

SWARAJYA

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15 Naye Paise

THE KERALA SATYAGRAHA

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When there is a remedy open according to law and the grievance can be brought under examination and remedied, it was not contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi that Satyagraha might be resorted to. Much less justifiable indeed would it be to resort to Satyagraha to reverse the decision of the electorate as to which party should have the governance of the State for the time being. The Congressmen of Kerala are laying the axe at the root of parliamentary democracy by what they are doing.

Not only by the test of doctrine but even as a matter of expediency the present policy of Congress in respect of the government of Kerala is wholly wrong. A million votes may place a party in power in accordance with the Constitution but twenty thousand men who dislike the decision can create a situation by the methods now employed, under which no government can function without the use of ugly force. And the use of such force will bring in its train passions that will destroy order, and make government impossible.

The slogan of non-violence is irrelevant and serves no purpose in this context. The condition of non-violence is attached to disobedience and non-co-operation where these are the only way open to one who suffers a wrong. Where the Constitution or the laws provide a remedy, Gandhiji would

not tolerate resorting to Satyagraha and this even in the case of individuals and their grievances. Much stronger would be his objection to parties and groups seeking to seize power resorting to the methods which he reserved for causes which could not be otherwise furthered.

That the Congress organization did not itself accept the responsibility of Satyagraha against the Kerala government shows that they smelt something wrong in the process. Permitting Congressmen on their own responsibility to do something which the Congress as such could not rightly undertake is an unworthy and unwise evasion. Much better would it be for the Congress to obtain a law from Parliament that where any party other than Congress wins in any general election, the Governor can order a new election after such time as he thinks fit without awaiting a vote

of no confidence or the expiry of the period fixed for a fresh general election according to the Constitution. Such a law could be easily passed with the Congress majority in Parliament. It might be indecent but it would avoid the disorders we now see in Kerala.

This wrong and short-sighted adventure on the part of Kerala Congressmen will have far-reaching evil consequences for the future of parliamentary government in India. Democracy would rest on a feeble foundation if the provisions of the Constitution are to be by-passed by so-called Satyagraha offered by any group that feels strong enough to put sufficient demonstrations in the field. The Constitution contemplates the possibility of peaceful government even on the basis of a majority of one at an election. It would be completely negated by the doctrine now permitted by the Congress and the Congress government at the Centre to shake the foundations of the State government in Kerala.

I do not like the Communist party but this is not the way to deal with them. It is through the Constitution and the Constitution alone that we should deal with them.

The introduction of President's rule now after all that has happened would make it appear to be a trick or conspiracy.

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All contributions to be sent to Shri B. V. Narayana Reddy at above address. Sympathisers may register their names and particulars at the same address and at Kalki Office, Madras-10.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

An important feature in the criticisms of Congress leaders against the Swatantra party is their eagerness to attract the Prime Minister's attention for loyalty, the same sort of psychology which impelled two of our Chief Ministers to nominate Sri-mathi Indira Gandhi for the Congress Presidentship overlooking her inexperience and the infinitely superior qualifications of ever so many other leaders in the country. When the Andhra Chief Minister Sri Sanjiva Reddi disposes of the Swatantra party as a party of retired men, he makes only one more exhibition of the pitiable fallacy which has made a mess of Congress thinking, the fallacy of coining a label to cover a movement and attempt to pass it off as a substitute for thought. As a matter of fact it is among the young intellectuals who have just graduated from the universities that interest in the new party has been keenest. They are avid with enthusiasm to join it and dedicate themselves to its service. Even assuming, contrary to fact, for the sake of argument, that this is not so, is there any valid reason for cavilling at retired men to disparage a party they are supposed to be interested in? Life and experience have taught so-called retired men what others have yet to learn. They may be regarded as society's most competent mentors. The habit of mind which condemns them outright and even seeks to deny them the citizen's right of participating in

public affairs and political activity, cannot but disgust decent men. It is an assumption of arrogance the more insufferable when it comes from Ministers who ought to be humble, considering how splendid their opportunities have been, and how barren their regimes.

Then there is Sri Dhebar saying that Socialism is bound to prevail in India, whether the Congress or any other party liked it or not: "If the Congress failed to bring Socialism, some other force would do it sooner or later." Here too the name of Socialism is invoked and it is sought to be passed on as a *maha manthram*, as an inevitable something which it is futile to criticise, oppose or resist. It is from this sort of superstitious employment of the Socialist slogan (abandoning direct thinking on the content of policies and programmes) that the Swatantra party seeks to save and rescue the nation.

Socialism in practice has meant an enormous concentration of combined political and economic power in the hands of the Prime Minister and a few of his men. They have appropriated to themselves a stupendous spending capacity. It has become insatiable. Not content with the heaviest taxation ever heard of in our history, they have embarked on the acquisition of vast profitable enterprises built by private initiative and begun to invade trade, commerce and business for making money. A considerable ousting of the sources of independent livelihood in the country has been the result.

All the official accumulation of money has been employed on spectacular projects. A little of it has benefited the people. But much more has been lost in waste. Socialists have taken the spending itself to mean progress. In reality it has been like movement without advance as in the case of a jacked up automobile, with the engine alone running, and the wheels moving with terrific speed, the vehicle remaining stationary all the while. Socialism in practice has not brought comfort, hap-

piness, or relief from unemployment to people. It has meant only expropriation of property, heavier tax burdens, higher prices, decreased purchasing power, increasing Government controls and regimentation and loss of opportunities for independent livelihood under the shadow of an ever-darkening bureaucratic authority.

After winning liberation from foreign rule, we have lost real freedom, freedom as to way of life and living, and are being regimented into automata under State control. Discarding the slogans, however high-sounding they may be, which have proved so ruinous already, the Swatantra party is pledged to win back for the people this freedom. It does not confound social justice with reckless spending. When there are substantial leakages by means of corruption, waste, extravagance and inefficiency, large spending will mean unconscionable tax and other burdens. This in fact is the state of the country today. More power to government (to tax, trade, appropriate, confiscate, and impose controls and restrictions) will mean, under present conditions, death to the community.

The Swatantra party seeks to introduce more balanced standards of planning by connecting expenditure with positive benefit. Freedom of initiative and activity will lead to enhanced production, the basis of plenty, prosperity and employment. These the party will endeavour to promote. It has no faith in salvation through bureaucratisation. The country has advanced so hopelessly in addiction to propagandised shibboleths that it is a task of herculean difficulty to turn it from trade in make-believes back once again to the path of reason and commonsense and respect for truth and reality. This is the task that Rajaji has undertaken. He alone has the courage and fitness to undertake it. Prophets of doom will not deter him since his present mission is not based on any nice calculations of probabilities as to success or defeat. It is an offering to God and the nation as of a duty that must be performed for the good of humanity.



