, good or bad. The course of democracies, with their centralization of all power and devitalization of the citizens, leads inevitably to these so-called bloodless coups by military chiefs and relatively well-organized military forces. When there is no unity in the military forces, of course, coups may not take place on this pattern; they are likely to shape themselves a little differently, adding break up of the country to assumption of military rule. The only defence against a nation's own defence forces taking over the reins of government displacing civil authority is honest, good government plus the citizens' capacity to resist the violence of their own military forces by non-co-operation and refusal of supplies. Gandhiji made this clear long ago. If this power in the citizen to resist authority by non-co-operation and refusal of supplies is undermined and lost, there can be no true democracy, according to Gandhiji.

The power of the standing armies is more apparent than real, because they depend entirely on the industry of the people for food, clothing and other conditions for life and power. If the people maintain their stamina and independence they can, at any time, compel the defence forces to behave. Standing military forces are necessary to defend the nation against foreign ene-

mies, but they are also a standing danger to democracy even as tissue-growth can develop into cancer and become a fatal malady instead of being a support for life. In modern times defence forces have been enlarged to a dangerous degree. It is only if citizens are equally brave and strong in their own civil way that the disciplined and well organized soldiery remains as a servant of the citizens and will not aspire to become the master. Rivalries among the politicians can hasten the perversion of the idle defence forces even if the military chiefs themselves be unaffected by power-hunger or disgust for misgovernment by politicians. The first symptom of danger is when some politicians begin deliberately to cultivate popularity among the armed forces. Such symptoms should be watched with care by democracy. The defence forces should not be allowed to expand themselves into a parallel industrial and agricultural producing-agent, because this would upset the balance of power in democracy.

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As for Argentina what appears from reports received at this distance is that there is an even balance between military and popular forces. The President was arrested and put in prison. But a new President of the ex-President's choice has been suffered by the military chiefs to be sworn in and to take charge of the administration. Here is a case where machine-guns have realized the need to compromise with popular resistance, the result being a kind of civil government under military sufferance and a moratorium for democracy.

★

The Public Accounts Committee's report to Parliament about Defence Factory production is worthy of being quoted in full as given by the Express News Service:

NEW DELHI, March 29.

Lapses in maintenance of stores and shortfalls in production in defence factories have been highlighted by the Public Accounts

Committee in its 43rd report on appropriation accounts (1959-60) for Defence Services.

The committee referred to the inspection of 2,623 vehicles in a Central Ordnance depot by a board of technical officers and said 2,380 had been downgraded necessitating major overhaul and 159 in a condition where no economical repairs could be effected. Fifty per cent of the vehicles were not jacked up or kept with inflated tyres with the result that 1,300 tyres were damaged. Petrol tanks were full of water and most of the vehicles had rusty petrol tanks, bodies, road springs, shock absorbers and rings. The committee recorded "grave lapses in the proper pre-storage maintenance of vehicles" and said records about the periodical maintenance of the vehicles were not reliable. It recommended that covered accommodation for Ordnance depots should be increased.

The committee was disappointed at the setback in the production programme of tractors by the Ordnance factories for which an agreement was concluded with a Japanese firm in September 1958, and hoped that the Government would make every effort to make the venture a success.

Referring to the machine tool-cum-prototype factory, the committee said the non-utilization of the full capacity of the factory resulted in the entire amount of Rs. 86.76 lakhs incurred as "preliminary expenses" and Rs. 23.52 lakhs (portion of development charges) being unabsorbed in production costs up to 1958-59, six years after production had begun. The factory had incurred a loss of Rs. 8.13 lakhs up to March 31, 1959 on the sale of machine tools in spite of reduced cost of production which did not take into account the preliminary expenses.

The Director-General, Ordnance Factories, told the committee that the factory had been originally planned for designing prototypes and machine tool production was only a subsidiary to the factory. Certain fixed and variable charges could not, therefore, be absorbed, he said. "In the opinion of the committee the financial results of the working of the factory are far from satisfactory." Production had continued to be uncertain since its inception.

The committee criticized the way a newly constructed minesweeper had been acquired from the UK at a cost of Rs. 48 lakhs. On its maiden voyage to an Indian harbour it broke down. The UK Admiralty told India that the guarantee period

of 12 months had expired after a year of the basic trials carried out before the vessel's maiden voyage was completed.

The committee also criticized the purchase of a twin screw launch by the I.A.F. in 1958 at a cost of Rs. 1,99,000 for use at a particular airport for rescue work. The launch was not fit for the purpose. The officers said it was bought to keep up morale of the pilots. The committee has expressed surprise at the "psychological effects at the presence of the launch on the pilots" who should have known that anyway it would be of no use.

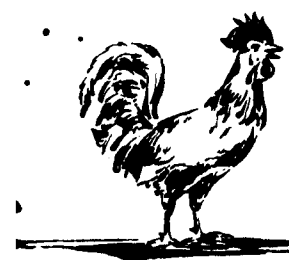
The committee regretted that even eight years after it had recommended framing estimates of repair the recommendation was not implemented in the naval dockyard which spent Rs. 14.77 crores out of Rs. 15.05 crores on repairs during 1950-59 without preparing estimates.

★

Communist member of Parliament, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, opines that the Swatantra Party's success in some States was due to the financial assistance received from the ex-princes (and therefore he suggested these people should be deprived of their allowances). Government and particularly the Home Ministry know that this story is wholly baseless. If the communist leader went to Rajputana and made an intelligent enquiry, he would be able to see for himself how tight the purse-strings of the ex-princes were always held—and with what difficulty the Swatantra Party managed to carry on there as elsewhere. Not only the policy criticisms but even the financial stories of the anti-Swatantra politicians are based on legends born out of their own fears.

★

The use of violence by a Peace Organization is as odd as it is beset with tremendous difficulties. A British lawyer writes in a Sunday newspaper of England on March 25 that he has evidence to prove that the methods employed by the UN troops against Katanga were out of all proportion to what was either necessary or justifiable. "I report this with regret," he says, "since I am a



## A Crowing Chanticleer

The very first picture snapped for newspaper publicity on the assembling of the lame-duck session, depicted the Prime Minister in the company of women-legislators, though their share of tickets had been below the 15 per cent allocated by the High Command. The gallantry of the function reminded oldsters of the occasion when Pandit Motilal Nehru made his bow in the Imperial Legislative Assembly as Leader of the Swaraj Party in Opposition.

On a visit to the Punjab, it occurred to him that his handlebar moustache had better be removed for the sake of a face-lift,

firm supporter of the United Nations as being the one firm foundation on which the peace of the world can be built"; and he adds: "Next week I will print some of this evidence in detail. It will fully confirm the conclusions I reached that in the name of the United Nations Organization, a massacre was carried out in the Congo last December. Six months have passed and still the world has never been told the facts about the happenings in Elizabethville during the offensive against President Tshombe. I went to the Congo with an open mind. I have come back convinced that nothing less than an international commission is needed to inquire into these happenings." Strong language this, but it comes from a British lawyer who writes evidently with material in his hands.

C.R.

in utter contrast with the visage of Deputy Leader Vithalbhai Patel who sported an Assyrian beard. Hearing the news, a large number of elite ladies from Lahore actually waited on Motilal Nehru pleading with him to restore the moustache that had lent a touch of handsome virility to his appearance. Panditji had no defence for the act of vandalism, and he gaily told them to regard recultivation as started, but, all the same, he asked for a little time to consider the pros and cons of the whole question. As hair is always in the process of growth, he could fulfil the first part of his pledge which placated the bevy of socialites, but on reconsideration he decided on retaining the *status quo*, the principle behind China's doctrine of "present actualities" in preference to speculative hirsuteness.

The transformed countenance of Motilal Nehru was a striking feature of his personality in the eyes of foreign correspondents. George Slocombe described his appearance as being of the pattern of some great Prince of the Roman Church; and as a wrestling athlete in youth, he never had the trace of a stoop in his bearing, though as a political leader he shared the instinct of his colleague C. R. Das, to stoop to conquer.

In a flight of gay humour at the hour of victory Prime Minister Nehru told a New Delhi audience: "God and the Devil are mixed in us, but elections bring out more of the latter". The result of the recent elections was that the Congress came out tops,

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

thanks to his leadership. Who then won the elections? No comment.

Politics is notorious for the pie-crust promises meant to be broken and, according to the proverb, the Devil cites scriptures and he is sometimes honoured even in the pulpit by mistake. Hence the opinion of Rabelais when he wrote:

*The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be,*

*The devil was well, and the devil a monk he'd be.*

As the couplet is in the sixteenth-century language of reactionaries, a little interpretation would not be out of place. The

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idea is that when the devil gets sick with a cold in the head, he affects piety, putting on the airs of a devoted saint to bring cheer and blessing from high Heaven. But once he is all right and above sneezing, he forgets the past

when he had been (past tense) a prayerful saint.

The hundreds of members forming the all-India swarm of ministers were all offering pledges to

the voters, but now they have to scratch their heads and wonder how exactly they could fulfil their assurances, whilst they themselves get bloated at the party-table with the loaves and fishes of office.

P.J.



## Sweet Nectar... Drop By Drop

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### MISLEADING FIGURES OF NATIONAL INCOME

Sir,—The white paper issued by the Central Statistical Organization reveals that India has registered a rise of Rs. 4,670 crores in its national income during the last two Plan periods of 10 years in terms of current prices. It also points out that the per capita income has gone up from Rs. 266.50 in 1950-'51 to Rs. 327.30 in 1960-'61, showing a rise of Rs. 60.80. The per capita figures given relate to deceptive annual incomes, while the actual real increase in monthly income per head is only from Rs. 22.21 in 50-'51 to Rs. 27.28 in 60-'61. This rise of barely 0.50 nP a year during the last ten years is indicative of the productive capacity of our 'socialistic policies'.

The question now before us is whether we feel at least satisfied, if not impressed, at the pace of our march towards prosperity. If the answer is to be in the affirmative, then one has to face the fact that it will take a century before one can hope to reach the average monthly income of Rs. 80 in our country, if at all that sum is considered to be a prosperous earning! Even allowing for a 100 per cent boost up due to some brilliant late run by our masters of the 'socialistic pattern' of society, the per capita monthly income in the year 2062 in our country will be only Rs. 160, whereas in the USA even the present figure of earning stands at Rs. 916 and in UK at Rs. 417. (It is to be noted that these figures represent only the monthly per capita income in the two countries and not the annual income.) If on the other hand, one feels that our achievement in the last ten years is not good enough, then arises the necessity for everyone to study and understand the policies and programmes of the Swatantra Party which provides an alternative way of reaching the goal in quicker time.

Dharapuram

RAMASWAMY

### CONFUSING 'END' WITH 'MEANS'

Sir,—During the recent elections the leaders and supporters of the DMK dwelt more on the economic hardships suffered by the people on

account of the Congress maladministration than on their demand for Dravidasthan. I point this out only with a view to emphasizing that the economic issues assumed much more importance in this election than any other question. The DMK cannot carry conviction with the people if it places the responsibility for the present maladministration on the Congress administration. The DMK leaders in place of Mr. Kamaraj could have done no better if they had been in power and pursued the very socialist policies for which the Congress stood. It is the socialist policies of congressmen that are the cause of the maladministration, which the DMK rightly complained of in their election speeches.

Rajaji has pointed out times without number that socialism is merely a means and not an end in itself. Many countries have tried and given it up as useless, as a means to usher in prosperity. But, unfortunately, even such an intelligent and honest group of people as the DMK also seem to confuse (and equate) the end with the means. Otherwise they could never have felt a fascination for socialist slogans.

It is time the DMK leaders and followers realized that all the economic ills that the Tamil people now suffer from are the direct result of the implementation of the socialist policies by the Congress. It will be good if the DMK comes out with a clear statement of its economic policies, setting at rest all doubts and confusions.

West Mambalam

K. VEDAMURTHY

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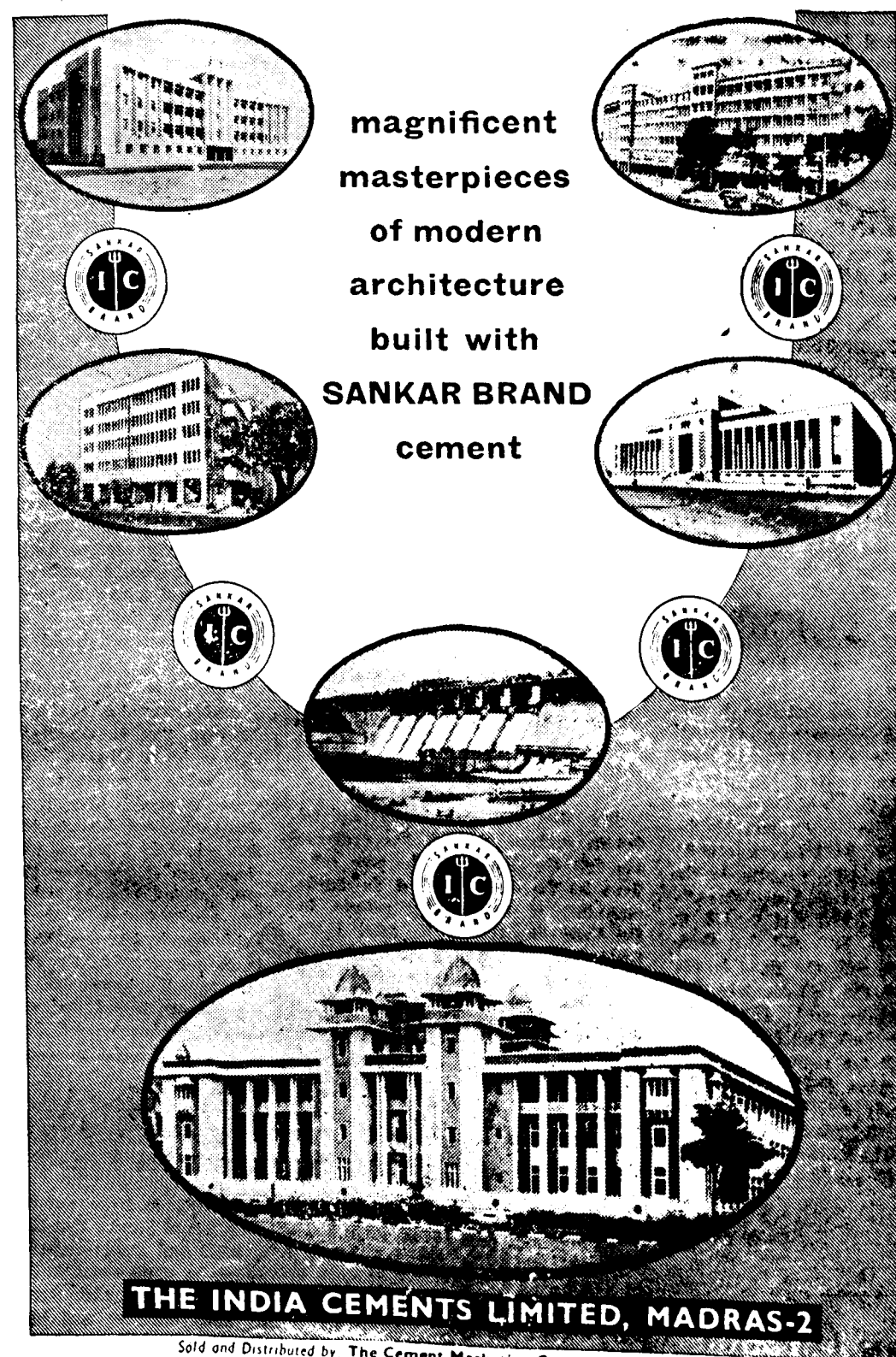
PAY HEED TO ... ..

(Continued from page 10)

deed. Not only have the Opposition parties to unite, but even such of the congressmen as honestly believe in individual freedom and human dignity must play their role in saving the country. Party loyalties will have to be ignored when the safety of the country is at stake. Let these congressmen place the country above the party and do the right thing.

Unfortunately, the electorate has been so thoughtless as to return Congress with a 70 per cent majority in the Lok Sabha, so that the Congress can go ahead amending the Constitution till all traces of democracy are removed from it. It is in such a situation that the responsibility of those congressmen, who are at heart opposed to totalitarian socialism, becomes all the more onerous. True patriots, even if they have been returned on a "Congress ticket", should ignore the party whip when the legislation contemplated reduces freedom and increases regimentation. Let the rightists in the Congress remember Mr. Nehru's oft-repeated advice to them that those who do not believe in socialism (his brand, of course) should pack up and quit.

This is no time for niceties. The Mahabharata has a chapter on *apat Dharma*, that is, departures from the rigid codes of Dharma that are permissible when a person or country is in grave danger. True patriots should, therefore, not hesitate to cross the floor when the Congress, warned by the clear signs of opposition to its totalitarian policies, tries to rush the country into totalitarianism. If the Patnaik and Krishnamachari credos are not scotched as early as possible, the steps taken by them will be irreversible. So, beware! The danger is real and uncomfortably close. Complacency will be suicidal.



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# SWARAJYA

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 41

MADRAS, APRIL 14, 1962

Price 15 nP

## FEASTING ON ONE'S OWN BLOOD 24th April 1962

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The great attraction of the Congress Government for ignorant folk in the countryside is that with a little 'management' through the right persons, they can get some grant or other for a local purpose. All kinds of odd assistance of this easy type come from above like Grace from Heaven, and so the Congress Government seems to be the best of all governments to gullible people. A little thinking would, however, make it clear that no government (be it of the Congress Party or of any other party) can give anything, unless some one has paid for it through taxes and filled the till out of which these grants are made. The days are over when it could be claimed that the rich pay the taxes out of which the poor are helped. Government has undertaken so much of expenditure now that this is no more possible. It is now accepted that direct taxation has gone beyond the line and the Government can expect only decreasing returns if further taxes are imposed. Even now the Wealth Tax is of no real use except to hinder and harass. The Congress Government and all its advisers have now unanimously turned to 'indirect' taxes—they call it 'broad-based' taxation—that is, in blunt language, they have decided to tax the poor; so that on the analogy of adult suffrage in which you get more votes from the ignorant than from the enlightened section, you get more money by taxing the very much larger number, namely, the poor.

All seeming benefits from the Congress Government, which make

gullible folk "Congress-minded", are thus the result of increased taxation levied from the poor. The old wisdom-story of India was that the stupid dog persistently chewing a dry bone feels delighted licking up its own blood. The bone cuts its mouth and tongue and draws blood and the dog sucks it thinking it is feeding itself. There is a corresponding story current among the Eskimoes that one way of deceiving and killing wolves is to insert a sharp knife in the ice with the edge up and smear it with some seal-blood, so that the wolves may be attracted by the smell of the blood and lick the knife-edge. The wolves go on greedily licking their own blood as their tongues get cut by the sharp knife, their greed leading to loss of their own blood, and death in the end.

### GANDHIJI ON CONTROLS

Control gives rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black market and to artificial scarcity. Above all, it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative, it undoes the teaching of self-help they have been learning for a generation. This is a tragedy next only, if indeed not equal, to the fratricide on a vast scale and the insane exchange of population (which followed the partition).—*Mahatma Gandhi* (on 3rd November 1947)

Animals are not so stupid as to go to all this logical end, but foolish men go on greedily supporting a government that distributes grants in one area out of money obtained by indirect taxation, which the poor in other areas pay indirectly through the shopkeepers and the higher prices for commodities. The indirectness and variations involved in this scheme of helping people through taxation, which has after exhausting the possibilities of direct taxation, changed over to indirect taxes, conceals from each group of benefit-receivers as to wherefrom the money for the benefits comes. It is like trying to nourish ourselves with our own blood. The illusion and the deception are made possible because of the differentiation between Union finance and State finance. The indirect taxes go to the Union—they are called 'excise' and 'customs' duties—and out of these the people in the States are given grants and subsidies from Delhi, from somewhere beyond the citizen's ken. The higher payment for commodities is blamed on the shopkeeper and the grants are received as from a charitable and good government through the gracious assistance of the local congressman who 'nurses' the constituency. At the other end, national affairs cannot go on indefinitely on this plan, letting concealment like a worm in the bud feeding on the damask cheeks of Union Finance. It must show itself some time, and the doctor must then be called in.

## DICTATES AND PARLEYS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

While we are apt to pick holes in the Constitution of Pakistan (announced on March 1 last) as a "theocratic" State in contrast with the democratic commonwealth which we, the people of India, conferred upon ourselves, it would be well not to exaggerate the modernity of India's outlook as a forward nation on the ground of inexorable secularism. There are many nations including America which adhere to the formula of "Under God"; and non-aligned countries, many of them, indulge in the invocation without prejudice to the inwardness of the principle *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*. The essence of the slow tentative move is important.

We in our Leap Forward to compress the work of twenty years into twenty months should, for the sake of good neighbourliness, appreciate what is vital in the Pakistan experiment which is not claimed to be immutable like the Laws of the Medes and the Persians. On a glance at the text published, I was struck with the provisions resembling the purport of good government outlined by India's own Constituent Assembly which contained many men of greater calibre than any party-ridden panel we can hope to rely on, at this time of day, for riddling the Constitution out of shape, with the imminent wave of amendments to suit obsessions of the 'socialistic pattern' adopted at Avadi, but left *undefined*.

The Preamble to the Pakistan Constitution asserts that sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to "Almighty Allah and the authority exercisable by the people is a sacred trust". That is a pious recital of faith resembling which there is nothing in the Indian Constitution. Next, after a tribute to the Founder of Pakistan, the Preamble prescribes a democratic State, based on *social justice* inherent in Islamic principles. The last reference is a simple formulation warding off any uproar by the orthodox, always

alert about the sanctity of Revelation. In brief what is predicated is "Social Justice". The very same expression was used by Prime Minister Nehru in his parliamentary rally after the elections. The doctrine of "Social Justice" is more amenable to friendly analysis than the vague content of the Nehru doctrine projected in the 'fifties in the clumsy words "socialistic pattern of society" which runs parallel to expressions like the military pattern of the army or the athletic pattern of a stadium or the legal pattern of law or the infernal pattern of Hades below or the celestial pattern of Heaven, the abode above. As for the banner-line "Social Justice" Mr. Nehru in a post-election speech to the merchant classes added that he had his own ideas about it; but if equitable distribution of property weighs on his mind, there is nothing unique about it.

Whether a Constitution is preambled by an invocation or the exclusion of a Divine Providence in the document, it would be fantastic to outline a creed loaded with faith in opportunities to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The ethical objectives of good government to guarantee a level deal, is always understood as the legitimate justification of State-authority. If social justice is the aim, then it conforms to the message of true religion or even *Dharma*, a word used by the Swatantra Party, the Prime Minister's pet aversion; and so for the sake of accord that word could be dropped in favour of the term "Social Justice". Differences lie in methods of implementing the common purpose, whether it be in our domestic policies or in our relations with hostile neighbours.

Mr. Krishna Menon constantly asserts that India was never conquered, but the claim may be substituted by the remark that under the migrational waves of mankind, India was in a chronic state of capitulation. In the Goa

take-over he maintained that the Portuguese intruders of 450 years ago continued in a state of illegality and their ouster, last December, completed "the unfinished job". With our views about territorial grab at the hands of China and Pakistan, the total area safeguarded by the Government after Independence is much less than what the British had left us; the outcome is that our losses exceed the Goa gain advertised as the finishing stroke henceforth to preserve boundaries intact without foreign intrusions.

Ayub Khan's Constitution is based on 'Basic Democracy' of the Presidential pattern which will have to be interpreted in terms of exact administrative law from time to time by the judicial branch pertaining to sovereignty. The Supreme Court is not scrapped as in Burma. Flaws there are; and in Article 51 of our own Constitution there is a clause commending arbitration in international disputes.

Mr. Nehru has been scornfully hard on Jayaprakash Narayan for proposing an arbitral reference to define the Sino-Indian border which Mr. Nehru would discuss only after the acceptance by China of the findings of the Indian official team published as final before the Chinese counterpart-panel could report to the Peking government. Loss of territory continues by creeping approach in the Himalayan regions and Jayaprakash Narayan obviously wanted a frontier line to be internationally recognized—as a means of a solution in place of the P.M.'s suggestion that we should learn to live with the Chinese border-tension for fifty years, a most unsafe calculation. J.P. was not totally without constitutional warrant for the procedure he mooted in the light of the following article in the Indian Constitution:

Article 51. The State shall endeavour to—  
(a) promote international peace and security;  
(b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations;

## QUESTION - HOUR

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

A member of the English House of Commons who is remembered for having put nearly 4,000 questions during his parliamentary career described questions in the House as "perhaps one of the most powerful implements of democracy". Members of Indian legislatures should make the fullest and wisest use of this opportunity. The private member who, in these latter days, finds his opportunities for making speeches, moving resolutions and proposing bills cut down to a vanishing point, on account of the monopoly or near-monopoly of the time of the legislature by the Government, must treasure and use the question-hour opportunity for having his say on the acts of the Government. Even if he has to have his say in the form of questions, he can expose to the light of day, that is to public knowledge and criticism, the sins of omission and commission of the Government in power. It is the day-to-day administrative acts that impinge on the lives and liberties of the people.

A faithful representative of the people should at the question-hour examine and cross-examine the Government as represented by the ministers in the legislature on any act of the administration detrimental to the interests of the people. The member should act, therefore, as the alert watchman of the interests of the people as they are affected by the acts of the Government, and report his findings to the people. Especially is this duty laid on the members of the Opposition. The members of the party in power would not be quite interested in exposing the mistakes and failures of the Ministry they are pledged to support, and the near-military discipline of the Congress Party prevents them from asking questions in the legislature even about matters in which the constituency that elected them are interested—they are supposed to do this in private, in their caucus meetings or in private conferences with ministers. It is the privilege of the members of the Opposition to act as representatives of their constituencies in public and in the open. They must, therefore, on account of the laches of the Congress members, act on behalf of the people who did not vote for them as well as on behalf of friends. Incidentally, such exercise of public spirit may pay dividends to such a member at the next elections.

- (c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another; and
- (d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

Arbitration is not totally foreign to us, and the Prime Minister has been ruthlessly critical of the possibility of some discussion before literal fulfilment of the demand reflective of an inflexible attitude: "First vacate aggression and then only talks."

The Chinese, on the other hand, assert that India has aggressed into Chinese territory by some 20,000 square miles. The deadlock reminds one of the loaded query in Court:

"Have you stopped beating your wife? Answer Yes or No."

Social Justice? Yea, so say all of us.

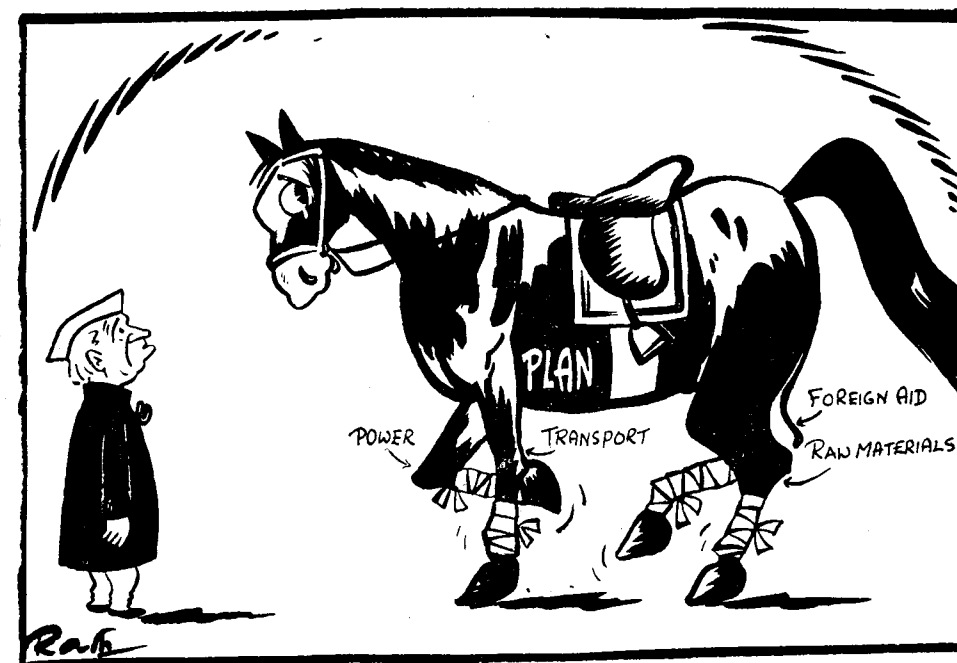
mine and cross-examine the Government as represented by the ministers in the legislature on any act of the administration detrimental to the interests of the people. The member should act, therefore, as the alert watchman of the interests of the people as they are affected by the acts of the Government, and report his findings to the people. Especially is this duty laid on the members of the Opposition. The members of the party in power would not be quite interested in exposing the mistakes and failures of the Ministry they are pledged to support, and the near-military discipline of the Congress Party prevents them from asking questions in the legislature even about matters in which the constituency that elected them are interested—they are supposed to do this in private, in their caucus meetings or in private conferences with ministers. It is the privilege of the members of the Opposition to act as representatives of their constituencies in public and in the open. They must, therefore, on account of the laches of the Congress members, act on behalf of the people who did not vote for them as well as on behalf of friends. Incidentally, such exercise of public spirit may pay dividends to such a member at the next elections.

If the member is to use the question-hour to advantage he must observe the rules governing the asking of questions; otherwise, they might be disallowed by the Speaker or the Chair-

man of the legislature. The following are the more important of the rules:

1. Every question must be addressed to the ministers in charge of the department, the acts of which, or of whose officials, are the subject of the question.
2. The question must ask for information on the subject, e.g., whether it is a fact that such and such a thing has happened in such and such a department at the centre or in the districts.
3. It may also ask what action the ministers propose to take in the matter.
4. The facts on which the question is based must be set out on the responsibility of the members asking it for its accuracy.
5. Questions must not ask for an expression of opinion by the minister, e.g., whether he thinks nationalization of transport is good or not.
6. Questions must be restricted to the constitutional powers and activities of the Government, e.g., in State legislatures questions may not be asked about the activities of the Central Government nor *vice versa*, nor may questions be asked in any Indian legislature about the acts of any foreign government, except in so far as our government or our country is affected by them.

