

Swatantra Party Souvenir 1960



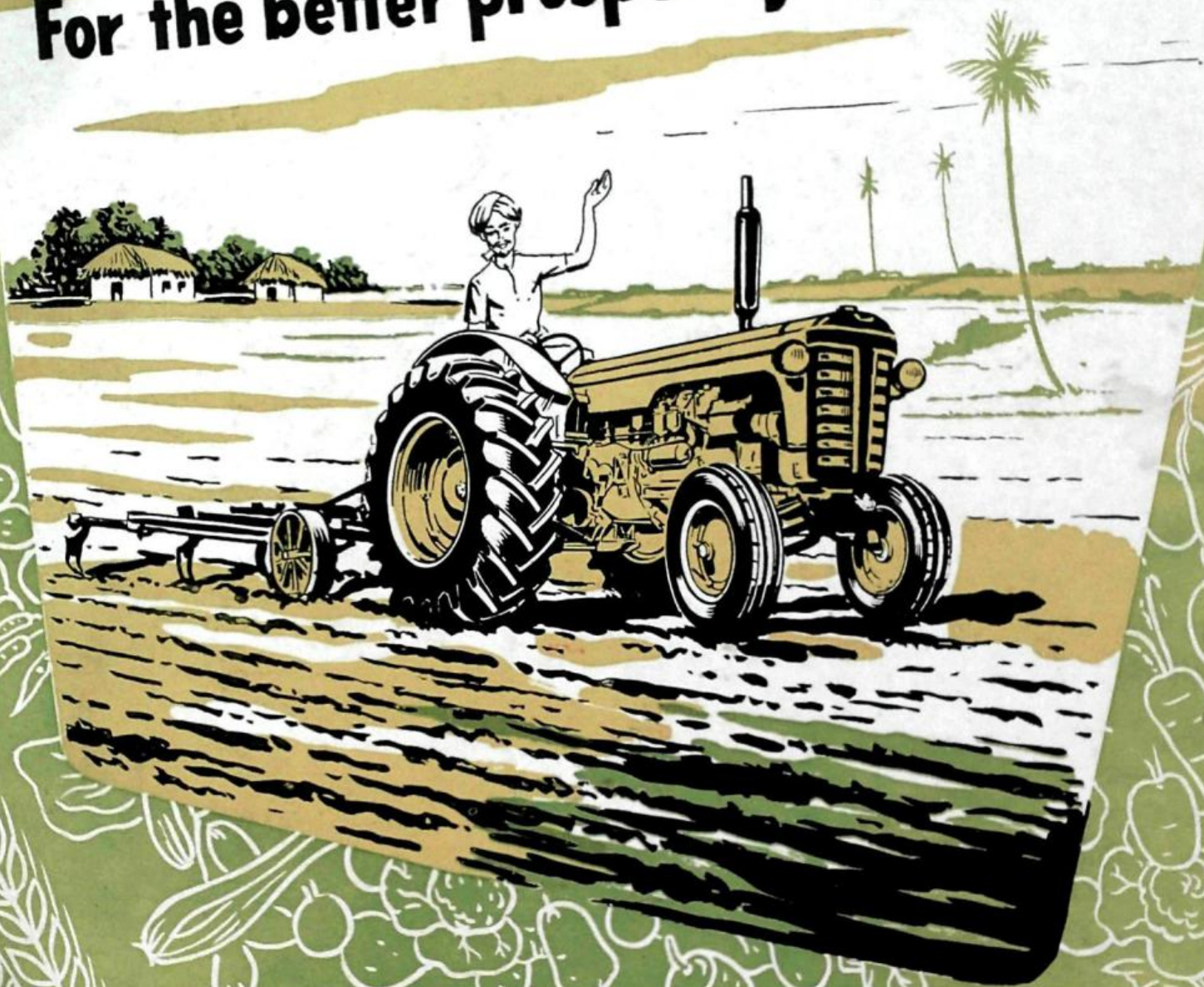
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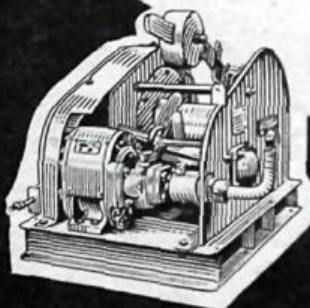


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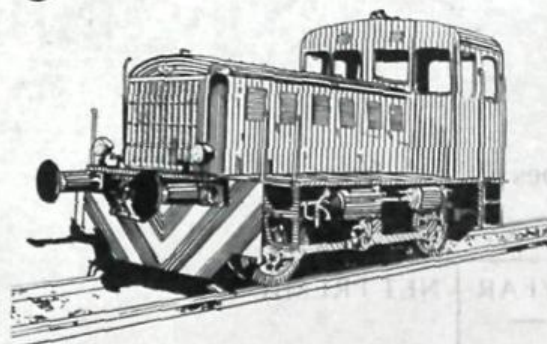


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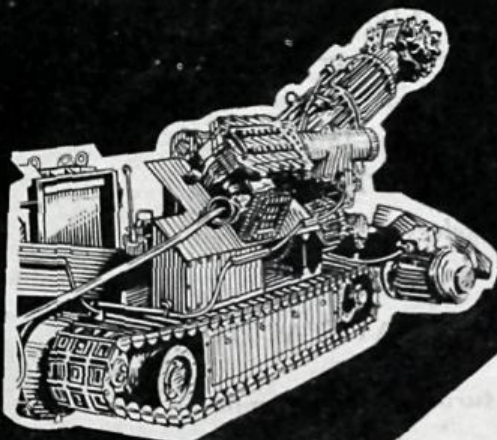


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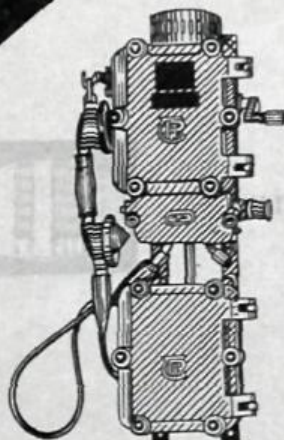


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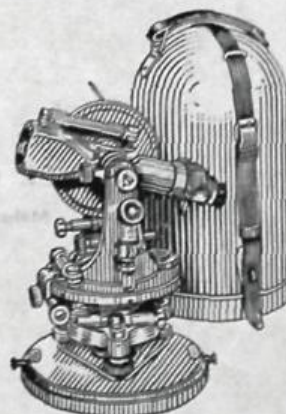


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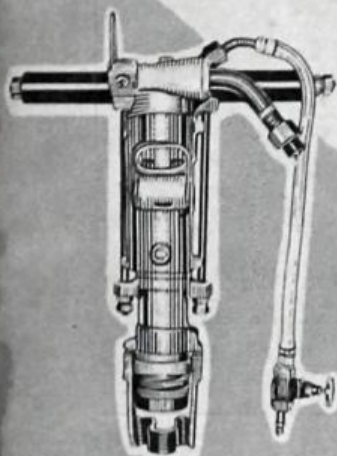


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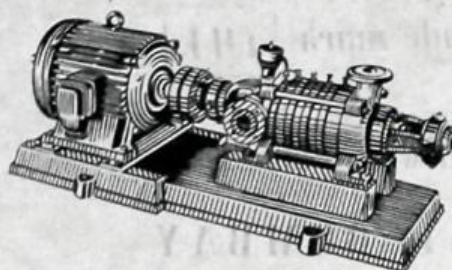
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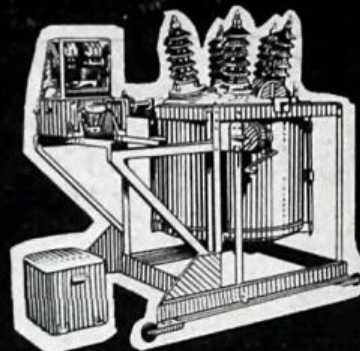
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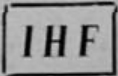
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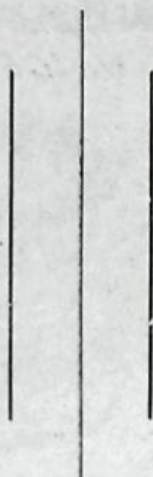
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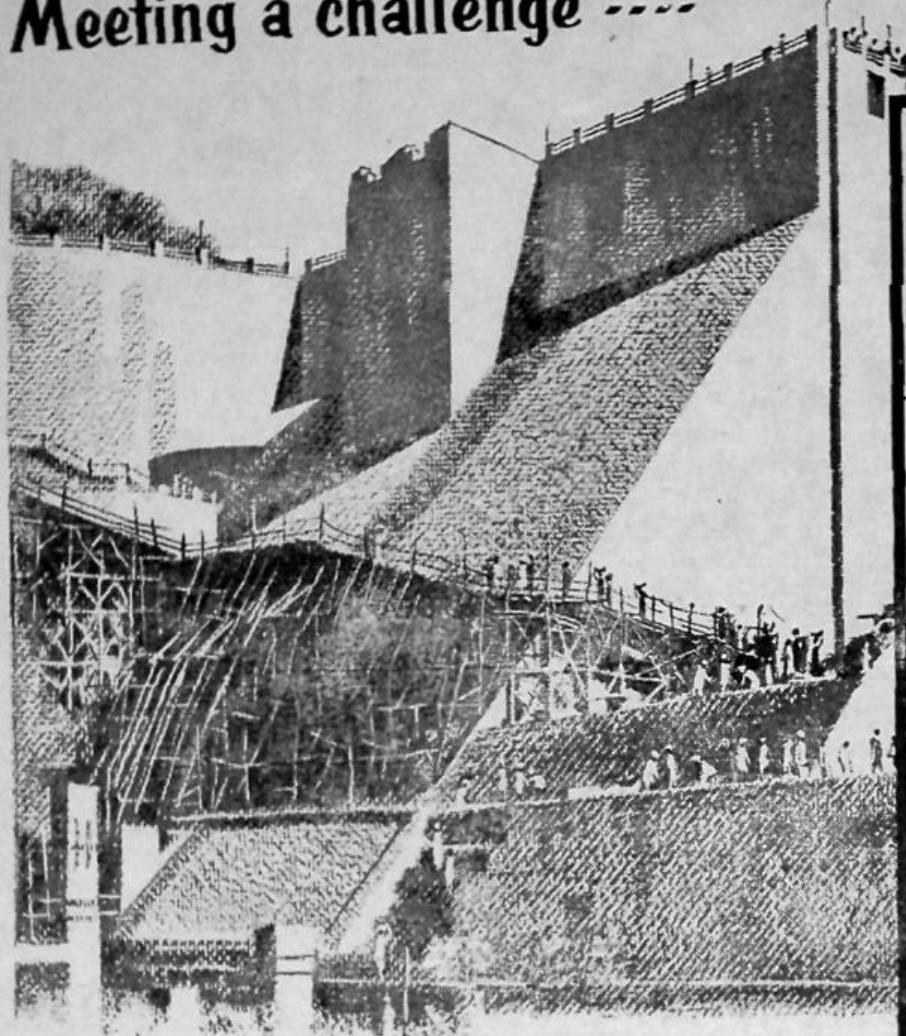
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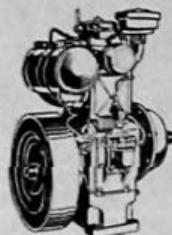
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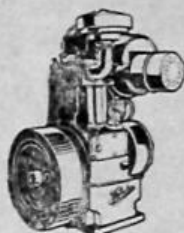
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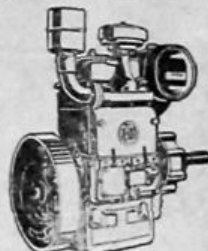
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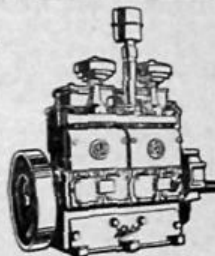
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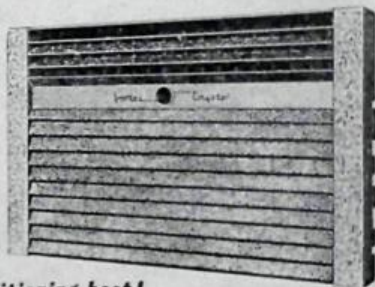
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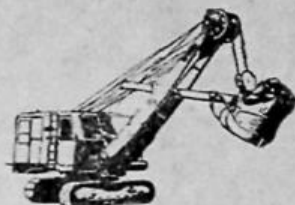
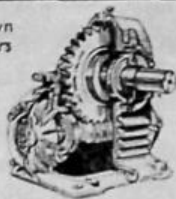
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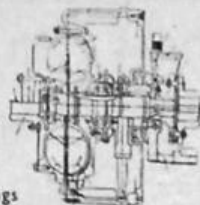
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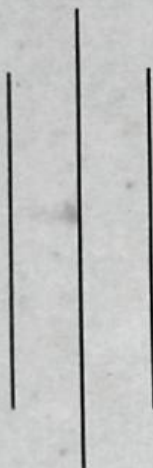
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२।	अधूरा इतिहास पूरा हुआ (कविता)	श्री भारत भूषण	३
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EDITOR'S WINDOW



The SWATANTRA PARTY SOUVENIR, 1960, is dedicated to India, our great Motherland whose proud heritage and infant-Democracy the Swatantra Party is determined to save, against the menace of Congress-Communism.

Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narain Singh, Vice-President of the All India Swatantra Party, President of the Bihar State Swatantra Party and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Patna convention is the source of inspiration of the publication of the Souvenir.

We are indeed indebted to our leaders Rajajee, Sri K. M. Munshi, Sri M. R. Masani and others for their valuable and illuminating articles. We are also very thankful to the eminent writers of Patna and other parts of India who have responded to the call of the 'Swatantra' with their intellectual flashes.

We owe our thanks to the friends in Calcutta and Patna who have helped the publication of this Souvenir with their valuable time and suggestions.

KAILASH PATI SINGH, M.L.A. (Bihar),
Editor.

WHY SWATANTRA PARTY?

BY

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE fundamental importance of maintaining the freedom of the individual in a modern State will not be questioned by any one. The increasing difficulty of preserving this freedom in the complex situation created by modern civilization renders it necessary to organize a strong political Party in support of it. Some people go as far as to think that in modern life, individual freedom has no place and that it is a losing battle to fight for it. This is not true. The need for safeguarding this precious fundamental of human happiness is all the greater on account of the expansionist tendency of the modern State. In a country where the Government and the people are anxious to bring about speedy development there is a special need for a political party definitely pledged to this duty, because the government is apt to go wrong in their ardour for quick results brushing aside that without which development and prosperity would have no value even if attained.

Socialism's fundamental error consists in its static notion of happiness. A dead level of water can produce no power. It is in motion that power is produced. Human joy depends on the movement of wealth and not on its equal distribution and static condition. Movement presupposes inequality. Parity under the best of circumstances leads to the extinction of enterprise, initiative and industry. Disparity is the mother of emulation and energy, a healthy drive upwards which is life in its real sense. The negative and destructive doctrines issuing out of jealousy and hatred are misleading and serve no good purpose. They undermine moral values to the detriment of all classes. In place of the erroneous static approach of the socialists what needs to be realised is the dynamics of active welfare. We must get wealth to move, not remain static. All joy depends on this motion. Socialism aims at something contrary to this motion.

WHAT S. P. STANDS FOR

Distribution of wealth resting on Dharma — the sense of duty felt in the individual conscience — is what the Swatantra Party stands for. Distribution by the compulsion of law is what the socialists stand for, a distribution aiming at a dead level which means the negation of happiness. Distribution resting on the force of law cannot produce. Production under socialism must resort to totalitarian compulsion because emulation has been killed. Distribution by the urge of Dharma as distinguished from external compulsion keeps alive enterprise, initiative, compassion and all the spiritual values of life. Socialism which is distribution by law kills every one of these precious things of life, from which all civilization and culture have issued.

A great truth that should be remembered is that there can be no individual freedom unless the right of property is guaranteed protection. Where the right to property is treated as a crime and denied or consigned to uncertainty, individual freedom becomes an unreality. Hence it is that the Swatantra Party stands for preserving the sacredness of property and of contract. The one is the essential condition for freedom, the other is the fully protected exercise of that freedom. Socialism seeks to extinguish property and leave no room for freedom of contract.

The Congress Party in India has pledged itself to Socialism without taking lessons from its established failure in other countries. Its leaders imagine that they are modern and progressive and that those who see the importance of freedom and combine in a political party to defend it are reactionaries. The Swatantra Party is not a reactionary party but consists of men who prize freedom and spiritual values above any progress or development attained at the cost of individual freedom. Crimes and anti-social activities and exploitation must be punished and prevented, but the law of the prison cannot be extended to a whole nation in the name of a social doctrine. If we must choose between accelerated pace through State compulsion and progress with full civic freedom we must choose the latter though it may be slower.

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Democratic Governments must be formed by majorities; but democracy does not give them authority to extinguish or restrain the individual freedom of any one except for the maintenance of peace and order. To curtail freedom, on the basis of one's notions as to progress or prosperity, is unauthorised.

Even in the course of the formation of the Swatantra Party and notwithstanding the verbal answers given by the ruling Socialist Party to the challenge and to the arguments advanced, the public response that the new party has evoked has caused a certain degree of withdrawal and modification in the policies of the Government on the plea of graduation and explanation. This is welcome, but in order that things may not revert and in order to maintain a permanent balance of forces so that fresh errors may be prevented, it is necessary to form a political party. Otherwise democracy will not work for the good of the nation, and will evolve itself as totalitarianism with an emasculated voiceless people suffering under it. It is easy enough to delude the ignorant and tempt them to give authority by promises that cannot be fulfilled. But it is the function and responsibility of the intelligent to

remove illusions and guide the people to see the truth and resist temptations. If the intelligentsia despair and, frightened by the hypnosis of false doctrines, surrender to the follies of the ignorant, woe to that nation. Democracy cannot be justified unless the freedom of the individual citizen and his fundamental rights to work, earn, keep and invest his earnings according to his free judgement are preserved. Otherwise democracy would be tyranny writ anew.

We feed and nourish the five senses for they are necessary for life's work. But unless we are vigilant and make special efforts, they are apt to usurp mastery over us and lead us to evil. Instead of being servants of the inner man, they tend to make the man their slave.

STATE AND CITIZENS

The relationship between the State and the citizens is much the same as between the senses and the human spirit. The State is an organisation to serve the citizens, to function as an instrument for their safety and welfare. But the tendency of the State is to become the master and make the citizens its bond-slaves. There is no question that the State is as necessary for national life as the senses are to the human spirit. But equally necessary is it to check the State and not allow it to trespass.

Even as the senses are apt, if allowed, to drag the mind along their own way, the State with its enormous power tends to assume authority and establish an oppressive dictatorship over the citizens. The administrative machine as well as the political party that controls it is composed of men who not only do not produce,

but do not have any experience or real knowledge of the processes of production but seek to control and direct such activities.

It is forgotten that national production is made up of individual production and that this is best furthered through that full and accurate knowledge and right judgement which follow from personal interest. The function of the State must be to prevent mutual conflict and injury and no more, certainly not to substitute itself for the individual.

What is wanted is a synthesis of the two principles of general welfare and of minimum government. It will not do for any political party to presume that it is by itself capable of this synthesis. It is only when two parties standing up respectively for each of these two principles function together in parliamentary democracy, one as government and the other as opposition, that a proper synthesis will issue out of it, the measure of each pull being a variable quantity from time to time. Which should have the role of government and which that of opposition, would also depend on circumstances changing from time to time.

Much of the criticism offered against the Swatantra Party is based on ignoring this truth that a proper synthesis must issue from day to day in the Governance of the country on the parliamentary system and as a result of the two opposing forces. The demand that the Swatantra Party should itself beforehand do all the accommodation and synthesis necessary is not only erroneous but represents the approach of those who are inclined to give away all responsibility to an one-party government. It is not consistent with the principles of good parliamentary government. The Swatantra Party must put up a fight at every stage for freedom and prevent all avoidable encroachment on the part of the State at the instance of Socialists, whether in power or in opposition.

THE STORY OF THE BIRTH OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

BY ACHARYA N. G. RANGA

THAT was a bright, warm morning in Madras when we gathered at the Woodlands on the Fourth of June, 1959, in response to the All India Agriculturists Federation. I did not have any idea how many and who would come. I know who were all being invited, in the first instance on the suggestion of Rajajee and a few friends who had assembled in Bangalore five or six weeks earlier and also on the initiative of several others who had been in touch with Rajajee or some of the Bangalore friends.

A number of them had played a leading role in the Delhi Kisan Convention of 14-12-58.

In all thirty of us assembled. We were waiting for Rajajee to come. Word came that he arrived. I hastened to greet him at the head of the stairs. How slowly and carefully he walked up with the support of that gold-white stick. He greeted me so affectionately, clutched at my hand and actioned me to sit to his right and act in unison with him. I had no idea what he had in his mind. I could know through my talks on the previous day, with Sarvashri S. Y. Krishnaswami, B. Ramachandra Reddi and Jinraj Hegde, the draftsman of the Agrarian Programme, Vice-President and General Secretary of the Agricultural Federation respectively only about the draft statement of principles. We also discussed the Agrarian Plan prepared for the Federation in the light of the observations sent by its President Sardar Lal Singh. So I was under the impression that we were going to discuss on the fourth only both the Plan and the Statement and publish them to elicit public criticism and meet at a much later date to concert what else we were to do, in order to protect and promote the interests and cause of our agriculturists as well as the urban masses.

Now when we sat down for the meeting what actually began to take place was entirely different from what Hedge and myself had thought of on the previous day. After some preliminary talks I suggested that we should request Shri Ramachandra Reddi, Vice-President of the Federation to make his inaugural observation. But someone asked who would be the President. A number of us simultaneously said that Rajajee should preside. But he was inclined to demur, and so I rose quickly saying that in that case there would be no use of having our meeting. Rajajee held me by my left arm and tried to dissuade me, but had to agree eventually to preside. That co-operative gesture of his gave me immense pleasure and satisfaction, because on the previous occasion when I had met him (31.1.1959) in his long rectangular

but narrow room, the utmost favour I requested from him was just that he should be good enough to preside over such an inaugural meeting and he was then disinclined to agree.

After Mr. Reddi had welcomed the delegates and explained how we had met to concert measures for the protection of our agriculturists against the threat of Sovietism hurled by the Congress from its Nagpur platform, Rajajee took up the reins of our discussions.

It did not take long for him to bring the conference to the discussion of the need for a new political party. All were agreed that there should be such a party. If the country is to be protected from the growing tentacles of Stateism the all embracing extra-constitutional and totalitarian plans and powers of the Planning Commission and the growing ambitions of the Government to encroach upon the freedom of the people. Then Rajajee and others began to moot the idea as to who should be the leader. Everyone of us suggested that he should be the leader. He would not hear of it. He said that someone else should be and would be made the leader. Then he took us into his confidence as to what efforts he had made to sound a number of prominent leaders at the National level and with what results. He mentioned prominently the name of Shri Jai Prakash Narain also, and informed us that he was soon going to join us in our deliberations. When actually Jai Prakashji came and was apprised of our thoughts, he gave his reasons for not undertaking any such responsibility in political parties. So Rajajee proceeded to suggest that I should be asked to undertake that responsibility. When I repeatedly suggested that he should agree to be the leader and I would stand by him and give every possible assistance, he said to the meeting that he would certainly be glad to lead the leader if he would allow it. Eventually all of us hailed it as the best possible solution. Thus arose the party and its leader and the leaders' leader.

We took up the consideration of the draft principles of the Party, and discussed it in detail.

Somebody suggested that we should give a name to our Party. Then I took the initiative and requested Rajajee to bless the Party by performing the namakaran ceremony during a public meeting which was to be held during that afternoon symbolically enough in the Vivekananda Hall at which Mr. Masani was to speak. He agreed. Thus closed the first stage of the birth of our Party.

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Mr. Masani had been mooted the idea of a "middle of the road party" for some months past. He organised a couple of informal meetings in Delhi during 1958 and 1959 for this purpose. He was also in touch with Rajajee through correspondence and was trying to persuade him to give the necessary lead. He was fortunate like so many of us to be present on that day when Rajajee christened our Party as the SWATANTRA PARTY.

Sardar Lal Singh, the President of the Federation who was responsible for that meeting was unfortunately prevented from taking part in this function, owing to ill-health all along.

The Sardar and so many of us worked together in holding the Bharat Kisan convention in New Delhi on 14.12.1958, which succeeded in mobilising more than hundred Congress M.Ps against the proposed discriminatory imposition of ceilings on agriculturists. That convention and the memorandum of Congress M.Ps were the biggest frontal warnings given to the Congress leaders.

Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke the leader of the Punjab Kisans and Dhehati Janata Party could not come because he could not obtain Air passage. Both these leaders of Kisans played the key role in the success of the now famous Punjab Kisan Conference held at Duroha on the 31st of January, 1959. I had the honour of presiding over that mammoth Conference of more than a lakh of Kisans. I then warned the country publicly against Jawaharlal Nehru's Soviet-oriented campaign against the freedom loving Kisans and Dukandars through his unfortunate lead given to the Nagpur Session of the Congress. I called upon peasants to organise themselves to resist the Communistic trends within the Congress leadership. I offered to continue to be in their vanguard in their struggle against the threatened Congress campaigns for co-operativisation of agricultural production and management. It is interesting to note that I was associated in that platform with the Maharaja of Patiala and General Cariappa. Sardar Nagoke offered to provide the needed phalanxes of the heroic Kisan fighters in the struggle that we were to wage against the Congress' programme in the same manner in which the Punjabis had fought for our National Freedom. It was in the wake of that conference that these two Sardars and myself have been pressing Rajajee to come to the rescue of our Kisans.

Mr. Masani and myself found ourselves on a similar common platform on the 28th February in Belgaum organised by Mr. Patil, who has later become the President of the Mysore State Swatantra Party and we took the same stand vis-a-vis the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress and offered to organise opposition to them on all fronts. In fact Mr. Masani was the first among our Parliamentary politicians to appreciate my opposition to the threatened co-operativisation of agricultural production and to offer to stand by me in my defence of the Kisans. He made an effective and well documented speech on his cut motion on the Budget of 1957, i.e. soon after the last General Elections, and I proceeded to warn the Congress rulers against the Planning Commission's proposals to convert Kisans into wage-earners under Co-operative Joint Farms. Therefore, although I was in the Congress and came to function as the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party and he was attempting to develop an independent political platform as against the Communistic trends within the Congress, we were coming nearer to each other.

Messages of support and greetings came from our U.P. Friends Sri S. K. D. Paliwaljee, R. P. Singh and B. T. Singh called me to Lucknow on 15th May to preside over the imagination of the Rural Peoples publications and assured me of their readiness to join any political move organised by us to resist the one-sided ceilings threat and co-operative farming to promote the interests of rural people.

I was also confident that the Janata Party of Bihar, led by Sri KAMAKHYA NARAIN SINGH would also join hands with us, since it had been resisting since 1951 not only the preposterous enhancement of land revenue imposed upon peasants by the Congress Rulers but also the new designs upon peasant's freedom.

Sri Kamakhya Narain Singh and his friends and supporters had no weakness towards Nehru legend and was therefore able to achieve resounding victory over the Congress in both the General Elections in the Hazaribagh region. The Krishikar Lok Party (KLP) was able to demonstrate its strength in Guzerath, Rajasthan, Punjab and Andhra during the 1952 elections. I was assured of support from Guzerath, when I met the Kisan Leaders at Ahmedabad in May 1959 and both Sarvasree B. D. Patel, Dadubhai Amin came specially to this foundation meeting.

The Vivekananda Hall witnessed the birth of our Party just as Swami Vivekananda inaugurated the spiritual soul of our National Freedom Movement. Rajajee declared on that day and in that Hall, all so fittingly, that while Jawaharlalji was keen on keeping out God from his politics the Swatantra Party would pray to God to become its senior partner.