COUNTING THE BEADS

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

When a Christian, Hindu, Muslim or Buddhist counts the beads in his rosary he does not seek to know the number of beads in the string, for he knows it already. He utters the name of God as taught to him and seeks to feel the Divine proximity and realise His presence. He prays for strength and purification.

The alternative to a rosary is not a hankering or labour for worldly wealth or a visit to a steel factory or textile mill but some other form of human effort to realise and remember spiritual values over and above material values and their vanities.

God's form is incomprehensible. He exists but we do not know Him. A name is as good as any mental shape that we give to Him.

These observations may seem superfluous to those who missed reading a part of the Prime Minister's recent speech in Nepal wherein he stressed the need for hard work—which he could have done without giving his high authority to the neglect of prayer or spiritual contemplation and a contemptuous reference to beads and rosaries. Does he not know that the greatest obstacle in national life and national progress today is the fall in moral standards and the widespread diffusion of dishonesty with consequent distrust and therefore failure of mutual co-operation? We have had enough of destructive forces in the moral field. The need of the hour is a revival of integrity and moral values without which even authoritarian schemes will miserably fail. Does the Prime Minister believe that his own sermons can be as effective as the teachings of ancient faiths and the words of holy men and be a substitute for the rosary? The rosary and the counting of beads have made man into the human being that he is. Not all the policemen we can put up in the field can match the strength of religion or be a substitute for it. May the Prime Minister's power and influence be used to raise our

people's nature and not to lower it and reduce them to busy godless serfs, hating and envying one another. It is time the Prime Minister appeals to the people of our land which he seeks to uplift, to repent and lead an honest, compassionate and just life, to give up dishonesty and greed and laziness and be prayerful and lead lives of hard work with God in their hearts so that we may prosper and be happy and value the things of real value.

THE TESTS BAN

A cartoon of the *Daily Express* of London reproduced as top picture in the *New York Times* Weekly Review, puts the case for the urgency of the ban of nuclear tests most incisively. The three nuclear powers sit under the strontium 90 shower saying "there is time", "there is plenty of time" until the drizzle becomes a shower, the shower becomes a flood, and the flood goes over the heads of them three and only then they lift their hands above the water holding slips of paper saying "I agree", "I agree", "I agree". Too late it will be, one day, if they go on in the manner they are now doing.

The quantitative estimates of deadly radio-active fall-out hitherto put before the world public for deluded consumption were on the basis of world averages. The miseries of the world do not fall on the basis of a uniform spread but come down in concentrated form on particular individuals. So also 90 radio-active strontium and radio-active-carbon, deadly poisons, are sent down by the heavens from the stratosphere bank, not uniformly but heavily concentrated, sometimes here, sometimes there, which science cannot foretell and can do nothing for it even if it foresaw. It has been noticed that surveys in Western countries, the latest being one reported from Italy, show very heavy concentra-

It appears as if the Prime Minister believes with the Communists that religion is the great opiate that keeps men away from work and it must be discarded. America has not suffered under the opiate. This false proposition has damaged the Communist States. All the difficulties they meet with by way of distrust in international efforts to reach agreements can be traced to the proclaimed denial of God and religion on which the Communists have anchored their ship of State. It would be a pity if our Prime Minister is unable to rid himself of this fear of religion.

Linus Pauling, 1954 Nobel Laureate for Chemistry, said on June 10 at Copenhagen we may expect one million cancer cases as a result of radio-activity.

These tests are for making new nuclear weapons which if used will shoot fall-out in terrible measure besides killing those who are intended to be the victims. There are deadly H-bombs in stock with both the inveterate enemy blocs, to destroy the world thrice over. The bombs are alive with the Devil in them and they are lying in wait for the zero hour. These tests are for further advance in the same direction.

They are a wholly illegitimate attack on the health of the present and future generations of the uninvolved millions, who have not yet written off their rights in favour of the nuclear pugilists.

The International jurists have said a great deal about Hungary and Tibet. But they do not appear to be excited about this attack on the rights of the peaceful people of the world and their children to be born. No one has referred the question to them!

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Popular forms of government are possible only when individual men can govern their own lives on moral principles and when duty is of more importance than pleasure and justice than material expediency.

FROUDE . . . CAESAR

SIDELIGHTS ::

Readers of SWARAJYA have been enquiring about the state of my health. One of them has written a touching letter saying that it is inconsiderate on my part not to devote some space in the journal to this subject. I must say that I am now better physically than I ever expected to be. Not only am I able to walk a little with the help of a stick, my eye sight, which I had lost for the purpose of reading, has come back to some extent. After a brief period of virtual stone deafness, I have recovered my hearing too, though not fully.

Some weeks ago I discussed the desirability of my retiring from work on account of my physical disabilities. There has been a spate of correspondence about it. One of the writers, Sri P. P. Chandru of Matunga, Bombay, was forthright in his advice that I should close down SWARAJYA. Under the caption "What Next?" he wrote:

In view of his failing health, Saka has offered three alternatives for the future of SWARAJYA. I would undoubtedly choose the third, viz., close the journal.

Modelled, consciously or unconsciously, on the British *New Statesman*, SWARAJYA lacks the N.S.'s brilliance and the fare it offers to the readers is hardly as wide and varied as that of the N.S. Saka's *Sidelights* cannot hold a candle to Critic's London Diary.

With the current contributors who have been flooding the columns of the journal for over three years, I am sure that it is impossible to improve the standard of the SWARAJYA.

So, better wind it up.

Most of us are addicted to turn down advice when it is uncomplimentary. Anxious as I am not to fall into this pitfall I could have given proper consideration to Sri Chandru's advice and treated it with respect but for the reasons he gave. His reasons spoil his letter. I do not know how many papers in the country can survive if they are to be deemed fit only to close down if their editors cannot hold a candle to Critic of New

Statesman's London Diary. The aspersion on this journal's other contributors does not reveal a taste for quality or comprehension of fine writing. I remember an occasion when Critic himself (Kingsley Martin) then on a visit to Madras complimented one of these contributors, after listening to him for half an hour, on his intelligence, wisdom, knowledge and gift of phrasing. He said that in that brief half hour he had learnt more of the journalism of his own country than by his own study over a period of years!

And then who does not know Rajaji? As a thinker, speaker and writer, he is the outstanding genius of the present age. I have listened to Mr. Churchill when he made one of his famous political speeches. There is punch and fighting vigour in the British statesman's oratory, but lacking the oratorical manner, there is more brilliance, simplicity and compelling persuasiveness in Rajaji's speeches. His logic is deadly. He is the world's most accomplished speaker today and among the most incisive, clearest-brained and powerful of its writers and thinkers. Any journal fortunate enough to count him as a frequent contributor can hold the candle to any other in the world, notwithstanding the enchantment that distance lends to the vision and judgment of certain critics who are unable to perceive non-distant merit when it lies under their very noses.