(Continued on page 14)



## CURRENT EVENTS::

Addressing the business-community at the F.I.C.C. session, the Prime Minister spoke as if he were the pioneer and preacher of "social justice", replacing the usual slogan about Congress socialism which is also the equivalent of the socialistic patterning, allegedly favoured by progressives and resisted by rightists. Mr. Nehru asserted that right wing parties are the "death of the nation". As for ambiguities in planning philosophy, the Prime Minister got over all dissent and difficulty by advancing the jargon of "mixed economy" to accommodate the two sectors, State-ownership for key industries (*vide* manifesto) and the tradition of private enterprise, with capital invested as much from abroad as from national savings. The Prime Minister did not lash out and there were no traces of post-election fatigue as reported by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit on her arrival for a lecture-tour in the United States where India's industrial advance, in terms of social justice, is bound to have a special appeal at the present juncture of world reconstruction, with billions of dollars to promote welfare and save humanity against the menace of communism. No one disputes the urgency of improved existence, but the nearer we reach the stage of implementation the more formidable is the appearance of the yawning gap between resources and targets. If the pursuit of social justice is to be realistic, ventures should not be merely linked with idealistic yearnings, but they must be related to the means and methods of increased production.

The pursuit of community projects and the promotion of *communes* can hardly be differentiated, but for clarification of ideas regarding what is feasible, there should be a conscientious survey of the co-operative experiments attempted abroad for augmenting agricultural output. India is on the verge of being carried away by shibboleths in bor-

rowed formulas about agrarian economy. Mr. Nehru's *markatamushti* (monkey-grip) of the Nagpur thesis of co-operative farming should be re-examined in the light of results achieved amongst sister-nations like Russia, China and Yugoslavia, where collectives have been abandoned to restore initiative and incentive in cultivation. When he told the merchants and the industrialists that he was against monopoly, there was nothing original blazing the trail of social justice; and no Opposition party is aggrieved over the enunciation of the obvious. An earnest resolution of the F.I.C.C. was that there should be an enquiry and a curb over the activities of the State-Trading Corporation freezing the tide of enterprise (and export) so indispensable if heavy industries are ever to provide shipments to avert deficit-alarm in India. If a list is made of countries dropping the experiment of agricultural collectives in the last five years, and the results published, Mr. Khrushchov may be ready to write the preface denouncing the folly of it. Mao would probably consent to a dedication of the volume, in view of the famine-conditions to which expropriatory decrees have lured China, so heavily indoctrinated with pre-conceptions of social justice a decade ago.

Mr. T. N. Singh, as an observer of the Central Advisory Council of Industry, put forward the plea that the licensing of new undertakings in the private sector should be halted for the reason that the target of investment prescribed by the planning experts governing fiscal policy looked like being exceeded. On the other hand, the lip-service paid to the elastic expansion of private enterprise becomes something of a mockery in endorsing development-projects, thanks to the imposition of restrictive curbs. Generalization on paper does not help us; for instance, in the Prize Bond stunt, it was assumed that there would be

a nation-wide following, but the Finance Minister has announced its wind-up on account of poor response! The average citizen whose means of livelihood is retrenched by direct taxation and spiralling prices, has no margin for a small investment with potentials of a big fortune, the original capital being intact if unlucky! The National Savings Scheme is looked upon as the next mainstay, but here also the prospect is bleak on account of the factual fall in income despite dearness-allowances in factory-areas.

Mao has repeated his refrain (1957) about a hundred flowers blossoming, but in the mushroom exuberance of groupist-ministries in the country under the shelter of the Congress High Command, there is a minor source of harassment for the public at large. It was no trivial complaint of the past that when ordinary passengers applied for seats in the travelling planes or mail trains, the answer would be in the negative largely for the reason that there is a block of accommodation reserved for VIPs. Bookings were to be made in advance. If a minister or parliamentary secretary fails to turn up, some applicant on private business could slip in as a favour. Today, there is the redoubled claim of the Government as well as the Congress High Command for earmarked bookings within limited space, so that they could be present in New Delhi for political instructions at week-ends, especially when swarming busybodies have to visit New Delhi for instalmentary additions to State-personnel in ministries. The ordinary passenger is ditched. Something should be done to strengthen our air-fleet for restoring reasonable equilibrium in this predicament. It might appear a small matter, but people have still the right of murmuring a protest when we are blandly assured that 100,000 telegrams per day are not wired but mailed by chug-chug trains without a refund to the boobies who had filed the messages in the hope of instant transmission. P.J.

## ADJUSTING ENDS TO MEANS

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

The Central Budget comprising tax proposals, direct and indirect, awaits the new Cabinet to father it and the Finance Minister to present it. Meantime the trader, the industrialist and that "forgotten man of political economy", the consumer, are caught in a noose of anxious conjecture. While the most intelligent and most morbid of tax prophecies may be set at naught, one thing seems definite—that many things will cost more than ever before, by the time the Union Finance Minister has thumbed the last leaf of his Budget speech and told Parliament all about the exigencies of the Third Plan finance and the need for the citizen to make sacrifices, by the manifestly simple process of adding to the long catalogue of what he shall have to do without in the coming years, in order that posterity may be prosperous. It cannot perhaps be long before we hear the consumer wailing.

It may not be waste of time to know the facts of the taxation on the 'rich' man. The tiers of taxation of personal incomes consisting of an income tax, a surcharge thereon, a supertax and surcharge thereon, pyramided by a special surcharge on the last two items, make for a considerable burden in the higher income bracket levels. A person with an income of, say, Rs. 1 lakh pays Rs. 58,824 as tax. From the second lakh of income onwards, what the assessee pays is Rs. 84,000 for every addition of one lakh of rupees in his income. In other words, he is left with Rs. 16,000, out of which he has to pay civic and local taxes and then meet his day-to-day expenses. A person with the seemingly large income of Rs. 10 lakhs a year is left with less than two lakhs to meet all his local taxes and expense commitments.

All these incomes accrue to people with an adequate base of wealth. On wealth we have a tax today, which operates as follows:

A man with, say, wealth assessed at Rs. 5 lakhs has to pay Rs. 3,000 as wealth tax annually, while one with Rs. 15 lakhs of assessed wealth, has to pay Rs. 14,500 as wealth tax. A man with Rs. 25 lakhs has to pay a wealth tax of Rs. 29,500.

A man with an assessable total income of, say, Rs. 10 lakhs and has properties worth, say, Rs. 30 lakhs will be paying an aggregate of taxes on income and wealth of Rs. 8,55,824.

In recent years the aggregate of income and wealth taxes alone has exceeded 100 per cent of income in several instances. In such instances, the assessee has been forced to find money for expenses either from agricultural sources or by sale of assets. If we take municipal and local taxes into account, the high income earners are not left with much money to play with—while they confront the round-the-year nightmare of liquidity of funds, with which to pay tax demands. Whenever one hears the clamour for a ceiling on urban incomes, one is inclined to suspect that those who agitate for it do not realize the combined crushing incidence of income and wealth taxes on the affluent.

This story of the rich man's condition is something that concerns the poor also. The quantum of retainable savings with the so-called affluent sector of the community is not adequate for investment in productive enterprises. This has been conclusively established in the last three years, what with high cost of living, on the one hand, absorbing retainable residues of nett income and heavy taxes leaving no spillover, even with the higher income earners, available for investment, on the other.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the savings of middle income groups today in India, with spiralling living costs sponging away even the larger fixed incomes of the salariat. They have little or no mobilizable savings at any level.

However, it is clear, judging from estimates made of private sector expansion by our planning commissioners for the Third Plan period, that the Government has made fairly liberal estimates of savings likely to be retained with the people, on the basis of national income "guesstimates" which are now known to be not as reliable as our court economists made us believe. The more basic error in assumptions of savings is that the Government fails to reckon with the operation of inflationary forces generated by the very developmental activity, the continuance of which the retained savings of the people are expected to finance in coming years.

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One not unreliable barometer of savings with the people, is the trend in the sales of National Savings bonds. The financial year just ended, namely 31st March 1962, has had a doleful tale to unfold. The nett collections of savings have shown steep falls—and in fact encashments made of bonds of earlier years show a disconcerting quantum of dis-saving during the year.

The Union Finance Minister, as the principal resource-finder for the Plan, has a tough and unenviable assignment in the coming three or four years—for while investments have been assumed in the private sector, based on fallacious computation of national income, it has been virtually impossible in the last two years to stabilize price levels of consumer articles and, in consequence, to ensure that savings accrue at any levels of personal income. The Finance Minister has time and again acknowledged that in the field of direct taxation the limit has been reached. He is, therefore, thrown on indirect taxes to find those revenue surpluses which form the spinal cord of Plan effort. Import duties have shrunk in direct proportion to the tightening of the noose on imports, though plant and machinery imported by licensed industries bring in some revenue. Export duties cannot be added to, as our articles, both primary and manufactured, are already tending to price themselves out of our traditional markets. In fact cut-back in export duties has been offered on several export articles, with a view to stimulating markets abroad and earning the much needed foreign exchange. Thus the Finance Minister is left with only one item of indirect taxation which he may inflate—excise duties.

The spectre of high-living costs raised by the spiralling prices of manufactured articles and commodities has been assuming dismaying proportions all over the country. Monetary inflation, high manufacturing costs (to which intermediate excises and sales taxes have contributed in disconcert-

ing measure), physical scarcities in certain categories of consumer goods caused by lack of imports and inadequacy of indigenous supplies, have been the principal causes of this continual upthrust in prices. To superimpose excise duties on articles which are fast getting out of the consumers' realm will only add to our already critical inflationary pressures. *Excise duties hereafter are unlikely to be absorbed in costs by manufacturers and will be passed on to consumers.* Any such pyramiding of excises on already high-priced goods will tend to reduce what economists call "effective demand" for the goods produced, meaning demand that is backed by financial capacity to satisfy it. Surely it cannot be the Government's intention to encourage production of goods in India on the one hand and then generate consumer resistance for those goods on the other, by interpolation of excise du-

ties. Recent forebodings from New Delhi have however been to the effect that the country must be prepared for additional indirect taxes.

Higher price levels will definitely sponge away such savings as may be still accruing with the community. The siphoning effect of direct taxation on the savings of the well-to-do has been dwelt upon earlier. The effect of high prices of consumer articles, consequent on aggravating excises, will be not only to destroy current savings capacity, but will generate dis-savings in those sections of the community that are accustomed to save in the past by diligent practice of thrift. In one sense, therefore, excise duties as a source of development finance have an apt, though infelicitous parallel in the hungry serpent in the fable that ate its tail and realized its enormity only when it missed a third of its customary length. The country cannot afford

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to tie itself into knots by exhausting its savings through steep taxes and high living costs, and then set up high-level committee to search for the whereabouts of that elusive high national income which government's statistician strenuously assert has been accruing all over the country.

We have enough headaches or the foreign exchange front; and no fewer on the rupee resource front, with our borrowing programmes, our public sector enterprise profits and savings bond sales threatening to prove unreliable as adequate resource providers. Heroic remedies on the taxation front would have the melancholy effect of reducing the staying power and morale of the taxpayer and consumer at all levels.

The fact is that we have planned beyond our resources and, what is more, beyond the resources of even other countries that have shown marked inclination to assist us. It is therefore only fair that we adjust our ends to our means and reduce the size of our Plan to what the Indian citizen can attain. There is no loss of prestige in such a move. There is in fact loss of national dignity in an abrupt halt for want of external or domestic resources. At the altar of gigantism the country has knelt too long. Let us give it up forthwith. There is no subtraction of national dignity in our forswearing false gods.

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## TOWARDS TRUE DEMOCRACY

By Mrs. PREMA NANDAKUMAR

When Lincoln concluded his famous Gettysburg Address with a reference to "government of the people for the people by the people", he gave a popular, easily quotable definition of 'democracy'. But, then, every government is of the people; and every government loudly professes that it is for the people. Caesar or Czar, King or President, Dictator or Prime Minister, Fuehrer or Duce, his words always breathe concern for the people: his heart bleeds to see the mass of the people suffer, and he is dedicated to their uplift. So the really operative term in Lincoln's phrase that distinguishes a democracy is 'government by the people'. But, how far is government by the people realizable?

In ancient compact city-States, all the citizens—the women and the slaves evidently didn't count—were said to have met, discussed, and taken decisions affecting the State. In modern democracies, however, such a direct procedure is ruled out. Democratic government has necessarily become 'representative' government, which is already democratic government at one remove. The citizens 'elect' their representatives once every few years: and the 'rulers' are drawn, one way or the other, from these elected representatives. If there is a failure of representation, even this democratic government at one remove eludes realization, and we shall be hugging a mere illusion, calling it democracy.

If the problem of representation raises difficulties in countries with a respectable democratic tradition like the UK, the USA and France, with us the difficulties are bound to be many more. In theory, no doubt, the people choose their representatives. As things stand in our country, the political parties first decide who the candidates shall be, and the local men may have little or no voice in the choice of the candidates. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's case may be an extreme instance, but, generally speaking, most 'selections' are made by the party caucuses—not by the local political associations.

If in the choice of candidates the people seem to have hardly any voice, how real is the people's power to choose at least between the available options—though not seldom the choice proves to be between the blind and the one-eyed! Not all the voters are on the list: not all those listed go to the polling booth—some are indifferent, some are scared, and some are 'advised' not to exercise their fran-

chise. And there are numerous 'invalid' votes. In the result, even where there is a straight contest, a candidate is chosen with a minority of the votes on the list, or even a minority of the votes polled. Where the contest is triangular or multi-angular, a small minority can send up a candidate to speak for all. When this happens all over the country, a party that polls, say, 25 per cent of the total votes and 35 per cent of the votes cast, can nevertheless secure 75 per cent of the elected strength in the legislature. The other parties that between them polled the remaining 65 per cent of the votes cast (or 60 per cent, if we exclude the invalid votes) must needs be content with about 25 per cent of the elected strength in the legislature. How is this representative democracy? This is failure of representation all round. A political minority in the country becomes the legislative majority and exercises near-absolute executive and administrative powers! The other parties—although cumulatively the majority—practically go out of the legislative or parliamentary scene. Who can contemplate this spectacle without anxious concern for the future of our democracy?

There was a time when communal minorities—the Muslims and the Indian Christians—were given 'weightage' in the legislature, and this weighted representation was assured through the institution of communal electorates. We have given up that system, which on a long-range view is a step in the right direction. But political parties are not rigid or stratified groups like communities, and the relative strength of political parties must change from time to time, and it is necessary that the legislature should reasonably reflect this relative strength of political parties in the country. A mathematical equivalence is not necessary, but surely 45 per cent should not be allowed to inflate itself into 85 per cent, nor 25 per cent be suffered to dwindle into 10 per cent or 5 per cent. If in the economic sphere our aim is to ensure that the rich should not be allowed to grow still richer and the poor to become still poorer, in the political sphere, too, we should not permit a system that allows an obese party to grow more and more obese, owing to an unscientific electoral law, at the expense of the other parties.

Fifteen years after our Independence, we have today a situation that must make us pause and ponder. The con-

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

tinuance of the same party in power, with no effective check to it from a really strong Opposition party (as in the UK or the USA), raises questions relating to the future of democracy in the country. The remedies are quite obvious: either party polarization on well-defined lines or electoral reform that would make our legislatures more truly representative of the distribution of political opinion among the people of the country. Extreme parties—call them Fascist or communist—spell disaster, and healthy discussion is possible only if there is a broad area of general agreement regarding the values we all stand for. If we had two parties, one Left of Centre (say the Congress, with its socialistic propensities), and the other Right of Centre (say the Swatantra, that stresses individual freedom and initiative), the other parties merging with either of these two, we can then develop a good two-party system in this country. If that is not possible, at least drastic electoral reform which would prevent the perpetuation of single-party rule is called for. If we decide in our shortsightedness or timidity to do neither, we shall be mortgaging the future to uncertain and dangerous courses.

Of course, party polarization cannot be effected overnight; neither can the ruling party be persuaded (in the present mood of omniscient omnipotence) to introduce legislation with regard to electoral reform (like the provision of plural constituencies, cumulative vote, etc.) which would mean an inevitable curtailment of its own power. Things must take time. In the meanwhile, what is it that can be done? It is here that the unattached intellectual has a role to play. And the free press too has a great role to play. The press, said Hamilton, should "give us early alarm, and put us on our guard against the encroachments of power". But if it should be objected that Hamilton is nineteenth century and hence his words have no validity in Nehru's India, may I quote from an editorial in the *Spectator* (January 15, 1960):

"Our job is to find out if and where the shoe pinches, and to proclaim the fact—rudely if necessary ... Press vigilance happens to be all the more needed in Britain today because of the absence of any effective political opposition ... Where

there is a political vacuum, it tends to attract independent-minded people into it to perform what is, after all, the most essential service of a democracy: opposition ... In the meantime the real work of Opposition remains to be done by other organizations—and by the press." Nor need the isolated intellectual feel diffident that his will be a lone ineffec-

tive voice. He can take courage from Tocqueville's wise words:

"Thought is not, like physical strength, dependent upon the number of its agents; nor can authors be counted like the troops that compose an army. On the contrary, the authority of a principle is often increased by the small number of men by whom it is expressed. The words of

one strong-minded man, addressed to the passions of a listening assembly, have more power than the vociferations of a thousand orators."

The word is power, more truly so when it is a true vehicle of honest and anxious thought. This should be an encouraging thought to the Swatantra legislators when they face the big battalions of the ruling party.

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## Dear Reader

The very definite and stern warning of the most eminent body of British physicians against cigarettes has again alerted those that depend on cigarettes and cigarette advertisements for their income. They are bravely putting up their rather poor case. They insist that as no conclusive analytical proof of danger is before the people, they should go on smoking cigarettes until such proof is forthcoming. This is placing the burden of proof on the wrong side. The rule of placing the onus of proof on the accuser is good in criminal trials but it cannot be applied to a case where we should guard ourselves against grave danger. Anything seriously suspected by competent advisers to be the cause of cancer should be avoided, unless it would be reasonable to prefer danger to giving up cigarettes!

Another line of defence taken by these defenders of the cigarette is to rely on the quantum of poison. No one knows what would be excess in a particular case and what may be deemed moderate. Excess does not depend on the advice of persons interested in the sale or the advertisements of tobacco, but on physical and physiological facts which often are not unfolded until the mischief occurs.

Syria is settling down. The army leaders commended the people for their co-operation. It is ironical and topsy-turvy that the army assumes the sovereign role and thanks the people for their loyalty and co-operation. It is a reiteration of the divine right of physical force to rule! Even if civil authority is restored it is under sufferance of the military.

That "accidental" extinction of mankind can occur at any moment in the present nuclear balance of terror has been shockingly brought to notice by what a spokesman of the Pentagon has

disclosed. It has been revealed that last autumn the US radar base in the Arctic suddenly stopped working on account of some mechanical fault. As every presumption must be made against the enemy, it was thought that the Russians had smashed the warning base by a ballistic missile and put it out of action as a preliminary to an all-out nuclear attack on the US. So General Power, Chief of the Strategic Air Command, had, following nuclear strategy, ordered H-bombers to move into the runway and be ready for a preventive mass anticipatory attack on USSR. Luckily the mistake was discovered before many minutes passed and before the process of destroying the world in anticipatory self-defence was sparked off! The basic principle in nuclear warfare is that the party who is first, and 'most' all-out in the attack, wins. There is no time to be lost as there is no scope for defence, once a nuclear attack has been allowed to be delivered. It is always a race to be first in the action.

People in the know had been talking about a mere accident leading to total and universal destruction. Here is a concrete demonstration of how things can happen, one kind of accident which almost brought about a catastrophe. There are other and numerous forms of human error, any one of which is enough to spark off total destruction of all of us. Security and defence have lost their original meaning in the atomic age. You cannot wait to be attacked but must attack before you are attacked, and when one is in a panic and action must be immediate, there is little room for thinking or for sound judgment. The search for security actually ends in fatal insecurity for the whole of humanity.

The Chinese communists appear to give second thoughts to revolutionary progress. They are now

commending 'gradualism'. They are discovering old truths in new ways and putting it in wonderfully poetic form. The Chinese have ever been artistic and even communist dogmatism finds artistic forms of expression.

"To lay solid foundation, work calmly, and gradually move forward. There are no absolutely identical rivers in the world, and therefore there are no absolutely identical methods of taming them. When curbing rivers, it is necessary to strive to master general laws of rivers as well as the specific laws of each river, and even the specific laws of each section of the river. It is impossible to think unrealistically about throwing the Taishan mountains into the sea with one stroke. The step-by-step method of progress is not a slow way."

We may hope authority will some day be found in Marx to establish that the true communist way is to allow individuals to have a personal interest in their work and that private incentive and personal profit-motive of innumerable people combine to make the communist total plan, like drops from the clouds making the total river. When Chinese communists discover this, the Indian Congress Party may re-think its plans of progress and get back to Swatantra.

It is remarkable how easy it has become for one big Power to tell the people of the world that unless X agrees to something by a certain date it is determined  
(Continued on page 13)

**TASTE**

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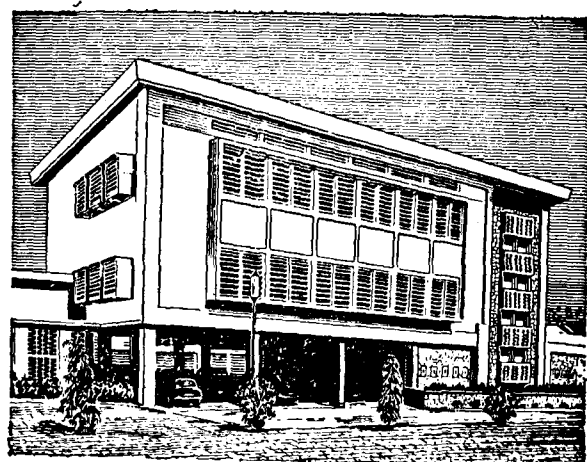
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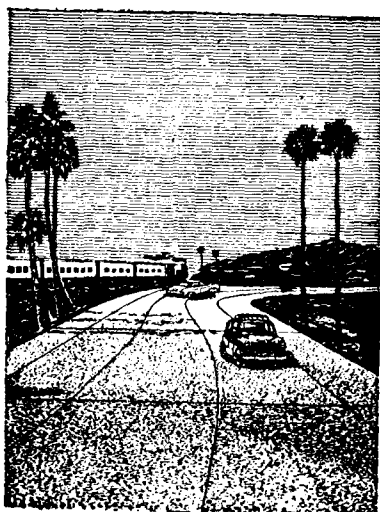
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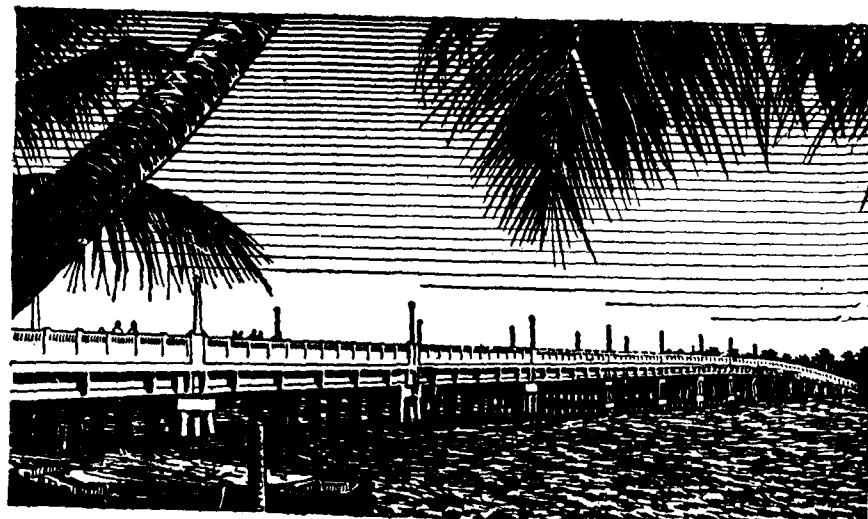


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DEAR READER ...  
 (Continued from page 11)

to poison the air affecting all of us. The demand for an agreement on the part of X to a condition proposed may, in the event of refusal, justly bring down a penalty on X, but now we have all agreed that the whole world is to be punished for X's default or unreasonableness. The neutral governments are stated to be working hard for a settlement of the nuclear test ban issue. It is an improvement in the situation that those who are to be poisoned are doing something to prevent it. But it is strange that civilization has not found a court to issue an injunction against poisoning the atmosphere of the world, whoever is bent on doing it, and whatever be the quarrel between two warring parties.

The only way out of it is for America to agree to a ban and

be content with national checks, instead of threatening to explode tests unless international checks and inspections are agreed to. So long as there is no international trust, there cannot be a valid demand for international inspection of national defence equipment, which is what is implied in the demand for international inspection. Agreement to the ban as proposed by Russia does not mean that further attempts may not be made, at later stages, for international inspection, should a case arise for reopening the question.

★

The administrative machine upto the village level has become an instrument for the party organization of the ruling party. Every gram-panchayat is a Congress party unit. The transfer of funds to these gram-panchayats is a subsidy to party work. The Swa-

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tantra Party wants the abolition of land revenue. The Congress Party would transfer the receipts from land revenue to the gram-panchayat so that party work may be done at the expense of the peasant proprietor. This shows two things: that the land revenue has become insignificant in the State Budget; secondly, it shows how the 'Welfare State' ruling party has been enabled to utilize tax money for strengthening the party organization and perpetuate its rule, at the cost of the peasants who produce food for the nation.

C.R.

## MY 'ISM

By A. MADHAVA WARIAR

"Are you a socialist?"

I was posed this question once in the pre-Independence days by a college-mate who claimed to belong to the Socialist group of the Indian National Congress of those days. I was then ashamed to have had to admit that I was not sure. Today, what with the communist brand of socialism with its Russian, Chinese, Yugoslav and Albanian versions, and the British brand and the Nehru brand, I am not at all ashamed to admit my ignorance.

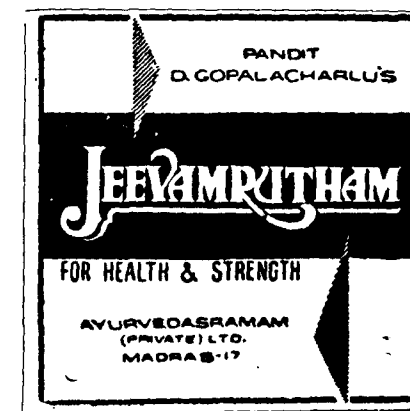
My friend put another question: "Do you believe that misery should be eradicated from the world?" To this, of course, I could (and did) give ready answer. He patted my back: "You are a socialist all right!"

In spite of the "compliment" paid me, I must admit I am still in the dark as to what socialism is. In spite of the different brands of socialism, they have all one feature in common—they aim to deplete the 'haves' to provide the 'have-nots'. If that is the prime criterion of a socialist, I must disclaim any affinity to it. I don't mind being branded as one who wants to perpetuate Maharajas, zamindars and

Big Capital. In fact I want every one to be a Maharaja, a zamindar and a capitalist, and lead a life free from want. And I believe this could be realized, otherwise than by beggaring those who are well off—I would go further and say that this could be achieved only by tapping the spirit of emulation in man and encouraging the competitive spirit. "As one lamp lights another nor glows less", even so it is possible for capital to increase capital, happiness to spread happiness without diminishing itself.

I do not think that human welfare can be advanced by robbing the rich to pamper the poor. It can be achieved only by using wealth to augment itself to the benefit of humanity. To my mind, all socialists, of every brand hitherto known, are no better than the blind men of the fable who strove to "see" the elephant by touch. They each catch hold of one limb or another of the elephant (that is, society)—and begin to criticize one another on the basis of his limited knowledge, blind as each is to other aspects. "Socialists" go further even and would have every limb of the elephant-

society made into a uniform mould, forgetting that each limb has its own part to play, and uniformity, even if achievable, is harmful to the "elephant". Imagine the elephant's trunk vying with its feet and attaining their size and losing its flexibility! Human society is like the elephant "one homogeneous whole," each limb with its apportioned capacity and function to perform. Just as the elephant cannot afford to overlook its meanest member, society cannot afford to ignore its humblest member without detriment to itself. Just as a limb of the elephant envies not another, no individual in society should envy another but work in unison with others.



## BOOK REVIEW

## GOKHALE INSTITUTE'S FINE WORK

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PUBLIC FINANCE

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THE PRICES OF FOODSTUFFS—

Part I. (Analysis)

Price: Rs. 2.

THE PRICES OF FOODSTUFFS—

Part II. (Recommendations)

Price: 50 nP.

[Public Affairs Pamphlets, Gokhale  
Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore-4.]

The Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs of Bangalore is an independent, non-party, non-communal organization which seeks to devote itself to the systematic, thorough and objective study of important current issues with a view to influencing public opinion thereon and promoting constructive and enlightened citizenship. It has been functioning actively since 1945 as a registered society, and under the inspiring leadership of the veteran liberal democrat, Mr. D. V. Gundappa, it has been tirelessly engaged in its beneficent activity despite chronic impecuniousness. Mr. Gundappa is, however, no too quick despaire. His faith in the essential soundness of human nature and its innate perfectibility derives from the close study not merely of the classics of Western democratic thought but of the incalculably precious riches lying unregarded, in corners thrown, of the scriptures of ancient India. And handicaps, financial limitations, the apathy of friends, the hostility, passive or active, of vested interests and, worst of all, the arrogant contempt of men dressed in brief little authority are, for Mr. Gundappa, just so many hurdles in an obstacle race. They stimulate him to yet more eager and enthusiastic activity. And where others would retire from public life in cynical disdain of the dirt of contemporary politics, he strives conscientiously and tirelessly with religious dedication to the public interest. The country has need of very many Gundappas—but has, alas, now so few of them!

A perusal of the pamphlets under review shows the quality of the important and responsible public work that the Gokhale Institute is doing under Mr. Gundappa's guidance.

The first pamphlet is the text of a memorandum the Institute submitted to the Third Finance Commission. It was drawn up by an influential committee of experienced administrators, scholars and public men, headed by

Mr. N. Madhava Rao, formerly Dewan of Mysore. It deals concisely and crisply with the principles and issues involved and calls for a return to prudence in the handling of expenditure and revenue. Prudence is today contemptuously dismissed as antediluvian parsimony unworthy of a 'Welfare State'. There are several interesting suggestions made but it is enough we comment on only one. Dealing with profits in the public sector, the memorandum suggests that public sector enterprises should be required to contribute to central revenues only a percentage on capital advanced to them and that the surplus should be left with them for their own expansion and development. But we should have liked fuller account taken of the fact that most of these profits are the result of outrageously high prices charged to the consumers by these public sector enterprises. Bureaucratic intervention in industrial and economic development has shown in Indian experience to be both costly and inefficient and totally incapable of contributing to welfare. This issue should not be treated as a closed one. In Western Europe, socialism and nationalization are in retreat. Let us not rush into adoption of the discarded economic philosophies of the West.