It would be interesting to note that previous to this Madras meeting, Rajajee has held a couple of meetings with a number of friends in Bangalore. They also mooted the need for such an independent party for safeguarding and strengthening the freedom of the people. Leaders from different parts of India and associated with various sections of people gathered there and they all felt that the time was ripe for the development of such a party; But who was to be the leader? Who were all to join it? What were the main common points of agreement? I came to learn through various friends who were in touch with those discussions that all were agreed that if only Rajajee would agree to lead the country there would be universal response.

It was at the last of those preparatory gatherings that Rajajee gave his historic call to the people that they should concert measures "to protect the farm and the family." It has ever since become one of the most effective slogans of the Swatantra Party.

Rajajee has been thinking for a long time before he gave his call to the Nation of developing a National front for the protection of our National Dharma and the propagation of the Gandhian ideals. He espied years ago how the Union Government aided by the Planning Commission had been trying to encroach upon the autonomy of the States as envisaged by the Constitution. Therefore, he pleaded for a campaign in favour of States Autonomy. He found it necessary to ask the people to resist the growing passion of the Congress and Government for more and more doses of Stateism. When I felt constrained to protest in October 1957 against the political use that the Congress and Government wanted to make of the Yelwel Conference decisions in favour

of so-called Gramdhan and offer to start Kisan Satyagraha against the threatened Panchayat Landlordism to subvert Peasant economy, he was good enough to raise his voice against Co-operative Farming. The SWARAJYA of Madras which has by now come to play the same role in our movement for freedom as the "Young India" used to play in the National Movement hastened to strengthen me when the Congress leaders threatened to take disciplinary action against me for that protest. Therefore, Rajajee's "call for the protection of the farm and the Family" was based upon his two year long championship of our Peasants' struggle for survival in the face of the Congress manoeuvres against peasant economy, under the guise of Gramdhan and Co-operative Joint Farming.

We found another great ally in the veteran leader Shri K. M. Munshi. Steeped as he was in the Scholarship and spirit of Indian culture he too visualized the totalitarian tendencies underlying the Congress proposal of Co-operative Farming and, therefore, made bold to protest against the Nagpur Resolutions. His spirited rejoinders to the Nagpur lead gave us much encouragement. But we had to wait till our August Convention before we could gain his comradeship in our new Party.

I went on the 6th June to Ongole Taluk with the three Gujarat leaders viz. Sarvashri Dhadubhai Amin, Bhailal Bhai Patel (Vice-Chancellor) and Ramchandra Amin to inaugurate the Peasants Institute Forum on Peasant Economy versus Co-operative Farming and returned to my home "Gobhumi" on the 8th to find that Rajajee called me to a Conference in the Gokhale Hall at Madras on the 9th. So I rushed back to Madras just in time for that meeting. Rajajee's special representative met me at the station, and that grand gesture of his has set the pattern of the relations, exquisitely dignified and affectionate, that have come to prevail between all of us in the executive levels of our new Party.

The Gokhale Hall was packed to the full when we reached there. Rajajee quietly asked me whether I had made up my mind to accept the leadership of the party. I assured him that since there had been a decent interval after our Vivekananda Hall ceremony and the despatch of my resignation to the Congress President and the publication of my brochure entitled "WHY RANGA RESIGNS?" it would be appropriate for me to declare to that meeting that I would take up the responsibility at his behest. He was pleased with that gesture. That is how I came to be installed as the President of the Swatantra Party in the Gokhale Hall which commemorates that indomitable champion of Swatantra.

During those first six days, the Swatantra Party succeeded in hitting the headlines of the Press and the Radio. The British and American as well as Indian leading papers hailed it as heralding a wholesome and progressive Freedom Movement, calculated to strengthen Indian democracy and broaden the area of resistance to totalitarian Stateism. Rajajee's lead was welcomed by many a Statesman. His decision to give this new lead and emerge from his self-imposed political retirement and to march in the vanguard of the resurgent forces of Kisans, Kalakars, Dukandars and professionals in defence of the home, the family, the farm and the Crafts was admired as an unparalleled heroic act of the oldest Statesman. Most of us felt, therefore, that we were justified in pressing him to undertake this onerous responsibility because he alone could launch such a new party upon our political arena with the requisite appeal to the classes and the masses and also to all those who have

been yearning for the breath of integrity, efficiency, wisdom and Gandhian spirit in both the administration and legislatures as well as National life of Swaraj India.

Three weeks after the birth of our party, Mr. Masani formed the *ad hoc* Committee for Bombay City and invited Rajajee and myself to an informal meeting of the leaders. When we reached Bombay, we were pleasantly surprised by the response given by the educated people, businessmen, students and youths at every one of the public meetings. We could see how within such a short time the public of Bombay came to realise the birth of a new political force in their midst. Bombay rallied to Rajajee as it used to rally to Bapu in days of old. The packed audience at the public meeting held in Jehangir Hall was one of the great events of that visit. The two former Governors, Messrs. Modi and Munshi came to welcome Rajajee. Thousands of Bombay's youth and students came again and again to our meetings to greet Rajajee as a veritable saviour from the evils of controls and inefficient corrupt and wasteful administration, and also from opimatic propaganda about Nehruism.

From Bombay platforms, Rajajee thundered against the growing and wasteful plan expenditure on State Enterprises and bureaucracy. He criticised the ruling party's misuse of administrative machinery and governmental power for parties' ends. He warned the people against the encroachments of administration over the areas of their essential and basic freedoms. He laid stress on the need for respecting the Rule of Law and independence of the judiciary. He declared that the Swatantra Party was the party of agriculturists par excellence and also of all freedom loving peoples and their free and independent professions. He assured the Public that if only the independent entrepreneurs (with small, medium scale and even large scale Capitals), who would number many millions are encouraged and assisted by Government, there could be much greater and more rapid industrial development and more widespread employment opportunities and greater production and wealth. In this vein his messages went out from that highly political-minded city of Commerce and Industry.

No wonder the Press responded to this timely call of this Bheeshma of Swaraj India. But it excited the anger of the Prime Minister. So he stepped beyond the bounds of decorum and decency and proceeded to abuse the Press and the Swatantra Party. When he ventured to attack our Party as the projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise, Rajajee denied the charge and said that the Prime Minister should remember that Ranga, the Kisan, happens to be within our party, and that anyhow there could be nothing wrong with either the free enterprise approach or its Forum, so long as they could call their souls their own.

We decided to meet in Bombay on the 1st of August, the birthday of Lokmanya Tilak to hold our preliminary Convention.

During those seven weeks we went on receiving from all over India response from people of different callings and experience. Small donations began to pour in by thousands. Units of Swatantra Party began to take shape in different parts of the country and our office at Bangalore had a hectic time in coping with that rush of organisational activity all over India.

Mr. V. P. Menon, the famous Secretary of the States Department of Sardar Vallabh Bhai's regime and Mr. Jinraj Hegde, Secretary of the Federation and Mr. Sarangapani Mudaliar the first muni-

ficient donor rose to the occasion, managed the office and proceeded to organise the first Statewide Convention in Bangalore on the 27th July. From that Convention we went to Bombay's Convention.

In Bombay Rajajee was lodged in the Kasturi Buildings named after the founder of the famous Madras English Daily 'THE HINDU'. The leaders from various parts of India notably Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal of U.P., Raghavendra Pratap Sinha of U.P., Sardar Nagoke, Sardar Maheshinder Singh, Sardar Bhatinder Singh and Sardar Lal Singh and Sardar Basant Singh from Punjab, Mr. Kamakya Narayan Sinha of Bihar, Mr. B. D. Patel and Mr. Dhadu Bhai Amin and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel from Gujerat, Mr. Kalyan Singh, Mr. Hukan Singh and Mr. Bhandari from Rajasthan, Mr. N. C. Zamindar and Mr. Puranik of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. N. V. Naidu, Mr. G. V. Subayya and Mr. B. R. Reddy from Andhra, Mr. Kanungo from Orissa, Mr. V. K. Reddy, Mr. Mariaswami, Mr. Krishnamurti, Mr. Krishnaswami and Mr. Seshadri from Madras, Mr. Srinivasan and Mr. Mudaliar from Mysore and many others including the leaders of the host-organisation and State rallied to the Convention.

Though it was the monsoonic season, Bombay's Convention was favoured with freedom from rain. We enjoyed dry and smiling weather throughout our sessions of that foundation-convention.

On the first day, the Madras party announced its merger in the Swatantra. It was followed by the Gram Raj Party of U.P. On the third day, the leader of the Janata Party of Bihar announced that his party might very likely decide in favour of this merger. From Punjab and Andhra came encouraging news that they were already organisationally attuned to the Swatantra Party. The leaders of the Socialist Democratic party of Andhra, expressed their good will. Shri Ganshyam Singh Gupta of Madhya Pradesh offered co-operation. By the time, the second open session of the Convention met, Shri Munshi decided to join forces with us and thus rally to our banner all those who have been feeling forlorn because of the Nehru-inspired arid campaign of secularism.

The Convention put its seal of approval on the amended statement of principles. It also reorganised the *ad hoc* Committee that was initiated at Madras. The sessions of the Convention were attended by more than a thousand delegates hailing from different parts of India. They all came so spontaneously in answer to Rajajee's appeal. I felt during those two days of our deliberations that they were all as completely attuned to the principles and spirit embodied in our statement as the members of the A.I.C.C. used to be whenever Mahatma Gandhi used to call its momentous sessions. The great majority of the delegates were the erstwhile Congressmen who had taken prominent part in our National Struggle for Freedom. It appeared to most of them that our present struggle is only a continuation of the earlier struggle, and, therefore, their response was equally passionate, heroic and persistent.

Our Convention had the good fortune of the prayer and benediction songs being sung by the nationally famous Artiste Shrimati Subbulakshmi. Shrimati Kurshid Ben, the grand daughter of Dadhabai Nawroji also came to assure us of the support from the

spirit and soul of that founder of the National Movement for Freedom.

The Press responded so generously and gave us the benefit of its attention and services, both the Indian and Foreign correspondents offered us their company and responsive assistance. They helped our message to reach the public in India and all over the world to the great annoyance of Shri Nehru. The coping stone for their services was placed by the 'LIFE' International Magazine through its special article on 'the aims and objects of our Party.'

The most inspiring achievement of the success of this Convention was witnessed by the delegates and the public when Rajajee rich in age and wisdom rose on his feet to deliver his concluding message. For full thirty minutes he stood on his feet and made his vigorous and passionate appeal to the country to respond to the call of the new Party. The public were wonder struck at his energy, strength and moral and physical verve. Not many weeks earlier Bombay people were wondering how he could stand the strain of hours of committee work and public speaking, even while being seated. But at that Convention, they were amazed to witness him standing for so long and speaking with such vigour. No wonder they have reason to congratulate themselves because it was their enthusiastic response to the message of the Party that has reinvigorated Rajajee and proved to be the Kaya Kalpa. I am glad to say that ever since Rajajee has found a new zest in life. He has been able to draw more and more strength from the inner springs of life and his communion with God and Gandhiji's spirit and give to the country and the Party the inspiration, moral strength and guidance which are far beyond the capacity of much younger people. Such indeed is the contribution made by the lakhs of people who have been rushing to so many of his public meetings held in Madras, Mysore and Andhra States, where I had the honour of accompanying him.

From Bombay, we went to Ahmedabad. We were given a phenomenal reception at the Station. The public meeting on the 5th August broke many a record and the sight of those lakhs and more cheerful but determined people in the affectionate evening sunshine of Gujerat was both pleasing and inspiring. Rajajee was particularly struck with the huge concourse of women and youth. If it is remembered that we went there after making it clear that our Party would take no sides in local controversies regarding division of States, that mammoth gathering as a sign of public response to our Party and our founder Rajajee becomes politically significant. No wonder, the declaration of the Government's readiness to bifurcate Bombay State did not take long to follow in its wake.

On the fourth of August, we paid a visit to the Sabarmati Ashram. It was a sacred visit to so many of us, as we had had the privilege of visiting it on so many earlier occasions when Bapu was alive. Rajajee was visibly moved. He told us all and the present inmates about his first visit, when Bapu played the host. Verily our Party was as ceremonially launched as from the Sabarmati Ashram and the banks of the venerable river Sabarmati.

CHALLENGE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE

BY

K. M. MUNSHI

Mr. K. M. Munshi, an eminent jurist and great constitutionalist describes here how Congress has thrown a great challenge to Indian people. For long, he says, the Congress claimed indispensability and its unchallenged power has led to follow Marxian devices; to progressively squeeze out democratic traditions, to elevate an undefined socialist pattern in place of freedom; to tamper or circumvent the Fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution in the name of "Planning" which, by the way, covers a multitude of despotic sins and all the power, patronage and money that it commands is being utilised to make it impossible for a two-party system to come into existence in the country. This is the challenge to the free people of India.

DEMOCRACY cannot flourish without individual assertion of freedom. Individual freedom, in its turn, cannot be protected in modern times without freely organised parties.

Before 1947, the Indian National Congress was a party of national liberation. At that time, for a subject people as we were, there could not be any but a single party of liberation. With the result, the Congress became the spearhead of the freedom movement in the country. Again, at that time, the Congress had no power independent of the free support of the people. It had no patronage; it could only provide the privilege of selfless service or of suffering in jail. It had, therefore, a sense of mission.

Once the Congress obtained the mastery of all the governments in the country and continued to do so unfettered for some years, the love of power replaced the spirit of service and the sense of mission was transformed into an arrogant sense of its own perfection.

Naturally, therefore, the ruling party saw in the perpetuation of its power the only salvation of our people. In its nostrums it read the will of the people. In the votes it secured by exploiting patronage and money which power gave it, it saw the triumph of the people.

That is how the divine right of kings comes into existence — that

it is exercised by a king, a clique, a dictator, or a party boss makes no difference. They all speak the language of freedom and walk in the footsteps of those who would destroy it.

The basis of democracy is the right of the people to form free associations independent of governments. That fundamental right is given to the people of India by the Constitution. It alone can be the source of combating the 'divine right' to rule.

If the people do not exercise this right of free association with fearless vigour, they will sink into passivity, preferring enslavement out of self-interest or fear, or under the delusion that some day some unborn generation will benefit by their slavery.

Today the Swatantra Party stands for this right to combat this arrogant claim of the ruling party to rule for ever. For long, it has claimed indispensability. Its unchallenged power has led it to follow Marxian devices, to progressively squeeze out democratic traditions, to elevate an undefined socialist pattern in place of freedom, to tamper or circumvent the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution in the name of 'Planning' which, by the way, covers a multitude of despotic sins. And all the power, patronage and money that it commands is being utilised to make it impossible for a two-party system to come into existence in the country.

This is the challenge to the free people of India. The challenge has to be accepted.

A NATIONAL HUMILIATION

BY M. R. MASANI, M.P.

THIS country received with the most unpleasant shock the news of the invitation to this country extended on our behalf by the Prime Minister to Mr. Chou En-lai. That shock is heightened by the fact that only a few days earlier replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha on 12th February, the Prime Minister actually said something that had misled public opinion into what proved later to be a false sense of complacency and satisfaction. The words of the Prime Minister in the Upper House show that on this occasion, as indeed on previous occasions in this series of events, the Prime Minister was less fair to Parliament than is his usual custom as the very fine parliamentarian that he is. They were his words in the Rajya Sabha on the 12th February.

"Let it be understood quite clearly that though we talk about friendly settlement, I see no ground whatever at the present moment, no bridge between the Chinese position and ours. That is to say, our present positions are such that there is no room for negotiations on that basis. There is nothing to negotiate at present. It may arise later, I don't know."

Well, the Prime Minister did know, and it is now clear that his letter was on its way to Peking when he was uttering these words. That is why the shock to public opinion was even worse than it might have been otherwise.

There are three arguments advanced in favour of the Prime Minister's move. The first is that this meeting will not be negotiation. A newspaper Editorial did not go too far when it said "this plea of the Prime Minister and his supporters is not entirely honest." I think this is a British understatement in this context. It is quite clear that this meeting was for negotiations and nothing else; it cannot be otherwise in the present context.

An attempt has been made to say that we should separate the border dispute from the wider complex of Indo-Chinese relations—a very clever argument, but a completely unconvincing one. At a time when foreign troops are on our soil, at a time when a country has committed an act of war against another, to say that we can discuss in the abstract, in the vacuum, Indo-Chinese relations while keeping aside the subject of the aggression and occupation of our territory, is asking too much of the credulity of our public. I do not think that the Indian population will swallow this kind of fiction which is sought to be imposed on it. Let us be quite clear that this invitation is a climb down.

The second argument is that "It cannot do any harm, why object? After all what harm can happen?" Many good friends have argued along these lines. I can only say that not only do I feel that a meeting in this context, at this time, is fraught with grave consequences but, if I may say so, it can do nothing but harm. I cannot see any good coming out of this meeting in this context, and I shall give two or three good reasons for this feeling.

First of all, this meeting has to be looked at in the Psychological context. What will be the effect on the opponent? What kind of opponent are we up against? We are up against an expansionist, imperialist, communist Power of the most ruthless kind, a power that has before our eyes murdered our neighbouring country of Tibet, a power that under the guise of volunteers, invaded the Republic of South Korea, a power that even today is infiltrating through its North Viet Nam satellite regime into the little country of Laos, a power that is striving to expand in every possible direction.

This power showed its understanding of negotiations at the time when there was a truce in Korea, and we all recall those agonising months at Pan Mun Jon where a new kind of diplomacy was revealed, a diplomacy which used the negotiating table for nothing else than waging a war of nerves. The Chinese communist regime does not believe in negotiations and it has never negotiated in good faith till now. Every promise which it has made, it has violated, whether in Tibet or elsewhere. For the Chinese Communist regime, negotiation is an act of war, a continuation of war by other ways.

It is with such an opponent that we are now dealing, and to say that a friendly meeting between the two Prime Ministers will be used by the Chinese Communists for any other purpose than to push forward the process of intimidating us further is to revel in an illusion which is long past its time. It will only encourage toughness on the part of the Chinese Communist regime. They will say: "Ah, we have got them down. These people refused to come to talks except under certain conditions they laid down—the recognition of the MacMahon line and the vacating of aggression on their territory—as preconditions for negotiations and talks. Now, look, within three or four months, they have come down to talk to us unconditionally, as we demanded all along." To a good Christian or a kindly Hindu gentleman, the Gandhian approach of "All

right, you have your own way; I will meet you on your ground" may be all right. But we have to remember the character of the opponent when we are dealing with this problem and there is nothing in the character of the Chinese communist regime that gives us any reason to hope that this gracious surrender is going to have anything but the most unfortunate consequences on the psychology of the other side.

Then, let us look at our own psychology. What is it going to do to us? There is no doubt in my mind that our people have regarded this invitation as a national humiliation. I wonder if there is any instance in history where a country which has been attacked, a country whose territory has been occupied, has gone out of the way to extend a friendly invitation to the opponent? People have sent armies, navies and air forces into action, people have sent ultimatums, people have broken off diplomatic relations, as Nasser did when Britain and France attacked his country during the Suez incident. Here is a brave and patriotic country which is being attacked and pushed around, its men killed, the blood of its troops and policemen on the hands of the other side, and what we do is to invite them to come here as our honoured guest. This, I think, is certainly breaking new ground in history. What we are doing is to perpetuate the illusion about the Chinese Communist regime which unfortunately has already been created for the last ten years and which it is high time our people were encouraged to shed. We are trying to perpetuate those illusions which were embodied in our earlier misguided acts.

Then, what are our armed forces doing? What effect is it going to have on our policemen and our armed forces, who have been killed or maimed, or tortured, by the Chinese. What are going to be the sentiments of that brave man, Karam Singh, a man who in any other country would have been built up as a national hero, whom our government, to its shame, has relegated to obscurity during the last few weeks? That man would have been taken by any patriotic government round the country to educate the people as to what negotiating with the Chinese really means. What effect is this kind of diplomacy having on those to whom we look for the defence of our country against aggressions of this nature?

It seems that invitation is the result of a complete bankruptcy of policy which we have reached. Some of us in 1950 warned our Prime Minister that the selling out of Tibet was going to lead to an attack on this country. The continuation of that weak policy, the policy of appeasement, which has found its expression in the latest communication will take time and the country farther and farther away from our goal.

The third argument that has been advanced is: "What can we do? What else is there to do?" Many good friends have put this question. That is a counsel of despair.

I believe there are many things which this country can do. We are not privileged to have adequate data from our military forces on which we can recommend specific policies. We do not have enough knowledge to judge. That is a monopoly of the Government, and that must be left to the Government. But it is quite clear that there are two broad alternatives before this country.

One is, if we have the power, to eject by police action the Chinese aggressors from the territory they have occupied. This

is what a country normally does. Whether we have the power to do it or not I do not know. Judging by the very optimistic and hopeful announcements made by the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, who tell us that the Country's armed forces have never been in better condition, that they are adequately equipped to drive out any aggressor from our territory, there is no reason why they should not be asked to do their duty. There are some of us, however, who have doubts on that subject. If they were so adequately armed and equipped, why are we where we are today? Why have we allowed to happen what has happened? So, there are grave doubts among the public. But, as I say, we do not know and therefore we can only make the hypothetical statement that if we have the strength to do what we should be able to do, then there is only one honourable course and that is to give the order to the armed forces to do their duty.

I would however like to refer to another question that is raised: "But your proposal will lead to war." It will certainly not be an act of war on our part. It has never been held in history that a country that has been invaded, while repelling foreign troops from its territory, is guilty of an act of war. It is an act of defence, of a police nature. But it is possible that the other party will then make it an act of war by broadening the front or by making it a general action. That is possible. But we seem so preoccupied with our own difficulties that one would imagine that the Chinese Government is all dying and ready to launch a major war on India. I would like to question that ready assumption.

Why do we assume that the Chinese Communist Government is prepared to have a major war with this country any more than we are prepared to have it with them? We certainly do not want a war. Nobody wants it in this country. But why do we assume that they want it? I am not depending on any peaceful professions of theirs. I am depending on the situation in which they find themselves. They are encountering a severe draught. The regimented communes in which they have penned their people—like animals in a zoo—those people are dying for an opportunity to rise. They have a Nationalist Government outside their boundaries which is almost certain to try and land and liberate the mainland. That threat may or may not be a serious one. But are the Chinese Communist government prepared to shift their main forces thousands of miles to our frontiers, leaving their mainland and home territory exposed either to internal revolution from discontented people in the country or to a landing from the Nationalist Government outside? I doubt it. I doubt if Communist China is prepared to fight a major war on two fronts today. So, when we think so much of our own weakness, let us also consider the element of bluff on the other side.

If however, we have not got the fighting force, what do we do? There again, there is a great deal that this country can do. Assuming that we have not got the strength to eject the aggressor, does it mean that we have to invite him to come to meet us in our territory? Does it mean that we have in any way to have any dealings with him? A brave nation has not been known to connive or acquiesce in the aggression or the occupation of its territory.

Where is the need to meet when you are not prepared to concede anything? If we are not in a position to restore the *status quo* before the aggression, let us be dignified enough to stay where we are, to say we will not give up this territory, we shall retake it

as and when it becomes possible for us to retake it. Many countries in history have bided their time for years and decades before they were able to get back their territory which had been filched from them by superior military power. But they do not negotiate with the other power. They did not invite them to come and sit in conference with them. They said "You have taken something that is mine. You are too strong for me to take it back. Please note that it is mine and I shall take it back when I can."

It is like asking: What does an honest citizen do if a bandit comes and occupies his verandah? Does he go and ask him to come to his drawing room, have a cup of tea and discuss the matter with him? Or does he go to the telephone, if there is one, and telephone to the Police? Does he raise a shout and call his neighbours to help? Does he barricade his door and say: "I will hang out till somebody comes to my rescue?" Why are we not doing what a prudent housekeeper would do in any part of the world? To break off diplomatic relations with the Chinese Communist Government, why do we not open negotiations, which we have not done, with our friendly neighbours in South and South East Asia, who also are menaced by the same menace and who are very worried about the way in which we are meeting the threat to our own frontiers. People who have been in South and South East Asia from this country have come back and said that they are very worried. They have pointed out that the Himalayas are the frontiers of free Asia and that is not defending them actively enough, we are imperilling their own freedom. Why do we not call a Bandung Conference and tell them where we stand? Why do we not invite them to a pact — to say that an attack on one is an attack on all?

Why do we not equip our armed forces better than they are? The Prime Minister and the Defence Minister have, in their wisdom, said that they will not accept military equipment without payment. Between accepting military equipment and adhering to a policy of non-alignment there is no contradiction. Marshall Tito took military assistance from America as long as he needed it, discontinued it when he did not need it any more and nobody has ever suggested that he sacrificed non-alignment for even a minute. If Tito could to it, we can do it. But if we do not want to do it individually or unilaterally, let us do it multilaterally. Let us form

a regional organisation of the countries of South and South East Asia and let that organisation invite assistance and aid from other parts of the world so that independence of judgement and the independent foreign policy of any single country is not endangered in the slightest.

Nobody is asking for foreign troops to be invited to this country. But when this question is raised and the Prime Minister says that he would not agree to one inch of our territory being occupied by foreign troops, the fact remains that 5,000 to 10,000 square miles of our territory are already under foreign occupation. It is a popular game that is going on in certain quarters when people ask: "How many thousand square miles make a square inch?"

I may be asked "Are you not suggesting something extreme" when you suggest that diplomatic relations should be broken off with this aggressor regime?" Without any provocation, or much less, we have done as much. We have broken off diplomatic relations with South Africa and Portugal without comparison to what we have endured at the hands of the Chinese Communist government. Even worse, we have no diplomatic relations with a friendly, helpful, co-operative country like Israel—a country that has done nothing to us, whose existence we recognise but, for reasons that one government alone knows, whom we fail to recognise in the sense of accrediting a diplomatic mission to it. If we can desist from having diplomatic relations with Israel, surely it is not asking too much that that very mild act of displeasure might be directed on those who are aggressing against us, who have killed our people and who have on their hands our men's blood.

The Prime Minister's letter ended by saying to Mr. Chou-En-lai: "You will be an honoured guest when you come here." Undoubtedly the Prime Minister and the Government are entitled to invite whoever they like as their honoured guests, but it is clear Mr. Chou En-lai will not be the honoured guest of the Indian people. The Indian people do not want to shake hands with murder, with those on whose hands is the blood of our policemen and armed forces.

Mr. Chou en-lai is not wanted here.

NEHRU AND COMMUNISM

BY

RAJA BAHADUR KAMAKHYA NARAIN SINGH

In this article Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh, Vice-President of the All India Swatantra Party warns against the dangers hovering around Democracy. Democracy in our world will finally be determined by India and Indian Democracy is being menaced by Communism made respectable by Pandit Nehru.

Raja Bahadur reveals here in the words of Pandit Nehru how he is enamoured of Communism and how he is thrusting it upon us in slow but heavy doses. The article should wake up India to the perils around her. — Editor.

WHILE Civilisation stands today at the crossroads of history, the fate of Democracy in India hangs in the balance. Sweeping through — Eastern Europe, Communism has now engulfed Asia, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Indo-China are countries in ferment. Democracies are being erased and replaced by Dictatorial regimes. The Red Star which rose over China ten years ago has begun to cast its ominous shadows across the rest of Asia. Casting 'Panchsheel' into the four winds and dismissing the slogan 'Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai' as a myth, the Communist regime of China is trying to cut through the Himalayan borders and claim a substantial portion of our motherland.