For one Sri Chandru wanting the journal to be closed, there have been a hundred correspondents shocked at the very idea. I must keep to myself the letters of the most generous of these, as their publication would land me in self-advertisement. A few specimens from the more moderately worded letters are given below, but I do so with reluctance, as even these are laudatory; but there is no other way of showing readers' dissent in general from Sri Chandru's contemptuous dispa-

agement. Here are the letters:

From Radha Narayanaswami, Bangalore:

It will be no exaggeration if I state that when I went through *Sidelights* in your issue dated January 10 tears trickled down my eyes and I could not resist the grief in me. If at all there is any journal which gives the readers a clear and accurate picture of events it is only the journal of which your esteemed self is the editor. There are many readers eagerly waiting for the weekly issues. It will only be just and fair if you carry on as best as you can for as long as possible.

From S. Ranganathan, Bombay:

Along with many another reader, I would earnestly request you to be at the helm, so that the prospect of our missing SWARAJYA on Saturdays will never arise. The alternative of winding up SWARAJYA is too dreadful even to be thought of. I am sure you will give full weight, as is your wont, to a request of this kind from your reader-friends whose number must be legion.

From K. Viswanathan, Tiruchirappalli:

I am shocked to know that you are considering whether SWARAJYA may be continued or discontinued. I pray to God to bestow all health on you and let me have the opportunity of reading your articles for a long time.

From G. Nagalingam, Muthupet (Tanjore District):

In this gloomy land that is India, SWARAJYA is the only silver lining.

To close this journal is to cut short the thinking process of the nation.

From R. K. Chari, Matunga, Bombay:

In the three years that your journal has been in existence it has rendered invaluable service in the cause of educating public opinion. In addition, Sri C. Rajagopalachari's articles are veritable nectar to our thoughts.

From Mrs. Saraswathi, New Delhi:

I have not so far missed reading any issue of SWARAJYA. To read your weekly is to enjoy an intellectual treat at a cost which is less than negligible.

Keep on, dear Editor, at your post. Has not a soldier to be at his post of duty till he drops down dead? We had much rather have SWARAJYA with you as its Editor, whatever its imperfections and limitations due to your failing health, which in truth are nil.

(Continued on Page 15)

FAIRPLAY IN PUBLICITY

By POTHAN JOSEPH

With a flourish of the sporting spirit, the Prime Minister professes to welcome the birth of the Swatantra movement adding that it would enliven Indian politics. As for any difference between him and C.R., Pandit Nehru made a facetious reference to the Old Testament and the New Testament which has no particular bearing on the issue of safety and self-respect for the masses even in the evaluation of food output alone. He believes in the economic fables and fallacies of the academic experts surrounding him that productivity will be on the boom after the Nagpur resolution: and to create an atmosphere that scientific chaps are in charge of *Kharif* propaganda, he reminds the back-numbers that we are living in the Sputnik age. He has no patience with old world cultivators, signature campaigns, local dissidents and even Supreme Court judges who imagine that secret subsidies to the Congress party in terms of sums like Rs. 2½ lakhs are but a flea-bite carrying no expectations in return. He says that the Congress has received more ridiculous amounts anonymously.

Now in the battle that is joined, I have initial fear that the machinery of newspaper-reportage and propaganda is going to be operated very heavily against the Swatantra movement. For example, let me give the experience of June 4 when a casual collection of leaders met in Madras and outlined the plan of the Swatantra party after a speech by Rajaji against Jawaharlal's impetuous scheme of the Socialistic pattern of society under Nagpur idealism. On studying the columns of Calcutta newspapers which carried the vital story of the day, I find that the version of the Madras proceedings was meagre. Our official news agency has for various subtle reasons to be pro-Government in putting over Congress boost. But surely the names of those present could have been given in fairness, con-

sidering the occasion. Care is taken meticulously to publicise that Jaiprakash Narain was present there only by invitation which impliedly is the reverse of individual association. In India the government of the day and the Congress High Command are one and the same which is a great advantage to the ruling party which reckons six-figure gifts of the Mundhra order as but a trifle in the traffic of altruistic donations. I wish there would be more fairplay in the distribution of news without sycophantic discrimination.

Look at the paraphernalia of publicity for the Prime Minister and his team. What he says provides banner-lines on Page One as a matter of opinion. He may be speaking in Parliament or on some platform (habitual duration of discourse, 90 minutes), but every word goes into print. On the day of his press conference his pithy utterances are usually put forth in the shape of eight different stories scattered all over the pages and reducing even Geneva news into the size of footnotes. Can the new party expect a tithe of such advantages even if the substance of expositions happens to be more weighty and thought-provoking without assertions suitable to the nuclear age and without scoffing brush-offs for critics as a reward of enlivened politics? All the time the radio broadcasts of the day keep tomtomming pro-Congress pronouncements. Editorials, many of them obsequious, extend opinions not necessarily friendly to any new-born party which cannot offer thundering advertisement-allotment of space to sustain interest. Meanwhile, the Ministers at the Centre and in the States are expected to beat the drum of the new Nagpur evangel, a task which they feverishly perform. Sadiq Ali and Shriman Narayan have become eloquent teachers of the gospel. "Field Publicity" and talks through mobile vans represent a big force for convincing farmers

that the Nagpur resolution, if implemented, would result in millennial conditions. Some of the school texts relate to planning and the prestige which India is winning by the promised trebling of harvests. But that is not all.

There is the film as the medium of publicity. Much of the work done by the Films Division is the recording of the speeches and functions of Congress bigwigs (the *ins* as well as the *outs*), and the screen reproduces the story in hundreds of our cinema houses throughout the country. We gaze at pictures of big dams and colossal factories, and the script writers praise the Government for their marvellous and benevolent achievements. There is of course nothing mentioned about the cost of foodstuffs rising by 25% during a week of seminar speeches. Facilities by air, land and sea belong to the ruling party which represents vested interests in the country based on perpetual monopolism for the party. As it is, we cannot expect scruples in propaganda when the main organisations of publicity are in the hands of self-righteous leadership, interested not only in party glorification but in nailing down dissent and protest.

In a truly democratic country like Britain now within distance of a general election, such bias in the instruments of national publicity would be unthinkable. Prudence apart, a high degree of decency would weigh against unequal opportunities in mass-contact. It was remarkable that after the outbreak of the war which the Congress condemned, statements made by Mahatma Gandhi in *Harijan* damping war-efforts, were telegraphed all over as news of the day. What Gandhiji then said was news no doubt, but the idea of a black-out of opinion is really more repugnant to Anglo-American democracy than the control of views in many other lands. The foreign bureaucracy decided in favour of Gandhiji's opinion on various subjects being made known in India, much of which had been unpalatable to the Central Secretariat.