The Report on the Prices of Food-stuffs is an illuminating document, calling for a sane re-examination of our food policy and policies impinging thereon; like the Congress land 'reform' policy, taxation policy, etc.

The Report calls for the abandonment of ideological legislation in matters vital to the nation's basic economic wellbeing. We are not, however, sure that the centralization of food policies and administration is a desirable alternative to the present position. The creation of a new landlord class of covetous but unenterprising tillers of the soil was resisted, it is well-known, by many of the State governments. It was the Left-Book Club indoctrinated small Lenins of the Central Government aided and abetted by those of the Planning Commission who forced 'land reform' on the State governments. The Report also calls for economy in expenditure and suggests a review of madcap projects like book publication (other than blue books and official records), Sangeet Natak Academy, Lalit Kala Academy, etc. It is totalitarian governments anxious for total control of the citizen's life that

usually embark on such governmental enterprises. But quite a few flourish, at the taxpayer's expense, in these fields and they are unlikely to welcome any contraction of government initiatives. True they are only self-styled devotees of culture. But the public in India, as the recent elections show, will take a lot of awakening.

We commend the unostentatious work of the Gokhale Institute and Mr. Gundappa on his very real practice of Karma Yoga. S.R.

## QUESTION-HOUR ... ..

(Continued from page 3)

7. The style of the question must not be rhetorical, ironical or satirical.

These rules do not restrict the scope and effectiveness of questions. They serve only to make the questions serve their purpose—which is to find out the truth about the acts of the Ministry and the officials responsible to them, and by mere exposure of them criticize them. Apart from putting questions, the member has the right of asking supplementary questions on a certain class of questions. These are starred questions denoted by an asterisk in front of them on the papers on which they are printed, which a minister answers orally. On these oral answers of a minister the member who put them, or any other, may ask further questions if the original answer is unsatisfactory or does not give the required information. The art of putting supplementary questions is a special art. It requires knowledge of the subject of the question, alertness in finding out any weakness in the answers, and quickness in asking it, for the Speaker or Chairman would only pause for a second or so before he calls for the next question. These "starred" questions are limited in number—each member can put only two or three a day. There is no limit to the number of unstarred questions, i.e., questions on which no "supplementaries" can be asked but which, with their answers, will be printed in the reports of the proceedings of the legislature. On account of the difference in the character of these questions, members must take care to get questions "starred," only if they consider them important or urgent. Starred or unstarred, no member's worth in a legislature can be considered to be complete if he does not put a certain number of questions in each session. And the Congress ministers will give them occasions and opportunities to do so in plenty.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## WITHDRAWAL OF CANDIDATURE AT ELECTIONS

Sir,—The recent pronouncement of a division bench of the Orissa High Court in the appeal arising out of a petition before the Election Tribunal seeking to set aside the election of Mr. Bijoyananda Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, is illuminating. The appellant's attempt to withdraw his appeal failed before the learned Judge, who observed: "The entire conduct appears revolting to professional ethics and the atmosphere is surcharged with suspicion. The application for withdrawal was filed in hectic hurry. Facts speak for themselves and weigh with us in not allowing the withdrawal of the appeal." An election petition cannot be allowed to be squared up as between the successful candidate and the defeated one, since the public and the entire constituency are substantially interested in and may be deemed as parties to the dispute.

No doubt the election rules under the Representation of the People Act permit the withdrawal of a candidate before the nominations are taken up for scrutiny by the Returning Officer. Before a candidate files his nomination paper, he must consider all factors and should never be allowed to withdraw it, as at present. Withdrawal cannot be the subject matter of negotiation or bargain between the several candidates, as if they were the only persons interested; in fact, the electorate is vitally interested in the matter. There is no sense in providing for withdrawal of candidates. If a candidate files his nomination and makes his deposit, he should not be allowed to withdraw under the pretext of saving his deposit.

I appeal to all right thinking men, to agitate for the deletion of the provision regarding withdrawal of nomination by a candidate, at the elections.

N. BALASUBRAHMANIA IYER  
Coimbatore Advocate

WHAT IS NEHRU'S  
'SOCIALISM'?

Sir,—As the function of the press, according to Wickham Steed is 'to gather, to make known, and to interpret news of public interest', I request you to enlighten me on one point.

Mr. Nehru is reported to have said, "My socialism is not what is written in any book on socialism or prevails elsewhere". I have read people saying that Mr. Nehru's socialism is yet undefined. If it is really so, how has the

country come to accept a thing which has not been defined and comprehended? If it has been defined, what is it?

Dumaria Estate P.O. S.M.S.  
Bihar

IN THE NAME OF  
'LAND REFORM'

Sir,—The members of my household, consisting of four sons, eight daughters, my eldest son's wife, my wife and I, are all adversely affected by the West Bengal Estate Acquisition Act and also by the West Bengal Land Reforms Act. I did not resort to the transferring of my surplus lands (as others had done) in or about 1952. The authorities have now issued notices for ejecting me from the 40 acres of paddy lands which we had all along been tilling ourselves and making a living out of it by honest labour.

Even before the last election the department concerned had invited applications from non-agriculturists as well as agriculturists having only 10 acres of land and wanting to take more on lease (at Rs. 10 an acre per year), but they were not then allotted any land.

## WANTED POLITICAL MORALITY

When everyone in public life realizes that the continued rule of the Congress does not represent any considered approval, but is due to the blind conservatism of the ignorant, eked out with a good deal of fraud, this continued monopoly of power is just as frustrating to others as the open violence of a despot.

It is therefore of great importance for national unity that the system be made more genuinely responsive, that is more democratic. Discussion has been concentrated, rightly, on two sets of conditions for this: one to neutralize the support the Congress receives because many people have never heard of any other party or think it is the same thing as the Government; and the other to prevent bribery, intimidation and so on.

The principal proposed steps of the first type are a change of the name of the Congress, and its adoption of a flag quite different from the national flag. The second purpose would be helped by the resignation of the government some time before elections, and a serious attempt by the police to

No action was taken on the applications, because of the elections then pending.

Now that the elections are over and the same old Congress Party has come to power, I fear it will deprive me and the large number of my dependents of our very means of livelihood just for the satisfaction of implementing its ideological aims, wholly ignorant of the fact that it is driving to despair human beings that had all along been sustaining themselves on honest, hard labour in the land of their own—because, forsooth, the 'family' (not the number of individuals constituting it) owns 15 acres in excess of the 25-acre ceiling!

The lands were bought under the Permanent Settlement Act but the present Government does not recognize it, though it does recognize other Acts and laws. It has not touched the owners of big mansions in cities or owners of factories and mills. It is of course easier for it to set up 250 landless agriculturists against a landowner! I am an agriculturist and produce foodgrain not only for my whole family but also for others' consumption. If I am deprived of the one means of sustaining myself and my children, no other course is open to me but to revolt. Has not Gandhiji said that "he is a coward who gives up his possession" or cannot protect himself?

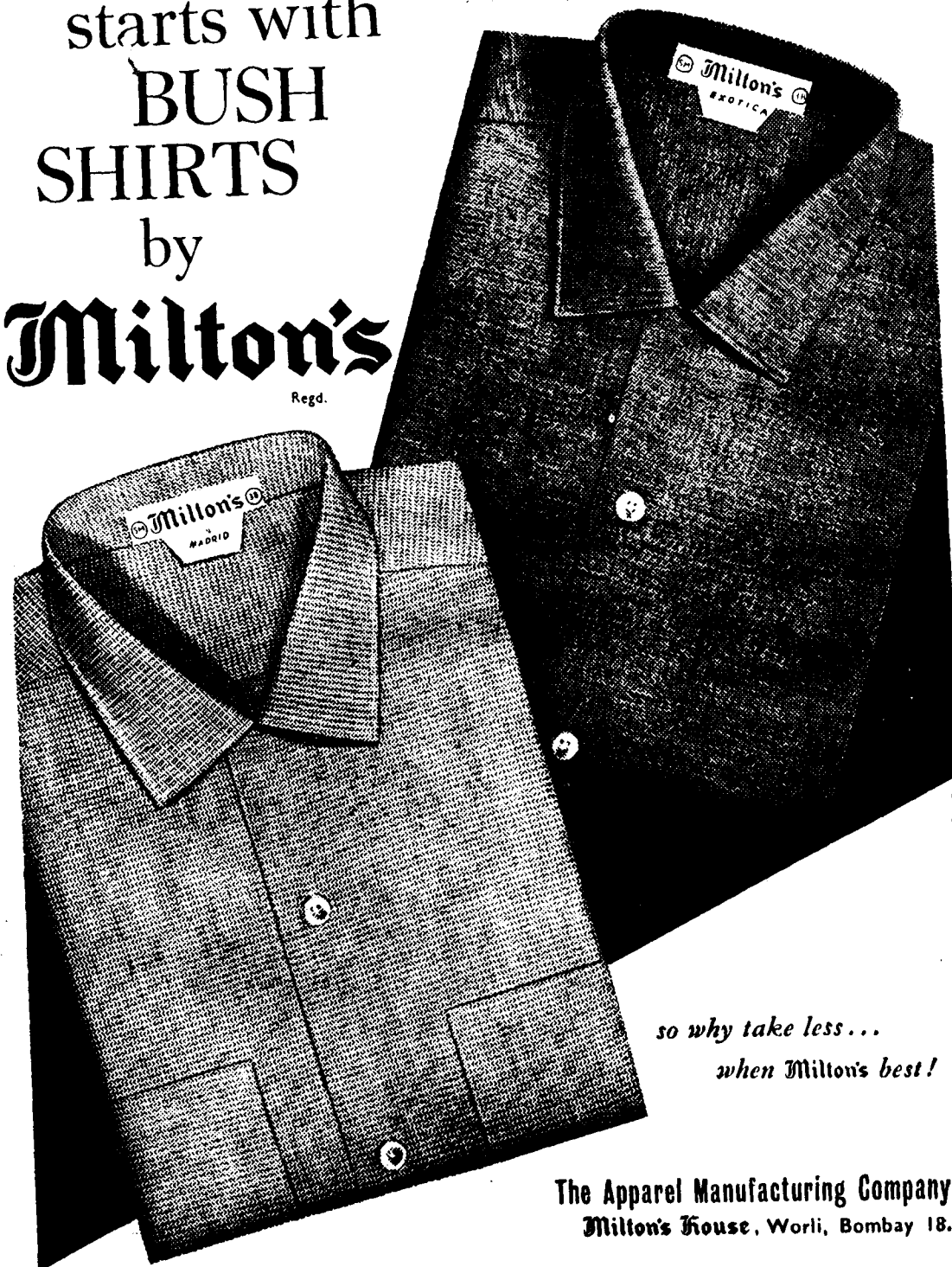
A BENGALI AGRICULTURIST

detect and punish the bribing of voters. These changes are necessary, not only to help Opposition parties, and not only to make the legislatures more truly representative. They are necessary for public morality, which is terribly debased by wholesale bribery of which everybody knows, and they are necessary in order to preserve national unity. Non-political citizens and right-minded congressmen ought to join in demanding reforms on these lines.—  
Courtesy: Mysindia

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# SWARAJYA

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI No. 42

MADRAS, APRIL 21, 1962

Price 15 nP

## POISONING MOTHER'S MILK

1962

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Seven years ago, the London Times wrote (Dec. 17, '54) plumping definitely for the use by the West of the worst atom bomb. Otherwise, it argued, the West was bound to be beaten. All the papers of that month in Britain expressed the same view. The wheel of expediency has now turned an awful full circle and, but for difficulties as to mutual trust, every one is now for banishing this monstrous weapon. The Powers have caught a Tartar who refuses to escape from his captors!

There is nothing meaner than cowardice and nothing so cowardly as killing men and women and children, combatants and non-combatants, through gadgets from a distance. Yet this has become the principal weapon of war for great nations whose literature and manners still hold up for worshipful admiration courage, chivalry, and high thought.

Between the two blocs that suffer for having eaten of the fruit of knowledge, the rest of the nations who have refrained from it—through incapacity to climb the tree—are also in peril of death and disease and total extinction, if a nuclear war should break out; but they are unable to prevent it and plead for mercy in the court of Brute Power, as if they were the sinners standing before Justice!

When a great crime is being openly proposed to be committed by a great and noble nation it throws into the shade all smaller

things, near though they may be, and however intimate our concern in them may be. The American President has been forced to take his attitude to its logical end. International inspection having been rejected by Khrushchov, President Kennedy must therefore proceed with his tests and this year's Easter month must be marked by freshly reinforced poisonous fall-out which will hang over us to shower death, disease and deformity over mankind, present and future. And this good sport will be followed by emulating Russian explosions which no doubt will surpass the American explosions in their malignant splendour. What a tragic competition between two great nations at the expense of the health the world has inherited! And for what purpose? For producing more of the weapons of which they have already enough to destroy civilization and mankind twice over. The humour of it is that it is for the production of weapons which, it is believed, will not be used! By a long, long process of evolution, man is born of the earth's atmosphere which supports its sucking baby's life and the plan of the nuclear Powers now is to poison the milk

of the maternal breast. The enormity of the offence would have rendered it unbelievable but for its terrible reality. If told as a story to our ancestors, they would never have believed it.

Mr. Zorin was disturbed by the quickness with which the negative answers came from Britain and the US delegates when he proposed on behalf of the USSR an unconditional moratorium of nuclear tests. But what is more disturbing than the speed of the replies at the conference is the fact that, while the talks are going on, there is an American task force in the Pacific making preparations for tests at Christmas and Johnston Islands, and decrees have been issued warning off seacraft from the area made dangerous by American plans for adding to their nuclear stock. These Powers warn and drive away boats and ships round about the islands, but they cannot 'warn' the poison away from over the heads of the world's men, women and children, and the unborn. The position now is this: that because America cannot be content with checks of her own and allied technicians, but feels she must have inspections inside Russia to which Russia will not agree, she must add to the fall-out poison affecting humanity in the present and future. The eight neutral delegates at the conference are begging hard for a moratorium. The only way to stop the tests is, perhaps, for these eight countries to send direct-action protest-

Democracy and a free economy are as logically linked as are dictatorship and State controls.

—Dr. Ludwig Erhard

boats now into the area, with brave men and women offering their lives. One may be sure there are men and women convinced, and brave enough, to join in this challenge and offer their lives. When neither law nor the moral sense of right and wrong is available to stop a most grievous and certain injury to mankind indulged in by Brute Power, the only course left to the brave is to offer their lives in this way.

It is good that 63 members of Parliament have written to Mr. Kennedy asking him to postpone indefinitely the projected nuclear tests on Britain's Christmas Island. As British members of Parliament "who are opposed to all nuclear tests, whether American, Russian, French or British, and who are anxious that general agreement on nuclear disarmament shall be achieved," these members wrote, "we beg you to postpone indefinitely the Christmas Island tests". The repeated assertion of Russia that international inspection is totally unnecessary as "not a single nuclear explosion carried out abroad, on or under the earth, has remained a secret from Soviet seismologists" is not an argument that can be brushed aside. If international inspection is an unnecessary condition, the fact that such inspection would certainly lead to fear of spying on the conventional defence arrangements of nations is an unanswerable objection to any effective international inspection scheme, so long as a treaty of total disarmament is not arrived at. The fear of spying is no less an objection than spying itself, for all these controversies are founded on mutual fear and nothing else.

All honour to the noble band of nuclear resisters in the UK and America. The national fear complex in the latter country is understandable. But the complex in Britain as reflected in Low's cartoon, ridiculing the British demonstrators against nuclear tests, is definitely less understandable and certainly ignoble. "Ban our bomb and end British influence in world affairs" is the caption given

to this caricature ridiculing Bertrand Russell and the other British ban-the-bomb demonstrators. If to retain British influence in world affairs is the only justification for adding to world poison, surely the

demonstrators are right. British influence will grow on another far nobler plane if the demonstrators' view is bravely accepted by the British nation. One wishes Low took a different line.

## TAXATION AND SOCIALISM

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Taxes transfer spending power from the people to the Government on the basic assumption that, as their agent, the State will render services to the people not within *their* means and ends. "No taxation without representation", which was the basis of American Independence and the starting-point of British democracy, reflects the limited power of the government in respect of taxation. Though taxation in India *preceded* representation, it is only after Independence, and particularly after planning, that the Government has changed its status from that of servant to master in all financial matters, raising and spending taxes and loans without reference to services rendered to the people. The Finance Commission has recently drawn attention to the various outlays which do not create *assets* but only *liabilities*. It has demanded that in every State the tax potential should be ascertained before plans are undertaken. It is pertinent to mention that a Congress legislator has elicited the information that it has cost the Mysore Government Rs. 16,000 to produce a single cycle!

The revenue and capital budget of the Centre is equal to about one-fifth of the national income. If the budgets of the States and of local bodies are added, the tax burden may exceed one-fourth of the national income. Since an increasing part of the taxation is becoming indirect, this burden is borne by the common people. Is it socialism to place such a burden on a people who have nearly the lowest income in the world? In addition to the burden of taxes, there is the burden of prices. Compared with world prices, ours are at least 50 per cent higher, which means that on account of

plans for developing our own industries, our people cannot import and purchase what is available to others at lower prices and better qualities.

The Government's justification for its taxes is that they are meant to develop the economy of the country. A few gigantic plants, even if they can work satisfactorily—which they have not done so far—cannot transform the economy which should be built up by production and consumption at all levels. In any case, the benefit from such plants, which are of a foundational nature, will be only in the remote future for the masses, even though a small number of contractors and employees may get rich at once. In the circumstances, these plants should have been left to private enterprise, which would not only have saved the people from taxes and loans but would have proved more economical and efficient, earning certainly more than 0.5 per cent as State enterprises did last year.

In agriculture, the investment of Government has been an equal failure. This year, after claiming that the production had increased by 11 per cent, the Government has just sanctioned dearness allowances aggregating to Rs. 10 crores, because the index has gone up by more than 10 points. It is no use blaming population growth for this because it has not gone up by 10 per cent during one year. The rest of the people who do not get dearness allowance have not only paid higher taxes but are also paying higher prices for commodities.

The second justification, that taxes shift income from the rich to the poor, has also no foundation in fact, as it is now admitted that the rich have grown richer because they pass on their taxes, in

## LIMITED FRONT

By POTHAN JOSEPH

The growth of solidarity in opposition to the trends of monolithic totalitarianism stemming from one-party rule, which the Congress wants to perpetuate, should be carefully fostered, free from dissipation of energy. The Prime Minister on his election-success claims that it is a spectacular endorsement of past policies, domestic and foreign, which had raised the credit and status of India in the eyes of the world. Our prestige is in contrast with the "isolation" of China, although Peking is not alarmed over China's plight when it comes to threats of external peril.

In developing the internal economy of India, Mr. Nehru entertains increasing confidence derived from the achievements of the past; and it is announced that crucial years are ahead in the practice of democracy, the pursuit of self-sufficiency, and the career of Pandit Nehru himself, as the supreme guide of our destiny. The purpose of an Opposition-party prepared to take office in the event of a breakdown, should not be missed in the process of Swatantrite organization. Outlining the next scheme of action

the way of higher prices, to the poor.

If the Government wishes to practise socialism, it should begin by reducing taxes, instead of increasing them as the budgets of the Centre and the States are doing. This will not only be a relief in itself, but by bringing down the prices will increase the content of all incomes, particularly of the poor who now spend all they earn. If the Government wishes to take positive steps for the true 'welfare' of the people, the Seminar just held in Delhi has indicated that all planning must be orientated to secure a minimum income. This will mean that planning will be shifted from the top to the bottom, from the towns to the villages, from political fiction to economic fact.

Mr. Lobo Prabhu observes that an alternative project of planning should be framed in the Delhi bureau. The Swatantra Party is not opposed to the policy of planning, provided business is not turned into State-monopolies which are bound to promote inefficiency and corruption, whereas the task of productivity left to private enterprise and free competitive marketing would improve output with curbs on inflation and spiralling prices. A fond criticism of Mr. Nehru against non-Congress "reactionaries" is that while his following has a *positive* programme, others take their stand on *negativism*. To refute that charge Mr. Lobo Prabhu would like to have the non-official party concentrate on devising new plans. The proposal is plausible since a constructive programme could be dangled in defiance of the mammoth-schemes of the Planning Commission built up in the last ten years by the Establishment. We had better not attempt meeting the challenge of monopolist Statism that way.

A counter-blast of that type would be a march in the wilderness. It was not all flippancy when Randolph Churchill said that the business of an Opposition is to oppose. In the present complex of affairs in India, negativism as a policy has its full content, and the critics of the Congress cannot be counted as slackers if they do not compete turning out paper-schemes about superior productivity. During the British rule the wielders of power would frequently call upon nationalists to produce better programmes instead of merely criticizing; they never dwelt on the prior importance of better personnel to handle problems and to eliminate abuses. At the height of the national struggle, the Tata-Birla plan with a modest outlay of Rs. 2,000 crores had been evolved by Indians, but its streamlined elegance had nothing to do in persuading unwanted overlords, by other means, that they had better quit instead of making themselves the judges of their own bungling.

When the new Parliament is in full swing, vital problems are bound to show up, problems that can be met only by downright

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opposition. Let us quote just one example outside the blunderland of Planning, State-Trading, Graft-conventions, etc. To restrict the scope or the argument to a simple issue, let us take the press-note of the Home Minister on February 7, where all govern-

ment servants below 45 years were ordered to attend Hindi classes. In a letter to the Central Ministries it was ordained that absence from Hindi classes would make them liable to disciplinary action for neglect of official duty. We all know that Hindi as the

language of India's heartland is an infatuation with millions of its inhabitants; and the citizens of other regions set store by the Prime Minister's solemn assurance that Khari-boli or any other dialect would not be introduced as official language in non-Hindi-speaking areas, unless the people themselves voluntarily signify their demand of that language. Mr. Nehru is in cultural matters a man of his word, but the *ukase* floated by the Home Ministry is an illegality on which a writ petition for a stay order can be taken. If a controversy arose in Parliament about such an insidious move penalizing a section of all-India public servants, the Opposition party will have to take a negative stand. That would not be the occasion to take a positive stand in terms of an amendment that English alone should be retained, with the ardour of a well-known publicist who had irritatingly raised the slogan: "Hindi never, English forever".

I have just put up this hypothetical dilemma to make it clear that the Opposition in routine confrontation on the floor of the House, will have to practise fair parliamentary manœuvres, when the Congress with its "brute majority" is there, like Bombastes Furioso harping on even minor questions to demonstrate gigantism in full facade:

Bombastes Furioso:  
*Who does this pair of boots displace  
Must meet Bombastes face to face:  
Thus do I challenge all the human race.*

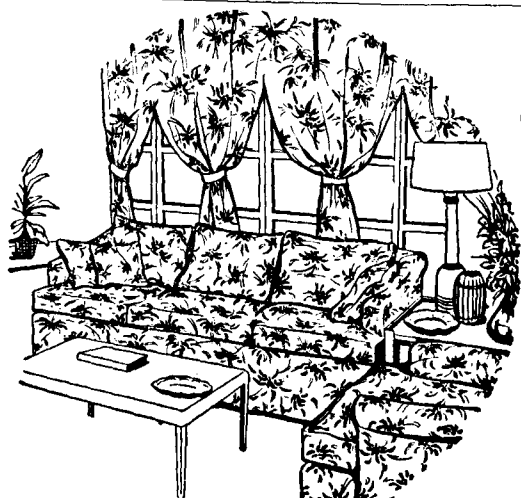
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## CURRENT EVENTS::

The Congress having won an impressive majority is morbidly interested in ascertaining why the campaign did not result in the total capture of Parliament and State legislatures. There is a little squeeze-space for the elements of an Opposition to coalesce which is absurd when the Congress absolutely represents the public. A session of the High Command is intent on making an example of "many Congress rebels" who seem to have failed in their function of semaphore-voting. It cannot be denied that the safeguard of the secret ballot had been designed by the fossils of the Constituent Assembly to afford security against "disciplinary action". The 'probe' began early on a few reverses sustained by eminent Congress nominees. Indeed "rank discipline" had been alleged in some quarters that require watching in subsequent efforts to ensure party-solidarity fully broad-based by extending the Establishment at the cost of the tax-payer who had not been forewarned of the riot of jobbery at polling-time. The general deduction is that disappointments began with "acts of indiscipline and sabotage in the Congress organization". The results of a hotch-potch enquiry are still to be tabulated, but very few of the bosses pause to reflect the sabotage of Gandhian ideals by which they swear, like saying grace before meals when the main business of multiplying the loaves and fishes of office for equal distribution is voraciously undertaken.

Mahatma Gandhi in his contemplation of the future expressed his hope that when Independence was won, the Head of the State would be a Harijan, preferably a woman, and would set an example by herself living in a small house. Conformity with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi has not been very much in evidence, certainly not in the vicinity of the old Vice-regal Palace which Gandhiji

would have liked to see converted into a hospital. The dynamism of his ideals was, however, in danger of being betrayed, and for him the first course of discipline lay in the Congress dissolving itself so that an era of balanced planning, suited to the country and corresponding to the economic maturity of the masses, could be initiated. The present pass in which a totalitarian High Command presides, resorting to new political ethics, was not in Gandhiji's mind. Nor did he envisage the facade of gigantic display at home and the quest of summiteering prestige abroad as India's national preoccupation within fifteen years of Freedom, with the old machinery creakily maintained for monopolist advantage amongst top-caboodles.

The Swatantra movement, still in its swaddling clothes, is bound to receive Mr. Nehru's cudgels as 'reactionaries' of a bygone non-atomic age; but he should not beguile himself with the notion that they are inclined to chuckle over any mishaps in planning or disappointments in the mission of facing the "big challenge" of the space-age against primevalism in India's agrarian economy. If there is a complete breakdown in Rourkela, it is as much a loss to the biggest Kanpur millionaire as to the poorest farm-labourer in the arid tracts of Rajputana. The psychology of party-animus must be set right in the light of certain Leftists' remarks. Criticisms have been uttered about the installation of atomic reactors like the *Apsara* as involving high costs in comparison with hydel-projects to obtain energy essential to industrialization. The Government of India has restricted itself to the peaceful use of atomic energy and nuclear power. But in Dr. H. J. Bhabha's address at the Institute of Fundamental Research in Bangalore, he gave it out that nuclear power-stations would produce electric energy at

costs lower than some hydel-sources. The advance in science indicated is most welcome. Was Dr. Bhabha, however, charitable or correct when he added that "those who have been prophesying the expensiveness of nuclear power are soon going to be *sadly* disappointed"? What he means is that here are curmudgeons in India so perverse and antiquated in their outlook as to feel "sadly disappointed" at the exploit of producing nuclear power at cheaper cost. We do want more power-transmission all over the country even by the attachment of wires clamped on to trees!

The suggestion is that there is a class of Jeremiahs bewailing the country's lot, whereas the "Progressives" are all out to "meet the challenge of the age". The truth of the matter is that as recently as five years ago scientists of high rank who wrote in study-groups on the condensation of energy and the fitment of atomic plants had their findings summed up in pessimistic terms. Commentators on India's present zest for gigantic undertakings (the *Apsara* was the first of its kind in all Asia, as Pandit Nehru told us) did argue then about the merits of first exhausting the energy latent in the waterfalls found all over the country as the cheaper device. There is no flapdoodle about bullock-cart mentality impeding mighty strides indicated in certain chapters of the Planning Commission and lying embedded in several papers collected by the Atomic Energy Commission—of both of which the Prime Minister is the Chairman. No party in India is so backward as not to rejoice in the progress of science if out of a gallon of saline sea-water, energy equivalent to 50-megatons is turned out for the benefit of suffering mankind by young Indian scientists now being coached in Calder Hill by British pioneers and researchers.

The Bombay Swatantra Convention made a cursory survey of

the causes for setback in certain constituencies, and the founder-leader confessed that he could not foresee the enormous pull of money in the procurement of votes, so significant of demoralization in the country. It was a challenge for educating the masses in the practice of straight and smearless voting in the future. The very first sensation of Congress triumph reverberated from Tiruchendur where a midnight surprise was expressive of the scope of inducements in manipulating victory for the party already in power, and which, apart from the influence of filthy lucre, commanded the full leverage of the machinery of administration. Still the Opposition had a fair score, only 44 per cent of votes going for the ruling party. Voters have to be tutored in the proprieties of democratic polling; but during the interregnum between the present and the time of the next elections, which cannot be very far, there are legislative battles to be fought on the floor of the House on behalf of the unsophisticated masses. For instance, a dynamic Chief Minister like Mr. Patnaik of Orissa announces that the Congress stands for "undiluted socialism" and that "administrative machinery should be used ruthlessly against those opposed to our socialist objectives". Such tactics call for a vigilant defensive programme, to put it at the lowest in the calculation of strategy.

The Prime Minister did not grudge praise for the past record of patriotism and efficiency for Mr. Manubhai Shah, who was in

sulks on swearing-in-day when 22 colleagues filed in for the purpose. They comprised the first lot, in a more composite ministry awaiting completion. On second thoughts Mr. Manubhai Shah approached the Prime Minister with the offer that he was ready to handle international trade. He had first imagined the task beyond him, especially in the export-drive contemplated for coping with deficit-finance, which is now on the toss between the Finance Minister Morarji Desai and the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. K. C. Reddy, who was left in undisturbed possession of his portfolio. The Prime Minister proved himself Master of the Hounds who could well spare a compliment, whilst showing disgruntled colleagues their place before joining the next queue of "Ministers of State". His ambitious colleague Mr. Shah could still say:

*Perhaps it was right of  
you to dissemble your love  
But—why did you kick  
me downstair?*

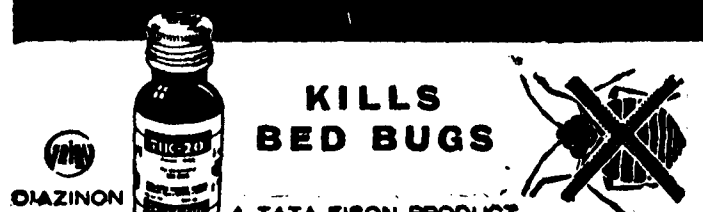
The anticipation is that after the running of Trial Stakes, the Prime Minister will be able to judge form, and reconstitute the Ministry, with subtractions and additions, to fit the extended periphery of his policy, domestic and foreign. Surplus-talent from the old stock of *expertise* he has diverted to the Planning Commission which is to prescribe the pace and diversity of India's economic progress in all directions; for instance, Mr. Vishnu Sahay, I.C.S.,

formerly Cabinet-Secretary and Minister of Kashmir Affairs, finds his assignment in Planning Commission along with Mr. Keskar who strengthens the panel enhancing energy in the performance of target-programmes. With Professor Mahalanobis and the magic of Statistics receding out of the picture, fresh inspiration is required for faster productivity to reach the 'take-off stage' so urgently needed in order to establish self-sufficiency whether in respect of modern fighting weapons, or augmented harvests to feed the poor now holding bowls to get nearer the essential standard of 2,500 calories per *capita per diem*.