The whole nation is aware of this menace to our freedom. A grim and alarmed India is determined to keep the torch of Freedom burning to the last drop of her blood. But the big question mark of the day looms large over the greatest quiz of this period, why this Chinese threat to our sovereignty follows so soon in the wake of the Sino-Indian friendship? And why this alarm when the man guiding our destiny is the same person of whom Gandhijee had once said, "Jawahar Lal is my heir-apparent, India's destiny is safe in his hands." The answer to these questions is that India has been caught 'napping'. And who is responsible for this critical situation? In one voice public opinion has named Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his right hand man Shri Krishna Menon. They have kept the country and the Parliament in the dark all these years. When the news broke and the nation boiled with rage, Shri Nehru woke up and thundered, "We cannot allow China to set foot on our chest, the Himalayas are our crown, We shall not allow it to be removed". A few months later his trusted Defence Minister spoke to the Country "We shall not hand over any part of our ADMINISTERED territories, as if the handing over of vast tracts of our un-administered area is of no consequence to the Hon'ble Defence Minister of the Government of India.

The anxious eyes of the free world are on India — the bastion of Democracy in the South East Asia. China the spearhead of Communism, is on the march. Alarmed by their respective potentials of nuclear weapons, the United States and the Soviet Union

are trying to patch up their differences. The battlefield between the principles of Democracy and Communism has now shifted to India.

But how can Democracy win when India is enamoured of Nehru and Shri Nehru is enamoured of Communism? Our revered Father of the Nation had proclaimed on the 30th March 1919 at a meeting held at Madras; "Bolshevism is a calamity. It is the necessary result of modern materialistic civilisation. It's insensate worship of matter has given rise to a school which has been brought to look upon materialistic advancement as the goal of life and which has lost all touch with the final things in life. I prophesy that if we disobey the law of the final supremacy over matter, of liberty and love over brute force, in a few year's time we shall have Bolshevism rampant in this land which was once so holy." These are the words of our Bapu. But after a visit to Russia in 1927 Shri Nehru wrote, "It is difficult to feel indifferent towards Russia. She is today too much of a live wire to be touched without a violent reaction. No one can deny the fascination of this strange Eurasian country, of the hammer and the sickle, where workers and persons sit on the thrones of the mighty and upset the best laid schemes of mice and men. For us in India the fascination is even greater, even our self respect compels us to understand the vast forces which have upset the old order of things and brought a new World into existence, where values have changed utterly and old standards have given place to new".

"Russia interests us because it may help us find some solution for the great problems which face the world today. It interests us because conditions there are not very dissimilar to conditions in India. If Russia finds a satisfactory solution to these our work in India is made easier."

Again in 1935 in his Autobiography Shri Nehru wrote, "I had long been drawn to Socialism and Communism and Russia had appealed to me. Violence was common in both places, but the violence of the capitalist order seemed inherent in it; whilst the violence of Russia, had though it was, aimed at a new order based

on peace and co-operation and real freedom for the masses. In the world, But Soviet Russia's success or failure, vastly important as it was a practical experiment in establishing a Communist State, did not affect the soundness of the theory of Communism. The Bolsheviks may blunder or even fail because of national or international reasons and yet the Communist theory may be correct. Russia apart, the theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened up many a dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me".

With this angle of vision Shri Nehru as Congress President began to give shape to the policies of the Indian National Congress and in 1936 clashed with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri J. B. Kripalani, Shri Jai Ram Das Daulat Ram, Shri S. D. Dev and Shri Jamuna Lal Bajaj, all great leaders of the country who, in protest had resigned from his Working Committee. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, now the President of India, and others write, "We feel that the preaching and emphasising of Socialism particularly at this stage by the President and other Socialist Members of the Working Committee while the Congress has not yet adopted it, are prejudicial to the best interests of the country."

Shri Nehru took over the reins of administration when India won her Independence. Riding on the crest of wave he strode the country Colossus-like and sought to "write his will into the sky across the stars". Gandhiji fell to the bullets of an assassin and Sardar Patel has also passed away leaving a decadent Congress to dance to Shri Nehru's tune. On the one hand Shri Nehru has become irresistible, on the other Congress has become stale and stagnant. Shri S. K. Patil a staunch Congress man had declared in Bombay on the 17th August 1952, "If the present form of the Congress is not changing, there is no alternative to the dissolving of the Party. Mr. Nehru is President as well as Prime Minister. We are short of front rank leaders. In this context the only thing to do is to wind up Congress in accordance with last wish of the Mahatma."

But Shri Nehru did not listen. He has persisted in his attempts to translate his ideas into action. Step by step, without once resorting to threats of violence he has prepared the country for Communism. During the first twelve years of our freedom we have been ruled by one man who is a composite of secular frenzy and Communist hypocrisy. Under a camouflage of meaningless terms like 'Socialism', 'Socialistic pattern of Society', 'Co-operative Farming etc.', Shri Nehru has hoodwinked the people into believing that they are enjoying the privileges of democracy while he has steadily moulded their destiny into a Communist pattern of life. Exploiting the ordinary common people's blind and unquestioning love for him, he has created fantastic dreams and designs for living under various labels of a vague form of Socialism. Year after year he has gone on stripping the people of their fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution. He has nationalised transport and various other industries and launched the Public Sector to rob the Private Sector of its natural opportunities for expansion and enterprise. He has enforced restrictive laws on all legitimate enterprise and killed the pioneering spirit through a crushing crusade of taxation.

He has enacted punitive labour laws which subordinate all intelligence and enterprise to the blackmail and vagaries of labour unions. He has turned the State into a mercenary institution by establishing the State Trading Corporation. And he has even come down on land and agriculture with the slogan of co-operative or joint-farming. Though he assured that there is no element of compulsion in it, Shri Nehru is firmly resolved to make co-operative farming a stepping stone to Communism. At the Congress session at Nagpur he declared: "We do not want compulsion in the beginning to take up joint cultivation." At a meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at New Delhi a few days later Shri Nehru said "And for some one to come and tell me that Co-operative farming will lead to collectivisation and Communism — Well, if it leads to that, let it." He does not even make any secret of his intentions. On August 7, 1959 he said "I have no anti-Communism as such as an economic theory." On August 23rd 1959, he addressed Congressmen, "I have the greatest admiration for the Soviet Union. Communism charges the capitalist structure of society with being based on violence and class conflict. I think, this is essentially correct".

Obsessed and charged by the banal influence of Communism, Shri Nehru has gradually been leading India away from her age old tradition of democracy. Afraid of the Indian Communists at heart who drew their strength from Russia and anxious to delimit their thunder, he sought to steal a march on them at the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress by persuading the Congressmen to adopt as their goal "a Socialistic pattern of society" in which the principal means of production would be under State ownership and control. As far back as 1870 Prince Bismarck of Prussia had smashed the Socialist Party of Ferdinand Lassalle by enacting social legislations for disability insurance, old age pensions and state-owned industries. In his day Prince Bismarck, had only succeeded in destroying the Socialist Party but he could not affect Marxism. Similarly Pandit Nehru has also succeeded in taking the wind out of the sails of our struggling socialists leaving the Communist stronger than ever before. Louis Fisher opines "Communism, like dictatorship, sears the soul, degrades the spirit and makes individuals small, the better to rule them, fear and cowardice are its allies".

Thanks to Pandit Nehru this selfsame Communism is being thrust on us. "Democracy" remarked Sir Winston Churchill, "is not a caucus, obtaining a fixed form of office by promises and then doing what it likes with the people." But this is exactly what is being done to us. And in the India of Shri Nehru the Armageddon of Democracy and Communism will be fought. Hence the alarm of the Nation. The spell of Shri Nehru must be broken. Rajajee has warned the nation, "Socialism and Democracy cannot go together. Democracy does not imply the undiluted capitalism and the laissez faire economy of Adam Smith. The concept of the welfare State is there and a true Democracy must always aim at social welfare. This Democracy must be saved and sustained in India so that Civilisation can survive. India had once been the cradle of democracy and we cannot allow her to be its cremation ground due to the suicidal policies of the Party in power guided by its leader: Shri Nehru.

RANGA'S LETTER TO NEHRU

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Thank you for your reply of the 25th December, 1958.

You have already published your arguments more than once in answer to our memorandum. But I did not wish to publish any reply that I could think of for fear of creating an unseemly controversy between the leader and the secretary of the party.

I am sorry to say I am unable to appreciate the rationale of your approach to this demand for placing a ceiling more or less simultaneously on the incomes and properties of both peasant proprietors and also professionals, civil servants and other industrial and commercial classes. Your attempt to distinguish a peasant's land-holding from his income does not appear to be based upon the realities of the present social order that is likely to continue to prevail during the next 15 years in view of the practical impossibility for most of our peasants to augment their incomes from any non-agricultural rural avenues. Therefore, for all practical purposes, the present attempts to put a ceiling on land-holdings will result, in almost all cases, in placing a ceiling on incomes of our peasant proprietors alone.

All the weighty arguments that you advance against placing a ceiling on the incomes of non-agricultural sections will appear to any unprejudiced person to be equally applicable to our agriculturists also. Such arguments make it difficult for me to refrain from concluding that different and contradictory yardsticks are being used for different classes for the application of social justice in developing socialistic society.

The lead of the Nagpur Congress (1959) regarding the question of ceilings and social justice may come to be looked upon as the commencement of demotion of peasantry into a new depressed class of the socialistic age.

Through its decision to inaugurate a national and all-enveloping campaign in favour of Joint Farming to be implemented after a period of three years, the Nagpur Congress has gone far beyond the election manifesto of 1957; certainly far beyond the ken of the election manifesto of the United Congress to which I am specially obliged to be loyal in the light of the circumstances of its birth. Such a campaign could only result in the pooled area

"constituting a single farm and the pooled labour a single family for the purpose of management without the consideration of the costs" as per the majority report of the Indian Delegation to China. But the offer of allowing peasants to retain their titles to their holdings may result in nothing more than a ruse to assuage their loss to economic independence and self-employment.

The only relieving feature is that the inauguration of this portentous disorganisation of our democratic farm family economy which is free from the taint of profiteering and is based on self-employment, is expected to come in the wake of the hoped-for success of the present campaign for the organisation of service co-operatives and co-operative farms in Block Areas, thus giving an opportunity for all those of us who pin their faith in Service Co-operatives as the desired armour and buttress of our farm family economy but not as a stepping stone to Joint Farming and possibly to Communes to try to dissuade the Planning Commission and others in the light of the social progress to be achieved through non-exploitative and technologically — orientated farm family economy and Service Co-operatives and not to impose Joint Farming as suggested by Nagpur Session. As I am convinced that such a national campaign in favour of Joint Farming in place of peasant economy can only undermine the democratic foundations of our Society and lead to economic slavery of broad masses I would like to be free to press the case against its imposition upon our peasantry as a matter of inflexible and inevitable policy.

Whatever justification there was for us to entertain hopes for the success of joint or co-operative farming in the pre-war fancy for U.S.S.R.'s imaginary successes on agrarian front, there can be none now in the light of the admitted failures of this method of agrarian organisation and production in so many Communist countries of Europe, not excluding U.S.S.R. and the partial or full re-introduction of peasant family farm economy for co-existence.

It is highly hazardous, harmful and unstatesmanlike to repose Utopian faith in the Chinese agrarian co-operatives which function under the totalitarian umbrella of Communes and rush the country into the projected nation-wide campaign in favour of joint farming taking advantage of the over-whelming lead conferred upon the Congress by our grateful country during this first decade of Swaraj.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- N. G. RANGA

ANNEXURE

My convictions in favour of peasant family economy and its content of self-employment and economic freedom and my opposition to such a nation-wide campaign in favour of its rival, the joint farming and co-operative farming, are not new to you as I have been advocating these policies since 1948 — in the Congress Economic Programme Committee, 1948 ; Planning Sub-Committee, 1949, for both of which you were the President, in the Working Committee up to 1951 and in the Minority Report to the Agrarian Re-

forms Committee of the Congress, 1948-49. I may also add that the Indian Peasant Institute has published my books "The Credo of World Peasantry" in 1956, "The Plan and the Peasant" in 1957 ; "Panchayat Landlordism Vs. Peasant Economy" and "The Peasant and Co-operative Farming" in 1958 and also the "Self-employed Sector" in 1959, espousing these policies, and in Parliament ever since, and also in my correspondence with Sarva Shri Balwantrai Mehta, the then General Secretary of the Congress in 1953, with Dhebarbhai, the Congress President and yourself in 1955 at the time of my rejoining the Congress.

OUR STAND TOWARDS AGRICULTURISTS A FEW MUSINGS

BY

ACHARYA N. G. RANGA

WE MUST FIGHT TOTALITARIANISM

THE movement for "Swatantra" has arisen out of our people's long felt need for the protection and promotion of their legitimate much cherished freedom from exploitation, regimentation and suppression by the rapidly growing and suffocatingly aggressive era of stateism inaugurated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Congress Government. The Swatantra Party is the political weapon of this movement. It seeks to help our people to remain free and to expand the area of their social and economic freedom, through all progressive and non-exploitative means. The Swatantra Party believes that the foundations of the Indian social economy were laid by its founding fathers on a well-conceived plan of the maximum possible decentralisation of power, so that there could be no danger of any dictator or conqueror enslaving the masses in the total manner in which modern dictatorships have succeeded during this century. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to rebuild our economy on these foundations by rejuvenating the Kisan and Kalakar economies and to ensure the permanence of decentralisation of power and thus safeguard the people from dangers of totalitarianism. Our planners have on the otherhand tended to depart farther and farther from Gandhiji's conceptions of planning, based upon the bedrock of India's traditionally decentralized social economy of production through free producers, aided by their Village Panchayats or Craft Guilds or traders Councils. They have chosen to follow the Soviet means which are based on the concentration of more and more power in the state agencies and withdrawal of it from the toilers. Little did they realise that planning after the Soviet fashion and freedom of the people will be so opposed to each other that one or the other would have to yield the primacy in our social economy.

Through all these 13 years, the Congress Governments have been trying, thanks to the country's faith in the leadership of Nehru and his professed passion to lift up our masses from their economic misery, to gain strangle-hold over the peasant masses. They tried to squeeze out of them to the maximum extent their surplus value by such means as the one-sided controls, imposition of uneconomic procurement prices of foodgrains, excise duties, surcharges on land taxes. Thanks to the administrative genius of Rajaji and the late Kidwai and the pressure of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan, the removal of food controls in 1952-53 prevented the planners from completely subjugating our peasantry to their price-squeeze machinations. So they made bold to persuade Pandit Nehru and Congress

Government to accept their proposals to utilize the mechanism of co-operatives to get hold of peasants and super-impose their controls, albeit in an indirect manner, over increasing sections of peasants. Thus arose, since 1955, the new enthusiasm of Government for the development of the agricultural co-operatives. The planners have advised the Government to gain under this guise the long-cherished control over peasants' free way of life. Hence the Nagpur Congress decision to start service co-operatives, in order that they might lead them on to enveloping the great mass of our peasantry by co-operative farming.

Our peasants have realized that once the competitive grain traders are brushed aside in favour of the monopolist state trading and their self-employment is swallowed up by Co-operative farming, their freedoms would be lost for ever and their plight would be no better than that of the Soviet peasants. Hence their nation-wide revolt against the Nagpur-cum-Nehru lead. The Swatantra movement is the political expression of this spontaneous peasant revolt.

POWER-THIRST HINDERS PROGRESS

None in this post-war age wishes to stand for or defend exploitation of man by man or class by class. None also stands for the continuation or intensification of class or clan or colour struggles, thanks to the terrible experiences of the world through Nazism and Sovietism. Indeed no human or civilized person wishes that any country or people should be condemned to or misled into the horrible experiences of Soviet Russia or China, merely in the mad pursuit after get-rich-quick national endeavours for power and prestige. Even the Indian people have come to realize the misery of the Soviet peoples who have lost their spiritual, cultural and economic freedoms, during the past forty years. So they do not wish to part with their own freedoms in exchange for the economic progress that Jawaharlaljee and his planners promise to achieve through their plans: especially is it so, after their past 13 years of experience of the mounting tax-burdens, swelling civil services and dwindling efficiency and administrative morale. On the other hand, the decision of the British electorate, through three successive General Elections, not to favour the programme of nationalisation and the resultant Stateism has begun to make our people re-examine their Nehru — induced faith in the Stateism of planners. The confessions made by the arch-planner, Sri G. Nanda, after his recent tour of Yugoslavia and other European countries, that the Soviet countries are now hankering after a bit of freedom for their

toilers, after having thrown it away in their mad search after rapid economic advancement; that nationalisation might not assure the proletariat either freedom of collective bargaining or freedom borne by trade unions' organisational strength and that co-operative farming and nationalisation of industries might lead to soulless bureaucracy, with all its evils, have only confirmed the fears of our masses about the dangers of democratic-dictatorship of Pandit Nehru. Hence their welcome to the Swatantra Party, which boldly stands against this Stateism of the Nehru-Stamp.

SERVICE CO-OPERATIVES

The Swatantra Party is fully conscious of the great role that Service Co-operatives can play in liberating our agriculturists from the clutches of the "Key Services" such as credit, storing agricultural products, marketing, modern transport facilities, processing. These key Services are controlled not only by profiteering private interests but also by the nationalised or State services, thanks to the growing role of the State under the planned economy. It is a notorious fact that these Key Services absorb nearly 50% of the price paid by consumers for our agricultural produce. The Scandinavian and Dutch peoples and even a large section of British, Canadian, American, Australian and New Zealand farmers have achieved much protection from the profiteering carried on by these Key Services by developing Service Co-operatives. In fact the Japanese peasants, the great majority of whom are dependent on small-holdings as Indian peasant masses have achieved both maximum agricultural production and decent enough standard of living, mostly because of the protection and other benefits derived from the successful activities of their highly developed Service Co-operatives. Due to their habits of "Bossing" and political manoeuvring, the Congress ministries and the Congress party have come to take an unholy interest in the day to day activities of our co-operatives. This persistent tendency of the present Government and the Ruling Party to exploit co-operation for political purposes prevents the healthy and rapid development of our service Co-operatives and discourages our peasant masses from taking to Service Co-operatives so enthusiastically.

POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN CO-OPERATIVES

Unfortunately, the Congress Governments have been pursuing the un-co-operative practice of interesting themselves in the elections of Co-operative Societies, the personnel and political attitudes and activities of their Boards of Directors, their managements, so much so, that almost all co-operative societies are beholden to the Ministers and Registrars and their political and administrative missions and to line up with them in their political group of factional interests and whims and fancies. Many concessions are given to these societies which are held by the favourites of the ruling party. But only disabilities are being heaped upon these societies which are managed by independent Co-operators. The result is that the Indian Co-operative movement, though voluntary in name, has been turned, as in so many Soviet countries, into convenient instruments to implement their programmes of monopolist distribution of fertilisers etc.

The Swatantra Party is keen on developing the Co-operative movement. In fact, so many of us have taken active interest in building up a number of Service or agrarian Co-operatives during the past thirty years. The Swatantra Party would free the co-operatives from ministerial politics and help it to develop its own internal mechanism for regulating, supervising and corrective purposes, so

that, the present practice of the Co-operative Departments of State Governments, interfering almost at every stage with the activities of Co-operative societies can be eliminated.

WE OPPOSE CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

It is universally admitted that the reconstruction and progress of our rural economy are intimately linked up with the corporate spirit and governance prevailing in our village communities and therefore the development of village Panchayats and multi-purpose or Service Co-operatives is being offered as one of the best solutions. But so far the ruling party has developed the evil tradition of its participation directly or indirectly in the elections and management of these bodies and has thus worsened the already faction or caste ridden atmosphere of the village. The social re-alignment necessitated by the introduction of adult suffrage has yet to be woven into the fabric of rural society so as to enrich its spirit of mutual co-operation. It shall be the aim of the Swatantra Party to minimise all interferences, either by political parties or by the administration, with the day to day activities of the village Panchayats and Co-operatives.

Yet another defect which is today weakening the working of village Panchayats and Co-operative Societies is the present method of election of the members of their boards of management and office bearers which is resulting in the division of villagers into hopelessly irreconcilable, mutually non-co-operative factions and parties. It is necessary to take conscientious steps to minimise the pressures, passions and consequent marriage between the traditional feuds, factions or caste-rivalries and modern party politics. There is urgent need to introduce the method of choosing members of Panchayats and Co-operative managements by drawing lots from out of a panel of candidates who are chosen by adult franchise in a ward or village as a whole. Similarly the presidents and vice-presidents of the Panchayat may also be chosen by drawing lots from among the candidates chosen through proportional representation by the members of the Panchayat Board or the Board of Directors. This method will reduce the evils of elections and minimise the passions of electioneering and calculated to help villagers to retain and develop their natural tendencies for corporate action and spirit.

Why is the Congress so keen on displacing the existing economy of Self-employed and free peasantry by co-operative joint farming? The Planning Commission has stated its real objective that through joint farming of all the lands in any village, the independent status of peasant proprietors can come to be equated with the landless villagers. The Swatantra Party does not believe in these Soviet methods of converting our peasants into landless wage-earners. The Policy of the present Government is to make itself the biggest land owner and converting the self-employed peasants into agricultural workers under the pretext of placing all its lands under co-operative farming. On the otherhand, the Swatantra Party believes that the social economy of our country and political strength of our people can continue to derive ever-renewing inspiration and stamina through the continued existence and broadening of the bases of self-employed peasantry and also the proprietorship of their holdings. And so it will enable ever larger numbers of the landless agricultural workers to gain ownership over at least small holdings, and thus gain self-employment in agriculture by distributing among them hitherto uncultivated but cultivable government waste-lands as well as disafforested lands amounting to more

than ten crore acres of lands. It will help them to retain these lands and to develop their productivity through active participation of the Government in their reclamation and development, as is being done in the Dandakaranya Reclamation undertaken for the displaced peoples. The Congress wants to Sovietise our agriculture under the pretext of attempting to increase agricultural production through co-operative cultivation. But nowhere in the world has it been proved beyond doubt that co-operative cultivation has produced more per acre than through peasant economy and even the Soviet countries of Europe concede the failure of such joint cultivation and deplore its defects. It has not been demonstrated anywhere that it is conducive to greater and better individual or group display or initiative or enterprise or conscientious and labour-loving efforts or better use of land or greater production.

Joint cultivation is recommended by the Congress Party on the plea that it can liberate so many of our small peasants from their under-employment. In fact, it is the high road towards greater rural unemployment and greatest stimulant towards rural exodus and towards urbanisation. The Congress pleads that it does not propose to deprive peasants of their proprietorship of holdings but only seeks to persuade them to pool their holdings for joint holdings. It has not so far offered any tangible assurances how our peasants can regain their holdings once they give them up, without incurring social obliquity and economic disabilities and displeasure of the Governmental leaders and co-operative officers, nor has it indicated any compensatory advantages to make up for the loss of the self-employment status. In fact the offer of allowing the title deeds for their lands to remain in the hands of the peasants can only be a make-believe, once their right to cultivate their holdings by themselves through their own supervision and management comes to be abandoned in favour of the joint farming societies. And such title will lose their market value, in the absence of any demand from any social sector and can mean no more than mementoes to remind their holders of their long lost possessions of self-employment status.

We of the Swatantra Party are opposed to this whole anti-peasant approach of the Congress party. We are convinced that the present system of peasant proprietorship has come to be evolved as the most productive system of protection and improvement and utilisation of land and is capable of absorbing ever new and more productive methods of agriculture. We are highly appreciative of its capacity to evoke the highest productive efforts from peasant families and all their self-reliant abilities so much needed in the intensive cultivation of lands.

The Swatantra Party stands for the positive ends of preserving and promoting the institutions of self-employment which have safeguarded the freedom of our peasant-proprietors and artisans, and also the Dukandars. These institutions have withstood the trials of millenniums of our history and helped our masses to overcome the scourges of repeated invasions and continue to regain political freedom. They have strengthened the spirit of self-reliance and self-respect of our Kisans and Kalakars. The self-employment derived by our peasant masses from the economy of their holdings is the highest and most progressive conception of decentralised democracy and economic freedom at the grass roots, practised for so many centuries in the Indian Rural civilisation. The Swatantra Party cherishes this contribution of Indian civilisation and wishes to help our peasant masses to improve upon this noble heritage

and enable others too, including a good section of agricultural workers to come to attain this socio-economic freedom and independence. The toiling masses of the West have lost this status of self-employment and economic independence, in their rush towards economic prosperity through their industrial and capitalist development but they have ever since been trying, almost in vain, to regain their former status of self-employment, while retaining all the advantages of industrial advancement. The Congress Party and the Planning Commission wish to follow the Western approach towards development and prosperity through Soviet methods and means and do not mind losing in the process, the very soul of India's self-governed economy, namely self-employment and economic freedom of the great majority of her toilers in the fields, factories and shops.

ABOUT CEILINGS

Now that there is no longer any doubt as to the unwillingness of the Government to touch non-agricultural properties, there is much less justification for this discriminative imposition of ceilings on agriculturists. Since Parliament and Assemblies are being persuaded to accept this principle of ceilings on agricultural holdings however discriminatory, we are obliged to press for a higher limit for this proposed ceiling to mitigate its evil effects.

I am convinced that the highest income to be derived from the best yield achieved in the best agricultural seasons cannot yield a maximum income to any of the few agricultural families who can alone be found at present to reach the permissible highest income which can be compared to the regular and assured monthly income of a junior officer in the service of Government of India. It cannot enable such families to send one or two of their sons or daughters to any technical college or to encourage any of them to hope to stand as a candidate for the State or Central legislature. Therefore the effect of this ceiling legislation is to permanently condemn agriculturists alone to a comparatively depressed condition and disable them from attaining higher education or political status, as compared with all other classes. The Constitution has charged Parliament and Government to devise ways and means to remove the disabilities of the existing traditionally depressed classes (article 46) but the father of our Constitution never dreamt that Government would advise Parliament to convert in this manner the majority of our masses into a new depressed class.

It is argued that only a few people would come within the mischief of this proposed legislation on land ceilings. But greater issues are implicit in this proposal. It means that hereafter no one would be allowed to raise and obtain an opportunity to demonstrate his initiative, enterprise and organising ability, business acumen and agricultural leadership so well and to such an extent with so much land as is needed, that he could hope to gain an income comparable even to the middle-tiers of incomes now derived by industrial entrepreneurs and commercial and other professional magnates. It also means that all such enterprising educated and competent people who are justifiably ambitious and keen on making their best contribution to our national development would be encouraged to drift into non-agricultural activities, leaving agricultural enterprise to become the monopoly of under-developed and non-enterprising people.

It is said that this discriminatory legislation is being under-

taken to obtain land for the landless who had been the 'have nots' till now. But is it not the duty of Parliament and Assemblies to examine whether the advantages to be derived from such a redistribution of land are commensurate with the consequential disadvantages of imposing such a ceiling? Are there not other ways of placing lands belonging to Government and estimated to be eight to ten crores of acres at the disposal of the landless?

What canon of social justice is being observed in discriminating against those landholders, not landlords please who are also actual cultivators and who do not have to exploit any tenants or rentiers?

As regards the question of payment of compensation, I feel that the quantum suggested by the bills is much too meagre and unjust.

I am convinced that when the Constitution was being amended to overcome the decisions of the Courts on the question of payment of compensation to the erstwhile Talukdars and Zamindars (*rent-receiving landlords*) who had been recognised by the British and Moghuls for the purpose of land revenue by keeping it beyond the purview of the Courts, Parliament did not realise that the properties obtained by ownership, hereditary and savings and managed by the owners themselves for their own benefit without in any way *directly impinging upon the equal freedom* to obtain, own or save and enjoy similar properties or sources of incomes would also come to be dealt with in the same summary fashion and be denied the right to claim and obtain the market value as compensation.

Anyhow the high and onerous responsibility of using this power, only after giving due consideration to its all round effects upon the national economy as a whole and the particular sector of property concerned has been cast upon Parliament and Assemblies.