If an equal degree of fairplay were practised in Indian journal-

THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS CRITICS

By K. S. RAMAMURTHY

Mr. Minoo Masani and folks like him are infinitely less important in their stature compared with the Prime Minister, and this is precisely the reason why they take so much care in expressing their opinions on controversial topics. They take great pains to collect their facts, to check and cross-check them, and to marshal them all into an acceptable proposition. They try to persuade you with reason and logic, and while you can differ from their deductions and question their inferences and interpretations, the facts that constitute their premises are difficult to challenge. The Prime Minister, of course, is so very important that he considers himself happily free from all such hindrances. He can go straight to his audience with a vacuous mind and tell them without a moment's hesitation that acres and acres of land can be brought under cultivation by doing away with those superfluous bunds. His importance is so great indeed that he can speak for hours together on such obvious truisms like the necessity of green manure for higher yield. If all themes fail him there is always that eternal theme of 400

ism the opinions expressed by C. Rajagopalachari on public affairs would be circulated for publication from time to time. C. R. is not a prolix writer just filling space; he is clear and concise, and since he is so stimulating without any vulgar flattery of the Government and the High Command, it would be but fair play that his countrymen should know what he thinks. When the Prime Minister talks of politics being enlivened, he should also deem it sportsmanlike to order equal facilities for the Swatantra party through the various media controlled and employed by himself and his team. Then only could he talk of Fairplay in the enlivening of politics.

millions marching on the high road of adventure to the Socialist paradise. People patiently hear him because they know what an important man he is. In India today a man derives his eminence, not by what he says or does, but by the position that he chances to occupy. The Masanis may talk sense all day long but they don't matter, for where do they stand in importance compared to the Prime Minister?

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru can easily afford to say anything and get away with it because of the eminence of his position. Mr. Masani and his friends, not being "very important", cannot afford the luxury of speaking to the multitude a lot of laughable things and escape from the consequences. Their very unimportance forces on them a certain amount of restraint and makes it imperative for them to be rational, persuasive and reasonable. It is therefore no wonder that the Prime Minister's critics show a greater awareness of realities and are better informed than himself. Many of Mr. Nehru's critics might not have stood as champions of freedom in the pre-Independence era. All these things do not matter a bit and the general importance of their views is not at all affected by such considerations. The importance of a particular opinion is to be judged from its validity in a certain set of circumstances. What matters is not who says a thing but what he says. Wisdom is not the monopoly of a few chosen spirits. Instead of dealing with all sensible criticisms fairly, if Mr. Nehru is going to take seriously only the views expressed by a few pre-eminent men, then he really is treating public opinion and democracy in a most contemptuous manner.

How does Mr. Nehru deal with criticisms made of his policies by even persons of eminence? I really do not know if Mr. Nehru

can ever be said to deal with any criticism at all. If Rajaji opposes co-operative farming all that Mr. Nehru does is to refer to Rajaji, in a patronising manner without ever bothering to touch even the fringe of his pointed criticism. The Prime Minister really must make some effort to understand the basis on which others object to some of his policies and try to meet argument with argument. That is the way to make democracy a success. That is the only way by which every one is enabled to see his own errors of thought and judgment.

How I wish it occurs to Mr. Nehru that many things that he says are very much less important than the opinions which Mr. Masani expressed at Bangalore and which Mr. Nehru brushed aside as not being "very important". It is quite an easy thing for any man in his position with a blind crowd following to brush aside all criticisms. That way, however, lies his own doom and the putrefaction of his party.

It is time for the intelligent minority in the Congress to seriously think about the real state of their party today and its future.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE GREAT DEBATE GOES ON

By T. V. KUNHI KRISHNAN

The writers and artists of the Soviet Union are in ferment and a great debate is going on there. It is a debate in fundamentals. How far can freedom of expression go and what is the role of the artist in communist society?

The third all-Union Soviet Writers' Congress which concluded its sessions in Moscow on May 23 brought the debate to a new climax. The Soviet Writers' Union has about 5,000 members belonging to 40 nationalities, and not all those who attended the conference last month were professional writers. Poet Alexei Surkov, general secretary of the Writers' Union had presented to the conference a report entitled: "On the tasks of Soviet literature in communist construction".

Surkov's report was strongly criticised by some writers, including Alexander Tvardovski, an old and revered poet and editor of *Novy Mir*. Tvardovski dismissed the report as "a homage to the inertia of yesterday". There were others who supported it. Thus there are two groups among the writers—the conformists who closely follow the communist party line and non-conformists who believe in freedom and inspiration.

There seemed to be no tendency towards silence on the great issues. In fact many writers spoke with frankness and the opinions they voiced were far from any kind of stereotyped unanimity.

Sky of Sugar

K. Paustovski, a novelist, in an article in the writers' newspaper, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on May 20 attacked the prejudices and wrong notions of Soviet writers who belonged to the conformist group. He was critical of the sickly sweet ending of stories and of the reluctance of Soviet authors to "write of suffering, the fear of ever alluding sadness, as if all life must go on under a sky of

sweets and sugar, to the accompaniment of the sham and hearty laughter of militant males and females". He added: "It is perhaps that we shout so much and so loudly about truth in literature exactly because we lack it."

New Climate

Many other writers also came forward with their frank and fearless opinions and the great debate among the Russian intellectuals was clearly mirrored in the proceedings of the writers' conference. This debate was begun nearly six years ago, within a fortnight of Stalin's death in March 1953. There have been many ups and downs since then and the pendulum of literary principles has swung widely. The communist party seemed at times to encourage vivid and meaningful literature that did not challenge Russia's communist leadership and system.

The early beginnings of this debate could be traced to the publication of Ilya Ehrenburg's *Thaw* which anticipated a new climate in art and letters in the Soviet Union. Ehrenburg with whom many Indian writers are personally familiar, is one of the most famous Russian novelists and has often in the past been accepted as the high priest of Soviet literature. He glamourised the concept of "emotional self-expression" and said that personal experiences were a more vital influence on the writer's work than the demands of society.

In this long debate there have been climaxes, such as the publication of Vladimir Dudintsev's *Not By Bread Alone*, its condemnation by Nikita Khrushchev and finally a qualified confession of error by the author. Lopatkin, the hero of the novel, who struggled against the Soviet bureaucracy to win approval for a new machine he had invented, was the first non-conformist hero. Many

other similar heroes followed in other novels and all of them cast doubt and aspersion on Soviet achievements.