The whimsical increase of ministerial personnel to stabilize party-advantages rather than to overcome the crisis in confidence tends to have a depressing effect on the psychology of the Public Services. No doubt, increments have been sanctioned for the All India Services which should always attract the best we have of juvenile talent after open tests. No brilliant student sitting for examination on level terms should have cause to regret his choice, but we are afraid that higgledy-piggledy selections in the political field through patronage, not to mention the growth of toting in business, is bound to foster a sense of disenchantment. It is all very well for leaders to shout that they should incessantly work hard for the welfare of millions, but there are certain simple elements of incentive and the operation of a free economy for making human effort worthwhile. In the best working days of a young man in Public Service, he must have the confidence of a fair deal to eliminate tragedies like anti-corruption squads getting merged with corrupt-gangs in high places. The gazetted contemporary, who showed promise far above the probable attainments of his sluggish-classmates, may lose heart when the latter figure as successful adventurers moving along corridors with the halo of self-sacrifice and prodigious work of apocryphal authenticity.

P.J.

# TIK-20



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## THE VERBAL UNIVERSE

By BHIKKU

"The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart: his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords."—*Psalms*.

Words glibly slide down political runways in platitudes, slogans, cliches and claptraps that fix and codify complex elements into set and moulded terms for the edification of the common man. They however get steeply biased in the process towards evoking emotion rather than understanding. By and by they are wrung so dry with much beating that they produce no resonance in the hearers, and so ultimately disintegrate. But before this happens their purpose as a rallying-cry, or as a diversionary tactic, is more or less fulfilled.

Firstly, we have the various 'liberations': liberation of Kashmir by Pakistan, of Tibet by China, of Cuba by Castro. The bandits of Shivpuri in Rajasthan no doubt claim that they are liberating kisans from the sowkars and the sowkars from the temptations of filthy money.

'People's Democracy' and 'socialist republic' are self-applied terms to stony-hard communist dictatorships and cast-iron socialisms. These are samples of words that have run away on their own, leaving their thought behind and landing on their heads. Words and cliches in our own land are less transparent in their dubiety. Redemption of the working man from the capitalist, the kisans from the landlords, and the interests of the public from the depredations of "private enterprise", in the hands of a few men to play with the lives of people at the stock exchange—these are platitudes that bear a bluff Johnsonian honesty about them. Since hammer and anvil change positions, justice and injustice, the exploited and the exploitee go on see-sawing from one end to the other, and it takes a generation for the change to reveal itself—that there is no

immanent verity about these showy sentiments either.

'Bharat' now and then is severely admonished for its misdeeds by the rulers of Pakistan. "Pakistan," said its Minister for Minority Affairs after one of the communal scraps here, "is totally and completely free from communal frenzy, such as is common in other countries," and asked "the majority community (in India) to refrain from attacking the minority". This method of baiting the opponent is of "the tongue in the cheek" brand.

Within our own borders we have parallels in our Prime Minister's claim that "the public sector in India today is infinitely superior to the private sector" and his statement to the Congress Parliamentary Party that "co-operative farming had been accepted by the country and now only its technical aspects are being discussed". These synthetic convictions are more than wishful thinking. By the art of repetition, what was not true is to be converted into truth! They are feints making out a *fait accompli* when everything is still very much, at sixes and sevens.

'Deviationism', 'dogmatism', 'personality cult' are recent loaded additions to the political vocabulary of Russia that bear heavy lethal charges in them.

'Traditionalism', 'stagnation', '13th century ways', 'moving in ruts' all of which are anathematized with bell, book and candle, and 'dynamism', 'modernism', 'atomic age' are all sagas in cliches for an ingathering of dispersed vitality and forcing the pace to a galvanic leap. These rallying-calls have shrilled the ears to deafness like an electric horn that has got stuck. The cry of "wolf, wolf!" has been made too often at fakes, and it is now being more than suspected to be a ploy of the wolf itself to mislead the sheep. The advance that is win-

dow-dressed and dramatized in the Plans and public enterprises are marvellous in a new way: the ordinary man has to sprint as hard as he can to stay where he was, like a rat climbing a revolving ladder. The arthritic limp is anything but a leap!

Some phrases that fall occasionally from the lips of Nehruji like 'historic mission' and 'agents of destiny' have an ominous ring about them, for they were favourites with Hitler and Mussolini. Whatever be the new import that Panditji may be giving to these words they bear the stamp of autocratic single-track ruthlessness that marked the ways of those despots.

Verbal pyrotechnics that serve to ginger up sagging spirits that are still much in service are 'not a foot of country's soil', 'meet any challenge' and 'people are prepared for any sacrifice to preserve their rights'. These demagogic fuses for raising an applause have become a little too damp.

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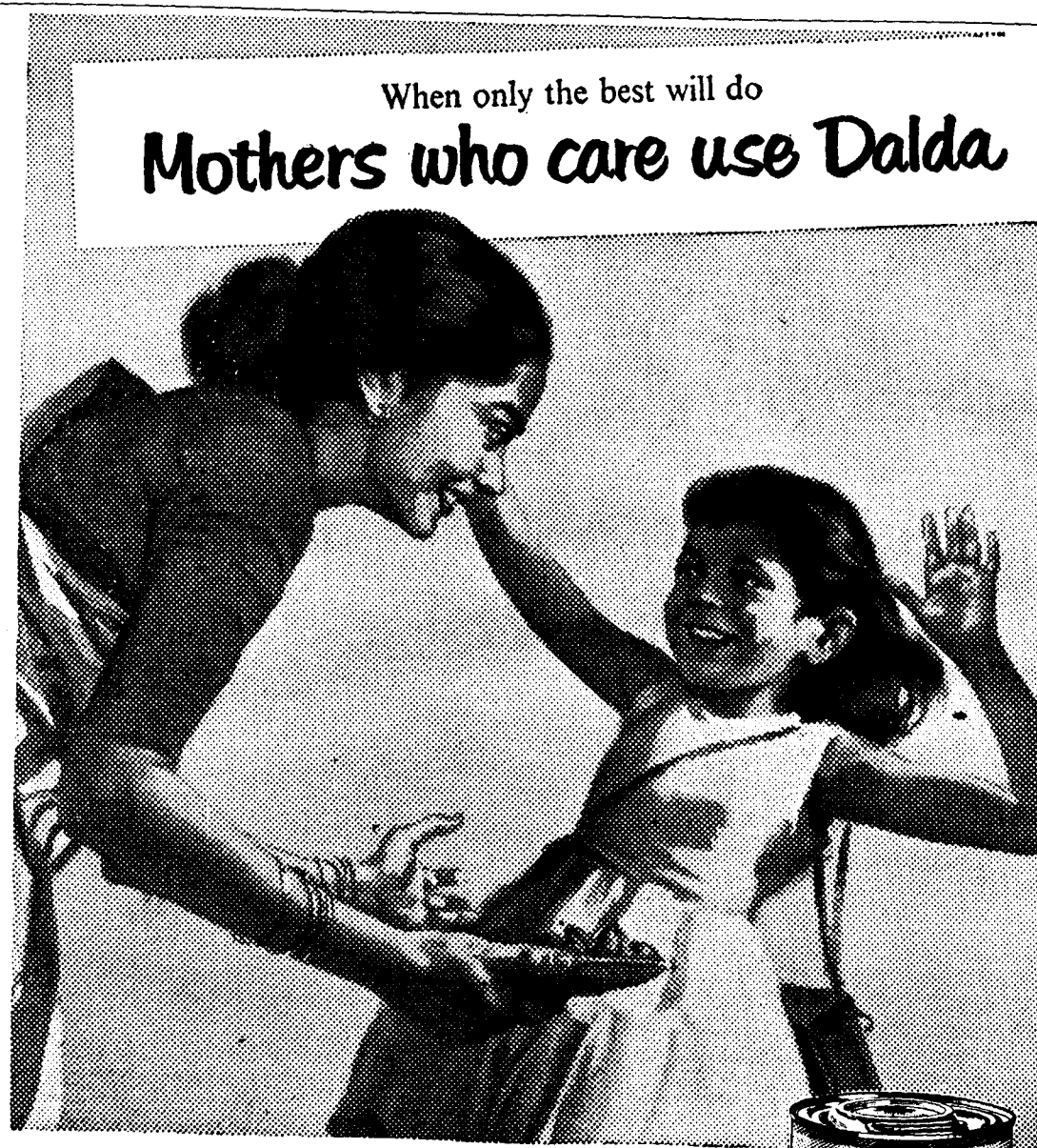
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In the swelter and muddiness of politics the common man is bemused when our Prime Minister claims some talismanic quality in what he calls "no war declaration" from our neighbour of Pakistan. The phrase bears something of the musty flavour of *Panch sheel*. How such a decla-

ration from a totalitarian ruler, one of the well-known brand which considers inconvenient covenants no more binding than cobwebs, can help to reduce risks to this country, or save us from the burden of guarding our frontier, is beyond our ordinary understanding.

It is all a misty game where nouns and adjectives and verbs, instead of playing a gracious kaleidoscopic game of meaningful patterns and colours, take on deceitful, sombre and sometimes ghoulish character, and prey upon the stupefied senses of work-a-day men and women.



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## PLANS — OF EXPENDITURE ONLY!

By K. N. SRIVATSAN

Every realistic entrepreneur would fix the amount of his investment in a concern in the light of the return he desires and the rate of dividend declared by the concern. Our rulers desire that the national income should go up by Rs. 45 billion during the period of the Third Plan which they hope to achieve by investing Rs. 104 billion, as advised by the planners. A simple arithmetical calculation will show that our planners have assumed, on an average, a rate of return of 43 nP on each rupee of investment. But is this assumption sustainable? If we look back at the performance of our *limping* 'planned' economy during the Second Plan as evidenced by the official figures, we see that our national income has increased by Rs. 22.1 billion with an investment of Rs. 67.5 billion. It works out to a return of 33 nP a rupee on the investment during the Second Plan. One may ask: "What if the planners have erred, on the optimistic side, by 10 naye paise a rupee in the rate of return?" This over-estimation of 10 nP in the rate of return makes all the difference in our investment plan, because we would have to invest Rs. 136 billion on the 33 nP realistic basis and not Rs. 104 billion as the misplaced optimism pinned upon the rate of return of 43 nP would have us believe.

Where is this huge sum of Rs. 136 billion to come from? Wealthy nations are already sickened to desperation by our regular large-scale beggary. Planners have already exhausted all the resources for getting even Rs. 104 billion. There remains but one source. It is the note-printing. But the intensification of note-printing has its limits too. Note-printing during the Second Plan has led to a rise of over 30 per cent in the price-level. What, then, has made the planners to assume 43 nP rate of return a rupee proposed to be invested in the Third Plan? Turning over the pages of the 774-page Plan document, you will find the planners keeping totally silent on their vital assumption.

The planners might say: "The actual rate of return on investment during the Second Plan may be less than what we have assumed for the Third Plan. But surely all the sectors of the economy do not exhibit the same rate of return. We hope to so balance the shares of investment among the various sectors as to get a higher overall rate

of return than was possible under the Second Plan". Let us see whether the 'balanced' investment proposed by the planners would yield Rs. 45 billion at the end of the Third Plan. The following table, prepared with the help of the planners' statistics, will reveal a hopeless situation:

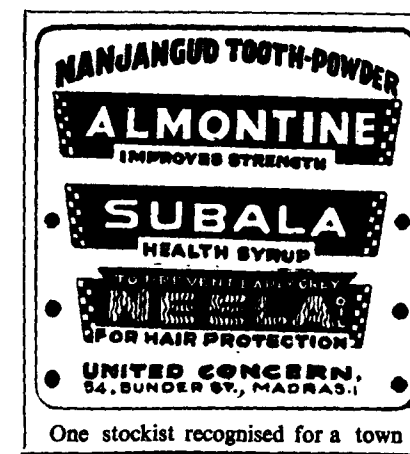
| Table                                                                          |                  |                                                        |                  |                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (Investment and national income in billion Rs.)                                |                  |                                                        |                  |                |
|                                                                                | Agricul-<br>ture | Mines, fac-<br>tories and<br>small-scale<br>industries | Other<br>sectors | All<br>sectors |
| 1. <i>Second Plan</i>                                                          |                  |                                                        |                  |                |
| (i) Investment                                                                 | 12.55            | 18.10                                                  | 36.85            | 67.50          |
| (ii) Increase in the national income in the sector                             | 8.40             | 3.50                                                   | 10.20            | 22.10          |
| (iii) Rate of return per Rupee invested.                                       | 67 nP            | 19 nP                                                  | 28 nP            | 33 nP          |
| 2. <i>Third Plan</i>                                                           |                  |                                                        |                  |                |
| (i) Investment proposed                                                        | 21.10            | 29.95                                                  | 52.95            | 104.00         |
| (ii) Expected increase in national income on the basis of II Plan performance. | 14.20            | 5.70                                                   | 14.80            | 34.70          |

The above table clearly shows that if the experience of the Second Plan, with its emphasis on the waste-prone public sector, is any guide, we would achieve, at best, only an increase of Rs. 35 billion in national income rather than Rs. 45 billion as worked out by the planners. They may well, of course, explain: "The analysis of the fate of return from only three sectors of the economy as set out in the above table is not sufficient. Even in one sector, one project may yield a higher return than another. We would concentrate our investment only in the high-yield sectors". Then why can you not state the differential rates of return in various sub-sectors of the economy and the investment in each sub-sector, so that we may see for ourselves the soundness of your assumption? Surely, the bulky Plan document should have highlighted these vital facts instead of bristling with highflown platitudes and balanced generalities. The real reason, however, for not giving the differential rates of return from various sub-sectors is that the planners simply do not have any *reliable data* in respect of a large majority of these sub-sectors.

Thus, it is clear that the planners apparently did not arrive at Rs. 104 billion-investment in any *realistic man-*

ner. How then did they arrive at their figures for investment? Here is what a wag tells me: "First, the ruling politicians name a certain amount of money they would be pleased to spend during the Plan period. Secondly, the Central Statistical Organization releases regularly its figures (not facts, of course) for national income based upon large-scale guess-work prescribed under the rules of computation laid down by the National Income Committee in the

early fifties. Thirdly, the planners' task is to relate the rulers' *desire* for large-scale spending with the C.S.O's unrealistic figures for national income for computing a figure for the rate of return on investment, which figure is ultimately *sanctified* by panels of 'experts' roped in for the purpose". The wag may very well be right. The pity is that people who oppose these waste-prone and woolly 'Plans' are branded 'anti-national' and are threatened with ruthless administrative sanctions by a power-mad money-bag masquerading as a socialist in Orissa.





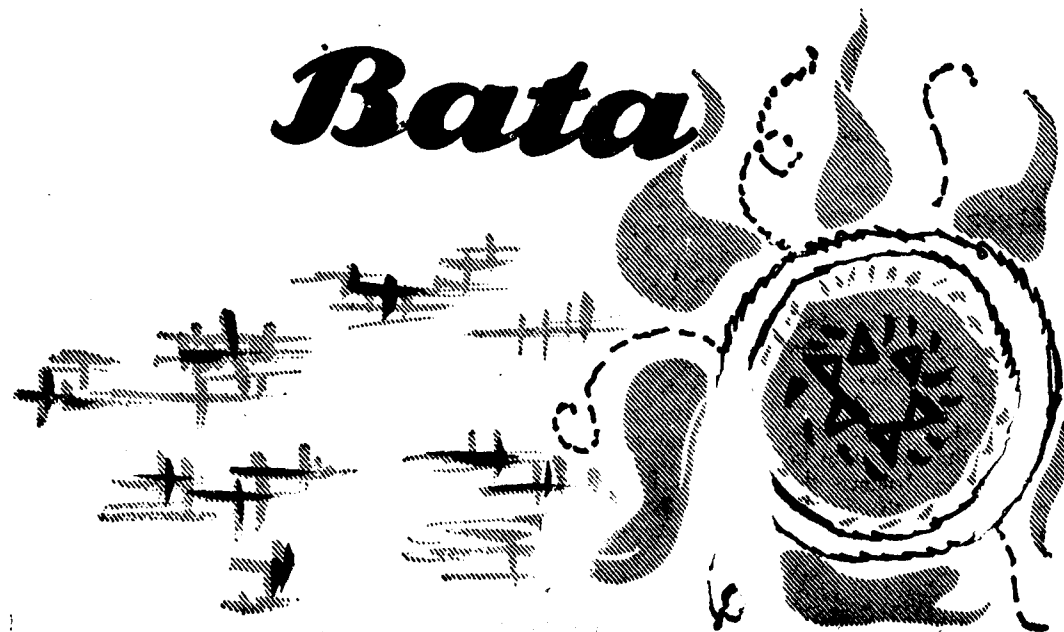
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Dear Reader

The *Statist* (a British weekly) has in an editorial expressed the view which has often found place in these pages that private investment would lead to a more efficient use of foreign aid than what is given to governments.

Aid-receiving governments develop the tendency to switch more of their internal resources over to military development, which in turn starts an arms race among smaller Powers with not much love or mutual trust lost between them. Thus foreign aid to governments, as distinguished from investment in private enterprise, becomes an indirect form of military aid. If direct military aid given by foreign Powers is bad, it makes no difference if this is done indirectly (as in the case of India) by helping the release of a much larger share of internal resources for this purpose.

Kenneth de Courcy's *Intelligence Digest* gives interesting information about the comparative cost of living in the UK and the USSR. The cost is not put in roubles or shillings but in terms of the time a man has to work in either country to earn the money required to pay for the things he has to buy. The wage rates in the respective countries are thus taken into account in comparing the cost of living in the two countries. The price of one kilo of bread in the USSR represents 10 minutes' labour. In the UK it represents 12 minutes' labour. Thus bread is slightly costlier in the UK than in Russia. Tea costs the same in both countries: 4 minutes' labour. Twenty cigarettes consume 40 minutes' labour in the UK whereas it is much cheaper in Russia. The wage for 13 minutes' work would buy as many cigarettes in Russia. Seven-and-half hours' labour represents the cost per week for a three-bed room flat in the UK whereas in the USSR it would consume only a little over two hours' work.

Lodgings are thus much cheaper in the USSR than in the UK. Beef is about the same cost in both countries—one hour and forty minutes' work for a kilo of beef in the UK and one hour and forty-five minutes in the USSR.

There are some other items wherein the USSR fares very badly. One kilo of sugar costs in Russia one hour and ten minutes' work whereas in the UK it can be got for fifteen minutes' wages. Milk is 80 per cent costlier in the USSR than in the UK. The price of one litre in the USSR is 18 minutes' work, while in the UK it represents only 10 minutes' labour. Butter is worse still for Russia, where the price of one kilo would be three hours and twenty minutes' labour against less than one hour's work in the UK (54 mts.). A cotton shirt in the UK costs only three hours and forty minutes of a man's wage-time whereas in Russia it is twelve and three-quarter hours' work.

The report of the delegates of the Amalgamated Engineering Union of the UK, on which this information is based, gives the comparative cost of shoes which shows that gentlemen's and ladies' shoes which in the UK can be had for the money earned by ten-and-half-hours' work, cost in the USSR twenty-nine-and-half-hours and forty-two-and-half-hours' work respectively. Even the price of the cheap variety of ladies' shoes which in the UK represents six hours and forty-five minutes' work, represents more than fourteen hours' work in the USSR.

The army command which seized power in Syria on March 28 seems to be continuing in power. Major General Abdel Karim Zahreddin, the Commander-in-Chief, has stated to the press that the new Government will comprise all elements "whom we can trust and who can serve the country". All the news coming show that the civil authority is under sufferance only. Unthink-

ing expansion of the power of the disciplined defence forces is a definite danger to democracy where the civil government has not produced, and is incapable of producing, good government.

Public attention has been drawn to the export of frogs on a large scale for the sake of getting money for frog-skins which are in demand in the West for making ladies' gloves and other luxuries in demand there. The reduction of the frog population has in the affected area resulted in increased breeding of mosquitoes on which the frogs feed. This is but one instance of the importance of abstaining from disturbing nature's balance. There are infinite secrets in nature, and many disturbing things are held in check, so that life may go on smoothly as it has been doing. If, for one reason or another, we do something which disturbs the balance of life in nature, we reap consequences which, when they are made plain, bring to light our error in attempting to disturb nature's balance. Everything is food in this world. Everything is food for some other thing; thus the whole living world is a chain of *anna* (food). This is *Upanishad*—one of the most ancient records of Indian wisdom. Do not therefore seek to break this natural chain, thinking you are wiser than nature or juster or more compassionate. Avoid needless killing, but where it is a matter of natural food, interference in nature's arrangement is stupidity. There is an ancient fable in the *Hitopadesa* wherein a foolish protest by a pious man at a kite swooping down on a frog and carrying it away resulted in the immediate loss of his spiritual power. Till that moment he could keep his wet loin cloth floating in the air to dry without any line or other support, but when he exclaimed and cursed the kite for its cruelty in pouncing on the innocent frog, his cloth came down by the force of gravity.

Frogs eat up mosquitoes, snakes live on frogs, and so on. Nature's

balance is thus maintained. Otherwise there would be a tremendous, and undesirable, increase of numbers at some point or other.

This theory of balance is not a superstitious deification of nature. It is as scientific as Darwin's theory of evolution. If the present state of things has evolved from the past, and a balance has been reached by mutual dependence or antagonism for natural causes, any wanton disturbance of it for purposes other than survival, would be an interference with the environment to which life has adjusted itself, and must therefore be harmful. The mosquito nuisance is bound to increase if we export the frogs for earning foreign exchange, and human health must suffer. Let us export what we make and not disturb the exquisite balance of nature by seeking to make cheap profit out of wild life. Sport is bad enough but the motive of money makes it doubly bad.

The publication of all primary school text-books and teachers' manuals will, it seems, be taken up by the Government and two big printing presses will be set up for carrying out this project, one in Madras and the other elsewhere. The business hitherto attended to by self-employed publishers under adequate competition, and severely subjected to the approval of educational authorities, will now be a centralized monopoly of the State. It is bound to lead to complaints of attempts at indoctrination. It will be costly and inefficient management. Production as well as distribution will reflect the inherent defects of centralized management. Money invested in the project will be a great and unnecessary additional drain on public resources, whereas hitherto the publishers found all the required capital and working expenses. The buildings themselves, and the purchase of machinery and equipment and raw materials from time to time on a centralized basis, will provide plenty of occasion for losses due to corrupt practices, inexperience and negligence. The

scheme is an utterly unwarranted invasion on the private sector, and an unnecessary taking over of very expensive and difficult responsibility. The control over the books produced, exercised at present by the Government educational authorities, has been quite adequate. At any rate the new project will not improve the position. It may also in course of time prove to be a form of indirect taxation. All-India centralization in the field of primary school books is a most ill-thought out policy from every point of view—educational, political, financial and managerial.

No one need be surprised or shocked if prices of various extensively used commodities go up as a result of new import licence and revenue policies and further centralization of power in respect of issue of permits. It is the inevitable result of the renewal of charter to the Congress Party, the current replica of the East India Company. The East India Company of Indian history was a trading organization which took over government as well. The Congress Party is an organization originally entrusted with government, now undertaking commerce and trade in addition to administration.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has followed his conservative instinct in the formation of his "new" Cabinet. It would have been better even in substance, as it would certainly have been in form, if the formation of the Cabinet could have waited until the new President of the Union was elected and installed. If Mr. Nehru had kept the old Government going until the new President came to take the chair of office, and "advised" the new President to appoint the new ministers in accordance with his advice, the picture may have been different from what has now been presented to the nation. It is needless to say that there has not been much enthusiasm over the Cabinet announcement, except in the glad hearts of the two or three ministers of State promoted to sit

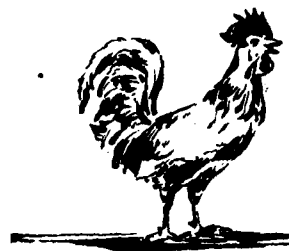
silently round the table as Cabinet ministers. "Old wine in old bottles," say some newspapers. In the case of wine, the old is good and old bottles are better than new bottles which might burst under the pressure of old wine. However inapt, the phrase expresses the feeling of public disappointment at the re-appointment of almost the same old ministry, merely reshuffling portfolios. Advice exchanged with a new President may have resulted in something different.

I have seen a cartoon about the French-OAS situation showing a self-acting gadget by which the victim is bringing the guillotine down on his own neck with no scope for a *locus paenitentiae*. How apt this cartoon would be for the prosperous gentlemen in business who support Congress rule, and vote for its continuance, is made clear in the following concluding passages taken from an article by Dr. Pasricha in *Quest* of this quarter:

"We come to the sad and depressing conclusion that Indian society, which should be deeply concerned about threats to liberty and jealously guard it, is apathetic and smug in its fond and foolish belief that everything will come all right by the grace of God. Such a people only God can help.

"More than anyone else in the current Indian conditions, it is the business man who stands to gain by the preservation of Free Enterprise. Yet he is the one who is inclined to do the least for it beyond lip sympathy of which he gives plenty. As long as money is coming in, he is the least inclined to think of tomorrow. The manner in which he chases authority, political or executive, corrupts it or purchases it, is not only incredible; it is a measure of his debasement. It has not yet occurred to him that the money he is busy making today with shady means could be taken away from him by a grasping government in less than the twinkling of an eye."

One of the big personalities of India passed away last week. Visvesvaraya was respected and loved by the people of Mysore as no one else was. We have lost in him a most pure-minded, tidy,



## A Crowing Chanticleer

In paying reciprocal tribute to the Prime Minister, Speaker Ananthasayanam Ayyangar described him as "one of the tallest men of the day". Actually he cannot be rated among the tall men of the day. Pictures of his applying *Kunkum* on the forehead of Mrs. Kennedy at Holi festival would indicate the difference, though comparison with Ambassador Galbraith, in abnormal stature, would be preposterous.

"To part is to die a little" said Mr. Nehru to the retiring Speaker. To die in harness could also be a pretty tiresome process.

As a rule, most people on departure of trains, skip away from the platform with greater vigour in order to catch a taxi before someone else nabs it from under the station-porch.

The gambling instinct of the average Burman is traditionally so deep that a pair of them, when they meet, take out their dice-tackle for a lark while the wives

eager and active soul, dedicated entirely to service for the country. He has passed out after a full life-time of work. He was a just man, though a hard task-master. He had in a way anticipated all our present planners and economists, and joint-conferences-men. In his death I have lost one more friend who for no great reason at all was fond of me. 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.

C.R.

do the work; or they take a bet on which fly of the two on the floor jumps first.

Without Peking taking notice of the Indian team's report on the Indo-China border dispute and the story of 4,000 years' friendship, India cannot have talks with China or Chou-En-lai. The Prime Minister had made the declaration before the Patna Congress; he repeated it during the election-campaign for China to hear; and he reiterated the demand in the Lok Sabha. The cry of the Bellman in Lewis Carroll's *Hunting of the Snark* could not be more explicit.

*Just the place for a Snark!  
I have said it twice  
That alone should encourage  
the crew.*

*Just the place for a Snark! I  
have said it thrice:  
What I tell you three times is  
true!*

India's sovereign advice at Geneva is, however, worth following: when rupture or breakdown appears in parleys, try, try, try again. The border question will one day be solved only by unsewing the lips for negotiations with China, and strict observance of the Five Principles does not ban that course of normalcy in connection with a country maintaining diplomatic relations.

When the deputies of the French Revolution met as the sequel to Rousseau's book (*Social Contract*), they began after a solemn oath not to break up until they produced a Constitution. Representatives present at the Geneva Conference must first swear that they wouldn't part

until there is a 'Disarm and Scrap Atom Treaty'.

In Burma, the Revolutionary junta has disbanded the Supreme Court. In the Argentine the new *coup raj* President has ordered the Supreme Court Chief to take over the entire administration. A cultural exchange of jurists and militarists between Rangoon and Buenos Aires may be shortly announced!

Saints, even the most austere, have a pawky sense of humour. When Sadhu Sunder Singh lost his eye and doctors visited him, he was struggling with a book to finish the chapter.

"My dear Sadhu, I am afraid you are a very obstinate man!" said the doctor. "You ought to have given in long ago. Now, alas—"

"You mean that you cannot cure my eyes?" asked Sundar Singh from the bed where he lay.

"The sight of one of them is quite gone."

There was a twinkle in the Sadhu's remaining eye.

"Well," he smiled, "the Scripture says, 'if thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light'. I, at any rate, can say that my eye is single."

Here we pause for an illuminating story:

Millionaire (to a beggar) — "Be off with you this minute!"

Beggar — "Look 'ere, mister; the only difference between you and me is that you are makin' your second million, while I am still workin' at my first." P.J.



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## PLIGHT OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

By BHUPENDRA V. DAVE

During the last fifteen years since the end of the British domination in India, the inarticulate masses and particularly the middle classes in this country, have found to their great dis-

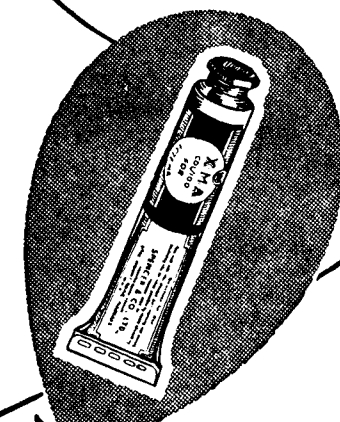
may and disappointment that the high aspirations they had been cherishing before their political liberation have not been realized and feel totally frustrated. The middle classes are today

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on the verge of ruin, and if the Congress misrule and corruption should continue for yet another decade, they might even cease to exist. The Avadi Congress session in 1953 adopted the fateful and ominous resolution of establishing a 'socialistic pattern of society' with equal opportunity for all without any distinction of class, caste or creed, striking the first fatal blow at the economic condition of the middle classes in our country.

