

Dear Reader



Rajaji

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1992

BHARTIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

Kulapati Munshi Marg.

B ombay - 400 007

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1st Edition 1992

PRICE Rs. 65/-

PRINTED IN INDIA
By Kammavar Achukkudam Ltd
Big Bazaar Street
Coimbatore - 641 001

About the Book . . .

Rajaji established a direct rapport with the readers through his "Dear reader" column of *Swarajya*. Rajaji thus "spoke" to the readers on a wide range of subjects of national and international relevance. That Rajaji was far ahead of his times in his thinking is vindicated by events decades later.

This publication puts together the views of Rajaji on a wide range of subjects during a period of twelve years from 1961 to 1972.

The topics are organised into various subjects such as: Democratic Polity, Constitutional Ethos, Political Process, Instruments of State, National Economy, National Issues, National Problems, Foreign Affairs, Obiter Dicta, and Matters of Common Interest. When he wrote repeatedly on the same theme, such writings are organised chronologically.

Readers would find that over a period of time Rajaji's views varied on some of the issues. It was decided to knit them together, even if they looked somewhat disjointed, in order to maintain the originality of his pen.

Rajaji had quoted eminent persons in support of his views on the subject. Quotations that reiterated or substantiated his point of view were included. Some of his comments on the then government, political leaders and ministers were found necessary to provide a comprehensive view of his ideas; hence retained intact.

His writings which focussed on the then Madras Presidency, The state and its policies, local problems, obituaries, poems and quotations in tamil script were not included.

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1.0 DEMOCRATIC POLITY

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1.1 Democratic Governance

What we want at once is good government. The rest can wait until we solve our difference and find the funds required for the things we want. Good government includes respect for the Constitution and for order, and saving the country from communists inside and abroad. Socialism is a fine word. If it means full employment or something near to it and social and economic justice, it calls for great additions to our productive industries, and the avoidance of wasteful conflicts between the different classes of our society. This is part of good government.

A government does not live only upon its votes in Parliament. It lives on the general confidence of the people as distinguished from mere sufferance. A moral thrombosis can take it to a collapse, even as it often happens that an athlete with his muscles all in fine condition collapses when his heart suffers a thrombosis. Governments should not make light of motions of non-confidence simply because of their party strength in Parliament. When a non-confidence motion is based on breaches of the moral law, numbers cannot counterpoise the effect on the public mind of what stands exposed in the debate.

An efficient government is one which commands the confidence and trust of the people in general and, therefore, gets things done properly and quickly, and not one which quickly calls in the armed police and army units to suppress disorders arising out of public dissatisfaction. Nor is a government to be deemed efficient because it is too willing to suppress the autonomy of the States when they differ from the dictates of the Government at the Centre. Until now the Union Government has been a federation of ministers in New Delhi not a union of federating States. Each ministry was a Zamindari, so to say, concerned and interested only in getting

hold of as much of the 'Aid' and tax-money as it could grab and in spending it. Patronage was the slogan of every ministry, not coordination or efficiency in the true sense.

Now that a new pattern has emerged after the elections, and the States have begun to rule themselves, the Central Government can get credit for efficiency only by showing tact and good sense, not by encouraging State governments to resort to tear-gas bombs and rifles. The Central Ministry should set a spirit of competition going among the States in good government. The emphasis must be not on rigidity or force but on moral success.

What the people of India require is good government and not merely a 'stable' government. The stress ought to be on good government which does not seek to make serfs of citizens. The stress should not be on stability. A regime bent on doing away with the fundamental rights on citizens is not good government. Authoritarian dictatorship can perpetuate itself without other assistance. What should be done is not to make it stable, but to bring it to public condemnation. A free way of life is not possible under majority oppression and intimidation. The illusion that 'stability' by itself is good must be dispelled. This reiteration of mine is not a redundant reiteration.

The Reader should not feel bored by my reiterations. The anxious of good government should not be allowed to be forgotten by continuous disregard of them by those in authority. The supervisory jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over the arbitrary exercise of power by those entrenched in executive authority with the help of a subservient parliament and local legislatures is an absolute necessity for real democracy and good government. The defences inscribed in the original Constitution of India against arbitrary action by the State against the citizens are as necessary for the happiness of the people as water is necessary for life. The draft to totalitarian control must be stemmed with as much dedicated fervour as

foreign aggression should be resisted. Hence my reiterated emphasis on the supreme duty of defending the Constitution as it was originally framed. If the authoritarianism of the Central Government is added to by the State Governments sharing in it, the whole country will be a vast desert of totalitarianism with not a blade of democratic grass growing anywhere. Perpetuation of authoritarian control over citizens becomes easier and easier as the as go on and the people get increasingly emasculated. Foreign rule is not half as bad as the tyranny of our own. Perpetuating itself without fear of national resistance.

There is a tendency in the members of the Opposition Parties to carry on as before organizing demonstrations, even though they are near their goal and have to change their tactics and manners. We can overthrow governments through mass agitation and various forms of violence. But we cannot govern by agitation. We should stick to the Constitution and must rule under it. We should not be pressed into extra-Constitutional methods of agitation.

Gandhiji inspired us with courage to oppose and suffer in order to free the country from British rule and to achieve Swaraj. Young reader, this is not a mere string of oft-repeated words: it is a fact.

He made us fearless in our dealings with the British Government, and inspired us to face without fear any foreign enemy who may come with aggressive ambitions. Not only this, long before we got independence, he asked us all to be fearless in dealing with our own governments we ourselves place in power from time to time under democracy. Fear in citizens is the enemy of freedom from domestic misrule.

Dear reader, whatever your age or your profession may be, do not murder the truth that arises from time to time in your heart, Loyalty to truth as you in your conscience know it calls for courage. Fear is an enemy of the soul. Do not yield to it. There is nothing very valuable in life or which will stand

you in good stead, which you can acquire through doing what fear and untruth dictate. If you do not accept this truth, you do not deserve to live in Gandhi's land and share in the honour which his name gives to this country. Economic and other natural laws donot wait for us to make up our minds. We are in for a very grave future. The hierarchy of orderly work has been totally destroyed. The Chinese are a work-minded, industrious people. They work in spite of political chaos. Whether the government is communist or other does not matter to the Chinese people as they do not give up their essential work-mindedness, inspite of the political chaos. The position in India, it must be sadly noted, is very different now. We are not work-minded. We are a lazy people. We are, each one, inclined to make something for oneself at the expense of others. Hence dishonesty has grown and become a national characteristic. It is sad to say all this and no one would be gladder than myself to be proved wrong.

The situation in India today unquestionably calls for a national non-party government to replace the present regime at the Centre and its hunger for low grade popularity and tactics to bring about defections. Everyone bewails the serious deterioration in public morality. A national government can stop it in great measure. Not only will the national non-party government awaken the conscience and intelligence of the elite to a sense of what they owe to themselves, but, as I have said before, it will now rouse the World Powers to a better sense of their duty to the people of South Asia.

It is worth while considering whether it may not be good to adopt a plan to give administrative functions to all the members of State legislatures, dividing them up into committees for various departments with a chairman for each committee, rather than appointing ridiculously large ministries in order to satisfy group leaders ambitious for power. Ceylon did well under such an arrangement which prevailed there until Independence came. The functions of State Governments are such as could be well enough managed by com-

mittees of the legislature each with its own chairman, instead of by an over-size cabinet which, however large it may be made, must still leave a large number of members unsatisfied. If the Andhra Pradesh legislature had a committee and a chairman for Telungana affairs, very probably there would have been no grievances accumulating or violent agitation such as we have now to cope with.

In our anxiety to build up and strengthen a united front to defeat the Congress Party at the polls, we should not commit the mistake of yielding to the temptation of taking into alliance the communists, right or left. The left-wing of the communists are perhaps more sincere in their efforts to assist in dislodging the Congress Party than their right-wing comrades who are only another edition of congressmen and who are only keen on somehow preserving themselves. The advantage of acquiring the assistance of the communists in a joint front carries with it an inevitable suicidal consequences, which I wish to point out here in advance of any such step being taken by the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh or other Parties. Apart from the unconstitutional and illegitimate advantages the Congress Party has been utilizing for its perpetuation in office, its main strength with the middle classes whom they cannot bribe or hold in terror, rests on the psychological fear these classes have of power going to communist hands if the Congress were to be displaced.

If any alliance or even electoral 'adjustment' rests on communist support in any degree, the fear will grow in the minds of the middle classes that communists will manage to fill the place vacated by the Congress Party. This fear will drive these voters blindly to plump at the polls for the Congress. The Congress Party workers will let slip no opportunity of increasing this fear and exploiting it to the full. We shall therefore be committing suicide if we take the cooperation of the leftist or rightist communists in our eagerness to take all available help.

I am sorry to have to utter this warning. I know that the leftist communist leaders are very sincere and would summon all their energy along with other parties towards defeating the Congress, notwithstanding "differences in ideology". But my appreciation of their sincerity does not prevent my sensing the inevitable consequence- that it will give rise to a sudden and great alarm among the voters, of communist rule replacing Congress rule, and consequently their blindly voting for the "devil we know", the Congress. If the leftist Communists could be induced to make a great sacrifice- and they are capable of such a sacrifice- of abjuring all nomination as candidates and only offer to assist other parties in the elections, such offer could be most thankfully accepted. But if communist candidates enter the field and, as a part of the bargain, those candidates claim the support of other parties, the treaty, or whatever we may call it, would be a suicidal step.

It would of course be ungracious to ask and perhaps foolish to accept assistance from any party whatsoever making it a condition that it should not put up any candidates. But in view of the patent consequence of it, set forth by me, victory for the Congress being made even more assured then ever, it is possible for the astute communist leaders to understand my objection and resolve disinterestedly to give their help without asking for any return by way of seats.

Some may think that such foolish generosity is inconsistent with communism as we know it. But knowing some of the leaders of communism personally as I do, I have ventured to make this suggestion publicly. If this suggestion is too romantic to be considered, then we must go on without communist participation in the joint front. It can be seen. Plain as pikestaff, that inclusion of communists in the joint front will double the chances for the congress instead of helping to defeat it.

Unless the vital difference between the mode in which a coalition government can be run and that in which single

party government can go on is clearly understood. One after another of the united Front Governments will topple down after wastefully carrying for sometime in great tension. The priorities of administration must be firmly fixed by the United Front Governments and each unit in these United Fronts should forget its own separate party objectives. This is not impossible, though difficult. It is only if certain priority schedules are firmly fixed and adhered to, and blinkers are put on against other objectives, that the United Front Governments can hope to go on. And on the other hand, if this priority schedule is sincerely adhered to, the United Front Governments will be able to show examples of successful democratic government. Truth speaking and sincerity in action are much more of a necessity in coalition governments than in one party administration. This may look like a paradox but is practical politics.

There have been many attempts, honest and sustained attempts, at forging a merger of the opposition parties. So that a combined front may displace the Congress Party. These attempts a merger have all failed because every Party tries to improve its own image, and advance its own interests, instead of losing itself in a common front.

I therefore appeal to the Swatantra Party to prepare a minimum programme such as all good and sensible people can accept and help in working. The Swatantra party's own full programme may be kept in abeyance while this emergency programme is being worked. Let this emergency programme be prepared and take time by the forelock. This will in effect bring in to being the non party rule which Sri Jayaprakash Narain and his friends desire. The mid term poll results have demonstrated how far the Congress has fallen in the people's estimation and confidence. To do nothing in the face of will mean leaving the country to go bankrupt and end in a status which can only be satellitism.

1. 2 Democracy

What is democracy? Where in 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 the roots go dry, the tree crashes down at the first ill-wind and perishes. Whichever 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 party-men. 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. Normal 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 condi-

tions can crumble like a house of cards when ambitions 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 paises 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.

While democracy's life-sap is down below, national culture is something that must flow from above down to the roots, there to mix originally with the toil and the daily life of the folk, and out of the synthesis produce the folksongs, 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 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 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 condescension and pity towards the indigenous.

"Democracy is great institution and therefore it is liable to be greatly abused. The remedy, there fore 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.

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 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.

Unthinking educated folk may believe that the PM only wants the fundamental Rights to go. Those who framed our Constitution were not merely lovers of freedom; they knew the lurking dangers in democracy and in the powers of the Executive put in charge of affairs by the electorate. They knew how gullible our uneducated people are and how absolute power absolutely corrupts. They framed the constitution keeping all these dangers in mind.

Sri Ramaswami Periyar of Madras State has expressed his preference for dictatorship as against democracy. There are many good reasons for his conclusion. If we got a good dictator, dictatorship would be certainly better than cumbersome democracy. In democracy those who get into position of power wish to continue in that possession and therefore tend to be next election eyed rather than good government eyed. So Periyar prefers dictatorship which does not depend on elections.

But it is difficult to get a good and worthy dictator other wise than by chance. Let us hope we shall some day discover a rational way of getting good dictators. Till we discover this we may perhaps do something to prevent leaders of parties in power being next election-eyed and releasing them from the domination of unworthy people. We can, for instance, have a constitutional provision which disqualifies ministers in office from holding office for ten years after their first term terminates. We may think of other devices, too to cut out the temptations inherent in democracy. The ultimate truth is that a people get the government they deserve, that is to say, if people let things be and do not fight against evil, evil will rule.

Evil has great short term power, and the long term is made up of a succession of short terms.

A democracy in which the majority of voters is swayed by bribery and is deceived by deceivers, and the good people remain at home doing nothing to overcome the evil, is not that democracy to which advocates of representative government enthusiastically write eloquent tributes. It is government by bribe-givers for bribe-takers.

1.3 Centralization

On the invitation of the Economic and Scientific Research Foundation of Delhi Dr. C. Northcote Parkinson, the famous crusader against over-staffing and over centralization in governments and business concerns, delivered six lectures in different places in India which have been collected and published in a book, entitled *The Essential Parkinson*.

I feel that there is no one problem to which I knew the answer before I even arrived. It is the problem created by the Socialist principles which are embodied in the current Five Year Plan and stated in these words, "The objective of economic policy should be a Socialistic Pattern of Society". This was accepted by your legislators in 1954, following the line of the British Labour Party in stating objects agreed on in 1917, following principles laid down by Beatrice and Sidney Webb in about 1894. All this is as stable and dreary as the London School of Economics, as Victorian as the Fabian Society, as Hungarian a goulash as ever I saw. It is time that India thus made a bold forward leap into the 20th century—a leap which should be delayed until that century is over. People do not want a Socialistic Pattern of Society. They want decent homes, sufficient food, a good wage and a hope for the future. These benefits can be offered by Communism, as in China, although with the loss of freedom. From what I have seen of India I am convinced that we have here the enterprise, the energy, the ability to create a prosperous society. The

businessmen of India could bring prosperity to this country if they were allowed to do so. Free them from over taxation and interference and they would show results. What if they become wealthy in the process? Who cares, provided that people are better paid, better housed, better fed and educated? Ordinary people everywhere are sick of socialistic patterns. They want to see results, and there will be nothing sensational resulting from policies framed by Beatrice and Sidney Webb in 1894.

- It is easy to work out a percentage cut in Government staff. But it is not to be mistaken as being only an arithmetical exercise. It is a human problem. All our errors and all our affairs, Government as well as individual citizens' affairs, are inter-entangled. The employment of a huge number of citizens as government servants was not the free choice of individuals but resulted from government policies in national affairs. These cuts sum up to terrible individual misery. If steps were taken in the right direction as suggested by the Swatantra Party as well as others, private firms of all kinds. If now a policy is adopted to economize expenditure by reduction of Government staff it should be accompanied, if not preceded, by release of controls and curbs so that private enterprise might expand and absorb the retrenched people. Change of policies should be properly coordinated to bring about desired results in one direction without creating chaos in another direction. Policy errors cannot be so easily corrected, as one may think sitting in one's office room. Often, if not always, an error increases the difficulty of re-adjustment in double or treble proportion, and as time passes, each year adds to the interlocked difficulties. A humane and not only skillful but imaginative brain is required to deal with the problems of retrenchment. All retrenched employees whether 'acting' or 'permanent' (this is only an artificial difference accepted by the employees under the compulsion of hunger) should be retained in the government register, and they should be paid every month a percentage of their latest salaries, which may

gradually decrease until they find employment. This or other equally good or better scheme must accompany retrenchment. What is most important is that Government cannot indulge in retrenchment without definite action in the direction of liberating private industries from strangulating controls and curbs, so that they may expand and multiply and absorb the retrenched government employees. Every problem, which we have to solve now, will be found linked up with the basic error of central planning and regimented economy. Many vicious circles have to be cut before we find ourselves once again, independent of foreign aid obtained under duress.

1.4 Decentralization

No Government can run efficiently in a country of the size and nature of India, unless the rulers reconcile themselves to a policy of brave decentralization- brave, because it is always a choice of the lesser evil and this requires courage. Decentralized government was the rule in former days extending throughout the history of India and even to pre-historic times. It is only in recent times the folly of centralization has seized the rulers' minds. A concentration of power in the Centre is a terrible thing today, from the point of view of the inefficiency resulting as well as from that of the wide ambit of present day government and the totalitarianism which concentrated State power means. Every one deprecates monopoly of economic power in the hands of individuals and corporations; but the monopoly of economic power enjoyed by Central Government ministers and officials is more terrible than any private monopoly yet seen or ever likely to come into being in India.

Decentralization was feudalism on account of the exploitation of power at various levels for personal advantage. But where this personal exploitation is eliminated or reduced to the minimum, decentralized machinery of government is what works for efficiency as well as for the preservation of

national spiritual strength. Centralized power means the sapping of national vitality and ultimate downfall. The roots of a nation are the individuals, whatever be the form of government; and where centralization is carried beyond the proper limit, the tree must wither away and die.

A hierarchy is the necessary consequence of decentralization but the important principle in the hierarchy is not the subordination of each tier to the one above, but the autonomy enjoyed at each level. If this is forgotten and the principle of subordination get over emphasized, inefficiency on a vast and irremediable scale and proliferation of staff with wasteful, unproductive expenditure follows- which is the present state of the Union of India that is Bharat.

1.5 Centre- State Relations

It is time the Centre takes warning from recent developments and without mental reservations recognizes that the Constitution envisioned a federal union and not a unitary government. If and when this is realized, in order to meet the situation of different parties being in control of the Central and State Governments, the smooth working of government demands, I feel the abolition of the office of Governor in States to be replaced frankly by a federal agent who will do his job and nothing more. The revenues of the States would have to be increased by a revision of the Federal and State lists. The responsibilities of State governments and those of the federal governments in respect of law and order would have to be re-examined and put on a firm footing, so that the country as a whole may be assured peace and order.

Academically considered there may be much in favour of the claim of the States for more power and reduction of the Centre's authority. But in view of present perilous developments in Asia on account of communist activities, any reduction of the authority of the Union Government is unthinkable. Sri Morarji Desai's forthright stand is right and it is commend-

able he made his position clear at this juncture. This is not the time for an indecisive attitude or for an experiment in Constitutional changes on this issue. Disintegration is neither welfare nor socialism.

Theory has no place in an emergency. The former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Hidayatullah, has given sound warning that this is not the time for weakening the Centre and expanding the scope and powers of the State Governments. Whether the Government of India is governing well or ill, this is not the time to weaken the Centre and reduce its responsibility.

As I have quite often pointed out, according to the financial arrangements laid down in the Constitution, there is no room for real State autonomy. The so-called 'spirit of federalism' to which those who demand state autonomy refers, is an unreality. It is only an electoral slogan which can deceive some people but not those who know anything about national finance.

People's devotion to their own bit of the motherland is not bad. It is not parochialism. It is the seed of what we call patriotism. But party leaders at the top are soon stung by a hunger for power and they find local nationalism to be a condition favourable for developing the power they desire on the basis of active parochialism, indulging in hostilities and disputes with neighbouring States. The Centre gets weaker and weaker if the pulls of parochialism are tolerated and encouraged. As the centre gets stronger and stronger and the pulls of parochialism further diminish the strength of the Centre leading to anarchy.

1.6 Governors

The Governor who is appointed by the Centre should be the supreme authority responsible for the protection of the permanent official against injustice arising out of political policies. The recruitment and good conduct of the permanent

officials should be under the Public Services Commission and the Governor. The Governor should be the supreme authority for preserving law and order irrespective of party policies. The Governor may address the State Assembly and the Council when they sit in joint sessions on matters relating to what would thus be his responsibility. He may make such observations as, in his capacity as a non-party agent of the Central Government he may consider appropriate in the prevailing circumstances of the State. The outlining of government policy should be left to the Chief Minister of the State.

The present ritual performance of the Governor setting out the ministry's policy should be given up as outdated by changes in the political pattern of India that have now developed. All these things may mean changes in conventions and perhaps also on the Constitution. But the changes are necessary. Irrational fictions cannot be kept going. It is not good for anybody to be intimidated or otherwise compelled to say things which his heart rebels against. The Governor need not be asked to give up his conscience or self-respect because of his appointment.

Referring to the West Bengal affairs I am really unable to find any authority, either in the constitution or in the accepted conventions relating to the subject, for the position taken up by some that the Governor should adopt as his own the whole of the draft address prepared by his Council of Ministers, whatever it may contain, and read it all out to the joint session of both Houses of the State Assembly. The Governor's address is intended to be a statement of the policy of the new ministry. The new ministers may hold their own opinions are not a legitimate part of the draft they prepare for the Governor's address to the new Assembly, nor is he to be expected to adopt those opinions as his and express them as such in his address. Governors are bound to act on the advice of their ministries, but this refers to Government action. The identification of the Governor with his ministers cannot apply to opinions entertained by the ministers on happening before they came into existence.

The portions of the address which formed the subject of dispute in the West Bengal controversy and which the Governor refused to read were all criticisms of happenings before the mid-term poll. I therefore fail to see any plausible for the complaint of the West Bengal Ministry or the furore of others over this subject.

Some people express the view that Governors are unnecessary and the expense incurred on these Heads of State may be saved at any cost and that the Governors are agents of the Central Government. Besides the formal rubber stamp duties they have to perform, they have the duties attached to their position as representatives of the Central Government, which may not figure much in the press or in public controversies and which are supremely important. This part which they should play calls for their being placed in a high category as they are now. They cannot be converted into PAs to the Chief Ministers as the latter and their parties seem desirous of doing.

2.0 CONSTITUTIONAL ETHOS

20 CONSTITUTIONAL ETHOS

2.1 Constitution

Talleyrand's advice was that a good constitution should be short and vague. This is recalled by the Federal Minister of West Germany. Carl Schmidt, responsible for Federal Council affairs, commenting on West Germany's Basic Law adopted on May 1949.

India's Basic Law was drafted in an atmosphere of deep suspicion and fear of all authority. So we have more than 300 articles and several schedules in our Constitution. Britain has no written Basic Law. She depends on her people's good sense and spirit of self governance.

The great tool for general welfare by the leaders that sat together and debated in the Constituent Assembly is the Union Constitution. This document as it stood when it was first framed can be read now, and its intent and implications clearly inferred and identified by any statesman who is unbiased by doctrines drawn from other inspirations. The intention of the Constitution was clearly to develop a welfare state. The Constitution set out what the welfare state it envisaged was to be like. The constitution begins with the fundamental rights of citizens, which were necessary for a welfare state. These rights make the essentials of a free economy and an effective basis for the democracy which the fathers of the constitution envisaged for India.

The first axiom of our Constitution is that the Constitution is binding on the government of India whichever party or coalition or Prime Minister may be in charge of it. The next axiom is that the interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court cannot be questioned by the Government.

It follows from these two axioms that the Government cannot constitutionally follow a policy or plan which goes against what was decided in the Golaknath case or against

the judgement in the princes' purses case. A Government which seeks to do this must be unseated. This is not a matter touching the interests of the former rulers, but a much bigger matter the fundamentals of the Constitution.

There is one party whose pledged dharma is to guard the Constitution and the fundamental rights inscribed therein. The fathers of the Constitution intended that the fundamental rights of citizens should never be nullified by Parliament. They also wanted minority communities to feel perfectly safe in India and be sure that there will be no discrimination against them on account of their religion. Let me hope that this party and its leaders, young and old, will be true to the aims for which the party was started and not mind the travails of standing firm even if left alone. In any case, even if all others conspire against the Constitution, I shall not ever let Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajan Babu, K.M. Munshi, Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and others down, but will protest against the desecration and the unwisdom of it as long as my breath lasts.

The golden stag that deceived Sita now dazzles the people of India in the shape of socialism. An American publicist begins an article in the *Freedom* with words which I quote, modifying them for application to Indian affairs:

The people of India right now are in the valley of Decision. We must decide now whether we shall continue to live under liberty as free citizens, or kick it all out of the window and, for the promise and hope of perpetual physical security, exchange it for a system of regimented living as the serfs and property of a socialist dictator state. The choice is ours to make and no man or woman in this country can escape the making of it. Indifference to this paramount issue is just as deadly to our freedom as the outright embracing of communism itself".

The Constitution of India is a document which limits the power of Government. The people who wrote that instrument had the experience of living under the rule of a foreign

power. There are two philosophies of government. One says that the State is supreme and the source of all authority. It conceives that the citizen is the subject and property of the state. The other philosophy conceives that the individual citizen is the source of authority, that the State is the creation of the sovereign people, and that its function is to govern within the limits set by the sovereign people. The Fathers of our Constitution deliberately chose the latter conception and framed the Constitution on that basis.

Power corrupts, warned Acton. The worst form of corruption which power breeds is the desire for more and more power and for its perpetuation. There is a continuous cold war in one's heart between what is good and what is pleasant as the Upanishads say. Intense desire overwhelms good sense in this tug-of-war. And this leads to dictatorship. Therefore, the wise fathers of our freedom placed certain checks on the power of those that come to office. The freedom of the citizens, the independence of the judiciary and the overall authority of the Supreme Court to decide the limits of the exercise of the executive's authority were inscribed in the Constitution of 1950.

The editor of a very well established American magazine wrote his editorial under a striking caption. "Our Vanishing Constitution". He complains that the rights of the sovereign States are gradually being extinguished by the Federal Government. What is the state of the Constitution in India? The American complaint is about what is happening after 175 years since their Constitution was adopted. Here in India within but fifteen years of its elaborate start, our Constitution has all but vanished, not only in respect of the rights of the States in the Union, but, far more important than that, in respect of the rights of the individual citizens. Citizens were solemnly assured in 1949, in the articles of the Constitution, that they will have the unquestionable right to acquire and hold property of every description, and to engage themselves freely in any lawful occupation. But within fifteen years all

these rights have been eaten into by constitutional amendments tending towards totalitarianism. The courts struck down many legislative measures directed towards the extinguishment of these citizen rights which were, besides discriminatory in their character, but the majority party has steam rolled constitutional amendments through Parliament to revalidate all these laws which were declared by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. It can be truly said that the Constitution of India has largely vanished and in its most vital part. The American editor attributes the mischief he complains about to the Supreme Court there. Here, in India the Supreme Court stood guard but the irreplaceable majority party and its steamroller have made the Supreme Court powerless. The totalitarian control which the majority party has acquired over the economy of the country has made it irreplaceable by any other party, and the power given to the Supreme Court has been made of no effect. Within fifteen years seventeen amendments have been passed, mostly to cut down the rights specifically inscribed in the Constitution as fundamental.

Parliament is taking more and more power and simultaneously cutting down the place of the Constitution and that of the Supreme Court in the governance of India. The greater the power the greater and more dangerous and abuse of it, as Burke said. Parliament may make a great debate and the press may print the news to make it all sensational, but power to Parliament means power to the party holding office, and we have seen how that power is being abused. The Constitution itself is treated as a scrap of paper on which anything can be re-written or what is written can be blotted out.

We have got so used to Acts of Parliament and to the sovereignty of Parliament and of the Executive chosen by Parliament that we have forgotten the distinctive character of the Constitution. The Constitution of India rests on itself. It is not an Act of Parliament. It furnishes certain protections to individual citizens and minorities which are coequal in

authority to what power it gives to Parliament and the Judiciary. Parliament can no more constitute itself a repealing authority over the Articles of the Constitution relating to fundamental rights of citizens than over the Articles giving powers to the President, Parliament or the Judiciary.

Must the Constitution then remain an unalterable document? In certain respects it must so remain. This is the very essence of the vast difference between a Constitution and an enactment of Parliament. The procedure which governed the adoption of the Constitution was not the procedure of a statute passed by Parliament either of India or of Great Britain; and the repealability of any its Articles depends on itself and not on the majority vote of the Lok Sabha or any other creation of the Constitution. The basic motivation of these articles- and interpretation must depend on it- is to provide an indefeasible guarantee to the individual citizen and to minorities against the tyranny of majority rule which is an inevitable element of democracy.

The Constitution must be protected against the State, if the nation is to remain free and progress, the State being open to be captured by political parties of various types from time to time. Sri Nath Pai's Bills proposes to hand the citizens over bound hand and foot to passing Governments happening to hold control over Parliament. No wonder the Congress Party is divided over the Bill.

2.2 Fundamental Rights

The rights to live, to work, to earn, to save and hold property are all inter-related. The Constitution protects and guarantees all these rights to the citizen as against the State. A man has the right to live as a freeman, but he can be imprisoned for due cause and after just trial. Similarly his property can be taken hold of by the State for just reasons and in accordance with law. The compensation payable by law should be just compensation and not a formal or arbitrarily

fixed amount. There are many ways in which a man's life can be taken away, by stabbing, or by a bullet, or by suffocation, or by starvation, or by depriving him of his property either all at once or by slow degrees. The rights guaranteed by the Constitution cover all aspects of freedom for the citizen. If the Supreme Court has decided that the State cannot deprive the citizen of the fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution, it follows that Parliament cannot do this by passing law, amending the Constitution. A law of this kind would be as much an infringement of the Constitution as what was already declared by the Supreme Court as not permissible.

We should defend the fundamental rights and the Constitution as Winston Churchill defended Britain against Hitler, and in the spirit of the true warrior which inspired him, not surrendering to fear or the prospect of defeat. The Constitution is worthy of this defence by the Swatantra Party, although it has no prospect of getting into office. It is a sacred duty which the party cannot renounce. It is the Party's swadharma. The Party should stand like Casablanca and his youngson who refused to desert the burning ship, as immortalised in the poem by Felicia Hemans.

I have repeated myself ad nauseam that the fundamental rights in the Constitution should not become the plaything of party politics but should have a firm guarantee in the Constitution whichever Party may be in power. The Supreme Court's decision in the Golaknath case should not be upset through direct or indirect means. If the Congress (O) also supports the move to hand over the Constitution lock, stock and barrel to the majority in Parliament, there is nothing to support the free way of life in India. I do hope that better sense will prevail and the Constitution will be saved. Truth, like a precious creeper, has now lost support of the tree in a storm and is lying on the ground without restraint will generate more and more hunger of power and democracy will be replaced by the dictatorship of a party, thanks to the unlimited, unaccounted big financial backing that the Permit-Licence-

Quota- Raj keeps going. While there is so much talk without action in so many matters, is it not remarkable that Smt. Indira Gandhi speaks not a word about doing away with the Permit Licence Raj and giving the administration of permits and licences to an autonomous non-party body as the Swatantra Party as I have been long advocating? If economists and political leaders have indeed concluded that the way to fuller industrialization involves the maintenance of the Permit-Licence Raj even though it may be an evil, then indeed democracy is doomed to be replaced by party dictatorship perpetuating itself.

2.3 Socialism and Statism

Socialism as conceived by all those who make it their slogan is pure Statism. According to them wisdom resides only in the State, and the citizens should be driven by the State to do what the State considers good. The means to attain general welfare is believed by them to be domination of the State in all matters, and the reduction if not total elimination, of citizens' choices. Therefore socialism as advocated by these people must lead to totalitarian rule and the extinction of the free way of life envisaged in our Constitution.

Socialism is not the aim of general well being as ignorant people think, but the methods adopted by Government to achieve it. It is here that Congress and Swatantra differ. Be this as it may, the Permit-Licence-Raj is not Socialism- It is the opposite of it. It creates monopolies to benefit favoured individuals. It makes the rich richer. It does not remove but widens disparities.

One can understand a mixed policy of nationalization in some respects and free competition in other respects; but a mixed policy of nationalization and monopolies for the favoured few is not socialism of any type, but wide-spreading corruption. Once upon a time, which some of us remember, corruption was limited to the law and order investigation

officials and the petty magistracy, and to the land revenue department. But today corruption has seized the entire field of national industry and the secretariats of all the Governments, Central and State. As a result moral anarchy prevails at all levels of national life. There is no evil today affecting the nation so terribly as this national misfortune of the Permit-Licence Raj which has descended upon us.

During the great war with China Government of the day compelled to encourage quick production and emergency supply through special licences. It was then a necessary evil. Today the continuation of that system as the permanent policy under which production and trade must be carried on is a terrible misfortune. This should be ended. There should be a Public sector limited to those matters where public management is best suited, and a free field for initiative, investment and competition in all other matters. It is this that Swatantra is fighting for and appealing to the nation to support.

The people of India, the masses, want a Welfare State, not a 'Socialist' State. The poor peasant, the poor artisan, and the poor trader, all of them are extremely individualistic. They wish to own property and wish to hold it with all the incidents traditionally attached to ownership, not sharing it with the State but quite willing to pay a reasonable tax on what the owner makes out of it. The Indian masses are not for socialism rightly understood, as socialist States practise it. If any group of politicians confound people with the word 'socialism', it is sheer demagoguery. It should not be too difficult to convince the poor man in India that he would be an unhappy man if he accepted what 'socialists' want of him, to put his possessions in the total control of the State and live on what the State concedes to him in return for his loyalty.

Reading a recent survey of conditions in Sweden contributed by Mr. Alfred Zanker to the US News & World Report one finds old well accepted theories of national life completely

overturned. Mr. Zanker is one who has spent many years in Scandinavia. Sweden has been for two decades a Welfare State in which, Mr. Zanker says, "all the basic needs of the people are under-written by the State". Yet there is a rising wave of Crime and juvenile delinquency, as well as alcoholism, drug addiction, suicides and moral rootlessness among teenagers. The belief that if we solve poverty and unemployment, and eliminate economic struggle, everything will be all right has therefore to be revised. There is something more to be done, if possible, which has very little to do with material security. Sweden has demonstrated that full employment and material security do not cure the economic and social ills of a modern industrial nation.

Socialism is not sadism or statism but consists in the creation of more and more paid jobs- but not by the multiplication and expansion of central mismanagement and waste of public resources. It can be realized only by increased production of wealth of some sort for the nation's benefit. Socialist planning is now mostly Parkinsonian waste and increase of political and commercial corruption. Planning for socialism is not planting plants without roots, which is what is done now, spreading misery instead of happiness. Printed money and increase in direct and indirect taxation add to the cost of living of all classes of people. The roots of true socialism are in the increase of productive private concern. Attempting to achieve socialism without producing wealth is a hunt for the bewitching stag described in Ramayana.

Sri Masani and myself have been pointing out and explaining ad nauseam that 'socialism' which denotes a policy of State action intended by socialists and communists to achieve social justice should not be confounded with social justice itself which is the aim. The view of statesmen is that the policy which goes by the name 'Socialism' will place too great power in the hands of the ruling party and its bosses and consign citizens to the position of serfs. It is old and tried wisdom demonstrated by experience that without a sense of

freedom citizens cannot be happy with crumbs thrown to them by the State at its pleasure. This is essential difference between statism and principles of the Swatantra party which is firmly opposed to all forms of Statism, Communism and Fascism.

It is difficult to educate the electorate in India to see this difference between what we all aim to achieve and the means advocated by some people to attain it and to which the name 'Socialism' has been given in the public speeches, Newspapers, and other mass media. The Swatantra party follows Mahatma Gandhi in being opposed to the conferment of big power on the State and the consequent reduction in the freedom of citizens, workers and producers. Socialism has become an empty and deceptive slogan to catch voters and the communists are happy that this confusion prevails.

True socialism according to Sri M.C. Viyanna has existed in India from the dawn of history in her outlook, in her institutions, and in her culture. India built individual rich hearts and minds in all sections of the people for the common good. If socialism is a way of life, a co-operative existence on a voluntary basis, a tolerant ideal, our culture and our traditions have it in abundance and do not stand in the way of progress. But if it means coercion, corruption, oppression, and domination by the State over the life of the people, we oppose it with all our strength for the sake of the freedom of the individual and society in a democracy.

This extract will tell the reader what Sri Viyanna's book stands for. The thesis is backed by a rich treatment of the subject with reference to its history since Karl Marx and through the period covered by the Russian Revolution up-to-date.

Socialism should be based on love of the poor and not on hatred or jealousy. "Maa grdhah kasya swiddhanam" is the rule laid down in the Upanishad as well as by good political economy. Love of the poor does not deprive the brain of its

reasoning capacity but hatred, anger and jealousy incapacitate men to think aright. It is bad enough in private life but it is a very grave danger when rules of nations thus incapacitate themselves.

Socialism's essential core is equitable distribution, without scattering away or otherwise reducing the capital resources necessary for further production. This makes it necessary to adopt different policies to suit different conditions. A nation which has not yet developed its production in adequate measure cannot give priority to equalization of distribution, but must keep in mind the requisites for the very essential improvement in total production which must precede socialistic expenditure. The capital required for increased production is therefore a thing of great importance in India. Angry socialism, if I may coin a phrase, is no good for India. We want rulers who know how to get capital into effective play; we want rulers who know how to organize incentives for hard work as well as for capital investment. More than anything else, we want rulers who will let people save for investment not rulers who would have the golden goose on the dinner table before it lays its eggs.

State Capitalism has been tried in the name of socialism and has been found wanting. It has definitely earned a verdict of dismal failure. Political pride or sheer mulishness may make the Congress stick to it, but it has proved to be a failure. It is not statemanship to waste national resources or try national patience any longer over the plan of production. Socialists in Britain have given it up.

State interventionism, that is, in private enterprises is practised in India by the Congress Government on a large scale. It is a great managerial error. Governments formed by democratic processes in India are unfit to interfere in the management of business.

The present Stock Exchange position is a clear proof not only of the error of the Government's policy of taxation, but

also of the error of excessive interventionism. A reduction of taxes with concomitant reduction of administrative expenditure, which has grown to excessive proportions on account of interventionist policies, and a greater scope and more incentives for private initiative and frugal management, are called for, if the Government indeed loves the poor and wishes to improve scope for employment. But the rich people keep the Congress regime going and protect it against dismissal by supplying it with political funds out of fear of immediate troubles.

Statism is not to be confounded with dictatorship. Both are bad but one is different from the other. Dictatorship is rule by a person or a small group of persons without Parliamentary or other control. It is a political condition. With dictatorship, if the dictators please, there can be economic freedom for the individual and trade and commerce can be pursued on the basis of individual judgment and risk with free competition among businessmen, and accommodated to the free choice of those who supply or buy goods. Statism, on the other hand, is the economic control by the government of all production, movement, buying and selling, be the government a parliamentary regime or a dictatorship. Some young men, with whom I had occasion to talk to, appeared to be in need of this explanation. We may have Statism by itself without dictatorship. So can a nation be ruled by dictators without the economy going Statist. So indeed can a nation be under both dictatorship dictatorial political rule and Statist economy. Communist regimes fall in the latter class. There are many nations which are under dictators who practise and thrive under economic freedom without Statism.

We are familiar with Allopathy, Homoeopathy, Ayurveda, Unani, and other systems. They are run on various basic principles. Statism has its own basic principle of cure for diseases generated in its regime. The principle is more of the same. If controls produce shortage and blackmarketing, put more controls on the economy. If controls increase corrup-

tion, put on yet more controls on the economy. If Statism has proliferated the bureaucracy, open more offices and employ more officials. If there is wastage, arrange for more waste. If we have borrowed too much, borrow even more. If politicians interfere in administration and the results are bad, let there be more political intervention in administration and all will be well.

Statism is not a new evil. Long long ago a protest was lodged against it by the folk wisdom of Gujarat in the shape of a proverb: "When the king takes to trade, the people must take to begging".

राजा बने व्यापारी,
तो.. प्रजा बने भिखारी ।

Kliuchevsky, the great historian of Russia three centuries ago, wrote: "The State swelled and the people shrank".

Gandhiji looked upon the State as a necessary evil and wanted the power of governments, founded as it was always on physical force, to be reduced to the minimum requirements and the freedom of citizens to be kept at the maximum. He greatly valued the power of society and the prevailing sense of dharma, and in that measure undervalued the power of governments. The Ironie situation in India in the year of Gandhiji's Centenary over which there is much empty noise, is the tendency towards an almost total dependence on the State's power for national welfare and disciplined conduct. Those who disbelieve in Statism, and in that respect are Gandhian-minded, have hard work to do against the Statist psychology which paints itself as 'Socialism' and the best friend of the poor. The battle for truth is ever a hard one, although the final victory will be for truth and not for deception.

The freedom enjoyed in democratic countries, the security of earnings, the sacredness of individual property, the right to choose one's own occupation and way of living, to

compete with one another and to own the product of that competition without its being subjected to expropriation, all these freedoms steadily produce national wealth. The effort to produce national wealth through compulsion and State management has been a dismal failure wherever it has been tried. The rights aforesaid have evolved in all societies as an organic result of experience. National wealth has increased where these fundamental rights have been duly respected. Great catastrophes may have to be followed by State activities differing from this pattern. But where no such special causes operate, what has been stated here holds the field.

If the major battle-line of education is neglected Statism will triumph and the battle for freedom will be futile. The two basic questions are: Is liberty priceless for the individual? Is it socially beneficial? An affirmative answer to each of these two questions is a bar to the drift to Statism. If the answer is not firm, but carries the canker of doubt, Statism will triumph. It will grow stronger and stronger on account of the tendency of an organization set up for a limited purpose, consistent with priceless and socially beneficial liberty, to expand and go on trespassing on the family, the farm and the business of individuals. The State gradually inculcates a mental malady, a growing indulgence in irresponsibility, in the handing over of one's own duty to a tax gathering impersonal-looking organization which in reality consists of ministers and bureaucrats. Power becomes a self-perpetuating mechanism and it becomes supreme and absolute when all operations of individual lives depend on the State's permission and sufferance. Beginning with paternalism, it steadily grows until it assumes the full shape of totalitarianism. Liberty does not mean merely the privilege of being governed by a native of one's own country. Self-government is destroyed by the acceptance of a theory that the majority of the people are incapable of looking after their own affairs and require the guidance of the State in all matters. Therein begins the formation of a ruling class which is worse than the

oligarchies of old; its sovereignty in all matters and does not accept any limit but its own discretion to its power or its field of intervention, whereas the old oligarchies held the farm, the family, the workshop and the market to be wholly outside their jurisdiction.

2.4 Amendments

A suggested epitaph on Charles H attributed to John Wilmot ran as follows:

"Here lies our sovereign lord the king whose promise none relies on; He never said a foolish thing, nor even did a wise one".

Let the Constitution which we gave unto ourselves not earn the reputation of being "more honoured in the breach than in the observance". An "amendment" for the purpose of breaking an undertaking is none the less a breach of the original undertaking. It is a breach with the addition of a solemn ritual to celebrate the breach. The rule is the same in private life as in government. Make no promise lightly; if you make one, keep it. This is good policy as well as honesty.

All the energy spent by Sri. K.M. Munshi, Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Sardar Patel and others in the Constituent Assembly to prepare a Constitution which was to be basic and above the laws that might be passed in the ordinary course, was it turns out, wasted; or will have been wasted if the present interpretation of the article dealing with amendments of the Constitution is to be allowed to stand. The frame of the Constitution intended that India should not be a country where the State could override the individual's right to work, to acquire, to invest and earn and do all the things, freely which are enumerated in the articles dealing with fundamental rights. They drafted the fundamental rights so as to make a Communist or any other Statist regime unconstitutional. They had this definitely in their minds. But now

these protective articles have lost their original content through "amendments" and all sorts of expropriations and other deviations from the basic pattern of life and governance conceived at the time of the making of the Constitution have been rendered legal. We have therefore lost the Constitution which we framed in 1950. It is possible yet to redeem it, if the Article dealing with amendments is re-examined and the interpretation re-settled as two judges of the Supreme Court have interpreted in their dissenting judgements in a certain writ case dealing with the 17th Amendment; that is, that the articles of the Constitution dealing with fundamental rights cannot be altered by Parliament so as to take away any of those rights.

Moral obligations cannot be 'amended' by Parliament. If these obligations were also incorporated in the Constitution and the Constitution made amendable by laws passed by Parliament, it does not follow that Parliament gets the power to amend or annul the obligations. You can blur or break the looking glass, but the face it reflected remains the same. The Constitution was just a looking glass of the moral obligations contracted by the nation with the old rulers of Indian States smashing the mirror does not annul the original. That the Prime Minister has secured for the Constitutional amendments all the support she expected from committed members of Parliament is no matter for any degree of surprise or satisfaction. My surprise, however, is that these Constitutional amendments have been through worthwhile at the present juncture when the country is passing through the gravest crisis recent history has seen in the affairs of our country, which the Constitutional amendments can in no way help us to overcome.

The assurances given that the amendments to the Constitution will not be used to take away the basic rights of the people are worth nothing. The objections to the amendments are not made with reference to the present or any particular regime in Delhi. They deal with the Consti-

tution as such, whoever the Government party may be. What happened to the solemn assurances given by Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel to the Princes? We have seen that not even a specific guarantee written into the Constitution stands in the way of breach of the pledges given. It would be proof of utter political ignorance to depend on assurances such as we read now in the newspaper reports. The Constitutional amendments seek to let the freedom founders down in a shameful manner. They were anti-totalitarian and they framed guarantees in the Constitution to guard against totalitarianism. The present amendments which seek to give sweeping powers to Parliament to do away with fundamental rights are totalitarian in form and in their objectives and seek to do away with the supremacy and independence of the supreme judiciary which the fathers of our freedom were most anxious to maintain. The wide spread complaints about the last general elections indicate that Parliament, as it is now constituted, does not represent the true voice of the people. Everyone knows the difficulties in the way of getting any election set aside. And so there is overwhelming support in Parliament for converting democracy into totalitarianism, which once established knows how to perpetuate itself.

In a paper read at the Seminar of the Madras Bar Federation Mr.M.K.Nambiyar thus wound up his vigorous criticism of the Government of India's string of amendments to the Constitution obtained in order to trim it to suit its own present policy: "For this situation the legal profession should also share the responsibility. Public opinion in India is still and silent and if lawyers also fail to raise their voice, democracy is likely to disappear soon. The Constitution no longer speaks the voice of dharma or the rule of law". The trained lawyer who stands by looking on passively while democracy is destroying itself, is disloyal to his profession and neglects the duties devolving on him by reason of his status in society and his special training. In democracy the lawyer and other enlightened persons who choose to be mere innocent bystand-

ers are really guilty citizens. It is a crime to lose nerve and lapse into pessimism and surrender. The appetite of dictators grows with power and therefore resistance at any stage would help save us from the catastrophe.

The total number of amendments to the Constitution initiated by the Government having been often made the subject of acute criticism, three or four amendments have, this time, been clubbed together into a hotch-potch, so as to minimise the number. Many members of Parliament objected to the drafting of the amendment, on the ground of this jumbling up of several wholly unconnected matters. But the Law Minister refused to be impressed.

When one reflects on the number of Constitutional amendments that were found necessary during the last twelve years in order to adopt legislation for effectuating the policies of the present rulers of India and when one observes that, even now, when any important fresh plan of action is proposed by the present government and announced, immediately comes up the need for altering the Constitution to make it possible, one cannot fail to see the obvious truth that these policies, and the basic thought behind all these policies, were not only not in the minds of those who made the Constitution but are contrary to what was in their minds. The latest example of this off-recurring phenomenon is the proposal that the Attorney-General's status should be altered. Should this officer appointed under Article 76 of the Constitution be one who represents the might and meaning of all our laws and our Constitution and advise the Government as an independent authority or should he be one chosen by the Prime Minister as one of the many ministers to sit around him for political purposes and reasons, and sworn to secrecy along with other ministers? The many cuts and stabs found necessary to make the Constitution suit the policies of our Government instead of making the policies suit the Constitution must open the dimmest eyes to the truth that the governance of the country is sliding away from the Constitution. The cobbler who makes

the shoes gives orders to the plastic surgeon, to make the feet suit the shoe. The shoe is the thing, says the cobbler.

It is high time amendments of the Constitution were brought up for examination of their validity before the Supreme Court. Totalitarianism is proceeding briskly. Further postponement of the examination of the validity of the amendments by the Supreme Court is hazardous. It may be unpleasant for the Supreme Court to question the legitimacy of what Parliament done and, therefore, for some reason or other procrastination is resorted to. But procrastination will not solve matters but will only create new complications.

We have been hearing much about the rule of law. The rule of law is of course one of the pillars of good government. But as in taxation there are many ways of evading, also in the case of the rule of law. One is direct disregard of the principles by which the Government puts law aside and asserting its supreme right of government, does things not allowed by law. The other way, which is less ferocious-looking, is to get legislation to change the law whenever the judiciary gives a verdict against Government. This is what is being done in India. It is the rule of party, not the rule of law. The Government not only disregards law but poisons law itself. And among legislative changes of the law brought about in order to defeat law, the capital crime is to legislate by defining things as Government wants it, thereby tampering with the meaning of words in order to defeat the judgment of the Supreme Judiciary.

3.0 POLITICAL PROCESS

3.0 POLITICAL PROCESS

3.1 Quality of Politics

"To know that we know only what we know, and that we do not know is true knowledge" said Thoreau, quoting Confucius. But the rulers of men not born to it but who come to power through democratic elections act as if they know everything and can manage everything and not only what is properly their responsibility, but the affairs of every private citizen and every group of private citizens who have come together to conduct their affairs.

As Emerson said in an oft-quoted passage, no one should be afraid to change his views for fear of being inconsistent with what he had said some time before. Mr. Norman Cousins recently wrote in a Saturday Review editorial that, "a Government is not just an officialdom, but an educational enterprise. What it does has its effects especially on the young. It should not pursue a narrow consistency, but neither should it simultaneously advocate and repudiate the same principles. The result is a mood of cynicism and disillusion among its citizens".

That the Government's ways affect the behaviour and moral standards of the people both for good and evil is a widely accepted good fact. States cannot go on with the lotteries programmes without as a consequence increasing the licensed and unlicensed gambling practices of the people. Governments cannot repudiate promises without creating laxity in honest in the people's dealings with one another. The Tamil Nadu Government cannot make and export beer, wines and other spirituous liquors for sale in foreign countries without giving up or damaging its prohibition programme in Tamil Nad.

The politics of leaders must suit the basic temperament of the people. Otherwise disharmony, discontent, disorder and crime will prevail in the country. The basic temperament

of our people is individualistic. They cannot reconcile themselves to being cogs in a wheel. The individual wants to live a free life and derive happiness in that way. At the same time the individual's ambition is to serve society, and satisfaction is derived only from that service. But that service must be free and voluntary, not coerced by authority. On this moral and psychological foundation must our politics rest. Whatever Gandhiji wrote or said in answer to questions about Indian governance and social order, can be seen to be consistent with and dependent on these axioms of our national temperament.

The party system had entrenched itself so firmly that conformity with the party's stand on every matter is considered to be a sacred obligation and deviation from it be it in action or in speech, is a sin. As a result of this, the Parliamentary system has lost the value with which it began in Great Britain. The word parliament indicates by its etymology free exchange of opinions through debate. That meaning has not disappeared, and Parliaments have become meeting of groups rigidly pledged to different policies. Governments do not change policies as a result of debates either in parliament or elsewhere. They are moved only by the language of force. We have now therefore agitations and demonstrations of all kinds, including pillage, hartals and arson, replacing the old way of reason and persuasion. The remedy for this state of affairs is to relax the rigidity of the party system and to give greater room for individual convictions, whatever may be the party to which one may belong and still continues to belong. If this is not done, the Parliamentary system will degenerate into mere factional warfare and counting of heads. The considerable freedom which members of the American Senate and House of Representatives enjoy to whatever party they may belong deserves being copied in our country.

The downward slide in national character must be stemmed if India is to be saved. Along with restoring character we must make all persons who are engaged in work

of one kind or another, in office, school, hospital, factory or elsewhere, detest shirking work and be work-minded as a part of patriotic duty. Work-mindedness and honesty, not 'make-money-somehow' should become part of the religion of citizens of a true democracy. In non-democratic and communist countries work is extracted by compulsion and tyranny. But in free countries work should be the external result of voluntary work-mindedness. If character and devotion to work are not brought back to our people it must be attributed to the fault of the elite, and particularly to the fault of politicians. There is a firm mass basis of religious faith among all the communities in India and if the enlightened utilitarianism of the elite is also brought into play, we can regain lost ground and instead of the 'make-money-anyhow' mental urge that now prevails and which threatens to envelop the entire population, we can bring to life and action true patriotism and real democratic enlightenment.

I had a longish chat with Sri. Jayaprakash last week in Madras and he wholly agrees with me. He is confident that if a leader emerges to inspire the Indian nation to this turn in reform, we need not wait on Government to do this or do that, but the dynamism of the people will be able to achieve emancipation from the present undeclared bankruptcy, economic and moral, and its corollary, political bankruptcy.

That the quality of politics in India has greatly degenerated, everyone knows and admits. In the days that are long gone, society and life in general were independent of politics. But today, politics has permeated and interfered in all life. The Statist policy, which has settled down as a curse, has brought this about. This total merger of life and politics makes the degeneration of quality in our politics a double misfortune.

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 land 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.

All kinds of drought reliefs and land revenue concessions are on foot now with a fixed eye on the elections. These reliefs and reforms have been agitated for by one or other of the Opposition leaders for a pretty long time now, but the cry fell on deaf ears. But now like an expert E.N.T. physician the election has quickened the nerves of the ruling party. Even the Punjabi Suba has emerged with lightning speed. Land revenue concessions are good, very good, but the motive behind these concessions is a different and sorry tale to tell. We are told the rice zones will not be "meddled" with. The election experts tell the Government that, on the whole, in this matter the status quo is better for scoring at the polls than rousing anger in some areas which is a certainty and banking on the gratitude of other areas which is not so certain. Everything is now measured by the result on elections. From the yard and foot and the viss and the seer and the padi we were ordered over to the metre and the litre and the gramme. Now it is all election measure and everything is bought and sold by that measure.

The Chief Minister of Madras, in the course of his reply to felicitations accorded to him at the recent public meeting in Conjeevaram, made a noteworthy statement. He said too great importance was being given to politicians in this country and urged that industrialists and doctors, engineers and other professional people should be honoured much more than the mere politicians.

Upsurges and landslides cannot be subject of calculations or forecasts. But part from these, which are undoubt-

edly in the horizon, the money power of the Congress Party is great-tremendous. And that, together with the widespread misuse of official positions for party purposes, is what that party and its careerist adherents chiefly depend on. Foreign journalists ask me what the prospects are, in my assessment, of a change in the Centre. I tell these foreign gentlemen the truth. I tell them that the very reasons why I object to the present ruling party, and why I have set up the Swatantra Party against it, are an answer to their enquiry. A perpetuating machine has been set up which is a very difficult job to fight against. The ruling party has what I would call infinite cash for the electoral campaign legal and illegal, the money being obtained as a tax on all the advantages the favoured businessmen get from the Permit-Licence Raj and kept as a close secret fund with various party bosses.

Then there is the stranglehold and terror issuing out of the regimented economy as far as all people that count are concerned. The Government's policy of Statism serves to perpetuate the party in office. Then, again, there is stone wall of ignorance that makes the electorate such an easy victim to the myth of the Congress being the poor man's party, inspite of all the indirect taxes, and inflationary policies and soaring prices which make the life of the poor miserable. The battle is therefore a difficult one. This party has been in office for 20 years and has ruined the economy of the country, making a nation that had a big sterling balance to its credit when the party began to manage its affairs into a hopelessly indebted nation with its currency badly out of gear. It has yet the audacity to claim a further tenure. I certainly see an upsurge and a landslide in the horizon. What I see is not an illusion. Money and illegitimate use of power may at last receive a blow and suffer a striking defeat, and democracy may be saved.

After years of misuse and exploitation over many past general and other elections, the Congress Government now says it will withdraw the jeeps from the various Panchayats and other local bodies under its control two or three months

before the elections, so as to prevent their being used improperly for election purposes. This is notable confession but without any penitence in the heart. There is no ground to believe that such a sea-change has happened in the conscience of the party. Most people believe there must be a wordly-wise reason behind this resolve of belated virtue. The withdrawal ought to be of the jeeps only but of all the power that the party exercises through administrative control over these bodies which enables the party to obtain, their illegitimate but very effective help and services during elections. The withdrawal must be of Party Government for an effective period before the elections, if the elections are to be saved from illegitimate practices.

Knowing how to take advantage of elections for personal or parochial immediate purposes is not the political education which parliamentary democracy waits for. Democracy, after the first heat of revolution has calmed down, works ill with a politically illiterate electorate. Tailored clothes that do not suit do not make one feel comfortable or alert for action. Political institutions unsuited for the education which the electorate have attained are like these clothes that do not fit. The regimes of the former princes in India, with the assistance of very able ministers, were good though autocratic and thoroughly undemocratic. The present ruling princes of India, if I may use this expression for our political masters, have not the advantage of competence which the ministers of the Indian States had, nor is the electorate politically and economically literate enough to see right the political regime. They all too easily swallow the baits offered, and help mismanagement.

Perpetuation of one's own power through one means or another is what those who are in office call "stability of Government". Liability to change is the very essence of democracy, and the vote of no confidence is the embodiment of that essential quality. Good kings and the people under them enjoy the advantage of continuity of power by the rule

of heredity and the accident of the kings being worthy and wise men. Democratically made kings can enjoy continued power through good government, or through managing to get illegitimate control over the economy of the people, as has been done in India by the Congress Party through the Permit-Licence system.

Sri Vinoba Bhave has once again expressed himself against Government being in the hands of a political party. He sticks to his old demand that the affairs of India should be guided by a non-party and capable body of persons who will think and decide on ground other than party advantage. He is in this fully supported by the Swatantra Party, whose latest resolution repeats its demand for a non-party body of all talents to set the rocking keel of Indian economy right. Dogmas should recede and commonsense prevail if we wish to recover from insolvency which is sought to be concealed. If a husband says he cannot feed his hungry wife but must have her services and she must not leave home, the man is an insolvent, whatever the paint of the house for outside view may be. The quarrel between Government in the abstract and Government in the concrete in the body of the army of central civil officials is like a conflict between husband and wife. Military expenditure can be met by mounting foreign loans and be kept from the public view of the sad state of affairs, but we cannot ask Russia or America or both together to meet the demand for need-based wages for the civil establishment. The demand for "need-based wages" is no different from the inflation caused by government policies, and the need for meeting necessary expenses for sustaining life cannot be overcome unless we ask the officials to practise corruption as a routine.