The restive stirrings among writers and artists were going beyond safe limits. The revolution in Hungary and the role of writers in it, as well as the unrest among Polish intellectuals, made Soviet leaders revise their ideas and in 1957 Nikita Khrushchev made three speeches which amounted to a statement of party line on the arts. He said: "One of the major principles is that Soviet literature and art must be inseparably linked with the policy of the communist party, which constitutes the vital foundation of the Soviet system."

Creative Writing

Then came Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* and with it the pendulum swung too far out. Pasternak was expelled from the writers' union. The reaction was swift. The pendulum swung back again and *The Yershov Brothers* appeared. The message of this controversial novel is an appeal to the working class to defend Bolshevik principles against writers and artists who had fallen under the influence of the West. Its message became a focal point of debate in writer's and party circles.

The debate still goes on. And the non-conformists seem to be winning. In his speech at the writers' conference last month Khrushchev had no hesitation in supporting the plea for "quality above all in creative writing". The conference was not attended by Ehrenburg because of illness and Pasternak because he was expelled. But these two writers were present in spirit. There are indications that Pasternak will soon be admitted back into the Writers' Union and that a new wave of liberalisation will sweep through the Soviet Union once more. A non-communist has been elected general secretary and once discredited writers are now on the executive.

The air is getting more free—make no mistake, and give the devil its due.

DECLINE OF THE INTELLECTUAL IN INDIA

By V. K. NARASIMHAN

The intellectual in India is facing an acute crisis. The British left India not only divided but also famished. It may be said truly that the single biggest factor which compelled the British to quit India so soon after their victory in World War II was the aftermath of the Bengal Famine with its toll of millions of lives. The far-sighted among British statesmen could see that the Indian milch-cow had run dry and that far from being a productive asset for British imperialism India had become a frightening liability. British rule had created the conditions for a rapid growth of the population without creating the agriculture and industry that could keep the growing millions at a minimum level of human existence. It is not an accident that food deficits have become a more or less permanent feature since 1943 and free India has had to face a formidable problem in feeding its people.

It may seem that India's under-development, if it represented a formidable problem, represented also a great opportunity. Here, it may be thought, are endless opportunities for the intellectuals to give a lead, to think out new ways of solving difficult problems, to participate in organisational tasks and to find spiritual fulfilment in the carrying out of great constructive endeavours. The question we have to answer is, why has this not taken place?

The answer must be sought largely in the changes in the political and economic climate that have been taking place since freedom. In the political field what we find is the emergence of new elements within the Congress and outside which dominate on the basis of power and influence derived from forces very different from those which prevailed before Independence. In pre-Independence India the political-minded intel-

lectual was a power to reckon with. Whether he was in the Congress or other parties he was generally a professional person with a considerable intellectual background and animated by a spirit of service to the country. The majority of political leaders were drawn from the legal profession. Today all this has changed. Adult franchise, bestowed on a community consisting of a vast majority of poor and illiterate people, has thrown up a new leadership which has come to power because of control over the party organisation and because of local caste and communal influence or money power or pure demagoguery. It is true that, at the top in both the Central and State Governments, we find most of the old Congress leaders holding office. But the subtle change that has come over the Congress is reflected in the composition of the Central and local elective bodies of the Congress party. Here we find that the old intellectual leadership has been virtually replaced by new elements which do not have the old intellectual background. The new legislators and political party-men are people who have acquired their influence in recent years by capturing the subordinate political organisations and virtually eliminating the old intellectual group from which the leadership was drawn. This new element is primarily anxious to make a profession of a political career as such and is willing blindly to support whichever political leader is dominant in the State or in the nation as a whole. The result is that high level policies are made by a very few people at the top and are increasingly accepted by the rank and file because there is no intellectual group at the intermediate level which can intelligently discuss policies. The mass electorates created under the new Constitution—electorates running into tens and hundreds of thousands of voters for each seat—means that elections can be fought only by those with an enormous amount of money or by those who are supported by the party machine. Hence people who control the party machine have acquired an enormous power with regard to

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the selection of candidates for election. The purely intellectual politician who in the past was held in esteem because of his ability to present a case or because of his knowledge of politics and economics is now at a discount.

This new atmosphere, in which the manipulator of the party machine has become all important, has led to a decline of interest among the intellectuals in party politics. A cynicism and indifference to party politics has developed among intellectuals who have come to feel that in any case they are powerless to influence the course of politics.

Another powerful factor which has induced intellectuals to turn either cynical or careerist is the continued inflation that has gone on from the war period. It is well known that the people who are worst hit by inflation and rising prices are the middle classes with fixed incomes. While the industrial workers benefit from compensatory dearness allowances in proportion to the rise in the cost of living, the middle class salaried people have not secured similar benefits on any comparable scale. Deepening economic distress and a growing feeling of political helplessness have produced among the intellectual classes a loss of faith in the values which used to be cherished by them. Such values are a concern for individual freedom, personal integrity, the pursuit of intellectual ideals and a spirit of public service. With a loss of faith in their old idealism the intellectuals either become cynical and do not care what happens to whom, or they develop into careerists. Careerism is in a sense born of cynicism. Once intellectuals generally lose their faith in the higher values, the more ambitious among them are anxious only to further their interests wherever possible regardless of moral scruples and political integrity.

Another factor responsible for the growth of a careerist mentality among a section of intellectuals is the sudden promotion of large numbers of Indians in subordinate positions to high positions in the Central Government after 1947 because of the sudden depar-

ture of a large number of Englishmen who held these posts. Too quick promotions within a short period brought into high positions people who were mentally and otherwise not prepared for them. In addition, the extension of Government activities in the post-1947 period also created high level jobs on a large scale for which there were not enough really capable men. The result was a decline in the quality of recruitment and the presence of large numbers of people in high posts for which they were not really fit. The presence of a large number of sinecures in Government at different high levels has led to general deterioration in the morale of the administrative services and has

induced a mood among most Government servants of careerism. Most officials are constantly concerned more about how to move to the next higher job than about doing justice to the jobs they now hold. Young men from colleges who compete for the various administrative and other services look upon the service solely as a passport to easy earnings and not as an avenue of responsible public service.

What about those who are neither cynical nor careerist? A few of them have undoubtedly been attracted to Communism but a vast majority of them lead routine lives with a deep sense of frustration. They make a hard living either as teachers or as



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minor employees in Government or private services and show very little interest in social and political life.

The Indian intellectual today feels largely left in the cold. He feels that he does not have an atmosphere for the pursuit of intellectual interests. At a time when the country should be throbbing with intellectual discussion of the most intense kind because of the variety of problems confronting it, we have controversies limited solely to politicians at the top.