Now that these Bills propose to offer only a modicum of the market value prevailing today for the excess lands over and above the ceiling of the actual land-holding agriculturists, they set such a bad precedent that all the holders of all other properties are thus being given due notice that on any day when it pleases Government and Parliament and any Assembly, any part or portion or use of their properties is likely to be taken over by Government by the so called due processes of law on the payment of nominal compensation. This notice given in such a glaring and arbitrary manner and in defiance of the statesmen-like restraints which the Constitution-makers expected to be observed by Parliament, and Assemblies is sure to discourage in the long run all initiative, enterprise and incentive to earn and save and develop one's own properties and other sources of income, employment and security. Therefore we do plead with Parliament and Assemblies that they should not accept this unwise proposal of the Government i.e. the payment of only a nominal compensation.

Moreover, the last Parliament had paid market rates to the shareholders of the Imperial Bank of India and to set at naught that reasonable precedent and to go headlong with these unjust proposals of the Bills is to declare to all our agriculturists that they would be discriminated against. Parliament and Assemblies ought not to commit such acts of class discrimination.

The whole approach to property as is indicated by this and

such other bills needs to be reconsidered. Even Soviet Russia is coming to realise the need for allowing people to own, accumulate and enjoy private property. No democracy can continue to be liberal and loyal to the Fundamental property, savings and means of income, livelihood and socio-economic freedom. Now that we find Governments are so ready to advise Parliament and Assemblies to entertain such unwise and one-sided proposals calculated to create wide and deep sense of insecurity of property and savings, we are obliged to appeal to Parliament and Assemblies to repeal the amendment made to the Constitution and restore the Constitution to its original form as it was passed in 1950.

PROVIDE CHEAP AND ADEQUATE WORKING CAPITAL

The greatest, but the age-long need of our agriculturists is the supply of adequate, cheap working capital to enable them to improve their holdings, step-up their fertility, utilise improved implements and tested seeds and to maintain themselves in efficient working order. The Planning Commission and the Congress Governments, have neglected to provide this most obvious lever for higher production, despite the advice of every expert who has studied the possibilities for higher production. The high interest charges encroach upon the incomes of our peasants and keep down their living standards. We are keen on improving the efficiency of the peasants by raising their incentives to work harder, step up their ability to put greater constructive effort, improve the productivity of their lands and the ultimate agricultural production. The Swatantra Party will give the top-most priority to the abundant supply of this much needed working capital. Since however the national resources alone are not enough for this purpose the aid of international finance may be sought. This responsibility will be shouldered by the Swatantra Party; because it has faith in the future of peasant economy and it alone can evoke the necessary partnership from peasants. The national Savings and Small savings campaigns are being carried on in villages in an almost coercive fashion and Rural India is thus being denuded of even these slender spare resources. It will be the task of the Swatantra Party to free these campaigns from all vestiges of coercion and to utilise their proceeds for investment in the local co-operative Banks for being lent to the holders of Small-holdings who are so badly in need of working Capital.

TO DEVELOP AGRO-INDUSTRIES

The Congress Government has failed to stimulate the agro-industries including the manufacture of chemical fertilisers, cow-dung gas plants, plantations of fuel trees, processing industries to develop oil products, food products and also dairy and fruit preservation plants. It has not encouraged the local production of agricultural implements and machines. It is notorious how more than 33.1/3% of what is being produced on the land is not being put to effective or timely use or being wasted at different stages in the process of gathering it from the field or gardens to its final utilisation by consumers, just because the needed agro-industries have not been developed. The Swatantra Party proposes to utilise the services of private entrepreneurs, including agriculturists and farmers and also of the Co-operatives to develop these agro-industries.

Sugar cane growers have been complaining of the profiteering by the Sugar Mills. Lately Government has gone into part-

nership in this through its state trading in Sugar and by imposing excise duties. To save the cane growers as well as consumers from this menace, it is necessary to establish a large number of not only large-scale co-operative sugar factories but also a larger number of small factories and to avoid both nationalisation of Sugar Industry and monopoly of sale and distribution by the State Trading corporation.

Similarly Oil-seeds producers as well as consumers of oil and oil products have to be protected by similar development of competition between private entrepreneurs, co-operative oil expellers and competitive distributive agencies, such as shop-keepers, co-operative Stores. Even in the rapidly expanding food-processing industries, fruit preservatives and industries interested in manufacturing Dry Milk and other milk-products, similarly diversified enterprises, with an ever-enlarging scope for partnerships, individually or co-operatively for agriculturists should be encouraged to be formed and to function profitably. The State should assist them by way of supply of cheap credit accessory machinery and non-agricultural raw materials and economical, speedy and efficient and honest transport services by rail, canals and roads.

Every opportunity has to be explored and utilised by the State to enable agriculturists to gain ever increasing share in establishing and managing such processing agro-industries, in order to enable them as a whole to gain the major portion of the special advantages derived by such processing industries, while keeping down the prices to the consumers. The party will not pursue the barren policy of the present Congress Government of discouraging the development of processing industries through its suicidal threats of *nationalisation and developing the monopolist activities of State Trading Corporation.*

There is enormous scope for stepping-up agricultural production if only sufficient supplies of green (leguminous) and chemical manures as well as cowdung and other farm-yard manure are made available to our peasants. Scientists have calculated that to produce 9 crore tons of cereals and 6 crore tons of other crops needed to feed and cloth 41 crores of our estimated population by 1965, India would need 120 lakh tons of fixed nitrogen; whereas by 1961 all that the available fertilizer factories in India could be expected to produce would be only 200 thousand tons of fixed nitrogen. We should develop and implement a nation wide programme of utilising fully all the agricultural wastes, town refuse and waste-leaves of forests and roads, avenues etc.; as we should. The present Government is so negligent about this aspect. If only the good offices of village Panchayats are utilised and composting is developed as much as 1/3 of the need of our lands for manures can be satisfied. The Swatantra Party proposes to give a high priority to this crying need of our agrarian economy and will go all out in developing small, medium-scale and large scale fertiliser industrial enterprises to be spread out all over India.

The Swatantra Party also lays special emphasis on the development of the tertiary industries which will manufacture the machines and prime-movers needed by the projected agro-industries. It will give every encouragement to the multiplication of smaller units of production rather than relying on a few colossal plants. It will give special facilities for international industrialists who are ready to come into partnership with Indian entrepreneurs in developing this Industry and will also seek special assistance

from individual Governments and international financial and industrial agencies. The Swatantra Party also believes in giving training in improved methods of manufacturing agricultural implements and machines to the traditionally skilled village artisans i.e. carpenters.

MARKETING

In its over anxiety to ensure rapid and full supplies of food grains to the towns at prices which have all along been officially fixed arbitrarily the Congress Government has come to deprecate wrongly the growing tendency among the above subsistence peasants to store some portion of their disposable surplus food grains or oil-seeds or fibres.

And so little has been done, however, to protect the small producers from being exploited by money lender cum trading people of the market touring. What ought to be done is to encourage more and more peasants to develop the capacity to store their produce in their own villages in anticipation of brisk-demand periods and help them and others also not to rush their produce too soon after the harvest and sell at too low prices by offering adequate short term capital at low interest rates on the security of those stores and thus raise their bargaining capacity vis-a-vis the Markets.

As large a number of peasants as possible have to be persuaded to join either the Multi-purpose Co-operatives or special Marketing Coops and the risks involved in such storing in anticipation of higher prices than what prevail at the harvest period or *the guaranteed floor prices have to be insured against* by suitable guarantees from Government.

The present unhealthy tendency of Congress Governments to deprecate the growing consumption of homeproduced food grains by the farming population should be discouraged. On the otherhand, every effort should be made, through the farmers marketing coops, to encourage peasants to grow vegetables and subsidiary food grains, pulses and edible oil-seeds by developing the habit of raising two to three crops a year on the same lands, and to help peasants to maximise both their own home-consumption and also their contribution to markets at remunerative and even alluring price-levels.

The construction by Co-operatives, big enough farmers and local religious or other public charitable institutions of godowns refrigerators, redrying plants has to be encouraged and the State also should go on constructing a large number of small, medium scale and big storages and offer to sell them to Co-operatives and Private limited companies of farmers, on instalment payment system. In this manner two purposes have to be served that the present losses incurred in bad and inadequate storing practises can be eliminated and the capacity of farming population to protect themselves from market exploitation can be raised. In this way, we can reverse the present Governments manneries to utilise its chain of warehouses against peasants endeavours to protect themselves from uneconomic bids from markets. There is need to organise protect, regulated markets in all important trading centres to ensure healthy competition between all merchants coops and state trading corporations, so as to protect the producers. One of the things that have been troubling our peasants for many decades,

in deciding what crops to grow and on what areas of their holdings from year to year has been the uncertainty of the prices of the major crops. Most of the countries in the west have adopted various measures to maintain the floor levels of prices of the major crops. Some countries go as far as to assure their farmers, one or two years in advance, remunerative price levels. In our country also, the Kisan organisations have been asking for a similar policy to be adopted and various expert bodies, appointed by the Central Government both before and after independence have proposed detailed schemes for estimating, prescribing and establishing agricultural prices, the latest of them being the Food Grains committee of 1958 and Food Foundation Study Team of 1959. Even the preliminary steps have not been taken to adopt and implement a practicable scheme of stabilisation of prices such as the pilot studies of costs of cultivation of major cereals, oil-seeds, cotton and jute, cost of living indices for agriculturists (landed and landless) minimum wage levels and actual levels of wages, incidence of natural calamities caused by vicissitudes of seasons, cattle epidemics. The Swatantra Party proposes to take the earliest steps to prepare and implement suitable schemes in co-operation with our agricultural producers to assure remunerative prices to our agriculturists which will be fair to consumers also.

For too long a time, the services of our agriculturists have come to be valued much less than those of other classes, even after making due allowance to the higher costs of living of Urban and Professional people. There has been the legitimate demand from agricultural classes that there should be parity between the prices paid for their food and those paid for manufacturers and professional services. An effort should be made towards this end. The U.S. Government has been implementing such a policy since 1932 with very salutary effects upon its national economy and most of the Governments of Western Countries have been implementing similar policies to maintain such parity. The Congress Government have so far paid only lip-service to this ideal but done nothing to help our agriculturists to attain such a parity. On the other hand its policies and practices of imposing one-sided controls on the ceiling prices of major cereals and its refusal to base its procurement prices upon what can be found to be remunerative or the average costs of cultivation have worked against our peasants. The failure of Congress Government to supply to our agriculturists, the manufactured goods which are most essential for agricultural operations at the reasonable levels of prices has also weakened our peasants. The incidence of a growing degree of inflation has been greater on peasants. Thus the position of Indian agriculturists has been comparatively worsened during these plan periods. The Swatantra Party wishes to stop this disastrous process of continuous impoverishment of our agriculturists and take all necessary steps to help them to attain parity with other classes in sharing in the national wealth. The Swatantra Party will do its best to protect and strengthen peasants and assure them fullest opportunities to obtain the greatest portion of the end prices paid by consumers for their produce and will consider it to be its special duty to assure them the highest returns for their labours and their end result, agricultural production, consistently with the legitimate interests and purchasing capacity of consumers. When and where necessary, it would rather subsidise the minimum essential consumption of basic foods of the poorest consumers on behalf of the whole Society rather than pursue the present policy of making the peasants suffer, in the so called interests of poorer consumers while the other consumers are being subsidized.

Our agriculturists are liable to suffer heavy losses off and on in every decade, due to the vicissitudes of seasons. Untimely, weak or heavy monsoons cause either droughts or floods, resulting in the loss of working capital heavy damages to the soils, canals, bunds and irrigation, flood control and other protective works. These losses are so heavy and come upon our agriculturists in such frequency that most of our kisans are unable to rise above the level of subnormal agricultural equipment, capital and human existence. To protect them from these periodical losses, the State has to give high priority to the Schemes of development of irrigation, flood-protection and land reclamation and dry farming.

One of the main causes for the perennial poverty of Indian agriculturists is their liability to suffer the loss of working capital and standing crops because of periodical visitation of droughts or floods or frosts or pests or cattle epidemics and the consequent helplessness as to how to maintain themselves throughout the year and find again working capital for the next crop. The incidence of this liability to losses has been estimated to be varying in the average from one fourth to one-third of the annual crop. So there is extreme need to organise on a national scale insurance funds to protect our peasantry from its terribly crippling economic effects. It is not fair to expect our agriculturists to continue to bear these colossal and periodical losses and burdens, all so unaided by society, as in the past. Therefore the Swatantra Party proposes to take the earliest and most effective steps to organise at both the State and National levels the requisite protection Funds against droughts, floods and famine with adequate contributions from their annual budgets and also with all contributions obtained by the international organisation and funds associated with the United Nations. A substantial portion of the annual land Revenue Collections may be contributed to this fund. As and when such a natural calamity overtakes any section of agriculturists, contributions from this fund would have to be made to enable the affected people to finance their new agricultural operations, to replenish themselves with the needed cattle, seeds implements and also to recover a part of the lost working capital in the destroyed crops etc. The Swatantra Party will try to get a practicable scheme prepared and the Fund created and administered, in keeping with this national need and also with the financial resources available from national and international sources. To provide all this assistance will be far beyond the financial capacity of the Central and State Governments. Therefore the more prosperous and developed countries of the world have to be persuaded to go into shares in the development of a world Fund for Famine Insurance and to agree to contribute upto 25 to 50% towards the cost of such insurance. It hopes thereby to provide the most important and urgent leverage needed by Indian agriculturists and our national economy as a whole, to rise out of sub-human and sub-normal existence and gain the first sure chance to mark continuous progress. Efforts will have also to be made to organise crop Insurance Schemes for specific crops in different States on a contributory basis, that is, the peasants concerned being asked to contribute as much per acre per annum as the state offers. Similar efforts will also be made to insure against cattle epidemics. The Swatantra Party will undertake these schemes on an experimental basis most sympathetically and with a view to make them a success. Owing to bad planning by the present Government, areas which have been benefitted by irrigation works have not been adequately protected from floods and vice-versa and large irrigated areas have come to suffer from inundation, growth of

salinity of soil etc. for want of satisfactory drainage works. It has been estimated by experts that nearly as much irrigated area has come to be damaged as what has been newly brought under irrigation after our national freedom. Therefore, there is great need for an integrated plan and programme of the simultaneous

development of irrigation and drainage facilities to the new areas and to save them from floods and droughts resulting famines and impoverishment of peasants and fall in the productivity of soils and crops.

RELIGION IN POLITICS

BY M. RUTHNASWAMY

Mahatma Gandhi used to emphasise that politics divorced from religion is not beneficial to people. One of the fundamental ideas of his political philosophy was that religion lies at the heart of all human life and endeavour. Both in his speeches and writings he preached that politics to be useful or popular must be founded on religion. In this article the writer who is a great educationist, in his masterly review of religion's place in politics and particularly in a country like India where religion is at the very root of life, says that the Swatantra Party has to hand on to the people of India the message of the beneficial influence of religion in politics. — EDITOR.

RELIGION is given a very important place in the Constitution of India. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all persons, not citizens only, inhabiting India. Art. 25(1) lays down the principle that "subject to public order, morality and health (and other relevant provisions of Part III), all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion". Art. 25(2) enables the State to make laws (a) "regulating, or restricting any economic, financial, political or secular activity which may be associated with religious practice" and (b) "providing for social welfare and reform as the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus". According to Art. 27 no person can be compelled to pay taxes for the promotion of any particular religion. Art. 28 establishes the principle of freedom concerning the attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions. Arts. 29 and 30 are concerned with cultural and educational rights of citizens as members of a linguistic or religious community.

In providing for the rights and liberties of religion on such a scale and to such an extent, the makers of the Constitution recognized the facts of the religious situation. India is a land of many religions, each of which has a powerful hold on the lives of the people professing it. To promote unity, peace and harmony it was necessary to recognize the right of each of them to live and serve the people that belonged to it. And religion was recognized to be so dear, and precious to its adherents that each has been given the right to propagate his religion among his fellowmen. In giving such a large place to the rights of religion the makers of our Constitution have also been true to Indian tradition. India has been for centuries a land of many religions operating in peace and harmony. Aryan religion and Dravidian cults, Hinduism and Buddhism and Jainism in the early centuries of Indian history and then later Christianity soon after its foundation and Islam and Zoroastrianism have come to add to the religious experience of India. To religions from abroad, Hindus have in all ages offered a home by their side. Religious tolerance has been one of the proudest records of the people of India.

RELIGION IN LIFE

In giving each religion its place in the life of the people professing it, the people of India and their Governments all through

the centuries either by instinct or by the wisdom born of experience have recognized the weight of the influence of religion in the life—even the political life of men and nations. Rule in India was consecrated by the religious ritual of the coronation of the king. Dharma governed the public conduct of rulers and ruled. The Brahmins were first in the table of social precedence because they were priests. The royal purohit was not the only but the most important advisor of the king. The laws were embedded in the sacred books. It has been so in other countries. Religion was the earliest influence on the government, law, education, social life of ancient peoples. It long continued to be the only influence. But as Reason, Experience, International intercourse, Science have entered as influences in the political life of peoples, Religion has receded from its original overwhelming position. It ceased to influence the details of his individual and social life, his occupation, his food, his dress, his social manners. It confined itself to wielding its influence on the principles of his individual and social conduct—leaving the application of these principles to the details of his life as in the matter of his political institutions, his social organization, his laws, his manner of life to be determined by Reason, Utility, Conscience, Progress. Religion, when Law, Government, Economy came to be separate and autonomous, discovering principles and practices promoting their own progress, was content to stand up for and proclaim the dominant influence of the principles of Morality, Justice, Peace. It called upon peoples and Governments in all their political and social and economic activities to pay due regard and deference to the higher values which it champions and defends and advances. It calls upon rulers and ruled in all their political and social and economic dealings with one another to pay heed to the voice of Conscience.

It is in this role of the Conscience of the people that religion plays a part in the politics of the modern State. And that role is ever in place and in time. It has been recognized by makers and rulers of states. Washington and Napoleon have recognized the value of religion in the making of nations as of men. In the words of Burke statesmen have known that "man is by his constitution a religious animal, that atheism is not only against our reason but our instincts and that it cannot prevail long." They have known and felt that "religion is the basis of civil society and the source of all good and all comfort." It has been found the soundest supporter and the most effective promoter of morality so necessary for the political stability and well-being of

peoples. Laws cannot do everything to promote morality. They may succeed in suppressing crime but for the suppression of Vice the influence and work of religion is necessary. There is a great strain put on the state—a strain that should not be put on it—when the State is called upon to suppress vice in addition to the prevention and punishment of crime. If the State alone were called upon to cleanse public life of corruption there would have to be a policeman at the elbow of every citizen and official. As a result of this unnecessary work the State and Law are brought into increasing contempt. It is a reflection upon religion and its ability to reform man when the State is called upon to do its work. And as for the positive work of the citizen for the State, faith and trust in God and His providence will give him the courage and energy that will enable him to do great things for it.

Especially, in these days of materialism and material progress is the role of religion in public life to be welcomed and upheld. "The modern period", says De Tocqueville, "lays open the soul to an inordinate love of material gratification", the greatest merit of religion is that it inspires drastically contrary principles. Religious nations, says this great student of modern democracy, are naturally strong in the very point in which democratic nations are weak. This excessive and exclusive taste for well-being it is, he recommends, the chief concern of religion to purify, regulate and restrain.

For us in India in these latter days, a powerful voice calling

for the influence of religion in politics has been that of Mahatma Gandhi. One of the fundamental ideas of his political philosophy was that religion lies at the heart of all human life and endeavour. Both in his speeches and in his writings in *Young India* and the *Harijan* he preached that politics to be useful or popular must be founded on religion. To spiritualise politics he proclaimed, was his mission. Man, he said, cannot advance politically without being more moral and more religious. He called upon public men, even politicians, to regulate their conduct by their conscience as he had by his. Faith in God, trust in God, he believed, would bring him and his people safe and successful through the struggle. "If we can but throw ourselves" he wrote in the height of that struggle "into the lap of God as our only help we shall come out scatheless through every ordeal that the Government may subject us to."

It is this message of the beneficial influence of religion in politics that the Swatantra Party wants to hand on to the people of India. As its statement of policy puts it "the Party is opposed to the domination of a purely materialistic philosophy of life which thinks only in terms of economic standards without reference to the content or quality of man's life and the spiritual values and their influence in public life which are part of our culture and tradition". And in endeavouring to do so the Swatantra Party will in no other way be so Indian and so national in its approach to politics.

SWATANTRA PARTY AND C.I.D.

BY V. P. MENON

CASES of Swatantra Party members being shadowed by the C.I.D. have been mentioned in the press from time to time. Now an instance has occurred about which I have definite, first-hand information. It concerns Mr. Dikshit of Nagpur. He tells me that C.I.D. officers have followed him in the streets and accosted him and questioned him about the Swatantra Party.

Ours is a parliamentary democracy, and we pride ourselves on it. The Constitution guarantees the conditions for it—free elections, governments responsible to the legislatures, freedom of expression, assembly, organisation, etc. But the benefit of these provisions will be entirely lost if the C.I.D. shadow members of opposition parties. For it is certain that if they do so, very few people will dare to join opposition parties, which cannot therefore become well organised, and in that case the present ruling party will remain in power for ever. To set the C.I.D. to shadow members of opposition parties is a seemingly mild but quite effective way of bringing in a one-party dictatorship.

It is no doubt necessary for the C.I.D. to shadow people who are suspected of terroristic activities, or of trying to bring about a change of government by revolution, or of maintaining improper contacts with foreign powers. No such suspicion is possible about the Swatantra Party or its members. It is a constitutional party, a

loyal opposition, and its inspiration is purely Indian. Its worst enemies have never suggested anything else.

This shadowing of innocent opposition workers is a relic of the British regime. They had, perhaps, no alternative, but things are entirely different now. We have thrown overboard some practices of that regime which we might have done better to keep. Why do we keep such a harmful one?

I have no doubt that the police officers who order this shadowing are going beyond their instructions. Probably the ministers in charge do not know that it is being done. But there must be people in high positions who think that they have something to gain by ordering the shadowing of Swatantra Party members, and that itself is a grave matter.

Clear instructions must be issued at the ministerial level that the C.I.D. shall not shadow people, or examine their correspondence, etc., merely because they are members of the Swatantra Party. The Congress ministers owe it to themselves to issue this order. It is necessary for the decency of public life. Many of the present ministers suffered in this way under the British. Should they use the same methods against their opponents? Imagine that the Conservative Government in Britain set the police to shadow Labour Party Leaders. The whole country would be up in arms.

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THE PRICE OF HERO WORSHIP

BY

Dr. BASANT NARAIN SINGH, Ph.D., M.L.A.



The writer of this article is the younger brother of Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narain Singh. As Chairman of the Hazaribagh District Board for 11 years and as a brilliant member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly since 1952 he is known in the State for his administrative land marks and Parliamentary performances. A Ph.D. from London University and a great intellectual he is unsurpassed in his eloquence and mastery of the English language.

In this article he exposes the Nehru myth in India, "Heroes arise in Nations and they are needed," says he but hero worship going beyond limits invited dangers to their security and well-being. Giving a historical sketch of events in the Nehru regime in the wake of independence he warns the Nation to rise over the Nehru spell or soon it will lose its soul. — Editor.

FROM time immemorial Hero Worship has been a prominent characteristic of our National Life. Every Nation loves a hero and his heroic deeds form the landmarks in the History of the Nation. No Nation has become great without a hero, for such persons have an inborn power to inspire people to do great things.

India would not have attained freedom had it not been for such heroes like Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Netaji and others. With their power to rally the people round the national cause, they were able to lead them to great acts of bravery and sacrifices and finally to victory.

From among this galaxy of our National Leaders no one perhaps has received such tremendous ovation and adoration as Pandit Nehru. His great power of mass appeal and his immense popularity have made him a hero among heroes in the eyes of the people, so much so that Mahatmaji nominated him as his successor.

Hero worship to a certain extent is understandable but when stretched beyond limits can become dangerous and in time to come prove disastrous to the interest of the Country. For within the life time of the hero on account of his hypnotic personality, people become blind to the weaknesses and shortcomings inherent in his character and because of their unstinted support they gradually help to transform the hero into a complete dictator. This has never proved so true as in the case of our Prime Minister

in whose hands was entrusted the destiny of millions of hungry, ill-clad and shelterless people.

Declared Pandit Nehru on the memorable August 15th, 1947 "The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; to build up a prosperous democratic and progressive nation and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fulness of life to every man and woman."

A Very noble pledge indeed!

The following years however have proved the hollowness of these promises. Twelve years of Nehru rule have shown to one and all the administrative bankruptcy of his government and how the people have suffered in silence the hardship, misery and tyranny on account of the complete reversal of policies. All these years the national hero lulled the poor masses with empty boasts about achieving the food targets laid down by him. At the end of it all he confessed in the Lok Sabha on the 18th November 1952 " . . . I regret however that my words have been falsified and I feel thoroughly ashamed that what was almost a pledge to the country has been broken . . . But I do not see why I should not say that we intend making every effort to reduce food imports and if possible to put an end to them within the period of the plan." The Pledge was again repeated a little later

when Pandit Nehru said to the Nation, "We must become self sufficient in food and not be dependent on other countries for our most essential requirements."

Ironically enough, instead of putting an end to the food imports the Nehru Government spent Rupees 5510 Crores between 1952/58 and imported 15,518,000 tons of food grains. On being questioned repeatedly in the Parliament on the failure of the Government to feed the people in spite of the heavy drainage of foreign exchange, Pandit Nehru said, "I must confess that I have now realised that food is the basic problem that faces us in our march to prosperity. Some six or seven years ago, I had taken an optimistic view of this problem but subsequently I had to change my view... I have learnt a bitter lesson."

At what cost has Pandit Nehru learnt this bitter lesson! Even after spending thousands of crores of rupees Pandit Nehru could not feed every hungry mouth. Millions went with only one meal a day, thousands died of starvation and people in hundreds sold their hearths and homes to buy a morsel of food. Those who possessed nothing committed thefts and burglaries and looted grainshops and godowns in broad day light to keep body and soul together.

Undeterred by the successive failures of his food plan which emaciated the people, the Prime Minister sought to fulfil yet another pledge to the country viz: clothing. Here again his policy has failed and the people are as naked as they were when Mahatma Gandhi adopted the loin-cloth.

With nearly five hundred textile mills in the country producing nearly six million yards of cloth the position in this case at least seemed satisfactory till the Prime Minister thought it wise to impose crushing taxation to get more and more money to subsidise the huge losses incurred in the public sector which is a spoilt child of the welfare State. The result was that our Textile Industry was soon crippled and many mills in the country closed down. No challenge, however, is ever too great for our national idol and the closure of the mills brought forth a new Gandhian contraption called the the Amber Charkha and the adoring masses were asked to hide their nakedness by weaving their own cloth. Several lacs of rupees have been spent in introducing the Amber Charkha to the people, but alas, the rural population on account of the heavy shortage of cloth has been forced to adopt the loin-cloth as its only form of dress.

Even the third basic requirement of the people viz: housing does not seem to have attracted the serious attention of the Welfare Planners who are too busy to please their big boss in preparing fantastic plans for industrialization of the country in the public sector. The basic needs of the people namely food, cloth and shelter have more or less been left to be tackled by the millions of helpless people who have been bled white by the State. The result has been that today more people look up to mother nature with her azure roof for shelter.

A recent sample survey has disclosed that Rs. 2500 crores are needed merely to repair and renovate rural houses — what to speak of building new ones? Realising the urgency and gravity of the problem of housing millions of roofless people, the Nehru Government should have made a substantial allotment from the

crores of rupees taken as loans from Foreign Governments every year. A meagre allotment of a little over hundred and fifty crores of rupees for housing in the two plan periods betrays lack of imagination of elementary planning.