3.2 Defections

The immediate adverse reaction of good men to individuals leaving one political party and joining another is understandable. The motive is often selfish and the disgust

of people at such selfish defections of party members is more often based on misdemeanours of parties and party leaders than on selfish interest. If party bosses, for instance, systematically fill semi-official organizations with their favourites and partisans, the resentment of a large body of dissatisfied party members and of the public is quite natural. Freedom of movement from one party to another is in a sense the essence of democracy. To take away this freedom would lead to a greater evil than what we seek to remove. Political affiliation should not develop into a caste system but should retain its elasticity. Otherwise there would be no room for change which, as Burke foresaw long ago, was necessary for conservation.

Those who talk breezily about legislation to prevent "floor-crossing" should remember that neither the Constitution nor the laws recognize political parties. Political opinion is an indefeasible independent individual right, not to be controlled by any political organization or trade - union. The seating arrangement and the recognition of parties in the House are left to the Speaker or Chairman for convenience of orderly debate. The party system cannot be converted into law. The loyalty of members to their respective parties should depend on the wisdom and sagacity and character of the leaders of the parties and not on laws to be enacted by the majority.

There is talk about legislating to ban defections from political parties. It must be remembered that the Constitution has in no way recognised political parties as entitled to any rights or subject to any obligations. The Constitution deals with individuals only. Banning of defections will be contrary to the important principle of freedom for holding an political opinion.

Defections have become the order of the day. It is waste of mental energy to analyse untrue reasons given by the defectors. The motives are the crudest forms of selfishness.

Politics today in India stinks with its corruptions. The best thing a good man may do is to keep out of it, except by way reflecting on what is right and what is wrong. The Gitacharya has told us in unsurpassable language what one should do after such reflection. Fight for what is right and oppose what is wrong even if you have to be a single soldier, without losing heart by defeat. One's duty is to do what conscience and detachment dictate and to retain equanimity under success or failure. This is true politics. Hunting for some kind of power or influence in devious ways is to sell oneself to the Devil, to use the language of the Semitic creeds. The Devil is within ourselves, according to the Gitacharya.

3.3 Panchayat Raj a Party Instrument

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 Swatantra 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.

"Panchayat-raj has failed to enthuse the villagers despite all efforts", declared Sri. Balwantraji Mehta, Chief Minister of Gujarat. It is an important admission and a verdict on facts that ought to form the basis of a reform in policy. How can any country-wide policy succeed in getting popular approval when at bottom it is dictated by party interests, and when it confers taxing and other powers on village tyrants. The sooner this scheme is given up the better. It is based on an illusion not on an ideology based on reality, and is bound

to result in greater and greater tyranny without remedy - gunda raj with taxation powers spread throughout the whole country, it will soon affect all government for the worse.

The Panchayat elections have everywhere put a premium on rowdiness. They have materially added to the tendency of politics to become one of the money-making professions. It is unfortunate that these elections have come to be held when there is great moral deterioration among people of all classes. It would be good if the improvement of rural conditions is made part of the administrative duties of officials instead of parochial democratization wherein intimidation by rowdy elements and corruption so largely prevail.

A nation cannot be great if almost all the individuals that count have for one reason or another become corrupt and unscrupulous. The common folk may be good but the moral deterioration above must seep through to lower levels if nothing happens to prevent it. The Panchayat Union elections inaugurated in the present conditions of deteriorated morality at higher levels serve to accelerate this seeping through.

3.4 Electoral Reforms

Reform of electoral procedure has been talked about and seems as if the Congress Government is satisfied that all that is needed has been done. The Congress Party does not seem to object to elections being, by and large, a private enterprise, as it has capital enough to run them as such. Why should the Government not arrange to give to every voter his or her identification card and serial number? This would substantially reduce the expense for the candidate. It is the expensiveness of the election campaigns and the monopoly of funds that it commands that chiefly contribute to the Congress Party's success. Nothing is being done towards reducing the expenses of candidates or of parties, which is the same thing.

If what has been reported in the Indian Express is correct news, about the Prime Minister having given direc-

tions to the Secretaries of Government to carry on without reference to the ministers and not to keep things waiting for the ministers while these are engaged in electioneering work, the principle of the Swatantra Party's of-repeated suggestion that ministers should demit office during the electioneering period stands vindicated. If what the P.M. has been reported to have directed can be done, it follows that it would be quite fair as well as practicable to carry out more fully the Swatantra suggestion, of ministers ceasing to be ministers while they actively approach the voters for a fresh lease of power. It is very doubtful if it is proper for ministers to draw salaries and allowances while in accordance with the P.M.'s reported directions they definitely hand over all work and responsibility to the secretaries. It would be best to legitimize the whole position in accordance with the Swatantra demand and divorce the party and the candidates from their ministerial authority when they offer themselves for acceptance by the electorate for a fresh term.

Sri Sivamurtiswami, a member from Mysore has introduced a non-official Bill in the Lok Sabha providing that a member of that or any political party should cease to be a member of that or any other party immediately on his taking the oath of office as a minister. The idea behind this proposed measure should be accepted convention and carried out in spirit. It would be of no consequence even if the non-official Bill, by a miracle, gets to the stage of consideration and passed. The commendable object of the Bill cannot be achieved by legislation but only by a proper understanding by politicians and people of the true spirit of democracy and the working of the party system within it-which is not easy in this country, as things are today. Not only the Prime Minister and ministers, but even Speakers, Judges and every other person accepting any public office, civil or military, soldiers and constables up to Heads of departments must forget party and identify themselves completely with the people and the State as a whole. This however cannot be enforced by law but has

to be achieved by honest acceptance of the spirit of democracy. Democracy will be as far from good government as the worst autocracy if this principle is not observed.

We should have the elections to the State Legislatures and the elections to the Council of States at one time. The parties in these elections should be one emphasizing local autonomy and the other standing for centralization of power. Lok Sabha elections should be held on a different date and contested on issues of economic policy. The polarization should be on Statist and free economy, one party standing for the former and the other for the latter.

Noble prize scientist Dr. Pauling of America suggests that once in ten years the general elections of various nations should be held under international supervision. The motive is very good - viz., the prevention of perpetual dictatorships. The proposal will however not serve as an effective remedy. The supervising international body will not be able to cope with the power and the tricks of the actual administrations who will have, after all, to be the working machinery of the elections. Mr. K.V.K. Sundaram cannot prevent the fear and the secret collection and use of money by which the Congress gets its votes though he very probably knows and dislikes it all. Much less can any international supervision succeed in doing. It is the people and the people alone that can save themselves from tyranny.

The Indian electorate suffers from well-known defects from which Western democracies are relatively free. The Indian voters are in great measure poor and vulnerable to bribery: even a day's expense for food serves to buy a large number of the poor voters. They are in a great measure ignorant and do not know, for instance, why prices rise. They are ignorant of the connection between Government policies and their consequences in a nation's life. They are moved by caste and community affiliations. They like to vote for the party likely to succeed, irrespective of policies or merits.

It is therefore highly unsatisfactory that the press should day in and day out publish during the critical fortnight captions forecasting success for the Congress Party. The freedom of the press is sacred and I am as much a defender of it as Milton or John Stuart Mill. But this is definitely rigging the contest in favour of the ruling party. Among the many difficulties mentioned above, this is an additional handicap for Opposition parties for which the press is responsible, possibly without intending it.

So long as the foundations of our parliamentary democracy rest on an ignorant electorate, political parties face a conflict between two aims. Each party must ask itself the question, shall we work for power, or shall we educate the electorate, leaving power as a comparatively worthless objective? Or shall we stand equally pulled on either side like the donkey between two haystacks stand still?

As far as the Swatantra Party is concerned and so far as I am concerned, I would definitely seek and advise the party to work to educate the electorate rather than run after the immediate pleasures of transient political power. The economy of this great big nation is a complicated affair and it has been further complicated and made into what must be called a mess by the megalomania of the leaders of our political freedom struggle who took over the administration of the country. The foundation of our independence and self-respect has to be improved. The foundation is sound education of all sections of our populations, nothing less.

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.

I repeat what I have said before. There is no way of salvaging democracy in India unless the former Election

Commissioner with his great experience works out a very inexpensive election procedure putting a maximum share of the cost on the State and saving the expense for candidates. We must choose between evils and cannot hope to have everything good. I would put the burden of distributing identification slips on the Government. I would also like mobile arrangements for collecting votes at the voters' residences.

We can even think of two stages in the General Elections, the first stage being the election of a front-rank leader to lead the Government of India, and the second stage being the election of all MPs after the public knows the result of the first stage. This may be treated as a compromise between the American and the British system. We are not in the same situation as we were in the first decade of Independence when we had quite a few 'old guard' men available who were known and respected all over India.

Prosperity, higher education and civilization are deterrents of battle field soldiering as distinguished from parade exercises. The non-prosperous nations have an advantage in this respect, as they had in the days of the onslaught of the barbarians on the Roman Empire. When the less civilized have a nationalist slogan to help readiness for violence and death, or when hunger presses them forward into other people's lands, the less advanced races have an advantage over prosperous people. We see this truth in operation in the difficulties experienced by the US Government in calling up young men for its military operations. Civilized races prefer to reduce population by contraceptives rather than by warring, preserving the present and blocking the future generation.

At long last the Election Commission has expressed the desire to work out a plan by which every voter casts his vote at his doorstep. This has been my cry all these years. I hope the plan will not be given up on account of seeming difficulties

and objections, but will be worked out properly. It will reduce corruption as well as intimidation. It will reduce the expense of elections and make it possible for candidates to stand without depending on money to be obtained from others. It is a bold step that is involved. I hope the Election Commission will not retreat but press on with this far-reaching reform.

The one man Election Commission, we are told, is thinking of having mobile polling booths in 'risky' areas and places where violence and intimidation are rife. Those who know how much money is spent by parties and candidates in elections and how it is spent, would tell the Election Commission that corruption would be much minimized and honesty would have a chance if house-to-house taking of votes in mobile booths could be introduced everywhere. The Government should spend more and the actual expenses of parties and candidates should be considerably reduced.

It appears from what has been reported in the press that the Election Commissioner objects to candidates writing, typing or rubber-stamping their names on the identify slips they give to the voters. This is a just objection that the Election Commissioner has taken. If electioneering misdemeanours are to be reduced to the minimum, the State should recognize and fulfill its duty to acquaint each voter of his right to vote, and give him a card showing his name and number in the roll, and not leave it to the candidates to do this work. It is this that gives the opportunity for misdemeanours. The Commissioner's objection confirms the validity of my long standing proposal that the Government should give cards of identification to voters and also collect the votes on the appointed days in mobile polling-booths so as to keep candidates' conveyances out of the field.

The duplication of expenses incurred in telling the voter that he has a vote and persuading him to go to the booth to lodge his vote ought to be avoided and the State as a whole should incur the trouble and the expense. The candidates

should be left to earn their preferences by their merits and their campaigning and not by reason of having taken the trouble to acquaint the voter of his right and by reason of making it easy for him to go to the polling-booth. Our voters are simple-minded and they feel it their moral duty to oblige those that take some trouble on their behalf during the polling week. This leads to making the election a mere bargain.

The reform I have proposed and which I have kept insisting upon, should be made the rule as early as possible. Mobile booths to collect votes may appear to be a rather expensive scheme. But this expensive scheme is not more expensive, because the burden is thrown upon the candidates. The total national expenditure on the elections would be less, more burden falling on the Government, and much less on the candidates, which is just the right thing if we desire to give an equal chance to all the candidates, rich or poor. Let us nationalize the elections before we nationalize business concerns which will suffer and not improve by nationalization.

The Election Commission has issued very sensible and just instructions:

"The Election Commission has issued instructions to all the political parties that the identify slips issued by them to the voters in the coming elections should not contain the name of the contesting candidate, parties and the facsimile of the symbols allotted to them.

"The identify slips are usually issued by the agents of the contesting candidates to the voters prior to the poll in order to facilitate the presiding officers in the polling booths to locate the names of the voters on the electoral rolls quickly."

"The Commission has stated that the identify slips should be on plain white paper containing the name of the voter, his serial number in the electoral roll, the number of the electoral page and the number and name of the polling station where he is to cast his vote".

I have been long agitating that these "identity slips" should be given to the voters by Government and not by candidates. Information should not be mixed up with canvassing. It is the duty of the State to inform voters that they are voters and entitled to vote and what their roll numbers are and where their voting stations are. Otherwise the business of giving information gets mixed with canvassing and corruption. This is more important than the present provisions against supplying conveyances. The instructions now issued by the Election Commission are good but not good enough. Why should the plain paper slips undiluted with canvassing be not done by the Government itself instead of telling the candidates to do it. The instructions as to avoidance of canvassing will be evaded in some way or another. Paper slips can vary in shape and size and practically be open to all the objections felt by the Election Commission to the old practice.

The Election Commission has very good ideas as to reform, but the Commission has to be helped administratively to be more effective in achieving its objects.

The Law Minister sometime before this made a frank confession that the rule limiting election expenditure has been notoriously violated but pleaded that who would 'bell the cat' to stop this abuse. Why should any one other than Government be expected to bell the cat? The only way to save an inordinate and most immoral waste of the nation's money in these elections is to adopt a simple scheme by which, like the census operations, the collection of votes from the electors is nationalized and the State through its neutral officials goes to the voters and collects all the votes at national expense in an orderly manner and under necessary supervision by the representatives of the candidates. The candidates and their workers should not be let loose on the voters during the voting week but should close their campaign of propaganda well before the polling day. There is nothing impracticable in this, although the ruling party is likely to put forward such a plea. The mobile polling booths will on the whole cost much less

than the total expenditure incurred by parties and candidates to reach the voters and get their votes recorded. The State which prepares the electoral rolls should also arrange to give each voter his official identifying card to be surrendered on polling day. Today the business of identification of voters and acquainting them with their being on the rolls is a private industry. This should be nationalised and undertaken as a State obligation.

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.

It should be made a binding rule that no Minister responsible for Industries, either at the Centre or in the States, should undertake collection of funds for the ruling party for the coming general elections. Otherwise it is open large-scale corruption, whatever may be the camouflages set up. It is not enough that this convention is publicly accepted if indirect arrangements are put into motion contrary to the principle. If there is any desire on the part of Congress ministry to give validity to SADAACHAR, this rule should be wholly and really accepted and not given mere lip-service.

All kinds of collection of money are going on, called 'voluntary' donations for unofficial funds in which the Congress Party is interested, and in which officials of the status

of collectors of districts and ministers of States are asked to take a direct part and considerable interest. The other day a collector gave ten lakhs of rupees as the "quota" for his district for the Nehru Fund.

In 1937 when I was in charge of Madras, I was told by my Chief Secretary, a senior British I.C.S. officer when I discussed with him measures for a police sports function, that the Government (old regime) had decided to ban police officers collecting any funds from the public for any purpose, as it was considered such collections would lead to an atmosphere of semi-compulsion. How differently things are assessed now. Why do people interested in the good name of Jawaharlal Nehru do these things in this way? Do they not see that these mass semi-coercive collections with targets fixed for the jurisdictional area of each officer, apart from being intrinsically wrong, create a bitter feeling in the minds of people and Jawaharlalji's memory suffers by it? What good will these funds do if, as against it, people get to dislike the whole business and what is sweet becomes bitter? Participation of officials and ministers in these matters belies all claims of any voluntary character in these collections. They are oppressive and illegal levies.

We cannot save democracy for India unless we make elections less expensive than they are today. The officially ordained ceiling does not tell us the real story. The expense to be incurred whether by the candidate or the party is far too great and we must investigate and see what we can do to make it possible for a decent man of moderate means to get elected. I have been advocating mobile polling booths and placing the responsibility on the administration of giving to every voter his identity card with his or her name and number in the electoral list. At present all this work is of the nature of private enterprise run by candidates. If what I have been suggesting is not satisfactory, some other means must be found. But that elections should be made much less expensive is an imperative necessity.

The elections cost candidates fabulous sums of money - not particularly on account of bribing, but by reason of necessary expenditure on men to be engaged in the various transactions involved in the process of direct elections based on adult suffrage. The whole structure must break down under the weight of this expense, when the subservience of industry to politics is got rid of, as it must be, one day. Shareholders' money is now being misused by the managing agencies for political purposes as a result of government being a Permit-Licence Raj; but this cannot go on for long. One day or other, a ban will have to be placed on contributions by company managements of shareholders' money to political parties for distribution among their candidates for electioneering expenses. Then this expensive structure must break down.

I have dwelt before this on the excessive cost of elections and said that the whole of the structure must break down one day. Here are extracts from a factual report appearing in the Hindu of January 18, mostly giving what was gathered from the Congress Party. What is said on behalf of the ruling party applies with greater force to candidates opposing the Congress Party.

Electioneering has become costlier than in 1962, according to the leaders of most political parties. Many Congress candidates feel that if they are to retain their seats they will have to spend more and work harder. Printing of publicity material, transport, honorariums to canvassers, rent of shamianas and loudspeakers all now cost more than in the past. Besides, most parties expect their candidates to spend far more than they did before.

These appraisals greatly minimize the situation. The expense which candidates have to bear or people and parties go through on their behalf is something insupportable and scandalous. Gandhiji would not have taken more than five minutes to advise that the whole pattern and procedure

should be drastically changed and some form of indirect election adopted, be its defects and dangers whatever they may be.

If we wish democracy to work in India, we must make elections less expensive for candidates and parties than they are now. To this end, I have been pressing for certain drastic reforms in the procedures involved in the elections. Informing voters of their right to vote and what their roll numbers are in the election register should be the duty of the State and not left to the wasteful private enterprise of the various candidates and parties. The collection of votes should be made by a house-to-house visit of mobile booths, and it should be the responsibility of the State. Most of the work which, in my opinion, should be done by neutral officials of the State is now being done by the candidates as an integral part of their canvassing campaigns. This makes election too costly for good candidates and furnishes scope for corruption, intimidation and illegitimate pressures of all kinds. These reforms which I have been advocating must one day come to be accepted - if India and her democracy are destined to survive the errors of elements, who believe in State controls and refuse to trust the citizens.

All changes involve trouble in the beginning. Even very desirable reforms involve trouble. Conservative officials not wishing to incur these troubles may present impediments and objections. But unless these are over-ruled and mobile booths go round and collect votes, elections will be too expensive for our country, its people and the candidates. Money will rule and not opinions.

Any amount of talk may go on and beguile people. But until the election procedure is altered radically so as to throw the great burden of identification and getting the voters to cast their votes, on the Government without making it an expensive handicap for poor candidates and poor parties, practically deeming elections to be a private enterprise, there can

be no real socialism. Expropriation and curbing and discouraging free production do not make socialism but make poverty. Envy is not socialism. What is at the basis of all present-day errors in the art of government is that reform is based on conflict and envy and not on good sense.

3.5 Swatantra as an alternative

If the confusion and want of political education exhibited by a young doctor who came to me to give a small donation for the party were to be an index of the general understanding of my writing and talks, I must have lost whatever clarity of expression I possessed once. I read all that you say in the SWARAJYA. I am convinced and alarmed at the prospect before us, as a result of Congress rule. But I do not see what one should do to remedy the situation. I am filled with fear but do not know what to do. Surely my message is clear enough: Make up your mind to cast your vote against this regime. Do not be misled by the false dilemma presented by Congress propagandists that if you do not vote for the Congress the Communists will come in. The Communists will not come in if you give your vote for the Swatantra Party. You can trust the Swatantra Party to undo all the mischief and take the country forward and without damage to the freedom of action that is necessary for individual initiative and exertion. Do not be frightened or hypnotised by money or power, deliberately exhibited in order to frighten you into obedience. Be brave. You can and should cast your vote as you think it right, you should not be frightened by what you think others may do. Do not act like the weak willed slave of a mesmerist and vote as you are told others may do. The Congress is only as strong as you make it or allow it to become. Do not add to its strength by your vote.

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

Democracy is majority rule. Majority rule has been popularized as 'rule by the people', 'will of the governed' and similar phrases. Our republic was designed not as simple majority rule, but so as to give government limited powers - powers limited by the Constitution and particularly by the articles on fundamental rights. Certain activities of the people were saved from majority rule. But these savings provisions have been eaten into. The aim of the Swatantra Party is to restore the Constitution to its original shape. In this sense the Swatantra Party can truly claim to be the only constitutional party in India. It has to fight the Congress party as well as the communists, who both have their axes raised against the fundamental rights inscribed in the Constitution as it was solemnly finalized in 1950

If a friend or foe wants an additional purely English name for the Swatantra party, it is not "rich men's party" or "free enterprise party" or Conservative party". The Swatantra party holds the view that the Constitution as it was finalized in 1949 contains what the Swatantra party really stands for. The Swatantra party wants rehabilitation of the Constitution. The Swatantra party may be called a rich man's party only if the Constituent Assembly, which debated and adopted the articles of the Constitution, was an assembly of rich men. poor men can be made rich and the rich made poor only by the present Government which dispenses and withdraws permits and licences and quotas, and not by an Opposition which pleads and goes to the polls for the abolition of this baneful policy of interfering with freedom of production and trade. The congress party attracts the rich to join and finance it, those rich who wish to get richer without much trouble, by getting a concealed monopoly of some kind or other and using political influence to prohibit or put prohibitive duties on competing imports of good quality. But the myth started by hasty Jawaharlal Nehru, though shot down scores of times by knowledgeable critics and others, stubbornly survives in the imagination of the uneducated, on whom, and on whose

ignorance and gullibility, the Congress partymen rely as on a rock of ages cleft for them for perpetuating their power.

What the Swatantra Party opposes is not change but Statism, which leads not only to gross mismanagement of national resources but to the conversion of a free people into a servile nation. Heavy taxation and misuse and mismanagement of the funds so secured, impoverishment of the people and frustration of spirit, these are the results of Statism. Swatantra welcomes change which removes evils, not change which brings in evils of great magnitude such as we have seen have plunged India in undisclosed bankruptcy. Congress rule is now the status quo from which we have to escape.

As the human brain is constituted there is no room for persistent differences of opinion as to what is right and good in principle. The middle path is always likely to win at the end of the argument. The main difference that will persist is about coercion and freedom. The Swatantra Party stands for the salvage of freedom to the greatest extent possible. State coercion being permissible only where otherwise we cannot escape great national harm.

The Swatantra Party always stood for greater autonomy to State Governments and for lesser interference by the Union Government in State affairs. But the present conditions of politics and administration in India are generally not favourable for reform in this direction. More stable and better governments should replace the present disarray before this reform can be taken up.

The critics of the Swatantra Party, whether they be external critics or internal dissenters, do not realize the true mission of the party. It is an educational mission, not a power-aimed grouping. Responsibility and power may and should be taken when they come, but the shaping and working of the party should not be around the power-aim, but should be in conformity with the aim of the education of the people and other political groups to see the validity of the party's eco-

nomic and political principle. This makes a great difference in viewpoint. The evaluation of the party's work depends on this. Those who come into it to snatch power must feel frustrated at the absence of adequate mass strength. But those who understand the mission of the party have much reason to feel satisfied with what the party has achieved and is doing. The back of the Permit-Licence raj has been broken. There is an increasing realization of the need for harmony replacing the conflict between investors and workers, and of the identity of interests between the two. The very fact that the Communists have intensified their opposition to the Swatantra Party testifies to the success of the party in its aims.

Pyarelalji quotes from Gandhiji's Home Rule (a small book he wrote while in South Africa, 1909): "Those who want to do good will not be in a hurry. To impregnate people with good requires a long time. But evil has wings".

The Swatantra Party should not be in a hurry to win seats. This party's difficulty is of educating people in realities. They succumb to falsehoods of various kinds; chiefly, Statist policies promising easy advantages doled out by Government. The Swatantra Party should say to itself in Gandhiji's words, "We are not in a hurry, we want to do good".

That evil has wings explains the quick adoption by State Governments of the gambling house way of finding funds.

Whatever may be said or believed by interested and ill-informed people, the Swatantra Party's principles are the only ones consistent with reality and its campaign the only one conducted with respect for truthfulness. The star symbol of the party truly represents reality and truthfulness for which the party stands. The party is prepared to make such compromises as have become necessary on account of the mistakes committed by others because no one, be it individuals or parties, in this ever-changing world of human affairs can escape and act independently of the results consequent

on what others have done. The basic adherence to reality however remains, because what others have done results in realities which must be taken into account. So also does the Swatantra Party's adherence to truthfulness stand unaltered. Nothing but the truth should be told the people in any campaign. Gains based on untruthful stunts cannot but end in futility and confusion.

There is a great difference between a party devoted to educating the Government and the people in the right direction on matters relating to the economy of the nation and parties primarily seeking for power, although they may have the public welfare as a secondary aim. The Swatantra Party's primary aim is to educate the electorate and the governments whatever party they may be dominated by. The party does not seek power like other parties, but if power and responsibility come, the party will certainly accept the burden. Power must seek us. We should not seek power. Power attained by devious and unworthy ways is a bad thing for the nation. Power that comes unsought and the responsibility which comes with it are real and worthy. If the party and its members do their work in furtherance of the mission as I have described it, power will come in due time unsought. A dedicated worker brought to my attention that unless we offer power it would be difficult, if not impossible, to enlarge the base of our party. I had thought I had made it clear in what I have been writing that we do not shirk power or responsibility. But I write this to clear the doubts I have heard expressed by the devoted worker. Power obtained by parties working for it as their primary aim may be described as chaff. Power that comes unsought as a reward for dedicated work is a golden opportunity for further service.

4.0 INSTRUMENTS OF STATE

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4.1 Judiciary

4.1.1 *Independence of Judiciary*

Whatever the government may do or not do, the people of India may be proud of their judges who still continue to perform their duties in the best tradition of judicial independence. Soon the time will come when this independence will be replaced by subservience, because the power to appoint judges ultimately vests in the Government which is run by a particular party. A panel of 'good' judges will soon be evolved and kept confidential and when vacancies are filled, no one can question the choice of Government however perverse it may be.

It was very gratifying to read the observations made by the Advocate-General of Maharashtra in the course of a lecture under the auspices of the Bombay University suggesting reforms in the conditions of service of the highest judges of the land. The views expressed by the Maharashtra call for highest degree of attention. They confirm what I have been feeling for a long time.

A fearless, independent, impartial and nonpolitical judiciary, exercising its power of judicial review of legislation with restraint and wisdom, is of vital necessity for the preservation of democracy in this country.

"For this the Constitution should be amended to bar the Chief Justice and Judges from holding political posts, prohibit them from reverting to the bar after retirement, and raise their emoluments and pensions substantially."

Public confidence in the administration of justice, the Maharashtra Advocate-General said, "would be shaken to its foundations if the judgments of a Judge came to be regarded as part of political propaganda or as delivered with a view to their effect on this or that party." He said the urgency of

raising judicial salaries with growing inflation and high taxation was even greater in India than in England.

He made a plea that the salaries of the judges should be appropriate to distinguished and leading practitioners at the bar so as to ensure that "the bench shall command the finest characters and the best legal brains that it can produce. He pointed out that the salaries of the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General in England were higher than those of Cabinet Ministers.

No constitutional safeguards could secure an incorruptible judiciary unless the men who appoint and the men who were appointed Judges were imbued with a sense of the need for high standards of public administration, he said.

On the selection of personnel, he recalled the Law Commission's view that regional and communal influences and the interference of the Executive had affected appointment to the Supreme Court and that the best talent had not been mobilized.

Employees and workers enjoy the right to give expression to their claims against employers and put pressure on them through protests, strikes and demonstrations. But it is suicidal and disrespectful to stage protests against courts exercising judicial functions. It may not be contempt but it is certainly improper to make the Supreme Court or the High Courts targets for trade union pressure. In particular the Supreme Court must be left completely free to carry out its functions as embodied in the words, *Flat justice rual caelum*, let justice be done though the heavens fall.

Pressure put on courts, and the consequent reduction in their independence, will fatally hurt the trade unions and employees as it will hurt the ordinary citizens. The total immunity of courts from pressures is a necessary condition for the preservation of citizens rights including those of employees and workers and trade unions.

The Tendency of State Governments is to get indirect control over the High Courts of the States concerned and thus damage the independence of the High courts and the judiciary in general. If added to this, the responsibility of the Supreme Court is parcelled out to the High courts as it is reported to the Tamil Nad Government has desired, the result would be damaging to the spirit of judicial independence which is one of the essentials of our Constitution. It would be well to remove from the State Governments the powers of either recommending or objecting to nominations to the High Courts. In the old days no importance was attached to the views of State Chief Ministers or to the reports of Governors on the 'advice' of the State Chief Ministers in this matter. Appoint ments were settled on merits display in the judgements of the judges proposed and as assessed by the Supreme Court. But as the days have passed, the Chief Ministers of States have become a power in all matters. This is not a good development from the point of view of the principles of the Constitution. Gradually we shall be led to lose the advantages of an independent judiciary, and democracy will become a part of party management which is, to put it in mild language, not very particular about principles to justice. I am one of those who feel that all politics ought to be such as would lead to good government and less and less power for the unscrupulous.

It is time the High Court Judges in India organized themselves for the maintenance of their independence against the growing tendency of Chief Ministers to undermine it in fact though they cannot do it legally. It is not a healthy change that of late the initiative in the appointment of High Court Judges has drifted into the hands of Chief Ministers.

The practice that has in recent times established itself of giving to the State Chief Ministers that initiative in the appointment and confirmation of High Court Judges, is a pernicious deviation from previous practice. It has corroded the independence of the High Courts. When any serious issue arises in which the local government is much interested,

those who do not agree with the governments of the States have not that confidence in the impartiality and independence of the High Courts as they had in the old days. We constantly hear these days of a plea that an outside Judge should be called in, as for instance the Annamalai University students' plea now made that the enquiry into the police violence in that University when an honorary Directorate was conferred on the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister should be entrusted to a High Court Judge from another State. The High Court had already lost much of their old prestige by the establishment of a federal judiciary to sit in appeal over them. The influence which the local Chief Ministers have now acquired in the making and unmaking of High Court Judges has further conduced to the loss of prestige and public confidence in the High Court Judges. The appointment of High Court Judges and their status should be free from all local influence and a matter wholly within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court which has every opportunity for judging the merits of the aspirants. The preservation of the independence of the Judges of the High Courts and of public confidence in them is of the greatest importance.

Dr Karni Singh's Bill in the Lok Sabha highlighted the danger of the Supreme Court becoming a 'committed' judiciary. This is a timely warning. The independence of the judiciary is one of the vital elements in real democracy. It can be destroyed by a powerful executive in many ways.

A proposal has been made in respect of the chairs provided for the Judges of the Supreme Court. Public sentiment has been developed in favour of providing chairs of equivalent size and shape for all judges without any discrimination. This is a very proper sentiment and can be worked out without any unreasonable expense.

Democracy has many legs to stand on, but the rock on which it rests firmly as a castle stands on its foundation is the independence of the judiciary, from the Supreme Court

down to the third class magistrate below. The Government has great powers including the appointment of Judges and Magistrates. But this should not interfere with the completely independent functioning of those so appointed. An instrument maker makes a thermometer. But the thermometer's working should not be interfered with but allowed to give evidence truly and fully if the instrument-maker has a fever. Because he made it, he would not be right in trying to control it on that ground. So too, the Supreme Court should function undeterred by the power of Government. The Supreme Court Judges may have been appointed by Government but, once appointed, they should function as thermometers and barometers do, in fear of nobody and favouring no-one. By resisting real or imagined political pressures, they serve democracy. By yielding to influences real or notional, they would be damaging democracy. To change the metaphor courts should be as dependable as life-belts. Otherwise the whole system becomes undependable. The Judges should help one another with spiritual strength. This is their sacred function and an integral part of the oath they take when they assume office.

4.1.2. Appointment of Judges after retirement

Law Minister A.K.Sen said in Parliament that our Judges have stood up remarkably well against the Executive, and that no one need be concerned over temptations offered by way of re-appointment after retirement. He is justly proud of our judges. But it is their own personal strength of character that is proved, not the desirability of such temptations. Our Judges have inherited, and do well maintain, great judicial traditions. But that does not justify placing temptations in their way. Judges at high level should not be offered or given opportunities of securing government jobs after retirement. There can be no doubt that these opportunities depend on the pleasure of the ministers, and no Judge should be placed in a position to play to the pleasure of ministers during the last years of his period of service. We

cannot be sure always of getting men of the same sterling worth, who can and will remain independent in spite of temptation. The Christians' doctrine of being on watch and of not tempting the Devil is a sound practical ethic. That most people have so far stood up to the temptation is no reason for continuing to place such temptations before the Judges. We know how things deteriorate when the old traditions begin to wear away.

H.V.R. Ienger has recently been writing good stories. His latest ends thus: "But there is no magic in the words 'judicial authority'. The authority must in name and in fact and spirit, be independent of the executive. That leads at once to the question of how our Judges are selected. Does the selection process ensure that they are capable, without fear or favour, of so conducting themselves that they act as the Constitution intended that they should, as a pillar of the State?" Most true words and well said. The selection process is important. But it does not end there. The prospects for further personal advancement held out temptingly in the later years of judicial service are equally effective in diluting independence.

Sri. Gajendragadkar, Chief Justice of India, will be resigning in the middle of March. I hope the illustrious Judge will not accept any political or other job from Government after retirement but devote his time and energy, of which I know he has an enormous amount - although he is in accordance with routine calculation of age giving up his great office - in the direction of improving the rule of law in the affairs of men. An unhealthy practice is growing under which retired Judges look to Government for the favour of keeping them engaged after retirement, which practice seriously interferes with their independence or will appear so to interfere even before retirement, in anticipation of such assignments. Inactivity of such a difficult thing to bear for energetic old people, but acceptance of high judicial office carries with it this moral obligation of abstinence from what may reason-

ably affect the absolute confidence of the people in their utter judicial independence which is an integral part of the democratic scheme of division of powers.

4.2 Administration

4.2.1. Good Administration

I consider it the primary duty of Government, either at the Delhi level or at the State level, to maintain good and just administration making no discrimination in favour of or against anyone on any grounds other than merit. Good administration includes the maintenance of order and the rule of law, not digressing from it out of fear or favour for the sake of retaining office and power. Next to this I consider the emancipation of industry from the permit-licence-quota raj as essential. If any industry calls for permits and licences, it should be done under the autonomous authority of an independent expert board and not kept as a privilege of Government. Citizens should enjoy the maximum amount of freedom in their lives and in the choice of their occupations and in the investment of their savings.

While I am in principle for decentralization of authority and for giving more power to States, I am clearly of opinion that the present is not the time for such decentralization. The perils of the present day demand a firm, fearless and competent Central Government, and the Governors of the States should function as the agents of the Centre besides being good advisers to the State ministries.

A good coalition agreeing to this minimum programme would fill me with hope such as filled me at the height of Gandhiji's glory in the Indian struggle. I wish and pray that while I am yet alive I shall see this grand coalition established in working shape. God will help if my respected brothers and sisters in public life put their shoulders and hearts into the plan.

Twenty distinguished senior civil servants who gave of their best to the administration in India have contributed articles to make Sri. K.L. Panjabi's book "The Civil Servant in India" a very readable and instructive book. These contributions by men of varying calibre and inclination, who filled a variety of posts under diverse conditions show how important good administration is, what pitfalls have to be avoided, and how to make administration both efficient and responsive.

In a private letter to me Sri Panjabi writes:

The importance of good administration cannot be overstressed. It does not, however, grow by itself and needs constant care and attention. It occurred to me, therefore, that there was need to set out the essentials of sound administration and that this could best be done in the words of retired Civil Servants narrating their experiences, their mode of training and the traditions and practices to which they struck throughout their career.

Apart from the spirit of devotion, diligence and integrity which are essential in all the administrative servants of the nation, our ministers and our political parties should realize the importance of independence in our officials. The Civil Servants should act as frank advisers to their political bosses wherever necessary, and in their administrative work always act with the same freedom and courage as Judges display in their judicial work. When the application of policies determined by the Government comes up for extension in particular cases, the procedure should be non-partisan and judicial. It may be the rule laid down that a business should be licensed. But to whom the licence should be given should be an independent judgment of the non-partisan official on the data before him. It should not depend on the wishes of the minister for personal or party reasons. This is only an illustration of what I have in mind when I speak of independence in the administrative official. The established reputation of the

British permanent official rests on this independence and judicial temperament. Senior Indian Civil Servants have regretted nothing but a great fall in standards, in this respect, in the present administrative machinery. It is well that Sri Panjabi has brought out this symposium, obtaining contributions to it from the cream of our Civil Service which is still not all gone out of view.

I give below the message which I sent to the National Academy of Administration about the IAS Central Training Institute. I took considerable interest when two decades ago I was in Delhi in the Institute for training successful IAS candidates. I have been watching with great satisfaction the improvements made in this direction in the Indian Academy of Administration now at Mussoorie. Naturally senior present and past members of the Indian Administrative Service take great interest in the Institution. Their services should be utilised as frequently as possible. Their talks to the young persons under training would not only be instructive but give a kind of spiritual inspiration to those under training. The welfare of the country depends very greatly on the way in which IAS officers do their work and move with the people. These young IAS trainees should be instilled in the doctrine of truth and courage besides being given information on various subjects connected with administration. Much more depends on the courage and integrity of officials than what ministers do and promise to do in the democratic set-up. Officers are not expected to suppress their views and opinions but should express what they feel on the issues that come up before them truthfully and courageously, so that those who exercise political authority may benefit thereby and modify their policies.

I would suggest that training in giving First Aid and driving a jeep should be added to the course of these IAS entrants. Riding is good in itself apart from the fact that touring on horseback is not now the vogue; but driving a jeep should be learnt in addition as a modern essential.

Unless the Administrative Service functions efficiently and with a sense of religious duty, no amount of debates and rhetoric in the Legislatures can be of any use to the people. The District Officers should deem himself responsible for all that goes on in the district. He should have an eye on all the departments operating in his district and send his comments to Government. The IAS District Officer should deem himself to be the Government's agent in the district and help in the coordination of the work of all the departments operating in the district.

Much has gone wrong in the psychology of people as well as officials and the young men who pass out the Academy of Administration should deem it their duty and religious obligations to do all they can to switch the country back to right thinking and right action.

The perfect bureaucrat is one who, as one has said, can in any situation make his job so complicated that he not only becomes indispensable but requires a larger and larger staff of assistants.

The front wheels of a car steer it. The rear wheels push the car. The two differ in their functions and therefore the tyre-tread for these wheels should be designed differently. I read this in a very interesting advertisement.

The affairs of a nation ruled democratically, likewise call for political and elected ministers and legislators to steer policy and a firm, just and honest corps of officials to run the administration efficiently and maintain order and a sense of security, dealing out just treatment to all irrespective of political affiliations out just treatment to all irrespective of political affiliations. The rear wheels whose function is traction pure and simple should not seek to steer policy. Nor should the front wheels, whose function is steering and not traction, intervene in the routine of administration to favour one or another in the interest of politics of one sort or another.

If officials take to getting previous directions from ministers as to what they should do, people will lose confidence in the independence of officials and to try to contact ministers and party men and get them to intervene in order to get what they wish done against the normal course of justice in administration. The officials will soon lose their character as well as their reputation. Members of the legislative assemblies will be approached by people with 'donatives' - Bacon's word for bribes. This is what is happening in many if not most of our States.

Governments and their policies are important but the spirit in informing the individuals who make up the nation is most important, even as the levels of plants are most important for the life of the plant. Hence the essentiality of self-control.

The State is and should be all powerful, but there is a difference between a totalitarian State a democratic State. In the totalitarian State, the individual does not count. The wisdom of the ruling group of dictator is the only wisdom that is recognized. Individual thought is looked upon as dangerous to law and order. In the democratic State, the individual does not disappear in the State, but is alive, rich and with thought and initiative. The final rate of totalitarianism is as some one has said, the seizure of all power by the Communist leaders in the army, because where thought is not free, and only force counts, the standing army is the real residuary power.

4.2.2 Government and Administration

The net result of the policies followed by the ruling crew is an inordinately large and insufferably expensive administrative machinery, and a concentration of government concern on how to keep these employees for the State contented. The people steadily go out of the picture and all anxiety is focussed on how to please the government servants. This is the necessary consequence of Government taking so much

power unto itself and recruiting such a large army of government employees to administer that power. The home-guard used to dictate policy to Roman Emperors. Under pressure, industrial workers organized by Left-wing trade unionists may also be well looked after. Another and much the most unfortunate consequence is the steady advance of the prospect of food control from top to bottom-the last stage being individual rationing. Don't talk too much about scarcity, says the Union Minister for Broadcasting and Information, for by too much talk of scarcity you cause the buyers to buy too much and the population being large, their excess buying amounts to a great deal in the total. The mathematics is sound but some of these points to rationing at the base, which next to slavery is the most intolerable misery that can be inflicted on the people.

I do not say that the criticism and advice of good and great men will go in vain, but after the breakdown of the caste system, and the elevation of material advancement in its place, it is idle to imagine that crores of people engaged in trade at various levels are an organized body or a corporation governed by managing directions, and to animadvert against their conduct. If governments wish to use them as instruments for social welfare and in the conduct of national life, as indeed they must, natural forces and instincts must be depended on, not sermons or satires. State policies must be based on an understanding of how normal human beings are guided by motives and sanctions issuing out of human nature. Hence it is that profit-incentive and competition are recognized as of utmost importance in a free economy. Statism refuses to recognize this incentive and this check, and prefers to depend on coercion and authority, resulting in vast expenditure and harassment of people. The class hatred that has bred in latter days against those engaged in trade and production, has become a poisonous influence that corrupts reasons. Businessmen who in numbers total many crores, and who compete vigorously with one another, are treated as

an organized corporation headed by a conspiratorial directorate ranged against the State. This is ignorance pure and simple, however it may be clothed by good intentions or the language of indignation.

If men go wrong as they often do, it is not to be remedied by what is worse, viz., centralized authoritarianism and State control. Checks and balances may be necessary, but the economy of the nation cannot be centralized and handled by a close corporation at Delhi, through its political and official agents. All attempts in this direction must end in inefficiency, corruption and failure, and in people's misery. A king and his ministers or a political party and its causes cannot treat millions of citizens functioning in the nation's economy as their enemies. We should understand them and utilize their services. This is policy.

No 'is constructed in opposition to natural forces can ever hope to succeed or produce anything but chaos.

In the course of his speech in the Rajya Sabha debate over the Criminal Law legislation, Prof. Ruthnaswamy made the most important point that administration should be distinguished from policy and kept free from political interference. He said : Political corruption is another means of adding to the unfavourable social climate. I do not speak of the bribing of voters - that also takes place-but I speak of the corruption in kind which consists in Ministers, and members of the ruling party, because they alone can afford to do or are in a position to do it, offering special political services to the constituencies they are moving in. I do not speak of general offers of service, social service and so on which may be incorporated in the electoral manifesto of parties. That is addressed to the whole country but I speak of specific appeals to particular constituencies which consist in saying: "If you give us votes, we shall dig a well for you, erect a school for you or get a road paved to your village". It is this kind of general corruption in our political life that makes possible the cor-

ruption of officials. We have been told that a Code of Conduct for Ministers is being formulated. It has been circulated among Ministers but does that Code have a clause regulating the relations between Ministers and officials, because in a Parliamentary Government the jurisdiction of Ministers in regard to administration is delimited?

The Ministers are to confine themselves to formulation of policies, and the whole business of administration, the whole business of implementing these policies is left to the permanent civil service. If Ministers go on interfering with the day-to-day administration, the officials lose all interest in administration. Both the officials and Ministers get more and more opportunities for practising corruption. There are Ministers of Housing who take upon themselves the business of allotting houses and those who want houses have to apply to the Minister and dance attendance in the ante-rooms of Ministers in order to get an allotment, while they have an Accommodation Officer who is charged with the duty of allotting houses. When there is this confusion between the jurisdiction of Ministers and officials, there is bound to be interference, there is bound to be succumbing to pressure. There is bound to be succumbing to temptation.

Officials working under a government formed by political parties have not learned to exercise the independence which their opposite numbers in Britain do. Here members of the permanent service in charge of day-to-day administration, have found it necessary, in their interests, to ascertain the wishes of the ministers even in matters of discretion vested in the administrative machinery. From this naturally follows complaints of political corruption. The plea for an independent Board to be in supreme charge of the licence-permit-quota administration has been made to diminish this political corruption.

Everyone knows that government servants are not as free as privately employed people. When a concern, produc-

ing or selling, or engaged otherwise, is 'nationalized', it means that every one employed therein becomes a government servant. When some grievance, more often small than big, is felt, and there is a socialist government on top, angry employees agitate for the nationalization of the particular concern.

The feeling of anger gets into operation and reason is pushed to the wall. The transfer of ownership and management from private hands to be State may not bring about immediate confiscation of the freedom of the employees, but the change of status is bound sooner or later to end in the workers employed in the concern becoming State employees with all the disadvantages as well as the advantages of that status.

On the one hand, there is a growing volume of undesirable and unconstitutional contacts between permanent officials and Congress bosses not holding any administrative position. On the other hand, I have good reason to suspect that any kind of social or literary contact between officials and politicians belonging to Opposition groups is considered by Government to be cause for suspicion against those officials and attempts are made to get rid of such persons. This is as unwise as it is unconstitutional and unjust. The majority party is not the State, and opposition to the majority party is not reason or sedition. This state of things has come to my notice because I have quite a few friends among members of the permanent service who have nothing to do with my politics, past or present, and who, I fear, suffer annoyance on account of their affection for me. This is not political progress or civilization but barbarity. It goes contrary to the constitutional freedom of the citizen and is a symptom of the growing confusion between party and government. Such a thing would induce a great outcry in the US, but in the India of today, it is taken for granted that it is wrong for officials to have even social or literary contacts with those who are not with the government party, ignoring the obvious fact that it is far more dangerous to good administration for an official

to have intimate contacts with the boss of the ruling party than if were on good terms with a leader in an Opposition party. Political influence used in one's own favour should be prohibited. Officials are entitled to what may be called the freedom of social contacts which should not be subject to government control.

In democratic administrations, politician-ministers may happen to be in charge of portfolios which are concerned with science and technology of one kind or another, of which their knowledge may be very meager if not nothing at all. The minister directs the work of doctors, engineers and the like of great experience, although he himself may be technically an ignoramus in the subject concerned. Politicians rise to power by reason of popularity and certain special talents which democracy calls for. The top group of the successful party share the responsibility of the whole administration among themselves. Some of them may happen to possess academical qualifications also. But generally these are not enough to qualify for technical control over the employees in the department over which as ministers these have administrative control.

I always held the view that a doctor should not be made minister of health, or a teacher made education minister because of some academical or professional qualification the minister happens to possess. Persons in the permanent service of government possessing much higher qualifications and record of actual service, cannot object to the minister exercising power over the administration of the department on the ground that he is not professionally qualified. He is entitled to control as minister by reason of his political status. But if a doctor or engineer who has entered politics, and for various causes not concerned with scientific or technical ability has risen to the position of a minister holding that portfolio, seeks to criticize or comment unfavourably on the professional work of the men in the service, on the basis of his own supposed knowledge of the subject, the employees

would justifiably resent it. A doctor of an assistant surgeon rank may become minister of health, a PWD supervisor or assistant engineer may become a minister of works; a third-rate science teacher may become an education minister; if these people take upon themselves to talk and give advice or criticize persons far above themselves in professional rank and equipment, it would be a ridiculous extension of political authority.

There was once a case of a dismissed head constable becoming Home Minister in a certain State. He did his work well as minister and surprised everyone. He did not, when he became minister, seek to work off old grudges, or take the senior police officials to task for not knowing their work.

In the hope of accelerating the pace of development, entrusting the Central or State Executives with too much economic power over the lives of the people is dangerous. All democracies require checks and balances. Though they may not be of the American type, there must be some check on too much power being given to the Executive. We have seen this excessive power in action and realized how it served to perpetuate the totalitarian rule of a single party and also how it caused devastating moral deterioration in that party itself. Any plan for economic development or uplift of the poorer classes may be devised, but it should not only be efficient and promise speedy results but avoid the great danger of investing a clique with power to perpetuate itself in authority and breed a caste of profiteers, converting really good men into robbers clothed in decent apparel.

The Chanda Committee's recommendation about the AIR stands rejected. The Santhanam Committee's recommendation about companies' donations to political parties also stands rejected. The Government appoints committees carefully selecting members and particularly the Chairmen, having the Government party's points of view in mind. Much money, time and energy are spent. Data are collected and

viewpoints carefully set out and conclusions are reached. But the conclusions and recommendations are brushed aside without a thought by the Government when they go against what they had wanted. There is no hope for the AIR being constituted as an autonomous non-party corporation or for a law being adopted prohibiting managing agencies to dole out shareholders' money to political parties unless and until the Government changes at the top and the Congress partymen learn to see themselves as others see them.

H.V.R. Iyengar was quite right when he re-emphasized in his address what the Opposition has been bitterly complaining about all these years, that there was a deterioration "at the grass roots of administration" in the post-Independence era, i.e., under Congress rule, due to the "injection of political motivation into the handling of law and order situations by the police". It is not in this field alone, but in every field of the expanding administration, political interference has done great harm, and good government has been brought to a low ebb. The worst feature of this is that it may become a convention and an acknowledged function and privilege for political power to interfere with the official routine of administration whoever may be in political authority. I hope this will be firmly resisted by all good people.

The largest single factor which has eroded discipline in public services, in recent years, is the influence wielded by politicians, not directly charged with responsibility on the administration and on individual public servants. The tahsildar who used to take his instructions direct from the Revenue Divisional Officer and District Collector, cannot afford to be that simple-minded at present. His continued stay at the same station, and his promotion, depend also on factors other than what he had understood to be the strict discharge of his official duties. The Study Team has taken note of this dangerous development, but it is unable to suggest a practical remedy. Any amount of streamlining of the administration as recommended in the report, is not likely to effect it.

The PM's moralising about co-operative and panchayat organizations does not help to mend matters in the real world of India. These organizations undoubtedly help local tyranny as well as the party-interests of the ruling party at the periphery. The official element may help sometimes to reduce the injustices produced by the addition of legal authority to local goondaism. The theory of democracy at the base has a handsome face but covers many ugly features that matter greatly in life.

"I have made up my mind, do not confuse me with facts" - this, is what is called dogmatism. This attitude prevails much more widely than is generally recognized. And when it governs the actions of rulers who hold charge of the affairs of men, it is a grave menace to human happiness and progress.

Indecision has again seized the Delhi Government in its vicious grip. The report is that the Cabinet awaits the return of the Prime Minister from her South American holiday to decide what to do with those who led the token strike of government employees. The issue is not whether it is good to victimise the employee strikers. That should become an issue only if sincere repentance were in evidence. The bosses who brought about the mutiny have not yet declared that they were in grievous error when they disregarded all the appeals of Government and persisted in their subversive course. Let justice be tempered by mercy when it is well understood that there can be no compromise with experiments in sabotage. It would be cheaper and wiser to pension off the offenders than to lead those employed in the administration of the country to believe that anything can be done by them and they are sure to get away with it. The point made by the loyal employees that demoralization would result from soft policies and permanent harm done to the cause of orderly administration should not be ignored. The very fact that the PM and the Deputy PM left the country when a grave crisis was developing before their eyes shows that they have not the grit

to deal with the matter and that they will display the fatal weakness of democratic campaigners. By all means let misguided small fry showing repentance be treated leniently, but ringleaders should result for their action. Above all let this incident bring about a clear commitment on the part of all government employees that they shall not treat the administration of the country as an industry to which trade-union rights may be applied, but that every servant employed by Government is pledged to serve or resign but cannot strike as workers in a glass or a plastic factory may do and come back and ask for non-victimization with the freedom to strike again when so inclined.

It is well known that I oppose the present political masters of India on most important and fundamental policies. I want the conflicts generated by pseudosocialism in agriculture and industries to go and be replaced by cooperation and harmony. I want the farmers and the industrial producers to be released from the asphyxiating coils of the great boa-constrictor of the control and permit-licence-raj of the Delhi secretariat. But I am one who wants to safeguard the permanent structure of law and orderly administration. Policies may change for better or worse. That is one of the inescapable incidents of democracy, which is sought to be avoided by the adoption of long-term plans. The civil administration and the army must not however be put in disarray. Loyalty to India as distinguished from changing ministers must be their pole-star. Misguiding elements must be put out of action at least as far as government employees are concerned.

The way the Government of India, officials as well as ministers deal with the industrial and commercial community, the retailers and others of the business world of India, makes a picture of a police establishment dealing with criminal tribes and not as if governing a civilized people. This is not the attitude which should prevail between the State and the people. Respect and trust beget respect and trust on the other side. India should not be taken as being a nation whose

businessmen are all irredeemable criminals. As against this picture we have a pattern of inexcusable weakness towards declared subversionists and groups dedicated to the creation of conflict and disorder. These are treated as if entitled to carry out their designs without preventive steps being taken.

The idea that all the affairs of the men and women forming the nation can be left to uninformed, inexperienced people who refuse to take persons with adequate experience and equipment into their confidence and take advice is not democracy but anarchy. There are, it is true, some officials who have acquired some knowledge through the sheer passage of time and enforced experience, but these are bound to obey and are too effectively indoctrinated with fear to give independent expression to their views. If we wish to copy the institutions in other countries we should acquaint ourselves with their history and the safeguards under which they work. Government is a bit more difficult than driving a car and we do not trust ourselves to an ignorant driver who refuses to learn.

The administrative machine in India has yielded everywhere to the pressure of party VIPs. Officials are afraid of being transferred or otherwise treated to injustice if they displease the MLAs and other VIPs of the ruling group. It was once thought that the Governors and the President were the protectors of the permanent service and enabled them to maintain their independence in matters of administration as distinguished from policies laid down by the Government. It was formerly their duty and their practice to give what they felt was sound advice to the Governments even in respect of policies. But now Governors as well as the President have become rubber-stamps and do not protect the officials when they need it. Party VIPs rule at all levels and this is believed to be democracy. When I visited the IAS young men and women in the administrative academies I saw reason to entertain high hopes of them. Their quality was very good. But now everything has been altered. Officials are forced to

work for the interests of parties and not of the people. Unless the officials are restored to their former independence and practice the country can have no good government.

4.3 Corruption

"Several departments of the Union Government are designating senior officers to receive complaints about corruption and delays and injustices. This was announced by Mr.G.L.Nanda at a meeting of the Sadachar Samiti today". Mr.Nanda is distributing medicine to relieve the itching caused by mosquito bites. What about the mosquitoes and their great breeding places? It is well-known that stagnant waters of the permit-licence-quota-regime breed the mosquitoes. But that is part of the sacred socialist creed and cannot be disturbed. What is proposed is to deal with the biting and not with the mosquitoes or their homes.

For the nth time I urge on Mr.Nanda that punishing people on less than enough judicial evidence or other forms of witch-hunting or even taking sworn statements from ministers as to their holdings at the time they take up office, will not achieve anything but national hysteria and a general suspicion that everybody in politics except astrologers and sadhus are thieves. It will not put down corruption. We can lengthen the forms to be filled to any length, but it will produce no effect except more expenditure. The corruption is all around licences and quotas, and other sources of making quick money. If these are put in the hands of a non-political body not subject to political pressure, corruptions will go back to pre-Independence level, not otherwise.

Under the anti-corruption. Act of 1964 the accused can be tried in his absence and the accused must disclose all his evidence and witnesses before hand. These two clauses rob the citizen of basic rights which have prevailed through a century under the British regime. And now Government wants to do away with the appeal to High Courts and the

Supreme Court through an amendment of the Constitution. Ignoring the principles of natural justice or doing away with well-tryed procedure hitherto followed in the courts will not help to wipe out corruption. The rule of law must be deemed a sacred part of democracy and kept intact. The breeding-point of corruption must be dealt with. It is the licence-quota system that must be dealt with.

The Union Minister for Broadcasting and Information advises playing down corruption. I also agree that there is no good playing it up. We may be silent about symptoms, but we should keep a steady drive going at removing what is at the root of the malady. What is the cause of the corruption? The impingement of political party interests on the administration. Let us separate the political forces from the administration and a healthy condition will be restored. On the contrary we are doing every day what must bring more and more contact between party politics and day-today administration. Indeed the ruling crew seeks to make party as important as Government and the aim appears to be to create complete identification between the two. No more effective way can be conceived for taking corruption to its degree and making corruption itself look like honest politics. Soon men will see nothing wrong in it, and then we can believe we are all honest. The people, rich and poor, educated as well as illiterate, the fortyfive crores of Indian citizens hunger for good government, an administrative machine which thinks of nothing but justice and fair play in the daily transactions of government and which does not yield to political pressure or is intimidated by any party boss. The High Court Judge of Madhya Pradesh, who gave his finding on Mr. Khadiwala, has shown the way and his example should inspire every administrative officer. Every public servant is a Judge within the jurisdiction he exercises, whether he is called a Judge or not, from the head of a department down to the smallest police constable exercising authority on behalf of the people. They should all be above party and fearless.

The Indian public will not be easily convinced by explanations by ministers in answer to charges of corrupt uses of official position or power that the particular departments concerned do not fall within their own administrative allotments. It is well known that adjustments can be made between departmental heads and ministers by which one helps the nepotism of the other across the borders of official demarcation, so that both get away with it.

When one takes big power in India, one has not only to abstain from error but to act so as to avoid even suspicion. This is particularly the case when a relative starts a concern during the period of influence of the minister and it is not an old one. This may be an unfair disability but has to be accepted as one of the sacrifices involved in the acceptance of high office by one of the family.

"Your application for sanction for a new capital issue is being delayed. Pay what we asked of you—fifty thousand rupees - and it will be expedited". And it is done accordingly. This procedure is so widespread and so well known that one cannot be uncognizant of it. What is the meaning of this linking up of collections for the party with orders and permits, and quotas and sanctions in the economy of the country? Must a company pay money to the party in order that it may be allowed to borrow from those who are willing to lend? Is the Congress Party the complete owner of all the wealth and the savings of the nation? Or is it pretended that these two transactions are independent, coming together by sheer accident, the one being a just and fair administrative order, the other being a voluntary donation given out of faith in the programme of the party? This is impossible.

In parliamentary democracy, party is totally different from the State. But in our democracy there is little difference maintained now between Government and the ruling party. Contributions are levied for party funds just like taxes for the State assessed on a composition basis. And these contribu-

tions are levied from the big directors of great companies down to the small owner of a single unit public-carrier lorry. How can moral values or any kind of honesty in public life survive this example of misconduct in the highest quarters?