The Congress claims to have achieved a colossal 'industrial revolution' in India during these years. But it has really done something quite the contrary. Heavy taxation, prohibitive restrictions on trade and agriculture, and foreign indebtedness have reduced the condition of the middle classes to a state of unbearable existence. It is not an 'industrial revolution' which the Congress has brought about, but an 'economic revolution' which is a symptom of the advent of creeping communism. People are tired of this disastrous socialistic policy, which has led to heavy taxation, corruption, and top-heavy bureaucratic administration perceptibly lowering the morale of the nation. The Congress leaders, who are our rulers today, have forgotten the high ideals of the pre-Independence days, and as the saying goes "yatha raja, tatha praja", the people too have lost sight of their high ideals.

The middle classes are worst affected, and most badly hit, by this economic and moral tilting. The high cost of living has become unendurable, and none can say when this Congress domination with its highhanded policy will end. It has become a worse substitute to the exploitation by the British. The social, moral, economic and political condition of the innocent middle classes will soon further deteriorate, if the Congress maladministration should continue longer.

The Congress leaders are vociferously declaring that the Swatantra Party is a party of the princes, Rajas, industrial magnates, aristocrats and Fascists. But it is for saving the innocent middle classes, who are economically crushed under Congress rule, that this party has come into being. A majority of the people hate the Congress misrule and they can no longer credulously rely on what the Congress calls an 'industrial revolution' to achieve their redemption. What the people want is liberation from the imperceptible despotism of the Government. They urgently demand a change of the present socialistic policy, which has spelt ruin, starvation and unemployment for the masses in the country.

April 21, 1962

The multiplicity of complex socialistic laws, co-operative farming, ceilings on land holdings, restrictions on private trade and enterprise, the Rent Act, are all measures which have destroyed our Indian culture and high ideals for which our country was well-known in the world. It is high time that the present trend towards what is euphemistically called 'economic and socialistic revolution' is arrested. For successfully combating this trend, it is imperatively necessary that the Congress should be ousted from power by building up a strong Opposition.

## WASTAGE OF SCARCE RESOURCES

Saving and capital accumulation are exceedingly painful in a poor country where the pressure of current need is very great. In a more affluent community saving is much easier.

Much of the technology of the more advanced countries represents an accommodation to labour shortages or reflects the other special requirements of the more advanced economy. The mechanical cotton picker or the modern heavy farm tractor are innovations of this sort. Their use on the farms in the United States reflects the fact that labour for hire is exceedingly scarce. This technology should not be taken over by countries in the earlier stages of development. To do so is to waste scarce resources and handicap development and, much more than incidentally, to add to unemployment.

Thus it is a mark of wise development planning to copy from the countries in the more advanced stages. And it is also a mark of wise planning not to do so. The distinction, which I have just made between innovations of universal application and those which are merely adaptations to higher stages of development, is not an easy one to apply. But it is more likely to be applied if the need for the distinction is at least recognized. Not long ago, in a neighbouring Asian country where there is much unemployment and where wages are low, I saw expensive automatic gates imported from abroad being installed at the railroad crossing. These are a necessary development in those countries where no one is any longer available for reflective life of the railway gatemen. But not here. Had the distinction I am making been more clear in mind, considerable money would have been saved and the gentlemen would have remained gratefully at their posts.—U.S. Ambassador Galbraith.



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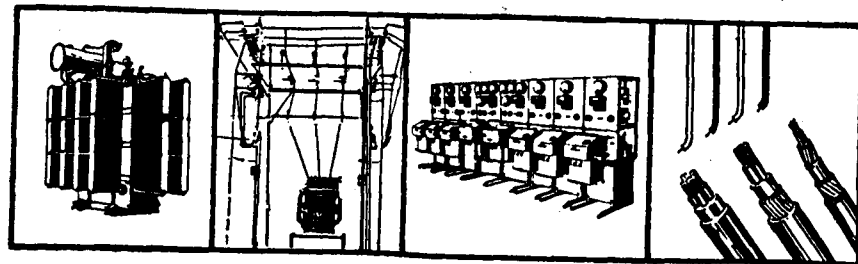
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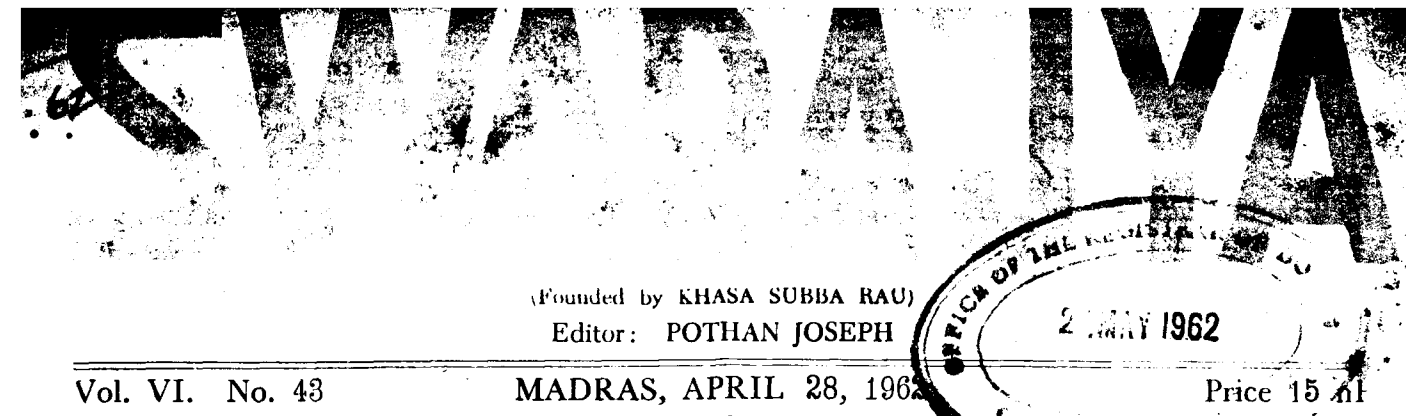
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Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 43

MADRAS, APRIL 28, 1962

Price 15 ml

## THE WOLF AND THE LAMB

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

An illusory scheme of equality and happiness, which has clearly failed in its objective in Russia, is sought to be experimented with in India under the name of socialism. That and similar schemes, wherever they are tried, give rise to a new class of people invested with enormous power. The schemes utterly fail to increase material production or help equally to distribute happiness. They succeed in depriving the people of their capacity to think and act with courage and initiative. Power perpetuates itself and, therefore, it is most dangerous for us to yield in the earlier stages. It is the duty of all lovers of the country to shed the fear of authority and assert themselves, and resist and prevent this sabotage of democracy. Much can be written on this subject. But this is the main substance.

Because I am appealing to the nation to resist this attempt at sabotage of democracy, every accusation that can be brought up against me is taken up and publicised. Not a day passes but some leading boss of the Congress Party (the latest being Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister) expresses regret and surprise at the support I am said to give to the DMK and the Akalis. I have written quite often and clearly (to the point of bluntness) about the baselessness of this charge. It may be that these very busy men have no time to read what I write, or they are unable to see the distinctions which I expect them to see. An explanation

for their persistence in laying this charge against me of pursuing an anti-national and fissiparous policy is that such a charge plus an appeal for unity appended to it may serve as a cheap means to secure more popular support for the Congress Party which, they now see, is alarmingly losing its prestige in spite of every success in the elections.

Surely I have said quite enough and it would be boring to repeat my statement that I do not support the idea of South India, or any part of it, separating itself from North India. But I can well understand why such a rebellious thought has entered the minds of people. I beg of the Home Minister of India and all like-minded friends to follow the Prime Minister and drop once for all the idea of using State pressure and State authority to spread Hindi. They should all honestly accept the position taken up by Mr. Nehru that English will not be replaced by Hindi as the Union official language until the southerners themselves wish it. Mr. Nehru has given this assurance after seeing the strength of feeling against the Hindi proposal, and it should be carried out in the spirit in which it was given. This with a moderate quantum of good government will give the quietus to the separatist thought. The aspiration of the DMK that the South may lead a separate existence is incapable of attainment, but as long as the language issue is not fairly and frankly dealt with, thoughts in that direction

will continue to work in the minds of the victims of a wrong language policy. By all means let Hindi spread and let every one help its natural acceptance all over India, but do not seek to force it as is now being done by using the sanction of State authority.

Linguism is referred to with regret by the ruling party as a malady to be cured. Is not the attempt which is openly as well as insidiously made to make Hindi the all-India official language an aggressive and violent form of linguism? Linguism and caste-ism become intolerable when associated with State-power. The victims of these isms feel this, though they fear even to speak out in protest on account of the exceeding power exercised by the party in office.

As for the Akalis they have not asked for separation but only for a modest provincial division. We know what little power the States retain all over India. The demand for and the opposition to it are both trifling in the light of the reduced importance and unreality of State autonomy. But surely the Congress Party and the Prime Minister are responsible for the linguistic divisions which are all in the same boat with the Punjabi demand now given the name of an 'Akali' demand. Let Master Tara Singh's claim be decided on the merits. Let it not be misconstrued and interpreted as a separatist claim.

I offer these few remarks as respectful explanation in answer to Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's

## PLANNING AND ACCOUNTING

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Before Planning was thought of, it was the pride of the Indian administration that no new expenditure was sanctioned without examination by five layers of authorities. The first authority was the departmental head who selected some among the many schemes submitted, on the basis of their relative cost and benefit. Next the secretariat head of the department further screened the schemes, keeping in view the finance available for the department. Then the Finance Department combed the schemes for unnecessary and infructuous aspects. Fourthly, a sub-committee of the Cabinet accepted a fraction of all the schemes as of *immediate* necessity and of definite value. Lastly, in the legislature—though the general tendency was to welcome all expenditure—there were some members who could be critical of details of items in departments in which *they* were interested.

Though the same procedure continues to be adopted, Planning has made it a formality, at least for three reasons. First, the Plan schemes—and most new services are Plan schemes—are assumed to have been completely

examined, and, therefore, to be accepted irrespective of circumstances. Secondly, as most Plan schemes carry subsidies from the Centre, State governments approve them readily in the belief they are getting windfalls. Thirdly, no longer is financial stringency a restraining ground, as State governments are *encouraged* to raise loans and taxes, the more the better for the Plan! So there is a general tendency to spend, which not only thwarts established procedure, but overlooks all extravagance, miscalculations and general indifference to realize the objectives. The legislatures do not show vigilance, as all members, including those of the Opposition, are only anxious to get schemes sanctioned for their respective regions because of their vote-catching value.

Is there any protection of public moneys from the Accountant Generals and the Public Accounts and the Estimates Committees? Very frequently reports of the Estimates Committees disclose waste of material and funds, and gross financial irregularities, but no one is called to account, obviously because *responsibility* is always thrown back on the Plan! It was recently reported that in Madhya Pradesh production-cum-training centres established in 1957 have not as yet started functioning. Coincidentally with this, there is a report that the Planning Commission is pressing State governments to spend Rs. 225 crores on agro-industrial development. Another report has also appeared, that of the Committee on Plan Projects. It has found that during the Second Plan, estimates on different types of projects had to be revised from 25 to 300 per cent over the original figures of costs—which makes nonsense both of Planning and budgeting, while showing at the same time the incompetence and indifference of the officials responsible. The Committee has also found that the methods of management and operation involve great loss. In the

manufacture of titanium products, the time lost has amounted to 75 per cent. In a motor vehicle repair-shop, the 'throughout' time could easily be reduced from 36 days to 24 days. In a steel plant bad production upset the programme. No wonder the return on industrial enterprises of the Government was only 0.5 per cent last year and is perhaps less this year, because the total return is shown as reduced. In respect of accounting, it is enough to mention that the Madhya Pradesh report shows that no bills have been presented for contingent expenditure and that no rents have been fixed for 4,300 buildings.

It is because government property is regarded as no one's property, the public is indifferent to a waste which, in other countries, would have led to impeachment of the ministers responsible. The public is not aware that it itself is paying in taxes and prices for all that government so uselessly and carelessly spends. The Revenue budget of the Centre, now presented, is three times the size of the budget of 1950-51 and the Capital budget, thirteen times the budget of 1950-51. The taxes and loans involved not only reduce the income of the people by as much but draw also on their money for investment and for new consumption which can support other investment. At the same time, by raising prices by at least 50 per cent above the world level, the export trade is being extinguished. All this because the government is following the communist patterns of State ownership, when it is hardly equal to the task of administration which suddenly devolved from the Independence of the country. The question is whether the Opposition parties will use these bare facts in resisting the budget proposals which are likely to make the bad worse by the additional taxation to be imposed for putting through more Plan schemes. The least that the country requires is a 'Plan Holiday', so that whatever has been done so far may be examined, and consolidated, with a view to avoiding both present and future waste.

ticism, although I do not need to make any such apologetic explanation, because I have always made things absolutely clear in a manner incapable of being misunderstood even by the meanest understanding, provided it be free from bias and anger.

I offer my advice on the language issue for the sake of that national integration and unity for which so much lip service is daily being given. My advice, if accepted, will save Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru from the charge of equivocation and evasion for which others are responsible, and not he. My advice is solemn. It is not a party issue. I am an old man and it may be even considered as my testamentary advice. It concerns the unity of the nation through coming generations.

## IN THE WAY OF DELIVERANCE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a letter to the *New York Times* (of April 15) Dr. Linus Pauling, eminent scientist and Nobel Prize winner, points out that the increase in radioactivity due to the recent series of Soviet tests will remain for several generations and cause, according to his estimate, the birth of 20 million still-born, or mentally or physically deformed children. He adds what is now of great importance, that "the United States cannot have any right to add to this number of victims by resuming its own nuclear tests".

It is a melancholy development of the progress of 'knowledge' that two great Powers claim the 'right' to emulate each other and go on adding to the poisons generated by their 'defence' activities which will produce millions of deformed children all over the world. The question is not who is more to blame between these two Powers, but whether the rest of the world should go on tolerating this crime of either or both together. Ideas of decency appear to have completely disappeared as a result of the new complicated techniques of killing. Chivalry and shame controlled even rude men when they used simple weapons, but complicated technology has blunted all finer feelings. In our admiration of science we have lost shame and pity and sense of disgust. Surely two monopolists, by reason of their mutual competition, cannot acquire any rights against third parties. If a Tartar or a barbarian leader of hordes went about killing babies and pregnant women, putting out the eyes of children, thrusting needles into their ear drums, cutting out their feet or breaking their knee-caps, would we receive benefits from him and look to him for showing us the way

to progress? It is time the world should shed its mental torpor and think seriously what our plain duty is under these terrible circumstances.

These two Powers are in no great dilemma, which may serve to mitigate their crime. They are both ready to accept and give effect to nuclear disarmament. The only question is whether before a *total* disarmament treaty is agreed to, there should be inspection of nuclear activities by each Power in the other Power's territory. It is claimed, and not denied, that all that could be discovered by such external inspection could be got at through scientific observation within one's own territory and that the proposed right of external inspection is superfluous. Unless this assertion is proved to be wrong, there seems to be no valid ground for making this an obstacle to an agreement on the subject.

We have reached a point when both sides agree to giving up nuclear weapons. A difficulty of this illusory nature should not stand in the way of the consummation of a great objective."

## BERTRAND RUSSELL'S APPEAL FOR ACTION

Bertrand Russell has cabled an appeal to leaders of eight non-aligned nations, Nehru, Tito, Nkrumah, Sukarno, Tag Erlander (Sweden), Nasser, Lopez Muteos (Mexico) and Goulart (Brazil), to send ships into the Pacific area where the American Government is planning to resume nuclear tests:

"The Great Powers violate international law with their ruthless behaviour. I appeal to the neutral countries to act in the name of man. These waters are international and the American Government has no right to them and defies international law by using them to poison the atmosphere of your people and mine. Neutral countries have the opportunity and the duty to do all in their power to prevent these barbarous acts.

Many of us in this country (England) are resisting the action of our Government. If you send your ships into these waters, your action will be decisive and your precedent a major step towards peace and sanity in a world rushing to arms and ultimate disaster."



## CURRENT EVENTS::

Tributes to the late Bharat Ratna Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya poured in abundance, President Rajendra Prasad leading thus: "The death of Dr. Visvesvaraya has removed from the Indian scene a great personage who enriched our national life". When an individual is described as a "personage", there is a touch of exalted bahadurism about it, but Sir M was the very incarnation of humility and reserve, unaccustomed to issuing statements on all occasions.

Nor did he enrich Hindi, a fond concern of Rajen Babu to achieve solidarity, even early in Goa. Sir M was a versatile genius, but he didn't have the gift of being a linguist and he got on very well with his full mastery of a couple of languages; and the term "mastery" meant, in his case, superb mental discipline with nothing fluff about any idea or project he developed. In private conversation he held the view that the prelude to think neat is to dress well. The apparel oft proclaims the man.

A precisionist of high order, his brain was so marvellously indexed, that research-doctors mused over its convolution and quality—how so small a head could carry all he knew, and how language could be so well tailored to ideas, without frivolity or floridness. He had a creative mind, the Maker of Modern Mysore. For his book on *Self-Help*, Samuel Smiles could not have designed a different type for an additional chapter. There was not a trace of sawdust in his compact personality.

Milovan Djilas, once lieutenant of Marshal Tito, has been re-jailed after a term of freedom which had been granted to him by the dictator. Djilas, though a communist, discovered in the sequel of the War that Marshal Tito's communism was on the high road to individual despotism with a dash of paternalism professed by Nasser in promoting his own

authority in the name of pan-Arabic consolidation—a cause in which India occasionally and unwittingly plays second fiddle. Djilas wrote a book called the *New Class* which was an exposition of consequences flowing from uncurbed authoritarianism. The book is sold as a paper-back in the quasi-communist literature available on Indian pavements for Sunday sale. And it is, in sum, a criticism of the communist bureaucracy when Marshal Tito claimed propagating true Marxism; but as a deviationist distrusted by Stalin and subsequently courted in vain by Khrushchev, Djilas was condemned to ten years' imprisonment in 1957 for his views, but Tito granted him reprieve. The present offence is that Djilas has written some manuscript with a title "Conversations with Stalin" which in the rage of personality-cults has provoked the displeasure of the Marshal. Djilas again goes the way of the martyr, a fate not easy to be evaded by critics of one-party rule identified with the personality-cult which is the very negation of healthy democracy.

—P.J.

## PUBLICITY FOR THE OPPOSITION

By M. RUTHNASWAMY

If good deeds are to shine in this naughty world of ours they must be published. Governments, businesses, even churches have to cultivate "public relations". The work of an Opposition, however excellent and effective within the legislature, loses most of its value, if it is not known to the public, especially the section of the public that is most interested in the work of the members of a legislature, that is, the constituencies that elected them. Reports of questions asked by members and the answers given by ministers, and the speeches made by members are of course published in the official reports of the proceedings issued at the end of each session. But they are just buried there. For they cannot be distributed in sufficient numbers to the people of the constituencies and they are too voluminous to be of interest to all. The newspapers hardly find room for reporting the work of the private members, especially members of the Opposition. There is more to be got for them out of reporting the answers and speeches of ministers. The Opposition must find its own means of publicity for its work.

The existing press being out of the question, Opposition groups must find their own press. If they cannot start and maintain a periodical of their own (not even a weekly), which would find room for detailed reports of the work of their members, they must issue a bulletin at the end of each session containing the questions (with the answers), the motions made by members, the speeches made by them, the subjects on which they had interviews with ministers or officials in furtherance of their work as members, or in redress of the grievances and complaints of their constituents. They must print enough copies of these bulletins for effective circulation towards publicity in their constituencies. The bulletin must find its way to every section of the constituencies—not only to those who voted for them but to others. As the whole bulletin of each Opposition group may not be interesting to all constituencies, each member may print and circulate that part of it containing reports of his activities to the voters in his constituency. The bulletin of the group of the Opposition as a whole containing reports of the work of all members of the group may be circulated only to libraries and party offices, and other public institutions.

However it may be with other Opposition groups, the publication of the

activities of the members of the Swatantra Party in the legislatures of the country is a "must". As I have insisted already, the superior legislative service of the members of the Swatantra Party is the only condition on which they can expect increased support of the people. They must prove to the people, by their doings inside and outside the legislatures, how much better servants of the people they are than other Opposition groups or the Congress Party in which they have mistakenly placed their confidence. And having worked in the legislatures to this end in each session, they should at the end of each such session publish the reports of their sayings and doings in the legislatures, and circulate them among their constituents and the public. It can be easily done. All that they have to do is to cull from the official reports of the proceedings of their legislatures, the portions recording their questions on motions, resolutions or Bills. Each member can do this with regard to his own activities and broadcast these reports in thousands to their constituents. The legislature secretariat of the party, such as the one I have suggested, could also publish in book form the whole record of the activities of the members of the party in the legislatures after each session, and circulate them to the

local offices and workers of the party in town or village, and place them in public libraries.

Not only through printed material, but with the spoken word, members of the Swatantra Party should make public their work for the people in the legislatures. At the end of each session each member should pay a round of visits to his constituency, and speak to small groups at a time about his work in the legislature and about the work turned out by the legislature as a whole. At these reunions with their constituents the members of the party should enquire about the current needs and grievances of their constituency, discuss their problems with them, and concert measures for their solution. They must serve not only the people who voted for them into success at the polls, but all the people of the constituency as a whole. They must show to the people how much better service they can render to the people than the congressmen whom they had elected, and who will see them only in the month or two before the next elections. In these and other ways must the small group of the Swatantra Party serve the people as no other group can. That is the condition for their future success. This must not only be done but the people should know that it is done. Publish or perish is the alternative open to a modern political party.

## SOCIAL ASPECT OF PLANNING

By K. R. R. SASTRY

If a sectional study of India's huge planning be made, it will enforce on all objective critics its unrealism and misplaced priorities. Let me examine, for instance, the provision for 'Social Welfare' under the Third Five-Year Plan.

The concept of a 'Welfare State' has been worked out in the Norwegian countries; and England is well set on the road to it.

In the preamble to our Constitution we have put "social" and "economic" justice before the "political". Article 38 has kept in view promotion of "the welfare of the people". Article 41 provides for amenities conceived for "old age, sickness, disablement, undeserved want, and public health".

Slum clearance and urban and rural housing have been taken up. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Ahmedabad have been singled out as targets. It should be noted that slums spring up as mushrooms before elec-

tions and contribute their quota of open sewage, insanitation, and anti-social habits. The problem of pavement-dwellers and non-family workers has not at all been tackled in any methodical manner.

As an instance of grandiose planning, and disappointing execution, let us, for instance, examine rural housing and planning. During the Second Plan period loans for 15,400 houses were sanctioned but only 3,000 houses have been completed! It is the opinion of a competent public servant that in the building section of public enterprise, the public have to thank themselves if they get a worth of nine annas in the rupee!

Take again the welfare of the backward classes. The First Plan provided for Rs. 30 crores, the Second Rs. 79 crores and the Third Rs. 114 crores. Grand increase indeed. For the cause of Harijans, and their well-being, Mahatma Gandhi underwent vicarious

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## THE WRITER'S MISSION

By Mrs. PREMA NANDAKUMAR

Sri Aurobindo, in a letter written to his brother Barindra in the early days of this century, pinpointed the essential weakness of our country as the "diminution of the thinking power", and hence exhorted the youth of India to "recover the free and unbound motion of the gods". Yet the passing of the years has only witnessed a further diminution of the thinking power. At a time like the present, when the thinking power is under atrophy and there is need to strike a blow for freedom, we should have a clear idea of what is at stake and who the enemies of freedom are and what the individual writer can do to advance the good cause. A recently published book, *The Writer's Dilemma*, which is a collection of ten articles by different writers, should serve to provoke discussion on the subject of limits of control. Originally contributed to the *Times Literary Supplement*, and thus related mainly to the British (or Western) con-

suffering. But his political heirs have, it seems, freely indulged in, during the last elections, the immoral practice of corrupting these poor dwellers of cheris and hamlets by offering a day's wage in return for their votes.

Child welfare, prevention of juvenile delinquency, social and moral hygiene, and suppression of immoral traffic have all no doubt been catalogued under social welfare. In the realm of social work, voluntary co-operation of social workers and organizations has yet to be encouraged. The ruling party though priding over its democratic character used all its might to smother parliamentary Opposition by defeating all top leaders in the Opposition. In such an atmosphere is it any wonder that voluntary co-operation is rarely born?

The Government in power has been priding itself on its secularistic outlook; the successors of Gandhiji have been priding on their scientific outlook. The success of all efforts at social betterment rests on a civic and hygienic consciousness. This depends on the ethical urges of man. No ethical drive grows on a rock of non-spirituality.

The fact is that after the hurried amendments in the Constitution, we have been left a paper democracy and inefficient Statism. Ill fares the State which fosters greed, kills private initiative, and smothers freedom.

text, the articles have a wider appeal, and we in India too can find something of value in the symposium.

Ten individualist writers cannot be expected to make a choral song, but they have, surprisingly enough, come to certain common conclusions. A writer is no crank, he is primarily a human being, with a soul within. He is a sensitive and sensitized instrument, who sees deeper and farther, and clearer, into the truth of things. But modern technological advances and the current advertising and brainwashing techniques are making the writer's vocation and function almost impossible. The allurements of the lotus-meadows of success tend more and more to diminish, if not pull down altogether, his spiritual dimensions. The psycho-analytic studio has replaced the old Confessional; and already shock-therapy is challenging psycho-analysis. The hankering after 'social security' has resulted in the multiplication of 'services' and the emergence of 'servile States' misnamed 'Welfare States'. We like to have things ready-made, and the mind is on a perpetual holiday. We are entertained, we are drugged, we are given the creeps; but we are not allowed to think, and we are content to mouth slogans, to hug illusions, to live synthetically in a plastic paradise. How is the genuine writer to touch what is deep, and of infinite import, when we have too readily given our hearts and minds away to the enjoyment of the inconsequential? The Gujarati poet, Umashanker Joshi, said in 1957:

"The technocratic society de-personalises, there is a state of near-annihilation of the individual. The emergence of the mass-man spells the loss of the dignity of the human being. The media of mass-communication are leading towards the fragmentation of mental life and converting man into a sort of a new barbarian..."

Although the immediate outlook seems to be bleak, the symposiasts to *The Writer's Dilemma* refuse to give up their faith in mankind. The disease is not ignored, but it is not seen to be quite a fatal one—at least, not yet. It is good to listen to these whispers of hope. William Golding says: "But the change in politics, in religion, in art, in literature will come, because it will come; because the human spirit is

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limitless and inexhaustible". And Arthur Calder-Marshall: "You may brainwash some of the people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time. And in the end the spiritually starved will demand more than bread". The potent power of the human soul is so immense that "this society with its titanic products conditions but cannot absolutely denature us. It forces certain elements of the genius of our species to go into hiding." (Saul Bellow). And, always, always, out of the hiding will emerge our Galileos and Pasternaks.

It comes to this, then. However vicious the atmosphere, however choked by the poisonous fumes of propaganda, the thinker—the writer—need not despair. He should not go to pieces internally. Mahatma Gandhi gave the grace of *abhyaya* to the millions. If the writer has integrity, he has no cause for fear; Gandhiji's gift of *abhyaya* is the writer's as much as anybody else's, and there is no occasion for freezing the credits of the free mind and soul. Let the jet planes sweep across the sky; let the neon lights blind the eyes; but let not the writer feel dazed by all this exhibition of technocracy. Nothing can impair his mind's sovereignty; the thinker, the writer, should learn to forge in the smithy of his inner sanctuary words of power and purpose. Whether it be a local problem, a crisis in the nation, or a peril to humanity's future itself, the thinker who is also a writer has a role to play, which no other can. It is the destiny of the thinker and writer to be more right than others who decline to think, and the 'others' are generally in a majority. Values are not decided necessarily by a show of hands or by the weight of the ballot-boxes! Democratic convenience may necessitate selection or decision by majorities, but there is no finality in these.

Only when the individual thinker, the fearless writer, has the courage to follow the 'vision and the faculty Divine', can he rise to his true stature, and offer the corrective to the majority's errors of commission and omission. His thinking will be the equivalent of purposive action, and his words will be charged with power and lead us to true Freedom.

## THE TRIBALISM OF THE STATE

By GEORGE THECKEDATH

If we examine the different activities of the Congress administration during the past fifteen years, it becomes abundantly clear that they have systematically checked the expansion of a free and prosperous economy based on the right of the individual to engage himself in any enterprise for which he has the aptitude and the resources, provided such an enterprise is not against the interests and the well-being of the community as a whole. Let us take, for instance, the automobile industry in India. It is over three years now since the idea of a small car, a 'people's car', had been suggested by our leading men in commerce and industry. Yet the Government has gone about the whole affair in a dilatory way, appointing commissions and committees, one after another, at public expense, to go into the matter and make recommendations about the make of the proposed small car, and determine whether it should be in the private sector or public sector, and like details. Every now and then the public was assured by the Government that a decision would soon be reached and that steps were being taken to finalize the scheme.

Dr. Johnson has written to the effect: "While you remain discussing which of two books your boy shall read first, you find another boy has read both". This aptly describes the tribalistic supervision of the Government. If the Government had permitted two or three companies to begin manufacturing a small car each, by this time the country's automobile production would have reached a boom, and we might have been in a position to earn the foreign currency involved in the issue by the sale of these cars to less developed areas in the Commonwealth. Even in a smaller country like Australia, the Volkswagen Company have set up their own plant and are about to go into production. One fails to understand why only the borrowing of large sums of money from Germany should be resorted to for the development of our planned economy, and why the experience and ingenuity of German industry should not be made use of to bring immense benefit and prosperity to India by the setting up of German industrial establishments in this country for an agreed period of time, under the supervision of the Government and the participation of Indian business in such enterprises by the

reservation to it of a certain percentage of the shares. The most morbid aspect of the tribalism of the State is that the State can with complete immunity discard any suggestion or urgent demand made by the citizens, on the plea that it does not fit in with the set pattern of economy, like for instance our system of State planning, to which it has declared itself to be inseparably committed! The head of any socialist government can make his own the words of Louis XIV of France: "L'etat c'est moi" (I am the State!).