It is not strange that Pandit Nehru has missed to notice this important lapse in national planning, because obsessed as he is by the urge to run a race with his two great neighbours Russia and China in building Dams, Powerhouses, and Steel plants, he has become blind to the three cardinal needs of the people to have adequate food, adequate cloth and adequate shelter.

Notwithstanding any obstacle or impediment on his way Pandit Nehru passionately worked to realise his dreams of building India on Socialistic Pattern and in the pursuit of his plans left no stone unturned including nationalisation of private enterprise, imposing direct and indirect taxation to the maximum limits and pulling all his weight in weaning away the country from democratic principles. But here again the people have been deceived on account of the inefficiency rampant in all sections of public administration. A tale which is too tragic for words. Year after year depressing results have been reported. The Nationalised Industry now shows heavy losses and the former profits have disappeared, and, the new Industrial undertakings in the Public Sector are replete with public scandals of Himalayan magnitude. It is difficult to enumerate the various scandals within the limited space of this article but some prominent ones are worthy of mention.

The first to take the pride of place is the famous Jeep Scandal in which the Prime Minister's right hand man, Shri Krishna Menon, the then High Commissioner in London was directly involved. This scandal cost the Country Rupees Eighteen Lacs. Even in the Defence Ministry, which is now headed by the same Krishna Menon, one of the principle architects of Socialistic State, the Country has been robbed of several lacs of rupees and the Government has conveniently put this as administrative losses.

In the wake of this came other scandals in connection with Pandit Nehru's ambitious projects namely the various dams. All the non-congress finance ministers of India have been very critical of the wasteful expenditure over these dams and the doubtful utility of some of them. Yet our Prime Minister has gone ahead to build these dams at fantastic costs. The Damodar Valley Project has almost cost double of the original estimated prices. The Tilaiya and the Konar dams in the district of Hazaribagh are now considered useless projects after investing so many crores of poor taxpayers money in building them. The D.V.C. dams were constructed chiefly to control floods but when floods do come, it is an irony of fate that these dams get flooded themselves, kill persons, render thousands homeless, inundate lacs of acres of lands and destroy paddy fields, crops and cattle.

To crown all these comes the Bakhra Nangal dam. The project originally estimated at Seventy five crores has already cost the nation rupees One Hundred and Seventy Crores. To make the sad tale more tragic the side wall of the hoist chamber of this dam has given way killing 9 workers. To repair the damage done some crores of rupees will be needed. The Committee appointed to investigate the irregularity in the construction of this dam has submitted a report which puts to eternal shame all those who have been directly connected with the building of the dam.

On a modest estimation it can be safely said that in some of the State undertakings there is more corruption *outside than the* quantity of materials used in the projects.

This is enough to prove how the taxpayers money is ruthlessly squandered. Fabulous amounts are being spent each year to satisfy the whims and fancies of the Master Planner of a Welfare State while the hypnotised masses look on helplessly still pinning their faith in their earthly saviour.

In these twelve years of Independence the Country has suffered many calamities which have made the people poorer, hungrier and more naked than before although the shrewd State statisticians have shown through a jugglery of figures and clever indices, that the per capita income has increased, standard of living improved and the people happier and more content than before. It would be more appropriate to say that inflation has increased, prices of essential commodities have soared to staggering heights and handicaps on the way of advancement of the rural population have multiplied many times.

On account of this idolatry we have paid dearly in the form of

precious human lives, in fabulous amounts running into crores of rupees on useless undertakings, and have lost valuable chunks of our territory to our co-believers in "Panchasheel."

The fate of democracy in India hangs by a slender thread. If democracy fails in India the light over half the world will have gone out. In this grim struggle for existence let not the writing on the wall go unnoticed. The time has come when the people must rise from this terrible stupor and shake off the Nehru spell. Every individual must work hard to maintain the unity of the Nation.

Let us not chant any more the Nehru hymn "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai," while we are still groaning under the stabs in the back which our big Brother gave us! Let us be wary of elements which will play the fifth columnists when the opportune moment arrives.

The birth of the Swatantra Party has shown the free World that all is not lost and that every dark cloud has a silver lining.

In the Swatantra Party lies the last hope of a bitterly disappointed and a sorely tried Country.

to hunger and poverty, destroys the moral fabric of the country, produces discontent and dissatisfaction among the people and heralds totalitarian form of Government.

India is a growing country. Its ambitions are growing, its aims, objectives and aspirations are growing. For a country which desires to forge ahead and march in line with the comity of Nations within a short time must have a balanced economy where both the private and public sectors have equal opportunities of developing and where individual genius has full liberty of increasing the earnings of the people by increased production.

Today we stand at the cross roads of history. The Citizens of India have to decide which path to take. One promises prosperity through regimented economy where individual freedom and basic principles of democratic life have to be sacrificed at the altar of a socialistic State, where the Government must plan what every individual must possess, and where every man woman or child is driven to lend his shoulder to prevent being crushed under the colossal weight of the State. The other promise to make the State

rich and prosperous by making its people happy and content; by raising their moral standards by introducing healthy competition in private Trade and Commerce vis-a-vis the State enterprises and above all by inculcating a sense of living partnership between the Individual and the Nation.

The Congress has opted to lead the country through strict regimentation of controlled economy and enforced co-operatives. The deterioration which we find today in all walks of human life is the outcome of the collectivised governmental drive where the human approach to basic principles of life is totally absent.

The Swatantra Party, however, has resolved to adopt the other course and thus to ensure the prosperity of the individual and the nation strictly through democratic principles.

It is left to the people to select one of the two courses. The choice cannot be delayed as in the course of events socio-economy of the Russian pattern cannot go hand in hand with political democracy.

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

BY
S. K. D. PALIWAL

FREEDOM is one of those things in life to which men attach highest value. As a matter of fact it is so natural, even birds prefer to be free rather than to remain in golden cages. One of the greatest revolutions in the world—the French Revolution—stood for freedom, *Liberty, equality and fraternity* being its battle cry.

Rousseau the evangelist of the French Revolution said “Man was born free but he finds himself everywhere in chains” Paine’s “Right of men” was also a book (one of the books) of the French Revolution. An eminent Britisher, Fox said, “Liberty is strength. Liberty is order.”

Freedom does not mean national freedom alone. Freedom has no meaning if it is not also freedom from the thralldom of State, freedom from the tyrannies of Government i.e. individual freedom, the freedom of the citizen.

From the point of view of politics, anarchism is the Vedanta of political philosophy. Anarchism does not mean anarchy. It means stateless society—freedom from the interference of Government. Proudhon, Bakunin and Prince Kropotkin have been the greatest advocates of Anarchism—i.e. freedom from the control of Government.

Marxism and Gandhism are the two most powerful ideologies now prevalent in the world. But the ultimate goal of both of these ideologies is the same—that is the stateless society.

So long as the evolution of human society does not reach the stateless stage, the world thinkers have hit upon Aristotle’s Golden Mean or Lord Buddha’s middle path.

This concept is best expressed by Sir Hall Caine, Nobel prize winner Novelist in his famous novel, “The Eternal city”, in these words :—

“All Governments are bad. The Government which governs most is the worst. The best Government is the Government which governs the least.”

Judged from this point of view the modern Socialist Governments whether they be pink or red or other shades of commu-

nism are obviously the worst Governments. They are much worse than any Raja, Nawab or King because they are totalitarian.

No Raja, Nawab or King possessed so much power and so many powers as the modern socialist or even welfare states possess over the lives of its citizens. No Raja, Nawab or King interfered so much in the social, religious and economic life of the people as the modern Socialist Governments do.

EVILS OF SOCIALISM

Socialism leads to concentration of all power-political as well as economic and social—in the hands of the Government. Instead of decentralisation of power there is over centralisation and excessive centralisation.

Modern Socialist states even possess the power to control the mind of men, to channelise their thinking and what is worse even to limit their knowledge within the confines desired by the State.

It is so because Radio, T.V., Cinema, Press and Education are all controlled by the Government.

Modern world thinkers like Aldous Huxley rightly point out that this is the greatest danger to free thinking—even scientific thinking.

We see this process going on in our own country at present under the cover of Welfare State and Socialism.

Ours is a Federal Government. But as a result of excessive centralised planning the autonomy of the states is being undermined slowly but steadily.

The status of the states is being reduced to that of the local boards. It is an axiom that political freedom has no meaning without economic freedom.

But at present Government is rushing headlong to take away the economic freedom in the name of nationalisation by imposing all sorts of restrictions and by means of permits, licences and controls.

The ownership of means of production in the hands of the State destroys economic freedom and through economic freedom, political freedom.

State trading means nothing but this that the state, in the hands of the majority party becomes the sole capitalist and joint co-operative farming, which is in effect nothing but collectivisation, will end in making the Government the sole zamindar. It is state capitalism and state feudalism with a vengeance under which people and the individual become serfs, mere wage earners.

There can be no freedom of vote under economic serfdom.

The famous French writer Victor Hugo has said, "Liberty is suffocated where a tyrant breathes."

The tyranny of a Raja, Nawab or King is the tyranny of an individual but totalitarianism masquerading under the name of

socialism is the tyranny of a Hydra, the strangle hold of an octopus.

We are facing the greatest menace of our time in our own country the menace of democracy and individual freedom being wiped out by stateism. Freedom and democracy are in danger. It is up to us to defend them. We must defend them if we want to live as free men.

We should not forget that freedom of the individual is the Moksha of the citizen. We must not barter away that Moksha under the temptation of speedy economic gain. For "It is better to be a free Ghost than to be a living slave," says a Chinese proverb.

GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF TRUSTEESHIP

BY BHAI LAL BHAI PATEL

EVEN before Mahatma Gandhi came on the political scene of India our people were used to donating large amounts of money for works of public interest. The earlier rulers had organised military governments and they never worried about a welfare State. The idea of a welfare State developed in the West. In India our people were looking after the public works of their villages or towns, and those who could afford were contributing liberally whenever there was any occasion for carrying out such works.

In former days the requirements of the villagers were very few. They required a village tank for their daily needs of water for washing and for their cattle. Ghats were also built for facilitating bathing and washing. The village wells were constructed on the banks of such tanks from which villagers fetched drinking water. They required temples and mosques and dharamsalas for the use of travellers and the village people, maintenance of the village roads both in village site and agricultural lands, organisations for preventing highway robberies and thefts within the village limits and educational institutions.

For all these works the State never gave any grant. These works were carried out either by individuals or by collective donations. Besides, in every village people used to arrange for the supply of water to the travellers regularly during summer on highways at a distance of half a mile or a mile. Pucca structures were constructed to accommodate a man or a woman and the water pots. Wells and stepped wells for the supply of pure drinking water were also constructed at short distances for the same purpose. Similar structures were also erected for the farmers who could unload their bundles of grass or wood, take rest for a while and take the same load on again without help from anybody. In short, people were alive to doing some good to society.

During the British rule the idea of a welfare State materialised to some extent and for that purpose extra taxes were collected from the people. The Government undertook the work of constructing roads, irrigation canals, schools, colleges, etc. However, the State could not provide even this limited assistance to all the villages. It was left to charitable people in villages as well as towns to meet the real demands of the people. In the field of education Government had constructed only one college in the whole of Bombay State, viz. the Elphinstone College at Bombay. It was with public charities that all colleges from Karnatak to Sind were

developed. The Bombay Government had constructed one High School in each district. Today there are hundreds of High Schools built by the people with or without Government aid.

IMPETUS FROM GANDHIJI

Mahatma Gandhi's coming to India gave a great impetus to this ideal of public charity. Before the idea of Five Year Plans was conceived there were primary schools in most of the villages in Gujarat and other parts of the country. People had gone even further. Many villages had their own libraries. Rich people had donated handsomely for the construction of High Schools and hostels. At some places there were separate hostels for ladies. Gymnasiums were built and people had even constructed water works with the help of the State in some villages. Mahatma Gandhi had touched the finer chord of their hearts.

In 1927 there were heavy rains in north and central Gujarat. In one week alone there was 80 to 100 inches of rainfall with heavy storms. As a result nearly three fourths of the houses had fallen down. The fields were under six to seven feet of water. The crops were entirely ruined. At that time volunteers from every village had come out to help the needy people, to house them properly and arrange for their meals for about ten days. They were given food and clothes till their houses were re-built. All arrangements were made to supply, at a cheap rate, housing materials, and at times the needy were even provided with free materials. All this work was done without any government interference or help. This really, in my opinion, is the Gandhian concept of Trusteeship.

According to Mahatma Gandhi that Government is the best which governs the least. It should be left to the people to do all such welfare work which they can possibly do. It elevates the person who gives in charity. With these ideas of trusteeship village people had done in Gujarat many more things than are contemplated by the Community Development Projects. With numerous Government controls and heavy taxation people have degenerated and our morale today are at its lowest. It is a fact that when there is compulsion in paying money people resort to avoidance of taxation. But contributions towards charity are willingly given. Therefore Mahatma Gandhi insisted that Government should undertake only those works which cannot be carried out by the people alone.

GANDHIJ'S CONCEPTION OF SOCIALISM

BY

MAHASARYU PRASAD SINHA

PRESENT age is the age of socialist pattern of things and we are facing various type of socialistic ideological conflicts and rivalry. In this country too the Congress and other political parties are making all possible efforts for establishing a socialist pattern of society. Congress, the party in power, has many socialist pattern of schemes and some works have been undertaken also. Yet it has not advanced the country towards Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of socialist pattern of society during its regime of more than ten years. The reason of this is due to its imitation-brand of socialism, which is western and Russian — both based on violence and materialism, quite contrary to Mahatma's own conception and to India's temper and conditions. Nothing succeeds which is not according to the conditions, culture, and temper and genius of the people of a country. Mahatma Gandhi's conception of socialism is very clear, realistic and suitable to the Indians way of life and to their ancient inheritance. Therefore it is simple and easily to be adoptable in life. In the present society and life of the people, confusion, and unrest is prevailing. People are disgusted so much that they find themselves completely disillusioned. To-day more than ever when so many isms and socialistic ideas have confused the life of the people, and the shadows of destruction are hovering over, the revival of Mahatma Gandhi's conception of socialism, who lived and died as a truly non-violent socialist society is more needed to contract and eradicate the prevailing darkness and unrest.

Gandhijee's way of socialist life was based on truth and non-violence and there was complete co-ordination between the material and spiritual life, according to the Indian mentality and ancient social order, culture, temper and economical traditions. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi's conception of socialism was not an imitated or borrowed one. Gandhijee was the greatest non-violent socialist of the present world.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM

Answering to the question what socialism is Gandhijee observed, "Socialism is a beautiful word so far I am aware. In socialism members of society are equal non-high, non-low. As in the individual body the head is not high because it is at the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the ear. So are the members of the society. This is socialism of my conception. In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are on the same level".

Thus Gandhijee stood for pure and crystal-like socialism. He made no distinction and status on the ground of wealthy and poor, caste and creed. In his idea of social order all will behave with equal mind according to the Gita 'who look with the same eye on a brahman, a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a pariah, who regards well wishers, friends, foes, neutrals, mediators, the object of hatred, the rich and poor, the virtuous and sinful alike'. This is the Status of a true socialist and he will see the Creator present everywhere — in all beings and all beings in Him. Hence there will be no "Asamanta" — inequality of any kind in his conception of society — Gandhijee said.

Gandhijee believed that pure and noble ends cannot be achieved by ignoble, wrong, impure, and untruthful means. Truthful life cannot be attained by untruthful life. Only crystal-like life and means was stressed by Gandhijee, for the attainment of his conception of socialism. He said, 'Equalization cannot be made by impure means and cutting off the prince's head; prince and peasant cannot be equalized; nor can the process of cutting off equalize the employer and the employee. Only living faith in God and in His pious rules will help us to establish a pure and non-violent socialist state of my conception. Only those who are truthful, non-violent, pure hearted, equal minded will be able to bring pure and crystal-like socialism. In that social order there will be respect for the rights of every human being to be a person, as unique entity and equal opportunities to all class of people will be available so that they may bring their respective gifts to fruition and may reach to human fulness according to their efforts and virtue. Individuals of varying capacities will be bound together for the health of the society and no classification will be made for this purpose, whether one digs the earth or accumulates wealth from business or is all powerful. All are allowed to function freely. Their efforts and contributions for the pure growth of the society from their various modes of life are of equal value.

Gandhijee wanted from the people renunciation, voluntary surrender of property dignity of labour, brother-hood, and non-violence for the success of socialism of his conception as it will promote faith in God and faith in God will make life moral; without moral life there was little chance of success in any walk of life, and things would go in to the wilderness. Gandhijee reminded us the teaching of the Gita in this connection. Brahma created his people with the duty of sacrifice, laid upon them and said by this

do you flourish. Let it be the fulfiller of all your pious desires. 'He who eats without performing. This sacrifice eats stolen and impure bread'. So if all laboured sincerely and earned bread and other requirements of life by pure means—and nothing more than that—then there would be no hungry left and all will be happy.

MACHINE & MAN

About setting up of machineries Gandhijee had his own view. He said, "I am aiming not at the eradication of machineries but their limitation. How can I be opposed to it completely when this body is even a most delicate piece of machinery. As I would reject this very body if it is not helpful to salvation and seek the absolute liberation, so also I will reject and rule out all machinery, if it crippled the limbs of men and made them worthless. Machines will remain because like the body they are inevitable for the society. What I reject is the craze of machinery and through it concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and through it thousands and thousands of men and women without work who are thrown on the streets to die of starvation. I would like machinery not for the fraction of mankind but as the saviour. To-day machinery is being abused and is merely helping a few in their greed for millions and millions. It is against the constitution of my socialistic idea of state".

Economical equality is the main thing under the socialist pattern of society. Gandhijee differed with many on this point and he had his own meaning of economical equality. He said, "Economical equality means not that type as the Western people think. My economical equality does not mean that control where every one will have the same amount of wealth, but everyone will be free to earn as much by pure means and efforts so that he or she may satisfy the necessary needs and requirements of life i.e., enough Khadi garments, enough food, proper house and other necessary articles of life." Gandhijee did not consider the moneyed-men as the pariahs of his social order but he wanted them to live according to the rules of Trusteeship as faithful servants of God and should behave in the society with equal mind with the penniless pauper, the starved and the naked, the lowliest and the lost. God is the well-wisher of all-rich and poor. He is not the friend of moneyed-men only and of those who coveted others' comfort for their own greeds.

SOCIALISM TODAY

Socialism of to-day is in favour of centralization of everything. But Gandhijee was not in favour of such schemes and he had no faith in it. "I do not share the socialist belief of to-day that centralization of the necessities of life will conduce the common welfare. This is based on violence. All cannot become rich and equal in all respects under the scheme of things of God. So there should not be any effort by the state to level down others by force

for equalization. I reject the idea of coming into power, men of such view; specially the proletariates through violence. Because wrong men and wrong means damage the health of the society. This is the rule—what is gained by violence and untruthful means must be lost before superior violence, in every part of the world some type of inequality exists. Ideally it is well that we all should strive non-violently to advance forward towards equality and should convert the system which promotes inequality in the society."

Gandhijee suggested two things—Charka and Khadi for rooting out the poverty from this country. He said, "the socialism that India will assimilate is the socialism of the spinning wheel. Let the village worker under the socialist scheme of things make the wheel the central point of his activity as well of the people. Complete faith in it will bring only real socialism." Gandhijee wanted also necessary changes in personal life of the worker and of the people—i.e., to reduce wants to a minimum, earning should be free from dishonesty, habitation should be with the new modes of life and purity of conduct.

One could see from Gandhijee's life that it was a true picture of this socialistic way of life. He practised in life what he preached. His thoughts and works were identical to each other. Therefore he was the greatest socialist karmyogi of the present era who lived and died in the welfare of humanity. He was the saviour of the downtrodden and fallen, haves and have not, employer and employees and of virtuous and sinner. Alas, we have forgotten this great soul who moved on earth in the image of God as Lord Buddha and Christ did. It is still more deplorable that his followers do not care for the message and teachings of their Master. It is their fashion to swear by his name but they least care to bring into practice in their life as well as of people's the way of life taught by their Master.

More than ten years have passed since the country became Azad (independent). During these years of Congress rule we have come across many big plans and projects in the name of socialist pattern of things and society. What is this pattern? It is a borrowed imitation, a mixture of Western and Russian both, based on violence and materialism. To what extent the country has progressed, what benefit has been derived, how much suffering and unrest has been eliminated and how much the country has advanced and how far people's life has changed for the attainment of Gandhijee's dream of socialism, are matters worth consideration. It is yet to be judged by the people who are still facing all the hard problems of life and will be facing in the future unless we try to understand the teaching of the Gita always quoted by Gandhijee. He said, "One's own duty and religion, although devoid of merit, is preferable to the duty and religion of another even well performed. Even death in the performance of one's duty and religion brings blessedness. Another's duty and religion is fraught with fear".

COMPENSATION OR EXPROPRIATION

AN ANALYSIS OF ARTICLE 31 OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

BY

DR. RUSTOM C. COOPER

"The freedom to acquire and own property is one of the essential freedoms of man. History shows clearly that where the individual had no right to own and manage property, he likewise had no other freedoms—freedom of speech, of press, of religion, of Assembly, of living as an individual," says a great thinker. It is in this background that an analytical study of the Article 31 of our own Constitution, which deals with the individual's right to compensation for property, has been presented by the writer of this article. — EDITOR.

THE constitution of India guarantees the fundamental liberties to the citizens of the Republic of India. In view of experience of the working of this Constitution, a question naturally arises as to how these rights have been respected and how the Constitutional machinery has been used since we became independent. In this article an attempt has been made to review only one and restricted aspect of our Constitution, viz., an individual's right to compensation for property.

The original clause in Article 31 of the Constitution was that "the State must compensate a person who it deprives of property." Article 31 provides that no person should be deprived of property except by the authority of law and acquisition or the taking possession of property must provide for compensation. The term compensation means the equivalent in value of property taken. Inadequate or discriminatory payment would, therefore, be an infringement of the fundamental law of the land providing for adequate compensation. Article 31 was already found a hindrance to State legislative policy in relation to agricultural estates. The Constitution was, therefore, amended and Article 31A was introduced by Section IV of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act. This article provides a stipulation that no law providing for acquisition of the State of any estate or of any rights therein is to be deemed to be void on the ground of its infringing any of the fundamental rights laid down in Part III of the Constitution of India.

It can be respectfully submitted in reason that in several cases the fundamental rights of the citizens to get fair compensation upon acquisition of property by the State have not been respected, especially by some of the State Governments and the amendment of the Constitution which was carried through by the party in power in spite of general opposition from various quarters does no credit to the Government.

FOREIGNER'S VIEWS

In this connection we may do well to consider what foreigners think of our Constitutional experience. After all, from a distance, they are in a better position to judge impartially problems which we, within the country, may not be able to view so dispassionately and un-interestedly. In a learned treatise entitled "Fundamental Rights in India," Mr. Alan Glenhill makes some interesting observations which our Government in particular and the Congress Party in general would do well to note. Mr. Gledhill is an authority on the subject. He is a retired Member of the Indian Civil Service, was formerly one of the Judges of the Rangoon High Court and is at present professor of Oriental Laws in the University of London. This is what he observes regarding the fundamental rights guaranteed under our Constitution :—

"Article 31 has already been found to be a hindrance to State Legislative policy in relation to agricultural estates and Constitutional amendments have been found necessary. The amendments and contemplated amendments of the rights, and the provisions of the Constitution relating to the writs, suggest that those in India who now hold political power have to a great extent lost faith in them. . . ."

While judging the experience of working of our Constitution it is necessary to appreciate the mental background of those concerned with its formulation and its working. One cannot help recalling the Prime Minister's speech in the Constituent Assembly on 10th September, 1949 when he said : "We honour our Judges but we will tolerate no legal quibbles ; no law, no judge is going to come in our way ; the legislature must not be interfered with by courts of law in such measures of social reform." Again during the discussion on the Constitution (fourth Amendment) Bill, the Prime Minister of India observed : "If we are to acquire property, I think we should pay just and equitable compensation. I am

talking about individual properties. Normally there may be a number of rich men interested—there are here and there—but many of these properties, big properties, are limited liability companies with large number of small shareholders. We do not wish to deprive them. Full compensation should be paid to small owners whose properties are acquired by the State for public purpose.”

Regarding the first observation of the Prime Minister which reflects the attitude of those concerned with the framing of our Constitution even before it was enacted as law, Mr. Gledhil has certain interesting remarks to make. He observes : “It is submitted that it is fundamental that the Constitution and not the legislatures, should be supreme. The purpose of having fundamental rights is to prevent atemporary majority in a legislature abusing its powers. To sweep them aside, to facilitate the enactment of measures of social reform when the ink was hardly dry on the new Constitution, was to create an unfortunate precedent, especially when the comparative ease with which the Constitution can be amended, is considered. Abolition of large agricultural estates and their division into small holdings, is not one of the Directive Principles, but a plank in the Congress platform. To mention briefly, the Directive Principles which might be regarded as having a bearing on the matter require State policy to be directed towards securing that ownership and control of material resources are so distributed as best to conserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. It is possible to hold with honest conviction that the legislation saved by Article 31(b) is not necessarily an advance towards the objective set out in these, the only relevant Directive Principles.

“The objection to the insertion of Article 31(b) in the Constitution is not sentimental ; it strikes at the roots of the principle that Constitution should be paramount law, not susceptible of *ad hoc* and *ex Post facto* amendment. A precedent has been established for a parliamentary majority to play havoc with the fundamental rights, to make way for the policy it favours.”

BIHAR'S CASE

The second observation of the Prime Minister referred to above is fully supported by the Judges of the Supreme Court in Bihar *vz.* Kameshwar, A.I.R. (1952) S.C. 252 wherein it was laid down, “Legislation enacted ostensibly in exercise of this power, but in effect depriving a person, whose property had been acquired, of compensation, was colourable and void.” The Prime Minister of India, the Supreme Executive Authority in the country, and the Supreme Court of India, the Supreme Judicial Authority in the country, have laid down certain principles which must be followed. These are important principles which create confidence in the implicit honesty and impartiality of the Prime Minister and the Supreme Court. The subsequent experience, however, at the State Government level rudely shakes our confidence in the Constitution and this becomes all the more so when one finds that the aggrieved party is completely and permanently helpless and devoid of any judicial remedy whatsoever. This is not merely a theoretical apprehension. Cases have come to light in which the superb sentiments referred to above have been thwarted at the State Government level.

WEST BENGAL'S MEASURE

It would be worthwhile noticing one such case to appreciate what grave danger the country is facing by allowing a temporary

majority in a State legislature to abuse the fundamental rights of the citizens. The legislation in question is the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act, 1953.

Under this legislation, estates and rights in agricultural estates of various landlords were acquired by the State of West Bengal on 15th April 1955. Section 17 of the Act provides for the method of computing the compensation. This Section provides for the amount of compensation being worked out on a graded scale merely depending upon the net income of the estates acquired. The section does not take into consideration any development expenditure incurred by the owner nor the original investment. It also does not take into account the market value of lands on the date of acquisition. The formula provided by this section is that where the net income from land is Rs. 500/-, the amount of compensation payable would be twenty times such net income. With increase in income the multiplying factor goes on diminishing with the result that for net income in excess of Rs. 80,000/- the amount of compensation is only twice the net income. Such a formula may be workable in the case of individual zamindars. The law, however, fails to make any provision for companies operating as land improvement companies. Failure to make such provision has led to very serious hardship to about 2,000 small investors as could be seen from facts given below in case of one such company—the Port Canning and Land Improvement Company Ltd.

This company was registered 85 years ago and has a share capital of Rs. 60,00,000/-. In 1873 it acquired lands at a cost of Rs. 50,00,000/-. At that time, the total area under cultivation was about 98,000 bighas. During the past 83 years the company spent a further sum of Rs. 32,00,000/- on development works out of its annual earnings. On the date of acquisition by the Government the land under cultivation had increased to 3,15,000 bighas. Thus, over a period of 83 years the shareholders had put in nearly Rs. 90 lacs in this company for which they now stand to get a compensation of only Rs. 6,00,000/-. On the day of acquisition at the then ruling market price of lands, the market value of the entire holding of the company was Rs. 3,75,00,000/-. The book value was Rs. 68,00,000/- and the compensation was Rs. 6,00,000/-.