All these things arise out of an excess of State-power over the economic life of the people. And the press, too, feels compelled to take the line of the ruling party, or at least stray not too far from it. This diagnosis leads to the only remedy, viz., reduction of State-power which is what the Swatantra Party stands for. It is not fair to trace all corruption of the low standard of national character. Much of it is greatly due to the pattern of governance we live under, and this should be altered. The pattern of too much power in the State and too many restrictions on freedom must be altered if we wish to restore the moral standards that prevailed but fifty years ago.

The slogan of autonomy for State Governments is slogan for widening the field for corrupt practices. The widespread reports about illegal wealth acquired by Ministers and political bosses and shielded against detection by benami arrangements cannot be ignored. In addition to this, the demand for autonomy is most unrealistic when all States depend upon grants from the Centre from taxes and duties administered by the Government of India.

The built-in corruptions of the parliamentary system as established in our country have so disgusted good people that they are gradually being converted to totalitarian rule against democracy as it has shaped itself in our country. On the one hand, Statism is confounded with socialism and, on the other, people expect good government to issue more easily from authoritarianism than from parliamentary rule. It is the responsibility of the Old Congress and the Swatantra Party to maintain love of democracy and a genuine concern for freedom among the people. The more the influence built through official position the greater becomes the sacred

responsibility of the real Congress and of the Swatantra Party to defend democracy and the Constitution. Weariness will not do. Younger people should take the place of those who have become weary of politics. The harder the task the firmer should be our dedication to the cause of freedom.

Young men and women know without my telling them that the purchasing power of the rupee is rapidly falling owing to the high public expenditure incurred by the Government of India. Life is not worth living if it hangs on to the rupee. Life will be worth living if it is hitched on to a moral or spiritual purpose. Young men and women should pledge themselves to the defence of the Constitution and of freedom in its fullest sense.

4.4 Ombudsman and Consent'D Etat

The Attorney-General of India while addressing the All-India Law Conference in New Delhi, called for study to find out whether an independent agency, responsible only to Parliament, should be set up to assure that government department and the administrative agency function strictly in accordance with the rules prescribed in for "Our laws have multiplied hundred fold", he said, "and has our administrative machinery. At every step, the citizen come into contact with it and is affected by it".

The Attorney-General put it very mildly. There is great need for an impartial, independent and permanent available court of correction and justice Ministers and administrative officials have now powers which the predecessors had never exercised before Independence; and it is human nature that persons processing excessive powers become tyrannical and arbitrary when there is no check over them. Internal checks do not operate, due to the excessive expansion at specialization of the various areas of authority. The work of the Scandinavian institution Ombudsman and that of the Conseil d'Etat are both worthy of close study in the connection.

It seems as if some thought is being bestowed on the now pretty old demand for an Ombudsman in India. Either the Scandinavian institution going by its name or one like the equivalent French institution for administrative justice has necessarily to be established in view of the large powers taken under various laws by the executive in India at all levels. The attempt now made is, while appearing to satisfy the demand, to take away the sap out of it. Little clauses can do this most effectively as we all now.

The Ombudsman has burst in to universal popularity. It originated in Sweden one hundred and fifty-seven years ago. I have been trying to popularize it for India for some six years past. It forms part of the Swatantra party manifesto in 1962. What is the reason for the great popularity of the office now? Britain and the USA are officially examining the Ombudsman proposals. Interference of the State in affairs not legitimately its concern, has brought into being numerous abuses which call for redress and relief. The only thing that can be done is to refer the grievances of employees to an officer who owes no allegiance to, and has no expectations of future favour from the party in power. Of course outside of the parliamentary governed countries, there is no room for an Ombudsman or any other independent officer. In democracies the very volume of grievances to be examined will make it impossible for any Ombudsman to do anything satisfactorily although there may be a few spectacular cases of relief. The Ombudsman movement must be accompanied by a minimum government movement. We must strike at the root of the modern malady, that of individuals getting into their hands extra power to do wrong to their neighbours, extra power derived from influence in the ruling party. If this is eliminated the power of officials to oppress the citizen will be also minimized. The superstitious faith in governments must be given up and replaced by greater faith in oneself. Governments do as much harm as they do good.

There is general talk now in India about the Ombudsman institution of Scandinavia. In France there is a Conseil

d'Etat about which Prof. C.J. Hamson of Cambridge has written a book. The following paragraphs taken from that review may be recalled:

The Conseil d'Etat in France exercises appellate authority over the grounds and the substance of all administrative decisions even of the highest ministers of the State. To support this conclusion, Prof. Hamson gives a full length exposition of a leading case disposed of by the Conseil d'Etat. It leaves nothing in doubt as to the powers exercised by that tribunal. The Conseil d'Etat holds firmly to the principle that if a minister is to be 'satisfied', he must as minister have reasonable grounds upon which the satisfaction is based; and having such grounds he is automatically under duty to disclose them to the competent Court, should that court so require. The bare statement of Mr. X, who may happen to be a minister, declaring that he is, or believes himself to be, satisfied cannot be enough. French lawyers, Prof. Hamson says, would be amazed to be told that in England such a mere declaration is deemed enough to support the legality of an administrative act cannot rest on a mere ritualistic formula. Under the French system the administrative officer or minister is compelled to justify an impugned act before the Conseil d'Etat in the presence of the plaintiff and the public, and the procedure permits each side to produce its case and to see and to answer the whole case produced on the other side, and the Conseil's decision if different from that of the minister, over-rules the latter's orders. The Conseil goes into the facts alleged in support of the justification if those facts are challenged.

The Conseil d'Etat is not a body hostile to the administration. Its business is to see that the administration acts reasonably. Its overriding principle is that an administrative act is a proper and lawful act only if it is reasonable, the opposite of capricious or arbitrary.

The reported objection of the Madras Chief Minister to the installation of an Ombudsman in our country on the

ground that it would reduce the authority of State Governments in naive. It is just for the purpose of rectifying injustices created by the total sovereignty of governments, who often act under various political pressures and for which there are no effective remedies available in courts, that the institution of Ombudsman was adopted by Scandinavian countries and is now welcomed by other countries, including ours. I have been for many years wanting this institution, as readers of Swarajya know.

It may be pathos to come down from the above high level to the Madras Chief Minister's fears about the proposed Janapaal's or Ombudsman's jurisdiction to look into and interfere with the orders of State Governments in India. But the principle involved is just this need that may arise sometimes to look into and interfere with government orders, State as well as Central in the interests of justice. Absolute power in the hands of majority leaders is likely to become tyrannical unless there are effective safeguards. Democracy itself is not a safeguard, for those who are not in the majority group. Good leaders often become prisoners of those who keep them in power and these often want things to be done which would be injustice to others. Only a few things can be taken to courts and even these few things can be dealt with by courts only in a limited way. Administration carries with it numerous opportunities for doing justice as well as injustice which cannot be taken to courts, but which must not be left to the discrimination and sense of justice of ministers and officials. Hence the administrative tribunals of France and the Ombudsman of Scandinavian countries.

The Ombudsman institution which is sought to be installed in India will call up many questions to be answered with care. Parliament and Executives both at the Centre and in the States will naturally dislike any serious inroads into their powers. But a question of terminology may be solved before anything else is taken up. Lok means in Sanskrit as in popular vogue throughout India, the world. No doubt it is

used in Hindi to mean the people as in 'Lok Sabha'. The Ombudsman should not be given the high title of protector of the world. Let him be called the protector of the people. The more common word Jana as used in 'Jana Sangh' would be better understood throughout India and Janapaal would be a very good and correct name for Ombudsman, much better than Lokpaal, which suggests a divine office. Jana would mean people and people only; Lok would mean the world as much as people. The unambiguous word, I respectfully suggest, would be not only more precise but also understood in a wider circle in the sense intended.

4.5 Law and Order

The maintenance of Law and Order is a primary requirement for civilized life. But to men engaged in the difficult processes of production, industrial or agricultural, or in the distribution of products among those who need them, the preservation of order and obedience to law are of the utmost importance. If violence is resorted to, whatever may be the objective of those who resort to it, production and distribution and the good management thereof break down. This is the case against 'gherao' whatever be the issue involved. The opposition to physical encirclement and intimidation is not an opposition to the collective bargaining which the law allows to trade unions. If 'gheraos' are continued, no one will be interested in running industries, and unemployment will increase in consequence. Workers will be the bigger losers by the slackening of the law and the attempt to get things righted through the short-cut of physical force and intimidation. A society is civilized when men and women therein live and work in fear of law and of God and not in fear of one another.

It appears that a general impression has gained ground throughout the world including India that arguments and debates have lost their force and that demonstrations and disorders have more effect in the making and modifications

of policies. As a result more energy is spent everywhere on the organization of what may in general be called physical demonstrations bordering on disorders than in study and reflection. This is a setback to the progress we all look for and hope for. It leads to a steady fall in the standards of political leadership. The disappearance of liberals (British sense) from the political field in all countries is a concomitant symptom of this set-back.

The Marxian doctrine of "from each according to his abilities, to every one according to his needs" is the scripture of the communists. The trade unions held by the communists however disregard the first part of the Marxian doctrine, viz. to work up to one's full ability. Be this as it may, the essential services that keep present day normal life going must be protected against disruption and stoppage. When grievances are brought to notice by the workers in essential services, they should be quickly looked into and injustices found should be removed and matters set right at once. This examination should not be delayed as is being done now until a strike brings matters to a crisis.

It is time some people sit down and think about fundamental matters. Can we get on with trade union 'rights' for Government employees, whether in the army of administration or in the Defence forces? The right to seek justice and fair play must be accepted and for that purpose representations must be fully permitted and attended to. But can strikes be tolerated? A strike of government employees right down to postal and telegraph delivery boys, telephone operators, and railway pointsmen is nothing short of subversive for impressing the need for a rise in pay and allowances. But it is only a 'token' strike? Yes, it is a token strike but leading up to something bigger as all tokens must do. A token subversion leading up to something more disastrous. Tokens cannot stand still, even as symbols do not stop at being only symbols.

A person offering himself for service under Government offers himself as one who will not under any circumstance

be the instrument of subversion when he feels dissatisfied with his lot. He may resign after giving due notice, but he cannot bring structure of administration down into a heap of rubble. A government employee cannot hold on to the job and deliberately withhold the work he has contracted to do. An industrial concern can close down if disputes do not end in a satisfactory way. But government cannot possibly close down or convert its offices into a battlefield.

On the other side of these thoughts, there is the duty of Government to be quick and reasonable in the disposal of demands and representations. It is not right to be neglectful or dilatory in such matters and to demand utmost loyalty, such as I plead for.

One of the ministers in the Government of West Bengal went on a fast in order to make a non-violent protest against the gherao inflicted on him by workers who from the electoral base of the Communist ministers in the Cabinet. He refused to take the help of the police to free him from the siege, preferring to make a more lasting impression on the workers by a fast. He felt this course might terminate this illegal method of enforcing workers demands. He has now been persuaded by his colleagues to give up his fast.

There is much that is worthy of commendation in the minister's attempt. This laying siege to ministers or managements must be put an end to if the trade union movement is not to get into thorough disrepute. Picketing should not become a variation of violence, but be preserved in its original form of a demonstration of opinion among the workers in order peacefully to persuade those who lag behind to join in the common effort. The use of foul abuse and insults, or placing a human wall of picketers across the way physically to prevent willing workers from entering a factory, is not picketing but violence; often did Gandhiji make this clear. Worse still is the gherao which has come into vogue now and which threatens to become a regular practice. It is nothing but wrongful restraint, which should be disallowed by the governments,

even if the parties practising it are friends and partisans of the ministry in office.

The High Court has explained the Penal Code and made it clear that the ordinary criminal law lays a total ban on the wrongful confinement called 'gherao'. A 'ban' by the Government is unnecessary. No Government 'ban' for instance is necessary against assault or grievous hurt or murder. Wrongful confinement is banned by a section of the Penal Code and the High Court has made it clear. By encouraging gheraos, the West Bengal Government is, by implication aiding and abetting an organized criminal offence on the part of trade union workers. Why? Because of the votes they have. We have reached a point where State ministers flagrantly encourage crime.

Here are the words of the High Court:

"Wrongful confinement which was otherwise known as gherao' is an offence under Sec. 342 I.P.C. and a cognizable offence and every police officer has a duty to act in pursuance of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The law is clear on the point".

The Law is clear on the point not only for the police but also for the State Government. The West Bengal Government should take courage in both its hands and enact an amendment of the Indian Penal Code by adding a section in the Chapter on General Exceptions to the effect that "No one shall be deemed to have committed any offence as defined in any of the sections of this code if it was committed in order to get a grievance remedied as between employers and employees, or to get anything done which in the opinion of the Government of the State is a reasonable demand on the part of the employees". If the West Bengal Government intends to revolt against the Indian Penal Code and disregard the Calcutta High Court's judgment, it would be a revolt against India and our basic law. Telengana's administrative rebellion for separation from Andhra Pradesh is a fleabite compared to it.

Public Violence must be immediately and sternly put down by the police and there should be no waiting for "OK" from political party authorities. The Police in this matter of putting down public violence should be as independent as judicial authorities. This is an inevitable and healthy arrangement. If this mechanism for preserving law and order in democracy is not allowed to work, the administration will be a failure and sooner or later come under the adverse criticism of the people. The independence of the judiciary is important. But that comes into play after the harm is done. The independence and prestige of the Police is like the pendulum of a clock. It must be kept alive all the time, Goondas should not be allowed to look to getting relief from political parties. They must be kept ever afraid of immediate and effective police action.

Fresh legislation by way of amendment of the existing penal code or by new sections in the penal code may be useful, and even necessary, to help the police and the magistracy to cope with crimes arising out of communalism. But the root cause of the lack of adequate initiative and efficient action on the part of officials is the loss of confidence in oneself and the new subserviencies that have issued out of local democracies and serving under parochial political masters. The remedy must, therefore, be sought in the direction of restoring confidence and security for officials. The officials should carry out policies publicly laid down by the political bosses, but the discretion of the officials should not be undermined by the fear of becoming persona non grata to the State ministers. What is required therefore is administrative reform such as will restore what I would call the independence of the official. This independence it is quite possible to restore and maintain without detriment to harmonious work or discipline.

4.6 Caretaker PMs and CMs

The Supreme Court has interpreted the Constitution so as to permit the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers to

continue in office and enjoy all the powers of such offices even though they deliberately and for their own advantage dissolved the Lok Sabha and the local legislative assemblies and exercise their authority without being responsible to any one. This decision of the Supreme Court may be right but it would have been a good convention if during this period of irresponsible executive authority the PM and CMs were to be only 'care-takers' until the new Lok Sabha and the new local legislative assemblies come into existence.

My own opinion has always been that before the periodical General Election in India the PM and the CMs should resign and all necessary authority vested in the President or the Governors and the permanent officials. This would have suited Indian conditions. We are an old nation but a young democracy. Power is a corrupting influence in young democracies. All that we see today in our affairs, about which people complain, could have been eliminated if the interregnums were ordered as I consider they ought to be done.

Whether one man says it or forty out of a hundred members of the Lok Sabha or the Legislative Assembly of a State shout it, truth is truth. A Prime Minister or a Chief Minister who dissolves the legislature and holds on to his chair of office, ought to function only as a 'care-taker' and ought not to do what a PM or CM responsible to a functioning legislature may do. And when a PM or CM goes beyond this limit and confers boons which are converted into votes, it is corrupt practice and a sensitive mind would abhor being guilty of it.

5.0 NATIONAL ECONOMY

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5.1 Economic Policy

Attractive Welfare State ideal and huge administrative expenditure to carry out the plans conceived to further those ideals, exhibitionist adventures in the industrial field, and schemes and procedures by way of dispossessing existing lawful owners and distribution of lands and rights on land to people, who have no capital to manage and make full use of the positions thus conferred on them (all for getting their votes) vast foreign loans recklessly obtained through what may be justly called political blackmail setting one nation against another in the competition to lend sums to us - this is our socialism, a method that discards all natural incentives for production, substituting therefore bureaucratic controls, harassment and hurdles. All this has ended in what is euphemistically called foreign exchange stringencies which is really bankruptcy. This has resulted in reduction of necessary imports, dislocation of many private sector industries, and entering into further big foreign loan obligations. No credit, in the true sense of the word, is really maintained if we borrow from the same creditors loans to repay loans due to them. Thus our national economy rests purely on the mercy of our creditors. Is this socialism? It is not socialism but dangerous and dishonourable drift. Fortunately we have friends whose patience with us is their own unilateral virtue, which for the time being saves us from international disgrace. Internal and external affairs have been so mismanaged that but for their generosity and forbearance, we should have suffered total collapse. Yet there are people among us whose principal occupation is the fostering of ill-will against those who thus help us.

Democracy, or any other constitution a nation may adopt, will not alter the laws of production. They are laws of nature and hence not alterable. Food production, or

any other production, depends on labour, intelligence and investment by those who have a strong personal interest in good management. If any of these elements are wanting, or in conflicts prevent the harmonious blending of these elements, production suffers. The 'State' cannot produce, it can tax or hinder or encourage but not produce. It is individuals who are interested in the production that can do it. The economic mockery that has seized control and refuse to quit has brought ruin to the national economy, ruin covered from view by the blackmailing of prosperous nations and getting 'aid' and flattering tributes. Can it be claimed by the quacks that they have not had enough time to prove themselves to be good doctors and not quacks, or can it be claimed that the proof of their failure has not been overwhelming? Economic quackery is as fatal to a nation's welfare as medical quackery is to a sick person. Dismiss them; I say to the people, for Heaven's sake, give no quarter to them now.

People as well as governments should realize that certain fiscal and economic laws are axiomatic. All subsidized advantages must ultimately be paid for in taxes and duties. A subsidy secured from the Centre comes out of the general till and will be made up for by taxes and duties or by depreciation of currency. If urban factory workers or domestic servants get cheap rice, cheaper than what the rest of the population pays, the employer is saved from paying fair wages for the labour he secures from his employees, and the farmer is asked to be content with less than a fair reward for the work and capital he puts forth to produce food.

National prosperity is not divisible. It is one integrated house. The State and people both share in it together. The people cannot be hit without consequential ill-effect on the State. There is national prosperity only if all sections of the people find gainful employment and find life a source of happiness. If the State takes over a business, it displaces

and hurts the people employed in that business, adds to the domination of officials over the life of the people and proliferates the bureaucracy. It ends in mismanagement.

Unless Government spending, Central as well as State, is very substantially reduced there can be no improvement in the economic situation. Because on it hangs the issue of taxation and budget gaps. One of the very serious impediments in the way of a reasonable reduction of Government spending is the retrenchment service into the streets. These cannot find jobs in industrial enterprises because we are caught in a vicious circle where in the Government spending and the taxation following it as a consequence have served to block private industries. We must break these vicious circles at some cost. Unless this is done we cannot bring about a healthy economic condition. Retrenched Officials must be given a "pension" for ten years or until satisfactory employment is secured, whichever may be the lesser period. This dole is worth while, because otherwise we can never cut the vicious circle without creating distress and disorder. Errors of Government cannot be overcome without great cost. The temptation to solve the problem by slow gradation will not work, it has to be explosive and sudden to produce any results on the economy.

Now begins the season for all sorts of benefits to be promised to all sorts of people by the Congress Governments. Any amount of money is available in the public exchequer to back these promises. The taxes are collected from the people, not from those who vote for the Congress, and the Government money is all now an election fund for the Congress Party. What do you want? Here it is, for vote for the Congress. This is the slogan. It is completely ignored by the illiterate voters that the money is not Congress money, but the people's money. Any government and any party voted to power can do all these things and more. This is legerdemain of the most time-honoured street show and free admission variety.

As long as the impossible expensiveness of elections is kept up, no public purpose is served by increasing the salaries and allowances of MPs and MLAs. The poor cannot come in, unless they sell themselves to somebody who is rich enough. The raising of salaries for those who have been successfully elected is just to help making up improperly for past expenditure. The argument of economic independence for legislators has no point in the face of the Himalayan election expense hurdle. Raising of salaries and allowances is just indecent and callous misuses of the power to make laws in favour of oneself.

A leading paper directs its editorial to a strong indictment of the members of Parliament voting for increased allowances and perquisites for themselves while at the same time passing measures and contemplating more steps to bring about the impoverishment of people working for investing their funds in real expansion of national production. What answer can be given to the following strictures?

The Government has more than done its duty by providing flats or houses to all the several hundred MPs at rates far below those prevailing in the market. It is under no obligation to help the MPs to become owners of real estate in the capital and let them jump the queue in the process. To do so would indeed be prejudicial to the interests of the city's permanent residents. Moreover, the allotment of land to MPs for building houses will become a continuing process. The Government cannot be so foolish as to assume that the present members of Parliament will remain members of Parliament permanently. Indeed the next Parliament itself might have hundreds of new members. And each new member can then very reasonably ask for a piece of Delhi's real estate to build a house like others before him.

The mill on the river suddenly took into its head the notion that it is the mill that makes the river flow, and

not the running water that keeps the mill going. Long establishment in power leads to such illusion. The activity of the people gives the gross national product, and it is out of this G.N.P. that the government of any nation gets its taxes and pays all its employees and carries on. But like the hallucination of the mill that though it made the river flow by the force of its revolving turbine, a hallucination affects established governments and they get to believe that it is they that make the people work and produce and live happily. The governments take more and more from the people to keep larger establishments going and remaining contented. When prices go up as a result of soaring government expenditure, more money is taken from the people, until the river gets dried up and stops flowing and the mill stops as a result. Then a reorganization is forced on the people, which means much loss and suffering. An ignorant electorate is bad enough but government by ignorant people is disastrous. All this has been said over and over again. So also has it been reiterated that honesty is the best policy, but that truth has not been heeded. So also has it not been heeded that over taxation, be it of the poor or of the better off, is disastrous for the nation, whoever may be the government or whatever its form. The poor honey bee has been trying through decades to teach rulers how far they can suck the flower and where they should stop. But there is no listening to wisdom.

5.2 Licence Permit Raj

There has of late been plenty of admissions as well as other evidence to show that the licence-permit-raj has resulted in the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer. Equitable distribution of wealth can only arrive through work. What is therefore called for is the creation of scope for useful employment all over the country. Big industrial plants in a few centres may achieve other things but not this wide and well-spread opportunity for employment to

supplement the scope afforded by the agricultural sector. What is indicated by the State of our economy and the general condition of our people is a widespread housing programme, which will give work to the rural population and at the same time satisfy a great want.

The rural classes should not have to run to the big cities to earn a living, dwelling in insanitary slums there, and subjecting themselves to oppression of all sorts and to degrading conditions of life. They should find work nearer their rural homes and to this end smaller industries should be installed and evenly spread out in the country. Gradually we should see that only the number of people live in and around the farms, who are usefully employed in the raising of food and other crops and that the value of these crops are such and to present a reasonable incentive for them to be engaged in such cultivation. We should see that such a programme planned to house people in decent comfort and to give employment opportunities to the rural population does not get into the hands of exploiters, but all the money invested in such a scheme is really spend on building and on repairs and improvements of homes already owned. It is easy to ruin such a programme by allowing the money intended for housing to be stolen by intermediaries.

A very safe and good plan would be to start with State loans to bonafide owners to improve and rebuild their houses, that is to say, to people who are too poor though very eager to do it and live there. We must stem the tide of the population moving to industrial cities in search of higher wages and the desolation of the countryside. We can achieve this objective if we build up small industry townships at convenient centres spread all over the country so as to block the migration to the big industrial cities. As a result of modern civilization, rural culture is being transformed into the urban way of life. This inevitable movement should not be looked on helplessly but must

be canalised and not allowed to become a process of devastation.

Some one put the moral result of the licence permit quota raj briefly thus that the people changed over completely from God fearing to Government-fearing. To respect the Government is right and proper, but fear is a state of mind other than love or loyalty. As for God-fearing, that cannot be expected when one gets a licence or a quota after so much trouble and expense.

I am told Sri Nanda is attempting to set up a board to deal with licences, permits and quotas so as to eliminate politics and party considerations from the administrations of this policy of controls. It is what I have been asking for since long ago. Official committees appointed to deal with corruption have strongly supported the idea. Everyone favours it, but I don't believe the Congress Party or the bureaucracy will go beyond seeming to consider it and rejecting it as fraught with many difficulties and complexities. The administration of these licences, quotas and permits is the gold mine for the party. The party will not give it up. Officials who have been administering the policy of controls all these years have a tendency to think that any change would be impracticable. That is their way, whenever any drastic reform is proposed which would take away from the work and the power with it. I fear Sri Nanda will find that he won't be able to push the scheme through. The party and the officials will stoutly resist it.

We have often heard it said that as a result of Congress rule, the rich have become richer and the middle and poorer classes have become more miserable than before. This is not a mere slogan of opposition political parties but the inevitable consequence of the permit-lisence-raj going by the name of Congress socialism. Party rule under the parliamentary form prescribed by the Constitution has a natural inclination to perpetuate its rule, one election

after another. This means party expenditure on a grand scale, besides public expenditure, devoted to election results rather than true general welfare. Party expenditure for five thousand candidates means enormous collection of election funds; this can be most easily be done in the permit-licence-raj's controlled economy regime by providing and ensuring advantages to rich corporation bosses and other businessmen. Of course intimidation goes along with it but positive preferences are naturally more effective. The rich are bound to become richer under this system, as economic laws operate to push the poor into worse plight. There are no greater permanent supporters for the Congress Party and its policies of controlled economy than the millionaires whose names are well known but it would be injudicious to mention. They were rich to start with, but the thing to be observed and reflected upon is that since 1954, after the Avadi Congress, they have accumulated monstrous wealth. We need not hate wealth or the wealthy people, but we should note how Congress's socialism works.

A Great shout has been raised over big favouritism in the distribution of licences and permits. A Government Bill has also been prepared to meet the situation. But the main point is lost sight of. The system of permits and licences and quotas is the root poison. It is bound to lead to corruption. We must direct our intelligence and energies to curtail if not put an end to this pernicious system which creates monopolies and prevents healthy competition, while investing the ruling party with immense economic power which it uses for party purposes.

The desire of party leaders and their colleagues to get governmental power for their respective parties is spreading like an epidemic. Had Governments been mere law-and-order organizations and industrial development had been left to the entrepreneurs, this disease would not have seized our politics. The basic mischief is the permit-licence-raj introduced by the Congress.

This gives party-bosses money power as soon as they get governmental position. The Congress has disastrously demonstrated this and all the other parties have caught the contagion. And this desire for power makes men act against their better judgement to commit what they know is wrong. Whatever may be lacking in a mere law and order government, is a great deal of the present mischief and corruption, and bad politics, will disappear if we resume, to the extent possible, a simple form of Government in India giving up the plan of directing and controlling the affairs of all people from the secretariats.

State Governments have started demanding a share in the Permit-Licence-Raj, a direct share and not a mere consultative share. The basic error should be basically met and not augmented by expanding the field for favouritism and reaping political advantages. The evils flowing from the permit-licence-raj will be augmented if every State Government can exploit it for its own advantage.

No patriot can fail to see how this is at the bottom of all our troubles and the biggest impediment in the way of progress. Moral regeneration can be hoped for only if the Government boldly does away with the permit licence raj. Trade and industry must be freed from the necessity to obtain permission from Government or its officers. Not until then can we hope for an improvement in the moral atmosphere. What brought about the disease must be removed if we wish for a cure. The petty as well as the big monopolies created by official and political favours, obtained we all know how, must disappear and an atmosphere of equal opportunities for all must replace the present unhealthy atmosphere, which is as far from socialism as the North pole is from the South. Love of money has replaced the fear of sin, and this has gone so far that we have to pray for God's grace and wait in patience for it, to see redemption.

Unless the ruling party, whichever political party it may be, divests itself of its total control over individual producers, obtained through the Permit-licence-system, and allows the economy to grow under free competition, there can be no meaning in expecting a total growth percentage to be produced on the Secretariat desks. To ask for a monopoly-free economy and at the same time to ask for the power to hold all industrialists to ransom through licence-raj is to exhibit ignorance of the laws of economy. Readers know that I have said this many times but it is a tragedy that no steps are taken to remedy the malaise. Speeding up files is not the answer. It will only help more 'speed money' to circulate among touts and officials.

Sri V.K.Krishna Menon asserts, whenever he has an opportunity, that we have not achieved freedom. I agree with him that we are not free. How can we be free with these debt-laden heavy industries and the Permit-Licence-Raj which makes every citizen a dependant of the State and its dictatorship? Sri Krishna Menon may be meaning something else, or partly what I say and partly something else. A bird is not free whether it is in one cage or in another.

Some argue that the people having elected Parliament members, Parliament's authority over citizens dictatorship. People have elected Parliament members under the Constitution which reserves certain rights for every citizen. Electing an MP does not involve an outright sale of oneself to the MP or to Parliament. The Constitution preserves certain inalienable rights.

When Negroes were held as slaves in America, they were treated as Chattels, and could be bought and sold like furniture or cattle. Today slavery has taken a subtle shape. The State by its controls over the citizen's property effectively holds him as one holds a bullock. He can do only what he is allowed to do, and nothing else. Isn't Sri Krishna Menon right?

5.3 Ceiling on Property

A 'public purpose' for which private property was by law placed at the disposal of the State for compulsory acquisition, on payment of its current market value was till recently a well understood concrete objective, e.g., to serve as site or home for a hospital, or a public market, or school. But gradually 'public purpose' has extended to cover a variety of things never dreamt of before as justifying a legal assault on private property. We have today drifted through political pressure to understand 'public purpose' to mean the common good nothing more concrete. The compulsory acquisition can be for anything which the State considers as contributing to the common good, not only institutions but processes of transfer of property from Peter to Paul and distribution according to theories of welfare. The common good is a powerful political notion. But it is as pointed out by an eminent political scientist, of indefinite content, uncertain and mixed up with a variety of personal opinions and wants and wills. By this extension of the justification for demanding the transfer of property against the will of the owner, by decree of State, to cover every policy of the party in power, property is placed at the mercy of politics. This assault on the law could be deemed tolerable, if beyond the characteristic of compulsion, we had assurance of full and present payment of money value in compensation for the legalised trespass. But even that has faded away. An independent judicial tribunal to assess the value is denied. The majority party in the democratic machine declares what the compensation is to be and it is not open to further judicial examination. Politics has acquired the power of total annihilation of property.

The Constitution of India permits the State to take away property of any individual when it is wanted for a real public purpose. But says the basic law the entire public should pay for such acquisition for a real public purpose.

It should not be expropriation without compensation. If a new re-distribution of property is found desirable, it is but just that the entire body of citizens must pay for the change. Taking away property for distribution among those who did not earn it, taking away from selected Peters to distribute among collective Pauls, to use Rudyard Kipling's words, is not by itself a genuine public purpose. It is at this point that the Constitution differs from totalitarianism.

All talk of ceilings on property appears to me impractical, meaningless and unnecessary. Perhaps I have not enough experience in the matter. Most of our people are governed by laws of succession which in a generation would cut all property into more than live parts. If property continues to stand recognized by the Constitution, ceilings are unnecessary besides being meaningless. How is a man to be forced to keep within the limit prescribed? Is it by expropriation of the extra addition or by compelling him to find benami holders? As long as all property is not made by law the State's property, any attempt to enforce the size of an individual's property, rural or urban, to be within limits imposed by law can have no meaning but would encourage idleness and wasteful expenditure and dishonesty instead of national growth. The whole thing is due to the illusion that we can put the cart before the horse to shorten car journey to social welfare. Ministers seek to do things based on the notion that the economy comes to a stop along with their own term of office. They do not realize that there are generations and generations to get on after they down office and they should take this into account in all that they do.

5.4 Public & Private Sectors

All governments are very sympathetic towards small business. As a columnist has put it, every one likes to see David victorious over Goliath. The same columnist

rightly says: "The best way to help the little fellow is to remove from his back the load of taxes, work restrictions enforced by labour unions, artificial minimum wage laws riding outside the freedom of contract". This is the best form of aid the Government can give not government subsidies.

Production in India is running a three legged race or a gunny bag race, which used to amuse me when I was a boy, the Government's interventions and clamp downs being the handicaps. No industry or business can run smoothly when, at every turn in some essential matter, an official can non-cooperate through sheer arrogance or something worse. In spite of this the 'private sector' has done the greater part of production as compared with the 'public sector' as the Federation of Chambers recently pointed out in a statement. With a total national investment of 55 percent by the private sector, it has contributed 85 percent of the national income.

This is not a parochial outburst, but only a piece of factual observation of some importance. Whenever you move in towns and cities in Madras and Kerala you see women, men, donkeys and carts carrying loads of clothes collected for washing such as you can see nowhere else in India. All this is good for civilization as well as for the textile trade, for much washing means more buying. The mill textile is eroding the ground from under the dear old handloom and still continuing its destructive process, but the weaver is manfully defending his position. The dhobi is his friend, for mill cloth can never stand the continuous washing which the handloom product can bear and people know it. The cottage weaver is here in the South able to stand the attack of the power looms because here men, and more particularly the women, have not lost all taste. The government could easily come to his aid but it has strangely refused to do it and covers its partiality for the wealthy mill owners with a number of devices looking like

aid to the handloom, but which go really to benefit the master-hands that manipulate what is called co-operation, leaving the individual self-dependent artisan in want and distress and debt. The powered mill cloth threatens soon to envelop the handloom in its destroying flames and those who realise the significance of the immense population depending on the handloom and only the handloom and the greater reality of men and families relative to the man. Inadvertence is unwise in respect of a growing fire. Whether the weaving families realise it or not, whether they vote for the Swatantra Party or not, this party is pledged by its fundamental principle to support this large and ancient population with an unbroken record and tradition of self-dependence and hard work, who are spread all over this vast continent, in towns and villages, including Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and every other community, living an honest independent life, putting no kind of burden or strain on the State for carrying on their occupation.

The government refuses to protect the handloom weavers in the only way in which they can be protected against the imitation trade of the textile mills. This is an old grievance of mine. It is still a painful sore. Millions of cottage weavers organized and unorganized are being starved by unfair competition in patterns truly belonging to the handloom trade. And now the case of gur against the sugar industry of UP has been taken up by the Khadi and Village Industries Board in spite of its government connections. The Board strongly protests expressing concern at the measures adopted against gur and Khandsari.

The Board says:

The measures undertaken by the Union Government and some of the State Governments under the power vested in them by the Defence of India Act in relation to gur and khandsari amounts to affording protection to the organized sugar industry at the cost of the village and cottage in-

dustry. Gur is a major village industry. It has stood on its own legs despite the competition from the organized sugar industry. The Government should have thought of affording protection to the sugar industry and that too under the provisions of extraordinary legislation passed to meet an emergency (arising out of a foreign power's aggression), has caused no little pain to all those who are concerned with the problem of sustaining production and employment in the country.

What has gur and khandsari to do with the Chinese menace? The measure is unfair and the means adopted to carry it out is dishonest.

Among the mistakes committed and continued to be committed, the most serious is the basic error of looking upon an increase in the national output of industrial products as the great goal instead of aiming at the total employment of our people. The mistake can be concretely visualized if, for instance, we see how many people would be gainfully employed if we had a great national plan of housing and road-building expansion as against the number to be employed on increased steel production. We have now a plan of increased power-looms which will put the millions of unorganized as well as organized cottage handloom weavers in new difficulties and create unemployment and starvation. These weavers have for generations been weaving for the nation in their cottages.

It is good some reservations against mill competition are accepted by Government in favour of handloom weavers. But they do not go far enough. The dhoti and the saree ought to be left entirely to the cottage-weavers who are self-employed; they ask for nothing from Government to go on doing their wide-spread national service. Tailored dress is going forward, foreign culture replacing the traditional, and this should be enough for the textile mills. They need not prey on the handloom weaver by copying

his traditional patterns and meeting his exquisite handskill by machine-gadjets, thus robbing him of his market.

I am much disturbed to read the report in the press about what the Madras Ministers have opined about the handloom industry. I am afraid they have not duly appraised the importance of this industry. The men and women engaged in this industry in the State, for whose welfare they are responsible are in numbers next only to those engaged in producing foodgrains. The men engaged in mills and other "power-looms" are far behind in numbers. What should be done is to reserve dhotis and saris for the handlooms and leave tailoring piece goods to the mills and power-looms. The handloom products are better than the mill products in every respect. Durability, finish, appearance and accordance with public taste and tradition.

Among the many incongruities in present day India are the grand establishments and emporia for the sale of Khadi which is now pushed up for its artistic deviations from the vulgar mill-made articles and not on the grounds on which the use of khadi had advocated fifty years ago and made an integral part of planned patriotism. The latest model of a building near the Madras High Court, for which the foundation-stone has been laid, has appeared imposingly on the front page of newspapers. It is good that fashion looks with a kindly eye on Khadi. But as for the percentage of people wearing Khadi, it does not seem to have increased. Present day Khadi sale rests on patterns and not on its origin in the cottage. But we should not complain. We should be content with small mercies.

If the governments management of the hand-spinning movement has resulted in a large stock of unused sub-standard handspun yarn, there is nothing wrong in using it up even by taking mill yarn into assistance. The only thing to be remembered is that the cloth product should not be called Khadi but by some other convenient name.

'Mill-cum-charkha' may be condensed into 'Milcum-charkha'. If the 'sub-standard' handspun yarn is doubled or trebled and twisted, the yarn could be made into good durable thick cloth quite good for gentlemen's wear if properly tailored. In this case there would be no need for calling into assistance mill-yarn.

The handloom deserves our full support. So also the charkha deserves it. We support both if we buy and use Khadi. We support the handloom if we buy and use handloom cloth.

Khadi in my opinion should be the dress of the elite who must pay full price for it and buy it and not ask for a State subsidy to reduce the price. Khadi should not be consumed by the State, forcing it on the lower-grade employees. It should not deteriorate into becoming the badge of menials. It should be the badge of honour of those who consider themselves the elite of the nation, and who take pride in political freedom.

Suppose we had a piece of clothing entirely woven out of yarn spun by Gandhiji. Would we not look upon it as a most valuable national heirloom, and prize it above most other things? All Khadi should be deemed to be cloth woven out of yarn spun by Gandhiji. All handspun yarn is Gandhiji's spinning, as all the victories of soldiers are attributed to the General of the army. Let us honour Khadi, then, as our national heirloom and not tear it to pieces on so called economic grounds. I shall continue to say 'Sivaayanamah' and 'Naaraayana Om' even though all the crooks of India maybe Hindus and utter the same mantras. I shall continue to love my friend S. Ramanathan whatever he may think or say. And I shall continue to wear khadi whatever Ramanathan may say or write about it. Mere sentimentalism,, may be. But did Ramanathan and I suffer and sacrifice for freedom from British rule because we thought India would be better governed by our represen-

tatives? No, neither he nor I were sure of it or even much hoped for it. Does Israel struggle to be in Jerusalem for anything but sentiment?

How I wish we had not fallen a victim to the temptations of "industrial" progress. If we had followed Swami Vivekananda's advice and developed along the lines of India's own Swadharma, viz., the call of religion and philosophy, we would have been today respected by the world, including the affluent industrialized nations. We should have halted at the pedal cycle and the sewing machine which was what Gandhiji used wistfully to say. We should have aimed at rising in the scale of true civilization, keeping moral values alive as our national purpose, instead of falling a prey to the will-o-the-wisp of material affluence. Looking after 500 millions, providing all the essentials required for their happiness, called for a plan very different from what governs the economic activities of the nations in the West. If we had done the right thing, it would have been cause for just pride and extorted the admiration of the world.

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

favour. But all this argument is academical. Let us wait until really the State officials make public undertakings profitable to some extent which is unlikely as things appear.

The 'public sector' is at best a necessary evil. Wherever it can be avoided, and production or distributional activity can be handed over to private management with the unrivalled check of competition accompanying it, this should be preferred as being more economical and more efficient. Where capital is got by taxation, a substantial fraction, if not half of the whole money, is generally lost in - mere administration and corrupt practices. As for managerial efficiency, the truth has been disclosed more than once that 'public' that is, apathetic and untrained - management is far inferior to that of a management substantially interested in the profits of production. The argument in favour of private enterprise becomes doubly strong when taxation has to be oppressive in order to raise the capital for public management, as is now the case in India. It cannot be wise to oppress and squeeze tax-payers in order to raise money to make it go down the drain.

According to papers placed by Government on the table of the Lok Sabha, 1967-68 accounts show that public sector undertakings ended in a net loss of over Rs. 35 crores. In the previous year the net loss was Rs. 10 crores.

The increase in the losses during 1967-68 is due to the large loss incurred by Hindustan Steel Ltd. (Rs. 38 crores as against Rs.19 crores in the previous year) and the total loss of Rs. 29.30 crores by four other gaint concerns including the Heavy Engineering Corporation.

Explanations are given for this progress in the minus direction. Reasons there must be as effects result only from causes. The question which the tax-payer must ask is whether undertakings which could be managed by private corporations should be taken up for management by Government if it must result in such huge net loss year after year.

The Prime Minister now wants Government to undertake production of goods like cotton textiles, sugar, cement, drugs, etc., from which is had cautiously kept out so far. He has expressed his hope that profits could be made in such business and the State would benefit thereby, and employment also would increase. The unfortunate experience in the management of the business so far undertaken by the Government has not, it seems, taught it any lesson. We shall have mismanagement all round and losses, accounted and unaccounted, concealed as well as known. All this will have to be borne by the citizens paying direct and indirect taxes and buying essential commodities at increased prices. The replacement of successful private competitive effort and management, by State raised capital and bureaucratic monopoly management, will be truly a tragedy for the nation. The lessons of Germany and Japan, where prosperity and progress rapidly resulted from the free competitive marked policy, have gone in vain with our Government. Statism is to be extended under the new regime instead of being reduced, as we had hoped. Monopolies will inevitably be attached in various ways to all State-enterprising. The rule of law will fade away. The general character of law itself will deteriorate.

The substitution of Government favour for open competition inevitably leads to this mischief. To do away with competition and to accept the wisdom of the Government as final guidance in industrial matters as in the field of law and order, is what non-Congress parties have been objecting to, without avail. The desire to hold office and exercise power interfere with good judgement on this vital issue of the permit licence raj imposed on India in the name of parliamentary democracy. Government gets itself involved by interloping in the directorates of private industrial concerns, besides running at himalayan losses its own public sector concerns. If the Government or its officials are to exercise their judgment correctly they should not

get mixed up with the administration of the private concerns, even as a judge.

The evils of centralization and State management must disclose themselves one by one. Inefficiency and delay in distribution, and additions to establishments, are now followed by plans for gigantic godowns for storage. The wholesalers and retailers engaged in the competitive business of buying and selling foodgrains looked after everything, including sage and healthy storage at no cost to the public. But now every burden and loss must fall on the taxpayer, and the consumers must tolerate whatever deterioration and loss take place in storage. It is most unfortunate that, for no adequate reason whatsoever, the Government has decided to impose annoying food controls and the hated rationing of foodgrains on the people. The gods have not forced it by failure of monsoons or floods. The Congress has taken the place of angry gods. The idea of including 4 oz. of wheat in the ration has no relevance to the poor South Indian home. The net result of 4 oz. of rice or less per day per individual - which is a shocking decision for any government that presume to take the place of normal dealers. The patience of our people is being sorely tried. It is a sad coincidence that these harassments have been inaugurated as if to celebrate in this way Nehru's first birthday after his demise.

5.5 Planning

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 one's face. Whom and how are we to tax? How will tax proposals be received? 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.

Mr. K. Santhanam is reported to have told the boys of the Vivekananda college at Madras that the Swatantra Party's opposition to planning was 'pernicious'. And this remark figures as the headline of report and dazzles the eye against meeting that Planning which depended too greatly on foreign aid was bad, and that there was need for great care to be taken to prevent wastage in executing the planned projects. The question is: Do the Plans of the present Government of India depend too greatly on foreign aid or not? The figures themselves speak very clearly and loudly in answer to this question. As for waste in expenditure, the occasional relations in parliament are convincing enough. The public sector is going to be organized into autonomous corporation so that there will be no personal interest in the management or competition as there are in private enterprise to check waste and encourage economy. Nor will there be parliamentary scrutiny'.

Mr. Santhanam gave expression also to his view on cooperative farming, that for producing 'spectacular' results compulsion, would be necessary. On the whole, then, Mr. Santhanam has correctly reflected the objections of the Swatantra party. The points that clinch have been well brought out by him. There is far too much dependence on foreign aid in an uncertain international situation, and the mortgage of India's future linked to that foreign aid is obviously wrong. Expenditure in the irresponsible public sector is bound to be tremendously wasteful. 'Collectives' cannot work without compulsion and compulsion is detestable.

Planners in India may respect a Soviet leader's opinion on high matters related to their job even if they do not care to listen to critics in India. Brezhnev said in Dresden, "some theorists have recently declared that the founders of socialism only think of the future and that sacrifices should be made so that future generations can live happily. This does not conform with our ideals. Our immediate aim is to achieve a constant improvement of the living conditions of our people today".

-an aim totally forgotten by our planners, as far as one can judge from the fruits of their schemes.

"In much of our present planning", says Prof. Galbraith, "we set targets for visible physical accomplishment. This is probably the easiest and certainly the smallest part of the task. Targets are equally practicable for managerial performance, labour productivity, costs and returns. It is of the greatest importance that a modern development plan be as complete in respect of these goals as any other". This is a general remark. But what he considers to be of major importance to which he gives the name of 'invisible' achievement is just what the government and semi-government concerns of our 'public sector' grievously and continuously fail to accomplish. Again, Professor Galbraith remarks,

rather caustically and topically, "Cheap bicycles are more important than cheap automobiles. An inexpensive electric lighting system for the villages is better than a high-capacity system which calls for equipment the people cannot afford". Finally the eminent Professor said: "The distinction between a planned and unplanned economy has little meaning. The economy of the U.S.A. which believed in free enterprise is 'Planned' to a greater extent than that of India which is committed to a socialist pattern of society".

This must be terribly unpleasant in the ears of the powers that be in India. Here is an American gadfly that occasionally stings usefully, while paying the usual polite and sweet diplomatic congratulations.

The inherent weaknesses and errors in the Plans have added to the burdens of the people without battering 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 in-consistent 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.

It is stated and perhaps generally believed that the Five-Year Plans are in some mystic way a battle with poverty. How we wish it were true. The Swatantra Party's goal is also a victory over poverty. Battling with poverty means expansion of scope for employment. It does not consist in doles and opiates administered during election-eve months. The Swatantra Party is convinced on good ground that it is the expansion of free individual and corporate enterprises, not those based on tax-money, that will achieve significant expansion of employment-scope; not the bureaucratic and mismanaged big public enterprises based on tax-drawn capital. The waste and high taxation and soaring prices, consequent on the Congress Government's policies, choke the flow of capital into private enterprise and add to the present distress of the poor. The taxes are not really taxes in accordance with political science ancient or modern, but consumption of capital-the eating up of the goose which should be left alive to lay its golden eggs. Freer economy and less government-demands will assuredly lead to expansion of industry in numerous directions and provide employment to workers at all levels, and that is the only way to fight poverty. Doles and opiates are only election strategy. They deceive; they do not help the poor.

It is an important for a Government to be careful in helping the poor as it is important for a physician to be careful in administering drugs and dieting. To give doles, something for nothing, is to ruin the poor man for ever, however happy and pleased he may be in the immediate reaction to the dole and give you his vote. Governments should help people to earn what they need by

removing obstacles and handicaps. Every rupee that goes into the poor man's hands, he must feel he has worked for it and earned', though the Government may have done much to enable him to work and earn that rupee. Indeed instead of constantly reminding the poor of what the Government has done for them, it is better to emphasize how the poor have been working hard and improving their own lot. This may not suit politicians, but real welfare does not depend on what suits the politicians who hunger for power, but on truth and nature.

The whole is made up of its parts. If the parts lose something important, the whole must lose it also. Statist policies disturb the delicate balance between the power of the State and the freedom of the citizens. What is added to the power of the State is necessarily a diminution of the freedom of the citizens. The citizens must work with zest and eager desire in order that national activity may total up to bigger dimensions. This is not a doctrine of the jungle, as people who wish to add more power to the State imagine. It is a fundamental axiom of production. If those in charge of Government do not see this, it is our misfortune. Unless a change in the situation takes place as a consequence of increased production of national wealth, the poor cannot have increased job opportunities, which is the only legitimate passage to the uplift of the poor. The journey to socialistic goals is through national wealth and not through impoverishment or hurdles impeding the growth of national production. The freedom of the individual is not a mere dogma but a true and effective economic basis as well. The sense of freedom is essential for human happiness and essential for work and economic welfare and good government.

Poverty cannot be eliminated by distributing doles from tax funds. The nation is suffering from shortage of resources and is overburdened with debt. Work must be found for the under employed and the unemployed. The

expansion of work and production is the secret of elimination of poverty. And this expansion is impeded by heavy taxation and the licensing system which creates monopolies and prevents growth through competition.

"Pledge yourself to fight poverty"! Military phraseology can't help. Poverty is not an armed soldier. It is the economic result of economic policies, or rather the lack of proper economic policies. Poverty can be reduced by greater production, not by military slogans, or by creating uncertainties. Uncertainties will drive out disclosed as well as undisclosed capital and, worse still, will drive out brains to countries where they are appreciated better. The poor will remain poor and will turn to violence. The permit-livelihood gold mine will not last long and even as long as it lasts, it will only help the party in so called power and not help the Government to "fight poverty".

I along with a few others are birds of ill omen. But birds give a warning which can either be ignored or taken advantage of. There is no good being angry with the birds.

5.6 Lotteries

In the old days, dacoits, burglars and others were in the habit of offering worship to a god or goddess before embarking on an adventure. The lottery ticket-holders now offer their reverence to Tirupati Venkateswara after buying two or three tickets and pray for good luck and tender a portion of their prize to the deity's hundi if they are blessed with good luck. These lottery adventures do not yet seem to have realized that they do not get a prize from Government but they get the money of lakhs of others who do not win the prize. They ask God to help them with good luck not realizing whose money they get. The various ramifications of this vicious scheme of mopping up poor people's money without appearing to tax them are all immoral and deleterious to real progress. It is painful to

read the reports that the Central Government is studying how to legitimize this scheme. What has been done already under a mistaken notion may be legitimized. But to make this a permanent method of getting funds for State Governments is what the Central Government ought not to do. It is nothing but encouraging the spirit of gambling. It is not only a bad way of celebrating the Gandhi Centenary but an indecent departure from budget practice.

State raffles are spreading fast, as I feared they would. The biggest democracy in the world, as India is often called, is becoming the biggest gambling house in the world.

One crore or two crores or even three crores netted through these raffles are obtained at a great price. The moral deterioration caused by the continuous presentation of baits in the shape of big prizes cannot be evaluated except by those who hope against hope for a spirit of hard work to prevail among the people of India as the only way to salvation from Bankruptcy.

The whole of India is being made lottery minded instead of being turned to godliness and being made work-minded. The Union Government is watching the moral deterioration without taking any action to stem the evil. The raffles or lotteries as they are called variously in the States have come as a curse, in addition to the parochialism generated by linguistic reorganization of States by which leadership has passed from men with wide outlook to power-seekers of an inferior type supported by electorates who look on politics as if it were shopkeeping and on neighbours as rivals if not enemies.

Some Government spokesmen shed crocodile tears and deplore that private gambling has not decreased in spite of the government lotteries. This is as much hypocrisy as the claim that liquor shops are opened by Governments in order to reduce drinking. In private gambling there is

adventure and the odds are not as heavily laden against the man who buys a chance as in the government gambling schemes where the odds are one against a million. The government lotteries are conducted for securing revenue for government of more than Rs. 80 lakhs out of crore collected from the victims, Rs. 20 lakhs being spent on "prizes" and commission gambling schemes are an unadulterated shame, and tend to keep alive the people's gambling tendencies. They are unconstitutional besides being immoral and indecent.

The competition among the states in offering bigger and bigger prizes in the lotteries in proceeding briskly, so that the nation may soon be a nation of gamblers instead of being a nation of workers. A poll-tax is in effect being collected to meet the cost of this scheme, the Constitution meanwhile being put to sleep.

"So far Tamil Nad has created 132 lakhiers" boasts the director of the gambling scheme, on behalf of a government claiming to be committed to "socialism". How were the lakhiers created? By the money obtained from millions of ticket-buyers, who were tempted to join the gamble. A collection of the lottery advertisements published under the authority of the various state governments would make shameful reading.

That the lottery schemes have brought in good funds to State Governments is not a matter for congratulation. On the contrary it is a cause for deploring that something that diverts men from work-mindedness to gambling has met with success.

The lottery schemes of the State Governments have definitely and adversely affected the mentality of our people. Police news in the newspapers show unlicensed gambling going on in several clubs and institutions. This is bound to be the result of the Government lottery schemes. The chances of getting a prize in the Government lotteries are

very small, smaller than one against one hundred thousand. On the other hand, private gambling gives a very good chance to the participants. Though the prize may be much smaller than the Government lottery prize it can be a very substantial amount for gaining which people are tempted to participate in the gambling. The lottery schemes have certainly corrupted the public mind towards gambling. The police cannot discover more than a few cases. It is difficult to say which is worse, the gambling tendency or the opening of the drink shops.

The lottery prizes and the super attractive advertisements thereof by the State Governments have given a great spurt to private gambling with better chances of winning smaller but good enough prizes by good luck. So has the opening of arrack shops in Tamil Nad, after 20 years of closure of all arrack shops, given a spurt to illicit trade and illicit experiments by young men in "Kick" giving drinks. All these years when we did not have any legal supply of intoxicating drinks in Tamil Nad, we did not have daily deaths due to French polish poisoning. The legal supply aggravates the curiosity of foolish young men who cannot afford the cost of limit arrack and increases the market for cheaper illicit supply. The psychological effect of the licensed evil is to increase the evil and not a reduction of it owing to illicit supply, as people may imagine or speciously argue who want Prohibition to be scrapped either for additional revenue or to escape being adversely marked by society for their illicit indulgence. The great difference between other countries and India is that the major communities in India do not approve even of moderate indulgence in intoxicating drinks man may do. Privacy almost always accompanies such indulgence.

I have expressed myself frankly on the deleterious effect of the Government lotteries. But I fear I have not said enough when I note how eager the various State Ministries are to get legislative approval for this worst of

all States plan. Idleness is the bane of life in India and these lotteries are an encouragement to idleness, brooding over and praying to the gods for good luck, instead of plunging into hard work. I hope the better sense of members of Parliament will rise to the occasion and reject the proposal to amend the Constitution in order to make these State lotteries legal for all time to come.

Whether State lotteries are good or bad depends on whether gambling is good or bad, not on the number of people eagerly resorting to them. That a large number of people will resort to them is one of the very reasons why I object to them.

5.7 Inflation

"Inflation in India has reached staggering proportions. In six months the cost of living has risen 20 percent. In a year the price of rice is up 30 percent; wheat, 20 percent; sugar, 50 percent.

Mile-long queues form in New Delhi to buy sugar at the equivalent of 25 cents a pound. Average families in India now spend 70 percent of income on food alone. Many of the country's 450 million people are going hungry.

Lifeline of India now is the US surplus wheat sold to India on credit. India's Government has just started to control food prices and supply. Home production of food, clothing, and other necessities, is static, stagnant. But there is no sign of a cut-back in India's development programme financed by new taxes, deficit financing, foreign loans and grants. Instead taken for granted in India's planning is a bigger wheat loan from US".

Inflation is like a village on fire. It spreads as if it had a will of its own and recognized no law on regulation. Government policies and its administration have, resulted in the present high prices and there is no good searching

for scape-goats and conspiracies. The much advertised Delhi grain raids came to nothing at the end of it. Mysindia pays a deserving compliment to Dr. P.S. Lokanathan and quotes him to point out how if the Fourth Plan investments are to be undertaken, the inflation will be beyond control. The arms race plus the Plan investments will take the country's economy to nothing short of chaos. The Government refuses to learn its lessons from the flop the appeal for capital for the Ahmedabad industrialist's new concern proved. No amount of dogmatism and ill-conceived firmness can be a substitute for wisdom and humility.

As Mr. Masani said in Parliament during the food debate, the indiscreet plans and the policy of deficit financing have resulted in inflation and the rupee is now worth only 17 paisas. No one should therefore be surprised if the farmer asks for a higher price for the foodgrains that he produces. The pre-Independence theory that if we depress food prices by compulsion other prices would go down, even if it was right in those days, is no longer right. To compel the farmers to sell foodgrains at a compulsorily determined price, below what would be their proper economic price, would only be fruitless injustice. The Food Minister has made statements indicating that the farmer will have a fair paddy price fixed by Government, but it will not be linked to the price the consumer will have to pay. Does this mean that the paddy selling farmer producer will receive a subsidy? The consumer (who is everyman) feels elated that "Government" pays a part of the price he should pay. But where does the subsidies ultimately come from the tax payer - who is now everyman again - and not only the direct tax payer - as it was in the days when government expenditure and government subsidies were very limited. The announcements regarding the Food Corporation and the monopoly over movement by rail and powers of requisition, etc., portend increasing State management of the foodgrains trade.

We must be ready for waste, widespread petty corruption, and loss - and deterioration.

The scarcity of foodgrains in the urban markets is due to the land policies followed for some years past by the Congress government in the States and in the Centre which have made the life of the large farmers insecure and miserable and have led to conflicts and crimes and absenteeism and to the extinction of the bigger farms. It is the bigger farms that supply grain to the urban markets. The smaller holders keep the produce for themselves against the rainy day. They do not sell to grain dealers. If and when they require cash they sell it to people near about. It is not good policy for the State compulsorily to procure grain from the small holders. What keeps off famine in the country is that the small holders save and keep part of their produce unconsumed. What should be done therefore to correct scarcity in the urban markets is to reverse land policies and save the larger farms from fragmentation, and create a sense of certainty and security among those who can be expected to sell grain to wholesalers.

Inflation is a tax and a cruel tax at that. It destroys what people have toiled and made. The Government has no money except what it takes from the people. Anything it helps you with, is first taken from you. Even if it helps you out of what it has begged or borrowed from abroad, it takes all that from you or your children later on, much being lost in the process in between - called administration. If you think taxes are mostly paid by the rich, you are living in the days when Rip Van Winkle went to sleep. The heavy weight of taxation falls on the poor without their understanding it. They bear the crushing weight but they do not know it is taxation. Indirect taxes form the much greater part of government revenue. Having reached the point of decreasing return in direct taxation, it is now more and more indirect taxation that is resorted to taxes on commodities which the millions have to buy, increase of

charges on freight on goods and the like that all go to swell the price. This is done because of a tax on the poor man is multiplied by 450 millions; not so the tax on the rich fellow. Whatever tax the big businessman pays goes to add to the weight on the poor man's shoulders as every one can see.