A new element, which has affected the performance and integrity of the Indian press, is the growth of trade unionism among journalists which has produced a state of war between journalists and newspaper managements and has induced journalists to seek the patronage of the Government for securing their economic rights. Unless this tendency is checked and the press is able to evolve an internal and autonomous machinery for the settlement of its problems, there is a grave danger of the Indian press losing its independence and declining in its utility as an efficient and independent source of information and comment to the public. Here, again, the role of the intellectuals who produce newspapers is supremely important. Unless they develop a professional conscience and professional ethics and devote serious attention as much to the problems of improving the performance of the press as to the problem of improving their own emoluments and conditions of service, they may find that they have lost their status and position as independent servants of the public.

From the point of view of the contribution of intellectuals in a free society the problem before India today is basically to secure its best minds for its educational institutions and for its press. It cannot be said that the leaders of free India have so far devoted their attention to these serious problems. It is not entirely an accident that in the past few years the evils of indiscipline in universities and colleges have spread to

newspapers. Educational institutions and the press form the twin forces which ultimately determine the intellectual level of a community and the quality and integrity of its political and social institutions.

There is no dearth in India of real intellectual ability. The record of Indian students who have gone abroad and distinguished themselves in competition with their compeers from other countries shows that the quality of our intellectual material at its best is as high as that in any other country.

Greatest Political Event After Independence

The formation of the Swatantra party is in my opinion the greatest political event in this country after Independence. For several years, I have felt that the existence of a party with a programme different in kind and not merely in degree from that of the Congress was necessary for the success of parliamentary democracy in India and have, in speeches and writings, advocated the formation of a rightist party as against the existing main parties which are all vying with one another in their zeal to kill individual enterprise and individual initiative as well as our cherished social institutions. In an article contributed to the All-India Election Guide for which I was the Chief Editor, published before the last general elections, I said: "At the present day there are only what may be described as leftist and more leftist parties in existence in this country. The nation as a whole is represented as having consented to a reconstruction of society on a Socialistic pattern, though it may be said without fear of contradiction that 80 per cent of the people of the land do not know what a Socialistic pattern of society is and have no idea of the steps by which that pattern can be reached. The real mind of India has not sufficiently asserted itself. More than one piece of legislation affecting the social life of the Hindus has been passed which we are justifi-

fied in saying are totally opposed to the general sense of the mass of the people". Then I added: "The time has come for the saner and juster elements in society to organise themselves; and even if they do not contest the (next) elections, they should educate the electorate in the true principles of democratic government and in the respect due to an individual citizen". At the Madras University Convocation on 18th August 1955, I again said: "India's very philosophy proclaims and upholds the worth and sanctity of the human personality and is against man's wholesale merger in the State. Love of children and family is an ineffaceable instinct with its people. They naturally desire to leave their property to them. ... In a democracy based on adult suffrage, especially where, as in India, most of the electors are illiterate and do not possess the moral awareness, the intellectual capacity or the political experience to think correctly or decide justly, there is always the danger of a revolutionary elite hypnotising the electorate and seizing political power and utilising that power—in the name of planning and public necessity—for party ends, to suppress or ignore opposition groups, sacrifice the interests of the present generation for the financial interests of a future, and unjustly enforce their own imperfect sense of right and wrong and good and bad. It is a profound illusion to think that legitimate powers derived from a vote of the people can be trusted. On the other hand, it is more to be distrusted as while illegitimate power is at least restrained by a fear of popular opposition or upheaval, legitimate power is strong in the support of a partisan majority and can behave with ruthless and unchecked insolence. Socialism once let loose has a tendency to underwrite dictatorship and undermine democracy". I therefore most heartily welcome the Swatantra party. Its rapid growth in strength and prestige is assured.

R. V. KRISHNAN

FROM NEHRU BACK TO GANDHI

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

What are the chances of this venture (the Swatantra party) developing into a successful all-India party able to fulfil the role it has assumed of offering a better alternative to current policies and in the end a better alternative to the Congress party government?

As regards the mobilisation of sufficient persons to support the new party at different levels of national life, it may be said that the chances are fair. The country is crying out for a new leadership, new but yet sufficiently continuous with the old for eliciting loyalty on the basis of intelligibility and congeniality. The consent of Rajaji to bless the move and give it his moral support (and even organisational guidance within the limits of energy and health considering his age) has assured the attention of people all over the country, not to speak of Pandit Nehru and his Government.

The party is assured of healthy development so far as the support of agriculturalist and industrial circles is concerned.

What will be its impact on affairs? If successful, how will it affect current policies and make a change in them?

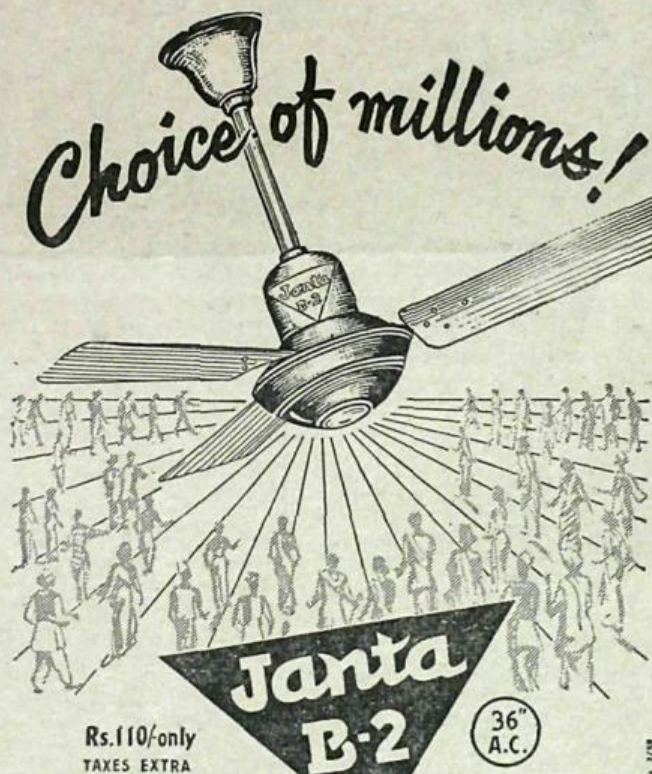
The spirit and meaning of the new party can be accurately hit off with the statement that it is an appeal from Nehru back to Gandhi. The sponsoring figure, viz. Sri Rajaji, highlights this symbolic significance, as he is the most outstanding Gandhian in the opposition, why, even among the Gandhian generation of leaders as a whole. He is a philosopher, an interpreter of the spiritual classics of the country like the Upanishads and the Gita. His literary retelling of the Ramayana and Mahabharata is in the old style of moralisers and teachers reinforcing ethical values through concrete story-telling.