Another distressing effect of this socialist tribalism is the incapacity of the various departments of the Government to grasp the real needs of the people and to take effective measures to fulfil them. After our Railways have been nationalized, the mileage of new lines constructed per year has not come to even one-third of the corresponding figures during the administration of the Railways by private companies. What the people want is not a dry doctrine, but better transportation facilities. By this it is not meant to argue that the foreign private companies should have been allowed to go on indefinitely for any length of time. But the working of the Railways, after they have been nationalized, has shown quickly and detrimentally the contagious gloom of an irresponsible, unconcerned attitude which has affected those people who formerly used to do their duties with punctuality, zest and enthusiasm. If we discuss these matters privately with the officers and other employees of the Railways, they unanimously deplore the tragic degradation of the standards of efficiency. But no one seems to know where exactly the trouble lies, and how it could possibly be rectified. This destructive *impersonality* of nationalization is its most pernicious, inherent defect. Personal responsibility is the basis of progress and development for any human organization, and the State and all its departments are human organizations which must not forget the characteristics of human nature.

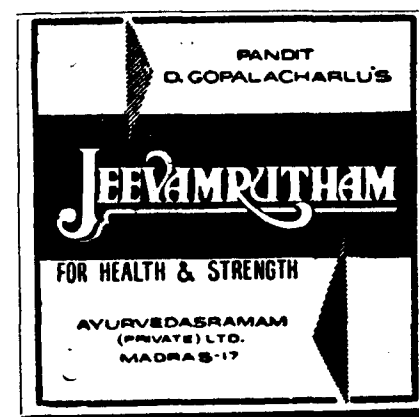
Man is not a machine, and man should be given an opportunity to develop his personality even in the pursuit of the most ordinary occupations in which he is engaged. In State tribalism, which is often called socialism, man is equated with a machine or an instrument to be used at will by the

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Government. In any nationalized industry, man does not often get the personal interest which is necessary for him to progress in the trade in which he is engaged.

Despite the risk of being dubbed by the so-called progressive socialists of the Congress Party as a reactionary, I would say that a possible way of restoring the efficiency of our Railways, would be to reorganize, in the first instance, just one out of our Zonal Railways into a private company by fixing its assets and floating shares for their purchase by the citizens, the Government itself keeping a certain percentage of the shares and making statutory provisions to see that not more than five per cent of the shares are purchased by any one individual. The details could be easily worked out by the experts in the field of company administration. If the Zonal Railway thus reorganized is found to increase in its efficiency, the system could be extended to other Zonal Railways too.

In the tribal society the individuals were of no consequence. All the affairs were controlled by the tribal chief, there being no other norm of law or lawlessness except his sweet will. Any socialist system is an attempt to invest a single human individual who happens to be the head of the government, with an unquestionable authority by means of which he can force his policies upon an entire nation. The threats meted out by a few of the top-ranking Congress leaders to those who dared to oppose the policies of their brand of socialism, are an indication of the direction in which the political winds blow in our new 'tribal' society.—Copyright



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Dear Reader

Democracy like everything else that is human has defects. And one-party rule aggravates these inherent defects of democracy and nullifies its advantages, so much so that it may be laid down that one-party rule is not democracy. Long term plans, again, aggravate the evils of one-party rule. They tend to perpetuate the one-party rule, besides accentuating all its evils.

Democracy according to Lenin is "a State which recognizes the subordination of the minority to the majority, that is, an organization for the systematic use of violence by one class against another, by one section of the population against another". This definition is carried to its logical conclusion in communist democracies. Froude in his famous book on Julius Caesar looks at democracy in a more constructive though pessimistic spirit. Popular forms of government are possible, says Froude, only when individual men can govern their own lives on moral principles, and when duty is considered of greater importance than pleasure, and justice than material expediency. Put in Sanskrit this would run more smoothly than in English. It is only when *swaraj* is established in the individual that it can be sustained and enjoyed in the community. *Swaraj* is a term occurring in the *Veda*, and there denotes command over oneself.

I have been pressed by many friends to write my reminiscences, and I have been resisting it for a fairly long time. I was confirmed in my attitude when some years ago I read a book which was then a great seller, *The God that Failed*. Crossman wrote in it: "Veracious autobiography is impossible for the practical politician. His self-respect distorts the past in terms of the present". It struck me as a very true observation. Apart from error arising from present disputes, it is not wise to write

one's own story when feelings over issues are still warm and the personalities involved are still living. "The spirit may be betrayed into acrimony when dealing with some subjects", to borrow good old poet Cowper's language.

Wilder wrote in *San Luis Rey* about autobiographies: "a little kernel of sense in a world of boasting, self-excuse and rhetoric". Sometimes, however, the truthful diaries of good men and women who have avoided the lure of vanity and attitudinizing for posterity are as good as scripture. I felt so when I read Fanny Stevenson's diary called *Our Samoan Adventure*. This too was long ago, when I spent my time well in much reading!

What is the place in an over-populated country of excessive mechanization which saves labour? In an emergency where time is the main factor, as in the case of an engine putting out a fire, it has certainly a place whatever the availability of human labour may be. In other contexts it becomes an anti-national instrument for individual selfishness. Mechanization is reasonable only where available human labour cannot cope with a situation, either on account of the inherent character of the work to be done or for want of enough human labour.

We should be careful with mechanization. Small populations in the west used mechanization as a means to producing and supplying manufactured commodities in exchange for raw produce, to ignorant and idle masses of people in distant countries. The Western nations could not do this otherwise than by using labour-saving machines. If countries with large masses of people with no sufficient work, seeing the success of mechanization in the West, follow that technique, to whom will they sell

goods? And how will they employ their own numbers who will be without work through the adoption of automation? And with what earnings will the people be able to buy the products of their own factories? This may look like repeating the fallacious objections raised by some people during Britain's industrial revolution. The objections proved fallacious because of Britain's market and her smallness of population. We are not the little population of Britain with its huge colonial empire. The conditions under which we should build up our happiness are different from those of Britain of that, or of a later, period of history.

The Buddhists and Jains believed firmly in Karma and re-birth, although they made a point of difference with Vedanta by dialectically denying the soul.



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There is a dialogue between Nagasena and King Milinda who asked what is re-born if there be no soul. To this natural question of the king, the monk is recorded to have given a reply which is no doubt interesting but not clear or convincing. Re-birth was a solid rock on which old Hinduism as well as the protestant creeds stood, and it could not be discarded. It was the basis for ordered society in spite of all other controversies. So does morality stand today as a rock for ordered life to rest on; and secularists, dissenters, agnostics and atheists seek to retain this rock, while seeking to discard Religion. As re-birth was agreed to by the Buddhists in spite of there being no self, beyond name and form (*naamaroopa*), morality is sought to be sustained by some without its dependence on Religion. But for the generality of thinkers the one depends on the other.

The good old monks were too good to plead for chaos. They loved society and order, in spite of their logic, so they held on to Karma and re-birth. Likewise, some people seek to retain morality, although they do not like its mother. But how long can the sucking baby survive without a mother? Eisenhower said: "Our Government makes no sense unless it is founded on a deeply felt religious faith—and I don't care what it is." The differences of dogma or ritual are unimportant but morality cannot stand by itself. It must hang on some faith, be it any.

The science of diagnosis and healing of diseases had reached a very high degree of research and progress in our country when our classic books on the subject were written. But modern world-progress in this field is much greater and has left *ayurveda* far behind. We should not, however, be deluded by or lament over this. Science is one and it is the same *ayurveda* that has really come back much enriched, and is studied and practised under

the name of modern medicine. There should be no regional or national classification of the universal art of healing. The science has yet to discover a great deal of unknown matter and perhaps our *ayurveda*, and its practice, though looking old fashioned may have a good deal to teach. There should be no 'iron curtain' between one and the other, no *apartheid*. There should be free intercourse, and respect for truth above all else.

Cents have replaced the *paisa* (except of course in name); grams and kilos and litres have replaced the old Indian weights and measures both in name and in fact, as buyers know to their cost. We may soon expect Mr. Nehru to announce the universal desire of the Indian nation to drive on the right side of the road instead of absurdly, on the left as hitherto!

The National Co-operative Union of India's News Service quotes from a recent speech of Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, former Finance Minister and now Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University: "progress suffers in all enterprises where there is no link between a person and his property. Forty per cent of the 3,000 co-operative farms in India are running at a loss and another 40 per cent are making a profit that is negligible."

Dr. Ramprasad Misra who resigned from the Swatantra Party has immediately been assured a ministership by Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik. The Orissa correspondent of the *Hindu* gives us the story of exchange of letters which may make interesting reading for casual readers. But it is depressing material for those who still feel that politics is, or should be, a field for service and not a business-and-barter organization for careerists.

Ballot secrecy protects and saves the voter against intimidation, violence and victimization. This is good. But it also protects him against public shame which is not a good thing, and promotes

wrong-doing. It enables a voter to vote disgracefully. The balance of good and evil must be considered at each level where voting has to take place.

Indirect taxation, and the squeezing of the poor and the middle classes, has, as was expected, started full swing. What is sown must be reaped. The all round increase in rail fares and freights is but one of the inevitable results of the policy of unbalanced expenditure which the nation has been tolerating, in spite of every warning. More of them will come.

A well known and knowledgeable columnist in a certain paper has written a severe critique on the freight and fare increases but the headline given to the column is "Rail Fare and Freight Increases Negligible" and nothing else! Indirect taxes on the poor are always negligible in each unit, in the eyes of those whose life is easier. But each addition is a sore infliction on those who lead a marginal existence, and the total effect on the economy will be seen to be not negligible.

Santayana has some very wise things to say which apply with great force to our planners and their Plans. A fanatic relentlessly

pursues a goal, regardless of the actual consequences of the means he adopts, on his goal, on himself, and on others. Those who strive for a single goal, at the cost of all others, discover that human goals are so related that the defeat or frustration of the others makes the original goal impossible of achievement or of transforming its quality.

The rose is a beautiful flower. The fragrance of the jasmine is unrivalled, and that of the *ketaka* is truly wonderful. All these flowers will ever continue to make this world sweet, in spite of all human wickedness and misery. But if a Persian emperor sitting on the throne in Delhi ordered that the rose alone must be the pre-eminent flower in all worship and female adornment throughout India, would his government pass for a good one? Let a hundred flowers bloom, and let their fragrances emulate one another; but none should be installed by force. He who overcomes by force has overcome but half his foe, sang the organ-voiced poet of England. Whatever fragrance and beauty the flower possessed would be converted into pain by the compulsion invoked.

C.R.

#### BOOK REVIEW

#### IN SRI RAMAKRISHNA'S PATH

**PRECEPTS FOR PERFECTION: Teachings of the Disciples of Sri Ramakrishna.**

Compiled by Sabina Thorne. Ganesh & Co. (Private) Ltd., Madras-17, 1961. Pages 235. Price Rs. 10.

This book will be found extremely useful by spiritual aspirants all over the world, since the precepts selected are from the writings of enlightened teachers, and the selection itself is the devoted work of a spiritual aspirant attached to The Vedanta Society of Southern California.

Sri Ramakrishna was a teacher of teachers, the foremost among whom was Swami Vivekananda. The other

disciples, monastic and lay, were also centres of powerful spiritual influence. The people who had the good fortune of falling under their benign look, and of listening to their words of inspiration felt an inner transformation resulting in exalted living and sanctified existence. The consort of Sri Ramakrishna, the Holy Mother, was the supreme guide and *guru* of the Order, after the passing away of the Master. In the teachings of these great ones are reflected, vividly and faithfully, the personality and message of Sri Ramakrishna. It is a distinct advantage to have these teachings in a compendious form, topically arranged. This is the service which the compiler of the present book has done for us.

The precepts selected here are from the teachings of fourteen monastic disciples of the Master, three of his householders, and the Holy Mother. The topics cover both doctrines and practices, *means* and *end*. The total number of the precepts, arranged in six chapters, is seven hundred. These precepts are not to be read

casually, superficially, or only once. They should be studied repeatedly, pondered over, and translated into practice. What they teach is *Vedanta*, the essence of religion and philosophy; *Vedanta* is the universal religion, the universal philosophy; it is the philosophy of all philosophies, the science of all sciences (p. 9). It is the spirit of

*Vedanta* that every word of this grand book breathes.

The credit of having produced a book enshrining great thoughts in a vesture befitting them goes to Messrs Ganesh and Company, who have made the publication of spiritual classics their speciality.

T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

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

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## A Crowing Chanticleer

Thanks to the wealth earned and bequeathed by the late Henry Ford, the Government of India will presently have a team of six foreign economists and planning experts touring the country to boost small industries. Not that India has no panels of her own researchers consisting of the Shenoy, the C. N. Vakil, the Lokanathans, the Shriman Narayans (Gandhian Economist) *et hoc genus omne*. Praise from foreign VIPs rouses the Prime Minister into squelching critics at home.

While the international team of six are busy, India will present a counterpart team of analysts under Professor Lokanathan, a procedure for which there is precedent. When the Simon Commission (All-white) was cold-shouldered even by the Moderates in India, the Secretary of State sought to supplement the first Enquiry by the appointment of a roving Commission of Indians under the chairmanship of Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

The most remarkable feature of the balancing commission was that Sankaran Nair never opened his lips—no, not even once—to put a question to any witness. Still, they toured the country from Rishikesh to Kanyakumari like good pilgrims visiting classic temples, finally sending up a still-born report as votaries of the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead.

Accepting leadership of the Congress Party

in Parliament, Mr. Nehru advised his followers to function as "a close-knit group with broad harmony of outlook". In the metaphoric jumble of ideas there is the background of the knitting sisterhood attached to the parish to help in charity-sales; next, the vista of broad avenues in contrast with the bridle-path; thirdly, musical concert productive of harmony so pleasing to the ear; finally the appeal to the eye signified by "outlook", though on the Chinese question no aid from the oculist opens out even a glimpse of J. P. Narayan's idea of arbitration on the horizon. The programme outlines mixed economy, like figures of speech staggering on a jazz-night.

In his election-campaign, Pandit Nehru "lashed out", right and left. After the campaign he has to ladle out patronage for hundreds of followers who want to be

spoonfed; like the hungry orphans headed by Oliver Twist on the morning of Brimstone Treacle Day.

The Planning Commission has suggested the establishment of planning boards for each State. Candidates (bullock-cart symbol) who have lost in the elections will, of course, be eligible.

This process of party-decentralization will continue from time to time until the level of the village-boards.

In cases of tension as at Geneva  
*Big fleas have little fleas upon  
their backs to bite 'em  
And little fleas have lesser  
fleas and so 'ad infinitum'.*

A clergyman was arguing with a successful businessman on the desirability of attending church. At last he put the question squarely: "What is your personal reason for not attending?"

The other smiled as he replied: "One finds so many hypocrites there."

"Don't let that keep you away," said the parson. "There's always room for one more."

Like the Rangoon Turf Club, the Burma Supreme Court has been abolished by President Ne Win. Litigation, too, can be rated as a gamble. P.J.



## AFTER TYRANNY

By SRIVATSA

I have lately been reading biographies of two modern tyrants, *Stalin* by Mr. Isaac Deutscher and *Hitler* by Mr. Alan Bullock. That there should have been tyrants at all in the first half of the twentieth century shows that the theory of human perfectibility, the notion that man improves or develops from age to age, was too easily assumed in the Victorian age. Tennyson could speak with all the emphasis at his command of "Freedom broadening from precedent to precedent." Looking at the world from sheltered Victorian England, when Pax Britannica lay gently on it, he could seriously believe that time had only to elapse for man to grow perfect, when there would be achieved "the unlabourious earth, the snakeless meadow, the oarless sea", as he said in those splendid hexameters of his on Virgil. Britain fought no considerable war between that in the Crimea and that in South Africa. The Continent was disturbed only by the conflict between Germany and France which, though sanguinary, was not very prolonged. Except for skirmishes on the periphery of civilization, humanity enjoyed peace. At such a time it was possible to believe in the essential nobility of mankind.

But the twentieth century began badly, with the Boer war. That event was, of course, quite eclipsed by the Armageddon of 1914. Even so, the so-called Great War was, as it were, fought apologetically and shamefacedly. The militarists, Hindenburg, Ludendorff, Joffre, Foch, Wilson, it is true, had small patience with the idealism that overlaid the savage fighting. But the true voice of the generation which gave up its life in the trenches was that of poets like Rupert Brooke, who died in 1915, too early to know that the early hopes had given way to despair. Brooke's sonnet, "If I Should Die", does represent the aspirations of the first period when idealists really believed that the war would be the "last war", that it was being fought to "make the world safe for democracy". It was not long before cynicism gained ground. The politicians completed the deterioration. Their squabbles at Versailles did not even have the merit of being efficient. Never perhaps has there been a stupider peace treaty. Keynes had told them so, but they would not listen. It is a sobering thought that the Treaty of Versailles, from which so much was expected for the human race, has, in fact, proved to be the origin of all our troubles—the dictators, the

uneasy peace since 1945, the threat of nuclear destruction.

Hitler's connection with that treaty is direct and obvious, Stalin's not so. The former's tyranny throve on the conditions created by it, Germany's resentment of it, the well-meaning experiment of the Weimar Republic notwithstanding. But Stalin also was a child of his times, though Moscow and the Caucasus are far away from Versailles. The years between the wars were only different from the present ones in the absence of the nuclear horror; otherwise, they were fully as troubled. Stalin directed his energies, after his resounding quarrel with Trotsky (whose biography, also by Mr. Deutscher, shows him to have been a more amiable personality, also as brilliant and artistic as his rival was wooden and menacing), to re-making Russia in his own image in the framework of Leninism-Marxism. He did so as a full-fledged tyrant. Mr. Khrushchov's revelations came about because he was scandalized, not by Stalin's cruelty to the Russian people, but to the communist elect. The dictator's crime, in his eyes, was that he dared to lay his hands on party comrades. Of course, no pity entered into Hitler's calculations when he decreed the annihilation of the Jewish race.

Hitler and Stalin were, of course, the heights of the momentousness of this period. They should be explained in terms not only of the political systems under which they worked their iniquity but also of the depravity of mankind that assumes dominance when circumstances favour it. Other men are Jekyll and Hyde. They were purely Hyde. Nothing in Mr. Bullock's book is more arresting than his account of the last bizarre days in the Reich Chancellery in Berlin. Not a single actor in that drama is so much as aware of the evil he is supporting. Hitler dies with imprecations against "international Jewry", a figment of his and Rosenberg's imagination on his lips, Bormann intrigues and squirms to obtain a reversion of the monstrous power that is being destroyed overhead by the Russian guns. If the last days of the Soviet dictator also should come to be written about (which is unlikely), it would yield nothing in luridness.

The task before humanity is to recover from these tyrants. The danger lies in assuming that it never can. But it has done so many times in the past, though the extent of its danger could not have been so great. The

## U. S. STEEL

The advantage to the consumers of an industry being in the private and not in the public sector, was convincingly exemplified by the action of President Kennedy when the American steel industry raised prices recently. He was able to restrain the producers in the interest of the consumers because his Government was not organically connected with the industry as owner or partner. If the industry had been nationalized and the Government itself raised the prices, the consumers would be victimized and have nowhere to go in appeal.

The argument that prices in the public sector are fixed with the interest of the consumers in view is not generally true. For instance, the State Trading Corporation raised the prices of cement unconscionably high and raked in profits which would be condemned as exorbitant profiteering if indulged in by the private sector. The further argument that the profits in the public sector are used for the benefit of the public rather than of private individuals is not generally true, inasmuch as the Government is prone to treat the ruling party and its individual favourites as *the public*.

Government should normally be above, and aloof from, economic activity and protect the consumers, who form hundred per cent of the citizenry but are unorganized, from profiteering by the private sector and should not itself indulge in profiteering at the expense of the consumers and in the interest of its party and favourites.

P. KODANDA RAO

worst that Chengis Khan or Tamerlane did, the worst excesses of the Thirty Years' War in Europe pale into insignificance before Dachau and Buchenwald, the Lubianka and the N.K.V.D., for modern tyrants have shown themselves more skilled in torture, more inflexible in meting it out. But the world did recover from Chengis Khan and Tamerlane. Though man is his own worst enemy, he has it also in him to redeem himself. He has foolishly suspected religion. But religion must be his final salvation. The books of Mr. Deutscher and Mr. Bullock show the inevitability of this.

April 28, 1962

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### RESERVE BANK'S ROLE

Sir,—Inaugurating a new branch of the Indian Overseas Bank at Ernakulam early in April, Mr. P. T. Chacko, the Home Minister of Kerala, said that "the Reserve Bank of India should not have been given vast powers as, under the existing statute, to force the liquidation of any bank whenever it wanted..... The power to judge whether a banking institution should go into liquidation or not should vest in the High Courts and the Supreme Court, since our courts could best assess the situation after taking into consideration the interests of all parties concerned in the matter".

Is not Mr. Chacko's criticism a forthright attack on a typical instance of nationalization adopted by the Congress Government? Concentration of arbitrary powers in the hands of the State or State-created bodies, such as the RBI, is the very negation of democracy. And to take away the function of judging the soundness or otherwise of a bank from the purview of the courts, is an insult to the judiciary.

At a time when banking services have to be developed throughout the country, such powers as the Reserve Bank of India exercises, are in direct conflict with the desire for extending banking service in the country, inasmuch as it is likely to shake public confidence in the banks.

Hyderabad-20

K. T. RAMACHAR

### SCRAMBLE FOR OFFICE

Sir,—In pre-Independence days the Government of India consisted of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief and barely a dozen executive councillors. Today we have at the Centre more than three dozen ministers, deputy ministers and parliamentary secretaries, besides the President and the Vice-President. The US Government comprises the President, assisted by about a dozen heads of executive departments. In the various States of the USA the Governors are assisted by four to six executives, whereas in the States here, with the solitary exception of Madras, every fifth or seventh Congress MLA has become a minister or a deputy minister!

Does the Congress Party seriously think the country needs such vast ministerial talent to manage our affairs? Do the depleted finances of the country

permit such top-heavy expense? Or, irrespective of any standard, is the victorious party determined to establish in India an oligarchy of its own, under the guise of democracy?

If the Congress Party is ridden with factions representing varied interests of groupism and casteism, does it justify the imposition of a burdensome administration on the tax-payer, in its attempt to create artificially a spirit of cohesion and harmony in the party?

This superabundance of ministers, based on group and class patronage, will not only prove ruinously expensive for the country, but will further aggravate the scramble for power in the ranks of Congress itself.

Bombay-1

SUDHAKAR DIKSHIT

### WILL HE EXPLAIN?

Sir,—Mr. C. Subramaniam has come in for special notice among the newly sworn-in Central ministers for having taken the oath of allegiance in Tamil. Apparently there is nothing strange or startling about it. But I would like to ask the question. "When we are all-out to achieve national and emotional integration, was it love of the mother-tongue that became so uncontrollably obstreperous at the moment of swearing-in, or was there any obsession inimical to emotional integration that prompted the resort to a technique not far superior to playing to the gallery?"

Nobody can take exception on grounds of propriety to such demonstration of linguistic sentiment; but demonstrative linguism in a political situation is easily distinguished from real love of one's own language. The former keeps unabashed company with partisan politics; and the latter, with the sober, cultivated mind that abhors cheap publicity of any kind.

Bangalore

R.R.L.

### RISE IN PRICES OF VEGETABLES

Sir,—The change-over from the conventional weights and measures of visces and seers to kilograms (compulsorily effective from April 1, 1962) has been the cause of the shooting up of prices of even vegetables. Some vegetables selling till recently at 50 nP a viss (equal to 1,400 grams) are now being sold at 50 nP per 1,000 grams.

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.

And the vendors too are demanding the same price, but for less weight. The helpless buyers have to pay 40 per cent increase.

The Government which in the first instance, for fear of losing ½ nP, equated the two-anna envelopes with 13 nP by legislative measure, is to blame for undermining the morality of the people by its own bad example of flouting the standard which it had set up!

Madras

V. R. RAMABADRAN

### UNDER PANCHAYAT ADMINISTRATION

Sir,—The advent of Panchayat Raj has done nothing in bettering the lot of primary school teachers.

Teachers working in Pudur panchayat union in Tirunelveli district have so far not received their salaries for the month of March. This is quite a violation of the purport of G.O. No. 2075 (27th September 1960—para 6 in annexure I) which states that the salaries to teachers should be disbursed within the 3rd of every month. This is by no means the first time such a thing has happened in recent months. The first increment after the introduction of the revised scale has not been fixed, and the arrears due have not yet been paid.

Inordinate delay in correspondence, inefficient and inexperienced staff, seem to be at the bottom of it all, causing great inconvenience to the teachers.

The remedy for this state of affairs lies in frequent inspections and surprise checks.

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# SWARAJYA

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Editor: POTHAN JOSEPH

Vol. VI. No. 47

MADRAS, MAY 26, 1962

1962 Price 15 nP

## WAR - PSYCHOSIS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In Kenneth de Courcy's outspoken review of world affairs, there is a passage which appears remarkably apt for describing the state of public opinion in India about her present Government. Public opinion, particularly after the last general elections, may be analysed into three main groups. There are people who do not think or analyze but accept official views on the simple ground that it is inconceivable that the Government could be wrong on matters of great importance. This is the largest group numerically. But a great body of intelligent people think the Government is wrong but blame it on ineptness and wishful thinking. Then there is a much smaller third group of people who think that Mr. Nehru and some of his colleagues have a design to bring the present order of society to an end and substitute it by an order closely approximating communist society. Of these three groups, the second which is an evolutionary factor is a big group among thoughtful people. The first group is of course the largest in total number and along with the law of inertia gives the power to the Government.

The situation unfortunately is not left to evolve peacefully and democratically. A war-psychosis is now being created on the basis of information about China and Pakistan retailed by the Government to the public.

A war with anybody would be bad for India. But there can be

no two opinions on this, that a war with China would be disastrous. It is only when a neighbouring nation behaves unreasonably that it becomes most necessary for a sensible nation to think calmly and not act under the impulse of anger and irritation.

It is a matter of unalterable conviction for all those who adhere to the Gandhian tradition that Pakistan and India should be friends always, and bind themselves not only not to resort to arms over any issue as between them, but to combine together to defend their borders and present a joint bastion against aggression on the part of any third party. It is a pity that proposals for working out a joint defence on these lines were not taken up, or even received warmly, when the present Pakistan Government mooted it some time ago. But it has to be taken up seriously some time or other and tackled constructively, whatever the anti-Pakistan shouting may be in some quarters in India, and whatever the anti-Indian shouting may be in some quarters in Pakistan itself.

The greater danger is the war-psychosis in relation to China. As regards China, the only course, legitimate and practical, is to meet the hostile and very irritating attitude of communist China by a definite and firm alliance with the Western Powers limited to the protection of the integrity of Indian territory against Chinese incursion. This will be an effective de-

terrent. It is a deterrent with some possible (but only just possible) risk involved of a world conflagration. This change from present policy is necessary in view of the complete breakdown of diplomatic ability in coping with China. We must give up our non-alignment absolutism in this case.

A vague dependence on the evolution of differences between Russia and China in coping with Chinese aggression is utterly wrong and dangerous. Nothing would be more futile than hoping to receive any assistance, diplomatic or other, from Soviet quarters to solve our difficulties with China. The present 'ideological' differences between Khrushchov and the Chinese leaders or between Khrushchov and Albania or Yugoslavia, or the like, which are wishfully played up in Western (particularly American) journals, even if substantial and significant, will (by reason of an understandable psychology) prevent rather than induce Soviet intervention in our interest. Depending for defence equipment on Moscow would be the worst folly imaginable. At all times it is a difficult thing for lay cabinets (assisted by equally lay although more pretentious secretaries) to deal with technological matters with any degree of assurance. When dealing with urgent defence equipment, the difficulty is attended with positive danger. Old and firm friends with an interest clearly adverse to communist nations are the safer quarters to

## OUR FOREIGN POLICY

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Replying to the debate on demands for grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, the Prime Minister was so intolerant of criticism that it was clear he intended to persist in the present foreign policy, even if he should be the only one in the country for it. Foreign policy, in other countries, represents the largest measure of agreement, and even at this moment President Kennedy is consulting Opposition leaders about American policy in Laos. If the Prime Minister continues to be the only oracle of our foreign policy, the country may be forced to choose between him and a policy which serves her interests and ideals better.

Though there is much reticence, it is recognized in some quarters that our foreign policy has been a failure. No other country in the world is surrounded by less friendly neighbours. Against the two biggest neighbours, Pakistan and China, we have to be ever vigilant in our defences. Against treaty obligations Nepal has established economic and political relations with China, implying that she has no common defence or foreign policy with us. Bhutan and Sikkim are tending the same way and have to be 'bribed' with heavy loans. Burma is not only penalising Indians but is sheltering and, perhaps, aiding the Nagas in revolt. Ceylon has just passed the Registration Act, which will deprive one million Indians of their very means of livelihood.

Our relations with other countries are determined by the exigencies of the cold war, even the aid received being

a kind of competitive blackmail. Not one country has supported our claims against China, while those who support our claims against Pakistan are communist countries and fellow-travellers. The use of armed force against Goa has deprived us of our moral status while the continued revolt of the Nagas is a strain on our faith in the principle of self-determination. In Africa, the very countries we supported for liberation are ousting our nationals.

During the debate, the Prime Minister became indignant with Mr. Frank Anthony for the suggestion that India should give up non-alignment and join a military block. He said that India would rather be "damned and doomed, that she sank and died rather than she should be the camp follower of other nations". Did not England, France, Germany, Japan and almost all the leading free countries have defence pacts without their independence being reduced by an iota? On the other hand, our independence is just illusory, seeing that we have to beg for food to save our people from starvation and for loans to save our industries from collapse. In the event of war which will deprive us of imports, our Planning will leave us to a slow death. Even our military equipment will be useless without spare parts and other supplies from the countries which have sold it to us. Not even under foreign rule was the country less independent than it is today.

The aid from communist countries is illusory, because until this year Russia owed us more foreign exchange

than we did and this year, when the position has changed, she is holding up her exports! In the meanwhile, the rupee credit allowed to Soviet countries has been used by them to sabotage our trade with other countries. Secondly, though free countries have given aid generously, it is only in the form of loans, as their nationals are not tempted to invest in a country of unknown loyalties and ambiguous economics. The share of American aid received by us is much smaller than that received by European countries, Japan, and even Pakistan. Our foreign policy, therefore, has been the enemy of our economic policy. With a treaty for defence, the free countries would not only help in building up our military strength but also in improving our economies. At present our military strength was exposed during the action against Goa. Half the number of our army men had to be content with wearing canvas shoes because boots ordered from favoured small scale industries could not be got ready, the rifles were just mementos of the last war as the automatic ones produced by our factories would not fire! Our transport was so poor that, for over a month, the small force used could not be conveyed until there was a standstill of all other traffic. The air force was nine miles off the target and dropped bombs on our own trucks!