The price of foodgrains is an integral part of the general inflation. There is no justification or sense in depressing the value of only the farmer's production, while the prices of all other commodities have spiralled up. the small farmer has to meet numerous small calls on his resources; the big farmers has to meet big calls on his domestic economy. Both depend on the market for realizing the value of what they have produced in terms of money. It is not right to deprive them of what the free market will give them. The rupee has gone down in value and everyone suffers by reason of this. The restrictions against free movement of foodgrains even within the State are unwise and unjustified and lend themselves to widespread corruption and oppression. There is no reason why we should not depend on the sure and certain natural results of free competition instead of resorting to oppression of various kinds to depress the value of the labour and investments of a particular section of the population. Let us put an end to these artificial producers of scarcity and encouragement to arrogance and oppression.

5.8 Rising Prices

Professor B.R. Shenoy who, in the course of an illuminating article on the Third Plan in Mysindia, has given a few instances of the high cost of production in India against much cheaper world prices. We produced fertilizers in Sindri, the ex-factory price of which is higher than the landed cost of imported fertilizers. We produced at Pimpri penicillin to be sold at Rs. 1.25, where as imported peni-

cillin is 10 nP per million units, that is, we must pay more than ten times the price at which the imported drug could be supplied. We make refrigerators to be bought at Rs. 2,250, while a comparable U.K. unit would cost only Rs. 1,000. We must all buy our sugar at Rs. 700 per ton in India, the world price being Rs. 400 per ton and we export and sell our 'surplus' sugar abroad at considerable loss. These are instances. The point is what Mr. Masani exposed in his speech viz., megalomania-what Gandhiji described as Sri Nehru's weakness for big things leads us to manufacture in India what can be and are made elsewhere more easily and more cheaply. There is no prospect of reduction of cost in the future which may justify such undertakings. This is not patriotism. If we disregard the law of division of labour in a unitary world, in our ambition to do everything that everybody does and call prudence by the names of 'reaction' and 'backwardness', we arrive at taxation and yet heavier taxation and a lowering of standards of life. I wrote so recently and it bears repetition.

"Rice prices should be clamped down" says the urban patriot. Everything else will then be cheaper. "Do so" echoes the factory labourer, and "Yes, do so" chimes in the industrialist. "Excellent, I agree," says the trader "but clamp down on the price of paddy first". The grower of rice (which is called paddy before it is husked in the mill) has no one to guide him in these totalitation squabbles. Those who sit on top think that the peasant has nothing else to do but grow rice; that he wants nothing; that he simply grows rice. And so any price must suit him and he must agree. "But we shall be kind to him. Once we begin there, everything else will be cheap". "Exactly", says the Socialist Minister of State, Thus the conspiracy is closed. The rice growers price is clamped down. What happens to his wife, his children, his livestock, the lamp dimly burning in his hut, the basket containing his clothes, the marriages, the funerals, and the social obligations he has to meet? Who cares?

"Hullo, we have clamped the price of rice, but why do the other prices still soar high?" asks the puzzled socialist. "Let us go to the Home Minister. We should get at the hoarders and other knaves". My dear men, go to the Budget maker. It is he that sends these pigeons up.

I was trying to find an apposite word and I have found it. It is "counter productive". This is the word for it. The maximum prices fixed by Government have resulted in their becoming the minimum prices. From that minimum upward, higher prices flourish in the black-market. Anti-hoarding literature from Government offices has resulted in excess-buying on the hand and refusal to sell at the lowest level. State coercion in the daily economy of a complex and vast country more often than not produces the opposite of what is intended. The buying of rice is not like the purchase of an article of convenience which one may put off or dispense with. It is a necessity and there is no room for non-co-operation in the matter.

The high-ups in Delhi continue to talk of controlling prices as if somebody else were responsible for the rising prices prevailing in the market. This rise in the prices of all the articles and services which the community has to buy and pay for, is the direct result of Government's policies of expenditure and investment and the general inflationary conditions thereby produced. To fix prices by degree, in order to conceal the Government's own errors, is to tax the people over gain, either by forcing producers to sell at less than the proper present value of the commodities and the services, or by subsidized sales in what are called 'fair price' shops. The subsidies will have naturally to be paid from taxes raised from the people. The disincentive effect of unfair fixation of prices will not help production but do the contrary. Having itself caused all the mischief, for Government to talk of controlling prices is a hypocritical move to deceive the general public. It is easy for Government's spokesmen to create class-hatred to cover up Government's

errors, but it is not good for the future of the nation. To seize upon individual misdemeanours proved all the unproved, and to expatiate on them, as if they produced all the results which in facts are the wide economic consequences of the wrong policies of Government, it is mere political strategy which will not deceive any publicists, although it may succeed with the gullible section of the nation and mislead it to continue to support a Government which has failed so miserably.

While doing everything to set prices in general to soar, the attempt to keep farm prices below the general economic level is persisted in and, for this purpose, all sorts of strategies are employed which in themselves as well as in their effect on the farmer are bad - such as restrictions on free movement of foodgrains within a district even in the States where they are produced as well as their movement outside the State of origin to scarcity areas. In addition large stocks are imported from abroad, which though not released for the market, serve to depress the prices which the local producer ought to get. How can we expect cheap grain to be made available by the farmers when they have to pay high prices for everything they need? It is evidently thought that the administration would come to a stand still if farm produce were to be allowed to obtain fair prices for farm produce, wages, salaries and allowances all will go up. True, but must the farmer bear the entire weight of the effect of the misrule of the Congress Party and its exhibitionism and obstinancy? This is pure tyranny and must be reversed. The word 'farmer' in this discussion is intended to cover all the people involved in the production of foodgrains. Every one of them is made to suffer by this policy of depressing the price of one particular article, viz., food, while allowing all the others to soar under the general inflation produced by the Congress Government's policies.

For some reasons of policy or expediency, Governments increase the quantity of money in circulation, and

what is also the same thing, increase the quantity of credit, available to individuals or corporations. The inevitable result of this is a rise in prices. Those placed in power by the votes of people feel at once the adverse popular reaction to this rise in prices, especially of articles of common consumption. This leads to promises by the rulers to "hold the price line". Decrees are issued in respect of articles of necessary and common consumption that they shall not be sold at higher than such and such prices. Even when most, carefully considered and fixed, such decrees are bound to work hardship, because prices of articles are an integrated economic product, and a disturbance by force of authority at one point is bound to cause an imbalance in the price system. This is particularly the case when Governments cannot control the price of labour. Apart from this assuming that price control is effective and acts not merely to reduce quality and to widen the black market, the incentive to produce automatically goes down along with the reduced profits margin. Instead of producing other better-priced articles. It is not a good thing that Government policies should be such as to reduce and discourage the production of articles of necessary consumption by the poor and to induce producers to turn to what may be relatively called luxuries. This is the opposite of what price-controlling Government really desire. Price control is not as good as people are apt to think it to be.

Prices go up not only when too much money, real or created, chases too few goods. Scarcity of any commodity raises its price. But there are many other causes too which shoot prices up. The increase in cost of production due to an increase in the price of raw materials on account of levies and duties thereon, or increased wages for labour, contributes to an increase in the price of industrial products. The general tax level in a country also raises prices, due to scarcity of capital. Taxation is often regarded as a means

to check inflation, but this has relevancy only where inflation is due solely to the classical cause of too much money chasing too few goods which happens when Government spending is pushed up with printed money.

5.9 Taxation

In a free society, which we may hope we still are, taxes are intended to help the State to supplement the spontaneous movements of wealth in an integrated community, and to finance such welfare services as must be taken up for public management. In a Statist economy such as we are having in increasing measure, taxes are levied also to supply capital for planned production. All along the line, the tax structure in a Statist economy operates as a disincentive for private or individual production. This cannot be helped, the Statists would say and rely on making up for lost incentive by the benefits issuing after the 'take-off' stage of State-enterprises. Unless the 'take-off' stage is near enough and the benefits really issue after frugal, honest and intelligent management, taxation would be a definite disincentive without compensatory advantages. Apart from all this, whoever may be more articulate in grumbling and moaning, the weight of all the taxes, wherever and howsoever levied, falls on the consumer and the wage-earner. The purchasing power of the masses goes down and the prices go up, acting in a pincer-movement to crush the underdogs of which the population is mainly composed.

The ostensible justification for interfering with individual freedom and seeking to run a socialistic pattern of government is that, through that procedure, all the wealth produced by the people's efforts goes into the State's hands and it may be so distributed as to abolish disparities in the comforts of life. The wealth has to be collected by the State in this scheme, either directly by State production or through heavy taxation. The State feels it is not com-

petent enough to manage much of the wealth production directly.

Wherever it tried, it lost instead of producing; so the State depends on taxation for effectuating its socialist aim. The rich are too few and the total tax collection from the rich is not significant against the national Plan targets. So the poor millions are taxed heavily. How does this benefit the poor, which is said to be the aim? Socialism stultifies itself in a poor country. Socialism has a mission in affluent countries, not in miserably poor countries like India. The increased levy on kerosene oil and all the new imposts on what the poor and the middle classes in the lower strata have to buy, and the refusal to liberate these latter people from the compulsory "savings" scheme, demonstrate the break down of the socialist logic.

The plans of an engineer are different from the plans of a finance minister. The engineer has to construct a given thing and he asks for all that is wanted for making it. A finance minister's total quantity of resources is limited and he must build accordingly. The difference is obvious. But if you set up an idealistic planning commission, this distinction gets lost. Paper money is unlimited; but that money is an illusion and a deceiver. Real resources are limited. Paper currency has a knack of going down in value in the measure of its over-use.

On 450 millions of people a finance minister can levy any amount of indirect taxes, making resources practically unlimited. But this again is illusory. What you sow in indirect taxes, you reap in misery; the misery of a population of 450 millions is a terrible handicap for any finance minister.

Heavy taxation has many effects. One of which all sections of the population should take into account is that it increases unemployment. Mr. Morton Folsom, a former Secretary of Health and Welfare in US, writes a long article

in the course of which he advises : "We need to take general measures to reduce general unemployment. This is the most important, and urgent requirement. I have in mind chiefly a prompt and substantial tax reduction"- an advice which will not be given any ear in our unfortunate country. People insist on talking about many evils in this land of ours, and suggest remedies, quackery or other, but rarely deal with root causes. The prevailing corruption, for instance, is taken up for suggestion of establishing tribunals and commissions but no one troubles to think of what new thing has increased corruption, viz., the permit-licence policies inflicted on a people used to full competition. Similarly people do not care to consider how employment grows with money left with people and how taxation leaves less money with people who have the capacity to employ men, and whose business cannot expand unless more money is left with them for investment.

People do not object to paying tax so much as to the harassments and indignities that result from authority wielded by petty or petty minded officials over citizens. The parasites take pleasure in subjecting the producers to annoyance and trouble. Peasants carrying head-loads or driving carts laden with sugarcane, which is not subject to sales tax, are stopped and asked to produce impossible forms and certificates and the inevitable 'tip' or bribe follows. Self-respect is punished heavily by turning the peasants' back on failure to accommodate the tip-taker. The tolls on roads and bridges were considered a nuisance, not because the levy was improper or oppressive but because in civilized conditions we should not have these stoppages and demands; so they were abolished. Likewise the sales tax officials are making the tax doubly unpopular by their behaviour. At the bottom of it all is the essential need for integrity and mutual respect between officials and citizens. Without these fundamentals, democracy becomes an impracticable thing or a make-believe.

Tax payers are of two kinds: one, paying direct taxes, grumbling and evading, and ever seeking personal contacts with ministers and party bosses; the other, paying indirect taxes on the commodities they have to buy. The latter group is the largest body of tax payers. They do not grumble against the Government or the policy-makers but look upon the traders as their enemies. The Government gets its tax without any possible evasion and without getting any abuse or illfame; in addition it sets going a class-conflict, useful for its party-purposes. Sometimes Government simultaneously sets down two prices by law for the same article: one for the buyer and one for the seller, both seemingly favourable to the respective parties. The buyer gets it cheap, while the same thing is bought by Government at a higher price from the seller. This is a policy for vote conservation purposes and is a policy of concealed subsidy, - which is paid out of tax-fund, that is, out of taxes levied from the general tax payers. Buyer and seller are both happy and pleased with the Government, not realizing that they pay taxes to make up for the double illusion.

Raids on shops and seizure of goods and account books are good; and editorials in news-papers approving them are also good. But shall we not reflect to see what has brought about all these tax-evasions? There were always taxes levied in our country and, barring a small number of people, the rest were law abiding and god-fearing. Why have people been now driven to such extensive criminality? A commission is unnecessary to discover the causes. It is plain to anyone who is not a prospective Congress candidate that people have not suddenly changed to bad character, but that when a point is reached in tax-burdens - Central, local and other - evasion breaks out. Oppression converts honest people into bad citizens and angry schemers. It is the innate sense of wrong doing that keeps people a way from immorality, not, laws and regu-

lations. This moral sense is wiped out and self-justification takes its place when government becomes a harsh oppressor. Add to this, the daily disclosures of crimes among those who were VIPs till the other day have a baneful effect on the people and make them lose respect for authority.

Mr. Frank Anthony described the Delhi Corporation as "a cesspool of inefficiency and corruption". He said that "nothing moves unless you pay money". Panchayati institutions, he deplored, "symbolized grass-root corruption and not grass-root democracy". The Government of India is all that Mr. Frank Anthony finds the Delhi Corporation to be, and "grass-root corruption" is the direct result of the big project of the Congress Party to convert at tax payers expense the administrative machine of India into a party organization for the next general elections.

A PTI and UNI report of what the Prime Minister said at a Press Conference in New Delhi on September 16 about Union Food Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram's failure to submit any income-tax returns for ten years past is interesting. She explains that it was due to forgetfulness due to the busy life of the Minister. Many of us who are not Ministers are equally busy. Even if this should pass without criticism what is the explanation for the Income-tax officials' inaction in the matter for ten years running? It would be relevant to know the amount of income and wealth involved which has escaped being taxed through the failure of returns being submitted according to law for ten years past.

Let me remind people that Gandhiji strongly held the view the man who produces food for the nation should be rewarded and not taxed for his services. He wanted definitely that the tax going by the name "Land Revenue" should be abolished. Let us do something by way of loyal action to honour the Father of the Nation and not be content with empty, or worse than that, interested verbal offerings.

Taxes and deficits are cumulative. Each year's new taxes and each year's deficit hurt economic growth by this cumulative effect, and similarly the rupee also loses in value. Salaries and wages look as if they were untouched, but they are all affected by the inflation, and are invisibly reduced. The reduction is perceived when one goes to the bazaar to buy something.

Economists see the full implication of what is called deficit financing, that is, of governments, who find themselves at the end of their tax resources, resorting to the printed paper for creating unreal money to meet their expanding expenditure. The economists have not made the matter sufficiently clear to laymen. It is a concealed tax on every one who buys or sells goods or services.

The rupee is not a rupee but an adulterated promise of the Government going about from hand to hand pretending to be a full value rupee. It cannot get in exchange as much as the goods or the services which it used to get. This difference is a tax which the Government has levied on all of us, "broadening the base of taxation" to the fullest measure. It induces the poor man to adulterate his milk or oil or other commodity on which he has to live.

The scavengers and sweepers who are paid wages for their work, and the secretaries and clerks in Government and other offices, all get less than what they are told they are paid. The issue of printed paper to square the budget affects everyone and is a tax concealed from the view of the people. Prices have gone up, the consumers feel. It is the paper rupee that has gone down and makes it appear that the prices have flown up.

A tax on wealth which ought to be invested productively but which is not so invested, is understandable. But a tax on invested wealth is not fiscal wisdom, whoever may have invented it. To add to this folly by bringing agricultural property into the pool is double folly.

We have now the paradoxical situation of State Governments levying wealth tax on the land on which houses stand in towns and cities, treating it as 'land-revenue' with a new statutory name, and the Central Government levying tax on land under cultivation in the rural area calling it a 'wealth tax'.

The Finance Minister is arithmetically right when he asks how he is to get money if he cannot levy taxes or otherwise get the money of the poor and the middle classes, these being 90 percent and more of the population. What is called for is reduction of expenditure without which we cannot have the tax reductions that are not only desirable but necessary. We must go back to the old system of budgeting for funds after reducing expenditure to the minimum and not seek to raise capital by taxation, direct or indirect. Capital should be raised by floating debt and not by taxation.

The errors of Government take the shape of taxation and high prices for all that the poor buy in order to live, besides the steady reduction in real value of what little money they are able to put by and trustfully entrust to banks and government to keep for old age or to support their children. The business community quietly pays the taxes imposed from the proceeds of their business and though they dislike it, they hang on to government. They realize it is all misrule but they must avoid the catastrophes consequent on displeasing the government that rules. The poor on whom falls the bulk of the burden pay high prices, resulting from misrule and indirect taxation, thinking that it is all the decree not of Delhi but of Janardhana. This is one of the thousand names of God in the Hindu Scripture, meaning. He who inflicts trials and measures on men. They do not realize that it is not God but the mis-government of the Rulers in Delhi which inflicts the travails.

Whatever may be the causes or the motives of excessive government spending, the inevitable results are

excessive taxation of all kinds, inflation and high prices for everyone and especially regrettable it is when they hit the common man. Finance Ministers may say what they please this is God's truth. No ingenuity or quibble can succeed in keeping prices in check. Inflation is all-embracing and it is the abstruse name for all round high prices. The greatest disservice, or failure, or whatever we may call it, of the Indira Government is the financial disarray and the Government's inability to cut down expenditure. Excessive expenditure is motivated by the hunger for votes and this is the very thing that hurts the people through high prices. The financial management of our country, if not all our affairs, must be placed now in the hands of a non party group of experienced, wise and courageous people who should have complete authority to come to decisions and get them executed. If this is not done, Smt. Indira Gandhi may succeed in being called astute, tough, etc., by people outside India and gain in a cheap kind of charisma, but she will find herself at the end of it as one who failed in serving the country.

5.10 Borrowing from abroad

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 will. 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.

"The Union Government is believed to have decided to adopt emergency measures to overcome the crisis on the foreign exchange front. A large-scale cut in imports, even in maintenance imports, is considered inevitable". The concrete crisis behind these words can be realized by those who are in business or have known about it.

It is grand and martial-like for members of Parliament to say that the Aid-India Club's failure to help is a "challenge to this country to stand on its own legs". But brave words won't help to keep the broken down structure from falling. It is not like rushing forward in battle and cutting off the heads of people whom we don't like. For a non-aligned nation to depend so materially on external assistance, in the present circumstances of international tensions and changing weather, and make its long-term plans on that confidence is a basic error. We are now on a three-legged stool which was once firm and good but which has now lost one of its legs!

It is no good suing warlike words. Accepting the challenge means either yet more taxation and inflation and misery, which cannot be thought of, or a bold revision after careful and wise re-examination of the whole scheme of development. We must see what can be looped off without heavy damage. No national mistakes of this size can be rectified so completely as to avoid great distress and damage; minimum loss should be the aim of revision. To believe that we can put yet more levies on the people is futile and will be dangerous folly. The people have suffered and are suffering greatly on account of the erroneous

calculations based on foreign assistance, in spite of all warning and the sacrifices imposed. Resources have been mopped up dry. There is no reserve power left. Heavy taxation has enfeebled the nation as old fashioned bleeding enfeebled the patients against recovery. The only thing now to do is, without attempting the impossible, to reject micawbersim and adopt a frankly humble attitude cutting out what can be cut out. And in this cutting down process, let there be no prejudice or bias as between public and private ventures, because to the nation and its life there is no difference between them. Sack-cloth and ashes are good on critical occasions and we should not be afraid of putting them on. Much can be done by improved economy, care and honesty in management; but a state of things that grew on the spend thriftiness born of borrowed finances cannot be improved suddenly. The men are the same and their morals cannot be changed by decree.

The proverbial short memory of the public has to be refreshed. It may be remembered that when some years ago I persisted in objecting to reckless foreign borrowing, the answer of Congress bosses was to the effect that America was not going to insist on repayment. This was foolish but was a widespread belief based on a notion that loans given by prosperous America after World War II were all, in reality of intention, gifts. The folly of that notion is getting more and more clearly exposed. Here is the latest news of what the US Senate has ordered in spite of Senator Fulbright's resistance: Interest on loans for enterprises like steel mines and power plants will be 3.75 percent, and interest on loans for non-commercial purposes will 2.50 percent.

We have been meeting interest charges for some time past and therefore the theory that we were not likely to be asked to repay loans has not been talked about for some time past. I remember the present Congress President saying to a crowd of his admirers down South: "Why does

Rajaji bother about our borrowing when those who lend us do not bother about it? The statement was received with applause but we seen now how things stand. Loans will be written, off, of course, when the debtor declares insolvency and hands over his assets, not before. Our debt position is a real cause for alarm. It is not party politics. The US Senate has also decided that loans should be repaid fully within 25 years, and that payment should start as soon as plants begin to produce. We have laid a heavy mortgage on the shoulders of the future generation without consulting it and entirely depending on the wisdom of our present ruling crew, a wisdom that has not yet demonstrated it. If - far from it.

At the Jaipur meet of Congressmen, Sri Mahavir Tyagi, who recently gave up his job in the Congress Cabinet said, the UNI tells us, that each man, woman or child in India is now burdened with a debt of Rs.85 to be repaid to foreign governments. The total foreign debt of India sums up now, he said, to Rs.3,500 crores. It is escalating swiftly and next year it will be substantially bigger. Each family counting bread winners, non-working elders, and children and women-folk can be safely assessed at being indebted to creditor governments abroad at Rs.85 each. Add these to the chronic local indebtedness and we can have the picture of India as it has been developed. Said Sri Tyagi with his characteristic bluntness: "Spend it - spend it as much as you like, but you will have to pay the debt with interest. You will weep as you are weeping for food at present". This reminds me once again of what the present Congress President said to his admirers and partisans in Madras when I first raised my voice of dissent against the easy borrowing that was going on. He said those who lend us do not intend to ask for repayment; "Why does Rajaji speak of our having to repay and worry about it"? He spoke in Tamil of course and the native tongue was naturally sharper than it reads in English as I am putting it. His audience thought I had been smashed by their leader.

I am not writing this without purpose. There is a way to relieve the nation of this heavy debt and the taxes and duties, and of the life of distress which the foreign debt burden must result in.

The first step on that way is Indo-Pakistan friendship and co-operation. Other steps the Swatantra Party will expound in course of time. Chauvinistic noise vanity and illusion will not help in the least but only add to the burden.

"Wisdom uttereth her voice on the streets. The scornful delight in their scorning and fools hate knowledge", said Solomon, the son of David. "When distress and auguish come upon them, they will seek me, but they shall not find me".

The complaint of external pressure, Prof. Shenoy says, is meaningless. India is the largest single debtor of the World Bank, the total of our loans being 736 million dollars. The World Bank is also our broker to get aid from the Consortium. When the Bank finds that there is little hope of our ability to meet our external debts without greatly increased exports, and it is convinced that exports cannot be so increased without devaluation, it puts friendly pressure to bring it about. A sensitive people, the professor says, should not borrow. If we do borrow, we should drop our over-sensitiveness.

The economic problem of India cannot be solved by borrowing from abroad and investing in heavy industries. We are not under siege or blockade. What has to be solved is the problem of giving gainful employment to the vast number of able bodied people. At present the Government has been able to expand employment in the administrative offices on a vast scale. This is the wrong way of finding work for the unemployed. The right way is to expand the scope of employment which results in true production.

The vast expenditure on administrative work must be reduced, and this has to be done about causing distress

among those who have been attracted to it at the call of the Government. The Government must maintain the retrenched employees until they find other work, and this should be done so as not to let them settle down as unemployment beneficiaries for all time but keep them active in looking out for real employment. The Government must also hasten to do what is necessary to bring into being such industrialization as can absorb these retrenched employees in a proper productive way. The proliferation of the bureaucracy is disease, dealing with which calls for great forethought and skill and no doubt considerable expenditure of public money for some time for the work done. But it is better than maintaining the pretence of work and a much vaster continuous unending waste of public money.

Eleven crores have been lent by West Germany to repay old debts falling due. This is an instance demonstrating how India is paying compound interest on foreign loans. Compound interest had gone out of modern life except in books of arithmetic, but it reappears in this manner in respect of our foreign obligations. There is no plan whatsoever to get rid of this heavy debt by repayment or otherwise. Instead there are in the offing plans to borrow more foreign loans. Political pressure for more spending without any prospect of clearing the present loan burdens is yielded to by a Government bent on some how perpetuating its rule, not minding what happens to the economy of the nation. That is left to future generations to deal with.

When I spoke to one of our most eminent publicists some fifteen years ago about the big foreign loans borrowed by India and expressed my fear that it was a serious mistake to get so heavily indebted, he replied that in a few years when India will reach her full steel production target she can export steel and easily pay off all debts. How erroneous this expectation was is shown by the latest findings and recommendations of the Federated Chambers

of Commerce and Industry of India. Unless steel imports are arranged on a massive scale, the Federated Chambers say, it would be impossible for India to get on with the plans she has proposed. The foreign debt burden is still there and has entered the annual budgets in the shape of heavy interest charges every year with no hope of the foreign debts being discharged. Not only has our steel production not wiped off our debts, but a further heavy import of steel is stated to be indispensable by the industrial and trading community who have examined the situation carefully.

Western powers feel it expedient to utter good words about India and her affairs to make up for the effects of the Indo-Soviet Treaty. We should not however delude ourselves that we are well off. We are living on debts. And our credit is going down rapidly. We may walk on stilts, but we should not imagine that we are really so tall. It would be a dangerous thing to make such a mistake. It may be astute to delude others. But it is not wisdom to delude oneself. Our national economy is in a bad state, as everyone who is competent to give a verdict on it will say, if inclined to speak the truth. Politically we have no real and reliable friends in the community of civilized Powers. If Smt. Indira Gandhi can summon the wisdom and the firmness to do it, She should choose a small number of good persons and constitute them under herself as a national non-party Government free from illusions, a government that knows what it has to do to set the national economy right and restore our status in the world. We need a government which is detached in the Gita sense, not interested in holding or perpetuating itself in power but concerned only in the rehabilitation of our national affairs.

I take the liberty of making some observations to supplement what Sri K. Santhanam said in the front page article in last week's Swarajya. The acquisition of shareholder status by some of the workers in industrial concerns is not likely to solve problems. Conflicts within the body of workers

will ensure. We should realize, whether, it is land, or house, or shares, ownership, with the responsibilities attached thereto, is not the only happiness derivable from property. It gives status, but there are many ways in which property can benefit people and which will contribute to welfare and happiness. Apart from ownership. With a good landholder, those who work on the land can be and often are happier than the "master". Status is not worth much by itself. Nor is the removal of disparities in status the only or a sure way to welfare. The questions I raise are most relevant when the population we deal with is as large as it is in India. Happiness surely results from self-restraint and the voluntary culmination of the vices man is prone to, whether it is the worker or the 'owner'. You may own a big luxurious car, but if you do not know how to drive, your chauffeur may be much happier than yourself. We must drive to the bottom to reach truth. Illusions and unrealities float on the surface. Truth can be found only through properly understanding the fundamentals at the bottom.

The word 'aid' which now figures greatly in international news needs to be shorn of the ambiguity that accompanies it. 'Aid' may be real aid or it may be a sweet word for loans from one government to another. Loans are a halter round the necks of poor nations and operate as a tempter to wrong, extravagant expenditure and ruinous policies, which really are the opposite of helping. Let poor nations not refuse honest aid, but let them avoid borrowing in the name of receiving aid. India should serve as a grave warning against such aids which are really loans and serve to maintain hostilities instead of helping peace and run national economies into bankruptcy.

5.11 Agriculture

For the thousandth time I repeat that ill-conceived interference with agricultural tradition in the countryside

will result in reduction and not increase of production. By all means let Government give technical advice for what it is worth but not assume that it is always correct or need not be controverted by the actual cultivator who knows his business better than the non-agriculturist bureaucrat. Reduction of incentive all round, by making the rights of those dealing with land uncertain at all levels, cannot but result in reduction of production. What is being now obtained from land is obtained in spite of all these interferences, as there is an element of necessity in it, which saves the situation to some extent.

Revolutions, green, red, or yellow, must be produced by humans. Monsoon-produced results are not green revolutions but mere wind-falls. The phrase green revolution given to windfalls in agricultural production due to favourable monsoons is malapropism.

The Prime Minister said in Allahabad the other day that it was "childish" to ask for the abolition of land tax from peasants. Reason adduced: We must not lag behind in this age of progress. The report may be perfunctory., but it does seem to be very much of a 'non sequitur'. We all know that land tax was levied in India from time immemorial. But in the old days there was no other tax of significance comparable to the levy on land. Now, however, customs and excise form the main source of revenue to the Central Government and sales taxes that of the States, making it quite rational and easy for the Government to make the peasant, who raises for the nation that which is most essential for life, free from any burden on that account. His patience and toil should be rewarded, not penalised.

The Ceylon Government has proposed to abolish the land tax while the Congress governments in the States of India, in spite of the appeals of the Swatantra Party, - or perhaps on account of it, - are all bent on doubling on

greatly enhancing the land revenue demands in compliance with the New Delhi call to raise money. But the Ceylon Government has set a good example. Even now I hope that the land levies on the smaller holdings will be abolished by the State governments. I promise on behalf of the Swatantra Party that it will and claim it as a victory for itself of this is what stands in the way.

To make the life of the poorer section of the urban people one steep step more miserable, a levy on electricity consumption is proposed by the Madras Government. The object is stated to be the improvement of the State finances, i.e., to fill the resources-gaps in the Plan. People who welcomed the Plan without realizing what the hunger and thirst of the monster would be, are even now unwilling to admit their error. They are aiming futile darts at the inevitable consequences - the taxes and levies proposed, one after another, in the States after the main assault at the Centre on the people's money. It is hoped now at least the people will realize the stand of the Swatantra Party and follow an intelligent line.

Sri R.N. Chettur writing in the December issue of the State Bank of India's Monthly Review says: "There is yet another problem connected with our out moded character of agriculture. The farmers in India with poor means at their disposal are unable to use modern machinery and implements. The development of farm machinery syndicates would greatly help to overcome this obstacle". Why did we allow stupid legislation to destroy the big landholders who were the natural ready-made farm machinery syndicates here indicated? It is always the fate of nations to bemoan what has been irrecoverably lost by hasty "reform" springing out of envy and hatred. Peasants have lost their constructive leaders in agriculture and fallen into the hands of class-conflict politicians; they have lost their best and nearest bankers, lost their resources for capital investment and lost much else, all as a result of miscon-

ceived "ceiling" legislation directed against big landholders. And the urban markets have lost their main source of foodgrains supply, so that we have scarcity conditions even when we have no reason to blame the monsoon. Politicians with new and tremendous powers have yet to realize that reform is not an easy game, but a task calling for wisdom and much previous thought and consultation. The error of being too "conservative" is not so disastrous as the consequences of ill-conceived 'reform' legislation.

There is much verbiage over fertilizers in the newspaper columns. Fertilizers are good-organic farm-sweepings and leaf manure being the best-if properly collected and stocked for the purpose. But the very best of fertilizers is the incentive to the producer, the guarantee that he can get the best out of this farm and that there will be no curbs put on moving his surplus to any place he likes, after reserving what is needed for personal use and seed, and selling it for the best competitive price he can get for it. Curbs of all sorts, whether legislative or administrative and unauthorized harassments of various departmental officials, are anti-fertilizers. Peasants adhering to their traditional occupation producing, in spite of every hurdle, the most precious thing which the nation needs are now treated as criminal tribes were dealt with in the old days; they move about like thieves and receivers of stolen property. All these by-products of a regime too confident of solving every problem by centralized processes, should disappear if we want any fertilizers to produce the desired results. I often remember what Gandhiji told me once and which sank deep into my mind, "We should not tax but express our gratitude to the men who produce the food required for the nation". He agreed that a small fee for registering ownership, and keeping a proper record of it, may be permitted but that would be all that he would consider right - no tax or other levy. But who cares nowadays for what Gandhiji might have said? All that our political

leaders want is to exploit his name and his effigy for their own purposes, including even the direct opposite of what he really desired! We know that dacoits used to offer sincere worship and ritual prayers to icons for success in their plans for torchlight plunder of villages. That custom seems to persist in various forms.

It is a fallacy issuing out of demagoguery that giving land to the landless solves problems, taking it away from rightful owners at State expense. Such measures do not solve the problems of the country's agriculture. Agriculture is an expensive enough industry for the poor. To give land is not enough, unless it is intended that it should be sold out by the donee as a burden which he cannot bear. Apart from all Constitutional and legal objections, the scheme of reducing the so-called "ceiling" on land holdings has been generally condemned and the Government of Tamil Nadu had better think further on the subject. The Government would have to make an enormous provision in its budget if its intentions have to be really carried out not only for acquiring land from rightful owners and giving it to others but also to enable the donees to make good use of the land. This would practically be a leviathan scheme of nationalization of agriculture on the basis of individual ownership, harder than what Stalin attempted.

A land-grabbing programme has been started by Communist parties in rivalry with one another. They claim that they incite their followers to seize land 'peacefully' in defiance of all legal rights. If this is allowed to spread without stern steps being taken by the State Governments or the Centre, we shall have West Bengal everywhere. It is not the poor people who seize the lands that are the criminals. The real criminals are the inciting Communist leaders.

Incitement to seize land in another's lawful possession as owner or tenant is incitement to violence. That the seizure is done by mob intimidation and not by drawing

any blood makes no difference. That such seizure is peaceful is a fallacious statement and a deception.

I trust my appeal to the new Government contained in my article in last week's SWARAJYA has not fallen on deaf ears. The most important thing is a total change of attitude in the field of land reform, which should be directed to increased production and not to fragmentation for achieving an impossible objective, and for everybody. It is not reform to deprive agriculture of the sustained working capital which it needs by organizing a nationwide divorce between owner and lessee or 'tiller of the soil: Security and welfare for tenants and workers, this is what is required and not deprivation of resources for capital investment or fragmentation beyond what the laws of succession will themselves bring about. As regards trade and commerce, the following items deserve the reconsideration of the Finance Minister if the conditions prevailing after the recent Budget should improve :

1. The surtax on company profits of 40 per cent;
2. The dividend tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on distributions of ordinary dividends;
3. The increase in the super-tax payable by non-resident companies;
4. The irrational expenditure tax;
5. The upgrading in capital gains tax;
6. Tax on bonus shares;
7. Substantial scaling down of the rates of estate duty;
8. Substantial relief for the middle income group in group in regard to taxes;

Dr. P.S. Lokanathan's recent presidential address in Poona adds force to my plea that the ceiling on land and other ill-conceived measures have impeded advance in agriculture. Referring to the drive against 'intermediaries', he pointed out that "managerial class in agriculture has

been turned out, thanks to land reforms', without the substitution of any alternative source of managerial talent for agriculture". This is a very true diagnosis of the situation, for the first time oddly given expression to by one held as an authoritative analyst in this field. What he said about 'intermediaries' has application to the case of the big ryotwari land-owner also so far as progressive enterprise and management go.

Conflict breeding regulations and disharmony and mistrust among those who should co-operate in raising agricultural production go by the name of 'land-reform'. This 'land-reform' is sure finally to end in the peasant becoming a forced labourer under a government official-sooner than much later. Because the Government must keep the city-dwellers, whatever may happen to the freedom or the welfare of the rural workers. Grain must be offered cheap in the urban markets either by subsidizing or by force. This is the inevitable corollary of the 'socialist' plan.

Misconceived land reform laws enforced in many states have broken up the bigger land holdings and added them to the number of small holdings, and have thereby made it impossible to raise any revenues for the States through agricultural income-tax. It would be cruel harassment to ask the small peasants to furnish returns for assessing income-tax on their incomes. Any army of clerks would have to be employed to make even a show of enforcement, and a new type of corruption would be added to the many existing ones.

Let us take a lesson from the fact that China's enemies fear her 700 millions. Let us at least reflect on it. Let us not seek to reduce mouths but let us increase food production by reversing fragmentationary policies in the name of land reform. We should not deprive agriculture of prospects of increased production by cutting up farms and distributing the land among those who cannot afford to invest anything on it. Those who till the land should

be looked after. But the land too should be looked after. A better understanding of agro-economics on the part of popular governments is necessary.

Ownership for the tiller of the soil is not the only slogan that should guide reform. We should not forget what is necessary for increasing agricultural production by mechanization which calls for consolidation of tenancies and heavy investment.

It must be recognized that our civilization like the civilizations in other parts of the world has become an urbanized civilization. The countryside has to produce food and keep this urban civilization going. It follows that it is an unwise procedure to cut down the large holdings by legislation and increase fragmentation. Small holdings are very good for a rural civilization which is not developing or seeking to develop industries. Urban workers of all classes have to be fed, and this can best be done by keeping the larger holdings going and by encouraging mechanized agriculture. Otherwise the State will have to "procure" foodgrains from small producers, which cannot avoid being oppressive and leading to petty corruptions of all kinds.

A correlated policy is what is wanted. Recognizing the fact of urbanization, we must keep the large holdings going and make the best use of them, instead of fragmenting them or following any other sadistic policies in respect of them, overruling constitutional guarantees, imagining that we are bringing 'Socialism' into being.

If mechanization of agricultural operations is envisaged in order to improve food production, fragmentation of existing large farms and statutory ceilings on the size of land holdings cannot be good policy. It reduces the chances of mechanization. If large industrial concerns controlled by the Government are losing, the remedy is not leviathanization, but scrutiny of the management of the losing concerns. To consolidate into a giant single concern,

production centres which have no organic connection, will only serve to hide faults and confuse matters. It is a stage perversion that where fragmentation is not wise, it is insisted on, and leviathanization is proposed where it would only serve to postpone remedy.

There are many things I do not understand. One of them is the refusal of the ceiling slogan-mongers to take note of the inevitability of fragmentation without the intervention of the Government and the imposition of ceilings. Eighteen acres become, upon the death of the old man, 3 acres with each of his sons and daughters. Again, after these pass out, the land is fragmented into half an acre for each of the inheritors. The ceiling-wallahs create poverty instead of removing it. The problem for my poor understanding is why this obstinate refusal to take note of this inevitable course of fragmentation.

Some people argue that placing a ceiling on the size of agricultural holdings was an election pledge and should be carried out even if it is clear that it will ruin the most important industry of the country, viz., agriculture. The tragedy of Dasaratha's pledge to Kaikeyi which, when fulfilled, brought about the banishment of his eldest son and his own death is not a precedent that can be followed in democracies. Erroneous pledges should be courageously disregarded.

5.12 Government Policy on 'Food Grains'

The criticism of zonal restrictions on the movement of foodgrains in accordance with the natural laws of supply and demand in unified India is, in one respect, misleading. It gives to the uninformed the impression that the restrictions are only 'zonal'. The harassments and restrictions are acute even in respect of movements from village to village in the same district and even within the same subdivisions of the district. Petty officials have developed a

vested interest in such restrictions and regulations, as they give a good steady extra income to these officials. Smugglers, too, want what these restrictions to continue. The corruptions that have grown out of these anti-national rules are too scandalous for words. Even if everything were administratively all right, the parochialism that they foster is most harmful. 'Soon' is not enough. Immediate abolition of all restrictions on the movement of foodgrains should be demanded.

The process of torturing the peasant at the bottom is kept up without break. An ordinance has been issued on July 12 authorizing Government to "procure" foodgrains, edible oils and edible seeds at prices fixed by Government and also giving powers to confiscate stocks, package, vehicles and animals wherever Government finds these used for evasion or violation of the Government's plan of procurement. The nation-wide tyranny of petty officials following this ordinance may be imagined without much difficulty.

I am glad the Swatantra party Executive met and passed resolutions against the zonal restrictions on trade to foodgrains produced in the country. If there is one thing that encourages parochial selfishness and divides India into warring regions it is these zonal restrictions that prevent foodgrains from moving to areas where there are famine conditions. It is fundamentally wrong to prevent the farmers who produce foodgrains from having the all-India free market price for their production.

The fortunes of food production vary from year to year, and it would be well for all India to be put on one level in this respect instead of leaving the distribution of the essential for life to the mercy of parochially minded State Governments.

Truth remains true however old and oft repeated. The cure for poverty is job-creation, not sweet words or doles.

The creation of greater facilities for the movement of commodities all over the country to where they have to be marketed or exported must be the concern of government enterprise. A great increase of roads and railways is what is wanted. If full employment is our goal, a great expansion of private enterprise is the truly effective and legitimate solution-not concealed or unconcealed doles which drain public funds serving to help ruling groups to earn votes as a reward for the favours bestowed. As expansion of private enterprise and not wasteful government managed concerns but increased investment of private capital are the only solution, it follows that taxation must be drastically reduced in order to give increased scope and incentive for honest savings and re-investment for expansion. The present political psychology of curbing growth and placing statutory ceilings of all sorts in the name of anti-monopolist policy is erroneous. The fault is in the licensing system and not in the bigness of any concern achieved by its own success. What will prevent illegitimate monopolization is scope for free competition. The curbing of healthy expansion is not conducive to national welfare. It is the controls and permits that create undesirable monopolies. To punish good management is not the way to prevent monopolies. Competition is the only remedy which will prevent monopolies without curbing expansion.

It is impossible to tolerate a state of affairs in which we have famine in some regions and surplus in foodgrains in other regions. We must devise a scheme by which India can be one, in spite of local patriotisms to which a strong impetus has been given by the unfortunate linguistic reorganization. It is possible, I think, to introduce a system by which due credit is given and kept in account in the Centre in favour of surplus States that help suffering areas. The monsoon fails in one area or another. And, therefore, if a State gives to another State a portion of its good luck this year, a Central account may be kept of it, so that it

may obtain equivalent advantage in one way or another during a bad year which it may have to go through. Food may be returned not only in the shape of food, but in one or another of many ways. The core of my suggestion is that inasmuch as we cannot, except by a miracle, undo the States reorganization we have accepted and political and other vested interests have been created on that foundation, we can so to say keep a banking account in which credit can be kept alive for inter-State assistance and duly recognized when necessary and in such ways as the State in credit might desire.

Hoarding is keeping saleable commodities away from the market, so that the same may not be available to the consumers. The effect of this on the economy does not vary with the intention with which it is done. It is hoarding whether it is done by the State or by individuals, whether it is done under law or against the provisions of law. Economic effects do not depend on these factors. The Government is holding large stocks of procured and imported foodgrains and adding to the forces pushing up prices. The sad deterioration of the grains apart, there is no sense in this 'buffer stock' variety of hoarding against an expected future scarcity when present scarcity, however caused, is admitted. There is a large amount of cereals consumed by the defence forces and other whom Government is bound to feed regularly day after day. Why should not the Government use up the imported grain for this purpose to relieve the pressure? To this distribution may be added other groups of consumers for whose feeding organized employers are responsible, as Government is for the food requirements of the soldiers. This should enable the Government to make up its mind to let the free market deal with the rest of the population on a natural competitive basis. This would at once improve the quality of the rice supplied to consumers, besides lowering prices as a result of mutual competition. Policies should be based on a full

and proper realization of the volume and nature of the work undertaken, and not as now on haphazard thinking and over-estimation of what Government establishments and orders can achieve. The land laws have pushed production from the bigger to the smaller farmers; free and fair procurement from the latter can only be done by merchants and not by officials authorized by district officers. The officials will use authoritarian methods to cope with the natural difficulties of procuring from a large number of farmer-holders. No procurement by the Government through its officials can ever be really voluntary. This necessarily authoritarian procurement, with infectious side effects, has the same economic effect on the market as hoarding, apart from the harassments involved, to which no amount of official denial can make us blind.

The nature of foodgrains prevents hoarding beyond a limited period, be it by small farmers or by big farmers. The stocks are bound to be consumed or brought to the market. Waiting for lean months by those who can afford to wait in order to get a slightly better price is not a crime to be visited with all sorts of harassments. Would anybody hunt with the aid of a regiment of Vigilance police for hoarded rice in June or July in Delhi? The hunt for hoarded grain, in order to reduce prices, is only slightly less foolish. Personal consumption of foodgrains is limited by the physiology of the human body. The surplus must come to the market.

The Prime Minister has admitted, as the Indian Express points out, that the drive against food hoarders has been 'partially' misdirected. There is nothing like an egg being good in parts. Mis-direction is misdirection. It is stated that the urban scarcity of foodgrains is also traceable, according to the PM, to hoarding by the farmers. The meaning of this accusation against farmers is that the farmers are unwilling suppliers to the urban markets. So they must be in the nature of things. They have been living on short diet for years and it is not wrong they should want to eat more today. They

have been leading a life of insecurity and poverty for far too long, and it is well that they hold on to the fruit of their toil, and that they look upon grain as better currency than the Government's rupee. All this is the inescapable consequence of the erroneous land policies of the Congress Government. Instead of doing all that was necessary to improve the position of lessees and cultivating tenants and other workers on land in a constructive way, it was an unfortunate decision to seek to liquidate the large farmers who were the only reliable suppliers to the urban markets. To smash that source of supply in a number of ways including incitement of conflict and class hatred and legislative ceilings on size of farms, was ill-advised, specially when the development of the country is steadily leading to indefinite enlargement of the urban population. Dr. P.S. Lokanathan laid his finger on the spot when he deplored this policy of liquidating managerial talent in the field of agriculture. The will-o-the wisp of giving land to the landless, by breaking up the larger farms, has led land policy into a morass; and the urban markets are at the mercy of leaderless small farmers who have too long lived a life of insecurity and have no desire to part with the only thing they are sure about.

It is well known that every problem, and particularly the food problem, affects the poor people most who form the bulk of our population. What then is the use of saying that the quantum of rice may be cut down in favour of vegetables, as some gentlemen have written to the press? Vegetables are costlier than rice or millet or other corn. Some well-meaning people also write letters to the press recommending reduction of eating. They are probably thinking of the microscopic few to whom they belong. The mass of our people underfeed themselves, measured by calories or otherwise. To reduce the per capita intake of calories in India is not the way to solve the food problem. That way of solving the problem is already in general practice, by reason of poverty.

If there is shortage of foodgrains in the market, our Congress Government solves it by getting at the percentage of the shortage and appealing to the people to eat that percentage less. The PM has given the solution: give up one out of 14 meals. This mathematics, however, ignores human physiology. Men, women and children eat a little more at the previous meal in anticipation of the fast and again at the next meal by reason of the previous fast. This is a body mechanism which cannot be ordered to stay quiet. Again, the fundamental question is whether remaining hungry can be taken as a solution of the problem of lack of food.

I do not believe that the appeal to give up the night meal on Mondays will achieve the object the PM has in view, although it may bring about some good results in other directions, which are not relevant to the food shortage problem. But what one may take note of is that it is an amusing as well as dangerous extension of government's interpretational powers to order the closing of kitchens in hotels on Mondays at 3.p.m. Is it to be a rule passed under the Defence of India Act? If everything in 1965 falls under the DIR we may as well shut up the legislatures.

According to the Hindu, "the Madras Government has decided to call upon the managements of hotels, restaurants, hostels, canteens and clubs to close at 3 p.m. for the rest of the day on every Monday as an austerity measure during the Emergency. Necessary orders are being issued immediately".

That people should change over from wheat and rice to potatoes and vegetables is indeed a fresh edition of the old French story of bread and cake. Are vegetables and potatoes more plentiful than wheat and rice, and are they cheaper? Both availability and cost make vegetables and potatoes as good as cake against bread. Cheap cellulose cannot make up the calories required for maintaining life, and worthwhile vegetables or potatoes are a luxury even for the "middle" economic level of the population.

It may seem paradoxical but is none-the-less true that rationing will increase consumption. Consumption would include a lot of keeping in reserve and not what is eaten only. The fear of scarcity is a powerful agent. Rationing will neither reduce consumption nor increase the stocks. I shall not refer to the very irritating point of deterioration of stocks which are held in government custody. If Government would buy paddy instead of husked rice its preservation would be easier and the deterioration almost wholly avoided. Rationing will add to public expenditure of course and relieve unemployment among a certain type of unemployed, and later give rise to problems associated with retrenchment.

I wish the authorities in Delhi realized the truth that statutory rationing in the net result increases consumption (purchase at the shops). This together with the rigid supply position must lead to re-thinking on the part of the Food Minister. Rationing means extra administrative expenditure. No amount of the annoyance of rationing formalities can add to the supply or the production of foodgrains, or reduce the number of stomachs to be filled, while it certainly makes people buy if they can afford the maximum quantity permissible irrespective of requirements.

Rationing deals with urban families, and with them only. The urban markets do not get their supplies before in foodgrains, hence the rationing to meet the scarcity. The far bigger population in the rural areas manage without the Food Ministry's help. This short supply to urban markets is purely the result of the misconceived attack on big landowners and the consequent disintegration of big farms. The small farmers and the non-occupancy tenants do not wish to sell their grains either to traders or to Government but prefer to keep them against unforeseen emergencies.

The urban consumers have got used to the foodgrains rationing system and they put their thoughts through into the editorials of newspapers. Slaves and other dependents

often prefer to remain in the dependent status to relying on the free life. We lose courage easily and find it difficult to regain it. The dependence on the State to run households and the fear to leave things to market forces, these are the baneful psychological forces that lubricate the entry of totalitarianism.

Death by starvation is better than accepting foodgrains from America under conditions imposed by her, said our Foreign Minister, according to a newspaper report of the Cabinet discussion. This is not a food policy attitude but can be taken as part of a population planning programme. Let us reduce the population quickly so as to solve the food problem, says the Foreign Minister in his anger with America. Drastic steps to restore harmony among the human elements engaged in producing foodgrains, facilities for collecting and using organic manures, and incentives for greater production which would operate on the minds and energies of the men employed in production, including those furnishing the capital investments and managerial work required for this greatest of our industries - these are what are required. Not swearing for its, delays and hesitations at the American Government, which is not totalitarian but checked by its Congress.

It looks as if the farmers of Tamil Nadu (and probably of other areas also) have taken up the increased production of rice in their own hands without waiting for Government activities. It is a development of tremendous importance and it is hoped Government will do nothing to create a disincentive. The farmers should be encouraged to feel that if they produce more it will be to their advantage and that Government will not rob them of the results of initiative and enterprise by compulsory procurement at prices fixed by Government.

We want a national union and a government run by it which will concentrate on increasing our food production

and take all steps towards this end. It should plan to reduce our military expenditure and take all steps to that end. It should take effective steps towards reduction of the foreign obligations we have involved ourselves in. It must, above all things, work for the restoration of moral values and take every possible step towards that end; otherwise this ancient nation is doomed. We want a national union and a government that will honestly accept these four great responsibilities, casting aside all power-hunger. If opposition groups are unable to merge into an effective national union, being too fond each of its own particular image and name, and are happy and content with the position they enjoy now sitting in the opposition benches, it will be a kind of parasitic existence depending on the permanent Congress ruling party. It may be good enough as a personal achievement for leaders and individuals but would serve no national purpose as they repeat mostly the Congress slogans and emulate rather than oppose the ruling party.

6.0 NATIONAL ISSUES

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6.1 Language Issue

I don't hate language for the reason that it is not Indian or that it is not my mother-tongue. So I don't hate English as some want me to. If Hindi were my mother-tongue and that of those around me in the South, I would not object to all-India language. But it is as strange a language in large parts of India as English too would have been if we had not learnt and practised using it for all official and professional work these more than hundred years. As it is, it is stranger than English is in the non-Hindi area of India. And English is even and carries no discriminatory consequences with it. It is the same to all people everywhere in India. Whereas Hindi is the easy mother-tongue of a large group of citizens in one region, it is quite a strange and difficult tongue to other equally large group of citizens elsewhere. the result, if it is made the official all-India medium, will be advantage to some and disadvantage to others, which is what makes a discriminatory policy.

I am against regional autonomy based on majority language. Linguistic demarcation is contrary to the whole trend of modern India where a widespread synthesis is in operation. It is anti-progressive, as was clearly seen by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in the unfortunate case of the break-up of Hyderabad which he helplessly allowed to be done against his conviction. But, it unjust to deny the linguistic demarcation in a particular case, because it would give a slight majority to a particular community.

There cannot be two official languages in operation without their soon splitting India into two administrative blocks. The administrative partition will not take long to become an emotional and political partition. We must have either English or Hindi as the one all-India official language

if we desire to maintain the unity and viability of India. Hindi as the link language would be an intolerable injustice to all the non-Hindi regions and to the future generations of India. An intolerable injustice cannot be a stable arrangement.

English would not be an injustice, whatever else it may be to sensitive minds. This sensitivity is a newly-acquired mental feature. I would even dare to say that it is an illusion of overwrought minds.

Together with this there is the unquestionable fact that India is one an indivisible in trade and market economy. In this field, Hindi has a great part to play. It is the language of a very large and important group of businessmen. Hindi is adequate for the purposes of trade and business although it is admittedly inadequate for government law or higher education. Hindi can be the link language of the market even though English may be the link language of official life and higher education throughout India. In furthering the spread of Hindi for the purposes for which it is suitable, Madras and other non-Hindi regions will co-operate fully. Let us have this compromise and harmony instead of trying to coerce one another and blast the unity of India.

We can encourage production of useful popular books of science and technology as well as the humanities, in the regional languages including Hindi. This will bring knowledge to common people without the help of school and college and at the same time lift the regional languages out of their rut and steadily add to their vocabulary. This addition to the vocabulary of our regional languages cannot be effectively done through lists of terms in the arts and sciences prepared by quasi-lexicographers and thrust on the people in a lump. It can only be done satisfactorily by authors intent on explaining things to people whose literary enables them to read and acquire knowledge through popular books.

I am for the progressive growth of all regional languages. I am for even-handed justice and for a united India. Let no one imagine that I want any special advantage for the South, or that I wish to resist the advance of Hindi in what is its legitimate sphere.

Genuine as the sentiment in favour of a fully Indian language taking the place of a foreign language may be, the pull of sentiment should not outweigh the pull of facts, expediency and the call of unity. The political argument in favour of Hindi that it brings about an identity between the language of the Government and of the people is not valid in respect of the large mass of people in the South as their language is not Hindi or related to it. It only increase the gap of discrimination between those who speak Hindi and those who do not. The people of the South will be 'step-citizens', if one may invent a phrase, and the people speaking Hind will, over and above many other advantages, have the moral superiority of being the AURASA citizens, speaking the language of the government.

The real identity between the languages of the Government and the people is brought out in a natural manner and without involving any injustice by the State Government's language and that of the respective people being one and the same. It is in this we must find the identity that we seek between Government and people.

I have said this a number of times but it is worthwhile pointing it out again and again. The plan of two languages, Hindi and English, running the central administration is a kind of partnership will divide India into two blocks, with the crack growing wider every day. The division of India into two blocks will not be the result of any secession or insurrection but will be peaceful and for that very reason quite complete. The internal disorders and conspiracies and intrigues will render the central administration most inefficient.

For the nth time I say to my dear friends, Hindi-speaking lovers of India do not dream of imposing your language on the Southern minority. You do seek to impose it when you talk of Hindi being "the all-India official language of India according to the Constitution" You have amended the Constitution sixteen times. And soon it will be eighteen times. Amend it just once more - and purpose: Remove Part XVII and all will be well. The Southerners are a minority and therefore politically powerless in the midst of your big majority. But their aspirations and their dignity are no what less than yours. Their share in Indian culture is very large. They cannot be bullied. No amount of advice or decrees you and your leaders give will make for genuine fraternal good will. Be loyal to the spirit of your beloved Premier. Do not seek to adulterate his attitude by intimidating and using pressure tactics against him. "Let us be clear about one thing in regard to national integration. Any attempt to bring about integration by compulsion will be bad. Integration by compulsion will perhaps be the negation of integration". This is what Sri Jawaharlal Nehru has written in his most recent article in *Gandhi Marg* of April 1964. Compulsion is not only police or military compulsion. Any disadvantage imposed by law is compulsion. Give the Southerners respect. Treat your own rising language as a sister to Tamil or Kannada, not as a mother-in-law (old style). The burden of maintaining good relations lies more on you than on the minority, because the responsibility is always more on the powerful than on the weak. Give up the formulae of untis and buts and so long as's. Plainly and straight-forwardly give up claims of superiority and treat Hindi, your regional mother-tongue, as such and nothing else, no better than the other regional tongues, and let us settle down in friendliness and peace. Withdraw this sword-of-Damocles which, at one stroke, will impose the biggest disparity among the people of our democracy, bigger than any other disparity among the people of our democracy, bigger than any other dis-

parity which self-styled socialists are seeking to remove by enlarging the power of the State.

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

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

6.1.1. English as a National Language

"The lurking prejudice against English as the language of our former rulers is altogether misplaced", writes a leading daily. It is gratifying to note their healthy turn in the mind of people who have been mistaking suicidal destruction for patriotism.

"It should be in our interest to cherish the study of English which has become an international language. It is truly the *lingua franca* of the modern world". No truer words were written and no better advice given.

Mr. H.V. Pataskar gave a convocation address recently. He said: "If the States started imparting university education through their respective regional languages, the common bond created through English will be weakened if not snapped, and may lead to ideological separation, ultimately resulting in disintegration". These words of

person appointed Governor of a State, who is highly esteemed for his powers of correct judgment, contain grave warning. There is so much talk of integration. It would be wise to avoid doing something that will result in disintegration, even if we do not succeed in discovering tonics for integration. "Each university will be a linguistic island and all will suffer in the long run. Teachers and students will not be able to migrate from one university to another and the cause of education will suffer for lack of a common link between universities in different linguistic areas". This from a daily paper's editorial brings out the evil consequences from the purely educational point of view. But Governor Pataskar has pointed out the graver consequence of ideological separation and disintegration.

It is on the whole gratifying that the protest raised against attacks on English has gained volume and the language chauvinists are losing ground. The numerous Upper India M.A.s whose education present woeful deficiencies will have their countervailing crowd in South India if the advice of the University of Madras is rejected and the pressure of the present Government of Madras prevails. What good is it having a large number of M.A.s just to rival the Hindi M.A.s? The cause of education and national integration will both suffer.

Gandhiji spent his whole life out in substituting in the people's minds courage for fear, firm adherence to causes in the face of obstacles, and undying hope and determination to fight, in place of the far too common Indian inclination to accept the inevitability of what your struggle against. When something happened to stop a struggle against. When something happened to stop a struggle, Gandhiji courageously suspended it, firmly adhering to the basic intention and notifying it. He had no fear of his followers falling off. The students who are now in two minds and are facing a fatal demoralization, rift and disorganization in their camp, should take a lesson from the ill

written history of our national struggle and not allow their Resistance movement for unity through English to fade away through demoralization in their camp, but should boldly and definitely suspend it now, keeping their determination on the issue unaffected. The cause of Indian unity cannot fail and will not fade away, by any suspension of the Resistance movement. As Acharya Kripalani put it, though in his own cynical way, English cannot be got rid off even if they all tried it unanimously.