The company, has in the past reinvested a major portion of its earnings in further development and distributed very small amounts by way of dividends to shareholders. During the entire history of the company, i.e. 85 years, the average dividend declared by the company works up to only 2.8% per annum. At no time the dividend has exceeded 5% of the paid-up capital, even at times when the Bank rate continued to be over 6%. The maximum dividend of 5% was paid by the company only six times in 85 years. It will, therefore, be observed that the company never exploited its tenants in order to distribute exorbitant dividends to its shareholders.

On the date of acquisition, the company had 1847 shareholders of which 1028, i.e. more than 50% held less than 10 shares. About 75% of the shareholders of the company held less than 20 shares each. The present compensation which the West Bengal Government is offering would be equal to one year's revenue which the Government would receive from the acquired lands. On the basis of the above compensation, the loss to the shareholder on his investment through nationalisation would be nearly 8/9th of his original investment.

A further fact to be noticed is that a major portion of even this meagre amount of compensation will be paid in non-negotiable bonds bearing interest at only 3% whereas the prevailing rate of interest is much higher. Such bonds are repayable equally over a period of 20 years. This means that the shareholders will have to wait for 20 years to receive even 1/10 of their original investment.

It is understood that the company repeatedly pointed out to the West Bengal Government and to its Chief Minister the gross injustice and hardship resulting out of the operation of this law which has been particularly made non-justiciable under Article 31A of the Constitution of India. The West Bengal Government has turned a deaf ear to all appeals made by poor shareholders of this company which include among others, widows, office clerks, retired persons and other lower middle class people who stand to suffer enormously through such arbitrary measure. Cases have come to light in which retired persons who have put in their entire provident fund money into the shares of this company when the market value was Rs. 110/- per share, now stand to receive only Rs. 6/- to Rs. 7/- for each share held in this company.

This is an illustration of how the relevant provision of our constitution has operated in actual practice. It should act as a serious eye-opener to every citizen as it clearly indicates how doctrinaire thinking when allowed to temper with the fundamental law of the land can undermine some of the vital institutions like right to private property and leave citizens helpless before the Leviathan of the State. The wise words of a leading thinker should be pondered over by every lover of democracy and economic progress. He said :

“The freedom to acquire and own property is one of the essential freedoms of man. History, I believe, shows clearly that where the individual had no right to own and manage property, he likewise had no other freedoms—freedom of speech, of press, of religion, of assembly, and of living as an individual. Today, history repeats itself. In those lands where man is not free to own property and to choose his vocation, he does not enjoy those other freedoms.”

POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

BY

PANDIT M. S. M. SHARMA

Editor, "The Searchlight", Patna.

The following lines by Pandit M. S. M. Sharma, a veteran journalist of repute, who has had the opportunity of knowing very intimately stalwarts among the freedom-fighters, present here a study in the personality of Rajaji and Shri K. M. Munshi, the two pillars of the Swatantra party.

—EDITOR.

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, familiarly known as Rajaji, is an intellectual giant. Gandhism which made a doctor look like a stockbroker and a lawyer like a schoolmaster has not been able to deprive Rajaji of his thinking faculty. He is essentially a thinker, logical precise and eminently reasonable. It is said of Gandhiji that, not until he had satisfied Rajaji on all fronts, would he care or dare to announce any revolutionary programme of his. The "Quit India" programme was, of course, an exception, and the Mahatma paid very dearly indeed for his refusal to listen to Rajaji's cold reason and logic. But Gandhiji himself, a year after his release from internment in the days of the World War II, characterised Rajaji publicly as the only correct and authoritative interpretation of his 'ism'. Were that so, the present day congress would be hard put to it to defend itself against Rajagopalachari's frontal charge that it had made a departure from the path chalked out by Gandhiji. Anything in excess spells ruin. That was why Gandhiji had set his face against governmental control over business and industry, and that is exactly what Rajaji reminds us about.

His early training at the Bar has given Rajaji what Annie Besant would call a scientific spirit and reasonable temper. He is one of the few politicians who could claim complete and refreshing freedom from temperamentalism. His adversaries accuse him of intolerance. But they are those who had to own a defeat in an intellectual argument at his hands. Both by nature and training, however, Rajaji is essentially tolerant. Take, for instance, the complete freedom he gave Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, that stormy petrel of South Indian politics, who, forgetting that he had owed his rise in public life to the generosity of this great man, preferred to run him down as a casteist; yet Rajaji had been almost the first amongst the Brahmanas of South India to rise above caste prejudices and advocate interdining and intermarriage which in those days would entail ex-communication. Practically all his chelas in the public life of Madras have been non-brahmanas such as, for instance, E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, Pannirukai Nadar, T. Adinarayana Chetty, Salla Guruswami Chetty, George Joseph and many others too numerous to mention.

NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

Had he not joined the non-co-operation movement, he would have easily become the leader of the Madras bar. Indeed, at the time when Gandhiji dominated the Madras scenes in the stormy days of the Rowlatt Bills, Rajaji who had just shifted his practice to the high court from the district town of Salem was already acknowledged as one of the topmost advocates along with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Sir K. Srinivasa Iyengar and Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar. Alladi once jocularly remarked that he was grateful to the Mahatma for weaning away Rajaji from the Bar, otherwise Rajaji would have put him and many others in the shade. The refreshingly original interpretation which Rajaji gave to the provision for sanction to prosecute a person for sedition was accepted without demur by the Madras high court which at once set at liberty a person whom in the lower court Rajaji could not save from imprisonment. Within a few months of his stay in Madras, the briefs which came to him from far and near were out of all proportion.

Originally a Tilakite in politics, Rajaji embraced Gandhism late in the day but not without a struggle with the Mahatma. In those days he was living in "Tilak Bhawan" where Gandhiji stayed with him as his guest. Once he succeeded in bagging this intellectual giant, Gandhiji knew that it was only a matter of time for the benighted province of Madras to shake off its traditional spirit of subservience to alien rule. Assisted by Dr. T. S. S. Rajan and Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, Rajagopalachari soon converted Madras to the Gandhian cult but without one appeal to sentiment. It was not that Rajaji had no use for sentiment. But he was aware that reason's converts were more enduring than the victims of mere sentiment. Today hundreds of Tamilians of all castes and creeds are ready to leap into the fire at his command. The staggering success of the Swatantra Party in Madras is largely — I had almost said solely — due to Rajaji's indomitable personality which breeds confidence and compels respect. Rajaji has never been guilty of keeping time to two or more longitudes. He is far too honest with himself to appear in different and confusing roles.

While it was true that at the Gaya congress he was an unrelenting critic of the move for council entry and he succeeded in elbowing Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das from the congress chair, he did not hesitate at the proper moment to give a lead for the reorientation of the congress programme. When Lord Willingdon's policy had descended to one of crushing Gandhiji without rhyme or reason, Rajaji boldly conceived the idea of a withdrawal of the civil disobedience programme and a revival of the then defunct Swarajya Party's programme of carrying the war into the citadels of the alien Government. In fact, it was as a result of Rajaji's persuasion that the late Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar fathered the idea of a reorientation and with this object deputed me to Calcutta in 1933 to effect a change through the intervention of a stalwart like Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. Lest this sketch should degenerate into a kind of autobiography, let me run on to the next phase of the struggle. The scene was Dr. M. A. Ansari's house in old Delhi. The date was April 1, 1934. Bhulabhai Desai and K. M. Munshi were the foremost to give a practical shape to this new movement which was formally ushered into existence a month later at Ranchi with the blessings of Gandhiji himself

K. M. MUNSHI

Like Rajaji, K. M. Munshi is also a man of determination. Both of them are front rank lawyers and efficient administrators. If in

Madras the communists quailed and shook in their shoes because Rajaji was at the head of the administration, the Patriots of Moscow in Bombay hated Munshi because as home minister of the first congress government of that state he saw things far ahead and mercilessly scotched a movement for a general labour revolt in that city. Munshi's courage and imagination saved that city from a reign of terror in those days. If Lord Erskine swore by Rajaji in Madras, Sir Roger Lumley was content to leave everything to Munshi in Bombay. After his transfer to Bengal's gubernatorial chair, Lord Brabourne once told me that, although, during his Bombay governorship, B. G. Kher was the prime minister, it was really K. M. Munshi who dominated the show both morally and intellectually. The combination of these two eminent personalities—Rajaji and Munshi—is a good augury for the future of the Swatantra Party. Rajaji has always been the beloved of Bihar. In his autobiography, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has given a vivid account of how Rajaji easily stepped into the shoes of Mahatma Gandhi. Of both Rajaji and Munshi one may say that Beaumont and Fletcher's famous lines aptly describe their personality and character :

*A noble soul is like a ship at sea,
That slips at anchor when the ocean's calm ;
But when she rages, and the wind blows high,
He cut his sway with skill and majesty.*

BIHAR THE LAND OF BUDDHA AND MAHAVIR

By DR. BASUDEVA UPADHYAY,
Patna University

SEVERAL hundred years before Christ a noble boy Siddhartha gave up the luxury and his princely life and decided to lead a life of an ascetic in the land of ancient Bihar. After that Mahabhiniskramana the Master underwent penance in Uruvela and at last gained Bodhi. The ancient Bihar (Rajagir and Bodhgaya) welcomed the master, hence it became the cradle of Buddhism. The Lord Buddha turned his wheel of law at Sarnath but the major part of his life passed in this area. His devoted disciples were drawn from the land of ancient Magadha and they were responsible for the awakening of the fundamental ideas of Buddhism. Ancient Bihar is credited with having two reputed teachers of philosophy who taught Gautam the line of action, but he was not satisfied with their teachings and he found his own way of liberation. Arda Kalama of Vaisali and Dudraka Ramaputra of Rajagriha could not impress him, because Gautam could not get final liberation inspite of his meditation. Mara Vijaya of Bodhgaya was a memorable occasion in the Master's life and the ancient site of Bihar became the most holy place for Buddhists. Rajagriha and Vaisali often attracted the attention of Lord Buddha and he passed many rainy seasons (Vassa Vasa) in these localities. Sariputta and Moggallayana attended the Lord like his shadow and Anand was his brain keeper. Thus the Buddha was always in the grip of his strong disciples from the land of ancient Bihar. They played a great role in the spread of Buddhism in and out-side the state. It was Anand who prayed Buddha to admit womenfolk to the Sangha and to lead a life as man.

GREAT PATRONS OF FAITH

The Lord Buddha visited Rajagriha at the request of King Bimbisara, who became his staunch follower and his son Ajatashatru followed the same path. The greatest patron of Buddhism was Asoka who started the cult of Stupa in ancient India and sent missionaries to distant lands. The Stupa at Nalanda is the living monument of Asoka's Stupas in Bihar. Asoka while ruling in the capital—Pataliputra—tried to reconcile among the Bhikshusa, and in the latter part of his life he entered the Sangha. He made a tour of the religious places, viz., Mahabodhi (Bodhgaya) and Lumbini (Nepal Tarai) and in the memory of the birth of the Lord, Asoka reduced the land tax of the latter area from one sixth to the one-eighth of the royal share. In the post-Mauryan period Buddhism flourished and it influenced Indian Art to a great extent. Bodhgaya railing is the specimen of the Himayanist art which reached its zenith in the toranas of Sanchi. From the advent

of the Gupta dynasty this art got its impetus in Northern India. Though the Gupta kings ruling in Bihar from the third Century A.D. to the sixth Century A.D. were Vaisnava by faith, they patronised and helped the Buddhist faith in Magadha. Their successors in the land were confronted with different branches of ruling families, which were tolerant and Buddhism appeared in a new garb after the seventh Century of Christian era.

BUDDHIST COUNCILS

Ancient Bihar played an important role in the preparation of Buddhism and an attempt was made to produce harmony whenever conflict was visible in this faith. Out of four Buddhist Councils, Bihar had the credit to hold three successive councils in ancient times. The first council was held at Rajagriha in Saptaparni cave and it codified the teaching of Buddha and the Vinaya for the Sangha. The council and deliberations produced the Buddhist scripture and it was the beginning of the Buddhist works in ancient India. After a few centuries Vaisali was the venue of the second council. Here Mahasamghikas got themselves separated from earlier followers and that was the root of the Mahayana sect. The difference of opinion was not the sign of decline but it was the cause of the growth of the faith. It showed the life in the organisation. Pataliputra was the place for the third Buddhist Council which was convened by Asoka. Asoka wanted to have unity among the different thoughts and the third council was held in his regime. With this end in view Asoka issued schism edicts engraved on the pillars of Sanchi, Kausambi and Sarnath. He was clear in his statement which runs as follows :—

Bhikhu Va Bhikhuni Va Sagham Bhakhati Se Odatani
Dusani Samnamdhaiyay Aanavasasi Aawasayiye. Hevam
Eyma Sasane Bhikhusanghasi Ch Bhikhuni Sanghasi Ch
Vimnpayitave. Hevam Devanampiye Aaha. Hedisa Ch Ika
Lipi Tujhakamtikam Huvati Sansalansi Nikhita.

He was definite in his command to turn out monks or nuns from the Sangha in white garb. In brief it may be stated that the ancient Bihar due to her religious position had the privilege to hold three important councils in order to keep the Sangha in order.

HOME OF VAJRAYANA SECT

In the post-Gupta period Bihar became the home of Vajrayana (The third sect of Buddhism) which developed a pantheon of its

own. Magadha was the centre of Tantrayana. Naturally one can imagine the importance of the ancient Magadha in work of propagation of this yana (sect) in India and even outside the geographical boundary of the country. Nalanda mahavihara was the seat of the teaching of Vajrayana and several reputed scholars lived in this ancient university. The Chinese travellers lived and learnt here for several years, and we can study the importance of Nalanda from the inscriptions and account of Chinese travellers. This institution attracted students from foreign lands and due to its international importance the king of Jawa Balaputradeva constructed Vihar and requested the Pala ruler Devapaladeva to donate five villages to this Vihar. Nalanda copper plate inscription gives a positive evidence and supports the above statement. A number of scholars were engaged in teaching Vajrayana principles. It was due to this reason that scholars from Nalanda were invited to the Himalayan countries and China for the propagation of Buddhism. The kingdom of Magadha was under Pala kings of Bengal, but they were great patrons of Vajrayana and Nalanda became the stronghold of this religious movement. These scholars were responsible for translating Buddhist works into the Chinese language and they founded a new school of Indian logic. The people of Nepal and Tibet were taught by the pandits of the Nalanda University. It may be stated that Magadha was not only the birth place of Vajrayana and seat of its learning but it is credited with the propagation and expansion of the sect.

HOME OF VAJRAYANA PANTHEON

With the advent of Tantrayana (later name of Vajrayana) Magadha art was developed into a Buddhist pantheon which was unknown before seventh century A.D. It is correct to say that the Sarnath school influenced art of Magadha and Sarnath tradition was imbibed by the artists of ancient Bihar, but development of the Vajrayana Pantheon was borrowed from the Brahmanic conception. The idea of Adi Buddha and five Dhyani Buddha together with the Sakti Tara were the result of teaching of Sankhya Philosophy.

The five elements were personified in five Dhyani Buddha which have no historical basis and is totally imaginary. They form the family of Dhyani Buddhas who were responsible for the emancipation of a large number of deities. This art had different features from the earliest artistic specimens and all were the work of Magadhan artists. Dhimana and Vitapala tried to mould metallic icons similar to plastic images and the work was done at Nalanda and Kurkihar. These two places have yielded a large number of a metallic icons and Maghada occupies a very important place in the metallic art of India. Vajrayana pantheon has some syncretic icons showing the humiliation of Hindu deities by the Buddhist ones. It is strange that the Brahmanic icon of that period had no retaliatory forms. This type of icons of Maghada migrated to Nepal and Tibet and these countries are full of such icons. There is no doubt that Vajrayanists carried the religious idea together with the

artistic forms. The deities of Northern Buddhism are very much similar to the Tantrayana icons. Thus it is correct to state that the Vajrayana pantheon began in Magadha and reached its highest peak in ancient Bihar.

In the mediaeval ages Magadha was invaded by Islamic forces and the central places were destroyed by fire. Though Sankaracharya was, to some extent, responsible for uprooting the Buddhist faith and the assimilation of Lord Buddha in the incarnatory forms, removed the ground from the feet of the Buddhist, still the invasion of Bakhtiyar Khilje was the main cause of the downfall of this faith. The learned scholars sought asylum in the Himalayan countries, the ancient Mss (manuscripts) are still preserved in Tibet, whereas they are not traceable in India. Bihar from the very remote past played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism and the states in the Himalaya still preserve that sect which has no root in Magadha now.

BIHAR AND JAINISM

The ancient Bihar was also the home of Jainism. Scholars differ on the real founder of this sect. Some hold that Parasnath was the founder of Jainism and it was Mahavir who introduced reform in this religion. Mahavir may be taken as the real historic personality who taught Panch Mahabharat to the people of Bihar. North Bihar (Vaisali area) is proud of the glory, where Mahavira was born. His field of activity was Magadha and was a contemporary teacher of the Buddha. Ajivika saint Makkhaliputta Gosala is said to have met Mahavira but Buddha had no such chance. The responsibility for the spread of Jainism may be placed on the shoulders of Mahavira but the twenty third Tirthankar Paraswanath's name is also attached to it and an area in Hazaribagh is named after him—Parasvanath Hill. This place is sacred to Jains and a series of twenty-four temples (enshrining the icon of all the twenty-four Tirthankaras) have been constructed recently. Mahavira after spending long years in meditation and penance got enlightenment and taught Panch Mahabrata to his followers. He spent his vasa in Rajagriha and Nalanda for years together. He also visited his home village near Vaisali and it is recorded that Mahavira went to Binaygrama by river-boat to beg alms. His long association with Magadha and the Nirvana at Pawapuri have been immortalised by building a temple at Pawapuri (near Bihar Sharif) and Sonabhandara cave at Rajagriha. The literary evidence corroborated by archaeological data go to show the importance of Magadha in Jainism. Though a large number of Jains are residing in South and Western India, Bihar drew thousands of Jains every year on tirthyatra. The ruins of a Jain temple situated near Saptakarni Cave contains the icons of Jain Tirthankaras showing the importance of the area. It may be stated in brief that Mahavira was born, and he meditated, preached and got Kaivalya in this state of Bihar. Almost the major part of life was passed in Bihar only. Bihar will always attract Jains from the different parts of India.

INDIVIDUAL & THE PARTY

BY

PROF. K. S. LAL

The author of this article discusses here the scope of an individual member's freedom in a political party and finds that the Swatantra Party with its present programme and policy will succeed where other political parties have failed.

—EDITOR.

MANY people talk as if democracy were a State which we had achieved and that having achieved it, it would automatically go on for the rest of time. But the lesson of history is that though democracy may be one of the best forms of Government, it is also one of the most short lived. Abraham Lincoln would pay to it no more than the moderate tribute that you cannot fool all the people all the time, and to-day, the prospects of its survival are not bright. We have just to look round our neighbouring countries and also happenings in our own country. What are the reasons for its failure? Who is threatening the survival of democracy?

The threat to it is not revolution or war, but rather that, though all the outward form of parliamentary government is being preserved, the decisions are being taken outside parliament and parliament has become a rubber stamp—There is every danger that before long it will happen completely if there is no other strong opposition party in the parliament.

The chief reason for this decay is the growing absurdity of the party system as it is being worked in almost all the parties, be it National Congress, P.S.P., Jan Sangh, not to speak of the Communist Party. The conventional case for the party system is that party policies are decided by majority decision and free discussion. We are told that every proposal is debated and then a decision arrived at. But as a matter of fact members bound by party discipline are unable to give free expression of their views on certain subjects.

The more important subjects are never discussed at length. The growth of the authority of administrative officers over every branch of the citizens' life hardly receives more than a passing reference in resolutions, programmes etc. of leading parties. Even where important matters are discussed, the discussion is often done mainly by an exchange of trick quotations. The individual member is reduced to a nonentity.

What are the reasons for this rapid decline of the individual? It is, in my opinion, due to two reasons. First, the party system, which is in itself quite a sensible system, has allowed its discipline to degenerate beyond all tolerable bounds. If you have noticed the speech of members in Assembly and in Parliament, the members criticise, even bitterly, but in the end they record their vote in favour of measures proposed by the party leader—out of party

loyalty. We can be quite certain that here is a system which is so desperately sick that it must soon perish through public ridicule, if we cannot find a remedy. Secondly, the complexity and press of modern business is such that no minister coming to his department from outside, can understand enough of its working to do other than to rely on his permanent officials, and in every government department, the civil servants have their own very definite policy. In almost all cases they are strong enough to bend the minister to their views and the policy is really their policy.

PARTY DISCIPLINE

Party discipline has made the individual member endorse the policies already formulated by leaders and as such independence of members has been curtailed and this is a great danger to democracy. In the last few years, it has been increasingly questioned, but most of the criticism has an academic flavour about it. What is the alternative? The democratic movement can be seen in perspective and some of the consequences measured. The time for a critical assessment is overdue, an assessment in the Indian tradition, from the standpoint of philosophical attitude.

Now the question naturally arises, is there any chance of remedying this? I think there is a remedy. The greatest danger to democracy comes when politicians of a particular brand think of themselves not as servants of the people but as a group of persons whose first task is to defend in common their way of life against the people. We the people should not let any party act in this way. We must organise a strong opposition party in our midst with a programme and policy suited to the needs of the people. The Swatantra party has come into existence with a programme and policy which may fulfil this aspiration of the people, if the leaders could make it a mass movement to achieve its objectives.

SWATANTRA PARTY

Every individual member in the Assembly and in Parliament as well as at a party meeting should have more personal, individual freedom to vote in the way he likes. On many important matters he should be left free to vote. Then alone can we get the man as an individual to discuss and debate on any subject and vote according to his will. The ruling party may gain its prestige if it incorporates from individual members some points which may not be congenial to the ruling party but may be useful to the people. The

Swatantra party in its programme has outlined that it will give freedom to individual members to debate and discuss and vote according to their own conscience. The party whip's control will be relaxed. Here again the Swatantra party scores over the other party and shows respect of individual liberty and freedom.

What is the position of party members to-day. Mr. Nehru with two houses of parliament, is strong enough to get things that he likes. They seldom dare to say 'No' to the order of the leader. Such a state of affairs is a danger sign.

There is urgent need of reform in our political life and political organisation. The party game is now spreading itself to various fields of life.

The democracy stands in peril, the task of the people is to form a jury to which politicians at large have to appeal. If democracy is in peril, it is idle to lay the blame on the politician. It is the public themselves who are to blame. Unless they refuse to allow themselves to be led like sheep to the slaughter-house of the mass-vote, unless they reject the mere party Hack, the man who is anxious only to make a game of Parliament and give their support to people of independent mind, then democracy will perish. No one knows what exactly will take its place, but one is sure that it will be something a great deal worse, and, not for the first time in history men will sigh in vain and when it is too late for the liberty which they have lost irrevocably through their own fault.

The newly formed Swatantra party has really not a new or unique programme but they have recognised and have accepted the im-

portance of the individual. The Swatantra party believes that each individual man is an end and not a means. There should be no distinction between individual and individual. They believe that men are equal, not in an egalitarian sense but equal before the law and guaranteed, so far as one can guarantee it, equality of opportunity?

The Swatantra Party's credit lies in framing its policies in a manner which fits together all the various elements that has brought support. Free-trade, the doctrine of sharing in profit, encouraging workers to more interest in production.

Now, the question arises, can the Swatantra Party do all this? People may ask whether the new party can form a government after the next general election. Is it not too weak or too young to compete with well-fed, quite old parties?

I think they are at present not concerned with that, they are mainly concerned with stating the facts, criticising the omissions of the government etc. The Government which takes into account public opinion, and information of a public nature from an opposition party, can play a great part, if it is not an automatic or an unreasoning opposition and specially, if it is independent.

The Swatantra Party is a big movement in the country, which provides the debating chamber of new ideas, and the the platform from which they can be heard—It is growing every day—the ideas will take root and once that process starts, it may come up quickly and then democracy can survive—one party monopoly will vanish—individual worth will be recognised.

PRESS AND DEMOCRACY

BY SAMBHU NATH JHA, M.A.,

News Editor, 'The Searchlight', Patna

In the present article the writer who is a noted journalist of Bihar describes the vital role which the press can play in the functioning of democracy and says that those who want the continuance of democracy in India must encourage the growth of the free press.

— EDITOR.

PRESS exists in all countries, even in totalitarian ones. But in democracy it is a free press. In fact the reality of democracy is the functioning of a free press. It is such an indispensable outfit for a democratic society that where it is absent there is no democracy worth the name. Even communist countries call themselves people's democracies. But we all know that newspapers there cannot function in a free atmosphere. The position is the same in other forms of totalitarianism. Despite Mr. Khrushchev's much vaunted liberalism no paper in the Soviet Union can have the courage to criticise him. In fascist Spain any paper criticising Franco invites its inevitable doom. In the military dictatorship of Pakistan, any paper even mildly critical of the Ayub regime has already ceased to exist. Editors who could not be subdued or purchased are either behind prison bars or thrown out of the profession.

In democracies like the United States and Britain, the picture is different. Newspapers are critical of the highest functionaries of and land and they are tolerated. Indeed, their views are given due weight. Five years ago when I was in Washington, I remember a newspaper, which generally backed the Republican administration, published a story that a member of President Eisenhower's cabinet had got some money as a consultant from a firm which had been given a large government contract. Facts and figures were published to substantiate the news story. There was no one even in the Republican party to defend the minister concerned. He was promptly fired. That is democracy. There are numerous instances to show that the vigilance exercised by the press has helped to keep a democratic government on an even keel. It is not without significance that when a democracy is sought to be undermined or destroyed the first attack is directed against the press.

If the Indian democracy is to survive and flourish, it is necessary to develop the press on right lines. The newspapers in this country are concentrated in big towns. Their number is small considering the size and the population of the country. With the growth of literacy in the country, there will be an increased demand

for newspapers. But the people cannot get fresh news if they have to read newspapers published several hundred miles away. Air delivery is confined to a small number of cities. But owing to numerous handicaps the expansion has been halted. In recent years the number of newspapers has been rather reduced. In the face of severe competition, it is possible that in some of the cities the number of daily papers will go down. But conditions should be created whereby local papers may come up at least in every district. In the United States, district papers enjoy certain special facilities including concession in postal rates. Here in our country the dice is always loaded against those who want to start newspapers in district towns. Bureaucrats generally dislike the press. Even politicians have come to consider it as a necessary evil.

INDIAN PRESS

I do not say the Indian press is free from faults. It suffers from all the defects inherent in an underdeveloped press. Many people have come into the profession of journalism either by accident or of necessity. They are not fully equipped to carry on the responsible work. There is also the problem of pressure by proprietors and other elements. But in spite of all these the Indian press today, by and large, is free and it has given proof of its robust thinking on many crucial occasions. From initial adoration of the country's leaders after independence, the press has become quite critical. The press is often accused of partisanship. Both politicians and some officials tend to ascribe motive when something is said against them. But it is always forgotten that the press while moulding public opinion cannot afford to ignore the views of the people about certain matters and individuals. When a paper constantly champions a wrong cause it is disowned by the readers. And that is one important deterrent. I know of many instances when a paper oblivious of the trend of people's thinking has paid heavily for its folly. Blind supporters have not served patrons. When the readers have a choice of reading an impartial paper why should they go in for a partisan one?