Latterly he has taken to delivering acute criticism of the un-wisdom of current Nehru policies and their unsettling effect on

society and state. In fact, Rajaji's move announces that the large ranks of discontented people in many walks of life, industry, agriculture, professions, are no longer content with grumbling and private criticism. They have moved to the next stage of action and the supporting of action. A rallying point has been offered by the group, viz. the Agriculturists' Federation, that persuaded Rajaji to bless their resolution for a new

party to call a halt to the present headlong plunge into totalitarian measures.

The first idea embodied in the draft manifesto (naturally in these circumstances) is a clear expression of opposition to the Socialist pattern of society which has been foisted on the country. Rajaji made it clear that there is no use opposing particular policies on an empirical basis. All the objectionable features of current policies stem from Socialism—nationalisation of industries and trading, the threat to introduce co-operative joint farming as the sole form of agriculture everywhere, the



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Soviet style of five year plans with their excessive emphasis on heavy industries, their lopsided pattern of development, high taxation, deficit financing and the resulting inflation, the search for endless new avenues for taxation until the private sector is squeezed out for lack of finance, etc.

The manifesto agrees that social justice and welfare are objectives of good government, but differs

decisively from Leftist thinkers in holding that these are best realised by encouraging private initiative and not by the present techniques of Socialism. Gandhi also spoke sometimes in the language of subversion, as when he spoke of bread labour. But he was first and foremost a lover of individual freedom.

The new party therefore repudiates Socialism at the very out-

set inasmuch as it entails ever-growing centralisation of all power, economic, political and cultural, in the hands of the governing group. Though the government might declare that it will function within the limits of democracy and maintain its forms, such as periodical elections and parliaments, the tendencies released by centralisation are bound sooner or later to weaken individual resistance and strengthen the trend to conform to official decisions.

The past twelve years of Nehru rule have taken the country already too far in the direction of totalitarianism. The head and front of the all-pervading offence is therefore the theory of Socialism (in its Communist framework) that has been adopted by the country under the leadership and impulsion of Nehru. No step towards a more realistic policy can be taken until this Socialist and Nehru fever is driven out of the body politic, its nervous system and bloodstream!

The new party distinguishes social justice and welfare from Socialism, and declares that healthier pathways are available to them through better administration of existing institutions without altering the social structure too radically, as by the liquidation of private property.

The manifesto declares frankly that it will restore the Constitution to its original form and abolish the amendment to Article 31 that rendered compensation non-justiciable.

Other proposals follow from the central thesis of individual freedom and opposition to Socialism for achieving the social goals of good government and public welfare.

To safeguard against the excesses of individualism in property and private enterprise, Gandhi propounded the doctrine of trusteeship as against the idea of class war. C.R.'s manifesto reiterates this idea of trusteeship to regulate the anarchic tendencies of excessive individualism and *laissez faire*. Of course the idea needs fuller development and clearer appli-



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cation in legal and social spheres before its effectiveness can be accepted.

Gandhi is here importing social and ethical factors to control individual predilections by means of a powerful public opinion. Economic life does not function in a moral vacuum. Its doings should and can be modified by motives higher than economic. Where custom is not enough to exercise the needed control, law will have to come in. But it should not supplant private action but only contain it within prescribed channels.

In agriculture the manifesto takes its stand four-square for individual, peasant proprietorship and against the proposed joint co-operative farming, which is sure to develop into collective farming in due course.

Socialism has committed the great blunder of aiming at transforming human nature itself and creating a new mass or social man with no interior, private life of his own but functioning from the outside like a robot. We know where this attempt leads—totalitarian tyranny and the enthronement of things above man, the exaltation of Plan and Production determined by the ruling elite above human freedom and happiness. Government leaves the terra firma of its prescribed duty or dharma of maintaining law and order and affording defence against external aggression, and presumes to transform man himself! It assumes the role of brahma or creative evolution that started with the nebular vapours out of which the solar system arose!

The manifesto declares that the increase in food production can be achieved by the honest administration of well-known facilities like water, fertilisers, good seeds and credit. No change in the social structure of agriculture, such as is being thrust on the country under the name of land reforms, is necessary at all. It is all an "unnecessary hell" (Kipling).

Government should reinforce by its dealings with the people directly and indirectly the moral

ALEXANDER PUSHKIN

By S. T. K.

Born on June 6, 1799 as the son of a nobleman in Moscow, Alexander Pushkin was one of those rare poets who scorned delights to enrich the world's literature and attacked root and branch the insolence of autocratic monarchy to throw succour to those who "lead lives of quiet desperation".

Pushkin began to show interest in literature at an early age, thanks to the efforts of his nurse Adina Rodionovna, a serf, who made him particularly conversant with Russian folk tales and songs. He attended the St. Petersburg Lyceum, an exclusive school for the sons of Russian noblemen, from 1811 to 1817. It was a stirring time, Russia's victorious war against Napoleon known as the Patriotic War had awakened in a progressive section of the nobility, who had been so far content to

obligations of individuals maintaining contracts scrupulously and setting an example.

Taxation should be lowered, sufficient funds should be with individuals for saving and investment. The State should confine itself to a few big industries and pioneer industries and leave the bulk of the industrial sector to private enterprise. Finance should return to the sound principle of borrowing only as much as can be repaid without upsetting normal life.

In a word, the manifesto declares its faith that honest and sound administration can achieve welfare and progress better without plunging the country into a hectic race for catastrophe under the impulsion of socialistic ambitions modelled on alien ideas and practices, and steeped in violence and disregard for the dignity of man. Let progress be tailored to human limitations. This is the authentic voice of Gandhi calling for the abandonment of Nehruism. It shows a better way to welfare, both more practical and more humane, and above all more consistent with freedom.

Courtesy Mysindia.

live a life of blissful lethargy, a strong desire to emancipate themselves. Their revolutionary ideas found a ready supporter in Pushkin. While in school, he joined the "Green Lamp", a literary society of radicals and made friends with some of the future leaders of the Decembrists—persons who were members of a movement of noblemen imbued with "dangerous" ideas against serfdom and monarchy, which culminated in an armed uprising against Tsarism in December 14, 1825.

His literary genius blossomed simultaneously with political activity. After the publication of his poem *Russian and Ludmila*, which was followed by poems like *Ode to Liberty* and *The Village* his fame spread widely. It made him incur the odium of the Tsarist Government. Banishment to Siberia threatened him, which luckily did not come about owing to the good offices of some of his friends. He was, however, banished, in the spring of 1820, to the south of Russia.

This mild tribulation lasted only four years, for in 1824 he was ordered by Alexander I to live in his parental estate in the village of Mikhailovskoye, put on parole and forbidden to leave it.