The language issue presents difficulties because politicians seek to ignore realities. We can never win in a conflict with reality however good our motives may be. That English is the common link for all the different people speaking different languages and seeking to run a free government for united India is the reality. No kind of sentiment can overrule this fact. We shall have peace on this issue of the official language of mutual communication for all India only when this reality is accepted. There is no disgrace in accepting reality or in bowing to the results of two hundred years of active history. United India did not start in 1947. It started much earlier during the days when the Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet ruled all India. Advaita may be attractive and may bear all the signs of absolute reality. But matter and are real and in this world of relativity we must conform to the laws of matter and energy or we shall come to grief. No Bill in Parliament can unmake reality. Beware of disintegration, I would say to the patriots who want Hindi to be accepted by all: Do not quibble, let English continue as heretofore. Satyam eva jayate. Satyam is reality in Upanishads, not honesty of speech. Hindi in Tamil Nad is identified with Muslim domination. Muslims in the North may fight for the Urdu script and Urdu words, as against Nagari script and new words artificially made out of Sanskrit roots not used in the speech of the common folk of the regions classified as Hindi speaking. But the Tamil people identify Hindi wholly

with the language of the Moghuls. There is not the least sentiment force behind in this as unimportant part of new India.

The question I put with utmost respect to my brothers who want Hindi to be the official all India link language, is this: We have to choose between two things. One is to proceed with the two language course inevitably dividing India into two administrative blocks, one English and the other Hindi. The second alternative is to swallow our national pride and accept English as the official link language. This will give us against the sacrifice of pride, 1) efficiency, 2) continuity and 3) unity. The link language of all India and the international language of commerce and politics will be one and the same. Whatever view may be taken of the advantages I have mentioned, the division of India into two distinct administrative blocks and the disintegration of the single Union service corps will be a great loss. Whatever may be the external trappings of the Union of India, there will be moral and administrative partition which carried with it undoubtedly great loss for all and each one of us; meanwhile time is ruthlessly running against us all.

Nobel laureate Dr. C.V. Raman clearly and emphatically expressed his opinion at a meeting of teachers and parents in Madras on 8/7: "As a man of science I view issues pragmatically and not from a political angle. We should accept English both as a bond of union between different branches of knowledge and as an essential medium in all higher education and cultural activities. With India at the very bottom in those activities that make for a powerful nation, there will be no progress unless English is given its due place".

If we do not wish that India should be cut up into two or more opposing blocks we must retain English as the official language of India. It will serve the course of laws and order

and good understanding. Hindi either as sole or alternative official language will lead to misunderstanding and ambiguities and keep India divided. Let us help the unification of the world by continuing English as India's official language. It is a great thing that what will help India to remain united will also help the progress of world integration. Let us not mistake a rope for a snake or a snake for a rope. English is a rope, not a poisonous serpent.

It is time for everyone to give the quietus to all controversy over the matter of the official language of India. Wisdom and vision dictate that English should continue to function in the official life of India as it has done during the past two hundred years. This will ensure the essential unity of the elite of the nation and help efficiency in administrative and judiciary work. It will help India's progress in all directions and maintain India's importance in the movement for world law and world government.

6.1.2. Sanskrit

Those who have approved of the language formula for schools all over India do not appear to have adequately considered the effect of the formula in regard to the study of Sanskrit. If it results in squeezing out Sanskrit as seems inevitable, the formula may result in injuring the cause of integration and the imparting of moral values. A basic equipment which would enable young men to read Sanskrit literature would bind all India together in a reverence for the past and respect for spiritual values. But the three language formula for the schools combined with the official drive for Hindi, which kept up notwithstanding all that is stated by the highest authorities, will squeeze out the chances for Sanskrit in Southern India where classical literature of India has continued so far as to be popular in spite of the temptations to neglect it. If the three language formula becomes the rule the only place where Sanskrit

will be studied will be in purely spiritual study institutions. Sanskrit will be isolated from the life of the generality of our youth. This would be a tragedy. If we desire a synthesis between the spiritual content of India's culture and modern progress we must not do anything to injure but encourage what will equip our young men, or at least a large number of them, to pursue the reading of Sanskrit literature.

A word to lovers of Sanskrit. Sanskrit is the only language to which all India could pay unqualified homage. It was the loving nurse of all the people of India through unnumbered centuries. The ancient tongues of the people in the North and the South, in East and West freely borrowed from it and exchanged all-India thoughts through it. It kept India together in spite of every foreign invasion, foreign armies, foreign religions and foreign cultures. But if we sought now to make classic Sanskrit a spoken all-India tongue and means of communication it would not work. On the other hand, it may de-classicize and corrupt Sanskrit. It would do incalculable harm to Sanskrit itself. The attempt would rob the classic language of its character, and create language of its character and ugly new pakrit. This would not help but, like an ill-omened child, kill the mother at birth. The great heritage of India, our greatest asset, the maatariswa of all our culture would suffer fatal injury. Let us keep Sanskrit whole in its proper pedestal and let the new bond of union, English continue to be the uniting, integrating, modern factor and be our great window for scientific and technological knowledge, while at the same time the study of Sanskrit literature may be encouraged greatly in order to guard our culture, our tradition, and our soul. It is the classic literature of Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, etc., that will protect our moral standards and maintain unbroken the spiritual ethos of the nation. The classics of Sanskrit and the other languages of India are the tree of life, whose subtle and curative influence will balance and correct the ills which

accompany the tasting of the fruits of the other tree of material knowledge.

Dear and Respected Sir, Your recent compromise formula by which Hindi may be treated as the people's language (*praja bhaasha*) and English accepted as the official language is, I think, a solution which may be accepted by all people, pro-Hindi or anti-Hindi, whether they are northerners or southerners. There can be no answer to the objection that Hindi is not a fully developed language and that in the several States in which the so called Hindi is spoken, the language spoken is only a dialect of Hindi varying from State to State.

The main reason given by the Hindi speaking people for making Hindi the National Language is that it would be derogatory to our dignity if we have a foreign language as our National Language. That objection would vanish if Sanskrit is made the National Language. So, the three language formula may be: (I) Sanskrit, (II) the mother-tongue, and III) English.

The main objection of the Hindi enthusiasts is that, as an independent nation, we should have our own National language and ought not to have English - which is, after all, a foreign language - as our own National Language. That objection will be completely and by my suggestion that Sanskrit should be the National Language. Nobody can take exception to it. Persons who have lived for decades in the northern parts have stated that there is a lot of difference between the Hindi spoken in Allahabad and Banaras and that spoken in Delhi. The solution of this ticklish problem lies, in my opinion, in having Sanskrit as the National Language, and English as the Official Language.

There is no doubt Sanskrit should be given high place as the classic national language of India in all ceremonial forms and in our education programmes. I do not know if we can go beyond that.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur has promised the Akhil Bharatiya Samskrit Vidyapeeth that "the Government will do all it can do to encourage the spread of Sanskrit learning in schools and colleges in the country". Does he realize that the three-language formula, the imposition of the regional tongue, English and Hindi on all boys and girls in South India effectively shuts out all touch with Sanskrit? Hindi may be a near relation of Sanskrit, but near relations are more dangerous than strangers in the way of corruption. South India has for centuries held the torch of Sanskrit aloft. It seems a period is now commencing, which will terminate that special service.

The three language formula is good 1) for spreading Hindi where it is not spoken 2) for total and unnatural neglect of the spoken tongue of neighbours, and 3) for killing Sanskrit, the classical language of India in the schools and colleges. It is for educationists to examine this situation. As far as I can think it out, it seems that the regional tongue and English should be compulsory and there should be option for pupils as regards the third language. Some may take Sanskrit and some for one of the neighbouring languages. Suitable incentives must be provided for each of these options.

6.1.3 Language Bill

The Union Official Language Bill is being criticized by non-Hindi leaders of all shades of political opinion. It is no good mincing matters. Any attempt to put the non-Hindi people of India in the position of second class citizens will be resisted with all the energy that can be called up for the purpose. The phrase 'associate language' is itself ambiguous and does not satisfy. English should continue as hitherto and there should be no scheme for progressive or other shift to Hindi.

The progress of Hindi should be left to natural forces; Government or administrative power should not come into

the scene. Associate status and review clauses in the Language Bill mean a sword of execution suspended over the non-Hindi people, which cannot be permitted. The straight-forward course is to delete part XVII from the Constitution and to leave the status quo wholly as it is. Let us get on with the task of good government and not seek to achieve miracles. The Prime Minister should not back out of his assurance. But the case for retaining English does not rest only on his justly famous assurance. It rests on the case for unity and bare justice without which democracy cannot survive.

The greatest negative piece of national service which Sri Lal Bahadur can do now is to find a way to completely eliminate the language issue from the public and bureaucratic mind, and this can be test and most easily done by deletion of the language articles from the Constitution and, as a consequence, repealing the Official Language Act, and not by attempting to reshape the Official Language Act to give legislative shape to the gentleman's assurance given by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. Deletion of all articles relating to the official language will automatically leave the question completely open and favour no one. No legislative or linguistic curb or bar should stand against commonsense and expediency. Administration can go on as it did under the Government of India Act which contained no language articles.

It is clear enough to unbiassed jurists that no satisfaction can be given to non-Hindi people over the Union Official Language issue except by scrapping the whole chapter in the Constitution dealing with language and substituting in its place a simple provision that the position will continue as regards the use of English as it was when the transfer of power took place, and until Parliament makes a new law in that respect. Any attempt now to amend the Constitution in these terms or otherwise would be futile as it will not be possible to secure the required majorities in the Lok Sabha and the States. Any attempt to legislate

in Parliament, as indicated by the Central Government's statements, would be futile for the other reason that it will not give satisfaction to the non-Hindi States. The only course now open is therefore to adopt an executive policy of not interfering with the status quo in the direction of pushing Hindi forward to replace English. Action speaks better than words.

As long as Government policy in the Hindi-English issue is ambiguous, no satisfactory bill can be drafted. It is possible to make statements face both ways but statute drafting is a different matter. Clarity and precision being essential, no bill can be satisfactory as long as policy is not precise and clear.

I would like the Government of India to withdraw the Language Bill and let the sleeping dog lie. It commits the non-Hindi people to accept Hindi as the the all-India official language on a future date, which is most unacceptable to the people of Tamilnadu. It provides for some accommodation now but undoubtedly it does not meet the Madras Chief Minister's demand that English should continue and be recognized as the all-India medium. The Bill is a gesture of accommodation and to that extent it may be welcome, but if it is passed with the approval of non-Hindi States it commits them to Hindi on a future date, which certainly is not the intention of the DMK Government or the people of Tamilnadu to accept. It would therefore be best to put away this ambiguous and involved legislation and carry on as we did in 1947-48-49-50-51, etc., without any difficulty, and attend to more immediate economic and other serious matters.

The thing to be done is to get a constitutional amendment deleting all the articles dealing with the official language. The part of the Constitution dealing with the subject may be safely deleted. Provisions as to language are needlessly included in the Constitution. The Government of India Act,

1953 which sought to set up a Federal Government of India Act, 1935 set up a Federal Government for India and which was drafted by that expert and which was drafted by that expert draftsman, Sir Maurice Gwyer (one-time Supreme Court Chief Justice of India), contained no provisions as to language. It was only a desire to do something dramatic and announce a change-over, that promoted the inclusion of these articles in the Constitution otherwise we could have framed the Constitution without including these articles.

The Official Language Bill and a resolution of policy in respect of the official language were passed by the Lok Sabha. The Congress Party voted in accordance with the Party whip and the Lok Sabha passed the Bill 205 votes as against 41 voting against it. A motion to circulate the Bill to elicit public opinion, was rejected. So also a motion to refer it to a joint select committee. I deeply regret that my advice conveyed by letter to the Prime Minister was of no effect. A statute which was intended to satisfy the non-Hindi people and which pleases neither the one side nor the other will not improve the position. Nor its quality much characterized by real enforceability. The Government of India Act, 1935 was considered by the then rulers of India quite complete without any sections relating to the official language of the Federation that was to be set up under it. The only justification for the present language Bill was to remove the doubts and apprehensions of the non-Hindi people, which is has been clearly shown at the very introduction of the Bill it has not done. Nothing is final in this world, and I hope good sense will ultimately prevail and English will continue to maintain the unity of the administration, of India, in spite of politics.

The language Bill has received the assent of the President and has become "law". It seems that the Government of India has decided to cut India into two, one the Hindi area and the other a non-Hindi area, the latter having the benefit of the English medium as they do not

wish to have Hindi. This not only cuts India into two but deals a heavy blow to the progress of the Hindi-speaking people. It will have far-reaching effects. But let us hope better counsels will prevail and this great error will be mended soon. The young women of our land are being given a very bad deal by a government yielding to the unthinking pressure of obstinate groups. One shudders to think to what disorder the administration of the country will be reduced. If not at once, in course of time, if this new dispensation is allowed to be implemented. To grave economic ills, financial breakdown and general corruption, we have now the prospect of adding administrative delays and confusion. Discerning men in charge of official work must be losing heart at the turn things have taken.

The Government of India will not listen to what I say. But it is my duty to tell them what I believe is good for the nation whether they will listen to me or not. It is a farce to press forward with a programme of making Uttar Pradesh citizens learn Tamil. A few young men may be interested in Tamil as some others may be interested in Spanish or Russian.

But that is all. If only the Government of India definitely lays down that English shall be the official language of all India and be the official language medium between the Centre and the State and between State and State, we can have a consensus that, at a non-official level, Hindustani may be promoted on a voluntary basis in non-Hindi regions, as an all-Indian common tongue for social and all other non-official purposes. This would bring about integration without coercion or sanctions of one kind or another in a much more effective way than the present attempt to push "Hindi" indirectly through the "three-language formula".

Why do the people of the South want English and oppose Hindi instead of advocating Tamil or Telugu or Kannada? This is an argument now put forward in letters to the press and

elsewhere. The answer is: because it would be unreasonable and discriminatory, the Southern people know, to want any one of the regional languages to become the all-India official language just what the object to when they resist the Hindi claim to first place in all India. Friends in the Hindi region would want the non-Hindi leaders to be unreasonable and not put forward the reasonable claim for English being continued. Divide et impera?

Another bugaboo is raised. If Part XVII is repealed, the States would lose the right to run their administration in their respective regional languages. This is a groundless fear and a specious argument to buttress the Hindi move. The place which English and the local languages occupy in official life today is not because of any law or section in the Government of India Act, but only because of long usage, expediency and common sense. The States are free to run their administration in the Language of their choice irrespective of Part XVII. The provisions regarding regional languages in that part became necessary only because Hindi was made the all-India Official Language in that part. In any event this is no answer to the demand for repeal of Part XVII. If anything in it should be retained for the sake of the non-Hindi people, there is nothing to prevent such retention.

The way things are developing over the languages formula, leads to one conclusion more than another, that it would be best to give the States their due in respect of education-full powers to deal with it as each State likes. Letting us learn from experience instead of running a controversy in the abstract. There is no need to maintain unnecessary Central departments dealing with subjects which belong to the States. It is time to give back to the States all that is theirs in terms of the Constitution.

The argument that comes up again and again is that the official language of a government should be the people's language and not some foreign language however good it may

be. This is a principle which has its full application in the administration of the States. The State administration are now being conducted in the regional languages and this is not to be interfered with, except when the regional language's claims are carried beyond reason, such as the discarding of well known words in common use for a hundred years, like 'police station', 'school', 'college', railway station', etc. These words are better and more definitely understood than paraphrases freshly coined by purists.

As far as the Federal Centre is concerned, English is the only reasonable non-discriminatory official language. The attempt to force any regional language there as the all-India medium will lead to provocation and disruption, as far from socialistic equalization as any governmental activity can be. Though standing plain as a pikestaff, this point is ignored and has to be stressed again and again.

The sum of these regional identities between the languages of the people and those of Governments makes up a total identity of people and Government in the matter of language much better than any Hindi imposition on all India could possible make.

Neither linguism nor parochialism will disappear as a result of the repetitive eloquence on the desirability of their disappearance. Something else more intimately touching the interest of each individual must divert emotions from wrong foci to the right focus, viz., the problems of good government. And this is furnished by the Swatantra Party's advocacy of a free economy and its attack on the ruling party's taxation policies and its permit-licence-raj, resulting in corruption and monopolies. Here all linguistic and other barriers are crossed and something more real and of greater importance faces the people. To drive out one emotion, the only remedy is another and stronger emotion, and if this latter emotion is based on reason the replacement becomes easier.

6.2 Kashmir

Communal feelings developed a high tension last week; although the forces of law and order have kept the violence down, one cannot feel that all is safe yet. Something should be done to turn the forces of emotion into a direction of reflection. It would appear that the unending trial of Sheik Abdullah should be terminated by executive action and that unfortunate leader released, so that he may assist in the disposal of the Kashmir issue. This question has no business to make itself an integral part of the Indo-Pak issue. What should be done with Kashmir is a totally different question from any border dispute between India and Pakistan all which was statutorily settled in 1947. Kashmir is not a piece of real estate property. It is a community of human beings whose governance should be peacefully settled according to principles of human welfare and the legitimate desire of the people. In the examination of these questions, Sheik Abdullah's release and participation would greatly help. What is more, people would then stop thinking of killing A, because B killed C and D killed E. Tribal satisfaction derived from indiscriminate murder and destruction is a satisfaction which brings disgrace as much to Hindu culture as it disgraces Islamic culture.

We may now hope for some clear thinking on the question of what is to be done with the Kashmir problem. If Kashmir is an "integral part" of India, let that bond rest not on compulsion or the illusions of legalism but on the urge of the heart, on confidence and cordiality. Many smaller States in the world enjoy autonomy, and there is no reason for refusing autonomy to Kashmir, specially when it is good for all concerned. There is no way of establishing peace and good neighbourly feeling between India and Pakistan except by making Kashmir an independent and friendly State. The Gordian knot would then be cut and there is nothing thereafter to divide Pakistan from India. The military drain on the two countries would automatically

be reduced to the great advantage of both the peoples. What would then remain to be solved is how to reduce the Chinese danger and contain China's expansionism. Here becomes relevant, after the elimination of the Kashmir sore and the consequent easing of Indo-Pak relations, the establishment of more positive and firmer bonds of military co-operation with the Western Powers and the US. This will in no way be unwelcome to Russia.

It requires considerable fresh and clear thinking, and moral courage, to change the stand hitherto held and do all that I have stated. But it is necessary and will, if followed, open a bright future for our people as well as for the people of Pakistan. Deterrent strength lies in forging bonds of powerful friendship, not in the wasteful and hurried spending of budgeted money or in heaping up foreign indebtedness.

Last week I wrote pleading for the release to Sheik Abdullah. I am glad this step has been taken and the scandal of the long-drawn trial has come to an end. Let no one be misled by the shouts heard from some benches in the Lok Sabha "Are you then giving away Kashmir?". Round about Delhi there is a complex which does not represent Indian feeling as a whole. India as a whole welcomes the release of Sheik Abdullah, if for no other reason than that it is a mockery of law to put a man under an unending trial, who once spoke for the entire population of Kashmir and earned the title of Sher-e-Kashmir. The Lok Sabha lags behind public opinion in this matter, and in other matters too. India is overwhelmingly pleased that the natural leader of the Kashmir people is out to guide the fortunes of Kashmir. May Sheik Abdullah be inspired and enabled to do a caesarean operation and extricate Kashmir from the Indo-Pakistan problem, thereby strengthening both India and Pakistan and making it easy for both of them to receive help and encouragement and strength from friendly powers from abroad without giving rise to fears and jeal-

ousies, and enable the subcontinent to progress through freedom and hold back the forces destructive of freedom and democracy.

I must be excused saying bluntly that it is absurd to seek to intimidate Abdullah to refrain from expressing what he feels about affairs. I am referring to the reports of Lal Bahadur Shastri appearing in the papers last Sunday. Nothing can further damage India's already damaged reputation so fatally as trying to put Sheik Abdullah in prison under one 'law' or another because the hints that an independent Kashmir is the only solution for the troubles between India and Pakistan as also securing the just right of the Kashmir people. Kashmir is not real estate property to be disputed on the basis of title-deeds and assignments. It is a community of people who have all the rights of similar communities in the present-day world, and undoubtedly Sheik Abdullah is their best leader who has suffered for their sake. India's reputation will reach its nadir if unwise counsel prevails and leads to any imposition of restraints on Sheik Abdullah now. Let there be an election in Kashmir with Sheik Abdullah leading a party standing for whatever solution he considers to be the best. Let Sheik Abdullah be opposed by any other leader, be it Bakshi or Sadiq or any other and their group standing for the Indian formula of accession already completed. Such an election would be democratic and simple, and be as good as a plebiscite without its complications. Forensic arguments will not bring about peace and happiness either to India or to Pakistan; it would be foolish to reiterate them in order to acquire real estate property for India which will yield no rent or income but only increase our inabilities, civil and military.

'Accession irrevocable', 'accession settled', 'accession final' these and other similar phrases figure in the press headlines and statements every day, whenever the matter deals with the talks Sheik Abdullah has been having or with the Security Council debate on Kashmir. Yet there

is a desire to settle differences and arrive at good understanding in Indo-Pak relations. One cannot very successfully offer one's hand for a friendly shake with spiked mail gloves on, as an American Cartoon put it pictorially in respect of a quite different matter-the Civil Rights Bill. Accession may be 'complete' and our title unquestionable. Yet, is there no need for Indo-Pak amity, and can we put it away as an impossibility? It is even more impossible to achieve security for India's defence with this problem of Indo-Pak amity remaining unsettled. Between two 'impossibilities', we have to choose the lesser and work at it, making necessary sacrifices.

Some people believe that my attitude on the Kashmir question issues out of my desire to oust the Nehru Government. Nothing can be further from the truth than this. Indeed, I harbour the conviction and hope that it is only Sri Jawaharlal Nehru that can make India accept the necessary sacrifices for the purpose of Indo-Pak amity. Need I add, for the benefit of those who seek to find a personal reason for my attitude on this issue, that my affection for Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is not less than anybody else's, and that my attitude on this national issue is dictated not by personal ill-will or anything remotely of that nature but only by a desire that the defence of India should be as secure as it is possible to make it. I may be in error, but the notion that I urge some policy not because I consider it right and urgent but because of antipathy to Sri Nehru, is as baseless as it is unjust.

I have said this scores of times but it is worth while saying it again-that the Kashmir dispute is not a land dispute. It is not the question as to whom the area belongs, Pakistan or India. It is a question as to what kind of government is good for the people of Kashmir so that they may live in peace and security. It should not be treated as property belonging either to the one or the other of the two contending nations, India and Pakistan. To bring this

point to lively realization it is better to release Sheikh Abdullah, for he is among all the public figures of Kashmir most obviously interested in the welfare and self-respect of the Kashmir people and has not made himself a stooge of either Pakistan or India. He has suffered loss of personal freedom long enough and even a harsh and arbitrary government ought to relent now.

Oliver Twist is being reenacted in New Delhi and the humour of it is not realized. Sheikh Abdullah is asked to be content with a spoonful of liberty and the Government of India is horrified at this asking for more.

6.3 Punjab

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

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

People should not be misled by the brief and erroneous head lines sometimes appearing in the newspapers put in by biased sub-editors. The other day I read a

headline "Tara Singh wants a sovereign Sikh State". Here is a UNI report appearing in the Hindu of April 11, which makes plain how wrong this headline was: "Master Tara Singh today declared that the Sikhs would not feel satisfied with a Punjabi Suba which was liable to frequent intervention by the Centre. The Suba of his conception would be totally autonomous in internal matters". This is certainly not asking for a "Sovereign Sikh State", although it may be given the bad name of 'communalism'.

The formation of the Punjabi Suba is not a deal over land or a question of language. We are dealing with human beings with feelings of pride and concern for permanent interests. It is no use putting a veil over reality and appearing to deal only with a language question. We are dealing with a brave people who have played a great part in Indian history and who do not wish to be a permanent minority in local affairs. The Congress Working Committee's recommendation to give to the Sikhs a division of the Punjab where they can feel they are a majority and can guide local affairs both fairly and in their own just interests, is a wise decision if it is also accompanied by equal provision and safeguards for the non-Sikh community living in Haryana. The positions of Master Tara Singh and of Sant Fateh Singh in this matter are as those of tweedledum and tweedledee. Both are concerned about the Sikh community whose common interests and pride are symbolized by the Golden Temple at Amritsar. We gain nothing by exaggerating the relevancy or the importance of script or language. As regards religion, it is utter ignorance to imagine that the Sikh religion is different from Hinduism. A reading of Sikh scriptures would convince any one that the Sikh teachers wished only to bring Hinduism up to requirements of the time and the place, maintaining intact all the traditional reverneces that characterise Hinduism.

"Diagnosis Correct, but remedy wrong" may well be my criticism when people express the opinion that the demand for an autonomous Sikh State will soon take shape.

Sant or no Sant, for at the back of every Sikh mind is the desire for an autonomous Sikh State, and that all talk of cessation should therefore be made a grave crime. Is Indian democracy to hold the people of all the border regions that encircle India by force? It would be a very poorly organized country for defence if that should happen. Democracy should ever seek to rule detached and semi-detached border areas by goodwill and consent. There are ways of meeting demands arising out of tribal or communal bonds, which is perhaps the only dimension of unqualified patriotism we know in India - ways other than suppression by force, be it imprisonment by magistrates or shooting by soldiers or bombing from the air. We must not worship uniformity as if it were the Lord God but organize order and rule with a sense of reality. Tranquility is an important for us as uniformity, if not more.

6.4 Goa

At Delhi the talk was all about the recovering of Goa and the working of the Government's mind leading to this sudden decision at this juncture, when the belligerency and aggression of China took a fresh leap on Indian territory. Most people pronounced it to be a cheap election stunt of particular value.

All these years this adventure one-week campaign against an ancient foreign encave had been ruled out on the ground of our conviction and creed against the use of force on our own initiative. Nothing can be a graver contradiction of our reiterated attitude in respect of violent means for justifiable ends than a march against Goa. Ofcourse one can easily find excuses to cover up an offensive and make it take the colour of a defensive campaign but few can be induced to believe in international or even in Indian circles that the Portuguese are taking steps to invade India. No one is likely to believe that the Portuguese are seeking a quarrel which they must know can have only

one end, in the taking over of Goa by India. If Goa remained so far in Portuguese possession, it is due to our creed of opposition to war and violence.

Juxtaposed against this is the continuing insult and aggression of China which is given the pacific name of a 'border dispute' and against which nothing is being done except making of statements in Parliament to the effect that war solves no problems and we must respect the creed we have inherited from the Father of the Nation.

The Hindustan Times of this morning (December 7) carries a pungent attack on the Government's policy under the well known initials of the editor. It appears to share the same sense of puzzlement as most people feel over this Goa adventure on the eve of the elections.

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 lands within the annexed area continue to belong to whose 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.

If Goa, Pondicherry, Chandranagore, Hyderabad and other places should 'naturally' belong to India and therefore they should be absorbed through political or police or other

suitable action, then they should be absorbed in the neighbourhood and made indistinguishable from it, not continued and crystallized into streedhan directly attached to the conqueror at New Delhi. The natural thing has happened in the case of Chandranagore and Hyderabad and, in that process, Hyderabad has been broken up into three fragments and absorbed by the three neighbourhoods. But New Delhi hungers for its own separate suzerainty over these new acquisitions. Hence Pondicherry and Goa are to lead a queer life. The Goa elections have given a verdict on this issue. Goa, by its latest vote, declares union with Maharashtra. Pondicherry has somehow meekly accepted the New Delhi claim and remains as separate streedhan of New Delhi. Local opinion would merge Pondicherry into South Arcot, that is, if local opinion were able to assert itself against the Congress hierarchy. If you have doubts, ask Kamaraj.

After the above was written, it is reported that Sri Nehru has declared his intention not to accept merger of Goa because of the pledge given before the elections to keep Goa as a separate State. Pledge to whom? If it is to the people of Goa, the verdict of the elections makes the wishes of the people clear beyond doubt; the so called pledge becomes merely the wish of the PM or a pledge to the minority. It is not obviously a pledge to Portugal or some inchoate Goa image. The plea of the PM has no meaning beyond this-that the PM would like to keep, as I have said, Goa as Streedhan for New Delhi and does not care for what the people of Goa desire. Portugal has been replaced by New Delhi, not by the people of Goa.

6.5 Science and Nuclear

Every investigation into physical or biological phenomena, however deeply one may try to unravel nature's secrets, ends up with a Remainder which baffles scrutiny. Men of science leave this residue unnamed. Old fashioned

people give it the name of God. Kimatra Parisishyate? Etadvaitat.

John Lear writes adding picturesqueness to truth in Saturday Review: "Who am I, with one small bowlful of brain and two mean handfuls of courage, to try to explore what no one knows? Yet I cannot escape wonder". That there is something inscrutable behind all this vast sense perceived world and what our imaginations can project beyond it, is beyond question. But what it is cannot be known but only recognized with awe and worshipped. It is further than the farthest star but also as near as the constituting elements of the atom and our inmost thoughts. (tadantarasya sarvasya, tadusarvas-yaasya baahyatah.)

According to advanced science, matter consists mostly of empty space with enormous numbers of electric charges moving randomly at great speeds. The combined bulk of these charges, electrons as they are called, amounts to much less than one-billionth of the apparent size of the material article, a table is all empty space. It supports things lying on it, because the electric charges rushing about collide with similar charges that form the objects and prevent them from falling through the empty space. If one strikes his hand on the table, it does not pass through, only because of these electric charges and their collisions. Therefore, says Eddington, "consider how unread, reality is". The real table is very different from what we think it is. I quote from an eminent writer in Freeman, though not his very words. Man's pursuit of an improved understanding of the material world is an important and legitimate scientific activity, an activity of prime interest to all inquiring minds. The assumption however that modern man may find all his values in science, to the exclusion of any other guideline, is a different and erroneous concept to which the name of scientism may be given. Science is knowledge, but scientism is a dogmatic obsession.

Mahatma Gandhi deprecated this attitude. He said that modern education tends to turn our eyes away from the Spirit. Thus misguided, the possibilities of the spirit-force do not appeal to us.

One must admit that Rationalism is a blind alley even if one finds it difficult to accept Faith as a substitute for knowledge lead to? It leads aright up to a point but not beyond that point. At the same time we feel sure that there is a great deal beyond it. Faith, and guidance by faith, are as necessary for life as food and breathing. Faith has served mankind well through the ages and will continue to do so.

Science is good for the human family. There is no question about it except this - that Science has given the nuclear bomb, and this has been poisoning the world continuously ever since it came into existence; it is the cause of an immense waste of resources which could be used otherwise for the welfare of humanity; and it has, by its terror, orphaned the smaller nations of the world by deterring assistance from bigger Powers in the cause of peace and justice. It has become a deterrent of justice and mutual assistance instead of being a deterrent of war. "Science represents the majesty of the human mind", says the Indian Science Congress. But it has also brought incalculable danger to all humanity and has put in the hands of powerful nations a weapon which can effectively intimidate the best minds and the whole world into submission to wrong. International agreement to clip the wings of this evil thing has been worked out, but it is receding each time we thought it was coming. Hope seems to have become a will-o-the-wisp.

In the old days scientists waited and patience accompanied their activities. But today the hunger for publicity has made a change. Premature publicity of research work in medicine and technology has become too common. Experts should work for years before publicizing their efforts. Newspapers have contributed to a great deal towards this anti-scientific spirit of premature publicity.

It has become unfortunately too attractive for the good men engaged in medical or other scientific research to seek premature publicity in the daily press for what they have glimpsed before fully checking and examining what they infer. The great work of Darwin on the origin of species should be read and re-read by those engaged in the ambitious task of finding the secrets of nature by experiment, observation and investigation. They can see in Darwin's book how slow and careful and cautious the great man was in coming to conclusions. He vigorously fought against the temptation of discovery, as I would call the urge to become famous before one has done all that one must do before aspiring to claim success. The Noble Prize is not given like a lottery prize to a lucky man. A brainwave supported by the first go-ahead encouragement of preliminary investigations must be followed by long, patient and sustained experiments and observations to obtain confirmation of any theory, before it can qualify for recognition by the Noble Foundation.

The Pursuit of scientific knowledge is gradually establishing in this half century a priority over morality. It began with vivisection and proceeded to millions of animals being subjected to torture almost as a variety to sport, reduplicating trails to find out what had already been found. Then it developed into mass experiments on human beings in "under-developed" areas to buttress theories with statistics. Then we have now nuclear explosions conducted by powerful governments without reference to one another, in the atmosphere and the waters of the planet, and in outer space, admittedly disturbing the normal environment of all human life on this planet whose evolution stood closely correlated to that environment. The priority claimed and practised by science without licence has been buttressed by notions of military advance, and nations sustain the offence with the huge sums of money required for such expensive crimes.

The Soviet "Space man" has assured us through a press conference given at Seattle on May 6, that though

he searched (full twenty five hours) while flying round the earth, he did not find God. Gagarin and Titov are satisfied after their soujourn in their space-ship capsules that there is no God to worry about, because they did not catch the gréat thief though they went so far out as 200 miles above from the earth's surface and circled the planet.

It is pretty clear that technology is very different from science or logic. Isn't it naive for these space sailors to believe that they have vanquished all philosophy and meta physics by their whirligig adventure at 200 mile altitude in a universe where in the light of some of the stars takes a million years to reach us. Even materially speaking, these achievements are infra-lilliputian in relation to the known dimensions of the universe. Supposing some one reached the nebulae in the milky way, even then, it is not the way leading to the mystery called God. "Man, his strength and his reason", to which exclusively Major Titov attributes the great Soviet rockets, are in themselves demonstrations of the mystery to which we turn in awe and worship and have given the name God. The hobbledehoyhood of these Soviet technicians and their admirere is amusing, had there not been the tragedy of so much gullibility in the present day busy world.

It would be a competition in crime for India to launch a nuclear weapons programme because of China. What is called for is deterrent diplomacy and not a nuclear race. We should not compete with an outlaw, but stand firm on our own definitely expressed resolution on the subject - not to indulge in the manufacture of these weapons and to persist in our efforts in co-operation with other world leaders to persuade all Powers to give up these weapons. India should completely identify itself with the antinuclear international movement; nothing should be done to disqualify ourselves for that sacred task. Nuclear weapons, whatever else they may result in, do not help any nation to defend itself. They can serve only to attack and cause

mass destruction besides fatally fouling the atmosphere for all nations, friends as well as foes. The matter has been thoroughly discussed among the best experts, and this is the conclusion.

There could be nothing more unfortunate for the world at the present moment than India falling into the illusion of defending herself by making the nuclear bomb. To multiply error is not the way to meet it. The probabilities of fatal error in national judgements are greatly multiplied by proliferation. Hence the frantic efforts to reach a treaty of non-proliferation. It would be foolish to wait for a total ban on nuclear weapons as a condition to agree to a treaty of non proliferation. I hope the spirit of Jawaharlal Nehru will in this case be strong enough to prevent India changing her policy in respect of the Bomb. India I hope whatever else she may do or not do, will help the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and sign the treaty. Let us not copy the policy of France and add to the possibility of total annihilation.

Surely it must be easy to see that if India committed the mistake of making the H-Bomb or threatening to do it, or relaxed her opposition to proliferation, it would start a dangerous race which before it achieved anything would take the nation to utter economic ruin.

Advance in technical knowledge and research are easy enough for our high class scientists in India. But the application of such knowledge calls for resources which we cannot command. If we proceed in the direction suggested by Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, what shall we do with the nuclear weapons we produce. Shall we run a nuclear race with neighbouring or distant nuclear Powers? Can we get healthy drinking water by means of them for our lakhs of villages? Shall we be able to give a drainage system to these villages through these weapons, or good metalled cart roads connecting the villages with one another and their market towns, or good clean houses to live in? I can

put more questions, but it is unnecessary. High technical knowledge can be a menace to good government by reason of its temptations to divert resources for exhibitionist purposes.

The Gandhi Peace Foundation has issued a booklet depreciating the idea of India making nuclear bombs. It rightly says among other things:

The nuclear bomb is not a military weapon.

It cannot be used for the ordinary purposes of war - to ensure one's victory and the defeat of one's enemy. It is clearly not a weapon of defence.

Even low-yield 'tactical' nuclear weapons the trump card of nuclear apologists - cannot be readily used on account of their easy susceptibility to escalation.

The production and maintenance of anything like a useful nuclear capability in India will be an impossible adventure for India.

Being part of a complex weapons and delivery system, a nuclear stockpile by itself means nothing unless one has the financial and technical-resources to carry the entire programme through.

By no feat of financial jugglery can India hope to travel this long and arduous way without gambling away all her cherished economic and social aspirations for generations to come.

The moment we opt for the bomb, that very moment we shall be engulfed in the ever-spiralling arms race, with its attendant amasculation of an already over burdened economy.

Sri. R.R. Diwakar, Chairman of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, has issued a statement deprecating the proposal of some people that India should manufacture nuclear bombs. Sri Diwakar says:

It is easy and natural to lose one's temper when provoked. And no one deny that there is enough provocation. But it is exactly at such a time that the fullest possible maturity of thought, self control, a clear vision of the future and an unbiased appraisal of the situation is necessary.

Fortunately for us in India, the people and the Government are so far one in the matter of rejecting the nuclear way to peace as it is the way to the destruction of all that humanity stands for the policy already adopted to strengthen the hands of the Lal Bahadur Government in this respect. It is necessary to reiterate and fully endorse the policy of using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes and continue efforts for a total ban on nuclear weapons. Since this is not merely an Indian question or a question which affects only the continent of Asia, it is necessary to mobilize the opinion of the people of all countries and see that a climate is created for demanding from their respective governments a total ban on all atomic arms, and weapons of mass extermination, a total ban on manufacture and tests of such weapons and a total ban on the use of these deadly tools in any war, declared or undeclared.

The world demand for doing away with nuclear weapons is the result of scientific and impartial consideration. There is unanimity of opinion on this. But the hurdle, and ostensibly the only hurdle in the way of giving effect to this policy, is the question whether to allow three on-spot inspections to ensure the abstention from secret underground testing or whether the inspections should be as many as seven. It is only the power of some great Evil Spirit that could hold up a great emancipation on this narrow marginal difference.

It is wonderfully encouraging to read in the US News and World Report's Worldgram that "fear of Soviet aggression in Europe has all but disappeared" and that the feeling

of military dependence on America is beginning to fade away and correspondingly the US may sooner or later get fed up with carrying so much of Europe's defence burden. But the entanglements of power are not easy to escape from.

Nuclear super-power has taken the world to a paradoxical state of No-war, dangerously poised on disaster by accident or a sudden misjudgment. Proliferation of the bomb, long predicted and now demonstrated by China, may possibly and paradoxically lead to total nuclear disarmament. It would be a consummation devoutly to be wished for.

The word 'deterrence' has come totally to replace the word defence, because these nuclear weapons are no good whatsoever by way of defence. They create fear and through that feat it is hoped deterrence can be gained. This round-about defence is given the name of deterrence. But instead of deterring, it has led to an interminable race in the manufacture and stock-piling of that same deterrence, each trying to frighten the other. As against this picture of ruinous and senseless waste and perilous competition, we feel relieved to see the great phenomenon of friendliness between France and Germany.

Someone has put it very impressively who said that if we are disturbed by deadly weapons carried by mischief-intending hijackers in aeroplanes, we must be equally if not more disturbed by the deadly nuclear weapons stocked by powerful nations who are unfriendly to each other in this spaceship of ours called the Earth in which we are all travelling together night and day amidst many temptations and conditions' which can lead to an explosion accidentally or deliberately, as a result of reckless judgments. There is no safety for this great whirling spaceship of ours until all these deadly weapons are by agreement totally abandoned.

Mr. Ralph Lapp, the atomic scientist who was one of the team that worked on the Manhattan project-the same

that ended in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki - says that a nuclear war today would last only one night and certainly not more than two nights. What a blessing it is that total destruction of human life and civilization would not mean an agony beyond 48 hours. He explains that there would be no time for either side to assess the damage caused and therefore the strategy would be from the outside to over-kill. Hence the extreme shortness of the probable duration of the war. This analysis is sound and Mr. Lapp must be congratulated by those who are not in the cold war blocs for giving this reassuring information. If agony is inevitable, it is good to know that it will be over in 48 hours.

I have more than once pointed out that the assumption of uniform spread over the earth of radio-active fallout was wrong, and that therefore the test explosions were much more dangerous than calculations from average figures led people to believe. My apprehension is confirmed by the finding of Dr. Alivater and Dr. Schucider who, after six years of careful investigation and measurements in the Ruhr area, have found that radio-activity in the cities with dust and smoke pollution of the air is much greater than elsewhere. The smoke of chimneys goes up, gathers the radio-active debris in the high atmosphere and descends with the poison on the cities and suburbs. Such causes; in addition to the movements of the air itself, can produce a concentrated descent of the poison on particular places which cannot be foretold or calculated.

A US Government report says that the radio-active strontium-90 level in food was found to have doubled from what it was in the previous year. 'the slow and steady increase in the poisoning of mankind's environment is going on. But the tests are not to be stopped yet. Reason: because evasion of a ban on underground tests cannot be discovered as completely as US would desire. The US wants an on-the-spot personal inspection and is not satisfied with

instrumentalised automatic detectors. The USSR objects to any personal inspection system but is agreeable to an instrumental detection system. This is now the hitch and, on account of this small difference, the ban on tests has not come into being. Surely the instrumental detection may be agreed to tentatively and tried until any difficulty arises, when the question could be more convincingly tackled on both sides. It is mankind's misfortune that this dispute still remains unsolved.

The British Medical Research Council has found that the proportion of radio-active strontium-90 has doubled in the first half of the year 1963 in the bones of small children in Britain. Every one now knows what poison strontium-90 is to the health of the present and the coming generations. The increase found in the first half of 1963 is declared to be due to the nuclear tests made in 1961-62.

William Rosenberg, a professor working in the Harvard University's Russian Research Centre, examines the effects of the Test Ban Treaty and summarizes the position very instructively. The Test Ban Treaty, he admits, is eminently desirable. The world should, he says, wholeheartedly endorse an agreement which even - temporarily promises to reduce the hazards of a contaminated atmosphere. It does mean, however, a further stimulant for China's militant aggressive attitude. The Test Ban agreement, Resenberg holds, sharply isolates China in a manner that does not augur well for the peace and stability of the world at large. The Communist China has failed to achieve its goals is an additional stimulus for militancy, because as the Russian thinker Danilevsky said long ago, the weaker the creative force of a civilization becomes, the stronger grows the desire for expansion and domination.

Apart from threats to world peace and to the freedom of nations in Asia, the Chinese nuclear explosion has already been seen to have caused additional widespreading

contamination of the atmosphere. These test explosions have an immediate undesirable and poisonous effect on human life all over the planet, without waiting for any military use of nuclear weapon. Natural winds and rains and atmospheric currents are not limited by either neighbourhood or geographical conditions. They are not governed by any law of averages. The poison moves as it lists, so to say. Radio-active dust resulting from the Chinese explosion has been found to have been carried over Center Europe by atmospheric currents. The German Weather Bureau's investigations have found this. What was a wholly illegal and unpermissible international tort was allowed to be committed with impunity by America; and therefore now every nation inclined to do it claims the same right to do wrong.

I am writing (Oct '62) this from New York and it will be reaching Madras in time for publication for the benefit of readers only just a couple of days before I shall be returning to India, after spending a few days in London and Rome. I had not fully realized the difficulty of the mission, although I had anticipated it some what even when I agreed to go to the United States along with Sri Diwakar and be the spokesman of the delegation. I have now seen what tremendous mutual distrust and fear are at the root of the armament race. Fear has pervaded the minds of all Americans - men and women - and therefore it is difficult for the US Government to adopt policies towards relaxation of war-like measures. The Government and all the officials including the Defence Services realize the grounds, both moral and other, which justify our demand that the nuclear test explosions should cease. Our claim for freedom from radio active fall-out is unanswerable from the angle of public law. But even full agreement with us does not permit them to take any steps such as we had suggested, because such steps are felt to be "politically" impossible. I believe every one in India now knows how well my colleagues and

I were received by the President and all his able officers and advisers. We could not ask for more in this respect. In one word, we were treated not as trouble some strangers but as good friends. Our earnestness as well as our reasonableness were fully appreciated. They discussed the issue with us, every one of them, as with long-standing friends. It was not mere diplomatic approach but heart to heart talk. On my part, I think I did my best without fear of being misunderstood. I cannot blame my health or the climate. Everything helped me to do my best. This must satisfy those who accept the Gita-ethic:

"Karmanyeva Adhikarasthe Maa Phaleshu Kadachana"

But those who ask for results must feel disappointed. We have been unable to achieve anything yet. What the future holds only the gods can tell. I say this, because as one of the high-placed men in the US Government Secretariat, who gave me two great books edited by him, told me as I was leaving him after a long discussion, "Have you not in your long experience often seen that people will not at once admit the force of what you say, but what you have said sinks in their minds to produce results after some time?" or words to this effect, words which hold a psychological truth and which, I felt, were not mere polite compliment. The President Mr. Kennedy, gave the lead to the others in this hopeful parting.

It is terrible to contemplate how man has become his own destroying angel! We have arrived at a state of things, by our own persistent efforts, in which we look upon fellow human beings and fellow nations as wild beasts, wolves and hungry tigers. Disarmament progress is negotiated but from the start forwards, at every step, distrust contaminates all thought, so that the process of ordered, balanced reduction of the power of armaments becomes a fallacy. I do not believe we can escape from the stark truth that this effort is an unreality. I am more convinced than ever before that the

only way is to take steps to dissolve the distrust that lies at the root of all this difficulty in negotiation, that the secret of success lies in acts of trust, in unilateral gestures that would initiate a reaction, and gradually generate a chain of psychological change. Censures and blame-analyses will achieve nothing but only increase resistance. Any concession or other step, unilaterally undertaken and yet vitiated by uncertainty and dependence on an immediate equal reaction from the other side, is not unilateral action but only a bargain. The difference between a bargain founded on fear and distrust and real unilateral action which carries with it a risk undertaken, is great and makes the two things altogether different from each other. I have done my utmost to press this point on all the important guardians of national security in the United States. Mr. Harlan Cleveland, Mr. Rostow, Mr. Weisner, Mr. Dean Rusk and others. They did not, I believe, at the end of each talk, think I was a crank, but they felt they could not face the American voter with such a policy.

So the work lies with the people of America. We could do little or nothing in this direction. We got notice on Saturday (Sept. 22) to embark from India on Tuesday to meet the President on Friday the 28th of September, and our whole stay in America will be just fourteen days-too short a period for doing any work among the people here.

The gap between the two sides (USA and USSR) in the negotiations is ridiculously narrow; yet it is unbridgeable at present, on account of the insoluble distrust. Both sides are agreed that the atmospheric outer-space and underwater test explosions should cease. But one side contends that the cessation of underground tests must, to make the mutual promises reliable, be accompanied by minimum inspection and opportunity for verification by an international commission appointed for the purpose. The other side objects to this inspection but is prepared to make the nature and the quantum of that inspection a matter for further exploration

and negotiation, if the American Government would at once agree to abstain from underground testing during the period of negotiations on this matter. This interim moratorium demanded by the Russian Government is the only thing that divides the parties, and has prevented an agreed cessation of all tests. As I have said, it seems ridiculous that this interim moratorium should be the cause of continuing failure to bring to end the further poisoning of mankind's environment of life. The scientists have emphatically told us about the great evil of this fall out from test explosions in the atmosphere and outer-space and under water. But the politicians of America tell us that an interim moratorium is unthinkable.

We have not done with the poisoning. There are operations in the offing, in a field not yet greatly explored - outer space which are ultimately connected with anti-missile science, a relatively new and unsettled chapter, and a terrible one which makes those who are in the know shudder. Yet this is not to be abandoned, because the American public might deem the present Government of the United States to be a weak one if it conceded the interim moratorium. On the other hand, if this were to be agreed to, the world will be saved from what the scientists know, and predict, would lead sooner than later to total annihilation.

Russia - I tried to argue with Mr. Gromyko whom I found to be as pleasant a man as anybody else and a most clear and faultless speaker of English, and capable of precise exposition (which is not a very common equipment) - feels, on the other hand, that underground tests can now help the nuclear Powers to achieve everything that could be achieved by atmospheric tests, but it cannot afford the money required for it, while the American Government can. Thus the position stands unresolved. Negotiations have assumed the shape of mere making of speeches, and speeches widen the gulf and do not bridge it.

The UN General Assembly has called for immediate suspension of nuclear weapons tests in all environments. But more than this is called for now. The world needs to assert its right that nuclear weapons must be totally outlawed. The Gandhi Centenary should be commemorated by such a total ban. It should not wait for total disarmament. The use of these weapons in war would not only affect the particular belligerents but all the peoples of the world. The scientists of the world can testify to this. The world has therefore the right to demand in clear terms the outlawing of these weapons altogether. Nations may evade any law made to this effect. But this does not justify the open trespass planned against the world. Let us see how successful the evaders of world law can be.

Ultimately the evaders will have to surrender to clearly expressed world opinion. Vast open expenditure of the resources of the nuclear governments cannot be permitted by the national electorates or the corresponding elements in non-democratic States for the express purpose of possibly evading law.

It is good that 47 nations including the US, the USSR and Britain have signed a convention wholly eliminating germ warfare or preparations for such warfare. The world earnestly prays for a similar convention against nuclear warfare or preparation for it.

To install God in the hearts of men is the only way to deal with nuclear weapons. There is no more important or more urgent constructive programme than installing God in men's hearts. Every young person should deem himself or herself as a volunteer in this most constructive of all constructive programmes.

7.0 NATIONAL PROBLEMS

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7.1 Education

In an address to his scholar in Rugby the famous Headmaster Thomas Arnold put priorities of education as he saw them :

"What one must look for here is first, religious and moral principles; secondly, gentlemanly conduct; thirdly intellectual ability".

Many candidates for admission in the medical and other professional college of Madras State are surprised to find themselves rejected while quite few others have been admitted who did not do as well as themselves in the qualifying examinations. People do not know that besides liberal reservations of seats for schedule and backward castes, for some time past, a district-wise scheme of selection has been in force, by which merit is so to say fragmented over the districts. The resulting anomalies have created suspicion and misunderstanding. In the matter of admitting students in the professional colleges established in the districts, preference should be given to bright students from the respective districts, but in those colleges which should be treated as central and, so to say, belonging to the whole State, the selection should be based on proof of merit irrespective of district-wise equality of sharing. More professional colleges should be opened in the districts to facilitate this reform. If this could be done many anomalies would be eliminated and there would be less suspicion of corrupt practices.

It is a good thing that the Supreme Court has done in striking down the rule that spread out admissions in accordance with their respective population strength, instead of those most fit for admission coming from all over the State taken as one unit. This district-wise allotment had been resulting in the admission of some unfit applicants

and the barring of some very good candidates for admission - this again leading to mis-understanding of all sorts.

A lady who was one of the Tamil Nadu Minister some years ago has been arrested on a charge of having canvassed for a bribe of Rs. 10,000 from a candidate for medical studies. The accusation has to be proved to the satisfaction of the court. But it is good that action has been taken upon complaint in this case as it may serve as a deterrent of the growing evil. It is a scandalous situation if bribes are demanded or accepted from candidates for admission in professional colleges and bribery takes the place of merit and suitability. In order to stem this evil, it is necessary that members of Government and party bosses should not seek to get A or B admitted, but after appointing a committee of reliable and carefully selected persons should leave them to act with complete independence.

Not without very good grounds has the Hindu in an editorial discussing the admissions in a certain new University, wound up its criticism in these words: "The whole procedure seems unwholesome especially in the context of the persistent effort repeatedly made to ascertain the caste of the students seeking admission". The public hears very ugly stories of rank corruption in connection with admissions in professional colleges. Something drastic is called for to put an end to all this.

There is much understanding among people who talk about the medium of instruction without any experience of teaching. All teaching is intended to convey knowledge. This may be and should be done through the instrumentality of a language the students understand. So whenever any difficulty arises the regional tongue must play its part, even if English be the recognized medium of instruction and the language of text-books and books of reference in universities. The main concern, viz., to convey knowledge,

should be kept in mind. There is no need to avoid a mixed medium wherein English as well as regional languages play their parts. I have written quite a lot on this subject and I have not changed my views. The mother-tongue is the best medium in certain stages. Established English technical terms should continue in use. What I am now worried about is the dangerous mess created by the Central Ministry of Education, which is sure to lead to disintegration and quite possibly to partition if Hindi is sought to be enforced in place of English by tricks and compulsions in the universities and all-India technological institutes.

The following from U.S. News and World Report may interest people who deplore the deterioration in English now observed in Indian colleges and are discussing how best to teach English :

The second point that impressed the visiting Canadian teachers was Soviet Russia's success with foreign language schools. There are 30 such schools. In Moscow alone most of them teaching English. In these schools, after the first-grade introduction to the foreign language involved - English language, German, French and Spanish in that order of preference. "Our guides through these schools were eleventh year students". They spoke better English than we. They thought in English."

The new Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, said that "education was not the field in which any "revolutionary change" should be brought about.

It was a field where changes should be introduced through a process of evolution. One should be very cautious and prepare the ground well in advance before reforms are introduced, he said, because whole generations are involved."

He further said "the Vice-Chancellorship was not an office which enabled the new incumbent to do anything sensational. It was true the Vice-Chancellor was the head

of an autonomous body, but it was only an "academic body" and not a business set-up where the head of the organization could take the responsibility on himself and try experiments."

The statements embody the wisdom of experience and love of motherland and its youth. It is hoped that the pressure of hop-skip-and jump politicians will not deflect from the direction dictated by his conviction.

When I passed the University Matriculation Examination of December 1891 I had gone through Indian and English History fairly exhaustively. After a two year course thereafter I passed the University examination in First in Arts, as the present P.U.C. was then called. This course of two years gave me a good knowledge of the first three books of Euclid's geometry, and elements of Physics and Chemistry through beautiful small books written by very eminent scientists, a good deal of algebra and trigonometry, the histories of Greece and Rome, and Physiology, besides, of course, a good knowledge of English, which included a study of a play of Shakespeare. This I believe, was a good preparation for entering any specialized course in the university. Today I do not find this equipment in the students who enter the university courses. There is little tutorial assistance given to them and they are driven to cramming sketchy books or notes taken of lectures and becoming B.As and B.Sc.s without the basic general knowledge expected of university graduates. It would, I believe, be good to review the old system in some form of a two year First in Arts course. I feel that students entering the Engineering, Medical and other professional courses should be graduates, though it means giving one more year to general study. Heads of universities and their colleagues, should consider this question carefully without being hustled or misled by the pressure of any groups.

The essence of a scheme I suggest is that school hours should be reduced and the boys directed to participate in

local handicrafts out of school hours and if there was no facility for this the pupil should be engaged in the family handicraft or in agricultural work.

I do not see why a craze has developed to impart "sex education" to children. We could leave nature to herself, as for thousands of years up to now. We have lost faith in progress and civilization thanks to the pollution of air and water and the destruction of vegetation. We have lost the confidence that Governments will fulfil their obligations as promised, and as a result international negotiations and treaties have lost their old values. We have lost the sense of joy in life, thanks to the H-Bomb and the receding of a World Government. Must we divorce love and romance from sex and convert it into a frightening anatomical affair for children? Must we answer every question of children instead of asking them to wait for some years? Two pictures in Listener; the BBC journal of December 11, lead me to these remarks characteristic of an unprogressive man as I am.

The Andhra University Bill reduces the proportion of teachers in the Senate from 60 to 37 per cent; and reduces the number of teachers in the Syndicate, replacing them by persons who need not be teachers, nominated by the Chancellor. The Bill above all requires the University to give effect to directions by the Government on matters of policy such as the language of instruction, the patterns of university education, and the establishment of post-graduate centres. As the Osmania University Senate has pointed out, this would be in fundamental conflict with university autonomy. The Chancellor is the Governor of the State and it has become a convention that he acts not in accordance with his personal discretion but on the advice of the Ministry in office. All these provisions certainly lead to the University becoming an important tool for carrying on party politics instead of being a valuable instrument for culture, independence of political motives and intrigues

with a continuous life of its own independent of politics. It would be a pity if party politics should grab the universities, as it has done with co-operative societies and panchayats and other similar bodies.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, by reason of his long experience, merit and proved efficiency of management has earned the right to condemn the intervention of ministers in University affairs. In the course of his recent Delhi Convocation Address, he referred to the "transient personages in authority that rise and fall in a democracy" and said that "having seen life in the Universities in the pre-Independence era and in the post-Independence era", it seemed to him that "the root cause for much of the troubles in University life is not in the University, is not amidst the students but largely in the element which believes that it has responsibilities for beyond what it can discharge and powers far too incredible to contemplate".

A rather interesting situation has developed in an Engineering College in Tiruchirapalli, wherein 26 out of 40 members of the staff have gone on what they call an indefinite strike. What is interesting is that the students have protested against this action on the part of the teachers and asked them to resume their work and await settlement of their grievances through constitutional means. It is hoped that the teachers will heed the good advice of the students.

Along with much spiritual degeneration there do exist also many good men actively working to improve our moral standard, sincere souls seeking to save society from moral deterioration. These new teachers have an inner enemy, whom they must overcome, the desire to become 'famous' and powerful. Buddha gave up his princely position and influence to become a spiritual teacher of men. He was moved by an irresistible impulse to give up power and impart his convictions to others. The reverse position, viz.,

the desire of good men to become 'famous' through the modern methods of publicity is something to be warned against. The desire to become famous will not help the teachers to achieve success. Fame is the unsubstantial shadow of good work. Let it run after the teachers. Let not the teachers run after the shadow.

Co-education has some opponents who are bold enough to speak up. A correspondent from Seattle writes in Saturday Review commenting on a letter which appeared in that journal condemning English Public Schools for being uni-sexual.

Would he suggest that all institutions who cater for one sex are therefore, "inevitably homosexual". What about regiments, monasteries nunneries and girls' schools, sports clubs, fraternities, women's club sororities and the like?

Does Mr. Sheed know that the American co-ed system is a byword and laughing-stock in the world. Does he admire a system that produces a state of affairs where every girl is fair play for youths the morals of tomcats so that she is forced to take up karate in self-defence?

Karate is an aggressive form of Japanese self-defence by which a weak person can effectively fore stall and put an assailant out of action.

I find myself very much behind the times. From co-education have we come to co-sleeping? It appears we are hastening to the fate of two famous cities referred to in the Old Testament.