The Indian press has numerous other problems. But I do not propose to discuss them here. It is essential that those who want the continuance of democracy in India should encourage the growth of the free press. While the editors must take a balanced view of things, the politicians and bureaucrats will also have to learn to be tolerant. I do not defend the scurrilous sheets. They meet their own Waterloo on the rocks of public opinion. When a paper does not command respect, its views carry no importance before its readers. Yellow journalism must not receive any encouragement from any quarter. Indian society is different in some ways from that of western countries. The sobriety of the Indian papers has already been praised all over the world. I am not in favour of contaminating the public taste by producing papers with sexy pictures and suggestive headlines. But human stories should not be ignored as many papers are doing at present. Many of the social evils and injustices can be removed if such cases are featured by newspapers. Merely enacting law is not enough. Likewise, corruption can be eradicated if newspapers show greater courage and fearlessness in reporting. In all democracies the press is the most powerful check against misuse of power by the authorities. Here that function is not fully discharged.

I think in another ten years time there will be papers, dailies, weeklies and others, in every district and sub-division. So far the cost of such a venture is frightening. But some way may have to be found to enable journalists themselves to start papers in small towns. They will be the sentinels of democracy in the country. If the newspapers are stifled, the annihilation of democracy can be only a question of time. In a big country like India, there can be no national papers in the sense they are in Britain. The growth and development of the press in this country will have to be something on the lines of the United States where the people in Baltimore, only 60 miles away from New York do not generally read the papers published in New York. They read the papers published in Baltimore itself. Here all papers will become important and influential according to the areas they would cover.

An atmosphere should be created in which all attacks on the freedom of the press will be created as onslaughts on democracy. It cannot be denied that there are enemies of democracy in the country. It will be an evil day if they get an upper hand.

Sometimes it is suggested that the press in India being in the private sector is critical of the government because of its policy of socialism. In all democratic countries the press must be in the private sector. Only in communist and totalitarian countries the press is in the public sector. Any attempt to develop a press in the public sector must be considered as an onslaught on democracy. In this country the Union Government have started some weeklies and monthlies. These are a huge waste of public funds. There is even a talk of starting daily papers with Government acceptance. I hope it will not be done. The condition of the functioning of the press is an important yardstick for measuring democracy. In the Indian newspapers today all viewpoints find space. Although most of the newspapers are controlled by big capitalists and financiers, there has been no complaint that news about other political parties is suppressed. There may be stray cases of suppression. But, by and large, this is not the practice. Even the communist party finds adequate publicity in newspapers run by capitalists. This is the case in all democratic countries. I remember

discussing with some fellow journalists in London about the working of the British press. Although different political parties have their own organs, the national newspapers do not shut out any political party or group. In India also the political parties will have to have their own organs in different parts of the country. The Congress is a powerful political party. It must have its own newspapers to propagate its views. But there is no need for the government to start newspapers.

ADVERTISEMENTS

In the United States, Britain and other democratic countries, government advertisements do not form even one percent of the total advertisement revenue of newspapers. In our country the position is different. Owing to the ever growing expansion of the public sector, the volume of advertisements controlled by government departments and concerns run and financed by government is increasing. I am not discussing the issue of public sector and private sector. But government will have to be very careful in the matter of distributing advertisements. This question has already been discussed by the organisations of newspaper editors and proprietors. I have calculated that even the biggest papers in the country cannot survive if the government advertisements are withdrawn. In a way all important daily papers are at the mercy of government. This is a situation in which the people in power will have to be very cautious. Although even in Britain a number of industries are in the public sector, the dependence of newspapers there on government advertisement is not so considerable. It is the problem which the press in this country has to face. So far there have been only stray cases when advertisements have been withdrawn from newspapers because of the displeasure of some powerful people. But it is necessary to guard against such an eventuality in future.

After closely observing conditions in many parts of the world, I have come to the conclusion that the greatest guarantee for democracy in this country is to have newspapers in every town having a population of ten thousand and above. In small towns weekly papers should be started. Of course the monopoly in the press is as objectionable as in other spheres. But when one paper is started, inevitably its rival will spring up sooner or later. Competitive papers will keep the public point of view fully represented. Retired journalists should be encouraged to start weeklies in small towns which require moderate resources. To run newspapers on a cooperative basis sounds ideal but it is not practical. Unless the person who runs a paper has a personal interest in it, the enterprise will not make much headway. In India it is more so. Today there are many serious handicaps in starting newspapers. Firstly, there is difficulty of obtaining printing and composing machineries which have to be imported. Unless these are manufactured in the country, there can be no expansion of the press. The scarcity of newsprint is another problem. The country does not produce even a small fraction of its needs of newsprint at present. Whatever is produced in the country is third rate in quality and no paper wants to use it voluntarily. More and efficient newsprint manufacturing mills have to be set up in different parts of India. There is no dearth of raw materials. Altogether under the present circumstances it is impossible for the people of small resources to think of starting papers and periodicals.

I do hope that politicians in this country will learn to co-exist with the free press. Many of them being used to only garlands from the people during the liberation struggle have become intolerant of any criticism. This leads to tension and mutual recrimination. I do not say that the press is always right. But both the government and political parties must learn how to develop understanding and good relations with the press which

represents and guides the public opinion. Often difficulties arise due to a lack of proper understanding. Politicians will have to remember that they cannot exist without a free press. Likewise the press will also have to exhibit a high standard of conduct. Democracy and the free press are inseparable. The one is complementary to the other.

BIRTH OF SWATANTRA PARTY

BY

PROF. S. K. AHMED, B.A. HONS. (LONDON)

THE world at last has come to this conclusion that the function of a good government is to strive its best for the greatest good of the largest number. If that type of a welfare state is our main goal — and it is our goal — as we have committed in our Constitution to the effect that “We the people of India having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and to secure to all its citizens, Justice, Social Economic & Political, Liberty of thought, Expression, Belief, Faith and Worship; Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation”. The question comes to our mind what would be the best way to achieve that end described above to which we are so solemnly committed to.

STATE CONTROL

There are two very strong ideas at trial these days :

(i) Through state control on all human actions and thought, is considered by some as the only way to a welfare state.

(ii) Others are of view that the goal to the welfare state can only be reached through individual liberty with state guidance.

A third type of people are those who hold the view of a middle course ; half of this and half of that. But the middle course people are just muddlers who muddle everything and can reach only the half way beyond which they do not find their way out. Such ideas of a middle path in state affairs lead to a dangerous road. It does not make anybody happy even themselves. They themselves get so muddled up that they become confused and are likely to be drowned if a flood comes.

Let us analyse the first idea — the state control.

(i) Are our minds, traditions, habits, culture and even our constitution, to which we are committed, ready to accept such a way to a welfare state ?

(ii) Is such a state with all round control a welfare state ?

The very idea of control is against liberty in all its phases, thought, expression, belief, faith and action. Are we to say goodbye to everything on which India was built thousand and thousand

years ago ? If we do, then we do not reach that goal of a welfare state which we are striving for. The happiness will not be there. Regimentation does not bring happiness. The soldiers in nice uniforms with brass buttons and shining boots marching in columns are very nice to look at. But those marching soldiers do not feel nice within as they march only on the orders of the sergeant-major. The marchers have no thought of their own, no expression of their own.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

Let us now analyse the second idea of that type of a state with least state control and large individual liberty.

What does a man desire ? What is his inherent desire ? The first thing that comes to his mind in his freedom. He desires liberty. Liberty in all his good actions, thought, belief, faith, worship, work etc. He desires equality of status and of opportunity. He desires dignity. He desires friendship, fraternity with his fellow beings. He desires peace, calmness, quietness, to concentrate and work out his ways for higher achievements in this world and even after death. Liberty, therefore, is one of the most important aspects which forms the basis of a welfare state. Liberty leads man direct to his goal for that state which he is striving to reach — the welfare state.

How can the liberty of individual be achieved ? that could be achieved only through proper guidance and not through control. The human mind requires the guidance of a well-meaning, sympathetic and loving teacher as does a child require. If a government has reached that perfection of a teacher then the welfare state has come into being. The value of a government is judged by the success and efficiency with which it accomplishes its proper purpose and the effect it produces on its citizens, and the degree of satisfaction and confidence that the citizens feel towards it. Democracy rests upon its value of developing and elevating the masses of the people in stimulating their interest in public affairs, and strengthening their loyalty and trust in a government in which they take active part. Democracy thus serves as a training school for citizenship. It strengthens love of the country. Intelligence, constant interest in public affairs and a sense of public responsibility are necessary to the satisfactory working of a Democratic Government.

Question arises as to what made the people to think of a party other than the now ruling Congress Party. Is the Congress Party not fulfilling its objectives? The answer is obvious, that nothing comes into being, unless there is some cause for its creation. What really is the objective of the ruling Congress Party? Is it guiding the citizen as a well-meaning sympathetic and loving teacher? Or is it carrying the citizen like that sergeant-major on march towards that type of a state with all controls. Twelve years of trial gives the answer to the question. These are the causes which led the citizens to found a new party — the Swatantra Party. The tendency of the ruling Junta is towards the state control. If not deliberate, it is being driven by the flood of International Commonism. It has reached the half way crossing and now is lost, confused, confounded and is drowning in the deluge. A girl who woos too many suitors is known as a flirt, she does not make up her mind with the result that one day she finds herself left in the lurch without any sympathiser; all suitors gone and married to the homely. When she finds herself in difficulty she turns towards immorality, and when she finds herself as a laughing stock in disgust she commits suicide. So flirtation is a way to suicide. What is true of a flirt girl is also true of a flirt government. One may ask why the Congress Party has not yet fulfilled its obligations towards the

constitution in drafting of which she was itself a strong member. The answer is quite obvious. The Congress was voted to power in large number. It could catch the mind of the people in the name of the Indian National Congress. That Congress which struggled for the independence of India. But is the ruling Congress Party the same Indian National Congress? It might be a branch of the same tree, but it has taken another root, fed by synthetic manure and watered by power wine. A power-drunk drunkard is more dangerous to society than the whisky-drunk. A whisky-drunk sleeps in the end. A power-drunk becomes ravaging mad to the extent that he plays the fiddle while Rome burns. A party which manoeuvres a brute majority in the house is liable to turn to dictatorship and power-drunk dictatorships have proved deaths to nation within our recent memories. A true democratic state cannot, therefore, come into proper shape unless there is another party formed by the will of the people come in existence equally strong to check this drunkenness. Hence the Swatantra Party is the natural outcome of the wishes of the nation which desire a real welfare state—a state not of dream but a welfare state in its reality where there will be happiness for one—and all, equal opportunity for all, where man will be free in his good actions, thought, belief, faith and worship, where he will be free to fraternise with others, where he will have peace to work out his ways according to his wishes for a higher achievements in this world and after.

HINDU SUCCESSION ACT

(An analysis of its effect on Agricultural holdings in the Punjab)

By SARDAR BASANT SINGH

AGRICULTURAL tribes in the Punjab were before the Hindu Succession Act 30 of 1956 governed by Customary law in matters of succession and alienation of land holdings.

The basic clue to the Punjab Customary Law particularly in regard to ownership and devolution of property in land was to be found in the Agnatic theory. According to Sir Henry Maine originally the soil belonged to communities of kinsmen in the Punjab.

Mr. Tupper in his Punjab Customary Law gives a graphic picture of the application of the Agnatic theory to the rules governing succession among agricultural tribes in the Punjab which may be quoted in extense :—

“Suppose normal development to have been uninterrupted, either by recent colonisation under official guidance, or by the desire of the landholders to lighten the fiscal burden by bringing in strangers to till the soil, or, again, by the decisions of the Courts of Justice, or lastly, by any specially strong infusion of Muhammadan ideas, what would originally have been the systematised customary law of a typical Punjab village? It must be postulated that all the proprietors of the village should be of the same clan; but they might hold either in shares, all produce being brought into the common stock and divided, or sections of the brotherhood might jointly possess separate plots in the village area. . . . Such a Community, with a strong sense of their family origin and an hereditary preference for members of the wider tribe, which includes their own clan, would naturally be endogamous from one point of view, and exogamous from another. They would marry their daughters outside the closely drawn limits of the clan, but within the looser, but still remembered, circle of the tribe or race of origin. As ancestral shares would be remembered, the sense that the clan had expanded from the family of a common ancestor would be keenly felt. . . . The villagers, having long outgrown the primitive conditions when male parentage is quite uncertain, trained in the past by warfare and toil to depend on the male kindred, would assign property, now much more in lands than in cattle, to the hands best able to hold it safely and to use it to advantage, that is, to those of the heirs determined by the system of agnatic kinship, or of relationship exclusively through males. This would be the more necessary, as, the daughters marrying outside the clan, their children would

belong to another stock. Women would be under a perpetual tutelage, under the guardianship either of their husbands, or failing these, of the nearest agnates by blood or marriage. . . . By marriage, sisters and daughters would be provided for in another clan; there would be no need to give them part of the village patrimony; and, indeed to do so would be to bring into the community an outsider of a different village and different section, who might be an unwelcome intruder, or possibly, in former days, an open enemy, merely reconciled for the time by the connection. . .

“On the death of a proprietor his holding would devolve on all his sons, usually in equal shares; on the predecease of one or more of them, the grandson would take per stirpes each set receiving the share which would have gone to the son had he outlived his father. In the absence of sons the widow would take a life-interest, without power to alienate, save on great necessity, if the kinsmen did not come to her aid, and terminable either by her notorious unchastity, as for example, by her elopement or by her re-marriage. In either case the land might pass practically into the possession of some one outside the village or clan. . . .

“Throughout the whole scheme the right of representation would be consistently applied, even in the succession of others than the direct descendants of the deceased; the sons of a deceased agnate taking the share he would have had if alive. This would be the necessary consequence of the theory that the estate was always either actually held or potentially distributable according to ancestral shares. And the right would even in a manner be extended to include the widow of a deceased agnate without sons, who might have the usual life-interest in the share that would have fallen to her husband. No distinction would be made between associated or disassociated sons or brethren, for the prevailing assumption would be that near kinsmen were joint in estate. Nor would there be any practical need to import this refinement, the growth of an historically later epoch in law.

“But, sometimes, the distribution amongst sons would not be equal. If there would be in the village a family which had once been that of a tribal chief the eldest son would probably find his hereditary preeminence in some way recognised on succession. Rarely, he would, for other reasons, get a share. More often, as is well known, the inheritance would be distributed according to the number of mothers, the sons, however many, of one mother taking a share equal to the aggregate given to the

sons, however, few, of another. Again,—as an offshoot from this now inequitable system,—among brothers, the brother of the whole blood might, perhaps, exclude his brother by the same father but by a different mother. I think, however, for reasons I shall adduce further on, that the two last rules are only organically connected with the scheme of agnatic village succession by way of survival. They seem to me to belong to an older order of things, prior to the establishment of agnatic kinship.

“Although the position of women which the scheme indicates is not a high one, the life-interest they frequently enjoy under guardianship of the agnates is a very distinct testimony to a considerable advance in civilisation. Some tribes, especially in the wider parts of the country, would deny the widow more than maintenance; but there is nothing in her restricted tenure which conflicts in any way with the system of the village or clan. She belongs to the brotherhood; and the recognition of her right is humane, and so far as it goes unselfish. But it would be a necessary rule that whenever a woman took land in any capacity, she must have no more than the limited interest I have described, otherwise, whether by her marriage, or misbehaviour, or favour for stranger, the land might pass out of the clan or village. Ordinarily, as already explained, it would only be a widow who could have such an interest, not necessarily the widow of the person deceased, but either such or the wife of a relative predeceasing him,—as for example, his brother or cousin. Theoretically there is only this place in the scheme for the succession of unmarried daughters; in the absence of near male kindred, they might take an interest in the property till marriage. They would, however, be married whilst still of tender years; so, whilst they still belonged to the clan, their maintenance and the provision of their marriage expenses would really mean all they would require.

“The exclusion of females would of course carry with it the exclusion of their descendants. No sister’s son or daughter’s son could inherit: they would not be fellow clansmen. But the sense of relationship by marriage with families of other clans would by no means be wholly wanting. It would exist for social purposes; there would be special names for the nearer relatives through the wife or mother; and the tie might even generate prohibited decrees. It is for the purpose of succession to landed property that this sort of relationship would be consistently ignored.

“Wills, the product of a much later stage in juridical history, will be entirely unknown.”

CONGRESS STAND

The Congress has generally shown its solicitude for the preservation of the solidarity, the homogeneity, the integrity and the unity of the village Communities.

It is for the reason that under item No. 18 of State List in Schedule 7 of the Constitution power was given only to State Government and not to the Central Government to legislate regarding Land, that is to say, rights in or over land, land tenures including the relation of landlord and tenant, and the collection of rents; transfer and alienation of agricultural land; land improvement and agricultural loans; colonization.

But by enacting the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 the Congress has given a death blow to the village communities.

The main features of the Hindu Succession Act are:—

- a) It applies not only to high caste Hindus but to all persons who are not Muslims, Christians, Parsis or Jews by religion.
- b) It abrogates custom almost completely.
- c) A male Hindu can dispose of his coparcenary interest in Mitakshra Hindu Family property by will, while a female Hindu can dispose of any property held, inherited or acquired by her by will.
- d) Where a male Hindu dying intestate has at the time of his death interest in Mitakshra coparcenary property it will pass by survivorship only if the deceased left no daughter, mother, widow, predeceased son’s widow, son’s daughter, grandson’s daughter or grandson’s widow.
- e) The property of a male Hindu dying intestate will be equally divided between the following heirs:—

Son; daughter; widow; mother; son of a predeceased son; daughter of a predeceased son; son of a predeceased daughter; daughter of a predeceased daughter; widow of a predeceased son; son of a predeceased son of a predeceased son; daughter of a predeceased son of a predeceased son; daughter of a predeceased son of a predeceased son; widow of a predeceased son of a predeceased son.

In the absence of the above heirs to the following in the order of preference indicated by each category:

- I. Father.
- II. (1) Son’s daughter’s son, (2) son’s daughter’s daughter, (3) brother, (4) sister.
- III. (1) Daughter’s son’s son, (2) daughter’s son’s daughter, (3) daughter’s daughter’s son, (4) daughter’s daughter’s daughter.
- IV. (1) Brother’s son, (2) sister’s son, (3) brother’s daughter, (4) sister’s daughter.
- V. Father’s father, father’s mother.
- VI. Father’s widow; brother’s widow.
- VII. Father’s brother, father’s sister.
- VIII. Mother’s father; mother’s mother.
- IX. Mother’s brother, mother’s sister.

In the absence of the above on the agnates and in the absence of the agnates on the cognates.

f) All property inherited, acquired or possessed by a Hindu female shall be held by her as full and not as a limited owner.

g) The property of a female Hindu dying intestate will devolve firstly on her sons and daughters and the husband secondly upon the heirs of the husband thirdly upon the mother and father fourthly upon the heirs of the father and lastly upon the heirs of the mother, but if the property is the property inherited by her from her parents it shall devolve in the absence of any son or daughter on the heirs of her father.

This is a radical and revolutionary upsetting of the whole existing social order. Such a system of inheritance is bound to lead to a complete dissolution, disintegration and break up of the village community, the joint family and the homogenous co-operative structure of the Punjab village economy.

If a Hindu landowner dies leaving a widow, a predeceased son's widow, three sons, 4 daughters and a mother his holding would be divided on his death into 10 equal shares. Even if he be the biggest landowner holding the maximum of 30 acres each heir will get only 3 acres. But the size of an average holding does not exceed 3 acres and with an average family of six persons the average holding in one generation will be reduced to that of half an acre. In order to give to each heir share in good quality as well as bad quality land the half acre holding will be broken up into microscopic fragments. This is the freedom, this is prosperity this is the property in land given to the Punjab peasant proprietors. Instead of freedom it is forging fetters for his perpetual enslavement, instead of prosperity it is abject poverty and starvation, instead of property in land which should be a source of per-

petual income, it is a source of perpetual worry, litigation, indebtedness and unbearable burden.

The females who inherit land are neither capable of protecting or defending it nor of cultivating it. They by alienating it to strangers can introduce undesirable elements in the village. They cannot attend to their property in their parents village and treating it as not of much value may dispose it off at very low price thus reducing the value of land artificially. They will be placed in a much better position than their brothers or other male heirs in that they will also inherit in their husband's family and will have an absolute power of disposal over their land from what-so-ever sources acquired. This is neither fair, nor expedient nor economical.

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PROSPECTS OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY IN BIHAR

BY PARMANAND KEJRIVAL

In the lines below the writer gives in brief an account of the birth and quick growth of the Swatantra Party in Bihar where 13 years of Congress misrule had made the life of average citizens extremely difficult because of the violent display of power by the ruling group in the Congress party leading to the systematic elimination of those who do not belong to this group or party from all positions of importance be it in the business, politics or or social life. In this context of the situation the Swatantra Party which guarantees freedom and happiness of the people bids fair in the future.

—EDITOR

THE quick growth and the popular response that the Swatantra Party has attracted within the three months of its birth in the State of Bihar may be a matter of surprise for its opponents but it would surely satisfy those who are interested in the wellbeing of our Motherland. The violent display of power by the ruling group in the Congress Party was bound to have its natural reaction. Power mad politicians within the Congress rank during these 13 years of our independence made the life of the average citizens of the State extremely difficult. Those who do not belong to this group, whether within the Congress party or outside, have been systematically eliminated from all positions of importance be it in the business, politics or social life. A politician-patronised class of privileged people has come into being. Self-respecting and decent people in the professions, business and agriculture or, for matters of that, in any other walk of life, have been ignored or wiped off so that the new class of upstarts may flourish. Emboldened by the patronage that this section enjoys, it is no wonder that it should behave autocratically and erratically. Those who resist tyranny are visited with mediaeval and feudal severity.

It would not be out of place to cite in this context the case of an eminent journalist, who criticised and decried the misdeeds of the ruling clique in the Congress. Physical assault was resorted to on him for his bonafide criticism in the very metropolis of this State and the criminals were never traced out or brought to book. Corruption and nepotism have become the order of the day. Large fortunes have been accumulated by some eminent Congressman through the State Agency. The first Congress Ministry in Bihar in the post-independence period, instead of giving good, efficient and honest administration gave to the people of Bihar molasses scandal, Iron scandal and Sathi land scandal and other scandals in hundreds as their gift. People's patience having been exhausted, they were looking forward for some other party who could offer a challenge to the growing automatic rule of a few and in his wisdom

Rajaji gave birth to the Swatantra Party to the Nation. People in Bihar started gathering round the new party in thousands. The Swatantra Party has brought to the harassed people of this State a new vision and a new hope. To the people of Bihar Rajaji represents not only Gandhian philosophy but all else for which our late Father of the Nation stood. His name along with the name of our great President works like magic in the State.

PILLARS OF THE PARTY

But some one has to canalise the great enthusiasm aroused by the formation of the Swatantra Party, and so far our State is concerned, the initiative in the matter was taken by Mr. Jaleshwar Prasad, Advocate, Patna, who is presently one of our Vice-Presidents for Bihar Branch and Mr. Ram Charitra Singh, an Ex-Congress Minister. The party, however, needed vigorous leadership which luckily it found in Raja Kamakhaya Narain Singh of Ramgarh, who had already risen high in public esteem not only because of his love for public service but also because he was the only man in this State who challenged and challenged successfully the great might of the Congress in his home district of Hazaribagh. The People of Bihar felt delighted when the Raja Bahadur announced his decision to merge with the Swatantra Party not only his identity but also that of his well-knit and well organised Janta Party with its 23 members of the Bihar Assembly and a few others of the Bihar Council and thus at its very start in Raja Bahadur the Swatantra Party not only found a top ranking personality as its first President but also a base from which it could operate and expand. Some of the old and tried Congressmen, who had left the organisation in utter disgust, also decided to throw in their lot with the new organisation and special mention in this connection may be made of Mr. Ram Binode Singh, M.L.A., and Mr. Janki Nandan Singh, M.L.C., who are Vice-President and General Secretary respectively of the Party in Bihar. People in thousands are now listening to the message of the Swatantra Party. Practically

in all the districts and in important towns of Bihar party branches have been formed consisting of well known leaders of political and social life of their respective areas.

The First National convention of the party is to be held on March 19 and 20 at Patna. This is of a historic significance—of historic significance in the sense that from earliest times this part of the country has stood against tyranny and preached the message of non-violence to the world. Gandhiji started his first struggle against the mighty British planters in Bihar. In various other national struggles our State invariably was in the fore front. Swatantra Party to my mind is assured of great reception in Bihar for not only it stands against tyranny but also because it guarantees the sanctity of "Farm and Family". The manner in which generally the affairs of our country have been conducted during the last 13 years have brought a sense of frustration in our peo-

ple. The El-Dorado that was promised to the people by moulding our social, economic and political institutions into socialistic pattern is as far off and unattainable as never before. The thought of nationalisation of land and industry has shaken people's confidence. People now feel that their only hope of survival and enjoying a good and decent life with social justice to all can only be achieved through the agency and medium of the Swatantra Party. The other parties have failed to deliver the goods. There is not much of a difference in the programmes of the P.S.P. and the Communist parties and the Congress party, which presently rules our country. The choice before the people is clear. Freedom and happiness of the people will be secured only in the hands of the Swatantra Party. Looking to the enthusiasm of the people of Bihar for the Swatantra Party it would not be too much to hope that the first ministry that our party would form any where in the country may perhaps be in Bihar after the next general elections.

THE AJIVIKA SANGH OF ANCIENT BIHAR

By DR. MADAN MOHAN SINGH
Patna University

Like Buddhism and Jainism, Ajivikism, an important religious sect flourished in Bihar during the time of Lord Buddha. The following lines give a glimpse into the Ajivika Sangh as it existed in ancient Bihar.—EDITOR

AJIVIKISM was an important religious sect in Bihar from the time of Buddha or even earlier to the reign of Dasaratha, the grandson of Ashoka. Its history before the days of the Buddha and after the Mauryan period is shrouded in mystery. Probably Ajivikism already existed before the emergence of the celebrated Ajivika leader Makkhali Gosala, the contemporary of the Buddha and Mahavira. It is true that Makkhale Gosala's headquarter was at Sravasti, but that Ajivikism had a strong footing in Magadha is shown by the fact that it was probably the first doctrine preached in Magadhan dialect. The fact that Makkhali Gosala had association with Mahavira in Magadha. (According to the Jain *Bhagavati Sutra* Mahavira and Gosala lived in the same house at Nalanda); Upaka, the Magadhan Ajivika born at Nala near Nalanda, had met the Buddha on the road to Gaya; Panduputta, son of a Rathakara of Rajagriha was an Ajivika ascetic; and that a Kinsmen of king Bimbisara had embraced Ajivikism are sufficient proofs to show that the order of the Ajivikas was established in Magadha. When we are told that it was an Ajivika, who had informed Mahakassapa of the Buddha's death, when a Jataka story refers to the Ashrama of Guna kassapa, the Ajivika at Mithila, when the *Bhagavati Sutra* tells us that ascetics of the type of the Ajivikas visited places like Magadha, Videha, Champa, and Vaisali, when one finds the mention of the Ajivika ascetics along with the Sramanas and the Brahmanas in the inscriptions of Ashoka, and when cave dedication to them in the Barabar hill, by Ashoka and his grandson, Dasarath are taken into account one is led to conclude that Ajivikism was an important order of Magadha in particular and of Bihar in general.

The Jains, the Budhists and the Ajivikas are described in the Jain and Buddhist sutras as hostile to each other. The Jain *Bhagavati Sutra* tells us that Gosala, the Ajivika leader and Mahavira, the Jaina teacher came into direct conflict, and it was by the magical power of Mahavira that the death of Gosala was caused. Mahavira had also instructed his followers not to associate with the Ajivikas. The Buddha did not come into direct conflict with the Ajivika leader as was the case with Mahavira, but that the Buddhists were in no way favourably inclined to the Ajivikas is revealed by the terms used for them in the Buddhist literature, such as Michchhajivo, Ajivaka Savaka, Ajiviko annataro, and the like.