From his place of confinement Pushkin was able to watch closely the lives of the simple villagers which set him off on the path of reality, shattering, to use the words of V. Putintsev, "the romantic worship of a hero as an isolated individual".

It was while living in the village that he received the tidings of the revolt of the Decembrists and the cruel punishment meted out to the revolutionaries by the new Tsar Nicholas I. Pushkin shed tears of blood and wrote: "The hanged have been hanged, but hard labour for 120 friends, brothers and comrades—that is horrible." He did not falter about extolling the deeds of the insurgents.

He returned from exile in 1826.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE NEW PARTY

But the constant surveillance of the police made his life hard. His poetic powers were, however, in full bloom. His famous realistic novel *Eugene Onegin*, which found its great exponents in Turgenyev, Leo Tolstoy, and other great writers, belongs to this period. It is regarded as a landmark in the annals of Russian letters. His miniature tragedies and prose works, says Tolstoy, must be studied and studied by every writer.

No wonder, many writers owe their inspiration to him. "He was not only the great Russian poet of his time," as the eminent Russian critic Belinsky has it, "but a great poet of all peoples and all ages, a European genius, the glory of the world." His was also the voice of liberty against the atrocities of autocracy, and his ideas were

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Sir,—It will indeed be a red letter day for the citizens of India when the new opposition party engineered by Rajaji is formed at Ahmedabad on 1st August. It is high time such an opposition party takes charge to arrest the reckless doings of the present Government whose motto seems to be—"From him that hath will be taken away and from him that hath not will also be taken away what little he hath."

I have two suggestions to offer. One is that there should be a careful selection of members to the party so that the phony ones won't come into the picture. Secondly, the new party should have an organ of its own. I will even venture to say that it should be *Swarajya* and instead of a weekly, it should be converted into a daily newspaper. At present, the public are hungry for such a newspaper because the present ones appear to be there more to carry advertisements than to voice public opinion.

JINNI CHARI

FALSE SOCIALISM

Sir,—From the Presidency College almost upto the office of the Inspector-General of Police, the Madras beach is foul smelling because of drying of fish on the sands and the whole area is dotted with innumerable huts. People come to the beach from congested localities to have some fresh air and relaxation. But one really feels sorry for having come there after inhaling the foul air. It is false Socialism to allow the fisher-folk to spoil the beach which is a priceless possession to the city of Madras. I would request the authorities to take steps to keep the beach clean, which is more important than making it beautiful. CITIZEN

T. T. K.'s CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Sir,—The Prime Minister of India is reported to have stated at his press conference (June 10) that the question of Mr. T. T.

Krishnamachari's constitutional responsibility for the investment of over Rs. 14 crores of Life Insurance Corporation funds in Mundhra concerns in June 1957 came up at the moment of his resignation, but "if he had been a Minister today, it would not have arisen". This view, with due respect to the Prime Minister, is based on a fundamental error. The Chagla Commission has found that "the transaction (viz. the investment) was not entered into in accordance with business principles and was also opposed to propriety on several grounds". This finding has been accepted by the Government of India. The acceptance has also been reiterated by the Government in their recent resolution on the disciplinary action against the concerned officers. It is now found, after full investigation, that the improper investment was the direct result of the "advice" given by the Principal Finance Secretary to the Chairman of the L.I.C. as the spokesman and agent of the Government of India. The Government of India are thus, beyond doubt, constitutionally responsible to Parliament and the electorate for the improper investment. How is this responsibility to be worked out? The classical remedy is the resignation of the concerned Minister. The Minister's resignation was thus the logical consequence of the Government of India's constitutional responsibility to Parliament and the electorate for the improper deal of the L.I.C. fund. The finding on the impropriety of the deal stands. The Minister's constitutional responsibility is co-extensive with the finding.

Tirunelveli A. S. KUPPUSWAMI

A Conservative Opposition

Bertrand Russel defines the basic functions of a government as the attainment of justice, security and conservation of the heritage. The movement for advance must come from the

people or individuals. The government checks and promotes. This secures a real and steady advance, as it is a people's initiative based on their necessity and capacity. The reverse is the process when all the measures are initiated by a government, irrespective of whether they suit the people or can be executed by the government machinery. Even a Lysenko would take into account proper conditioning to secure an aim. There can be no real success where the administrative experience is lacking or the human element ignored. The results of the trial and error by the top remain uncriticised and unquestioned. The Russian planning has been a war measure to avoid annihilation and has no correlation to the people's wishes or welfare. A measure is tested by a curve of Indifference where a current sacrifice is equalised to a prospective advantage with a time percentile. This is a Democratic Felicific Calculus. Man does not live by bread alone, and millions of people are under the treatment of psychiatrists in the Land of top living standards. This mad race can only bring about a reaction and counter-revolution and greater misery. This has driven old people from their well-deserved retirement to prevent a national disaster.

JUGAL BEHARI

Sidelights

(Continued from Page 4)

From M. Krishnamurthi, New Delhi :

If you seek the views of your readers regarding the continuance of the journal, the answer indisputably will be a vociferous demand for your continuance.

From D. L. Narasimha Rao, Jaggampeta :

Though physically you may feel weak, your mind is strong and alert. You have spared no pains to establish the best traditions in journalism. It is a treat to go through the pages of SWARAJYA every week.

Criticism without malice, a natural style without ostentation, utmost sincerity in thought and expression with faith in truth coupled with a sense of duty and above all courage of conviction have been your chief attributes. It would be a painful affair for all the readers of SWARAJYA if you decide to give them a valedictory farewell.

From D. V. Gundappa, Bangalore :

You will not close SWARAJYA. You will take assistance. I feel certain assistance will be forthcoming if only you ask for it.

Reading these letters and many others which I have not published shying at their over-generous laudation, I am overwhelmed by the deep affection and appreciation of ever so many readers. There

is no greater happiness than this to a writer. It is clear the journal fulfils a need and I must go on with it. As I stated once before, I am the only member of the editorial staff. The office resources do not permit recruitment of an assistant under the expensive stipulations of the present press law. My condition is so variable that if continuity is to be maintained there should be not only editorial assistance but also relief from business management. My good friend Sri Sadasivam of Kalki has out of his abundant goodness undertaken to give me both these much needed reliefs.

From 1st July he will take over and run SWARAJYA. I shall continue as Editor for life. How long that life will be I do not know, but it is a great comfort to have kind friends assuring conditions that will enable one to work as long as surviving energy lasts. This arrangement has Rajaji's blessing. It is made from the Kalki side in a generous spirit, wholly for my benefit and I hope that I will not fail in worthiness to deserve the proffered succour. In recent months I have left many letters unanswered through sheer disability and helplessness. May I beseech my kind correspondents to forgive?

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