Two weeks ago, the Prime Minister had declared that though he did not want war, "we are growing stronger to face it". Now he says all talk of war with China was nonsense, and he was willing to withdraw our forces according to Chinese maps in Ladakh and even to allow the Chinese to use the road built by them in Aksai Chin. And this was stated coinciding with China's threat that she will unleash her forces if our forces defended our line with guns! The Prime Minister should know that such vacillations are inevitable when he takes no advice from others on foreign policy, which China is aware of. The Prime Minister was on the defensive in the matter of Tibet, because what was but a betrayal of that country at the time, has now really assumed the form of a betrayal of our own defence. The Prime Minister said nothing about Pakistan, even though the issue of Kashmir and the disturbances in East Pakistan have greatly strained our relations with that country.

Parliament and even the press have a duty to compel a more free examination of our foreign policy, because however qualified the Prime Minister may be, no single man can represent our collective thought and strength.

bing with Soviet Russia. Reverting to the classification of public opinion at the commencement of this article, it would be most unwise to do anything to increase the number of people falling in the third small group. It is possible that Mr. Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon may think that all this warning and opposition, and all these doubts, spring from ignorance and from a tendency to support a dying and anachronistic view of affairs in general. But I hope they do not doubt the sincerity of these thoughts and will pay some attention to them, and avoid the trap of excessive confidence.

WAR-PSYCHOSIS . . . . . look up to in such difficulties. Let us not forget that Khrushchov has earned a reputation for subterfuge. We should not imagine that we are wiser than the rest of the world.

It would be progressively disastrous to increase our defence expenditure on an isolated basis. It will be an unending business and take our nation too far on the road to a total breakdown. To yield to a war-psychosis on the basis of non-alignment and isolated strength, is as foolish as the temptation is great.

Putting it at the lowest level, this is not the time for hobnob-

## NUCLEAR TESTS: A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

By K. R. R. SASTRY

Bertrand Russell, the eminent British philosopher, has suggested, as a pacifist, the sending of a few ships of the uncommitted nations to the region of the Christmas Island in the Pacific, where the US Government is to hold nuclear test explosions. This amounts to direct action against the nuclear tests. At the moral level, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, a great Gandhian, has laid down in his incisive manner that "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". (SWARAJYA, May 12, 1962.)

The effects of nuclear tests, performed in far off Pacific or in the wilds of Siberia or in the Sahara desert, are felt through radioactivity in Marshall Islands, Tokio and Tunisia respectively. It is a violation of International Law too.

A private concern operated a Smelter at Trail (British Columbia), fumes from which were causing damage in USA (1941). The case was left to the arbitration of Charles Warren (USA), Robert Greenshields (Canada) and Jan Hostie (Belgium). After referring to several US Supreme Court decisions and a decision of the Federal Court of Switzerland, the Tribunal held that the decisions of these bodies taken as a whole constituted an adequate basis for its conclusions that under the principles of International Law as well as the law of the USA, no State had the right to use or permit the use of its territory in such a manner as to cause injury by fumes in or to the territory of another, or the properties or persons therein "when the case is of serious consequence and the injury is established by clear and convincing evidence".

The Tribunal held that the Dominion of Canada was responsi-

ble in International Law for the conduct of the Trail Smelter. The Tribunal found further that it was the duty of the Government of the Dominion of Canada to see to it that the conduct of the Trail Smelter was in conformity with the obligation of the Dominion under International Law.

The USA claimed damages for injury caused to the crops, pasture lands, trees and agriculture as well as livestock in USA, as the result of sulphur dioxide fumes emitted from the smelting-plant of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada at Trail, in British Columbia. In conformity with the decision, the irreparable damage done to Japanese fishermen and property by the Bikini explosions is punishable under International Law. In short, wherever grave damage is done to persons or property therein, the State which causes such damage is guilty under International Law.

It is needless to marshal the history of the doctrine of freedom of the seas from the Middle Ages

### WHAT IS TYRANNY?

Our tyranny, if we impose our will on others, will be infinitely worse than that of the handful of Englishmen who form the bureaucracy. There is a terrorism imposed by a minority struggling to exist in the midst of opposition. Ours will be a terrorism imposed by a majority and, therefore, worse and really more godless than the first.

—MAHATMA GANDHI

through Hugo Grotius' *Mare Liberum*, to the seventh principle of the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941. Thermo-nuclear explosions contaminate a far wider area beyond the territorial waters of that State. These experiments are calculated to wipe off the freedom of the open sea. Thus, these nuclear explosions are a violation of International law and custom. They are also against the general principles of law sanctified by recognition by all civilized States.

There is a maxim that one should use one's property as to cause no loss to others. The legal maxim runs thus: *sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas*.



## CURRENT EVENTS::

The stop-gap ministry in Mysore, broadbased and awaiting replacement by a permanent incumbent returned through a contrived by-election, suddenly announced that the Government and the Legislature agree on suspending the land-ceiling statute limiting acreage that could be owned in rural areas but without touching urban income by any restriction. The anomaly of dual criterion must have been patent to any tyro in agricultural economics, but the sub-panel of the Planning Commission had dropped the hint that what they favoured would prevail as the law, and that the local legislature had, therefore, better trim the sails. Question about differential economics and its throttling effects on productivity didn't deter the mandatories. Reference to the need of incentive and free market operation irritates the group in the Planning Commission who claim to be Gandhian economists. It is said that the philosopher Epicure had been a stoic practitioner of abstemious living, but the term "epicure" developed a contrary meaning of lazy luxury. Epicure, had he survived indefinitely, would have driven those called Epicureans from his garden. We likewise have Gandhian economists espousing teachings about controls and bogus-co-operatives that would have startled Mahatma Gandhi. Prudent reflection about the impact of disincentives through freak-legislation about the holding and farming of cultivable

land is discouraged. Dogma on the acquisitive power of the Congress to practise expropriation, on the plea of public welfare and equitable redistribution, has gripped policy-makers. Anyway a halt has been cried in Mysore for "re-thinking", and the virtues of legal amendments are being studied again. A reference to the peace-compromise in Algeria may here be quoted.

The Algerian cease-fire compromise was signed at Evian (Switzerland) by accredited representatives of France and Algeria determined not to part before a settlement was reached, without Nousey Parkers intervening with irrelevant credentials about being neutrals or uncommitted busybodies scaling summits. The Evian Accord approved by France and endorsed by the provisional Government of Algeria under Benkhed speaking for the FLN, had to agree on certain safeguards for practical progress. Indeed, it is a problem of the new French Prime Minister Pompidu to persuade the French Colons in Oran that a heaven-sent opportunity is knocking at their door in connection with the former threat of confiscation during the Algerian war. Here is a vital passage from the Evian concordat:

All rights acquired within the framework of the French Law are guaranteed. The guarantee includes all property, especially all landed estates; it also includes all mineral rights, pension rights and engagements under previous Algerian constitutions. Nobody may be deprived of any of those rights without full compensation to be agreed beforehand. There are to be no exceptions to this rule, particularly in the event of land reform. French residents and French firms will in no case be discriminated against.

The problem today is that the secret army and the rebel-generals have no mind to apply to the protective clauses won by independent negotiations; and that the

internal conflict of Algeria might outlast even the Congo civil strife scheduled to linger for at least a couple of generations before tranquillization is in sight. Flapdoodle dicta like "land for the tiller", co-op enterprise to augment harvests, grab-legislation by majority-voting, split-economy between townships and the countryside, etc., may appear in India as well the very quintessence of wisdom for achieving in five years what a nation could normally accomplish through a period of three generations for psychological adjustments. Congress in power must not be misled by the illusions of amateur-experimentation in the name of "socialism".

With both sides militarizing the Himalayas, Mr. Nehru has candidly told Mr. Chou En-lai of our logistical intentions behind road-building in support of check-posts to repel Chinese intrusions: "We shall continue to build these things (strategic roadways) so that ultimately we may be in a position to take effective action to recover such territory as is in the possession of the Chinese. We do not want a war, but whatever steps we take, we must be strong enough to pursue them to a logical conclusion". Such gentlemanly purpose being the sole aim, the Prime Minister could well remind his faithless counterpart in Peking: "My strength is as the strength of ten, because my heart is pure". Meanwhile copies of *China Today* containing maps implying absorption of territory have been seized and confiscated. Mr. Nehru further elucidated the position in the Lok Sabha: "We want to settle the border-case; otherwise, in the long run we believe it would be disastrous for us, for China and, I think, for Asia, if for the next 50 years we live in enmity and hostility". He that hath ears to hear, let him hear; but trigger-happy confidence over the prospect of ambidextrously taking on both China and Pakistan at the same time, can only be viewed with eyes shut and nostrils held breathless. P.J.

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## GOVERNMENT'S ELECTION MALPRACTICES

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

John Locke, the English philosopher of the seventeenth century and author of *Two Treatises on Civil Government*, and the accepted theorist of the bloodless revolution of 1688 in England, can be regarded as the real founder of democracy in the modern West. The principles formulated by Locke were carried over through the ferment of ideas occasioned by the American War of Independence right on to the French Revolution, some participants being common to both, like Tom Paine, the author of *The Rights of Man*. And through the French Revolution and the example of the British Reform Acts of the 19th century, democratic ideas and practices (assuring ever-widening areas of civil and constitutional liberties) spread to the rest of Europe and the world.

As Sir Ernest Barker and other political authorities have noted with particular satisfaction, the Preamble of the Indian Constitution of 1950 explicitly adopts the fundamental form of the Western democratic framework enshrined in the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. They omit to note that the Indian Constitution adds the word *justice* to connote *dharma* and the Indian historic insight that all human values have to be bounded by the principle of *dharma*, i.e., nature and self-realization (*svabhava* and *sva-dharma*).

Western observers even today keep on recommending that Indians should broadcast the fundamental ideas of Locke and later philosophers of democratic liberty to help the people at large to assimilate the new individual and social code and engraft it on to Indian fountains of spiritual life.

Here it is proposed to call attention to a significant caution that Locke lays down in his chapter on the dissolution of government. The government as chief and supreme agent of society may itself cause irreparable damage to social cohesion even to the extent of *dissolving the bonds of society*! The basic bond of society is consensus, a consciousness on the part of the people that the government is rightly entitled to the prompt and zealous obedience of the people. This consciousness is linked to the belief that such obedience is linked to the wellbeing of the people themselves. Any action of government that disturbs this reciprocal understanding and consensus is productive of the very dissolution of government and society in the inmost essence.

Locke points out that such dissolution will set in, if the executive resorts to *packing the legislature* by corrupt practices. In this context, Locke's reference to the executive may be deemed to include in our situation today both the ruling party and the government constituted by it. The Congress Party and the Congress Government should be deemed to be engaged in the fatal or fateful task of undermining and subverting democracy and civil society themselves, if by their malpractice during elections they aim at channelling the choice of the people *unfairly* towards candidates nominated by the party.

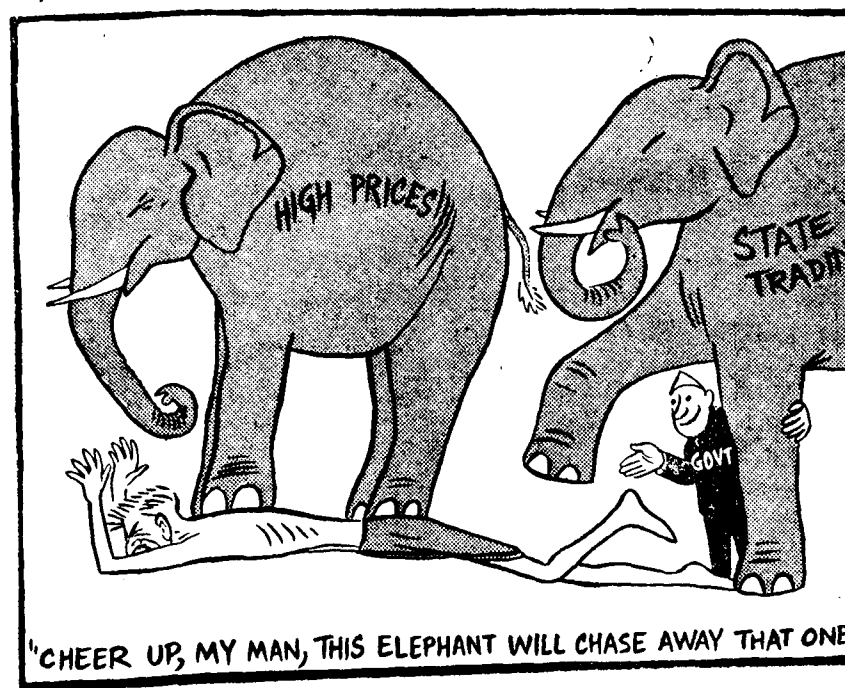
Of course the practice of political parties giving tickets to their own chosen candidates to entitle them to approach the people in their name has become universal in current democracies as a matter of practical convenience. But, however convenient and inescapable, the warning issued by John Locke so long ago in the last quarter of the 17th century needs to be carefully pondered today. For the consequence envisaged by the old philosopher has become manifest to us today in our recent electoral experience.

"He (the supreme executive)," says Locke, "acts contrary to his trust when he employs the force, treasure and offices of the society to corrupt the representatives and gain them to his purposes, when he openly pre-engages the electors and prescribes, to their choice, such whom he has by solicitation, threats, promises or

otherwise won to his design and employs them to bring in such who have promised beforehand what to vote and what to enact."

We are reminded by this of the recent Congress directive to choose only candidates who have faith in socialism! Their minds and votes are thus *pre-engaged*. The practice of defying the disapproval of local Congress committees and imposing on them candidates sent from the central headquarters or High Command as in North Bombay in the last elections comes to mind in this connection. This would be depriving the people of their inherent democratic right of choosing their own representative who is not committed to any doctrine beforehand but only to the general engagement of using his best judgment in contributing to the policies of government.

This procedure, says Locke, amounts to packing the assembly with "*abettors of the will* of the executive and is a great breach of trust!" This dissolves the social contract or consensus which is the bond of civil society. It entitles the people to proceed to rebel, if it cannot be changed by peaceful means. How right is Rajaji in declaring that the Swatantra movement aims at nothing less than a defence and true establishment of democracy in its individual aspect! National Independence must be supplemented by such individual freedom, if democracy is to come into its own. The far-reaching consequences of such governmental and ruling party delinquency in elections are well brought out by this caution of the founder of modern democratic thought and practice, John Locke.



## THE TESTS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The intercontinental missile carrying a nuclear warhead together with its inevitable counterpart, a rocket from the opposite party to intercept and destroy the missile, means a double destructive explosion wherever the god of accidents decides it should happen, be it in enemy country, in allied country, on a neutral nation, or on the heads of even more innocent people, when the defensive rocket hits the ICBM on its intercontinental route across space.

To this end and character have the weapons of war, offensive and 'defensive', now been shaped. There is no conscience left in the world after the nuclear madness came to stay. Not only is there no conscience in those who do it all, but no revolt against the utter illegality of such things in the minds of the passive victims.

A little calm thinking would make it obvious that activities such as the use of international waters

or the international atmosphere or international space for any purpose, including test explosions, should be done by agreement among all concerned and not unilaterally by any one nation on the strength of its brute power, or on the authority of having once or more often done it already without objection having been raised. If international law has any vitality or force, the US explosions are 'unilateral' and therefore as illegal as any other unilateral action indulged in, to the prejudice of others without obtaining their consent. Whatever objection is raised to unilateral action in respect of Germany or Berlin applies with much greater force to nuclear tests conducted by any Power, American or Soviet or British or French, which cause the generation of radio-active poison affecting all people. "Oh! It is relatively small, much less than what another has caused or what is there already in nature", "Oh! you have not objected to it before" are not

Every policy has its risks. But the worst risk is of the extermination of mankind.  
—Bertrand Russell in *Daily Herald* (May 17, 1962).

legitimate excuses. We should have dropped all intercourse with Russia last autumn when she burst her tests and called for world ostracism of Russia. (See page 18.)

The question is not who started this but what should now be done by the few men whose minds resist the hypnotism of power and who are left free to think. And this, too, not as to what is to be done by way of a symbolic act of faith but by way of effective non-violent resistance to this great evil.

The ICBM plus the rocket that may hit it on its route together form what neutral and uninvolved nations should, even now before it gets into use, ponder over. Assuming that those who project the ICBM would be precise in their aim and their work, and that the instruments would also be faultless, we might sleep with a prayer in our hearts when ICBMs fly over us. But science has progressed and the same great Powers who developed the ICBM and the nuclear bombs have been developing also rockets to hit the monsters on the fly, wherever it may be possible. Thus a situation has definitely arisen corresponding to the crime of a man rushing his carriage and horse through a crowded street to catch a train, without minding what may happen on the way—men, women and children knocked down and killed not mattering to him, because he must catch his train! Macaulay who drafted the Indian Penal Code ruled that it should be culpable homicide amounting to murder, whatever the motive of the man might be in his rush to the railway station. The present position in nuclear intercontinental warfare is systematic preparation for gigantic crime of that type, adverting to the more than likely explosions and destructions anywhere and everywhere, and yet proceeding with the plan irrespective of the likelihood.

## DIDACTIVE RITUALS

By POTHAN JOSEPH

Reports about taking the oath of office tell us how some people swear in English, others in Hindi. The moral pledge for secrecy binds all, even against Parliament's demand for information. A message from Patna made the world acquainted with the momentous fact that Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar articulated his piece in Hindi (Shuddh), whereas some fellow-Governors recited the text in English. The newspaper-reader should be content with a two dimensional impression of the ceremony since it is conducted under arc-light for the convenience of cameramen. The picture shows the successful candidate whispering into the mike, but we hear no voice though the Chief Justice on the spot seems very slightly to bend his ear, whereas others in the company, especially the new A.D.C., is found far too erect and pre-occupied to listen. By the end of the Third Plan, when we have prospered our way to the "take-off" stage in self-regenerative economy, we shall have an increase in facultative verification of the event right on the spot without any partiality of photographers and tape-recorders. Subscribers to the revenue of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry could sit at home, watch all the motions of the function, and nod over the exact words.

Then there have been some ministers who invoke God; others demonstrate superior emphasis on the secularism of the State by affirmation, though they bear on the forehead the mark appropriate to their sub-caste. Some even go the length of secretly cherishing the sway of a "theocratic State" by resting their hand on some amulets close to the heart, or deep under the white flower of blameless khadi-wear. One of the top ministers, using his mother-tongue, Tamil, lending no doubt a glow to DMK's evanescent view of the future. Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar ob-

served the advice that when one is in Rome, one should do as citizens of the Eternal City are wont to do, even if fluency in Italian does not go beyond the tourist-patois of the guide-book. The new Bihar Governor won local appreciation by his command of the *Rashtrabhasha* insidiously propagated by the hidden techniques of the Home Ministry for really "imposing Hindi," despite the Prime Minister's undertaking that Hindi would not be introduced in non-Hindi-speaking regions unless the people of those areas plead for its introduction in education, administration, court-speech, and perhaps resort to the process of "enriching Hindi", when even a savant like President Radhakrishnan is as much a stranger to Bhojpuri as Governor Ananthasayanam Ayyangar is to Pushtu. At least one school of politics in Madras ignored provisions in the Constitution regarding the joint-address, and abstained from a few rituals when they could have well figured in the snap-shots without paying for it, but accentuating goodwill among the constituents who had voted for them.

In Pakistan, bilingualism is provided in the Constitution, where-

as the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution accommodated 14 languages including Sanskrit, but excluding that *mlecha* language of Macaulay, namely, English, made notorious as the instrument of India's enslavement until we "wrested" freedom from unwilling hands. In the grand reshuffle following Congress triumph in the last elections, the majority of the folk entitled to a place in the swearing-in queue appear to have spoken in English. Those who did not fight shy of mentioning the Deity had no problem of being specific about some moral governor of the universe, the doctrine that all is one being mentally cherished beyond the hearing of the Prime Minister. In his Seattle reception the Russian aeronaut Titov said that during his high space-flight, he had looked around for God, but couldn't detect any divine image in that realm. When Americans recently piloted their way through the Berlin Corridor they could spot showers of metal-dust dropped from high altitude which was no sign of God.

According to ancient theology the universe consisted of three planes. In the books of many religions is a three-tier conception with Heaven above and Hell beneath, man's terrestrial platform being the venue for the waging of war between the righteous and

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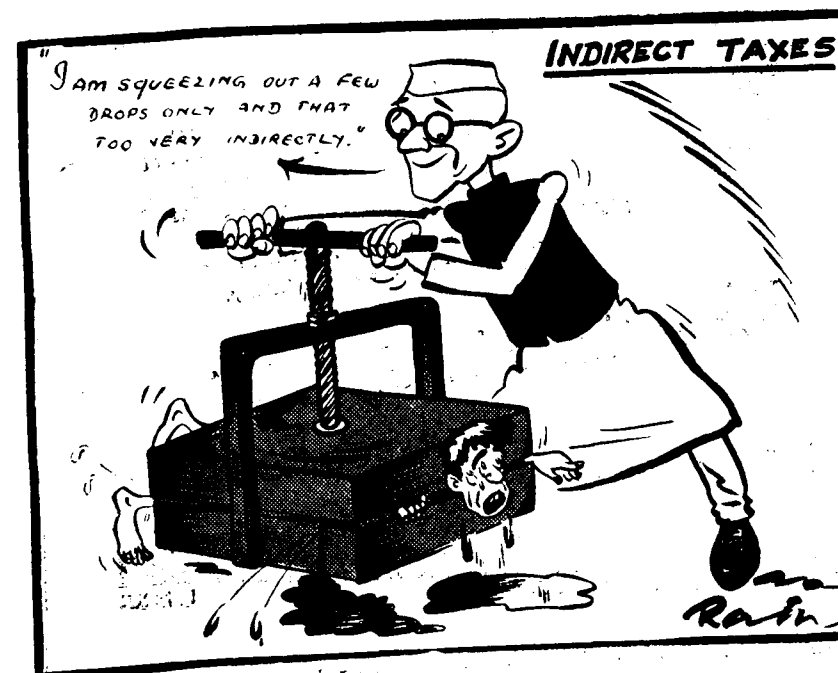
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the wicked, with occasional interference from uncharted sources. No one during the Delhi ceremonies delivered words indicative of extra-territorial loyalty, though there is suspicion about clandestine communist allegiance which made Finance Minister Morarji Desai in his fighting speech to tell communists to get out of the Congress and also to invite true socialist congressmen hiding in other parties, to emerge and work the Plan like good congressmen prepared to tighten the belt and achieve export-surplus to minimize exchange difficulties and lessen dollar dependence. A Senate Committee of the American Congress has gone in for a slash-down of our expectations by 25 per cent which may compel us to seek grants elsewhere (in healthy competition), though we have reason to believe that between President Kennedy and Ambassador Galbraith the alarm would prove short-lived. Propagandist-slander is not likely to affect our zest for implementation of projects and the realization of targets, the oath of secrecy screening the pursuit of alternatives. C.R. for his part advises the Communist Party to merge itself in the Congress which is really doing its spearhead job of adopting agronomic devices in what Americans call quick "escalation of underdeveloped regions," now under salvage, from the widening ocean of Marxist theory. The sanctity of an oath should not be belittled. Shylock in adhering to his pound of flesh cried against deviationism activated by the quality of mercy:

*An oath, an oath, I have an oath in Heaven! Shall I perjury my soul? No, not for Venice.*

In the practice of Anglo-American democracy things are comparatively more open and above-board; but in an atmosphere of totalitarian coteries from top to bottom, secrecy is of greater importance than the excruciating glare of publicity. Our top-executives, when challenged for facts, could deny information under sanctity of the oath of secrecy duly administered in Raj Bhavan with all the protocols of solemnity, spiritual and temporal.

## TRADITION IN POLITICS

By Mrs. PREMA NANDAKUMAR

We live in a ceaseless blaze of opinion and action, and sharp edges confront us everywhere. The 'new' is held up before us as something gradually attractive, progressive and good. Science and technology, as E. M. Forster has pointed out, have destroyed a sense of stability; and society lacks a centre or foci making for such stability. Now the rage is for getting bigger and bigger things (cars, for example); and presently the fashion changes, and the rage is to have smaller and smaller things—we feel very small because our transistor is not quite small enough! One politician boasts that we are setting up the biggest such-and-such-factory in Asia. Every second politician boasts that ours is the most stupendous experiment in democracy in the world. We are given no time to pause, to think; much less to look back a little, and see how far we have travelled, or whether we have moved at all.

It is taken as a sort of gospel truth, for example, that the Congress has always been socialist. "Quit, if you don't subscribe!" says the Oracle. But people with even a modicum of history feel greatly confused. Mr. Nehru the socialist was in a minority—an absurd minority—in the Working Committee, and even in the AICC, during the 'thirties and 'forties. It didn't occur to him to quit the Congress, it didn't occur to the majority to ask him to quit. Even after Independence, it was the so-called Congress Socialists that quit the Congress! How exactly did the Congress minus the Congress Socialists become socialist-patterned and presently purely socialist? These are inconvenient questions, which anyone with a sense of even recent Indian history could put. But no: there is no room for questions today. Conformity is the law.

If it was a good thing for our Prime Minister to remember India's past and 'discover India'

(whatever it may mean), don't we lesser men and women have a like right and duty to cultivate a proper historical sense in politics? This question comes to me with a peculiar force after reading *Philosophy, Politics and Society*, a collection of essays edited by Peter Laslett (Basil Blackwell, 1956). In the opening essay, Mr. Michael Oakshott eloquently pleads for a sense of tradition in people who either discuss politics or are in a position to take political decisions. Mr. Oakshott thinks that "political crisis... always appears within a tradition of political activity; and salvation comes from the unimpaired resources of the tradition itself". It was Gandhiji's great strength that he was in intimate contact with these native springs of tradition, as it is the great weakness of a leader like Mr. Nehru that his sense of history is academic, emotional and partisan, and not instinctive, intimate and vital. Indian society has been rooted in the village, sustained by agriculture, and held together by Religion; there may be need for adjustments, but a pulling down of the old structure in the name of socialism, secularism, modernity, planning, and what not, is not wise, and can only cause havoc to our economy and society.

Let us shout the words 'Long Live Revolution!' as loudly as we may—let us roll the 'r's as dramatically as we may—it would still be little short of suicidal to walk out of the hallowed paths of tradition simply because we must assert our modernity to the delectation of distinguished foreign visitors. What we need, therefore, is a healthy political education with a stern sense of what has been fruitful and also what has been hurtful in our tradition. Soviet Russia attempted to force the pace of economic growth by embarking on Five-Year Plans: well, let us do the same. They have an Academy in France: well, let us have one—or three Akademies, if you

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

please. In the UK there is an UGC; oh, we must have one too. There's decimal coinage in USA—let's have naye paise too.

This attraction for the name rather than the essence, the gesture rather than the motion, the shell rather than the substance, is what makes Nehru's India so wastefully tragic a spectacle that must make the very gods weep. But for us, who are the people whom the shoes pinch, the long way out of the mess is to rethink our ends and means so that we may dispel the many illusions that now beset us. It is often blandly asserted that Nehru's socialism is something other than, and superior to, the Liberalism of the nineteenth century. Making a comparative study of Liberal Morality and Socialist Morality, a contributor to Mr. Laslett's collection, Mr. W. B. Gallie, utters the grave warning that

"political tyranny and moral suffocation are things which Socialist Morality, more perhaps than any other morality, must abhor, since its aim is to bring into being a society in which moral motives (including love of freedom) will govern men's actions to an extent never before known... The kernel ideas of Liberal Morality, commutative justice, the meritorious individual, the moral necessity of free choice and contract (especially in economic life) and the self-limiting character of good government are countered by the ideas of distributive justice, the contributing individual, freedom as essentially freedom to be, not to get, and collective action in economic affairs. It is as if the parable of the talents were countered by the parable of the vineyard".

But socialist morality must not become a substitute for Liberal morality, any more than material values can wholly supercede spiritual values. When socialist morality enthrones Statism as the new Religion, we shall have substituted the concept of Ant-hill-Raj for the traditional concept of Ramraj.



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## PLANNING IN A SOCIALIST STATE

By P. N. NARASIMHAN

"Planned economy" is a shorthand phrase for State direction and control of industry and commerce. There is as yet no adequate scientific exposition of the theory of economic planning in a socialist State. Economic planning as adopted by modern socialist States is really a copy (with perhaps modifications) of the Soviet plans, altogether ignoring the historical antecedents, social upheavals and other circumstances to which production was subject in USSR previous to such planning.

Even assuming that such plans will lead to economic progress and prosperity, sufficient attention has scarcely been bestowed as to how and at what sacrifice such progress and prosperity were achieved. Too much emphasis laid on material prosperity and secular progress has resulted in too scant attention being paid to the human aspect. Society is for the individual and not the individual for the society. Social welfare measured in terms of aggregate material benefit in a socialist State is not necessarily the aggregate welfare of the individuals comprised in that society. A socialist State can very well be compared to the modern legal concept of a company. Just as a company is a distinct legal entity, distinct from the members composing it, a socialist State is a distinct entity, distinct from the members composing it. A prosperous company does not connote the prosperity of each one of its share-holders. The measure of prosperity of the shares a share-holder owns in a company is determined by the activities of the company, in which the share-holder has very little part. His place in the scheme of the company is only to get dividends if there be profits or to become liable as a contributory, if it collapses and is wound up.

This status accorded to an individual in a company is quite understandable where his material prosperity alone has to be reckoned, as he forms part of an industrial enterprise. But government in a modern State is no mere industrial enterprise. A good government should aim not merely at material prosperity of its citizens but also afford them full opportunities for their aspirations and to rise to their fullest height in any field of activity. Socialism adopted as a means of establishment of a 'Welfare State' really does no more than create a huge industrial enterprise, the individual therein having no creative part to play. He is a mere recipient of dividend if the State prospers. If the

State fails, he ranks in the list of contributories liable to contribute for the losses the State has sustained.

This aspect of the question has been well brought out by Dr. Keilhau in his book *Private and Public Planning* which is a study in economic sociology. Dr. Keilhau, a professor of Oslo University, is a leading economist and historian. He was President of the Norwegian delegation discussing stabilization plans at Washington in 1943 and at the Bretton-Woods Conference in 1944. In 1950, he was elected to the first executive committee of the International Economic Association and has been President of the Norwegian Economic Society since 1937. The following extracts from his book are instructive:

"Socialism is a system demanding that land and all other real capital used in production for sale, shall be property of the State or other public institutions authorized by the State.