"Apropos of Mr. Muggeridge's and Mr. Amis's recent New Statesman article on sex, I would like to record my impressions of dire effects of the 'sexual revolution' at work in the environment of a new university society. On my way to the campus recently, by bus, the conductor realizing I was a student, proclaimed with relish to me and to the passengers in general: 'Blimey, I was reading in the Sunday papers yesterday that they (the university) are going to let

em sleep together because it improves their work'. I had to admit to an open-mouthed busful of people that such considerations had been under discussion, but had come to nothing as yet.

It is typical of the society in which I now myself, intensified by intellectualism and its consequent neuritis, that sex has become "the universal panacea". Ugly as it was made to sound in Mr. Muggeride's article, and indeed ugly as it is the pursuit of orgasm has completely dissociated all that is meaningful in sex from the act itself. Students who have not 'slept around' are regarded patronizingly by their ostensibly more advanced fellows, and the girl who still retains some tatters of her former good intentions and would rather wait for the right former good intentions and would rather wait for the right time and place before involving herself in a relationship of such magnitude finds herself out in the cold as regards male company.

Half of all teen-age brides are pregnant at the altar. Students agitate for "sexual freedom". Old codes crumble before a tide of sex-obsessed movies books, magazines, even T.V. commercials.

The recent reports received about the outrageous conduct of students in Madurai including in "ragging" new young entrants in colleges and the suicide of the seventeen year old engineering student of Coimbatore must result in the end of this disgraceful un-Indian business. If necessary there may be some exemplary punishment of offenders to inaugurate the termination of all ragging.

"Five invigilators killed and fifty hurt in UP exams" is the caption for a Hindustan Times report about the violent behaviour of students who seek to pass examinations using dishonest means to answer question papers and using violence against invigilators who object to such practices. If our young men will continue to behave in

this way, India must hang her head down in shame, utterly disgraced.

The Principal of the Victoria College of Palghat was surrounded by a section of the students and forced to withdraw an order of suspension passed by him on a second year degree student for misbehaviour. This game of violence if permitted to go on unchecked will be the end of good administration and discipline, particularly when violent demonstrations organized by a small band of students find success.

The Burning of the Urdu library of a college by some students at Gaya is deplorable and extremely foolish. Urdu is one of our national languages listed in the Constitution. Urdu was evolved not in any foreign country but in India and flourished in Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. It represents a fusion of cultures and languages, and is a proof of the creativity of the Indian people.

Urdu poetry gives great pleasure to Indians who know the language, be they Hindus or Muslims. If one hears any eloquent person making a Hindi speech one can note Urdu verses quoted by him to emphasize his points. We should preserve Urdu as we should preserve the great monuments of the Mughal period in our country.

The students clash in Madras should be a warning to politicians as well as students. Students should concentrate on their studies and only listen to and understand politics. But they should not identify themselves with political parties. This has always been my stand and I believe I am right. The Unions of the colleges ought to be the common forums for all students to exercise and improve their capacity for debate. They may speak up for particular ideologies and policies. But they should not consider themselves as active workers for any particular political party.

Short-range politics leads leaders into grave errors. Getting students in colleges (we know how immature they

are in India) to shout for this or that political party is very harmful in the ultimate national result, apart from the immediate clashes.

I am asking the educated man or woman who reads this: Do you love the common folk of our land the men and women who swarm in town and villages? Do you love the languages they speak? Do you love their ways and manners? Do you love the religion they believe in, not looking upon it as ignorance but as better wisdom than your own? All this love sums up to patriotism. You can see now I am a 'reactionary' but not a hopeless one: because I see the defects among our people as well as I see their admirable qualities. Their general apathy I deplore. I would have them show more energy in many matters more than they do now, more tolerance and love towards one another, more energy in many matters more than they do and love towards one another, more capacity to work together for common purposes. I love, I intensely love, the bullock cart, but I do not wish to give up the railway train steaming from one end of the country to the other. I intensely love the beautiful languages our people speak, but I would not give up the great English language that links us all together in stronger and stronger bonds as the days pass. I love the great religion of the mass of our people and all its splendid variations that make no differences but form a beautiful and wise whole. But I do not want the search of material truth called science to be neglected. I want the elite to go to the shrines and the temples as the common folk do and daily renew and strengthen their resolve to be truthful and helpful to those around them. Otherwise the elite would be alienating themselves from the people, and serving neither themselves nor the people.

7.2 Reservations

Rajaji felt that reservations or extension of them will in no way solve the problems of the Harijans. I do not

congratulate the Harijan community on the Government of India's decision to extend the period of reservation of seats and constituencies for them for another decade. The division between caste Hindus and Harijans will not disappear but be given further life by these reservations. A bold plan is what the Harijan community needs, a plan of equality and virile competition. The party interests of the ruling groups everywhere are served by these reservations not the real social advancement of the Harijan community.

We can continue the present reservations or any other form of separate election for Harijans for a hundred years, but if our aim is to eradicate the notion of some people being untouchable by birth it cannot be achieved by these reservations. These reservations tend to produce the opposite effect. If the aim is to help certain leaders to attain political positions, these reservations can serve that purpose. But if our object is social integration, free and equal competition in education and occupations is the only way.

As the seniormost crusader now in India for removing the religious bar called 'untouchability', it is my privilege to claim that today no one in India, whether he calls himself a Harijan or by any other name, is barred from any office or job or from entering any school, hospital, nursing home or theatre, or transport or road or eating house. I am also entitled, I respect fully urge, to advise that the legislative reservations proposed to be extended for another ten years should not be done, as this keeps untouchability alive instead of removing it. Let us not launch a long term programme of keeping up untouchability when the people are giving it up. Let us by all means do what will do away with the remnants of the religious disability in the rural areas. Providing reservations to help the ruling groups with block votes will not either reduce or do away with rural customs. It is much better to try to provide the rural areas with clean drinking water and

other amenities than provide easy seats for some people to enter the legislatures.

Every party has welcomed the extension of the special reservation of seats to the Harijan community for another ten years. Risking being misunderstood, I reiterate what I told Sri. Jagjivan Ram many many years ago as my personal conviction in respect of his community. Legal impediments should be wholly removed. There are none now, Concessions do not help the Harijan community socially, politically or economically. It is hard work in a hard contest that will raise the status and improve the material and the moral conditions of the Harijans or any other backward community. General as well as technical education should be given to deserving members of the backward communities, including the Harijans, and the expense should be borne by society as a whole.

7.3 Unemployment

Unemployment has not only engendered socio-economic posers, but has also created a serious law and order problem. Social tensions are rising. The anti-social element is getting strength from the situation and crime is on the increase. There is a danger of communists capitalizing on the situation and organizing the unemployed for an armed revolution.

It is a pity that the Government has not appreciated the problem in the proper perspective. There is an urgent need to clear the backlog of unemployment as well as to create job opportunities for the future. A quick check on the growth of population is impracticable. The readjustment of population by migration within the country would be of limited value.

The Government must realize that the education system is obsolete and needs overhauling to make education job-oriented and practically useful. While modern

technology may help industrial growth, it has also added to employment. It is also a paradox that while there is an admitted shortage of trained manpower, engineers and other trained personnel have failed to find suitable jobs. Agricultural development can help to remove this anomaly. Agricultural machines, pumps, tractors, bulldozers, reapers and other tools of the prospering peasant require the services of engineers. This is an example of the use of "intermediate technology", which can suffice for most lines of production catering for internal demand, and provides far more employment per unit of capital than the more sophisticated technology. The Government can help the establishment of self employment projects, by extending financial assistance to trained personnel to set up workshops and small scale industries.

It will not do just to lament the growing unemployment. What is required is concrete action.

A member of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California at Berkeley questions the assumption that managements have an unqualified right to introduce automation and create unemployment. This point has *found prominent place in an official report*. If managements claim the right to automate their property, then Labour Unions have an equal right to resist automation in order to protect the workers, property-their jobs. This is how the problem is posed. The question is raised why limitations should not be put on extensions of technology which seriously injure the interests of human beings engaged in any particular production. Modern limitations on the rights of managements of various types are quoted to prove that limitations to prevent unemployment through automation would be justifiable in principle. Be this as it may, the principle of limiting technological advance in the interest of human beings, and their right to work applies with greater force in the national issue of Handlooms vs Textile Mills, Khandsari or Gur vs sugar factory and the

like in India. Arguments against the unlimited right to automate in a single factory apply with infinitely greater force when automation adversely affects whole masses of the population, in a country where the State claims the right to regulate all production in the interest of the welfare of the people.

There is much talk now in the ruling circles about rural unemployment. Unemployment and Government policies are intimately related. It is only increased private industries, and expansion of the infrastructure for such increase that can ease the unemployment situation, not by pouring of resources into what is called 'public sector'. Public works like road making, repair of silted tanks, good drainage for rural areas and the like, these can and must be enormously expanded so that simultaneously production and trade may increase and unemployment eliminated. Crores can and should be spent in works that would give gainful employment to the rural folk, by showing imagination on the subject and avoiding imitatory gigantism. What is good policy for India and its vast population is something different from what is good for Britain or Germany. Industries that require costly machinery and high grade technology, but can employ only a limited number of skilled workers, are not what India wants. These will not reduce rural unemployment in India. They will serve only our vanity and not help our people to attain full employment. There is no shame in importing articles made in foreign countries, which only a limited number of people in our country wish to buy and save our resources for works that will engage our people in well distributed industries that give better wages than what agriculture can provide. This is what our people want.

Seventeen years ago I obtained from the Legislative Assembly of undivided Madras a unanimous resolution demanding that the Union Government should ban textile mills from producing bordered dhoties and coloured or

printed sarees, leaving these items of production to the millions of handloom weavers who live on that cottage industry without throwing any burden on Government. This cottage production has stood the attacks of the factories for a century and has to this day survived and maintained its hold on the people. I am glad the Central Government has after sixteen years begun, to think on the subject and appears to have resolved on making a beginning by way of giving effect to the resolution of the Madras Assembly. If indeed the Government has resolved to give the protection which the handlooms demand it should fully carry out the intention in letter and spirit. Printed and bordered as well as dyed sarees, and dhoties with borders, should all be reserved for the handlooms. The following press report shows that an order of the Union Government on the subject, which does not appear to go the whole way still remains to be properly executed:

Under an order issued by the Union Government on November 9, 1966, the manufacture and piece-dyeing of coloured cotton sarees by composite textile mills, powerloom factories and machine processors have been exclusively reserved for the handloom industry.

It may be further clarified that the Union Government order applied to all powerloom holders, including units having four looms and below. All composite textile mills and powerloom units and machine processors are, therefore advised to desist from manufacturing coloured cotton sarees and piece-dyeing of cotton sarees.

The competent authorities in the State under Section 31 of the Cotton Textile Control Order, 1948, have been instructed to take necessary measures to ensure strict enforcement of the said order of the Government.

The notion that unemployment causes people to go communist is only partially correct. It is true about most of the following. But the leaders, specially the young folk,

genuinely sympathise with the poor and are disgusted with the selfishness of grown-up people. Their leaning towards Marxism as an 'ism' is due to ignorance of an economic law, not to their own unemployment. Some groups for their own reasons spread ignorance among immature young persons making them believe that Marxism can produce paradise without capital. Ignorance can only be removed by education. Goals are confounded with means. Means depend on economic laws though goals depend only on our desires.

Young Marxists are bound to become Naxalites as the days pass, because there is no objection in the communist mind to violence if it is for what they deem to be a "good" purpose. Marxists are not ideologically non-violent. Their means depend on expediency just as with other communists. They have as little regard for our Constitution as other Communists.

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 their 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 objectives 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.

It is true that when mechanization first came, English labour was frightened, but soon it was found they did not suffer by it. That was a period of rising prosperity, on a very large scale, for England. Indian conditions are different. The fears of clerical employees and manual workers over mechanization and computers cannot be allayed by reference to British history or the history of other Western countries. The extensive installation of devices to displace the work of human brains or human muscles, simply because they are now used extensively in Western lands is of questionable expediency in a country where the greatest asset is the total of human brains and human muscles available for use by the State as representing the community. Where speed is essential we may and should utilize what can satisfactorily serve in that respect better than human brains and human muscles. But where speed is only a consequence (and a luxury which we can easily get used to and by habit become later unable to do without) it would be wrong to displace the human element and increase unemployment by going in for speed when it is not specially wanted. The computer itself, if properly questioned, will honestly tell us when it will sure enough displace old employees or shut out new ones and increase unemployment, whatever the minister questioned may now

say or refuse to say. The fatal tendency to imitate, in order to appear civilized and 'modern', should be curbed. As education advances in the country the full employment of educated young men will be an issue that cannot be shirked. We must bear in mind the special conditions of our country and our nation is taking any step of this kind. To see a thing quickly done is a natural desire. But when it would be wise to do it more slowly and no special gain is involved in doing it quickly, we should not leave a positive asset unutilized and import costly apparatus and knowhow teachers to be able to do things quickly and in the modern way. To do anything which will increase unemployment or reduce the existing scale of employment is the worst service one can do to this nation. We should learn to admire the human brain and the human body and realize what a tragedy it would be to leave vast number of those previous organic machines of the highest type unemployed. An intelligent use of whatever we have in the way of the most previous of all assets, viz., human brains and human muscles, this is the proof of wisdom in administration. To introduce a policy which is bound to result in a waste of this asset (and God knows what crimes and misfortunes as a consequence) is the opposite of wisdom. What is one nation's food can be poison for another nation.

Agitation against retrenchment consequent on automation is gathering strength. Theoretically the most favourable situation for devaluation of currency is when there is plenty of unemployment which can be exploited to satisfy the additional demand generated by devaluation. Unemployment particularly among the middle classes in India is notorious. Surplus labour is one of India's chief assets. But at this juncture comes a new drive for automation in Government managed business, which must result in retrenchment, be it now or a little later. The managements promoting automation do so in order to reduce recurring costs, not minding what capital expense it involves. These managements look

upon themselves as if they were just like other industrialist proprietors aiming at economy and increase of net profits forgetting the cost to Government as such, on account of the retrenchment and increased unemployment involved in the short as well as the long term.

Writing on the importance of a worker Rajaji stated: The prosperity of our nation and the welfare of all classes of our people are in the hands of our workers. Whether they are urban workers or rural labourers, they should make up their minds to help in increasing the prosperity of their motherland and to free themselves from the tentacles of trade unions led by power-motivated politicians. Management should speed up this process of emancipation by being not only just liberal. When workers rural and urban attain this true freedom, and work in a spirit of patriotism, Gandhiji's dreams will be fulfilled.

Success comes in industrial progress if managers and workers are industrious, honest and patriotic. When any of these elements are lacking, whatever be the ambitious plans of Government, failure must result and workers must suffer along with the entrepreneurs. The success of Germany and the failure of India can both be understood if these premises are kept in mind.

If contracts entered into by managements should be respected by managements so also the workers' contract to work should be respected by them. The strict laws adopted for the protection of essential services stand on good moral grounds and there should be no hesitation in the minds of people to enforce them and keep these essential services going without break.

The following extract from an editorial in the Indian Express on trade unions in West Germany is worthy of note by trade union leaders in India.

Trade unionism in India has been so much dominated by negativist and anti-management attitudes that very few

labour leaders have cared to explore the vast range of constructive services which well organized trade unions can offer to the workers. While this may be partly ascribed to the Marxist legacy of class war it must be attributed also to ignorance among trade union leaders of what positive services the workers' voluntary organizations can render. For instance, how many union leaders of what positive service in India are aware of the housing programmes and the banking and insurance services provided by the West German trade unions? The unions' housing organization, the Neue Heimat, has financed construction of over 450,000 units since 1945. The Bank Für Gemeinwirtschaft, which is the "house bank" of the German trade unions, is the fourth largest in West Germany. It finances the operations of other trade union bodies, provides consumer credit at low interest rates, and generally acts as a brake on other national and regional banks. The insurance wing of the German Confederation of Trade Unions, the Volksfürsorge, handles life, pension, property, accident, fire and travel insurance through four subsidiaries and is one of the largest companies in the field. Policy-holders receive 99.8 per cent of the profits - much more than what policy-holders receive are entitled to from India's nationalized Life Insurance Corporation - with the result that other insurance companies are obliged to follow its example. The total assets of Neue Heimat are estimated at 1200 million dollars (over Rs.860 crores) and it accounts for 25,000 new housing units annually. Its subsidiaries are engaged in providing such community facilities as schools, shopping centres and hospitals. Among other union enterprises are a savings bank, 5200 consumers cooperative stores, a book club and a group of travel agencies.

"Workers belonging to various trade unions pledge on May Day today (May 1) to work whole-heartedly for the welfare of the people in the country. In pledges taken at different rallies they said that they would also work to bring about complete understanding amongst all trade unions".

This is the report in Hindu. The May Day celebrations represents in concrete shape the slogan of the communists, "Workers of the world unite - you have nothing to lose but your chains". This slogan is good enough as far as it goes, but only as far as it goes; it is based on conflict between workers and managements.

In India we have the great festival of Ayudha Pooja. It is a festival dedicated to thankful and prayerful worship of all the tools that help mankind to progress. It covers scriptures, secular books, machines and all tools from the steam engine and aeroplanes down to the plough, the sewing machine, the spade and the broom of the scavenger. The festival is par-taken in by managers as well as workers. It is a festival representing gratitude and harmony and dedication to service and the progress of civilization. Ayudha Pooja is really our great May Day. Workers and managers of all communities have been participating on it for ages without any thought of distinctions between castes or communities.

I had a long chat with Sri. Easwaran, well-known industrialist of Madras. He told me the sad tale of workers strikes which cause heavy loss of production and hurt the industrialists and the workers themselves. He is of the view, and he is right, that the management should bypass the labour leaders who misguide the workers and cultivate personal relationship with intelligent workers and educate them about the identity of interest between labour and capital. He admits this is hard work and may, at the start, fail in many instances, but the effort should be persisted in. Sri. Easwaran himself has fought in employers' groups for a better deal for workers and succeeded by his firmness.

Workers should not merely be united under good leadership but should keep in their minds that the unbroken prosperity of the concerns in which they have chosen to work is their interest as well as that of the employers. It is also an inheritance for the next generation of workers. If the

naked violence and wrongful imprisonment which has come into vogue under the name of 'gherao' in spite of clear judicial pronouncements against the practice, is not put down severely and quickly, industry as a whole will be fatally affected. The illusion of workers victory through such violence will not be able to prevent this consequence, which will gravely put back all progress and hurt the workers more than anyone else, not only of this generation but of the coming generations of workers as well.

Another thing I cannot understand is why the trade union leaders do not see that if they smash industrial concerns by raising trouble, the management may be sorry, but if the proprietors who will go home feeling rather relieved, the workers will have nothing to rely on to make both ends meet and will be an addition to the hapless poor. The trade union leaders will not be able to help them.

The following is one of the most sensible letters which have appeared in recent times in the public press. It is given below, taken from Saturday Review (New York, USA). The suggestion in the letter ought to be worked out as quickly as possible in all civilized countries.

A.H. Raskin's article deals only with striking civil servants. I don't think the problem can be solved apart from the whole question of the use of the strike as a weapon by organized groups. The answer lies, I believe in putting the strike weapon in the museum with the spear and battle axe. Thoughtful people have been saying for years that all labour disputes should be settled in some sort of labour courts. The argument these days is no longer about starvation wages or intolerable working conditions. It's about more money and more benefits, etc. Surely there is no need to trample on the public in order to adjudicate such issues.

It seems clear that civil servants are entitled to better treatment vis-a-vis organized workers in the private sector.

But instead of permitting government employees to enforce their demands by strike leverage, all strikes should be transmited into civil suits before an appropriate forum. Pandora's box should be closed not opened wider.

The right to work as well as the right not to work should both be fully recognized. But these two rights do not give anyone the right to compel others by force of organization to do one or the other. A state that indirectly forces any person to work against his will is a tryanny. A trade union which indirectly forces any one not to work, when he wants to work, is no less a tyranny. The strike weapon must be put in the museum as no longer necessary or reasonable or consistent with freedom or order or progress.

Once upon a time labour was weak and required to be helped. But now industry is held to ransom by labour. All strikes should be transmited into civil suits before an appropriate forum, as Gabriel Litt has proposed in his letter.

Mr. P.C. Mathew Union Labour Secretary made a very good speech at Jamshedpur. His suggestions, that strikes by Government staff should be banned and compulsory arbitration of claims and disputes should be resorted to, deserve immediate and deep consideration. The matter should not be allowed to drift or be shelved because at present there is no crisis. It is when there is no crisis that things can be dispassionately considered and decided upon.

The progress of material civilization has reversed the balance of power against employers. The industrial wage earning class is in greater power now. It is the employers and society that need protection now, not the working class as in the old days. Society has got inextricably entangled in way of life which enables the wage-earners to hold society to ransom.

No court can compel men to work when they do not wish to work, but the judiciary can enforce contracts if

the law helps the courts in that direction. A breach of contract is a tort against which at present there is not adequate speedy remedy. It is not a crime which can be met by punishment. Those who abet and help the breach of contract by workers cannot be touched by the law as it now stands.

The present Government in Britain has taken a step forward to restore the balance of power a right as between society and industrial workers. The British Bill proposes to make trade unions engaging in illegal strikes liable to heavy fines. When this becomes law, it will serve as a deterrent and help society to defend itself against unpatriotic and unjustified breaches of contracts by workers. The Bill is so framed as to save the new law from unduly interfering with the just rights of workers, while it helps to prevent the tyranny of trade unions.

When society gives up the simple life and gets enslaved to luxuries and semi-luxuries the laws have to be readjusted so as to save the several elements which have to cooperate, from mutual tyranny. Combinations to commit torts have to be treated as crimes and liable to punishment. This step of the British Conservatives is a legal move towards peace and a deterrent of anti-social conduct.

David Rockefeller, grandson of the first Rockefeller, who is not just a banker. He is an advocate of creative management and enlightened public service. He is a graduate of Harvard with an advanced degree from the London School of Economics and a PhD in economics from Chicago. David Rockefeller lists five attributes of creative management (which we in India can extend also to what we may call creative government) : Flexibility, Receptivity, Optimism, Courage and Social Responsibility. The last goes necessarily with governments while it has to be specifically added to business management, equating with Gandhiji's doctrine of trusteeship of private wealth. The other four attributes are worth contemplation by politicians

who compete with one another to make India a happy country for its citizens. Flexibility is a willingness to reappraise continually all facets of the affairs managed, with an eye to upgrading performance. Have we got this flexibility in our Government? Most observers would say no. Receptivity is a willingness to evaluate without prejudice any new suggestions that may improve conditions and enhance efficiency. Is not this terribly lacking in our Government? Dogmatism and blind attachments to formulae and policies conceived under different conditions (and even then more or less blindly adopted), characterize the Government's most loudly reiterated doctrines of public management. Optimism is not a creed. It is an attitude that human energy should always present to difficulties. Have we not more of suppression of facts and difficulties than bold solutions ventured upon or offered? Courage consists in business management as well as in government, in a willingness to risk mistakes in the pursuit of growth and progress. Democratic forms of government do not encourage this quality unless the leadership is one that can be classified as courageous. The greatest enemy of good government is timidity, a fear of the electorate, and worst of all an undue fear of particular sections of the electorate whose satisfaction has, for one reason or another, become with the leader an obsession.

"No wage is too high if the worker earns it. Five cents an hour is too high if the worker does not earn it". This is what a staunch friend of labour said. "Wages can come only from production and an increase can come only from increased production. When unearned higher wages force prices higher, as they must, the customer simply stops buying. And then more and more workers have no wages at all."

A large number of good people think a minimum wage law will benefit the poor. But read the following from an American journal:

The greatest help we can give the Negro today is to repeal the statutory minimum wage. Instead, we are raising it. By doing this we are foreclosing opportunity for Negro teen-agers. Many are now unable to obtain the jobs where they could learn the skills which would enable them to earn far more than the statutory minimum.

A New York Times story on February 13, 1967, from Greenville, Mississippi, said that spot checks by civil rights workers indicated that 100,000 people were deprived of all farm income because agricultural workers were covered by the Fair Labour Standard Act for the first time. As a result 100,00 farm jobs were wiped out.

A Wall Street Journal story on September 7, 1965, reported the layoff of 1,800 women in North Carolina crab meat packing plants when the minimum went from 1.15 to 1.25.

A few people already holding jobs may benefit by such legislation, but a whole class of people are adversely affected and those people have no one to speak for them.

Ambassador Chester Bowles has put a well accepted point in an attractive epigrammatic form in the American Reporter. It may be possible, he says, to develop production without economic justice; but it is impossible to achieve economic justice without increased production. Mr. Chester Bowles therefore urges that it is essential for a developing nation to release the energies of its people by establishing incentives for hard work. Experience shows, he says, that too many controls discourage expansion and stifle enterprise.

Finally Rajaji's writing on 'work' perse is worth reading. There is work for everybody if only we care to think aright instead of substituting stale slogans for thought. Is there not enough to do on the land without the responsibilities involved in owning it? Is there not enough in the country to do by way of building clean houses fit for human

occupation without losing the benefit of the company of our dumb friends, the cows, the poultry and the rest, not leaving them to roam about the make the best of a bad and dirty world?

Is there not work enough to make good cart-roads to integrate the country into one prosperous continental garden? Is there not almost an infinite amount of work to do to give clean drinking water to all who live in the villages? Is there not enough to do to provide facilities for keeping the people's clothes and their cattle clean and tidy, and beautiful to look at? If some surgical aid and maternity homes are provided and other such humble and essential work be undertaken, there will not only be jobs for all but happiness for all. With God's grace we can all be happy and again become the teachers of a world that is going wrong.

7.4 Slums

Those who dwell in the slums of the city are an indispensable part of the urban population. They partly represent the rural population wanting employment in urban life. But the substantial part of the slum population consists of those who work in various ways and support urban life as a whole. The problem of housing them properly is complicated by the fact that they are a shifting population. Those who reside in slum houses today will tomorrow be replaced justly by others younger, and offering to do the same work.

The huts occupied by these slum-dwellers therefore cannot be made the property of those who dwell in them now or at any particular time. Even if it were possible, it would amount to expansion of the city for citidwellers and new slums would quickly and necessarily come into being, and would be occupied by a fresh set of people prepared to do the work which the present slum dwellers

are doing. This is the complication which has to be kept in mind when planning to improve the lot of slum dwellers, which is a painful sight to see and certainly calls for reform and improvement in many ways.

Cottages planned to house these *shifting urban workers* - the older among them go back to their rural houses, the younger ones remain working in the city - must be good but also cheap in order to cope with the poor wages earned by the workers. The ownership must vest in a board wherein the Government and the Corporation and industrialists and city householders employing domestic servants may all be represented. The plan calls for much reflexion and a bigger investment than anything now contemplated. These cottages have to be near the work-spots of those living therein or have the advantage of the suburban trains. There should be good lighting, good policing, drinking water, bathing and sanitary facilities, and above all good drainage. Every city or large town in India requires this adjunct. The thing to be remembered is that the cottages should conform to the life and requirements of the type of people who live there. They must keep poultry and grow some vegetables for their kitchens and lead a rural life along with their growing children depending on the attention of their mothers. Flats piled one over another will not do. Large spaces in various districts of the city, public ownership and cheap rent must characterize the plan. Those who dwell in the cottages must be prevented from thinking of, or developing ownership and inheritance rights, but must live within the legal rights of tenants bound to vacate for new workers coming to the city.

The long term solution for the slum problem in the cities is one that must be evolved from the *motivation of the influx of the rural population into cities and the occupation of these slum dwellers while they live in the slums*. The solution in my opinion consists in the acceptance in principle of laying an obligation on all occupants of big houses and

attached grounds in the cities to build out houses which they should place the disposal of the servants they employ and who are now forced to find accommodation in slums. If this plan is adopted in principle, it can be worked out without any significant hardship or considerable delay. The problem of housing industrial workers is of a different nature and must be tackled separately. Most of the slum dwellers are men and women working for the upper and medium class city dwellers in their residences. It is therefore legitimate to place an obligation on house owners in the cities such as I suggest here.

What is being daily said about city slums is important. They must be got rid of, everyone feels. But we ought to think in terms of the needs of those living in the cities and of the working people who come to the cities to serve the main body of the city families and to earn a living. Every family living in a normal house in a city and earning enough to carry on in a place like Calcutta or Madras, employs a couple of domestic servants who have to do daily tasks which the members of the family do not themselves feel capable of doing. These people cannot be simply ordered out of the city by municipal or police officials or by lovers of urban tidiness and beauty. They are a necessary part of the life of the cities. Then there are others who are not domestic servants but are also an indispensable paste of city life. All these must have residences somewhere near their places of work, considering the hours when they are wanted for their allotted tasks. 'Slum clearance' is an easy slogan, but clearance is a wrong word. We must think out the problem in terms of human needs and feelings. So far those who are employed in these tasks which call for their coming to the cities have been left to their own wits. This is a failure of duty on the part of the city-dwellers who engage them for work. We must be thankful that these poor souls look after themselves, giving bribes and appeasing the many hawks who are at

them, losing a big share of the little money they earn. A plan is called for under which every municipal ward will have an area set apart for decent and healthy housing of those who have to do the dirty tasks required to be done to make life possible for the middle and upper class dwellers. These areas should be specially looked after by the Corporation and should not be allowed to be globed up by the expanding middle and upper class dwellers, thus creating the need for new slums. These areas should be reserved as State property and should not be allowed to become anyone's private property. This is the way to do slum clearance in a proper way. It calls for much careful and detailed planning. We should remember we have not advanced out of manual labour into machine work in many matters. Cleaning is still traditional manual work. We cannot plan things as if the middle classes in cities were, all civilized enough and had modern conveniences to do their own cleaning up. Servants do not live in the houses of those who take work from them, but run their own families in their own huts somewhere else.

There is a reflection of the occupational habits of the people as a whole. As long as city-dwellers cannot get on without the services of men and women who are prepared to do what is called 'menial work', there will be a continuous flow of rural workers into the cities for the higher wages they can earn by such service than what they can earn in their villages.

If brick and cement apartments are built and the present slum-dwellers occupy them neither the Corporations nor the Governments will be able to evict them later on, even if Governments hold the rights of ownership. They will become practically the owners of those Apartments when they rise to a higher level of living. New slums on the old pattern will come into existence as and when people come from the villages to the cities to fill the places of those who have risen to a higher scale in society. Great care has

therefore to be taken and plans properly laid for what is sought to be done.

In Britain families have to attend to their no requirements. They cannot get any servants for what is called 'menial service'. Our city and town dwellers should learn to be independent and to do what British families do if we do not what slums in our cities.

The slums no doubt are a painful eyesore in our otherwise beautiful cities. The slums however are not just ugly huts. Huts can be replaced by brick and cement non-inflammable apartments if governments or corporations spend money. But a reflection of the movement of the rural population in search of gainful work, which the slums really are, cannot be tackled by brick and cement. Work can, at present, be got only in cities. We can spend money and substitute the slums by brick and cement houses and give the occupants ownership in them. But new slums will take their place, because the occupational drive will not cease with these place, improvements. The target must, therefore, be something other than brick cement. The target must be open and healthy drainage, the repair of tanks and reservoirs which have silted up and the like to which I have given the name of open air public works. This and the dispersal of industrial centres throughout the countryside so as to create opportunities for earning good wages without crowding the cities and towns are the only remedy. Symtomatic treatment by replacing the slums by better houses will be an unending and wasteful process.

The Allaying of the symptoms and results may bring votes for those who hunger for votes. But it cannot solve the slum problem. Doles of good houses to those who have invaded cities for gainful occupation and live in slums will only mean public expenditure but no solution of the problem. New slums will come into being and public expenditure cannot go on indefinitely. The problem must be recognized as an occupational problem and faced more realistically.

Industry must be diffused over the country and not allowed to concentrate in the cities as now.

I am repeating what I have said before of this column in a former issue. Slums are an occupational phenomenon, not a mere Housing Board problem. The resources of the State should not be wasted by looking upon slums as failure to provide good houses. The better wages that industrial concerns and domestic service in cities provide for the rural families who can spare individuals to go and earn better wages in cities, make them go and put up ugly slums and live in the most unhealthy conditions. The solution lies in distributing industries in smaller towns throughout the country, instead of allowing them to concentrate in big cities for the convenience of the managements. Resources should be spent in this direction by providing transport facilities for raw materials and semi-finished products, etc. Window dressing will not do. The State may build good houses and rent them cheap to present day workers who will not vacate them. Another generation of workers will come up raise new slums as before and the problem of ugliness and unhealthy conditions will continue unsolved.

7.5 Population

Rajaji writing on Population Control, Family Planning and contraceptives felt that India should be in a position to utilize its human resources positively for the welfare of the nation. He was totally against the idea of family planning and the indiscriminate use of contraceptives.

In support of his belief Rajaji besides writing his own comments quoted the findings of studies, reports and speeches given by medical professionals on the issues.

According to Rajaji natural abstinence and celibecry were better and healthier solutions.

According to the Vatican Press Bulletin, "the Holy Father said that India has a veritable wealth in its popu-

lation and that the country with proper utilization of its resources could feed a population double the number that it now has".

The Holy Father has by implication rightly drawn the attention of our hasty politicians to the inestimable value of the machine which the living human body is both for simple productive bodily labour and for the defence of the country when and if a call should arrive. Nations fear and respect China not because of any success of the Chinese in family planning but on account of its population.

According to a note in *Osservatore Romano*, the Pope does not believe in the myth of a population explosion which can only be held back by the practice of contraception.

It is said the Pope recognized that there was a rapid growth in the world's population but that biological, sociological and historical evidence showed that there were many factors which ensured a natural control on population growth.

Immoral practices and a diminution of self control grow out of the use of contraceptives quicker than any reduction of population ensuing therefrom. These practices undermine the character of the people in a serious degree. His Holiness is interested in the general welfare of his Catholic flock.

Apart from morality and national defence, the proponents of contraception as a means of solving the insufficiency of food production should remember that the time element involved in the one is very different from that in the other. The food insufficiency is an urgent and immediate problem. Contraception calls for a vastly longer time of waiting for results to be seen. The arithmetical formula for the solution of the food issue, $\text{food} \times t_1 \text{ population} \times t_2$ is a fallacious formula as it ignores the vast difference between t_1 and t_2 .

India's task in curbing her population is far more difficult than the problem of becoming self-sufficient in foodgrains. If only twenty per cent of Indian cultivators can be persuaded to accept the newly developed seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and improved irrigation, India's food problem can probably be solved. To achieve India's family planning goal requires the support and cooperation of at least sixty per cent of the entire population.

The following from a Himmat contributor, Dr. Paul S. Campbell will be read with interest.

The people of Europe and America are full of fanciful ideas for helping India to have less Indians and more food. A serious proposal from the West now being promoted by the Indian Government itself, is to sterilize the male population.

Sterilization is promoted from the West by people who would never seriously put it forward as a national programme in their own countries. No government could survive the laughter of the electors.

The same days paper carry the news that the Family Planning Evaluation and Planning Committee has opined that the provision of Rs. 95 crores made originally will have to be augmented considerably if the family planning programme is to have any real impact and recommended that a provision of Rs. 239 crores should be made for family planning programmes during the Fourth Plan period. One cannot conceive a more wasteful use of precious resources.

Since we have been 'educated' to be callous about the moral points involved in "family planning" and it is considered a step up in civilization. I may give the reader the following from a big medical personality, Dr. J.A. Shannon, Director of the National Institute of Health, in the USA:

By our humanitarian interference with the operation of natural selection, we are saving many lives, but we are

also to some extent degrading the health of the nation. We are gradually weakening our genetic inheritance.

I had a lengthy chat with Family Planning Minister Dr.Chandrasekhar last week. I told him that he and his contraceptive programme were the big enemies of morality in India. I told him that I had no objection whatsoever to the discriminatory use of contraceptives or resort to abortion where doctors advised it in the interest of the mothers' health, but I am totally averse to the indiscriminate dissemination of pills to solve our food problems by reducing population. He appeared quite happy with my attitude. I suppose he welcomed the concessions I made and did not mind what I thought of his main campaign. I very definitely told him that the morality of our young people will be ruined before he could hope to achieve any significant reduction in the total population and save trouble for our Government in the matter of sufficient food production.

How "Family Planning" money is spent can be guessed from the following story given by the Police of Dharmapuri District. When public undertakings are converted into private enterprises the temptation of the operators to rob the public is too great to be withstood. Bargur is not a specially criminal area. It is as average as average can be. Vasectomy and sterilization have a tendency of becoming so many rupees per thumb mark.

The Salem Police have arrested two family planning agents attached to the clinic in Bargur village, Dharmapuri District, for alleged cheating of the Government of over Rs. 2 lakhs. The doctor in the primary health centre attached to the clinic was stated to have performed 6,326 vasectomy operations in 50 days between July and August 1966. This roused suspicion especially as the stock of medicines at the health centre was sufficient for only 600 operations.

The Salem (Vigilance) Police took up investigation at the instance of the Director of Medical Services leading to

the arrest of the two agents. They are alleged to have forged thumb impressions on the declaration forms in the names of fictitious persons and drawn from Government over Rs. 2 lakhs as remuneration.

The sooner the expensive farce of family planning is done away with, the better will it be for all concerned. Let people look after the number of their own families and not the State. The notion that food shortage can be met by this farce of family planning in India is not worth being maintained any longer.

Vice Chancellor Dr. A Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Veteran Statesman and well-known obstetrician of Madras, referred to the "Loop" drive and condemned it in no uncertain terms. "This population control has become a fetish", he said. "I agree there should be some control but it should not result in one error leading to another". The loop programme is totally unsuitable for our rural folk, who cannot get medical or surgical help where they live but must get touts to help them even to reach an enter city hospitals.

It is nonsensical for governments to seek to solve the food problem of a hundred years hence when the nations have not succeeded in doing away with nuclear weapons or with wars. If mothers are advised to resort to sterilization in the interest of their health, it would be legitimate. State plans for sterilization and money inducements for the furtherance of such plans and to reach specified plans and to reach specified targets of sterilization, along with the scandalous corruptions and waste of public funds on touts and others to get women to the surgical table, have no common sense behind them. It would be quite good to render adequate surgical and medical help for legitimate voluntary sterilization. All our energies resources and policies must be directed to the abolition of nuclear warfare and the avoidance of war. Till we succeed in that direction, we need not be anxious about overpopulation. Our concern must be how to avoid conflicts among owners, tenants and

workers and making people genuinely industrious and patriotic and effective in the production of food.

The Government of India has, we are told, decided to take the unprecedented step of an assault on the persons of citizens in the shape of compulsory sterilization of citizens who have reached a prescribed ceiling in the number of children begotten by them.

The attachment to pet ideas for national improvement is often stronger than even communal and caste attachments, especially when an aura of official power enhances one's importance. Dr. Chandrasekhar's belief that the food shortage should be met by a programme of reducing our population, through loops good and bad and pills foreign and swadeshi, is one such persistent attachment. He advocates the use of helicopters for spectacularly reaching the rural population with these devices. I am glad he is overdoing his illusion thereby helping to dispel it. Contraceptive measures are legitimate if used by individuals on their own judgment and for conserving their family standards of living and good health. To imagine that instead of expanding our food resources we may cut the population down by bringing about mass use of contraceptives and overtake the food shortage is madness.

A surgeon and a loop for each young lady is the scheme being pushed vigorously to solve our food problem. The idea of the "loop" inventor is to make it as popular among young women in India and other developing countries as Gillette blades are among male gentry in the West. Are we going back towards the reputed old custom of quietly doing away with all female babies?

Here is what contraceptive pills and loops bring about. They may reduce the acuteness of the food shortage problem for the Food Ministers of 2012 A.D. But here is what they have brought about in the UK universities today:

Sexual promiscuity and venereal diseases have increased sharply among British university students, the British Medical Journal reported yesterday.

A survey cited one college where 10 per cent of the girl students became pregnant before graduation. There were 45 pregnancies among 170 unmarried students at another university.

There was a marked increase in gynecological, genito-urinary and venereal ailments among both male and female undergraduates.

It has been stated on high US medical authority that the oral contraceptive pill is not yet proved free from cancer effects and that ten years would be required to settle the matter. I hope it is not the programme to make Indian womenfolk the guinea pigs for this ten years' test.

Mahatma Gandhi was consistently against these contraceptive activities. He was as fiercely against them as Dr. Chandrasekhar is fond to them. Gandhiji is entitled to a hearing in view of the services rendered by him to the nation. I do not maintain that we should accept Gandhiji's views in all times. But as one who rendered memorable service to the nation and one whose greatness is unquestioned, he is entitled to be heard and his view given the deepest consideration before any decision or policy is put into force contrary to what he urged, especially in matters where he felt that the morals of the nation would be irretrievably damaged by any particular policy.

The authoritative medical weekly, The Lancet, today warned of increasing evidence that the use of the contraceptive pill is linked with thrombosis.

In a report by medical researchers who had studied all available evidence the journal said there appeared to be at least a casual relationship between the pill and an increase in the deaths of young women from blood clotting.

Dr. Roy Hertz, Chief of the Department of Reproduction Research in the National Child Health Institute in America, has warned what breast cancer may occur in increasing measure as a result of using oral contraceptive pills. The warning is a result of research on monkeys, dogs and other animals with the hormone element in these pills.

Oral contraceptives are so tempting by reason of their dispensing with surgical or medical assistance, that the following should be read by persons wishing to command greater comforts and ability to buy inessentials through "family planning".

A US medical expert has told a Congressional sub-committee that oral contraceptives could produce breast cancer in women. Dr. Hugh Davis, a gynaecologist at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, said prolonged use of birth control pills could cause irreversible changes in the metabolic structure to produce breast cancer, diabetes and hardening of the arteries.

These contraceptives pills are made on the principle of artificially producing a general condition of the body which accompanies normal pregnancy. One can guess the dangers of continually being pregnant without conception. The doctor who warn women against this have good reason to do so.

British studies have disclosed that death from blood clots in the lungs and brain have increased materially among contraceptive pill takers. The American FDA in 1968 ordered the drug makers to tighten up their labelling and advertising for oral contraceptives with a long list of contra-indications, warnings, precautions and adverse effects. A well known American reporter on medical and related subjects draws attention to the fact that the pill has become a bonanza for the drug manufacturers second only to the tranquilizers. This has led to counter-opinion from some

medical men being obtained by the manufacturers. A number of physicians have concluded that the pill is so hazardous that it should be removed from the market altogether. Dr. James Goddard, ex-Commissioner of the US Food and Drug Administration, said that no doctor should prescribe the pill without a thorough medical history, a complete gynaceological examination and a pap smear for the detection of possible uterine cancer. The contraceptive pills do not work like black magic mantras, but in accordance with the real unchangeable natural laws. They create an artificial condition of pregnancy without the embryo in the womb. It is well known that during pregnancy no new conception takes place. This is the basis of the contraceptive action of the pills. They create in the women the physiological conditions associated with pregnancy and this is kept up throughout the years during which the pills are taken without any rest or relaxation. The women themselves can judge whether this could be a good thing for them.

The morality issue does not lead itself to statistical evaluation. But there is little doubt that the pill has spurred the prevalence of the pre-marital sexual relations.

The petty money rewards scheduled for illiterate persons undergoing contraception and sterilization-surgery will not bring about anything like significant population reduction, but the scheme demonstrates the depth of our poverty on which this scheme and schedule are built. Anything can be done with such poor and ignorant folk as our people are, if you are at liberty to bribe out of the public treasury.

I wish this making guineapigs of the womenfolk of our country were stopped - the loops and the pills which they distribute along with bribes exploiting the extreme poverty of our illiterate and defenceless people. I wish instead a long term scheme of giving simple military training to a million young men and women too if feasible were

planned pledging them to celibacy till 35 years of age. We need a core of hardy defenders for the country and for this, special training must be devised, not mere parade or goose-step but self-reliance and guerrilla-type hardihood, besides accurate use of simple weapons of warfare.

"Small family bonus likely" says a news caption. It seems Congress ministers believe that anything and everything can be achieved by the lavish distribution of money. It would be well if it dawns soon on the minds of ministers that education, not bribery is the rational answer to the problem of inducing people to do anything, whether in voting of an election or in a contraceptive programme or in other matters.

I write this with all the respect that is due to the well-wishers of the nation who seek at once to bring our population nearer to our country's food production by means of measures taken to curb the birthrate. It is well-known that I object, on various grounds, to these measures. The distribution of contraceptives leads to various unhealthy results other than what the administrators advocating it desire.

I do not object to the use of contraceptives according to medical advice in cases calling for such use of the interest of the health of the concerned mothers. But I feel that the contraceptives will not help to curb our total population growth.

The attacks of medical experts on the contraceptive pill are sought to be met by Dr. John Rock, an Emeritus Professor of Harvard. According to him., "when prescribed by a competent physician who keeps in contact with an informed and intelligent patient, a properly composed contraceptive pill is utterly safe". The cautions view expressed by Dr. John Rock clearly disqualifies the pill for mass use.

8.0 FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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8.1 India's Foreign Policy

The art of friendship, whether between individuals or between nations, is a difficult art. It is governed by a spiritual law. This spiritual law is both simple and taxing. Friendship cannot be acquired by bargain or bought for money. It is of course necessary that one should be ready and eager to help when help is needed. But the thrusting of help creates a sense of obligation, which often-times turns gratitude into hostility. The secret of making another one's friend is to feel friendly oneself, truly and genuinely, and not for advantage. If one feels this kind of friendliness oneself, one does not ask for or even think of a return for it. The feeling becomes its own fulfilment when one feels this unsolicited and un-bargaining friendship. It then makes a spiritual impact on the other side. The friendship is returned automatically and this reward is felt as a windfall, not as something reaped or acquired by effort. We can have alliances but not friendship by arrangements. Arranged friendships, like arranged marriages, many sometimes turn out well but usually fail to be anything more than something to be patiently suffered.

The following is an extract from the late Mr. Louis Fischer's article on Mahatma Gandhi which he wrote for the Journal of Historical Studies of Princeton. It is one of the last publications of Louis Fischer:

"If man is to survive, if civilization is to survive and flower in freedom, truth, and decency, the remainder of the twentieth century and what lies beyond must belong not to Lenin or Trotsky, not to Marx or Mao or Ho or Che, but to Mahatma Gandhi", stating India occupies an important place in the world. China is, I repeat, not a temporary phenomenon. The present conflict is a warning and an eye-opener which, like all difficulties that Providence sends

to educate erring mortals, should be welcomed. We have a permanent danger on the other side of the Himalayas and a powerful rival who is wedded to an ideology which is in acute conflict with our philosophy of life. We do not want conflict, but the potentiality of a conflict is there permanently. Our foreign policy must be guided by this fact. We must acknowledge what we have now clearly seen demonstrated, that the balance of power is greatly on the enemy's side. We must shape our foreign policy to set this imbalance right as far as we can. This world has become dangerous, and the best we can do is to choose the lesser of two evils or the less dangerous among two dangers that we face. We court disaster if we foolishly resolve to face both dangers in our inability to choose. We must make powerful friendships among those Powers who are inclined to consider our northern rival their rival too. In this atomic age, and until unclear weapons are effectively Powers to undertake too much responsibility but we can build up moral power and deterrent strength by pruning our doubts and ambiguities, and aligning ourselves closely and wholeheartedly with them. Alignment is friendship and strength and not an incitement to conflict. The cold war situation that prevailed before China's foreign policy towards India was disclosed is different from the present and future conditions in which India's policies must function. It may be grand to have no fire hydrants at all and to sleep confidently, but now that cannot be. We have seen the need for keeping all deterrents and preventives and assistance around us.

It is an old Machiavellian strategy for governments to raise a scare of external danger, when they face difficulties in their stand with the people over internal affairs. There is nothing unlikely in the reports of alarming military build-up by the Chinese in the areas they have seized in the Himalayan border. The question is whether the Government is really alarmed by these dispositions of the Chinese

forces. Would it release communist detenus on a large scale at this very juncture, if it was really expecting new trouble from Communist China? If these persons had been deemed dangerous and put in detention all these months, could the danger be deemed non-existent now when, as reported, the Chinese preparations are more alarming than before? This wholesale release of the communist detention and the pressing forward with the 17th Amendment, and other very unpopular schemes, lead out to infer that the Government does not really feel there is an "emergency" and that it is retailed only for popular consumption.

Self-reliance is very good and in India we cannot over-emphasize it. But wisdom demands something beyond incentives and propaganda for self-reliance. Over-much protesting that we are strong and mighty now, and this appearing as headlines every morning in our daily press and in the speeches of ministers produce in intelligent observers a feeling that the Government is not really feeling confident. Too much protesting is generally the reflex of fear. "We are not yet in a position where we can do without outside help..... It is in close co-operation between the United States and India and other democratic countries in the area that the best chance of containing Chinese expansionism and maintenance of peace and freedom in this part of the world lies", writes the Hindu on Thursday (Nov. 18) reviewing the foreign policy debate in Parliament. Our Government must shed its inherited fear of displeasing Russia and act on the basis of the well established fact that neither Russia nor America will now look with suspicion or displeasure on anything done by us with either country in our own interest.

Again, let us have a high opinion of ourselves. But let us not, simply because we successfully resisted Pakistan's aggression, make ourselves look ridiculous by talking as if we have suddenly become a Great Power whom every one around is wooing. Mr. Masani made the most solid

and significant contribution in the foreign affairs debate. It was deservedly very well received. But Mr. Frank Anthony's clap-catching assurances on behalf of minorities blurred the effect of Mr. Masani's timely lucid and wise statement. We know all minorities in India are perfectly loyal and are not in league either with Pakistan because they are Muslims or with the UK because they are Anglo-Indians. The latest political disease in India is the notion spread by ultra-patriots that the UK is an enemy of India. It is as ridiculous as it is sheer ingratitude. It demonstrates inability to understand realist politics and an incorrigible incapacity to get out of historic bias. We have no more reliable or ready friends than the UK and the US. We can gratefully receive every help from the USSR also. But let us not over-estimate its capacity as help us against China.

Though Indian affairs are in disarray and she is not very powerful according to international standards, the beliefs of 480 million people in Asia count a great deal. I fear America is losing the propaganda literature in all languages wherein the USSR and the Communists of the world are painted as the greatest advocates of peace and civilization. The American side is practically left undefended in India. Ambassadors and others praising the Congress regime will not achieve much in this direction. Aid in terms of millions of dollars is received but it does not affect the propaganda that America is waging a brutal war in Asia. The US must wake up to this.

An Esteemed observer writes to me:

"At the time of the Soviet attack on Hungary in the autumn of 1956, India represented by Krishna Menon was the only non-aligned, non-communist country to vote with Soviet Russia in the UN. Until Menon came to New York, India's Permanent Representative was abstaining from voting in crucial divisions but Menon insisted on voting with Soviet Russia. After that, none of the neutral European countries believed that India's neutrality was genuine.

There has been increasing dependence of our economy on Soviet Russia, and particularly for arms, during the last few years. The lode-star of our foreign policy seems to be Pakistan and our main concern is to retain Kashmir. Consequently, there is a feeling among the ruling circles in New Delhi that any criticism of Soviet Russia might upset Kremlin which may therefore back Pakistan on the Kashmir issue". Treading on America's toes has been steadily kept up by the Union External Affairs administration. To the needless upgrading of India's embassy attached to North Vietnam is now added a new resident Mission in Cuba, which is bound to be interpreted: as another anti-American step. A former "Youth Congress" leader will be in charge of this Cuba embassy. The interpretation of this most unnecessary step that it is one more procommunist gesture cannot be easily dispelled.

As the Newsmen have taken it, Sir Alec Douglas-Home expressed the hope that India could, if it so decided, play the role of a Big Power and become the foundation and basis for collective security in South Asia. It was of course natural for the British Foreign Minister to speak in the friendly strain of congratulation and encouragement when he was in Delhi. But to play a Big Power role, India should be free of its heavy foreign debt obligations, and the burden of its military expenditure must be greatly reduced. To play a Big Power faction they feel in that industriousness are the secrets of Chinese power. The Chinese people do not bother about the total political power which their Government enjoys. The Indian temperament is different in all respects. Let us hope that our people learn wisdom from the Chinese example in respect of hard work and honesty.

8.2 Indo-Pak

The UN Security Council passed a mandatory resolution that Pakistan and India should stop fighting and

arrange for the withdrawal of all military forces to positions held before August 5. India has from the outset shown her readiness to obey the Security Council's mandate in the interests of peace, despite her success in holding up the aggression, provided satisfactory arrangements are made against a repetition of infiltration and aggression. When the Security Council after anxious and full consideration passed its mandatory resolution, India accepted it unconditionally, provided Pakistan agreed to obey it.

At the time of writing this, Pakistan's acceptance has been obtained by the Security Council and announced on the radio. India's suspension of fighting is a victor's gesture and is therefore a matter for pride and should not be matter for any kind of regret. The successful demonstration of India's strength to resist aggression is the true substance of victory and it stands intact although the shooting has been stopped in deference to international advice.

India has incidentally helped substantially to add to the prestige, stability and importance of the United Nations. The question now is: has the Security Council seen to it that Pakistan will not repeat the tactics which were defeated by our soldiers? Will not China again egg Pakistan on to a similar adventure?

The nuisance and the menace of China remain to be tackled. We must generate those virtues among our people which have given strength to China. The Chinese people are justly famous for industriousness. We must in all fields drop indolence. This and general integrity are an essential part of patriotism. The Government must supplement this with the military strength and deterrent power that international treaties give to a nation facing the violence of a neighbour who happens to possess a more powerful and ready military machine.

Pakistan's disregarding of the unanimous cease-fire mandate of the Security Council should not be allowed to

continue and reduce the UN to impotency. The resolution should be reaffirmed and deemed, if necessary, as having been adopted under another appropriate article of the UN Charter so that effective sanctions may be adopted. It is absurd that the World Authority should be flouted by Pakistan as is now being done, compelling India in sheer self-defence to keep the conflict going. Adlai Stevenson described the United Nations as "our shield against international folly in an age of ultimate weapons". Let us guard its potentiality and not let the institution pass into contempt and die before it grows to its destined power. This is more important than even the Kashmir issue.

Once again let me tender my blessings and record my hope that the Tashkent meet may produce something substantial. Something again that will also further the objects of the Washington visit. The meeting under Russian auspices can be of historic value in two directions, in bringing Pakistan and India nearer to each other as well as bringing the US and USSR into closer co-operation. There is not the slightest doubt that the Tashkent meeting has now President Johnson's sincere good wishes. People who imagine that he is cold or jealous about it do not understand the present world situation, although they may imagine that they understand it better than others. I hope Sri Lal Bahadur realizes and will keep in mind the great opportunity he has and the power he commands for doing lasting good to India as well as Pakistan. He should not let his mind be encased by a defensive shell of suspicion. He would do well to throw caution to the winds of God and talk from his heart. I need not remind him that this is the true way of drawing out the good in others, be it the Soviet Premier or even the Pakistan President.

Such an approach will induce the Soviet Premier to take active and positive interest instead of being a mere upadrashtaa. The meeting is not a bargain meeting, but should be looked upon as one to build or fail to build co-

operation and true goodwill. Let us do our best not to fail. I dislike the premature negative forecasts which our people are so fond of making. The present Chinese activities in our borders are proof that China recognizes the great importance of the Tashkent meeting and desperately tries to create conditions for its postponement or annualment. China is as afraid of the possible good results of the meeting as I am hopeful of it.

May God bless this enterprise and not allow it to go as one more addition to the limbo of the might have been, like my formula for satisfying Jinnah's demands.

The Kashmir problem India wants should be kept out of Tashkent. The Soviet leaders too would like it to be kept out seeing that both parties are dead rigid about it, and on that issue Tashkent would be a certain failure. Kashmir, it could be pointed out by Russia, is a strategic issue and not merely a political dispute and therefore it should await the arrival some day of China at the conference table. Meanwhile, Pakistan and India could discuss other matters and settle how to save themselves from total and unnecessary ruin for both and help each other instead towards peace and progress. Perhaps this line of action may save Tashkent-and save Soviet Russia from the ridicule which China is preparing to explode at the conclusion of the conference.

All hopes have been sadly belied. The news papers fairly clearly indicates that the Tashkent meet has collapsed. The only aim now is to find words to make up a decent joint public statement. The search for a solution has been definitely given up and a search for words has taken its place. The Soviet Premier Kosygin's untiring efforts have proved thankless. He is the only personality that comes out blameless in this sorry job. A great chance for the joint welfare and assured progress of both nations of Asia has been lost, making any fresh effort doubly difficult.

China's wishes have been fulfilled. Things have ended so as to speed up the economic collapse of both Pakistan and India through increased military budgets.

Both nations eagerly desired peace, though they spoke the most belligerent language. Nothing was going to be gained, both sides knew, by a prolongation of hostility, and they both also knew what a great deal could be gained by both people if they settled down to peaceful co-operation. But while this knowledge was clearly there, both sides having been busy for years encouraging mutual suspicion and fear, and sections of both people having gone a step forward, and found pleasure in that sweet poison called hatred, the leader on either side found it too difficult to do what in the secret of his heart he desired. The real and unseen battle, one may venture to say, is more between each leader and his own indoctrinated people, not so much between the two leaders or the two nations. No cease-fire lines and no no-war pacts on paper but a common economy will establish the goodwill and friendliness that both nations seek and this is, I venture to say, the plan of History for Pakistan and India after all the errors so far committed. I hope the combined pressure of external powers will some day push this thought into the minds of the two nations and their leaders.

Later in the evening on Monday we have news of a no-war pact. Any agreement or "pact" in these days when international law has practically gone out of existence, and when no Big Power wishes to entangle itself in other peoples' affairs lest an escalating conflict may land it in trouble, would be only as good as the force on hand at all times to back it up. A no-war pact can acquire a modicum of reality if it is backed by an arbitration clause for all disputes that may arise which are not solved by mutual discussion and which either of the two governments considers dangerous, the acceptance of the arbitrators' award being compulsory. The arbitrators may be three

members of the UN Security Council holding office at the time selected by the Secretary-General by lot.

Friendship and goodwill cannot be built on a vacuum. Indo-Pakistan co-operation would be a bigger thing than freedom from British domination which we have achieved. A big thing cannot be achieved except by a big effort, unfamiliar and seemingly impossible. When Gandhiji proposed non-co-operation to secure freedom from Britain, it certainly presented all the appearance of being an impossible proposal. Yet it was undertaken and carried to ultimate victory. The plan to achieve Indo-Pakistan friendship, which Lal Bahadur and Ayub Khan have initiated at Tashkent, is not a house that can be built on sand. It must have a good solid foundation. A free and open border is, therefore, a proper first step. Difficulties will of course crop up and they are just the things to be faced and overcome, if we are earnest about this plan of friendship. If Lal Bahadur were alive he would, I honestly believe, have welcomed my plan. But let a competent group of economists and responsible people take it up and examine the possibilities thoroughly. If we succeed, we shall have not only achieved real moral greatness, power and position in Asia, but also a position from which we can command Western co-operation on a scale hitherto not conceived. It is a big and noble aim for which no effort should be spared. It should not be hastily put aside as too difficult.