"Consequently, the socialist State will possess a potential omnipotence in all economic matters. As the State is a national institution, socialism means the utmost concentration of political nationalism, this being an ideal instrument for external power policies, an economy organized for warlike purposes, and imperialism in its most undisguised and aggressive forms.

"Socialism can successfully materialize as State Capitalism only. The socialist State is the greatest capitalist that ever was. If the socialist authors of earlier days are right in their theories, every capitalist is an exploiter and a profiteer. The socialist State can hardly avoid being a victim of these verdicts."

Posing the question as to which class of capitalists the socialist State belongs, the author answers as follows:

"Undoubtedly to the class of monopolists. It is beyond competition. The authorities on which it confers the power of fixing the various prices are in the position to decide just as they like. If they go in for the greatest possible profit even at the expense of all the consumers, no one can impede them. Thus the socialist State has the power not only to exploit the labourers, when it is acting as employer, but also to exploit consumers, when it is acting as seller. It is, in fact, more powerful in both respects than any other monopolistic capitalist in history. This statement does not imply any accusation against

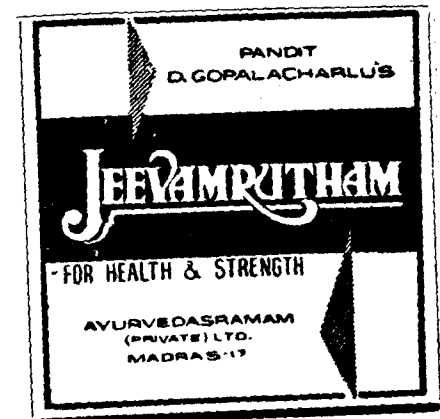
any government. But it would be wise not to map out possibilities inherent in the system. It is even more necessary to give a full account of them. History proves that great power when vested in a single person or institution for a longer period, nearly always has been abused sooner or later."

Dr. Keilhau assigns the role of opposition to this creed of socialism to liberalistic ideology—an ideology implicit in the Swatantra movement of Rajaji. He ventures to define this ideology as "a system which within the framework of a fully organized State, tries to secure the greatest possible freedom for the greatest number of individuals and groups." If we substitute the word "Swatantrite" to "liberalist" in the following passage, it will be instructive and illuminating. He says:

"The liberalist believes that man is born with an instinct for freedom, and cannot feel happy if subdued and subjected. To him liberty is the essential basis for happiness. He laughs when he hears socialists talk as if the State was a happiness-producing machine. In his inmost soul, he is convinced that every man and every woman has to seek his or her own happiness, through wise use of the liberty he or she enjoys under the protection of law and organization."

Finally, the author concludes with an optimistic note of triumph of this ideology over socialism as follows:

"This anti-socialist epoch is still in its infancy. It belongs mainly to the years after 1945. Its philosophy is in formation, its main campaigns will be fought in years to come. However, if no new global war should cripple it before it has grown, it seems to have a glorious future ahead of it. Nevertheless, most people may find it unlikely that this new ideology will ever be victorious under the banner of any party calling itself liberal by name. That does not matter. What counts are not parties but ideas."



## INDICTMENTS AND REPLIES

By BHIKKU

*And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass and she said unto Balaam: 'What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times?'*  
—Numbers

The cow jumping over the moon in the nursery rhyme is nothing to the acrobatics that Congress-India imposes on the people after Independence. It has shaken the props that bid for India's stability and continuity by fearfully rocking its traditional mores and has worked up new emotional prejudices, while groping for a gilt *Swarga*. In the place of worship of Rama or Mahavira or the wandering *sadhu* it has shifted worship to the chauffeur and the cinema star. It has violently laid hands on its laws of ownership and inheritance, not called for by the people or by pressure of social need but only originating in an immaculately conceived plan of egalitarianism, willfully blind to the fact that property and religion are ballasts that anchor the individual to society. Even so it has not treated all its citizens alike, for some of these laws only interfere with the customs of the Hindus.

Ignoring the fact that acts of Parliament will not make people good, it has poured out a blizzard of decrees that hamper few, for whose restraint they are made but which clog the lives of the many who would keep within rules. They have increased lawlessness and are potent handles for bureaucratic tyranny and graft.

It has made life a scramble for essentials. It asks you to tighten your belts, eat less, and live in abstinence for the sake of its Moloch plans and fungoid swarm of ministers and officials. It goes on dinning into ears, "I know what is good for you, whether

you know it or not. Only I need the power, the money and the tenure for several five-year plans and I will make of India an El Dorado of cinemas, sports-stadia, neon signs and motor cars". It doesn't want to see how in actuality it is processing this old civilization into an army of beggars, cadgers, sycophants, bullies and lazy dawdlers.

It very modestly claims that it knows not only what you want but also what the world wants and that it will assiduously set about giving you what it wants. Such trifles as what Pakistan wants and what China wants (and has got) are no doubt a worry, but in the sweep of its concern for the weal of the world, these are petty matters that will get right when the world is put on an even keel.

It says: "Why do you want to engage in private trade and business with all their risks, avarice and guilty profits? I will do it for you. I have a padded yoke for every neck, and when I have taken everything you will have merely to do what I ask you to do, stay where I ask you to stay, eat what I ask you to eat, and shout 'Jai' when I ask you to shout; and of course you will not need to cry, leastways you will not be permitted to cry."

It says that if its ministers and executives live well and dwell and move about sumptuously, and provide fat locations for their near ones, it is all for the sake of freeing them from personal problems, so as to devote their entire thought to your welfare, or rather your grandchildren's! It does not see that what IS speaks so loudly that what it SAYS is not heard, in spite of its big trumpet.

Are there too many failures in public school examinations? It will berate the examiners and uprate the marks. Do the trains make a mince-meat of the timings, and has train travelling become as risky as Himalayan expeditions? Time is a relative factor as obsolete as the Victorian era, and Congress-India is devoted to modern science. As for accidents, they have their place in the scheme of things after elimination of plague and cholera and in view of the unconscionable birth rate. Rising cost of everything? May be there is something in it; but that has not prevented either the mile-long queues for cinemas nor the crowding in the trains, and no one has been re-

ported to have died of starvation! These family suicides because of inability to eke out a living, so publicised by the newspapers, are exceptional things that may happen in any country. And chronic malnutrition? If people will not take to a mixed diet, what do you expect? Besides, for all that, the death-rate has gone down to an extent that is positively embarrassing. Sky-rocketing price of cloth? Why give thought to it? We, in India, need very little of it, thanks to the blistering sun. Have you seen the pictures in Ajanta? Even the women emulate Gandhiji in the brevity of what they put on.

All these billions of loans from foreign countries and the breath-suffocating taxes? How else can national wealth be built up for the grandchildren? These loans and taxes are all spent on production, and this talk of wastage, inefficiency, corruption and losses in public undertakings, as though they are special to Congress-India, is a wicked slander based on an exaggerated reading of honesty and virtue in the past. Wastage and corruption and nepotism have always been there in every country. Only opportunities for their exercise in this country are greater now because of much greater activity. By and by when all the Plans are completed, milk and honey will so overflow this land that there will be no need for bothering about these trivialities. It is the cat who can't reach the cheese that says it smells.

All this talk of megalomania is just pure malice and envy. India is magnificent. It is the very navel of the earth. It is the land of Shah Jehan and Krishna Deva Raya. Every foreigner since the beginning of time has been aching to reach these shores because of its wealth and glory, and today what is sought to be done is only to revive this brilliance through Bakra-Nangals and Bhilais and nuclear power projects, the Delhi pageants and Sangeet-natak-akademies. And when sundry malcontents insist on asking whether it is wise to heap up baskets of eggs to be tripped like these very vulnerable big projects when we have such crusty neighbours, given to hit-and-run incendiary tactics, there is only an "Sh... Sh... Sh..." sound, with an index finger laid lengthwise on the nose for answer.

Who can hold a fire in his hand  
By thinking of the frosty Caucasus?  
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite  
By bare imagination of a feast?  
Or wallow naked in December snow  
By thinking of fantastic summer's heat?  
—Shakespeare

*Dear Reader*

The Gandhi Peace Foundation, to whom Bertrand Russell's urgent appeal to the Government to send a challenge ship to the Pacific was handed over by the Prime Minister by way of shelving it, is calling a 'convention' to discuss the matter in the third week of June. Any action the Peace Foundation may take in this leisurely way would be nothing beyond propaganda which has already reached saturation point.

The British Labour Party wants Bertrand Russell, Canon John Collins, and Lord Chorley (all members of the party) to withdraw their sponsorship of the Moscow conference of the World Peace Council. Bertrand Russell has replied that he considers the issue of human survival far more important than his Labour Party membership.

Mr. K. Santanam has contributed an article to the *Hindu* supporting my plea for Gandhian resistance against the nuclear explosions in the Pacific but argues that the Government of India, which depends so greatly on American aid, should not take it up but organize only diplomatic pressure. What Bertrand Russell has said in reply to the Labour Party's threat to dismiss him applies to Mr. Santanam's argument also. If what we get from America carries no strings as so often pedantically stated on both sides, what greater or more pernicious strings can be conceived of than this incapacity to do what is right and urgently called for, in the interest of world health, because of having to receive American aid. And what is the value or even reality of these plans and aids in the face of these tests and counter-tests and counter-counter-tests? The chain promises to be endless until a hot nuclear war is sparked. We plan for reduction of families when we see the near prospect of intercontinental missiles flying from one end and rockets flying

across from the other end to meet the former halfway and double-burst over our heads. Some more clear thinking is necessary than what we are being treated to. When Russia behaved in a monstrous way, and exploded her giant nuclear tests last autumn, I asked the Government of India to stop all friendly relationship with Russia.† Instead of ostracising the Soviet Government, we negotiate for jets and missiles from Russia. Do we imagine that this will not affect American aid or American goodwill and trust? Mr. Santanam ignores this, and writes agreeing with Mr. Nehru that America may treat civil resistance to the nuclear explosions as a particularly hostile act. I can almost see Gandhi smiling his characteristic, sad smile. We are ignoring our gravest duty in our attachment to what, in the context, is a mere house of cards.

"Aristides" who is a very informed, studious, young publicist writes:

"Many MPs have rightly demanded better performance from State enterprises. Their performance so far has not only been disappointing, but has been a matter of grave concern for a nation which can ill-afford to waste its scarce resources. The return on

† See Rajaji's statement under the caption "Call to Ostracise Russia" printed in page 18.

investment of over Rs. 600 crores is less than half of one per cent for two successive years. If the low rate of interest (2½ per cent) at which loans are given to these enterprises is taken into account, then even this apology of profits may vanish. The hard-earned savings of the country, which in private hands would have been put to more productive use, creating additional wealth and employment, are being frittered away in the maintenance of white elephants.

"In Hindustan Steel, during 1960-61, raw materials and stores worth Rs. 100.58 lakhs were missing; in a Mysore State bicycle factory, after three years, only 18 bicycles, each costing Rs. 16,000, have been produced (saddles are yet to be bought and fitted)! The Sindri Fertilizer output was lauded some years ago. Experts had warned that in an anxiety to show results the plant was being overworked and ruined. That prophecy has now proved too true. The much-boasted H.M.T. watch factory turned out to be an assembly unit for Japanese watches."

Booksellers have been alerted and alarmed by the Madras Government's proposal to print school-books and to distribute them through Government-approved booksellers. The trade fears that monopolies will be created on the basis of favouritism. At least some booksellers in Trichinopoly have protested against it.

C.R.

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## UNION OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: C. R.'S VIEW

[Following are extracts from a report in the Hindu dated January 10, 1956:]

Madras, Jan. 9.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, presenting his views before the Official Language Commission, emphasized that whatever might be the advantage of Hindi, they should not discard English which was now understood, spoken and written by all the educated people of India. He urged that English should continue to be the Union official language as it was in the Commonwealth countries and in the United States.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said in his evidence: "Throughout India, now, all the people who have received education to fit them for work in public offices, speak and write English decently. English is the one language that is written and spoken universally among the educated classes all over India without distinction of province or area. Why should we give it up? One should not cut off one's nose to spite one's face. The acquisition of a language is not easy,

and we should not foolishly surrender what we have got.

"English is not a mark of disgrace. It has not so operated in the international world, so far. We have not lost either self-respect or prestige among others in the international world, on account of our having been freely and without any hesitation using English for the last ten years (since Independence), and we have acquired in the counsels of the world such power as we have acquired only through this language medium."

"We should not begin," Mr. Rajagopalachari said, "a revolution at the wrong end and cause or suffer hardship and inefficiency all round merely for bringing about a notional improvement in national consistency. It is, I say, to begin at the wrong end to impose Hindi before we have attained, all of us, as much proficiency in that language as we now possess in English. We should introduce compulsory teaching of Hindi in secondary schools in the earliest stages throughout India. This

should be the first step, and when we have done 20 years or more of that, we shall have arrived at a stage when all educated people in India will have learnt to speak and write Hindi in an adequate measure to express themselves in that language, fluently and with precision, comparable to the present spread of English and its quality. Then we may drop English for the reason that it was once associated with British rule in India and change over to Hindi, because it is spoken by the largest single group of people in India.

"It was an error to fix an absolute date-line in the Constitution for Hindi to be made the Union official language. The Constitution should be amended so as to provide for a logical first step, and for the time required from then to attain the universal spread of the new official language, through all levels of the educated people in all the areas of India. This would mean at least 20 years from the date when we introduce compulsory Hindi in all secondary schools all over India and stabilize instruction in that language in a satisfactory way."



## A Crowing Chanticleer

Lawyer Hari Ram of Rohtak who opposed Dr. Zakir Hossain in the bid for vice-presidency conceded that he was beaten, but added: "I will contest again and again". The lesson of Robert Bruce and the Spider must have left an abiding impression on him as a boy.

The tenure of vice-presidency is five years. Every man his own five-year plan.

There is nothing to discourage the lawyer-candidate since it is an election that does not involve the loss of any deposit, not even the equivalent of day-cost.

The immunity granted to Antonio Gizenga, deputy Premier of the Congo, by the Adoula Government has been suddenly withdrawn rendering him liable to arrest. Nepal refugees offered amnesty are likely to make a cutting of the newspaper-item and paste it in their albums.

Pathet-Lao units are reported to have captured Nam Tha after bitter

fighting in Laos. American correspondents are belittling it as a *namkewaste* victory boosted by communists in their propaganda-war.

Dean Rusk halted for 90 minutes in Bombay where he spent the time conferring with Ambassador Galbraith on acceleration of aid to India. There was hardly time to confer a doctorate on a benefactor so well disposed.

The first principle of organizing military intelligence, we are told, is not to brag about preparations. While the whole world is eager to support the slogan "Ban the Bomb", India might benefit by the cry "Ban the Brag".

Mr. Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that our Ambassador in Russia is treated with the greatest consideration. It is the job in the People's Republic of China that Indian service-personnel shun for reasons which partly account for China's loss of prestige in the world, not to mention her plight, of bleak isolation. India no more sponsoring her for admission to

(Continued from previous page)

Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, that is to say, whatever may be the advantages of Hindi, we should not discard English which all educated people now understand and speak and write, before an equal standard of widespread attainment in Hindi is actually brought about in all parts of the country.

"We may introduce rewards as motives for studying Hindi. But we should not impose the drastic punishment on ourselves of inefficiency and inaccuracy in all public transactions, hoping it may serve as an incentive for study."

"It is wrong to think that we shall suffer in prestige by retaining English. Real prestige would be gained if we ever succeed in

making Sanskrit the official language of the Union. It would be worthwhile attempting, and I am sure if we could hope to succeed with Hindi, we could hope to succeed with Sanskrit too, and it would have the advantage of reasonable impartiality in the adventure. It is easier for the Hindi-speaking people of India to learn Sanskrit and to attain proficiency in wielding that language than it can ever be for people in South India to learn to wield Hindi as they now do English."

In conclusion, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "Let Hindi be used in greater measure in all the public offices in the Hindi-speaking areas, but let English continue to be the Union official language as it is in the Commonwealth countries and the United States."

## SWARAJYA

(English Political Weekly)  
PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

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the UNO or giving her a dog's chance for the leadership of Asia.

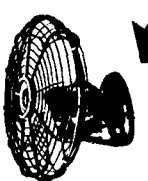
On May 7, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari representing Tiruchendur in the Lok Sabha took the oath. His Swatantra rival who ducked at the last moment is presumed to have telegraphed "congratulations on well-deserved distinction" in brief Code Number.

When Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha asked Dayabhai Patel whether he would support the cancellation of privy purses to ex-rulers. Mr. Patel (son and heir of Sardar Patel) tartly replied that "the word of the country given to the Princes" should not be revoked. The treaties, covenants and sanads of the British Paramount Power had been unilaterally disowned by the Attlee Government, so that there need be no nervousness about lack of precedents.

Once privy purses are discontinued, the next communist demand might be that compensation paid to landholders on abolition of zamindaris, should be gradually refunded to the State by the recipients out of savings acquired from wages as land-labourers. This is called the doctrine of "Expropriation of the Expropriators".

Pravda, the Russian journal celebrating its fiftieth anniversary and winning the Order of Lenin, means Truth. *Izvestia*, a later publication, means news. A jest with the late M. N. Roy, probably coined by him, was that *Pravda* carried no *izvestia* in its columns; and *Izvestia* for its part did not contain a particle of *pravda* to make it reliable! —P.J.

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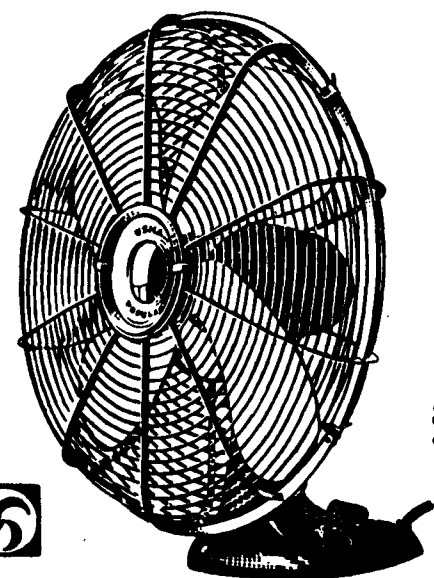
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May 26, 1962

BOOK REVIEW

## INDIA'S HERITAGE

### GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT INDIA

By Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, Emeritus Professor of History of Lucknow University and noted historian and publicist, has a number of standard works of the highest quality to his credit in the field of ancient Indian history. Among these are his book on *The Fundamental Unity of India*, already included in Bhavan's Book University, and *Hindu Civilization* also in this series. The book under review is Dr. Mukherji's latest contribution to the fuller understanding, particularly by his own fellow-countrymen of the riches and quality of their cultural heritage.

The book is divided into sixteen chapters covering Vedic thought, the Indus civilization, India's early democratic institutions and traditions, India's achievement in the Arts, letters and higher thought and India's religious heritage.

The opening chapter on Vedic thought traces the development, in the Vedic period itself, of the conception of one God into that of the oneness of all life and of a broad, earnest, fundamental conviction of the futility of religious strife and political and economic class wars. The Rig Veda, as Dr. Mukherji points out, stresses the democratic approach insistently calling for *sumajana* as a means to *su-sahaasti*. The key words of Indian democracy, *sabha* and *samiti*, go back to the Rig Veda. Indeed, Dr. Mukherji would have it, a great deal of the doctrine of socialism and communism and the doctrine of the 'Welfare State' are held in trine of the Vedic teaching. Dr. Mukherji disposes of the common Western interpretation of Buddhism as anti-Vedic by pointing out that Buddhism develops its key ideas from the Veda. The terms *sangha*, *nirvana*, *arhat*, *karma* and *sramana* are all from the Veda. That the Vedic seers were not a world-negating band of self-tormenting recluses is also pointed out. The Sannyasi's *sadhana* of *nirvana-upasane* is designed to culminate in a state of *sarva bhuta hite ratah*, a universal compassion in which he finds his happiness in helping others in a spirit of profound and affectionate solicitude. The *Jivanmuktas* live for their fellow-men.

In the chapter on the Indus Valley civilization, Dr. Mukherji seems to

accept in the main the views put forward mainly by Western scholars. Most Western scholars seem to suffer from an ingrained prejudice against the Aryans and to assume that the Dravidians were the makers of this urbanized civilization of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. We venture to suggest that the matter admits of further investigation, especially in the light of newly discovered material still awaiting study. The noted archaeologist Dr. T. N. Ramachandran has put forward, in this connection, a thesis which cannot be dismissed as merely inspired by pro-Aryan bias. This thesis is by no means conclusive but it shows that the extravagances of Father Heras are not ferable to those of others and that the early history of this period is not to be mischievously misinterpreted as a period of the suppression of a highly evolved Dravidian civilization by a militant Aryanism. The dangers of generalization from incomplete evidence as of premature generalization are nowhere more apparent than in this field. In South India the pseudo-history of Dravidianism has developed into a politically mischievous linguism and separatism.

Other chapters deal with India's achievements in the various fields of the Fine arts and architecture, philosophy, speculation, industrial and commercial enterprise, cultural expansion, literature and religion. As Dr. Mukherji seeks to present herein a broad, con-

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cise, popular account rather than an argumentative and controversial one about ancient India's achievement, it will not be fair to appear to controvert his conclusions in detail in the course of a mere book review. All that we have sought to do is to show that Dr. Mukherji's view is by no means the uncontested, accepted view on all matters. There is an attempt at documentation doubtless. And though one would hardly regard it as adequately vindicating Dr. Mukherji's point of view on controversial matters, it is much more adequate than one would expect in a book of about a hundred and fifty pages. About its inadequacy we give, purely by way of example, the reference to the date of Sankara as 800 A.D. The dates of a great many supremely significant events and personages cannot, unfortunately, be fixed definitely on the basis of available evidence, and it is not desirable to give the impression that the date of Sankara, for example, has been finally ascertained. But Dr. Mukherji has, nevertheless, done a considerable service to India by presenting, in brief compass, this inspiring story of what stands still to our credit and, thank God, in a form which it will take centuries of modern political corruption and cultural charlatanism to undo. S.R.

### ORISSA GOVERNMENT'S FOLLY

Under the caption "A Dangerous Trend," Mr. Siddharaj Dhadada writes in Sri Vinoba's *Bhoodan* severely criticizing the policy of the Orissa Government which proposes to make a State monopoly of the *beedi* leaves business. Mr. Dhadada says:

"The relevant question is not whether any trade, business or industry is carried on by an individual, an autonomous corporation or the State itself, but that whatever may be the particular form of its organization, it must be carried on in the interests of the community as a whole. The controversy between the private and the public sector is unreal and is only the clever politician's ruse to exploit the natural and legitimate sentiment of the people."

against the profit seeker and gather more power, pelf and patronage for himself.

"The action of the Orissa Government in monopolizing the *Kendu* leaves trade for itself may add some more revenue to the exchequer but would also render idle the persons at present engaged in this business, or turn them into wage-earners.

"The Orissa Chief Minister has further promised that the 'Government has in mind to start *beedi* manufacturing factories within the next two or three years in the *Kendu* leave growing areas'. This continuous expansion of State functions and its inroad into all spheres of human activity is a dangerous trend, and would reduce democracy and liberty to a farce, if not result in the abandonment of their outward form too."

## CALL TO OSTRACISE RUSSIA

[This appeal was issued by Rajaji as soon as the Russian giant tests were exploded last year.]

In a statement today on the 50-megaton nuclear explosion by Russia, Mr. Rajagopalachari said:

The latest Russian nuclear explosion has been described as a brutal crime against humanity and the description is not an overstatement. In spite of all the appeals which the ruler of a nation asking for "co-existence" should have respected, this wicked act of poisoning



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mankind has been perpetrated and it has been perpetrated without any provocation to mitigate the crime such as might have been pleaded in a hot war. Never before in the history of the world, except in mythology, has any act been recorded of equal demonic or self-willed character. It is a crime the nature of which, as well as the manner in which it has been persisted in, makes it absolutely necessary that the whole world should without hesitation make up its mind to outcast the author of the crime from the family of nations. War such as we knew even during Hitler's time did not reach this level of anti-humanity and anti-whole-world.

The election to a further term of dictatorship over the Soviet Union and the removal of Stalin's body from the National Mausoleum are now in the news. But these are just the footprints and blood marks of colossal crime, occupying needless space in the world press. The event is this crime against humanity. It would be complicity in it to have anything to do with the criminal after this refusal of his to live with the world in co-existence. There can be no distinction drawn between the cheering nation which welcomed this explosion and the head of the Soviet State, who is responsible for this unparalleled overt act of enmity against mankind.

America and the UK should take care not to reduce the enormity of this crime of Russia and blur the issue by doing some awkward tests of their own now, depending for a distinction on the difference in the magnitude or the height of explosion. They should loathe the indulgence in any nuclear explosion and outcast Russia as a self-declared enemy of mankind.

Calculations are being made as to when the poison will descend on West Europe. It will descend not only on West Europe but on the whole world, Asia, Australia and the two Americas. A plan should be quickly devised to express the world's decision to treat Russia as outside the pale of humanity.

It should be demonstrated that not all the weapons of Satan can help a people if the world rejects and denies co-operation to them. The provocation to apply the weapon of total boycott has been amply provided. Any hesitancy and apathy now shown would be surrender.—The Hindu, Nov. 1, 1961.

## FROM THE CAPITAL:

### MAJOR REVISION IN DEFENCE POLICY?

By SANJAYA

**NEW DELHI:** The Government's move to purchase Soviet supersonic aircraft, the type known as MIG-21, for the Indian Air Force, has caused noticeable uneasiness in the Capital. The last few days have seen much diplomatic activity, with the British High Commissioner and the American Ambassador alternately calling at the Foreign Office to seek clarification. From all accounts, the deal appears to be in a fairly advanced stage of negotiation, although a final Cabinet decision is necessary for it to be put through.

The chief reason for the move to purchase the MIGs is said to be the imbalance in air strength between this country and Pakistan, on account of the US supplying F-104 jet aircraft to the latter. Since India reportedly has not been able to secure similar supersonic aircraft from other countries at terms favourable to her, she has had to turn to Moscow, and the latter seized the opportunity not merely to sell us the MIGs for part rupee payment, but even assist us in manufacturing them in this country under a licence!

Britain's disquiet is understandable. She has been the principal supplier of the bulk of India's military equipment, and by our turning to Moscow for these aircraft, she loses a sizeable 'commercial opportunity'. The British High Commissioner is said to have pointed out in his 'demarches' to the Indian Government that the purchase of the MIGs would in effect throw open to Soviet examination all Western secret equipment now in use by the IAF. Russian technicians, who are bound to accompany the MIGs to India for training IAF men in their use, would have access to all such equipment and installations.

The Kennedy Administration's concern stems from the fear that the deal would cause grave political embarrassment to it internally. It is already having a difficult time over the decision of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee to reduce the quantum of US aid to India by a substantial 25 per cent. What chances there are of having this cut restored are certain to be adversely affected, should the deal go through. The US is particularly sore that India has approached Russia or the MIGs even without first trying to sound the West, apart from the fact that she had spurned the offer of mili-

tary aid by President Eisenhower at the time of the original US agreement with Pakistan on the ground of our neutrality.

Observers in the Capital are particularly alarmed by the long-term implications of the proposed deal. This is the first time that India would be going in for the purchase of frontline fighter aircraft from the Soviets, involving a possible major revision in our defence policy. If the deal goes through, India would become "dangerously dependent" on Russia in what is perhaps the most vital sector of our defence. One must remember that Russia and China stay military allies whatever their present ideological differences may be.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### RAJAJI'S ATTITUDE TO HINDI

Sir,—Shri Rajaji writes in your issue of April 28 that the authorities "should drop once for all the idea of using State pressure and State authority to spread Hindi ....."

I am reminded here of the statement which he had made before the Kher Official Language Commission (1956) when it interviewed him in Madras. Vis-a-vis the Constitutional directive in Art. 351 (viz. "to promote the spread of the Hindi language") he had suggested that Hindi might first be introduced as a compulsory study in the schools throughout the whole country, as a first step. And he advised the Commission (in a note presented to us then) that if necessary "the Constitution should be amended so as to provide for (this) logical first step.....to attain the universal spread of the new official language.....in all the areas of India".

As a member of the Kher Commission, I was immensely pleased to hear this from Shri Rajaji, for whose views and opinions I have very high personal regard and esteem. I hope he does not rule out this step which he suggested to the Commission about five years ago.

Ahmedabad-4 **MAGANBHAI P. DESAI**

[The evidence I gave before the Language Commission, to which Mr. Maganbhai Desai refers in his letter above, is reproduced elsewhere for reference. It will be seen from it that what I said was that Hindi should not replace English unless the Gov-

The proposed deal has undeniable political implications as well. As a correspondent of a local daily mentions, the deal would be an important victory for pro-Soviet elements "which have long preferred Soviet economic assistance to US assistance". It is learnt besides that the decision to approach Russia in the matter was taken without the knowledge of the Cabinet; nor was the Defence Committee of the Cabinet informed. The P.M. seems to have taken the decision solely on the suggestion of Mr. Krishna Menon, and a senior IAF officer was promptly sent to Moscow.

Meanwhile, the proposal has had its unpleasant consequences, the chief of these being the unexpected resumption of the Kashmir debate in the UN Security Council. It is generally taken that the resumption of the debate has become easy on account of the MIG purchase proposal.

ernment was prepared to do the impossible.—C.R.]

### PRINCIPLE OF NOMINATION TO LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Sir,—It is reported that Mr. B. T. Murnal, till recently a Congress member of the Mysore State Legislative Assembly, who resigned his seat to pave the way for the election of Mr. S. Nijalingappa, has been nominated by the Governor to the Legislative Council, ostensibly in the exercise of the powers conferred on him by the Constitution.

The relevant provision of the Constitution empowers the State Governor to nominate to the Legislative Council persons who have rendered significant service to the State as also men and women distinguished in the realm of business, education, law, literature, science, the Fine arts and cultural activities, etc. That being so, it is not clear for what specific qualifications Mr. Murnal was nominated.

The Governor's powers are not absolute. Surprisingly enough, the order of the Governor is silent as to the field or fields in which Mr. Murnal has distinguished himself. Unless one is to equate the State with Mr. Nijalingappa and the vacation of his seat by Mr. Murnal in favour of the former as in itself a service to the State, the latter's nomination to the Legislative Council cannot but smack of rank favouritism. Bangalore

**K. A. SANTANAM**

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