The first step which should be taken towards the development of goodwill and trust between Pakistan and India is the removal of trade barriers and the establishment of a Customs Union and the encouragement of corporation in both countries to include Pakistani and Indian shareholders.

Much depends on where you begin when you seek to solve a tough problem or unravel a tangled skein. I appeal to Pakistan and India first to seek ways and means

to develop friendship and achieve it. Then the problem of Kashmir should be taken up for solution in the best interests of the people of Kashmir. To make Kashmir the first step in developing friendship between Pakistan and India is wrong priority. At any rate it has been tried and found completely disappointing. Let us try the other way. West Germany has now come to think that German reunification may follow rather than precede an end to the Cold War in Europe. Foreign Minister Willy Brandt's address at the Council of Europe on January 24 disclosed this important shift in German policy. This wise reversal of priority may bring about peace for India and Pakistan and reduce their senseless waste of resources on military armaments.

The messages that have been exchanged between the Prime Minister of India and President Ayub Khan have more or less assured us that an Indo-Pakistan joint machinery will be set up to normalize relations between the two countries. If this is done, it will fittingly mark the third anniversary celebration of the Tashkent Declaration.

The report of Mr. Kosygin's speech at the luncheon given to the Soviet Premier by Pakistan representatives who went to Moscow is worth serious attention by Indian and Pakistan leaders. The Soviet Premier appeals to both countries to carry out what was agreed upon at Tashkent and points out how any other course would ruin both countries. Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri died at Tashkent after concluding the agreement. He dictated a letter to me expressing his great pleasure at the conclusion of the agreement. He did not live to sign the letter when it was typed. But his secretary sent me this dictated letter with his own signature as the letter was intended to share with me the gratification Sri Shastri knew I would feel at the conclusion of the agreement. I hope Mr. Kosygin's advice in this matter will not go unheeded by India. The respect due to the late Prime Minister Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri should be shown in deeds, not merely in words.

It would be definitely ill-advised for Mr. Bhutto to entertain notions of forging any military alliance with neighbouring Muslim States against India, secretly or openly. They cannot be of any material assistance, economically or militarily, even if they set out to help. The only result will be to make India hostile. The wisest course for what remains of Pakistan is to avoid this and befriend India. If goodwill and friendship be achieved it would help the economy of Pakistan as well as India, in very great measure. The Muslim States have nothing to gain from Pakistan, whereas Pakistan and India have both much to gain from each other's goodwill and cooperation.

In the course of President Bhutto's address relayed by Radio Pakistan he denied any effort on his part to form a confederation with Pakistan's western neighbours as some people speculated; he observed that if some day a confederation must come into being in which Pakistan should be a unit, it was rather likely to be a confederation with India than with the Muslim States to the west of Pakistan as at one time before partition of India Pakistan and India had been one State. This was of course only a suppositional observation. But I wishfully think it may one day come about as a result of the pressure of world economic affairs. India should not however propose it and add to distrust. The proposal should come from Pakistan if and when it comes.

It is not very wise of Mr. Bhutto to go about seeking aid and comfort from the declared enemies of India. The only prudent and proper course for him is to grasp the hands of friendship extended to him by India. India's friendship is the best guarantee for Pakistan's security and progress, besides being what the whole civilized world would appreciate.

Everyone agrees that a durable peace between India and what remains of Pakistan is an essential requirement for the progress of either countries. But, some people have

a notion that durable peace can be reached through a successful military operation wiping out Pakistan. This is a thoroughly wrong belief. The durable peace that both India and Pakistan desire to have can be achieved only through the development of trust and goodwill and not by any military achievement. No war can result in a durable peace unless there is a sizable number in the defeated country of citizens preferring the victors' rule. Otherwise, it will be an acquisition of land to be held by military posts, continually breeding enmity and illwill and not trust and goodwill which are wanted for a durable peace.

The Prime Minister knows very well and has expressed it, that the welfare of both Pakistan and India depend on the successful outcome of the Indo-Pakistan summit meet. She wants that the Great Powers should abstain from exerting any pressure on any of the two Governments, but leave them alone to come to a sensible conclusion. The pressures referred to by the P.M. and which she does not want are not the result of a plan or conspiracy but arise out of the development of world affairs. They are inevitable and cannot be ordered out, even as we cannot order the atmospheric pressure to disappear, because we do not like the barometer to fall. We must deal with the pressures as best we can, and I may add, as quickly as we can. Time is a great factor for good or ill. Unless we quickly forge friendship between India and Pakistan we both face economic ruin and all its consequences. The issues before the Indo-Pakistan summit meet are urgent and most important. We cannot drift and wait for things to happen by themselves. What we desire is a great result and for a great result we must operate greatly and not drift. I have given my opinion and my earnest advice and I see no other way. Drift will bring about the end of democracy in South Asia but no welfare. Not only the end of democracy but probably the end of law and order, the disappearance of all mutual help and credit among individuals in both Pakistan and India.

My grave dissatisfaction with the conclusion of the Simla summit meeting does not mean that I am less happy than those who have hailed this "first step" as a beginning full of hope for the future. I hope and pray with them all that sincere and courageous development towards firm cooperation and cessation of all hostilities between India and Pakistan will follow this first step.

I had hoped for much more than a first step at Simla. The great hopes that I had entertained and the importance of the matter are the measure of my disappointment at what has issued from the Simla conference.

There is, however, the supreme power of Providence which can strike down suspicion and fear and bind Pakistan and India in close cooperation and friendship and set them on the road to prosperity and progress.

A second summit meeting may be held at which what I hope and pray for may happen. The thing required to be done is to have Pakistan and India meet again soon at a second or rather an adjourned summit conference instead of letting the peoples on both sides brood on the unsettled issues.

I must confess to a feeling that the Simla Agreement has not been getting on very well. I do hope the Prime Minister will not feel discouraged and will get on vigorously. There is nothing of greater importance for India and Asia today. I am hoping and praying that God may help Smt. Indira Gandhi. Whatever may be said or done by Mr. Bhutto to retain his position of power as against his political detractors in Pakistan there is no doubt whatsoever that he is sincere in his support to the Simla Agreement.

Gandhiji's deep-rooted conviction that India's progress and the fulfilment of its allotted destiny lay in Hindu-Muslim unity. This conviction of his incarnated itself in the Indo-Pakistan Agreement hinder and delay India's allotted destiny in the divine plan.

8.3 Indo-China

Gandhiji's main diagnosis of the difficulties and maladies that were up against him during his historic campaign of thirty years in India was the slave mentality of the people. He gave this name to the loss of manhood which had resulted from long subjection to the terror of the strong armed foreign tyrant. The national malady now, after the exit of the foreign tyrant, is power-worship. It plays the same role now as the slave mentality deplored by Gandhiji did then. Recently the glamour of power which the Congress enjoyed had begun to thaw-thanks to the obvious character of many foibles and the vigour of opposition criticism of the ruling party and its ministers. But then came this windfall of the Chinese aggression. The Chinese invasion led to a national shakeup which was good; but the Emergency law has initiated a fresh era of fear of those in authority. This the ruling party is desirous of keeping up. It serves to strengthen and prolong power-worship. "It's an ill wind that blows nobody no good". The humiliating process of negotiating for negotiation is vigorously carried on but the Emergency powers are still maintained. These powers do not enthuse the nation either to work harder or to fight more bravely but serve only to make them fear greatly.

If and when arbitration is possible, it should be accepted by every one as a rational solution of all disputes, internal or external. And when once the terms of reference are settled and the tribunal agreed upon, both parties should make up their minds to accept the award, be it right or wrong, just or unjust from one's own point of view.

It has been suggested that the Sino-Indian issues may be disposed through arbitration. If such a proposal should take shape, it would be best for the nation to agree to such a proposal. It is dangerous to keep the threat of bellig-

erency going with its inescapable consequence, an atmosphere of war-mongering which would allow all sorts of extravagance in spending. Similarly, if Indo-Pakistan problems could be settled by a reference to arbitration, it would be most patriotic to accept that course. It is not thrift only. All the Gandhism that may yet be in the Indian mind will be completely destroyed if we keep up this double cold war, one against Pakistan and the other against China. A pantomime of threats and swagger-statements continually kept up, to clothe and conceal fear, are not good either for us or for our neighbours. Let us not completely forget Gandhiji. The way he taught is the right way in all serious affairs. What does damage to Pakistan inflict damage on India also, and the same is true, reversed. We are neighbours who should live as good neighbours and set an example. If we fail in this, what would all the philosophy we can mouth be, except matter for laughter?

No one wants wars and armed conflicts, small or big. There is no doubt the various peace-makers that met at Colombo were moved by the desire to end this inter-Asian armed conflict between China and India. Their efforts naturally receive the appreciation of all the people of India. Mr. Khrushchov also endorses their appeal for peace. He adds with his well known frankness: "make peace or you will have to get help from the Western Powers and thereby you will lose your hard won Independence; China has withdrawn and stopped the fighting unilaterally because of concern for your freedom; China has not withdrawn on account of feeling weak; she is strong, but she has seen the danger of your getting obliged to the imperialists and losing your precious Freedom".

Peace is good, whatever the arguments and whatever the way to reach it. But India's security has been definitely threatened by China, and her armed forces have given us a taste of what she can and may do. Peace arrived at through Colombo or otherwise will not terminate that

standing threat. We lose independence, whether we lose it to the Western Powers on account of assistance rendered and obligations thereby created, as Mr. Khrushchov asks us to believe, or whether we lose it by the more obvious way of losing it to the tanks and shells of communist China.

We are in conflict with China not only on account of the territory grabbed by her, but also on account of the way of life and governance which China carries with her advance into Indian territory.

We live in a dangerous world and there are pitfalls all around. We have to choose and do our safest best.

China wants us to dismantle our defences on the Sino-Indian border. Grave consequences are threatened if the demand is not accepted. Grave consequences there may well be, but nothing can be graver than accepting a demand of this kind which would amount to acceptance of Chinese hegemony in Asia without striking a blow. Hitler's demands during his great day in Europe, which some of us vividly remember, were not of a different nature. Drift, without constructive effort to enable India to stand up to this intimidation, can no longer be deemed safe policy or defended by any reference to the dead dogma of non-alignment. That we can fight Pakistan and China at the same time without entering into alliance with other anti-China Powers would be disastrous wishful thinking, however romantic and noble the ambition may be. It is time we drop all inhibitions and gather power in the only way possible-by appealing for and swiftly working for definite and well-knit defence treaties with such nations or nation as will agree to help us in this way. On the people's plane, we must note where China's strength lies and reform ourselves on those lines. It is not ideologies or dialectics that make China strong and arrogant but the hard fact that the Chinese masses are a very industrious and untiring people. We must drop indolence and shirking and work

like the Chinese people, and we must become honest to one another as nations on the defence have to be. Wars are won on the spiritual plane and not on the tonnage of hardware that we acquire from others.

Mao's strategy has been to move forward, gain some ground and then stop fighting, bringing about a cease-fire through unilateral action. This policy of advancing by safe and cautious instalments, and not keeping up a prolonged war, has always been his declared strategy during his revolutionary struggle as well as afterwards against neighbours.

It is time the Government of India realizes that this Chinese plan of gaining positions by instalments is now in its second chapter, the first chapter having been successfully (for China) completed in the winter of 1962. The important thing to be achieved is a settlement with Pakistan so as to wean away Pakistan from China. However distasteful this may be, it is an essential first step from every point of view. A unilateral referendum properly arranged so as to command international acceptance, whatever Pakistan's first reaction may be, will bring about not only world support for India against China, but also compel Pakistan to fall in line. Pakistan cannot but accept self-determined preference by the Kashmir Muslim community for independent existence with no subservience either to Pakistan or India. If Pakistan insists on limiting the choice of the Kashmiri people to either Pakistan or India, converting the referendum into a purely religious plebiscite, the people of Kashmir may be expected to differ. They would choose what Sheikh Abdullah stands for, viz., autonomy under UN protection and on good terms with both India and Pakistan. Events have a way of shaping the future in a wholly unexpected manner. It appears the present is the most opportune time for what I respectfully urge.

As an alternative to the above suggestion Sri K. Santhanam advises arbitration by an international body, which suggestion is also quite good.

I draw attention also to the extract from the Swiss Press Review (Berne) on this subject. If all the nations of the world and their press take a different view from what we think is the right view, while we are entitled to hold on bravely to our own opinion, we should also consider the possibility of our being wrong, instead of attributing perversity or malice to every one in the world including even those who have given concrete and massive evidence of their goodwill towards us.

The Communist Parties in India - there being now two of them - are suggesting that India should also make up with China as she has made up with Pakistan. This may look at first sight as a worth while peace-on-all-borders effort. But the Chinese menace is not a mere border or territorial dispute, or some such negotiable matter. It is a permanent menace so long as China is communist and has committed itself to the fixed ideological position which the present as well as two previous administrations of the United States have assessed as being a grave danger. It is a permanent non-negotiable menace-unless indeed India also goes into the communist orbit and the conflict is terminated by surrender. Therefore negotiations with China is not a feasible proposition. Although it may help the two Communist parties of India to merge and become one party, instead of being divided and weakened as now they are. Ofcourse there is nothing to prevent India from settling minor territorial matters with China, if we can do so without losing moral ground. War is bad, beyond question. But what is one to do with China? We cannot negotiate China out of its fixed and declared ideology.

At one end official America has proved to be a broken reed. At the other end, the Chinese menace is growing dangerously. There was, therefore, no alternative for India but to enter into a defensive treaty with Russia. The consultations with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko have ended in the finalization of the comprehensive treaty.

The treaty upholds the principle of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between States with different political and social systems. This is an important Article in the treaty which provides against India becoming a satellite of Communist Russia like the States in Eastern Europe. Those who think that the treaty curtails India's sovereignty are wrong. In one sense every treaty takes away a little from a nation's sovereignty. But from time immemorial the biggest nations entered into treaties without imagining that their sovereignty was lost or curtailed.

The matter that is of immediate practical importance is that both the parties to the treaty undertake to abstain from providing any assistance to any third party that engages in an armed conflict with either the one or the other party to the treaty. The treaty provides that in the event of either party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof India and Russia shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate and effective measures to ensure peace and the security of the two countries. President Yahya Khan of Pakistan cannot fail to be impressed by this treaty rightly called historic. If Great Britain follows the lines of this treaty between India and Russia, it will be a matter for great gratification. There are forces enough in Britain asserting themselves in this direction.

8.4 Policy of Ceylon Government

No greater injustice has followed the grant of independence to nations unused to democracy than what is being obstinately practised by the Ceylon Government to the prejudice of its people of Indian origin. Injustice by itself is ugly enough, but, super imposed on ingratitude, it is monstrous. The people who worked hard and made the plantations of Ceylon which now form the wealth of that island, have left behind 800,000 descendants who belong to Ceylon by every reasonable test but are refused

citizenship because they love the land of their origin. They are denied votes they are blocked from employment, and they are oppressed so that they may be compelled to become refugees fleeing to India. Outrageous is not a strong enough word for this ungrateful tyranny. These 800,000 souls have no property or house or any other material link with India from where their forbears went to Ceylon to work and settle on the plantations of Ceylon. And South India cannot bear a refugee problem of this size. The ruling parties in Madras and Kerala are powerless to do anything, and the Government of India is indifferent and even leans to the Ceylon Government's view on academical grounds. Without caring to learn all the facts of the case. An international enquiry is called for to put an end to this near-genocide policy in Ceylon.

The Government of India's answer to a question in Parliament that the Ceylon Government was perfectly within its rights to take steps to enforce ceylonization, he felt it is very misleading and capable of being misused to the great prejudice of people of Indian origin in Ceylon. The Hindu has put it clearly and well. It is one thing to work to secure the maximum employment opportunities for the people of a country and quite another to secure it for one section of the population, although it is the majority group, by manipulating the laws and denying citizenship to a million others classified as 'stateless' but who have lived all their lives in Ceylon, worked for its welfare and development, and made it their country by any accepted test, and lastly, not least of all, who have no home or property elsewhere in the world. It is a pity that the reply of the Minister of the Government of India was prepared in a form which, however, unintentionally, may mislead and give room for misinterpretation by the Government and politicians of Ceylon who seem bent on discrimination and oppression of a large number of citizens of Ceylon, making their attachment to India as a country of their origin a reason for exclusion from civic and natural rights in Ceylon.

The one million 'Stateless' in Ceylon should give up any hopes of effective intervention by the present Government of India and organize their own self-defence. Several circumstances lead to this conclusion into which it is unnecessary to go, as criticism of the Government of India is not going to help these unfortunate people in Ceylon. Why should persons whose fathers and grandfathers had done hard work in the plantations in Ceylon, and were born in that island, have any difficulty in their way when they desire to be Ceylon nationals? Ceylon depends on the export of the produce of these plantations. Ordinary gratitude should dictate a more reasonable policy towards these descendants of those who added to the assets of the island. Documents cannot be expected to be available for these plantation unskilled working families to prove facts way back by two generations. As the Hindu has rightly observed, even Sinhalese families would not be able to produce such documents as are now called for from the Tamil plantation workers' families. It is true the Sinhalese language raises a fair presumption of Ceylon citizenship. But it is equally obviously true that these Ceylon plantations employed Tamil labour for more than three generations, and there are a million people belonging to those families now in Ceylon who have no Indian citizenship.

This cruel tyranny of refusing citizenship to a million people wanting it should end if the UN has any influence over Ceylon.

The race in Asia between Ceylon and India in the totalitarian progress to Statism is noiseless but obvious. Ceylon has declared Sinhala as the language of administration banishing the link language between Tamil and Sinhala, viz., English. Oppression of minorities is made the symbol of patriotism. Two thousand five hundred government servants in Ceylon have retired due to insufficient equipment in the new administrative language. The Government has taken over the distribution of oil in the

island and nationalized general insurance. The greed for power the ruling parties of Ceylon and India have developed is divided by a very narrow strip of water. The stuff of it is the same all over the world. Wherever immaturity is wedded to nationalist freedom, we have it. The 'Stateless' Citizens of Ceylon who are persons born in Ceylon, descendants of the Indian labourers in the plantations, are in spite of all agitation, still being denied their rights. All the Sinhalese political parties are agreed on keeping these people out of citizenship and denying to them citizen's rights and privileges. The arguments is that if these persons were sons and daughters born to parents born or living in Ceylon, they could establish that fact and be accepted as citizens. A letter was recently published in Swarajya from one who had so applied and failed to get his children's birth registry, because the registers of births in the tea gardens were not available. The Tamil proverb is, one grain of rice tells you if the pot has cooked. It is fairly clear that these registers have been made unavailable by those interested in keeping these persons of Indian origin out of citizenship rights. The burden of proof must be placed on the Ceylon Government that these persons were not born in Ceylon, if the Government seeks to deny citizenship to them. Where many thousands of people are concerned and they have no citizenship in Indian nationals, it is cruel to deny them Ceylon citizenship on any other basis. The onus of proof must be on the State.

Tamil hearts would bleed to read the arithmetical proposals for settlement with the Ceylon Premier, which have been put out from Delhi in the press. Why should nearly a million children and grand-children born in the island to parents who have toiled and sweated for Ceylon, and who had gone there from South India and settled down in the plantations, not imagining that the people of Ceylon would ever turn against their benefactors be disentitled to be citizens of Ceylon? Why should a single child born

in Ceylon and desiring to be in Ceylon, and be a working citizen thereof, be turned out to wander as a homeless refugee in India? Won't some one rise among these people to fight for the human rights of these unfortunates, as Gandhiji fought for the Indian settlers in Transvaal? When Gandhiji fought for the South African Indians, he had a prouder opponent to deal with and there was no United Nations with a Charter for human rights.

The Delhi Agreement on the Ceylon citizens of plantation labour of Indian origin has been supplemented by the Ceylon Premier in her Senate. Even those citizens who will be enrolled as citizens of Ceylon will be put on a separate register. "Mrs. Bandaranayake today (Nov.10) shocked the Indian community in Colombo with an announcement in the Senate that people of Indian origin who are to be granted Ceylonese citizenship will have no right to vote with the rest of the population in parliamentary elections", reports the Statesman's Colombo correspondent. So they will be the 'Scheduled Caste' of Ceylon forming a separate electorate. She added, says the correspondent, that this arrangement will safeguard the political interests of the indigenous population. Mrs. Bandaranayake is frank, if also brutal. It is gratifying to note that the Statesman has bitterly criticised the Ceylon Premier's move.

8.5 Bangladesh

The whole world has recognised Bangla Desh. More important than anything else, it has 'recognised' itself. But Pakistan continues to make out that it is only a hitch in its internal affairs and not a successful rebellion. This is as ridiculous as it would be if Great Britain imagined that the United States of America were part of Great Britain, notwithstanding George Washington's successful rebellion. Unreality cannot be maintained except on paper. The whole

world has recognised that Bangla Desh is an independent country and an independent nation. It may be argued that for the sake of negotiation and bargaining it may be useful to keep the illusion going. But even for such purposes unrealities only from an impediment and not a help. It is best to negotiate on the basis of unquestioned realities-Satyameva-jayate, not anrtam. To argue that Bangla Desh is still part of Pakistan is sheer anrtam. The Upanishad sages said what they said, to the whole world and not for the benefit of only the Hindus.

There was never any doubt about Russia's recognition of Bangla Desh. A formal announcement to that effect has been made.

Czecholovakia and Hungary have now recognised the Republic of Bangla Desh, following the recognition by Russia.

The so-called Super-Powers are still contemplating a balance of armed strength between India and Pakistan. I cannot imagine what for they want this. In my opinion it is an obsession and a hang-over from old imperialism which is dead.

Barbados is a small island in the West Indies, which is still in the Commonwealth. It announced its recognition of Bangla Desh without waiting for British orders. I congratulate the people and the Government of Barbados.

Just when these pages were going to the press, New Zealand, Australia and Fiji have recognized Bangla Desh. Last, not least, the UK has also declared its intention to follow with its recognition.

Pakistan has in consequence, announced that it quits the Commonwealth.

That more than six million refugees have gone back to their devastated homes in East Bengal is a conclusive demonstration of the people's confidence in Mujibur-Rahrman and his Government.

It is an effective way of making vivid the dimension of the problem of refugees flowing into India to say that the cost of military intervention in East Bengal would be less than the cost of coping with the influx of refugees. But the two are not true alternatives for a useful comparison of costs. If by military intervention, it is meant virtual occupation by India of East Bengal and continuing to keep guard there, the comparison of costs would have meaning. But it would be seen that the cost of military operations would include the cost of a war with Pakistan (and her allies) and a state of war continued for a good long time. Meanwhile, where would the economy of India be going? I repeat my plea that Smt. Indira Gandhi should install a national government and on that strong foundation press the Western Powers for action against Pakistan's wasteful and cruel proceedings against East Bengal so as to force Yahya Khan to stop military action and resort to negotiations with the leaders of the East Bengal people. It is only this that will enable the refugees to return to their homes.

The mistakes and misfortunes of one people should be a warning to other people. Bangla Desh should learn from the troubles of India and avoid what led to them. Getting into foreign debt in order to speed up industrialization, India is facing bankruptcy and the people are subjected to intolerable tax burdens. There is nothing really gained by a show of progress if the price paid for such show is placing the economy under back-breaking indebtedness. Humility will not ruin a people, but vain-glorious ambition will. Foreign aid in the form of loans mislead nations into wrong policies and ambitions.

8.6 Examples of Other Countries

West Germany is presenting another economic miracle. Business is booming, practically everybody is at work-yet prices remain stable. This is the result of wise co-operation among industrialists and labour and Government to keep

costs of production under control. German workers display, we are told, a remarkable degree of understanding and co-operation. Wage increases were scaled down voluntarily. The German worker, top German economists vouch, knows and fears the dangers of inflation. Wages in industry are up 5 per cent since last year, the smallest rise in Europe. At the same time productivity is 10 per cent over a year ago. Profits of business are 25 per cent above the first half of 1967. Industry is stepping up construction of new plants and modernizing old ones.

West Germany started twenty years ago to rise from the ruins it was and to build up life again. It was a truncated country and a geographical curiosity, as a writer describes it in *Christ and Welt*. Refugees and expellees from the Soviet controlled Eastern zone added to its population. It is sixty millions now. Thanks to the Economic Miracle, this Germany is regarded after twenty years of re-building as the second largest exporting country and the third largest industrial country in the world.

Although it has become an economic giant it is described as being still politically a dwarf. Its geographical location however cannot be wiped out; neither Germany nor the great Powers can escape it. The Central European area has to fulfil mediating functions in many directions.

In two years under what is called the grand coalition a coalition between the ruling party and its big opposition West Germany has overcome a big recession. The coalition Government successfully stabilized the national budget and "injected sufficient courage into the economy to produce a new upswing".

According to the writer in *Christ and Welt* above quoted from, the weakness is that Federation does not "encourage but discredits the healthy principle of decentralization".

People of Japan work hard.

There is a great deal to learn from Japan beyond the Tea Ceremony or the arrangement of the flowers - how Japan managed to rise like the phoenix out of the ashes to which she had been reduced, what industrial policy was responsible for this result, how the people of Japan work hard and are able to make great sacrifices, why they respect their ancestors and the traditions they have inherited, etc.

Rajmohan Gandhi, writing in *Himmat*, deals with Japan in a very instructive manner. The article ends thus:

"Will Japan, with the fresh accretion to her influence, use her position to give the world some of the elements that are lacking? Will she emphasise justice, honour and faithfulness, rather than expediency? Japan is the only Big Power today without enemies. She is united as few other countries are; her people practise co-operation. She has the prestige of a country that was reborn after a cataclysmic disaster and has risen to a towering stature. She has traditional charm and modern efficiency. Will she supply the stress on principles that is missing in the international political scene?"

Policies of China

The expansionist policies of China bring that country into cash with India but this should not blind us to the value of some of the things the Chinese leaders are doing for their own people. Here is an AP (America) report (May 24) about a proposal adumbrated by Mr. Hwang Hsin Pai, Director of the Ministry of Higher Learning.

The principle of half-study-half-work will be applied to all schools and universities in China as rapidly as possible.

Mr. Hwang said this radical reform which cuts the school year in half and substitutes six months of physical labour - has been decided upon to accelerate development

of a new type of Chinese citizen. The programme represents maximum Chinese effort to combat Soviet style revisionism which the Chinese attribute to intellectuals becoming detached from the masses. The present system of up to two months physical labour for students does not meet their objective. Equal parts of study and labour even at the cost of slowing up training of vitally-needed technicians in industry and agriculture will be the policy. Following experiments all over the country, half-study-half-work schools at the primary, middle and university levels will become the rule.

Mr. Hwang said universal adoption of the principle in China would "end the phenomenon of some people being engaged wholly in mental work and some wholly in manual work". The distinction, he said, would be eliminated even though it might take decades to accomplish this objective. China's objective is to produce a new type of person - intellectual-worker-peasant. The new schools would reduce the financial burden both on the State and the students' families.

Mr. Hwang said consideration is being given to the level of remuneration students might receive during their six months of work. But at present when students are put in the factory or on the farm they receive little or nothing - so expansion of the programme will create a large pool of child labour available to State enterprises, urban and rural, at no cost.

Child labour on the half-study-half-work principle is already widely used in factories and in communes and is justified on the principle of "generating and sustaining the revolutionary spirit" in the young people.

This news item from China reminds me of the successful opposition that defeated my own proposal for education reform in Madras in 1953. The object of that proposal was to train all boys to be work-minded and to prevent

a purely intellectual class growing up and isolating itself from the masses. At least the pro-Chinese leftists in India may now agree that there was something good in my proposal.

The secret of China is the industriousness of the Chinese people, not the policies of the Government in power. As a prominent journalist observed, China can govern herself without a government. How one wishes the people of India made up their minds under some one's inspiration to be as workminded and honest in doing work as the Chinese people have always been under all governments and in all countries where they have settled down to work and live.

The Chinese are a great people because of their industriousness. A people who are not industrious cannot be a great people. If the leaders of the people develop industriousness among them they serve the people. If they develop the desire to get at others' money without doing honest work to earn such money or exhibiting any skill to earn a prize, leaders do disservice to the people and to themselves. Lotteries do disservice in this way. Whatever other good things the Governments are doing for the people, they are cancelling them out by this great disservice. It is said in the Hindu Shastras that if we pray earnestly men will change their erroneous ways. So I pray and hope that the Government of Tamil Nadu may change its mind and give up its lotteries and raffles and show the way to other states.

American practice

In India jobs are sometimes given by the ruling clique for drawing people away from Opposition parties. In America, however, it is common practice for the President to give high and important embassy assignments to eminent members of Opposition parties without any idea of seducing

them from their politics. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge was a Republican Senator. He managed Eisenhower's first election campaign. He was the Vice-Presidential nominee of the Republicans in 1960 and lost the race to Lyndon Johnson. Yet President Kennedy nominated him Ambassador to Saigon. Now President Johnson has called on his former adversary for special diplomatic duties in the Far East to tighten US ties with friendly governments in that area, such as New Zealand, Philippines, Taiwan, Japan and Korea. Such appointments are not associated in the US with desertion of one's political party.

Voluntary work in Soviet Russia

The Soviet Communist Party announced April 12 as a National Day of Voluntary Work. All adults, communists and non-communists, were asked to do work of public utility according to local needs, such as gardening and cleaning the city streets. This is something worthy of imitation in our country. We are having national days which we celebrate by making them days devoted to laziness. Let us take example from Russia and make a move towards celebrating national days as days for voluntary work for the public good according to local needs.

Good-will and trust

Pakistan and France have signed an agreement abolishing the need for visas for nationals of either country visiting the other country. Here is a good start which we may pray and hope will be the beginning of a great world-wide movement of goodwill and trust.

9.0 OBITER DICTA

9.0 OBITER DICTA

9.1 Press

The free way of life as against life under totalitarian rule is not possible if the properties of citizens earned or inherited are not guaranteed against expropriation by the State without just cause open to review by an independent judiciary. It was not for nothing that Jawaharlal Nehru and others had a guarantee of this nature inscribed in the Constitution. The press and the writers and orators may be more concerned about freedom of expression. But life requires more than freedom to speak and write. The holding of what you have earned or inherited is essential for free life, life different from the life of serfs. Vague assurances in electoral manifestoes or platform speeches are not enough. What the citizens require is protection under the law which the Constitution give until now. Under Roman law slaves owned what was known as *peculium*. Citizens in India want something more substantial than *peculium*.

On importance of freedom of press he quoted :

Veteran journalist Mr. Frank Moraes, wrote a few days ago, in his paper the Indian Express a signed article which began, India's authentic voice is that of the Prime Minister. We have had occasion in the past to differ strongly with some of Mrs. Gandhi's policies and from many of her tactics. It may be that as in every democracy whose hallmarks are a free press, and an independent judiciary we shall join issue on certain matters with the Government again. I was glad Mr Moraes added these words to his declaration about the 'authentic voice of India'. It was followed by the following words: "The Government would be well advised at this juncture to avoid controversial or contentious legislation designed to commit large sections of the people willy-nilly to official plans or objectives". It is true, as Mr Frank Moraes says, that the hallmarks of democracy are a free press and an independent judiciary.

But the Fathers of our Freedom on the basis of experience, laid down that in addition to a free press and an independent judiciary, we ought to have guarantees of certain citizen rights inscribed firmly in the Constitution so that the State, whoever maybe in charge of it at any time, should not be able to curtail or nullify them.

The freedom of the press is threatened and so also the rights of minorities as part of the New Congress's plan to do away with the guarantees inscribed in the Constitution regarding property, acquired or inherited, and the freedoms in respect of avocation. The right to appeal and obtain a verdict from the Supreme Court and other judicial authorities upon the bonafides of any legislative or executive action and as to the adequacy of compensation given in lieu of property taken for real public purposes is also in jeopardy on account of the 24th and 25th Amendments of the Constitution. The freedom of the press is very important in a democracy, but no less are the other rights of citizens which are inscribed in the Constitution essential for true democracy. Without them, majority rule through Parliament dictatorship the press is, no doubt, keen on its freedom not being tampered voluntarily to part with its freedom in favour of those in power in Parliament. The massive circulation of the papers makes them big industrial concerns of even more than media of opinion. They depend very greatly on the favours of the Executive.

I write all this as a warning against neglecting the defence of all the rights guaranteed in the Constitution (Article 19). The freedom of the press should not be deemed to be the only important thing to be retained. Without the guarantees given in the Constitution about property and just and true compensation when it is taken for true and bona fide national purposes, the freedom of agitation in the press will come to nothing and soon get lost. Citizens cannot be really free if their properties are not their own but held only at the pleasures of the Executives.

On editing he quoted:

Friend Norman Cousins, who edited Saturday Review, recently resigned from that post. Explaining why he resigned, he writes in the November 27 issue of the Journal: "The one thing I have learned about editing over the years is that you have to edit and publish out of your own tastes enthusiasms and concerns, and not out of notions or guesswork about what other people might like to read". This expression of Norman Cousins's conviction about editing and publishing holds a principle of much wider scope than editing and publishing. It applies to all matters. We should express ourselves in all actions according to our true convictions unaffected by the pleasure of other people or what we guess they would like. Herein only lies the path of civilization. We make a contribution only if we do or say things to please other people. To write or say or do what may please others may be good commercialism, but would not be helping civilization to go forward. The steady progress of human civilization calls for everyone to do his truest and best in thought, speech and action.

It is very encouraging to read the report from Uttar Pradesh that an all-India organization of journalists as a non-political professional union has been inaugurated by Mr Chagla with headquarters in Delhi standing for truth unadulterated by political basis.

Rajaji stated publishing should be a vehicle of communication and not just business.

The bigness of a newspaper is the enemy of its freedom. When the publishing of a journal becomes an industry over and above its being a vehicle for communicating opinions and views, it is affected by the fear of incurring the displeasure of those in authority and the consequent attack on the vulnerable machine of a big industry. Timidity goes to the extent of an unwillingness even to reprint what others writes as they used to do when

these big papers were not so inhibited by fear of those in authority as they are now. Direct interference by Government no doubt curbs the freedom of the press. But it deceives no one as the inhibition issuing out of one's own fear and preventing free expression does.

Writing on inadequacies of press he stated:

Irving Kristol, former editor of *Encounter* and now editor of *Basic Books* says in a recent article: "I have not gone so far as to declare that the State is our Enemy. It is our ally but a dubious unreliable and occasionally even treacherous ally". His point is that we should have big men in the government machine besides having big policies. The press has not been able he says, to help us in this matter. The press takes notice of policies but does not much worry about how they are carried out. New policies make news. A new housing or highway is solemnly noted "accompanied perhaps by a profile of the administrator who proudly announced it". News is what happened, not what didn't happen. Unless corruption or scandal of some kind is involved, it is not likely to make exciting or entertaining reading.

On Press advertisement of party appeals Rajaji wrote :

The strategy of press advertisement of party appeals initiated if I remember aright by the Swatantra Party has caught on and I am sure the press proprietors welcome this new strategy adopted by all parties. When anything is overdone it loses its value. Advertisements written unlike along newspapers articles are not read. This is lost sight of by those who invest in such advertisements. The best of these advertisement which I have seen is what Messrs Larsen and Tubro have issued. "Emotions stifle reason. Steer clear of emotional propaganda. Vote according to reason. Democracy gives you the privilege to vote. And your vote gives you the privilege to uphold tolerance, non-violence, human dignity and individual freedom. So much

depends on your vote. Make sure you vote". This is the best advertisement that has appeared on behalf of the Democratic front.

He was not in favour advertising on AIR.

I do not feel inclined to welcome the idea of AIR broadcasting being invaded by advertisements. As long as AIR is a public sector concern and a monopoly business there is no justification for uncensored or imperfectly screened commercial advertisements being given a place in the programmes. Every one knows that production, in every line, is behind demand and prices are high. There is no economic argument favouring these advertisements. Instead of encouraging saving it encourages status expenditure. Of course advertising agencies will not agree with me. It however hurts the advertising agencies by pushing them into a new line of expenditure under moral compulsion. The only argument in favour of this new policy is the revenue argument on behalf of Government. It is just a new tax on production. Make AIR a private sector's concern and then think of enabling them to get income from advertisements.

Naturally the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society has lodged a strong protest against this monopolistic intrusion of Government in the field of an important source of income for private and competitive enterprise which in the case of the smaller and medium size journals is a matter of life and death.

9.2 Religion

God is not only a truth but a necessity. Man cannot get on without God or some substitute for deification. Our old religious leaders, when their dialectics put God aside as the Jains and the Buddhists did, deified their teachers and adored and offered worship to the gurus as to gods.

In modern times when God is dismissed from the thoughts of man, the craving is satisfied by some second-class material; their country or language or some irrevocable dogma is taken up for deification. Adoration is a necessity for life. Any adoration ordinarily is good and harmless, but mammon is a harmful substitute for God.

Iswara is not visible to the eye. But if we have the understanding to see, He is before us in concrete form. The visible universe is He : ADRI SYOVYAKTAROOPASCHA (Mahabharata). This vast universe with all its material, mental and spiritual content, matter, energy, thought, emotion, the whole of it, came out of One great something that is unseen. That something divided Itself into all that we have seen and may yet see with our eyes and our instruments. Being the one and only substance, creation was a division of itself. The Upanishad says that after dividing itself and creating the universe, it remains whole and intact.

OM POORNAM ADAH
POORNAM IDAM
POORNAM UDACHYATE
POORNAM AADAAYA
POORNAM EVA AVASISHYATE

To this POORNAM out of which the whole of the universe issued and which remains yet whole and sovereign of what issued out of it, the races of mankind have given several names. The most current name today in the expanding English-speaking world is God. God divided himself, the one, into many. The division automatically created a pull for reunion. Great is that force which pulls each to the other for reunion. So is love born and the happiness thereof. Left at this, the world would have become one again and the play would have ended quickly. So counter-forces were conceived, anger and hatred and evil. As a result the units pull away from one another;

so that the joy of coming together may be repeated and multiplied indefinitely. Hatred is often indistinguishable from love; good from evil. There is a hidden law in all this but we see only a few.

Pope John XXIII's central work was to break down barriers separating those who worship the same God by different names. This was also Mahatma Gandhi's central work. So was it Annie Besant's and that of many other good great leaders. The identity of the object of worship in various religions is however only an act of intellectual perception. It should not weaken the emotional aspect of worship which is the most essential part of it.

When Godse fired his revolver and lodged three bullets in Gandhiji's chest, the Mahatma sank into final oblivion crying "Hare Ram". Every name rouses its own emotions in worship. These names are therefore most important. They should not be sought to be given up for promoting unity but should be maintained alive and not allowed to be lost in the intellectual perception of the unity of all worship. Good Pope John's whole soul would be stirred by the name of Jesus, not by the name of Narayana or Govinda or Allah intellectually accepted. So those whose hearts melt at the names and mental forms associated with their own prayers and worship and meditation long practised should not hesitate to stick to them but reinforce the use of those familiar names and the calling up of these mental images to which they are used. No name can replace the word Allah for a Muslim and rouse the religious faith and fervour, anywhere near the power of the word Allah. To great Sri Sankaracharya the name Govinda had a power which other names could never command. But barriers raised by names may and should be broken down by the realization of being engaged in a common enterprise of high and sacred import.

The moral principles governing human conduct are not measured length and breadth or weight, but they are all-

important. They must govern governments, and govern the people also, employers and employees. Like the air we breathe moral principles are the very life of nations. We cannot invent new religions nor create the faith that is required to make a new religion effective. If for some reason or another we cannot build a new tidy bouse let us not pull down the old house we have. Moral principles cannot but hang on something divine, some faith not entirely dependent on reason. The religions that serve to keep men in good order are most precious for all nations. It is easy to throw them away in an age dominated by reason, but we shall realize the resulting damage when it is too late.

It is modern intellectual delusion to think that moral values can stand by themselves in isolation. Religion is the indispensable basis for these values. It appeared to nineteenth century philosophers that humanism without any religion or God-hypothesis could be sufficient. The law of inertia makes a wheel revolve for some time after the driving power ceases. But when the momentum has ceased, the wheel goes dead.

If religion and God are essential for civilization, the question arises whether we can construct religion in cold blood discarding tradition and ancient heritage. We have the high authority of Toynbee to hold that this would be a vain attempt. We must derive strength from and hold on to the religions accepted by the nations of the world, whatever accretions and errors attaching to them may be discarded on the basis of knowledge and experience.

We have all come to think that life is primarily non-work and that work is an interlude which has to be unwillingly done. We must reverse this attitude, and make work the norm and leisure the interlude.

The ISA Upanishad Rishi begins by saying that life should be lived working all the time and there is no escape from it.

कुर्वन्ने वेद कर्माणि

विजीविषेच्छतै समाः ।

एवं त्वमि नान्यथे तोडिस्ति

If we hope to better our condition we should 'revert to the ISA precept. What our work should be depends on the circumstances of each nation. In India, we aim at a higher economy but we are still in the lower levels of development, and therefore work should be the norm and has to be hard bodily labour and the interludes of leisure should be minimized. Our home-culture and our educational system should be so shaped as to produce this pattern of life.

I do not accept the orthodox narrow construction put on KARMAANI in the ISA MANTRA that it means the AGNIHOTRA ritual and the like, and not work in general. The Upanishads lay down precepts for all and not only for the castes who perform rituals. The word IHA, "In this world", in the verse is a key word which I think shows that KARMAANI is work in general. The ISA verse from which I quote proceeds to say that work can be done so as not to leave the mind contaminated by attachment, by doing work with the detachment fully explained in the BHAGAVAD GITA. The Gita expands and explains the doctrine of detachment taking KARMA and KARMAANI in the broad sense of work and not narrowed down to rituals. The Gitaacharya's direction is "do not train your mind to find pleasure in not working; in indolence". But almost all our people have done what the Gitaacharya asked us not to do. The only section of our people who take work as the norm of life is the peasant population.

God's grace will not desert us if we do not desert God in our conduct. If we are dishonest or wish to make money without working for it, we cannot have His grace. Let us

be godly and industrious and let us develop love instead of hatred. Francis Thompson and all our AALWAARS and NAAYANMAARS have told us this. The British poet sings his famous song to tell us that God is a Hound and is pursuing us even while we run away to escape from Him. The miracle we stand in need of will happen and take us to prosperity, security and well-being if we are godly in heart and do not shirk work. Misfortunes will multiply if we are ungodly. They test and harden us if we depend on God and are faithful to Him.

Abundant sacred knowledge can be acquired by a laborious study of Scriptures and the commentaries of Seers. But such knowledge, unless absorbed by the soul and converted into automatic feelings and actions, would be just like valuable dung-heaps not buried in the earth and thereby converted into fertilizing material.

India is not affluent like the US. But we are not less materialistic or less concerned about comfort, security, status etc. It is possible to be as grossly materialistic about a hundred rupees as about ten thousand dollars. It is possible that there is a secret law of moral evolution, which we have to recognize and adjust ourselves to, by which the wrong values to which nations devote themselves in course of time must be replaced only by the outburst of "reckless" but pure-minded youth, striking out for real values to take the place of the wrong ones which have gripped the lives of older people.

True wisdom comes from God through the babes when it has gone dry in the lives of older people : so we read in the Psalms and in the New Testament. If India's youth read even cursorily the classic literature we have inherited, and allow honest emotion its natural play and rise against the selfishness and the MITHYACHAARA of the elders, as the youth in America and other parts of the world are doing and vexing their comfort loving elders, India can be reborn.

The attempt to eliminate God and retain moral values is the prevailing goal of most of the enlightened nations today. It has not so far succeeded but has, on the contrary, failed though it may not be admitted. This idea of preserving only moral values without accepting or concerning ourselves about our relations with God was most successfully worked out in India by Buddhist and Jain teachers. But the success was achieved only when the teachers themselves became gods. The ACHARYAS filled the vacuum and moral values were sustained by the divinity of the ACHARYAS, even though Buddhism and Jainism deliberately avoided discussing God on which Hindu philosophers were fond of exercising their intellect. The Acharyas were highly respected teachers when they were alive but after death the followers deified them and worshipped them as the Hindus worshipped their gods. This together with the doctrines of rebirth and the unalterable law of karma, which both the Jains and Buddhists accepted, formed a firm basis for moral values and ethics regulating conduct. A study of Jainism in India will best elucidate this truth. The Hindu doctrine on this subject is simple. A divine ACHARYA is an AVATAR God come down to earth for fulfilling a purpose, one of His many-thousand forms of appearance to the physical eye.

In spite of the differences in the moral codes of various peoples, the necessity of some moral code is obvious. Religion has provided most of the civilized rules of conduct in the world. Man must worship something. Idolatry, here worship or religious devotion, all issue from a common hunger for worship. This is a part of human nature and cannot be got rid of. It takes some shape or other almost independent of volition. Even where a great teacher discourages the worship of any deity, the teacher himself becomes a god and an object of worship.

Hindus cannot be too often reminded that the glory and distinguishing characteristic of their religion, the oldest

in the world, is that it lays down as a firm doctrine that many are the ways leading to God, and that the gates of Heaven are not shut against Christians or Jews or Muslims or others.

आकाशात्पतितं तोयं

यखः गच्छति अंगरम् ।

सर्वं देव नमस्कारः

केशवं प्रति गच्छति ।

Hindus should express their loyal homage to their seers by behaving in accordance with this great doctrine. Before politics polluted religion, the people of India behaved as the doctrine laid down. The face of India in all its regions demonstrates this.

The GAYATRI Mantra is a recognition of our total dependence on the Sun and a humble prayer to that great and glorious vicegerent of divine rule. The GAYATRI Mantra attributed by the Hindus to Visvamitra Muni must have originated before we separated from the Zoroastrians whose worship of the Sun continues. There is no temple more beautiful than the firmament over our heads, and no icon better than the dazzling Sun to represent God and calling for our humble and grateful worship. There can be nothing more elevating than the contemplation of the birds of the air joining in chorus to offer their love and worship to the glory that unfailingly appears every morning replacing the beautiful stars of the night. The Sun is not merely an icon. It is endowed with all the living power of vicegerent of the Supreme Being. All life on this planet, man, beasts, birds reptiles, trees, plants and creepers, get their lives and sustenance from the Sun.

What the sages of India said in the Upanishads from the foundation of spiritual endeavour and respect for spiritual values prevailing all over the world. The foundation on which a superstructure of twenty storeys stands lies buried in the earth and is not seen. Similarly, the service of the

Upanishad sages to the whole world lies buried and hidden from view. This should not, however, be a matter for any pride among Hindus. The Upanishad sages belong to the whole and not only to the Hindus and therefore, there is no justification for Hindu pride.

Iswar, some call you; Allah some call you. Guide aright all men's minds O, Lord. Thus Vinoba Bhave Sang in a hymn composed for daily singing in Gandhiji's ashram. Like the ruins falling from the heavens all flowing into the sea, whatever be the God whom men worship, the same goes to Kesava, says the MAHABHARATA. This is Hinduism's attitude towards other religions from time immemorial.

AAKASAAT PATITAM TOYAM
YATHAA GACHCHATI SAAGARAM
SARVA DEVA NAMASKAARAM
KESAVAM PRATIGACHCHATI

The Hindu doctrine of all ways trading to God with the resulting attitude of the Hindu creed towards all other religions, is unique. No other creed has arrived at this all-embracing fraternity of faiths which Hinduism stands for. Hinduism, Christianity and Islam do not give room for this doctrine of universality. In religious thought this universal gravitation in the realm of physics.

Let us not give up this precious possession in a desire to copy others who claim exclusive possession of truth. Even in its conception of the Supreme Being, Hinduism differs from other monotheistic creeds in that Hindu philosophy places the Supreme Being above the rule not only of Space and Time, but also of numbers. He is one and He is innumerable, ASANKHYEYAH, not subject to the law of numbers.

A pious Muslim and a sincere Christian are both as good Hindus as any pious and sincere Hindu. ASKAASAAT PATITAM TOYAM YATHAA GACHCHATI SAAGARAM SARVA-DEVA NAMASKAARAH KESAVAM PRATI GACHCHATI. It is folly to imagine that a dislike of Muslims or Christians

amounts to loyalty to Hinduism. Apart from the Constitution which guarantees equality in all respects to them, it is not true Hinduism to treat them as aliens. All religions are universalist and it is most unfair to Hinduism to make it a nationalist institution.

Anti-Islam, Anti-Christianity or anti-any-other faith, is a rebellion against the catholicity of the Hindu faith and a disobedience hurled at the Hindu sages. Whether one is anti-anything must be a matter for one's own inner judgement. And therefore every Hindu has a sacred and serious duty to examine his own heart and purge himself. It is possible for one to love the Hindu community and Hindu rituals and places of worship; yet, if one has in one's heart a aversion, contempt or hatred of another faith, one has stabbed the heart of the Hindu faith and is far from being a true Hindu.

Both the Sringeri and Kanchi Sankaracharyas have expressed themselves giving wholehearted welcome to the Head of the Roman Church. This welcome is true to the supreme Indian doctrine of all ways leading to God and is a condemnation of the stupid opposition sought to be organized by some unthinking self-appointed defenders of Hinduism. The idea that His Holiness the Pope's visit may encourage conversion to Christianity is fantastic. His Holiness like his predecessor Pope John seeks unity and consolidation of the various Christian Churches, which is a truly laudable aim. Hindus should drop their fear complex about conversion and strengthen faith among themselves by truer adherence to DHARMA.

My rationalist friends may skip over this long paragraph. They will forgive me for sharing with other dear readers some of my unrational thoughts. We can do a great deal of investigation and come to great results about the things in the universe such as are available to our senses directly or through delicate instruments. But we cannot imagine all this as ever existing without being curious as to how it came about.

We may reduce the entire universe to a single burning star, but how did that originate? *This must remain enclosed for ever in unsolved mystery.* There is no justification for any feeling that science has solved everything in our time and we have no debt owing to mysticism. The rishi says in the well known *upanishad mantra*:

OM POORNAMADAH POORNAMIDAM
POORNAAT POORNAM UDACHYATE
POORNASYA POORNAM AADAAYA
POORNAM EVAVASISHYATE

Out of the Unseen Whole came the Entire seen. Having brought out the entire seen, what is unseen remains still entire. *Here is the mystery.* The great cause remains intact, says the mantra. The effect does not exhaust and extinguish the cause.

Or - here is an alternative - the entire seen is itself the shape that the unseen has taken. We do not realize it but yearn and search for the cause, like a foolish mother having her baby on her lap crying out, "Oh! where is my child? Do search and bring it to me!" Someone tells her the baby is on her lap and then she feels relieved.

The human mind is a marvellous product of the continuous process of change and creation in the universe. Has this marvel come into being without a quality-related cause? Can there not be minds in the universe which are not like our minds linked to the brain and nerves which form part of the human anatomy? In the vast universe which holds systems with much bigger energy stores than our relatively small solar system there is room for an infinite variety of creation. Is it to foolish then and a thing to be explained away as a metaphor, if rishis refer to the PURUSHA of the sun or the DEVAS of other brilliant energy stores? Such a negative presumption would be an unscientific assumption. Mysticism has life still, We have not done with everything through science.

I was invited to see a play of the MRA while I was recently in Delhi. The space-ship competition and the cold war behind it as well as other follies of present day civilization were brilliantly lampooned. The acting was superb. When my grandson Rajmohan Gandhi invited me to go up the stage and say a few words, I explained the absurd immodesty of people who managed to be rocketed up to a height of two or three hundred miles from the surface of the earth calling themselves 'cosmonauts' and 'astronauts'. The nearest star is so far away from us that light which moves almost instantaneously takes four years to reach us from there. If we went up with the speed of light - which is 1,86,000 miles a second as calculated by scientists - we would reach the moon in $1\frac{1}{4}$ seconds; we could reach the sun in 8 minutes' time; but it would take four years and more to reach the nearest star. There are stars many items farther off. The stars in the Milky Way are a hundred thousand light-years distant from us. 'Astronaut' is a word meaning one who navigates among the stars. Surely therefore any one who is shot up 300 miles is far from navigating among stars - the nearest of which is so inconceivably far away. And Cosmos is a bigger affair than even the world of stars. The absurdity of calling any one a 'cosmonaut' is therefore greater even than describing a man as an astronaut. I would beg of American and Russian technologists to find some more modest and appropriate name for these admirable men who agree to be shot up to swim round in a cage at a height which can, relatively speaking, be termed calling distance from the earth. Ignorance reaches its climax of immodesty when one who thus goes round in a cage tells us on return that he did not find God in his travels and so we had better drop that hypothesis! God is not away in an orbit 300 miles above us. He is within us and within every particle in the space occupied by the stars and beyond.

Scientists are busy bridging the gap between 'matter' and life and they are near achievement. Mind and spirit,

which evoke awe and reverence as we see them in their most complicated and developed form, our perception itself being part of what we wonder at, have been almost established to have evolved out of 'matter'. This excites the modern layman. He is made to feel that something mysterious has been solved and stripped of its mystery. But this is a fallacious satisfaction. Science has only transferred the sister from mind and spirit to what hitherto was called 'mere matter'. Our awe and reverence ought to stand extended to 'matter' which hitherto had been taken for granted. Hindu philosophy, as we read it in the Upanishads, made no distinction between inorganic matter and life. Sat was what there was in the beginning, from which all that we perceive has issued. Sat is the one reality. Julian Huxley said about it "If we take the monistic or unitary or naturalistic view demanded by evolutionary logic, matter and life cease to appear as separate entities". Giordano Bruno, 400 years ago, anticipated this conclusion. "All reality", he said, "is one in substance, one in cause, one in origin. Every particle of reality is composed inseparably of the physical and the psyche. The object of philosophy is to see unity in diversity, and to rise to that highest knowledge of the universal unity, which is the intellectual equivalent of the love of God". Like Bruno, Sankara before him saw God in every particle of lifeless matter. "Out of Sat has come all this universe. It could not come out of nothing", said the Rishi in the Chandogya. We see in a tiny living cell with the help of the evolutionary biologists, all that can become man. We are told now by scientists to see in a lifeless particle of 'matter', in the particles that go to make the atoms, all that we were taught to see in a living cell. Awe and reverence, which is religion, have to be widened to cover "lifeless" matter. The awe and reverence do not disappear by reason of this widening. These reflections have issued out of reading an article by Joseph Krutch in Saturday Review (US).

The recent technological feat of shooting men up to where they became free from the pull of the earth and entered the moon's gravitational field exhilarated all of us. Some of us even imagined that now that we have got so near the moon we have ripped open the myth of Heaven itself. This is delusion.

Light moves from one point to another like sound. It is not instantaneous as we may think. It takes some time to go from one point to another. It moves at 1,86,000 miles per second. Let me give some figures which astronomers have calculated for us, so that we may have some idea of the immensity of the universe which we in a manner see and realize its mystery. Our great sun is a medium-size star. There are bigger stars which, owing to their great distance, we see in the sky at night only as bright twinkling spots of light. The star nearest our sun is so far away that light takes more than four years to reach us from that star, speeding at the rate of 1,86,000 miles per second. There are stars even much further away, and we see them too in the sky. They are so far away that light takes 100,000 years to reach us from them, rushing at 1,86,000 miles from the earth. Light takes less than a second and a half to reach us from the moon.

This then is the Universe, which is all bound by changeless law. If we have imagination enough, we may quail before this great fact. We do not know how and why it all goes on from minute to minute.

Reaching the moon is a great feat. But in the immensity of the universe, this is only like an ant moving a few inches from one spot of another over the Himalayas.

Science is good. Technology too being the working arm of science is good, provided moral values are expected by the leaders of technology. Science increases knowledge but at the same time increases in true scientists awe and reverence for the Unknown. Shallow knowledge with its

byproduct of a denial of religion is nearer to ignorance than to knowledge.

The well-known human of God's thousand names in the Mahabharata begins with the name Visvam, the Universe.

THE SUN, THE MOON, THE STARS,
THE SEAS, THE HILLS AND THE PLAINS -
ARE NOT THESE, O SOUL, THE VISION
OF HIM WHO REIGNS?
IS NOT THE VISION HE, THOUGH
HE BE NOT THAT WHICH HE SEEMS?

- TENNYSON

Astronaut Borman offered a reverent prayer as the space ship Apollo neared the end of the third orbit around the moon on Christmas-eve: "Give us, O God, the vision which can see Thy love; give us the faith to trust Thy goodness inspite of our ignorance and weakness. Give us the knowledge of what each one of us can do to set forward the coming of the day of universal peace". It is great that instead of an explosion of triumph and arrogance, a gesture of humility before the Supreme Being was transmitted by the American astronaut from near the moon to the peoples of the earth. May the prayer find fulfilment.

9.3 Prohibition

What kind of socialism is it to encourage States to fleece the poor and distressed and tempt them to Government - licenced liquor and toddy shops to empty their troubles, and divide the spoils with those concerned in the manufacture of the deleterious stuff, and use the State's share for adding to the comforts and satisfying the demands of the classes very much above those thus fleeced? This is the meaning of withdrawing Prohibition where it has been in force and refusing to extend it to where the drink shops

are still open, in spite of the directive principle embodied in the Constitution. It is the natural result of the depreciation of the currency. People prefer spending to putting their money by to see it diminish in value like perishable fruits. To add to this expenditure on the part of the better off people, the drink shops will induce the very poorest to spend on intoxicating stuff that does no good except robbing the victims of their judgement. The habits of the people of India are different from those of America. The poor do not drink in their own houses in India. They go to drink in public shops when there is no family or social restraint. Increase of wasteful expenditure will widen the gap between the living conditions of different sections of the people.

For some strange and ununderstandable reason the idea persists in the minds of some people that unless the admittedly injurious use of intoxicating drinks is entirely prevented, toddy and arrack shops should be licensed and Prohibition should be 'suspended'. It is like wanting a suspension of the Indian Penal Code if we cannot bring about the complete elimination of forgery, theft, and murder and other crimes through police action. If it is admitted that conditions and sentiment in India are different from those prevailing in Western countries, and a great deal of the mischief of alcoholic drinks can be avoided in India by a policy of Prohibition, we must get on with Prohibition for the sake of the welfare of the poor even though we cannot attain 100 per cent enforcement. The Government of Tamil Nad, I am certain, is convinced that Prohibition is a good thing. The trouble is the need for some additional revenue. If a certain policy is good, we should hold on to it in spite of lapses in enforcement. As for revenue the honest thing is to cut out. There may be advantages in some items of government expenditure motivated by personal and party considerations. But these considerations should be brushed aside when the welfare of the poor demands that

toddy and arrack shops should not be established. The over-riding consideration should be to save the poor from the temptations from which they were free these two decades.

It is prohibition that justified the sales tax which has served as Kamadhenu for all the States. For the sixty-five crores of rupees now obtained by the Tamil Nad Government, it should be grateful to those who introduced Prohibition and made the tax politically possible. The income from sales tax does not materially affect anyone, not even the consumers on whom this tax burden is laid by the retailers. As against this let us realize that we save the poor classes from the moral and material loss they would have to bear in order to dope themselves for a while with liquor.

The drink revenue the State gets does not come to it without a substantial amount going to the licenses, making the poor bear that burden also. The sales tax does not act regressively on other sources of revenue, but money paid by the poor for drink disables them from paying for other things which would bring comfort and health to their families and some revenue also to Government. The arguments are so many in favour of Prohibition that a single paragraph cannot cover them.

As I wrote in 1931 in my book on Prohibition, if the prevailing sentiment in a country in respect of intoxicating drinks and drugs is the test for deciding whether India is ready for total prohibition, we are better ready today *than America or Great Britain is or can ever be*. Ninety per cent of the people consume alcoholic drinks in those countries as a part of their daily diet just as we in India consume pansupari or buttermilk. In those countries Prohibition by law intoxicating drinks was found to be most difficult of execution. This is not the case in India where drinking is confined to a comparatively small percentage of the people and it is generally indulged in outside the home. The circumstances and traditions operating in

Indian society are very different from those prevailing in the West. The notion that we cannot bring about abstinence through law does not apply to Indian society.

Kumari Malar, A Tamil monthly, brings out some of my 40 year old writings in Tamil journals of that time. The following is one such piece:

In 1524, Baber met his match on the battlefield, a Rajput King, by name Rana Sanga. Baber's troops were beaten and they fled in disorder. Baber attributed the defeat to his men indulging in intoxicating drinks. Baber broke all his liquor jars and cups made of silver and gold and ordered the precious metals to be distributed among the poor. About 300 of his warriors poured out the liquor they had kept with them and took a vow of abstinence from all intoxicating drinks.

Ganja, Bhang, Charas in India, and Marijuana in America are all products of the hemp plant and are the drugs which allure weakminded people by the first pleasurable sensations produced by hallucination and end in making miserable wrecks of the addicts.

Ganja consists of the dried resin-coated, flowering tops of the female hemp plant. The resin is discharged for want of impregnation and formation of seed. This is smoked and sometimes eaten. The dried leaves and small stems of the hemp plant are made into Bhang. This is sometimes smoked but generally eaten or made into a kind of drink. Charas is the resin collected separately containing all the active narcotic ingredients and is the worst form of the drug. It is generally smoked.

There is nothing in this world that has not some good use for man. Aconite, arsenic, opium and other poisons have all some medicinal value. But that is no ground for consuming them without the advice of doctors. Alcoholic drinks may not be consumed simply because alcohol has

some medicinal value under certain conditions and in certain measured doses.

What Tolstoy (if my memory serves me right) said long ago can not be improved upon by any scientific seminar: That imbibing any alcoholic drink even in small quantities is like putting a grain of sand into your watch. The following are the findings of the Second Session of the Indian Institute of Scientific studies for the Prevention of Alcoholism, held in Bangalore a month ago:

1) Alcohol has no medicinal value either curative or restorative. It has no nutritive value either. It might afford temporary relaxation but it is a depressant and leads ultimately to physical, mental and moral degeneration.

2) Alcohol has a direct bearing on crime and juvenile delinquency, and the question deserves further study and research.

3) Alcohol contributes considerably to the increase of road accidents involving avoidable grave physical injury and loss of life.

4) Drinking among the youth even to a moderate extent has grave implications for the future welfare of society and the country.

5) It is desirable that the Education and Health authorities at the Centre and in the States should give serious thought to the question of introducing Alcohol education as an integral part of the curriculum for High School students.

6) It is equally desirable that the Indian Universities should introduce the Problem of Alcoholism as a subject of study at post-graduate stage ~~in the subjects of post-graduate stage~~ in the subjects of Psychology and Sociology, and Law and Medicine, so that proper study and research can be brought to bear on the result recorded in the report of the Justice Tek Chand Study Team.

7) The Life Insurance Corporation as well as the Insurance Companies in India should seriously consider the desirability of charging lower rates in case of life insurance and motor insurance respectively to total abstainers and charge higher rates in the case of permit-holders as is being done by some insurance companies in the USA.

That fermented toddy is good for health is a falsehood. Col. McCarrison, an expert in nutritional research who worked in Coonoor for some time, stated in reply to my enquiry: "To drink beer in order to ensure efficient enzyme action in the body is a unnecessary as to drink toddy in order to ensure a sufficient supply of vitamin B". We all know what happens to the victims of toddy and arrack. Those who abstain are always healthier. It would be a sad thing if the licensed drink shops were opened overwhelming the mass of our poor people with temptation because a section is making plenty of money by trading in illicit liquor. If the problem of the State Governments is only a revenue problem, a surcharge on the sales tax, now yielding Rs.65 crores, would be the more justifiable solution. Instead of taxing only the poor people drinking toddy and country liquor it would be more honourable and moral for the Governments to levy an extra tax on the entire population who buy all sorts of things in the market.

Quite a few men holding high positions have died prematurely. I feel it is due to the pathological effects of alcohol, excessive or moderate, on the heart, liver and the lungs. Moderate indulgence does not remain moderate but acts as its own appraiser and steadily proceeds to heavier doses. When I sent a message to Dr. Sushila Nayyar to encourage her drive for Prohibition I referred to the Government's duty to stop their sales through licensees of toddy and country-spirits and did not say anything about foreign wines, brandy, whisky or beer. She wrote to me asking me to include these in my call for prohibition. I wrote back

to her to let the message remain as I had framed/it whatever be its defects. I consider that the highly educated persons who pay the heavy prices and indulge in these foreign drinks maybe left to themselves. They do not relish or require any compulsory laws to assist their intelligence and education. If in spite of what they have acquired by way of education, they persist in drinking, they deserve to suffer. I do not say that the message I sent to Dr Nayyar is not defective. I give expression to my deep regret at the lapses of the educated.

Dr. C.B. Courville, a famous neuropathologist, brought together in his book, *Effects of Alcohol on the Nervous System of Man*, the results of his studies in great detail of cases of persons who died after various periods up to years of drinking alcoholic beverages as well as the nervous system of people who had not been drinking much or long but who were killed while they were partially under the influence of alcohol. Dr. Courville stirred the medical profession by suggesting that many deaths attributed to falls, automobile accidents, etc., are not really caused by those accidents but are directly due to the previous damage done to by alcohol. A blow to the head from which a normal person would recover would kill an alcoholic, he said, because his brain will haemorrhage very readily under the blow. Dr. Courville's view was that although severe damage is not seen in its gross form until after many years of drinking lesser damage is already present in young people who have been drinking but a short time. Dr Otto Haug of a psychiatry department in Norway who experimented on the subject found that people who had been mainly beer drinkers showed as much damage as whisky drinkers.

A team of scientists headed by Dr. Melvin Knisely, professor of anatomy in the Medical University of South Carolina, have recently made research and come to startling and important conclusions confirming Dr. Corville's views. Dr. Knisely has demonstrated that brain damage is not

merely an end effect, but occurs progressively from the first cells destroyed by the very first drink a person takes and that the damage accumulates relentlessly with every drink he takes thereafter. Every time a person takes a few drinks of an alcoholic beverage at a social function, he permanently damages his brain and probably his heart and liver also. This discovery of Dr. Knisely's team needs to be publized effectively, because of the widespread acceptance of social drinking in "modern" society. Dr. Knisely's discovery is that the circulating red blood corpuscles become agglutinated when alcohol is imbibed and this seriously interferes with blood circulation through the small arteries, capillaries and veins. Agglutination means that the red blood cells become sticky and adhere together in wads. Oxygen can come to nerve cells only by way of the blood. The sludge resists passage of the blood through the capillaries and therefore the tissue cells are starved of oxygen. As the level of alcohol increases many small vessels become plugged and blood flow through them stops entirely. Neurons, the tiny cells of the brain, require a high oxygen supply and are therefore particularly susceptible to anoxia which, if it persists for fifteen or twenty minutes, kills the neurons. Brain cells, as medical men have long known, do not multiply and are irreplaceable. Dr. Knisely's team demonstrated the fallacy of the widespread theory that drinking in modernisation is harmless. Even patients with as will-
as.025 per cent (1/4000) of alcohol in the blood showed agglutination of blood cells.

A Chief Justice of England said: "But for drink we might shut up nine out of every ten jails". Another Judge of England said: "I do believe that nine-tenths of the crime committed in these countries is engendered in drinking houses".

Lord Riche, when he was Home Secretary, stated that eighty per cent of crime was due to alcohol. Once Sir William Harcourt was challenged as to when he became

a temperance reformer and he replied: "From the date when in the responsibility of the Home Department I had cognizance of those causes of crime which lead many a man and woman to loss of liberty and life" When the mouths of Chief Ministers water for drink revenue they should think of what the State will have to spend to keep crimes down.

All religions including Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Hinduism and Islam, advise their votaries to abstain from drink.

The juice that would have made coconut or palmyra fruits if left to itself, is aborted and drawn into pots for fermenting into toddy. Once the juice is fermented into toddy, the vitamins and enzymes in the juice are almost wholly destroyed. If any one suspects tuberculosis consumption it is best to depend on the advice of qualified doctors and codliver oil or shark oil and streptomycin and not resort to toddy or beer for a cure.

A famous British physician, Dr. Saleeby, wrote: "All first hand scientific students of alcohol from Sir Charles Sherrington, President of the Royal Society, and Sir-Humphrey Rolleston, President of the Royal College of Physicians downwards are agreed that alcohol from first to last in health and in disease is not a stimulant as mankind had so long believed but a narcotic. Alcohol paralyses the white cells of blood, which are the blood vessels, inflames the tissue of the liver, porsons the heart-muscles and causes accumulation of fat therein. It prevents proper nourishment of muscles by robbing them of the oxygen. It hinders the functions of the mind by paralysing the delicate cells of the brain".

Strong drinks made of French polish on illicit prescriptions lead to short term poisoning casualties. Illicit arrack supplied by Government licensees leads to long term poisoning of the vital organs, the heart, the liver and the brain besides making a beast of the man by its immediate effects on the brain.

The obituary notices if any about the death of youngish persons tell us only about the ailment immediately preceding the demise. They tell us nothing about the cumulative effect of imbibing alcohol through the previous years steadily preparing for the end.

Beer is made from barley or other similar grains. It is soaked in water and kept warm until it sprouts. After some days it is roasted and crushed placed in a tub at a warm temperature and allowed to ferment with yeast. It is then put in vats to clear. Hops are added to the beer to give it a bitter taste and the particular characteristic of beer. The active element in hops is the same as in gunja, bhang, or charas.

There is a great deal of talk now about breweries being established in our country to make what is called a light drink, viz., beer. The effect of any intoxicating drink depends not only on the alcoholic percentage in that drink whether it is 8 per cent, or 12 per cent, or 50 per cent, but also on the quantity consumed.

Beer contains besides the usual intoxicating element, alcohol, a quantity of hops which is a hallucinating drug. The peculiar characteristic of beer is due to the hops in it. This is from the resin-coated flowering tops of the female hemp plant. The resin is discharged for want of impregnation and formation of seed. Hops, like ganja, bhang and charas, are derived from the hemp plant alluring consumers by the first pleasing sensations produced by hallucination. Indulgence in any drink containing these hallucinating drugs end in making the consumer a miserable wreck by addiction to the hallucinating effects.

A great big advertisement of Peter Scot Whisky decorates the Indian Express issue of August 13 offensively disregarding Article 47 of the Directive Principles Chapter of the Constitution.

The Indian Express has again distinguished itself by a half-page advertisement of a "Special blend" of whisky.

I am surprised that the management of the Indian Express fails to see the great dis-service to the coming generation that such advertisements do.

The Indian Express of October 10 carries again a monstrous sized brandy advertisement, undeterred by my repeated protests. This is probably treated as part of the freedom of the press.

Rajaji strongly opposed the idea of Smoking. Besides writing about the subject he quoted a number of studies, reports and statements of doctors on the subject. Mr.R.J.Pritchard, Director of the Imperial Tobacco Company claims that on the principle which governs the trial of person charged with crime, cigarette should be given the benefit of doubt and allowed to be freely advertised and sold. Asked about the future outlook for the industry in view of the persistent claim by medical men of a connection between smoking and lung cancer Mr.Pritchard is reported to have replied that "All over the world the industry has not arrived on any scientific conclusion on this Mr.Pritchard's claim that cigarettes may be smoked in spite of the unanimous medical warning against it, because so far people have not felt alarmed and continue to smoke is obviously very bad logic. We have to give the benefit of the doubt to citizen charged with murder or other grave crime. But anything suspected of being poisonous cannot be treated in that way. We need to be non persist in running a risk until the industry accepts of feat. We should heed the medical men warning and keep away from the risk. Cigarette smoke is neither a good nor a tonic. Giving it up and saving ourselves from the risk involved in it costs nothing. Indeed some precious money may be saved.

Dr.Fruechte of Hanover addressing tobacco addicts, who were under special treatment under his guidance, said to them: "Smoking is an addiction that is not praiseworthy. Amongst anti-social elements and mentally retarded people

and in the lowest income classes there are one hundred per cent smokers. On the other hand, in the top-bracket of intelligence there are only very few smokers". These observations ought to go home with young men who begin cigarettes, believing it is good fashion among the elite.

The very definite and stern warning of the most eminent body of British physicians against cigarettes has again altered those that depend on cigarettes and cigarette advertisements for their income. They are bravely putting up a 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 onus 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.

The talk about the Government taking over cigarette manufacture and running it in the public sector coincided with my reading Nicholas Nickleby, chapter 2 of which is devoted to a proposal of a bill to be introduced in Parliament that the Government of Great Britain should run a concern called "United Metropolitan Improved Hot Muffin and Crumpet Baking and Punctual Delivery Company" upon the initiation of Ralph Nickleby. Cancer makes no distinction between government cigarettes manufactured by private concerns.

While the American Government insists that cancer hazard must be mentioned on cigarette packets, the Government of India will do no such thing but will have to do everything to promote the sales of cigarettes from the Government factories.

"Millions of smokers in the US have definitely cut back on cigarettes after January 11 when the US Surgeon-General issued his smoking and health survey. From New York to California tax officials found their receipts from cigarette taxes dwindling. A nation-wide grocery chain reported that carton sales of cigarettes were 20 per cent lower. New York tax collections in January 64 showed that the State's smokers bought about 10 million fewer packs of cigarettes than in January 1963. South Dakota had a 24 per cent drop in cigarette tax collections in January.

The Cigarette trade seeks to tell people that the polluted air of crowded cities is a hazard to health and therefore they need not attach very great importance to the hazards involved in smoking. It is time the air pollution in cities is bad. But it does not reduce the danger of adding to it the hazards which doctors have unanimously agreed lie in cigarette smoking. It is in each individual's power to avoid this additional hazard to health, whereas individuals cannot do anything to prevent the pollution of the air in the cities. It is fallacious to argue that because we have polluted air in cities, smoking does not matter. One evil does not cancel another evil, but adds to it.

Hemp drugs went from India to America and are now coming back to India with improved status acquired in America. Until now, people indulging in India in smoking the products of the hemp plant were considered as a very low class. But America has given these drugs a new status and new names and shapes which they did not till now. If this is not stopped our young people will be ruined. Satan

flies faster than the angels. Evil moves fast while Good creeps like a tortoise. These drugs begin with giving pleasurable sensations; then follows hallucination. After repeated indulgence, the victims are permanently subnormalized and the drugs become their relentless masters.

As the medical verdict against cigarettes gets stronger and clearer the cigarette advertisements keep pace against it by more and bigger appeals on behalf of smoking. A new name has been given to cigarettes - 'filters'. Here are two cuttings from an American journal which should be read by people reading these filter posters:

If the known agent in cigarettes which causes lung cancer were to be removed, cigarette-caused deaths would be reduced only 12 to 15 per cent, according to Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond of the American Cancer Society.

Cigarette smoking would still be deadly he observes because of the fatal damage inflicted on the heart and circulatory systems. Emphysema would also claim a large toll among smokers.

The Official journal of the American College of Physicians has urged its 14,300 members to put more muscle into their anti smoking campaign.

This is from an actual advertisement: "Many people are against cigarettes. Even though we are in the business of selling cigarettes we are not going to advance arguments in favour of smoking. Beedies are worse than cigarettes and being cheaper are a greater hazard to health and life".

There is talk about printing on cigarette packets warning about the hazards of smoking. Whether the warnings are there in the packets bought or in the journals which smokers read, they incite bravado instead of fear of ill-health. Whether it is the wife's warning that alcohol and tobacco smoke are poisonous, or the considered warnings of the world's best doctors, or the official warnings printed

on the stuff sold, the resulting effect on the victim is resisting bravado and not what is desired. This is human nature strengthened by the effects of the cigarettes already smoked and of the drinks imbibed. Smoking has not decreased, nor has drinking. All the warnings should be addressed to those who have not accepted the invitation of the spider to the fly. Unfortunately this is not done, but alluring advertisements are allowed and encouraged because they bring revenue to governments and income to the producing concerns who are prepared to pay at liberal rates for the advertisements. The advertisements do not contain any warning.

That by sheer lapse of time we learn to live with danger does not imply that the danger has disappeared. This is true both of the nuclear menace and the cancer - cigarette menace. People now seem to have got over the fright that scientists gave to cigarette addicts. It would indeed be foolish if we think that cigarettes are no danger because some smokers have not been attacked by cancer, and some others who never had smoked have been attacked. It is not safe to reject the evidence, so carefully collected and officially accepted by doctors, that men who smoke cigarettes invite cancer. That nothing is lost by giving up cigarettes is a point that should not be forgotten in this connection. Lots of poor men cannot afford to buy and smoke cigarettes. To smoke cigarettes is to flaunt one's status before those who cannot afford the luxury.

By whatever name the cigarette is called be it suez or cibratas or rasers or lancel and however big the advertisements and however profuse the statements about flavour and safety issued by the makers, reliable and independent medical opinion has unanimously emphasized the positive dangers of heart trouble, cancer, bronchitis and other ailments associated with smoking cigarettes. The commercial interests are powerful and have succeeded in influencing Governments not to prohibit manufacture of

cigarettes and content themselves with warning the people. These "warnings" carry no force. Older people set bad examples to the young as against these feeble printed warnings to be read after buying the packets.

It is remarkable how the tobacco interests run a successful race in advertisement literature with the scientific men's verdict and warning against cigarettes. It looks as if the luke warmness of the bulk of the scientists is at the root of this disgraceful rout. The net result is that cancer wins, not the tobacco kings nor science.

We have long articles now appearing in the world news paper magazine sections, in which advantage and security of smoking only half the cigarette and throwing the rest away are lucidly the sale of cigarettes lead to an increase. Those who wish to continue smoking but who are afraid of cancer will have to double their purchase out of respect for science.

The conclusion is that neither science nor commonsense, nor even finance, but only fashion and snobbery govern men's conduct. It is only if there is an elite in a nation who set a good and healthy example of abstinence, and thus it becomes the hall-mark of aristocracy, that men will try to rise in the ladder of status and abstain from evil things. Therefore it was that in old days in India the Brahmin caste, by their many and strict abstinences, spread good habits. The other copied them to rise in the scale of social status. But the brahmins were displaced by the Western immigrant rulers. These became the elite and the model for copying. After Independence, things are worse. Indians who dress, smoke, eat and drink, and speak with the accent and behave in the manner of the Western young men who occupy important commercial and technical positions in our developing economy - these are the present day Brahmins who set the fashion in all these respects. Successful Indian youth's ambition today is to smoke, talk, eat, drink dress and behave like Western

youth, never mind cancer, never mind the superiority of an abstinence culture.

I am grateful to Smt. Ranganayaki for quoting my words: "Young people should not start smoking. This single negative is as good as a free insurance policy against lung cancer".

Smt. Ranganayaki points out that lung cancer claims the largest number of victims among smokers and that deaths due to this are in the ratio of 9 to 1 for smokers as for non-smokers.

Congratulations to the New York senator Mr. Edward Spens who when introducing a Bill said "Cigarettes had been indicted, tried and convicted of mass murder", and wanted cigarette packets to be labelled "Warning excessive use is dangerous to health". It is painful to see bright-looking young men in the cities in India lighting their cigarettes to inhale something which is definitely poisonous and cancer producing.

In a Statement given on January 25, Dr. U.K. Henschke, leading radio-therapist of New York, who had come to Madras in connection with the Tamilnad Chief Minister's cancer treatment, expressed concern at the increase in the number of people taking to smoking, particularly those of the younger generation.

He said consumption of tobacco in any form - chewing, smoking or snuff should be avoided as it was the major contributory factor in the causation of cancer along with drinking.

Sir George Godrer, Chief Medical Officer of the Department of Health in the UK has just stated, according to an AP report of October 22, that nine out of ten lung cancer deaths are caused by smoking. Sir George asserted that smoking causes three out of four deaths, in Britain from chronic bronchitis and one in four fatalities from

coronary heart disease. He said the the habit claims that lives of 50,000 Britons a year.

In its issue of April 19, 1969 Frankfurter Allgemeine, foremost paper of Germany tells us: "The connection between the cancer of the lung and smoking has been established beyond a doubt. Astonishingly enough of this is largely ignored by smokers and even by health authorities". In direct proportionate adverse medical opinion and to make up for it, there is an upsurge of cigarette advertisements in news papers and on hoardings in towns and cities with all sorts of attractive features which may explain why smokers still ignore clear medical warning about the dangers of smoking. Ofcourse there is the force of old habit, of doing something with your mouth when you do not eat or speak, and when you do not feel sure what you should do about something that worries you. It is needless to point out that inviting lung cancer is not the thing to do if your brain feels vacuous.

World famous heart specialist Paul Dudley White (84), who has resumed work after suffering a mild cardiac attack, gives this recipe for a healthy heart: "Keep active all through life, don't gain a pound in weight after 22 - and don't smoke; tobacco is terrible. We know that it can cause cancer of the lungs. A person who already has a little heart disease needs all the oxygen he can get".

At the close of a four day meeting a big specialists from 21 different countries, Prof. Horst Wullstein, the President declared that smoking impairs hearing through vascular contraction.

India has won a world medal. An India-made cigarette has won the gold medal at the world selection of tobacco and tobacco products organized at Brussels. The award was given by a jury of internationally known experts for "excellence against severe international competition". Not a good field for victory, but all the same a victory.

9.5 On Gandhi

This day, January 30, 1969 21 years ago almost the hour we have met, Gandhiji was done to death by an unthinking fool who thought he was a patriot destined to save India from one who was ruining it by policies of friendliness and accommodation towards Mussalmans. The assassination has not stopped the tide of true wisdom which Gandhiji was inspired to teach. The whole world has seen the value of his teachings and this year all over our planet tributes are paid to his memory and his services.

It is a very great honour that the combined hospitality of the Christian bishops and leaders of all denominations of Madras have conferred on me by asking me to participate in this memorial service. I wish I could tell the assembled friends today all that Gandhiji wanted of us in India. But it is not within my present physical capacity. Throughout these fifty years I have done my best to tell people what Gandhiji wanted. It is painful to confess that his teachings have not brought about in India the changes in our lives which he desired so earnestly to be brought about. Men are still violent, dishonest, cruel, greedy and selfish. Character has altered for the worse, thanks to a drive towards mammon worship in the name of industrialization. The opposing forces have been too strong to give the Gandhian teaching a chance.

What we achieved under his leadership, viz., political Independence, is no doubt a great achievement. But what Gandhiji hoped for has not been achieved through Independence.

I have expressed painful thoughts. I believe however that a religious revival will come and the character of our people can yet be saved. Let us pray for this. Let leaders of religions and denominations forget old rivalries and all of them realizing our common object, work towards a revival of true godliness. Without this godliness or the laws passed or administrative policies followed.

In some strange and mysterious way, the plain white loincloth and shawl of a Hindu peasant looked like the robes of an emperor on Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. It was the man himself, of course, who made this so, but who but an emperor, or a saint, could conquer the heart of a country and become its conscience?

It was the example of his life and his belief in non-violence, the new dignity he gave to the villages, the simple assertion of human rights. He fought for elemental things, for truth and justice above all, and he was able to give weight and meaning to these words, which were otherwise weightless and meaningless. Future historians will probably regard him as one of those rare men who come at the end of historical epochs and by their very presence announce the beginning of a new dispensation, though they are not themselves permitted to see the promised land. He was one with Buddha and the ancient sages.

Governments and interested individuals appear to be busy making proposals to acquire at public cost all places marked by Gandhiji's visits or stay during his campaigns in India for Freedom and for the spinning wheel. No one is willing to do what Gandhiji wanted to be done. This fallacious attempt to honour Gandhiji without honouring what he said or minding what he wanted to be done is a costly mockery.

A news item from PTI of New Delhi says that the Government are instituting Land Acquisition proceedings to take over Birla House to set up a suitable memorial to Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji built up his own memorial during his lifetime. That memorial, viz., complete self-government of India, has not been well looked after but left to go into disarray. What 'suitable' memorial can we set up to dazzle man's eyes after breaking up everything Gandhiji did? The memorial contemplated will prove more to be memorial to the man who murdered Gandhiji than to Gandhiji himself. Gandhiji's true memorial can only be devised in the Secretariat buildings in New Delhi.

Hatred and evil have to be met. Counter-hatred and counter evil, some would say. It is a natural reaction. But a natural reaction is not always the wise way to meet hatred or evil. Buddha and Gandhiji deprecated counter-evil and advised that evil must be met by good and not by counter evil. Gandhiji held that this was good politics and not only philosophy. And he claimed that experience confirmed his view.

The Truth and the Non-violence which Gandhiji worshipped and wanted people to adopt are not mere verbal truth and dogmatic absention from killing thereby allowing the increase of unwanted pests. Gandhiji wanted people to be honest in their attitudes and their conduct and be non-violent by anticipation so to say. Non-violence by anticipation is so to conduct your life as to reduce the need to resort to violence and killing. What Gandhiji swore by apply to nations as well as to individuals and to groups of individuals known as communities. The fulfillment of Gandhiji's wishes in respect of Truth and Non-violence calls for fearlessness and faith. Needless to say, we need God to be by us always. God will be by us always. God will be by us if we do not shut our doors against Him. He will sit by us and speak to us if we do not plug our ears.

Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan's statement about the relevancy of Gandhiji in today's politics. I wish to add to what he has said that Gandhiji's relevance today is all important in order to bring back God and Religion into all our affairs. The reinstallation of religion and God is absolutely essential if our people's character at all levels should be inspired to the opening of our hearts to God. I hope I shall not be mistaken if I add that God is even more essential than what goes by the name of socialism and I hold that Gandhiji is most relevant for today's politics in this aspect.

"All Material progress has come from man's desire to do the best he can for himself and those about him and civilization and Christianity itself have been made possible by such progress", wrote Anthony Trollope in his autobiog-

raphy. This puts well the case for the profit motive in all productive work. 'Christianity' in this passage from Trollope is what Gandhiji called the doctrine of trusteeship.

I am writing this on Gandhi Jayanthi Day, October 2. I am sorry to write unpleasant words instead of swimming with the current of hypocrisy which seeks to exploit the common folk's reverence for Father Gandhi. Birla House is to become "Gandhi Sadan". The whole of India is really Gandhi Sadan; but, alas, all that Gandhi stood for has been given up by those in power in India and the Birla House Gandhi Sadan will be contradiction of the policies now governing India. God's assassinated Gandhi on January 30, 1948 and he was tried and executed. But almost everyone who now holds authority in India and who, instead of speaking the truth, speaks untruths, is a co-assassin with God's, though not tried and convicted. Everyone in power who misleads the big Gandhi Sadan of India to totalitarianism, away from the freedom for which Gandhi stood all his life is an unconvicted a better of Godse. Everyone who utilizes power for personal or party advantage is Godse. Everyone who gives or receives a bribe is an unconvicted Godse. Every hypocrite in public life puts a knife into Gandhi's side.

Let us not delude ourselves into self-satisfaction by the can't of hypocrisy which is the worst of all cants as well as most tormenting. Gandhi was great. Indeed he was a miracle, but the parties and powers that rule prefer to do without him. The Gandhi Sadan ceremony on October 2 in Delhi will go on very well and make great noise like the proverbial empty vessel but it will not help us against the forces ranged against truth and freedom and the simple life and the pursuit of happiness under those conditions. We have strayed into the wrong road and must get back from the slough we have been led into and pray for the courage and firmness required for the penitent pilgrimage.

Gandhiji wanted people to look upon work as worship and gave the charkha as a symbol of general industriousness. An industrious population is the greatest asset of a nation. The expensive contraceptive approach towards the food problem is a waste and an utter futility. A nation may stockpile all kinds of deadly armaments, but that is not enough to guard its security. What national security demands is that all the people look upon work as worship and all the people are prepared to die. If the people are not prepared to offer their lives gladly, the nation cannot be free, however immense their stockpiles of arms may be. Gandhiji wanted our people not only to be free from foreign rule but free from the two great enemies of prosperity, viz., passivity and laziness. His hopes have not yet been fulfilled thanks to a variety of reasons. The old bias towards escape from the world as a way to emancipation still commands our people's inclination. Some good people are thinking of giving a new name to sweepers and scavengers. A new good name may give a sense of uplift for a time, but soon the new name will come to mean the workers concerned and nothing more. Giving a fresh name is not a new device. It has been tried before by Gandhiji and before him by Sri Ramanuja, the Vaishnavite saint. Gandhiji, with the best of intentions invented the name 'Harijan', hoping thereby to make people forget untouchability. Ramanuja invented the name 'Thirukkulathaar', with the same object - 'Thiru' being a prefix to denote the sacredness of the literature, place or community to which the prefix is attached. The new name denotes the people concerned and the people concerned do not benefit by the new name. Neither 'Thirukkulathaar' nor 'Harijan' has changed the situation. The new names suffer a devaluation to take them closed to the reality, instead of benefiting the people concerned. If, for instance, we call the sweeper or scavenger by the name Suchi Sevak, the name may give for a short period a sense of uplift but soon Suchi Sevak will come to mean sweeper or scavenger and the situation will remain the same. A rose will smell

as sweet as before though we call it by a new name. A rupee will fetch the same in the free market as before even though we may re-baptise it as Bharat-dollar or Hindustan pound. And the people of India will remain the same whether India is called India or Bharat or Hindoosathaan, as poet Iqbal called it to suit the rhythm of his anthem.

A transformation will come about when God is installed in the hearts of the people and men and women discard the desires and withstand the temptations that shut the door against him. But God keeps knocking at the door. God is eager to save perhaps more eager than we to be saved. Francis Thompson has told this in his own way in his great song. The Hound of Heaven.

Last week's papers were naturally full of well-deserved tributes paid to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, who passed away on May 27 last year. Sri Nehru was a world figure, of whom India has every reason to be proud. The difference between him and Gandhi was that while Gandhi moulded history leaving the impress of his personality on people and the events of his time, Nehru was moulded by the events and the drifts of his time. He did not make history but world history made him what he became. Nehru was a modern civilized citizen of exemplary culture, while Gandhi was a born questioner and rebel, and was so even to the last minute when the assassin's bullets put an end to his life. Nehru's early moulding abroad by the ideals and forces around him explains all the policies which hold the present administration of India in their rigid grip, which his weak successors have not the capacity to re-examine and revise, or remould, although they are as unsure of their being right, as any critics sitting in the Opposition benches. Often have I felt that it would have been easy to get Jawaharlal Nehru, had he been now alive, to mend things, but those now in charge of affairs are afraid to think of any deviation. Much mending is however absolutely necessary; hence these sad thoughts during a sad week.

9.6 Books and Literary Creation

Besides quoting relevant matter in support of his thoughts and ideas; I have recently been reading *Animal Farm*, the much boosted book of George Orwell. A million copies of this book were sold, the blurb says. I cannot admire the book. Every one cannot do what great Dean Swift could do. To condemn and ridicule communism is a good motive, but performance is very different from what one desires to do. It is true that citizens lose freedom and become animals under communism. But merely filling up a whole book with animals doing impossible things does not make a fable. Aesop knew his animals and knew also how long or rather how short, a fable should be.

Bits of pungent satire are easy enough to write but satire to be sustained through a whole book on subjects of political or religious or other controversy becomes a monotonous bore unless a master-hand like Dean Swift conceived and does it. *Gulliver's travels* into several remote nations of the world, in four parts, is an immortal book. But St. Thomas Mount cannot become Mr. Everest by taking a deep breath.

Arnold Toynbee has written the leading article for the *Saturday Review's* 40th Anniversary issue. He sets out the terrible situation in which the world finds itself now on the brink of total destruction. The self-centredness of human nature affects both men's personal lives as well as their collective lives, either as part of the human race or of a tribe or a church in which they are interested. When man is acting collectively he can behave most selfishly without being pulled up by his conscience, because he can delude himself into believing that he is subordinating his own interest to the common interest. And the self-centred collective activity has led the world to the brink of destruction. Can we hope for a change in human nature to come about somehow? Toynbee has not much hope of this.

Nature has put in man the same capacity of multiplying himself infinitely as a safeguard against extinction through enemy species or microbes as it has put in the birds and the beasts and other living beings who have all round them hungry and relentless enemies. But now man has himself, through nuclear power become his own greatest enemy. Increase of population is no answer to this danger for man himself. On the other hand the increase of population without a balancing rate of death threatens starvation and extinction. Toynbee winds up the melancholy article on a religious note. The only hope for man is the force of love. It is in fact love that keeps the world going round. It is the only force which makes ultimately for the choice of life and good, instead of death and evil. Therefore the trust of hope in our inventory of hopes, the hope that includes and transcends all other, must be the hope that love is going to have the last word." Let us hope and trust with the great historian that this spirit of love is going to become the paramount inspiration of our generation and its successors.

Pornography and obscenity that cause disgust are only dirty. They do harm but not such great harm as the seductive pictures that appear in some popular newspapers that print selected scenes from the movie pictures on current show. These incite and aggravate, besides advertising the shows. They stimulate the sex urge, which is active enough and does not call for such assistance. These pictures occupy whole pages in some newspapers and are particularly bad in their effects on our young people. We must get this type of cinema reviewing, or advertising through pictures, stopped if we wish to avoid the seductive pictures reproduced in our daily and weekly journals of scenes from the cinema shows accompanying their comments are more harmful than the ugly advertisements put up on hoardings or even the shows themselves which are seen by limited audiences. There is no such thing as a

fundamental right to stimulate libido nor any other justification for the press as a body to tolerate this kind of evil. Can't public opinion among the leaders of the press do something to stop these attitude pictures from appearing? I write again on this subject although I have written before, because it hurts greatly to see these pictures coming up over and over again to ruin our youth.

The Nude is beautiful in sculpture and painting but not in flesh and blood except for a very limited period of time. Female dress was not invented by puritans but by people who wished to add to beauty and not reduce the appeal of the nude. No wonder that the latest report about smut and pornography from the commercial angle indicate a decline in the business. People must get bored, if not disgusted, with that is not beautiful but depends mainly on masculine desire and virility. Masculine virility is a quickly spendable commodity. I am led to these remarks by what has appeared on the subject. The report about Japan makes one sad, as it shows that the influx had adversely affected the Japanese traditions as to behaviour.

Rajaji stated that every literary creation must be purposeful and this applies to fiction, the favourite form which present-day literature takes. Now, there are critics who decry didacticism in stories; their objection is valid. But this does not rule out purposeful writing. What is objectionable didacticism and what is purposefulness which is good and necessary? There is in true literature both the elements of artistry and purpose. The purpose is not presented obtrusively in the form of polemics of direct preaching, but is worked through characters into the plot and situations created by the artist. We see this most vividly in the plays of that most consummate of literary artists, Shakespeare. Everyone of his plays - the great plays particularly - holds a supreme moral purpose. Yet it is expressed through personalities and their actions, not through explicit preaching. We are gripped by the hand, so to speak,

and taken through all the steps, leading to crime or noble sacrifice. We are among men and women throbbing with life. New fiction can be of this type or be just moral disquisitions thinly covered by *dramatis personae*. This latter is not literature, but mere propaganda. Who can object to the purposeful plays of Shakespeare, which we read without ever tiring, and which certainly are true literature? If all authors cannot be Shakespeares, they can seek to do as he did, and in way, and not lay themselves open to criticism. Every one of Dicken's stories or Thackeray's too, can be put on the table, so to speak, and dissected and examined, and we shall find high purpose running them - and moral and social objectives, but the objectives are transmuted into literature and not presented as something not much removed from propaganda. These great writers did not write for mere amusement or excitement only, but for what they conceived to be a moral or social purpose. But they knew how to do it. They avoided didacticism and used the highest art of dramaturgy in their work.

Opinions may differ, but my definite view is that national mythology must not be confused by making modern fiction out of it, even by the best-motivated authors projecting pouranik personalities in the invented stories. I respectfully make this submission to eminent writers of fiction and screen producers, who make easy work with characters figuring in our traditional Hindu mythology. Modern stories good bad and indifferent are read widely, whereas our present day young men are not in a position to have authentic contact with our sacred Puranas and will mistake every kind of story for good pouranik information, if the characters are pouranik figures. If eminent men write stories projecting pouranik characters, these young men, already ill-informed and under-informed, are sure to take the modern stories presented to them as those from Vyasa or Valmiki. Mythology, in my opinion, should be kept distinct and unadulterated.

10.0 MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST

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On Sacrifice and Honour

Sacrifice comes easy to noble minds when honour is at stake. Ramachandra gladly accepted banishment when his father, Dasaratha's honour was in the balance. Valmiki tells this great story in the Ramayana, as he along can tell. The British King, Edward VIII, gladly gave up his throne in the same manner in preference to letting down the lady he chose to marry and became an exile from Britain. "If the clock could be turned back", he said many years later, "I would do it all over again".

On haste and unrest

A Non-Political Paradox of our times, according to a Kiel journal, is that modern man has to fight against time. Although working hours are shorter and spare time longer, most people are always in a hurry. The doctors diagnosing nerve, stomach and circulatory troubles causing early death, trace them to haste and unrest. All this is strange when working time has been cut down so much that hardly a third of the time we are awake is used to earn money. At our place of work we are always in a hurry. Sociologists are, we are told, of the opinion that this can be changed if different hours of work and different days of rest could be accepted, instead of universal conformity. This would help to avoid gatherings in doctors' clinics, general stores and other such places of people in a hurry before and after the general working time. On Saturdays, people are pressed for time, when they are all hurrying along to get started on their week-end holiday. There is good reason for uniformity, but there is also reason for different hours. The matter calls for full examination.

On hard work

Mr. Nikita Khrushchev said that "some think under communism they need neither sow nor reap but eat cake". How like this is what some people are made to think in India. Hard work is the mother of prosperity and hard work of any kind needs an incentive, the incentive of being assured that the yield will not be taken away by the State and given to others or wasted.

On Love for foreigners

Max Eastman writes in Saturday Review one of the sweetest things I have read in recent times. Introducing a Greek word *philoxenia* which means 'love of the foreigner', he says he has never encountered this love of the foreigner among other people as among the Russians before the Bolshevization. "When I was there in 1922", he says "the general population showed this love of the foreigner in their behaviour. I am afraid that communist propaganda has pretty nearly wiped it out by this time. I remember it as one of the most endearing traits of those thoughtful and very lovable people". Reflecting on this comment, one feels that in India, too from time immemorial and it is not yet wiped out we have a great love of the foreigner. There is no reason whatsoever why we should discard this endearing trait because once upon a time some foreigners ruled over us. *Philoxenia* is a mark of true civilization. It does not detract from love of our own country or of our own culture. It is a fine addition to national pride to save it from being ugly.

On laughter

Dr. Scheweishelmer writing in Listen says:

"According to modern scientific research, laughter affects all the organs of the body from the lungs to the intestines. Laughter speeds the cure of disease. Laughter has been looked upon as an innovation of nature to compensate for

the diminished organic friction and massage of the internal organs, caused by man's erect position. There are first and foremost the lungs. Laughing moves the diaphragm up and down, and air is drawn into the lungs and then forcibly ejected until every portion of the lungs is thoroughly ventilated. Even deep inhaling will not approach in thoroughness the effect of good hearted laughter. Laughter causes a massage of the liver. This means a greater flow of bile which is produced by the liver. People who laugh during meals enjoy better digestion of food and better absorption of nourishing materials than people who are moody and dissatisfied while eating. Laughter gently massages the endocrine glands and thus increases their secretion. The thyroid gland, the suprarenals and the pancreas are directly stimulated by laughter, and as all endocrine glands are affected by each other's secretion, laughter affects the whole chain of glands. Laughter stimulates the pituitary gland, that pea-sized lump at the base of the brain".

On memorials

I have a letter from Sri.R.K.Sharma asking for my opinion about establishing a memorial trust for commemorating the services of Sri. Lal Bahadur. I dread the formation of special organizations and memorial trusts. Soon there will be an unmanageable number of them.

The Soviet Government in furtherance of its own prestige is sure to do all it can to memorialize the Tashkent achievement and pay respect to the late Premier Lal Bahadur. So no non-official organization in India for that purpose is called for.

As regards a memorial trust in India, it becomes an unimpressive and conventional affair if we go on multiplying memorial trusts for all the dead and beloved VIPs. The true memorial for Lal Bahadur would be Indo-Pakistan friendship on a solid positive basis - but this is essentially the duty of Government.

I hope on account of these views of mine it will not be construed that I am lukewarm about Lal Bahadur. The Isa Upanishad winds up thus: "Mind what you do; the body disappears in smoke and ashes. What you have done during your life remains, nothing else." Sri Lal Bahadur has done well and that is his true memorial. An economic base for goodwill and co-operation is what is called for. An open border with no tariffs and duties and a plan for production, so that the two countries may help each other economically, this is what Government should take up.

On Love and Good will

Unilateral action requires a great deal of courage. It may be described even as a dangerous gamble. But every act of the nature of love or friendship, or any other form of goodwill, is a gamble. There is and there can be no bargaining in love. Love and goodwill forge their own returns, not out of previous agreement or bargains, but out of their intrinsic nature. The gamble of the first step, if it may be so called, is based on human nature and will never fail. Unilateral action is a procedure based on the truth that in human intercourse a step taken by one party in advance, and without any guarantee of reciprocation from the other side, inevitably produces a reaction in the other party. Unilateral action depends on no world organization or court. It depends on the essential goodness of human beings.

Before I wrote the above, I wrote in the *Quest* quarterly (July-September 1959):

This leads us to the capital question of how we shall conquer ill-will and suspicion, and establish peace. Blessed are the Peace-Makers, but how shall we make peace?

There is no way but by example and unilateral action, and the acceptance of all the hazards, contained in such unilateral action. Some things are hard to dissolve in any

fluid, except in a particular liquid. Hatred and suspicion can be dissolved only in the uncalculating unilateral steps taken by the more courageous party. Courage consists not in the organization of self-defence and retaliation but in the un-negotiated step taken in disregard of fear and suspicion.

Quoting Socrates on Death

Plato has recorded it that after a long discourse by Socrates to his dear friends, and when he said to the jailor, that he was ready to drink the potion of death, the weeping friends asked Socrates whether he would like to be cremated or buried. Socrates laughed and told them they might do whatever they liked if they could catch the bird after it had flown away from the cage. "I have explained all this while to you that I am not this body but a spirit you cannot catch after it leaves this body. You have so soon forgotten sunset not being of the earth but of the sky. The grandest things are the great trees. Man's claim to beauty is only his mind and if that is sold out to groups who seize power and call themselves the State, that claim is forfeited.

On Changing Names vis a vis Character

I wish the craze for changing names were given up and the greatest attention paid to the improvement of the character of our people which has markedly deteriorated. Unless God and religion are restored through a mighty effort on the part of great and good persons, there seems to be little hope for the future. The national economy does not depend on names, but on character.

On Lending and Borrowing

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be", was the advice given by Polonius to his son, Laertes, in Shakespeare's Hamlet. It is amusing that India does both, borrows heavily and attempts to lend also. Laertes was advised that 'loan oft loses both itself and friend and borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry'.

Against Racial Division

The problem now for civilization is not East and West as Kipling sang, but white and black. Must they live together and yet apart and in hate and strife? Must they wait till at God's judgment seat freed from the body and colour they meet as disembodied souls?

The truth which I had thought you grasped", said Socrates. A little philosophy on this occasion may not be uninstructional especially as it is incorporated in the historic words of Socrates, the 'saint of the examined life'.

On Yoga

The Beatles said here yesterday that they were disillusioned with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi.

"We made a mistake", said Paul McCartney, at a news conference. "We thought there was more to him than there was. He's human. We thought at first he wasn't".

Lennon said the Beatles had taken up meditation because "it seemed to be nice, like cleaning your teeth".

McCartney said his and Lennon's feelings about the Guru were shared by Harrison and Starr.

"We tend" to go in and out of things together, said McCartney.

Beatles Ltd. is being reorganized as Apple Corps Ltd. The new company will make films, produce records, get into electronics and operate clothing stores in London.

This disillusionment of McCartney, Lennon, Harrison, Starr and other confirms and exemplifies the general warning I wrote into my article in SWARAJYA of April 27 entitled 'About Yoga and Yogis', Yoga is a moral and religious discipline, not a physical improvement device. We may

benefit physically too, by moral and religious discipline. But the main aim is moral not physical.

On Youth

That it is dangerous to be in the hands of young men is well known. But it is good to read a wise man's remarks about the subject:

Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quite; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; absurdly pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon; care no to (do not hesitate to) innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready (unbroken) horse that will neither stop nor turn.

On Beauty

Humans try to make themselves beautiful by the use of clothes, often unsuccessfully. The use of clothes produces an artificial craving for seeing the nude, the attraction for which ceases after a very brief indulgence.

Unquestionably the most beautiful things on earth are the flowers and the sweet notes of the birds and sunrise

On the Sacredness of the Cow

Cow worship is our national mystique. It is no good making fun of it, calling it superstition, bad economics etc. It is a real sentiment and must be taken note of by those who seek power through the popular vote. There is so much talk now about food shortage that prepares it may be good to look at the cow worship question from the standpoint of food shortage. Is there a more wonderful machine made by man than the milk-yielding cow, which makes milk out of

grass, straw and other forms of inedible cellulose? There is none. So let us grant that any cow that yields or can yield milk should not be killed. It is a national wrong to do it, just as it is national wrong to turn fertile land from wheat to rice to jute or sugarcane or cotton. But there is also a question of the rule of law. We cannot enforce cow protection by legislative coercion against people who own the cows they are compelled to slaughter for immediate cash. We should worship our own cows, not trespass on other people's freedoms. Persuasion, not coercion, must be our guide. We should educate the slaughterers to respect the sentiment and feelings of the people around. On this principle some of the old Mussulman subjects to curtail their rights. Let us remember that peace and harmony are cows too, and precious cows. The rule of law is the most sacred cow of all in societies wishing to preserve democracy.

On Banning of Cow Slaughter

A note in the Hindu of October 27 dated from New Delhi tells us that at an informal meeting of Central Cabinet on October 25 it was decided that cow slaughter legislation was to be left to the State Governments. If this report is correct, it is a decision arrived at without considering the legal and constitutional points involved. The demand for banning cow slaughter is not a mere public nuisance question. It would be a simple problem to ban any public cow slaughter or any other act outraging the feelings of the Hindu community. The demand is however much more than that. It is that no one should be allowed to slaughter cows even if the animals are the property of the slaughterer. It is a demand that cows as such should be protected from being killed by anybody anywhere. This cannot be dealt with by the State legislatures, as the legal advisers of the Government of India ought to be able to tell the Central Cabinet. Unpleasant problems cannot be passed on so easily by the Centre to the States. Time can be gained this way, but nothing more.

On Remarriage

A recent event and its political reactions remind me of an old story. It was fifty years ago when I was practising at the bar fairly profession was bereaved, his good wife having died. I went to offer sympathy and spent a few minutes with the friend. I listened to a panegyric about the departed lady and I said to myself here is a worthy husband and was glad but my mood got a jolt when the friend ended saying "I think I shall not get a wife like her again". It was with sadness he said so, but I suppressed my disgust with some difficulty and left quickly. He was hardly two days old as a widower, yet he regretfully referred to his difficulty in finding a second wife one as good as the one he had lost. I returned from the visit with a sense of ghastly humour unforgetably imprinted on my memory. It is true he was a young man and there was nothing very abnormal in his marrying again nor even in thinking about it so soon within himself seriously. But to her his remark on the very day of the passing of his wife was something I had not expected and can never forget it.

On Registration of Marriages

It may not be very good for politicians to become chief priests, but it is the present vogue. It is good to make marriage ceremonies easy and brief. Whatever may be done, it should be remembered that a great many problems may arise unless there is due public registration. Keeping the distinction between betrothal and marriage, between proposals and finalized alliances, is most important and it should not become a matter of evidence to be taken when a question is raised. Registration should replace public religious ceremonies if the latter are done away with.

Having read the Bill to validate what have been called Swayamariaadai marriages, I feel that it has grave defects. It is essential that the law should provide for the maintenance

of a public register of these marriages by a legally authorized registrar at each centre, who will be responsible to make the necessary entries and obtain the signatures of the parties married and of witnesses. Copies of the entries should be sent to district and central authorities for entry in their registers. These registers should by law be deemed as conclusive proof of the marriages. Whatever may be the deficiencies in this respect of past marriages performed after the passing of this law should be registered as I have suggested. It may be enacted that all marriages celebrated in the past should be entered in the registers within one year from the passing of the Bill new and thereafter these marriages shall be deemed legal and not open to question. As it is, things are left in a confused state depending on oral and other rebuttable evidence, which is very unsatisfactory when we deal with marriage relations.

I cannot say I have studied this Bill along with the Central Act 25 of 1955 as a lawyer would. But it appears that the new Bill does not envisage or respect any rule or custom about prohibited degrees of relationship, but would validate any marriage irrespective of it. I hope I am wrong.

On Environment

Plants and trees and creepers too have lives as we have; therefore do not kill them said our Rishis. This is not part wrong this is a part of Hindu culture, particularly practised by the Jains. There is an aspect of vegetable life other than this appeal for ahimsa, viz., that it works out a cycle for preserving the balance against the constant replacement of oxygen by carbondioxide by the respiratory activities of men and animals. The carbondioxide breathed out by men and animals increasing the proportion of that gas in the atmosphere of our planet, we now have our great friend and enemy, the internal combustion engines of motor vehicle and planes, and industrial engines, which consume

oxygen at an increasing rate and in its place emit carbondioxide. This pollution of the atmosphere is going on at a pitiless rate using up fossil fuel, coal and oil.

Industrial advance and civilization have thus greatly disturbed the balance which had been provided by Nature in the Planet. Not content with this, we are destroying plants and trees thus augmenting the disturbance by reducing the agency which should replace the carbondioxide by oxygen. If we are not living only for our generation but feel some responsibility in respect of future generations, we should consider it our duty to maintain and increase vegetable life. The BBC had a third programme on the subject.

Mrs I. Brown writes to me an interesting letter :

I remember as a girl in 1927, my father was the Rolling Stock Inspector of the then South Indian Railway. He lived in Egmore. Father's inspections took him right down to Dhanushkoti. He used to tell me about the lovely coral reefs, how they formed a protecting wall to an otherwise helpless bit of land, how giant waves would expend their power first against the strong reefs and then roll over on to the shore, half their strength spent. I am sure the damage would not have been left intact.

The lady encloses in her letter a cutting from the Mail of Oct. 29, 1964, in which a letter appeared objecting to the cutting up of the coral reegs and to the removal of the ban on such cutting. A couple of sentences may be quoted from the letter written by one signing "In Good Faith": "Due to the outlying coral protecting reefs, sea waves do not break on the shores, but only out on the reefs ~~sea waves do not break on the shores, but only out on the reefs~~ themselves. To remove, or even reduce, the height of the latter, means that within a short time the shores will be pounded by strong waves". The writer of that anonymous letter had indeed seen something important, judging from what happened two months later.

On Vegetarianism

Srimathī Rukmini Arundale took my good wishes before starting on her travels westward to Holland and New York. I was so gratified to learn from her that there is a great wave of strict vegetarianism going forward in America. The only diet consistent with the functions of leaders of culture and religion is a diet that does not depend upon the cruel slaughter of innocent animals.

Vegetarianism issues out of the principle of compassion. We should avoid, personally or indirectly, causing cruelty to animals which feel pain and call for tenderness and compassion as much as human beings who cannot help themselves to do. To kill or cause meatshop keepers to kill animals do not feel as much pain as human beings do is altogether untenable. We may not be able to alter the way of living of non-vegetarian folk who have inherited the practice of finding food by cruelty. But surely the large communities in India who have practised strict vegetarianism and have developed a strong aversion to non-vegetarian food need not abandon what they have gained through religion and tradition. It is, therefore, a good great pity that individuals belonging to these vegetarian communities have in recent times, thoughtlessly taken to indulging in cruelty-bred food for variety's sake. It is argument that our ancients hunted and killed and ate the meat so obtained. But it is a cruel breach of trust on the part of men to breed innocent animals and then kill and eat them, because some one has told them that meat is better than milk or wheat or rice or pulses. Compassion is a precious heritage. It is the core of holy living. Let us not give it up when we have acquired it and can easily hold on to it.

On Adulteration

There was a letter in one of the dailies of Madras that dry peas were soaked in water and coloured so as

to look like fresh green peas. Illegal trade gains apart, this kind of cheating is mixed up with poisonous colouring agents and unhealthy water. Here are results of research that have recently appeared in the German press about colouring matter:

The artificial manufacture of textile dyes in the laboratory came into its own about eighty years ago. Since then the same chemicals have been used to colour food products as well. They are intended to give a mouthwatering appearance to food which may have lain around in ware houses for some time, or been subject to heat, and which has lost its fresh natural look.

This simple procedure had to be given up when it was discovered that several of the dyes in use could give rise to cancer.

Up till now all colouring additives within the scope of the foodstuffs laws have been regarded as quite harmless. But now, as a result of extensive tests made by a specially appointed laboratory team, it has been shown that the use of colouring matter may cause foodstuffs to undergo certain basic changes in their biochemical make up. So a close watch is now being kept on these additives, and they are now being regarded as guilty until proved innocent.

Professor Josef Eisenbrand, Director of the Chemical Research Institute in the Saarland, has pointed out that most artificial additives are broken down chemically by the enzymes in the body. Up till now it was believed that colouring matters passed straight through the body without change.

On Autobiographies

People have not left of asking me to write the story of my life. I still firmly hold to the opinion I have long expressed about autobiographies, which Thornton Wilder

has put in forceful words: "A little kernel of sense in a world of boasting, self-excuse and rhetoric".

On Nehru's Ashes

Sri V. Gurumurthy had addressed a letter to the President deprecating the wide scattering of the Nehru ashes. It is a bit too late, since elaborately arranged plans in that respect have been carried out already under Government auspices. What he has written, however calls for serious reflection. His communication to the President is published on page 23. In his covering letter to me he says:

I feel this will become a bad precedent if such things are not discouraged. After the death of Mahatma Gandhi, it has become a common practice (rather a fashion) to immerse the ashes of prominent men in various rivers, whereas the custom was to immerse them in some holy river in one lot. I am not much bothered about the ashes being immersed with all honour, whether in one lot or various lots at various places, but it is repugnant to think of strewing the ashes of a dead body in the air from an aeroplane, however great may be the person who died.

After Shri Nehru, I think there will be many more in our country who may think of writing a will about the disposal of the ashes of their body.

I am not competent enough to touch upon the Constitutional aspect of the Government of India taking the distribution right of the ashes of the late Prime Minister, but I feel this is a bad precedent.

We look upon onset of practices as superstitions, but adopt a new set of rites and ceremonies based on freshly conceived fancies and feeble vanities. The ashes and bones collected from the cremation ground are treated by Hindus as unclean and kept apart until they are consigned to the sacred waters which are supposed to be all-purifying. This

is done to signify the insignificance of the material body in its relation to the body in its relation to the universal matrix, not to confer any honour on the rivers. The new superstition elevates the relics of illustrious persons to the level of sacred objects of worship and the ashes are scattered as conferring some kind of distinction on the rivers and other places in or over which they are thrown.

On BCG Vaccination

Dr. B.C. Sarbadhikari, M.B. (Cal) T.D.D. (Mad) F.C.C.P. (USA) 82A, Dr. Sudhir Basu Road, Calcutta) writes to me a letter sending me his booklet along with it, entitled "BCG in India - failure". His letter reads as follows:

Once a stubborn supporter of the use of mass BCG vaccination in India I am now out and out against its very use in the country and that for reasons even in short in the book. I think that the dismal failure of BCG vaccination in India is also known to some of those at the helm of TB affairs in India. I feel, however, that they being part and parcel of WHO and UNICEF advocating the use of mass BCG in developing countries are embarrassed to admit it.

Rajaji's Humour

"I am one of seven children" said one holding a high office in Madras State to me. I told him he was lucky to have been born before Dr. Chandrasekhar came on the scene.

On Geometry

Euclid (we called it by this name and not geometry, as they now call it) was a favourite subject with me when I was in school. An eminent mathematician of those days one Hanumantha Rao (he is forgotten now), produced a book and shocked people by explaining how Euclid was a laborious logical exercise in proving the obvious and therefore it should be discarded and real geometry should

replace that study in our scheme of High School education. Now like Euclid some of us are trying to prove the obvious about work and industry through logical debate. We try to prove that incentives, not slogans of the Government produce work, and that production of wealth can only be done by work; that poverty cannot be reduced except by production of wealth, certainly not by conflict and hatred or through voting for those who talk most lies. All this must be as obvious as the problems and propositions of Euclid. But we have to prove these things, and so all this writing and speaking on my part and that of others. A point is reached in the smog raised by much writing and excessive talking, when the obvious becomes invisible, and as a result the country goes to the dogs.

On Railway Accidents

The main cause for the recent railway accidents according to the General Council of the All India Railwaymen's Federation is that over 80 per cent of the rolling stock, locomotives, carriages and wagons are over-aged. This confirms what I got from a senior official in the course of a casual discussion. He pointed out that at the root of the unfortunate situation is true desire of the higher officials and the ministries to show expansion and new developments to the prejudice of proper consolidation and maintenance through adequate expenditure and effort. What has already been done at great cost is left untended, while expansion and multiplication have become the main concern. That is foolish budgeting and criminal mismanagement is obvious, but there has been vanity in the air ever since we "took over". This vanity compels the departments against their own conviction to make and continue persistently in this obvious and criminal mistake of neglecting maintenance.