Makkhali Gosala propounded the doctrine of Niyati or the 'Automatic function through transmigration'. 'According to him there is no cause either ultimate or remote, for the depravity of beings, and they become depraved without reason and without cause. The attainment of any given condition does not depend on one's acts or on the acts of others or on human efforts. Creatures have no power of their own, and they are regulated by their fate. They are bent this way or that by their fate, by the necessary conditions of the class to which they belong and by their individual nature'.

PURIFICATION THROUGH MIGRATION

According to his theory of 'Purification through transmigration' one will make an end of pain after wandering through various births for the allotted term. There are eighty-four thousand periods during which both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration, shall at last make an end of pain. Neither the wise nor the fool can get rid of the Karma—there can be no increase or decrease thereof. Everything is predestined. Just as when a ball of string is cast forth it will spread out just as far, and no further, than it can unwind, just so both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration exactly for the allotted term shall then and only then, make an end of pains' (*Samannaphala-sutta of Digha-Nikaya*).

The above doctrine is referred to also in the Jataka Literature. The Ajivika Guna Kassapa who lived in a deer park near Mithila with a large number of followers and enjoyed the respect of the people is described as expounding his doctrine which corresponds with that of Makkhali Gosala. One day he told king Angati of Videha. "There is no fruit, good or evil, in following the Law; there is no other world, O King,—who has ever come back hither from thence? All beings are equal and alike, there are none who should receive or pay honour : there is no such thing as strength or courage ;—how can there be vigour or heroism? All beings are predestined, just as the stern rope must follow the ship. Every mortal gets what he is to get, what then is the use of giving? There is no use in giving—the giver is helpless and weak : gifts are enjoyed by fools and accepted by the wise." He is further described as pronouncing the theory of the Automatic function of Transmigration as we have already seen in the case of

Makkhali Gosala. He says that 'there is neither the destroyer the destroyed; there are eightyfour great aeons through which all beings have to pass and it is then that they become pure. Every thing is guided by destiny.'

In the same story the doctrine of Guna Kassapa is refuted by Ruja, the daughter of king Angati, who says that 'if a man is purified by the mere course of existence, then Guna's own asceticism is useless; Like a moth flying into the lighted candle, the idiot has adopted a naked mendicant's life. Having accepted the idea that all will at last be purified through transmigration, in their great ignorance many corrupt their actions; and being fast caught into the effects of former sins, they find it hard to escape, as the fish from the hook.'

SEVERAL SECTS

The doctrines propounded by Purana Kassapa and Pakudha Kachchayana are similar to the *Niyati-Vada* of Makkhali Gosala. Later sources associate them with Ajivikism. It appears that there were several sects of the Ajivikas, which were developed by different teachers with slight differentiation in their method of approach.

Purana Kassapa is described as a well reputed religious teacher in the *Samannaphala Sutta* of *Digha-Nikaya*. He expounded the theory of Non-Action (no future rewards or punishments, as translated by Gogerly). According to this doctrine man is an irresponsible agent, because his actions neither bring any merit nor demerit. Neither mutilation, robbery, adultery, lies, oppression and killing and so on cause any guilt, nor charity, generosity, self-mastery, truthfulness bring any merit or increase of merit.

According to Pakudha Kaccayana there is neither creator nor created, there is neither slayer, nor causer of slaying. When one with a sharp sword cleaves ahead in twain, no one thereby deprives any one of life, a sword has only penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances; He believed in seven eternal elements, earth, water, fire, air, life, joy and sorrow. He also included Gosala's doctrine.

Sanjaya Belatthiputta was a great sceptic. He neither denied the existence of the next world nor accepted its existence. Whether the beings are produced by chance or whether there is any fruit of good or bad action or whether a man who has won the truth continues after death—to all these questions he gave the same answer. His doctrine was of neither acceptance nor denial.

According to the doctrine of Ajita-kasmakali, there is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds. There is no such thing as this world or the other. There is neither father nor mother nor beings springing into life without them. There are in the world no recluses or Brahmanas who have reached the highest point, who walk perfectly, and who having understood and realised, by themselves alone, both this world and the next, make their wisdom known to others.' His view is similar to the Charvaka's. According to his belief a human being is built up of four elements, and when he dies the earthly in him returns and elapses to the earth, the fluid to the water, the heat to the fire, the windy to the air, and his faculties pass into the space. He believed in the theory of annihilation.

COMMUNITY LIFE

The Ajivikas also like the Buddhists and the Jainas lived in communities. A place inhabited by the Ajivikas is called *Ajivika-seyya* in the *Vinayapitaka*, which appears to be the same as *Ajivikasabha* of the *Uvasagadasao*. When Makkhali Gosala visited the town Polasapura, he first went to the Ajivikasabha and deposited his almsbowl. This shows that some sort of monastic establishment was evolved.

But in the Order of the Ajivikas one could continue his austerity practices without renouncing the world in some cases. Panduputta, the son of a Rathakara is described as watching the work at the shop of his father. Probably side by side his asceticism, he looked after his trade. Another Ajivika was attached to the court of Bimbisara as an astrologer.

As the Ajivikas believed in severe austerities, they preferred to discard clothes, like the Digambar Jainas. They are generally described as naked. One of the Ajanta fresco figures represents Purana Kassapa naked. Hoerne and Basham presume that Mahavira reformed his dress under the influence of Gosala, and this should not be doubted, because while the Jainas appear with a loin cloth, the Ajivikas are represented completely nude, suggesting that they had gone a step further than the Jainas in this direction.

As regards severe asceticism attributed to the Ajivikas it can be said that the account is sufficiently exaggerated. The Buddhist writers describe them practising loathsome austerities, but it appears from a few references that they did not resort to all the practices referred to as being practised by them. Jambuka, who had developed the habit of remaining naked and eating ordure, and who refused to go for alms, was expelled from the order on account of his disgusting behaviour. Hence it appears that although the Ajivikas preferred hard ascetic practices, they generally did not prefer resorting to repulsive practices.

FREEDOM OR SLAVERY

BY

TILESHWAR RAI

THE basic error of Communism, from which most of its other errors stem, is that it says there is no God. In a society where the governing body believes, there is no God, then the most powerful man or dictator takes God's place and this man's wishes become law. Under Communism there is little objective moral truth but that which the Party feels serves its purpose at the time. Thus murder, lying, stealing are right if it serves the Party's plans at the moment. Of course, after a couple of decades they will learn that it did not serve to fulfil what they desired, but in the meantime how many millions will have suffered and died.

Because there is a God, man is a humble creature in comparison to Him, even if he is the ruler of a nation. For a ruler is a man subject to the same laws of human nature as other men under the reign of God. But when the people of a society have removed God from their thoughts then the most powerful and often the most ruthless man becomes their task master. Only might is right. Under communism people are told what they are going to do.

Under Communism there is no true freedom, for God is the author and protector of men's freedom. Under Communism a person has no right to strongly object to the Party policy. If a person does so too openly they are imprisoned, killed or, exiled. Men are free under God because He created them so and they belong to Him. And courts exist in societies which believe in Him to protect the rights springing from this fact. However in the Communist society where the governing body does not believe in God the people belong to the State. The State can therefore use or dispose of its property as it sees fit. It can kill its citizens without a trial if it sees fit, according as it feels serves the common good or the ends of the Party. The Communist claim they are liberating people from present systems of injustice which is quite generally true, but they fail to make clear that they are bringing them into the Communist empire where all liberties will be gone.

Hatred is one of the driving forces with the communists. They often bitterly hate those who do not believe as they do. And they can be ruthless in dealing with opposition as witnessed in Hungary and Tibet. Without God man, becomes a beast, for if there were no God then man is merely an animal, a product of the forces of nature. As a man thinks so shall he act. If he thinks he is merely

an animal he will act like one. Even, though some of the causes of hatred on the part of the Communists are justified, such as many of the abuses to be found in societies and nations outside the boundaries of the communist empire, the answer to these abuses is not Communism. For the sufferings under these systems do not compare to those they may know when their liberties are gone. Perhaps all that you have "to lose is your chains", but other task masters may forge heavier ones than the ones you now carry. For even in the most degraded of societies a certain respect for human agreements exists. This is one reason why the Communists have been able to make many of the gains they have made with lies, for people in these societies are accustomed to believing what another person says as being the truth. They are not accustomed to dealing with professional liars. The leaders of the Hungarian revolt thought that the Communists were telling the truth when they offered to discuss terms under a flag of truce, but they paid for their mistake with their lives.

The Communist talk of peace and of being your friend, but the peace they have in mind is that which they think will exist when they have overrun the world and have converted, imprisoned or put to death those who believe in God, and the rights of man under the reign of God. Peace begins in the souls of those who love God and their fellow men and from this source it spreads out to bring it to troubled souls.

In a godless Communistic society there is little sanctity of the family. In China and Tibet homes have been broken up and men and women have been forced to live in barracks in order that the plans of the State might be better carried out. In Tibet it is reported that women have been deported to Northern China where they were made to marry Chinese men.

ANTI-GOD

No not a new system is needed, such as Communism, but rather a return to a fervent worship of God. All men who believe in Him should form a solid united front, against the godless society of Communism, whether they be Hindu, Buddhist, Mohammedan or Christian. Communism is anti-God. All who believe in Him should stand united, and against this united front Communism will shatter itself, for no one will conquer the forces of those who place their trust in their Creator. The most

precious possession any man has is his love for and trust in God. Let us not hate Communism but love and try to help them even though we must not trust those who fail to change their beliefs.

Let us pause to consider what life should be like in the ideal Hindu society—in the ideal Buddhist society—in the ideal Mohammendan society,—in the ideal Christian society.

In the ideal, Christian society the Christian law of love should be supreme. In such a society men are called upon to love God with all their hearts, minds, and strength, and their fellow man as themselves. Yes, and they are called to love even their enemies as God their spiritual Father loves all His creatures. Christians believe that God is their spiritual Father and as a father has an interest in all that happens to them. They believe that if a person believes in Him strongly enough He will help them with their earthly needs, first through natural causes and then if their faith is great enough through miraculous means if necessary.

In a Christian society life is held to be sacred, because it comes from God. Therefore, no one has the right to take another's life, not even their own, for life does not belong to man but to

God. Only the State after due process of law has the right to take the life of an individual proven guilty of a crime against society which would warrant such a form of punishment. This right is given to the State by God, for the protection of the common good.

For the same reason the family is held to be sacred for it is the human source of life, and the first unit of society. Thus it is that the laws governing family life are sacred and inviolable.

In this form of society man has the right to own private property, that he may provide for his own needs and those of his family. In this society selfish greed would be condemned for although man has the right to possess property Jesus Christ warned those in strong terms who possessed wealth and closed their hearts against the pleas of their fellow men in need. This however has been the great sin of once Christian nations and it is felt that God has permitted the rise of Communism to open their eyes to this fact.

The question stands: Do we want love, freedom, and happiness under God or hatred, slavery and misery under Communism? Our choice must be expressed in action for Communism is aggressive. Let those who believe in God around the world stand as a united solid front against the forces of atheism.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

By SHRI JANKINANDAN SINGH, M.L.C.,
General Secretary, Bihar State Swatantra Party.

WESTERN or modern Democracy may be deemed a novel introduction in the constitution of the East or India; but, India, being the God-fearing land of cultural traditions and sanctities, which takes even Politics (Raj-Dharama) as a part of "Dharma" (Religion), has its own pious conception of the "Basic Democracy," ordained by the Divine Law of "Piety, Pity, and Purity" in the form of "Love" for all the children of God. So many "Cracies"—history has tried and experimented upon; so many forms of Governments have emerged and died down under the pressures of Ages; but the "basic fundamentals of Divine Theory of Laws and Care," are so deeply rooted in the traditional heritage of the Indian soil, that even the most ideal type of Western or modern democracy can be expected to flourish here successfully and luxuriantly only if duly manured with the traditional alluvium of our Age-honoured humanitarian conception of Divine-Rule.

It is, however, the mere ignorance of the majority of such a traditional heritage that our present form of democracy has become the problem of our Politics as well as the impartial call of the "Nation." Definitions of Democracy are varying and even disputed. It is why, no explicit interpretation of the term can be undisputed and challenge-proof; notwithstanding, Democracy—as the etymological interpretation of the term goes to suggest, is a form of Government vesting all power in the people individually and collectively, and is carried "by the people or by the officers and representatives elected by them". According to certain master-politicians, Democracy is rightly defined as the "government of the people, by the people and for the people", ensuring one and all the rights of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity." "But, as the history of Democracy demonstrates, this Lincoln's definition of Democracy does not hold good in all the sub-classes of Democracy, which may assume different forms at different times in different countries and under different circumstances. If democracy is an apparatus to reconcile rival Sovereignty of the individual and society, it is, no less, a stern authority to check the individual dictatorship or the other arbitrary rule. But, whenever and wheresoever the freedom of franchise, the freedom of expression and the freedom of enjoying equal justice by the minorities are concerned, Democracy should naturally stand on the one ideal stand of basic Democracy that "all people are created equal." In short, the charter of the Human Rights Declaration, so liberally framed by the United Nations, can be easily implemented only on the solid background of Basic Democracy—which would naturally appeal more to humanity in the spirit of love and justice, rather than to the "Code of Politics" dealing with the complicate intrications of different "Cracies and Isma."

CALL OF THE AGE

But, Democracy, as is remarked above, is simply the call of the age and the call or aspirations of so many nations of the modern age. Of course, Democracy is nothing new to the glorious history of Ancient India; but, as far as the political conception of Modern Democracy is concerned, India and other awakening countries of the East are naturally inclined to draw inspirations from the West and shape their respective constitutions accordingly as far as politically feasible or otherwise congenial. So, it may be safely remarked that democracy, as far as the modern implication of the term is justified, is still young and immatured even in India—much less to talk about our neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, Nepal, Burma and others.

But, for misguided imitation no nominee is justified in blaming one imitated. It is for the imitators to learn more and more through failures and experiences. It is really unfortunate, that the one-party Congress rule of the Indian Government has not learnt much even through so many series of failures. It is why the "Swatantra Party" has rushed to the political platform with a firm determination to safeguard the Democratic Republic of the Indian Union from its impending peril, for, mere political freedom from a foreign domination cannot necessarily make any nation either democratic or republic or both, and thereby eliminate the dire apprehension of stateism, dictatorship or totalitarianism.

The truth of such an apprehension may easily be inferred through the changing political phases of the countries all around us. We have to learn from such Asian Countries which have been struggling through revolutions and reformatations in their pious or ambitious efforts to overhaul the basic pattern and foundation of social living and enjoy a change in their political set-up. But, the mere aspirations may create a revolution, but not the cherished Reformation which may be brought forth only through the series of Revolutions in different forms and conditions. Pakistan, for instance, is, at present simply paving a ground through martial rule for "Basic Democracy" to creep and flourish upon. Such a shock-treatment, administered after successive failures of democratic-wishes of the mass, is simply a plea and the voice of the political atmosphere of the land which has still to learn the A.B.C. of Basic Democracy. Mohammad Ayub Khan, now the 1st President of Pakistan, has announced in unequivocal terms that "his ultimate aim is to restore democracy; but of the type that people can understand and work." According to him, "people have a right to govern themselves; but they are unable to take collective decisions, and that they can do so only through their representatives,

who must be capable and honest." Of course, the ideas on papers read very good, but, how far such pious ideas can be materialised in the right interests of the mass, only future can decide. Regarding Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan they are sincerely trying Parliamentary democracy under their respective Crowns, and, at the present stage, we can simply wish them speedy success in their democratic schemes. Burma, which introduced parliamentary system, even before its dawn of independence has not, as yet, been able to rule out the political inevitability of entertaining, at times, under the pressures of circumstances, one or the other form of dictatorship; and from what can be guessed from its present trends, it is simply difficult to predict anything bright on its long cherished democratic future. On the otherside, in Persia, the move towards democracy is still slow and unwilling so to say. Regarding Turkey, it must be remarked to the credit of Mustafa Kamal Pasha that he brought a new life and a democratic constitution to Turkey, but, all the same, he did not give up the key to governmental power as long as he lived, and the mass, far from sharing governmental responsibility, simply enjoyed the political privileges at the hands of their caretaker dictators and, the lesson, which Syria, Lebanon and Iraq impart through their trials and difficulties in regulating the final shape of their democratic governments, is, by itself sufficient to prove that a way to democracy is the most difficult route to tread with ever caution, and care.

Now regarding other Asian countries we have hardly anything encouraging to remark. For examples, Saudi Arabia, with its own democratic parliament has not, uptill now, made any move to adopt the typical form of Western and modern democracy in its State. Afganistan is still far from the field of Democracy. Thailand and other South East Asian countries move towards democracy has also been discouraging. China has gone communist; and, Japan, with all its difficulties and monarchical traditions, has done much to establish the Parliamentary form of Government; though, it can not be said, that Japan can play a pioneer in the Asian roll of Democracy. Similarly, Indonesia has not, uptill now, even after the exit of the Dutch, any inspiring asset to play a guide-light in the

Democratic future of Asia. But fortunately, the Indian Union is really an inspiring exception up till now in the world of Asiatic Democracy, which, if carefully attended to and cared for, can set an ideal example of "Basic Democracy" in the history of the modern world.

But this very "If" has become the problem of the soil. The Indian Congress, which struggled so heroically and so successfully for achieving Independence, simply ignored the advice of Mahatmajee, who wanted to see the Congress workers more sincerely engaged in the works of national reconstructions rather than even dream of enjoying the newly achieved political powers and positions. It may be a hard truth to remark, but the fact remains that the love for power on the part of the Congress has now already started the process of converting the democratic grace in the curse of dictatorship so to say. Truly Shree Rajajee (the 1st Indian Governor General of the Indian Union) has remarked that "the ruling party has secured position and power to make basic changes in the structure of society, imagining that it can achieve a revolution without a revolution." He has rightly accused the Congress of "trying to banish religion and God from Indian life, of regulating life in fields where regulation was unknown, and of disturbing the fundamental agricultural economy of the country." In short, the Swatantra Party is keenly concerned at the gradual move of the Congress towards the fatal sphere of dictatorship; and finding that the Congress is going communist the Swatantra Party has emerged out with its 21-points statement of principles, which may be rightly deemed to be the sincere expression of the future apprehension in the minds of the helpless public over so many glaring and important issues in the Congress policy. Actually it is a pious bid of the Swatantra Party to save the Congress from the further downfall, and the hard-won Democratic Republic of the Indian Union from the apprehended dangers of immoral dictatorship. Is there, even then, any justice or reason to deny this newly formed political party its right to defend the noble cause of our National Democratic Republic? Here, I pause for a response.

SOME GLIMPSES OF RAMGARH

By KAILASH PATI SINGH, M.L.A.

RAJA BAHADUR KAMAKHYA NARAIN SINGH, today is growing into a legendary figure. His name is like magic. You utter, 'Raja of Ramgarh', and see people enlivened. The reaction is loud and quick. Friends and foes alike admit it. Men in the street, in the bazars, in the bars, in the Courts and in the councils hear of him, talk about him, admire him and yearn to follow him. Men in the citadels of power, in the Congress offices fear him, want to forget him, but no, even in dreams they wake up and reassure themselves that **RAJA OF RAMGARH** has not yet touched their House of Cards and Ivory towers. Such is the popular gaze on the leader of the **SWATANTRA PARTY** in Bihar.

What he did in the first years of his life were enough to give him a place in History. But his role in the public life of Bihar and his achievements on the political stage are without equal, without parallel. He defied the British Governor of Bihar as early as at the age of 24 only, and besides being present at the Ramgarh Session of the All India Congress in 1940 he contributed to its success with all the resources required of him. He startled the whole of India by defeating the Congress in the Hazaribagh District Board Elections in 1947 even before freedom had dawned on our horizon and woke up Gandhijee and Sardar Patel to look into and stop the rot of the Congress in Bihar. In 1948 he created rent-free peasant proprietorship in his estate and wrote off permanently his annual income of twenty six lakhs of rupees. Another Record! In the 1952 General Elections he alone defeated Congress candidates in four constituencies. An act without a parallel. In the Bhoodan Movement of Sant Vinoba Bhave. He donated two lakhs of acres of land. Again a Record! On the issue of transfer of parts of Bihar to West Bengal he along with his other party men resigned the Assembly Seats in protest. After Independence no other political party has set this example. And then 1957 came and history was again made in Hazaribagh. Raja Bahadur routed the congress from the whole of Hazaribagh. Nowhere else in the whole of India the congress had to face a debacle of this magnitude. Two Ministers were floored. Raja Bahadur with his brother and mother were elected to the Bihar Assembly and his wife along with the wife of his brother were returned to Lok Sabha! He is today the leader of the **SWATANTRA PARTY** in Bihar and the Vice-President of the All India Swatantra Party. Bihar is looking towards him. Eyes of India are turned towards him. Destiny is beckon him.

I try to give here some glimpses of his personality. It is only befitting that people should know what are the urges and drives that move this man. The country should know how his mind works in the darkest and brightest moments. As one who has the chance to know him closely since sometime past it is not easy to take a detached look but as I have watched him in a historical perspective I hope to be able to give an honest sketch of some events and moods.

This was the 13th March 1957. A red letter day in the history of Bihar! At 1 P.M. I came out of the counting booth of Hazaribagh and the news of the electoral victory of Dr. Basant Narain Singh, the younger brother of Raja Bahadur was announced. People danced in glee. But what was here? History was being written in the counting booth of Giridih where the future and fate of Bihar were being decided. Counting of the votes of Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narain Singh and his erstwhile rival Sri Krishna Ballav Sahay, the then Revenue Minister of Bihar was going on. Telephones were buzzing, wireless was working and the whole of Bihar was in breathless suspense. I had come back from Giridih at 1 A.M. the previous night when the first day's counting was over and Raja Bahadur was leading by two thousand and odd votes. And now at 1 P.M. news rang that Raja Bahadur was winning by six thousand votes. He was in his Padma Palace, all alone, far away from the tide of excitement and tension. I rang him up and said, 'You have won' and the first remark that came from him 'you please see, there is no celebration.' He quietly left for Giridih along with some of us but I shall ever remember the unforgotten and unforgettable scenes of wild joy that had overtaken the people. All along the route from Padma to Giridih enthusiastic crowds mad with joy and enraptured by the news of victory surrounded their leader with shouts of Jai, for he had fought their battle to success. It seemed that evening that people were receiving their hero, who had come back in their midst after victory in a murderous struggle with an enemy who had invaded their land. Again the scenes at Giridih were historic. As soon as he entered the town, men, women and children from houses ran out at the sight of his car and waved their hands in salute to him. And crowds were at the counting booth. It took him forty-five minutes to cover only about one hundred steps. But see the Raja. He stood up on the bonnet of a car and thanked the people saying, "This is not my victory but the victory of the teeming millions who are downtrodden and

crushed under the weight of this Raj. With the blood of my life I will serve you all, all those who have voted for me and all those who have voted for my honourable friend, my rival." Demands were made for processions but he said a firm 'No'.

I had the honour of being in his company again in a rare moment of his life and to have nearer glimpses. This was the 15th of January 1958. The bazaars and the streets of Hazaribagh were ringing with excited movements of people rushing in from all directions. 'Maharaja may be arrested today' was on all lips. He had led a hunger march in defiance of the Government order and hence had been prosecuted. At 10.30 A.M. the Hazaribagh court compound was bursting and as soon as orders to put him in custody were heard thousands lay before the police van and would not allow him to go. But the Raja mounted the bonnet of the van and told them "Keep calm. Do nothing which shall blot my name. Where your sweat will be needed Kamakhya Narain Singh's blood will flow." The crowd gave way. Raja Bahadur and others marched to Jail on foot and the mad crowd ran after him. At the Jail gates again hundreds, including M.L.A.s, were lying. "Raja can be taken into jail over our Dead Bodies." Police struggled for over an hour under a scorching sky but the satyagrahis did not give way. There Raja Bahadur asked his brother to control the situation and he commanded the crowd to make way. This was done. When the District Magistrate sought to insult his colleagues by lowering them into 'C' division he too in protest did not fight like the congressmen for facilities but instead gave up his own division, slept on the floor and renouncing all comforts took only one meal every day. And when afraid of the crowd and the popularity of the Raja the congress government could not hold an open trial and shifted it to the jail (another unparalleled event) and when the Magistrate neither could hold the court in jail because of the interference of the jail Superintendent then the Court requested Raja Bahadur to control the crowd and help the trial to be peaceful. Where the might of the congress government failed one individual succeeded in controlling the situation. The crowd kept quiet and the trial was peacefully held.

I saw this Leader of men in a different role, in the capacity of

a legislator. A No-confidence motion against the congress Ministry of Bihar was being debated on the 27th May 1958. "Today Raja of Ramgarh will censure this Government. We must hear what he says," so said friends and foes. Galleries were chock-a-block. There was tension inside the house and outside. Raja Bahadur rose in the midst of thundering applause and counted the charges against the Government. Said he 'Answer my charges or go in the name of God, in the name of people.' Like Cromwell he said "Go, we have had already enough of you." "This is an irony of fate that we are moving a No-confidence motion against you here in this House, though the people have already voted this no-confidence in you. You are here on the minority votes. Beware, people will impeach you and put you on public trial." The Treasury benches, I saw, watched him dazed and not an answer was given though by brute majority the motion met its expected fate.

On another very important occasion I saw his inner self coming out vividly. On the 2nd August 1959 we were attending the opening session of the Bombay convention of the All India Swatantra Party. President Ranga had announced on the previous evening that Raja Saheb of Ramgarh would speak the next day. But this day he did not like to speak because his Janata Party had not yet merged with the Swatantra Party though the mind was there. So President Ranga announced at last that Rajajee would close the session. But people did not know that Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh was not willing to speak. And there came shouts "We want to hear Raja Saheb of Ramgarh" Raja Bahadur had to come forward. He made a speech. And what did he say? He said "Many donations are coming to you Rajajee. But so far I am concerned I hope to give you a substantial donation, not in form of money, but as a SWATANTRA PARTY GOVERNMENT IN BIHAR IN 1962" and there rang out thunderous applause. Rajajee then rose. He said "SUCCESS IS ACHIEVED BY MODEST MEN JUST MEN SUCH AS THE RAJA OF RAMGARH." He was unwilling to speak that evening. Therefore he had made the best speech.

These episodes represent some peeps into the life of one who is determined to put his best into the bid to save Democracy in India.

JOINT CO-OPERATIVE FARMING X-RAYED

BY SHRI M. J. RAO

The writer of this article has consistently supported the Swatantra Ideology through his devotion to the JANATA PARTY and its leader Raja Bahadur KAMAKHYA NARAIN SINGH, who have now merged with the SWATANTRA PARTY. In this article he has made a searching analysis of the contents and the dangers of the Joint Co-operative Farming Policy of the Congress. Viewing it in a historical perspective he warns that the experiment will not succeed and forbodes dangers.

— EDITOR.

WITH the dawn of Independence in India, the Congress took charge of our Socio-economic structure and began razing the older order and raising a new society. Even when the leftist breeze blew from the West and seized some young intellectuals and even when Socialist and Communist wings developed within the Congress, Socialism never became the official policy of the party. When in 1936 Pandit Nehru, the then President of the Congress, made certain statements expressing the need to usher in a new era of Socialistic order in the country his colleagues in the Working Committee resigned in protest. It is a fact of History that socialism never became the creed of the Congress during the lifetime of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel.

The Congress today, has embarked on socialism and is out to make the State supreme where there shall survive no 'Individual'. Right from the Avadi session of the Congress in 1955 when a 'Socialistic Pattern of society' was declared to be the goal down to the Nagpore Session of 1959, there appeared on the scene the Life Insurance Corporation, the State Bank and the State Trading Corporation. They have been accompanied by a continuously widening Public Sector at the expense of the Private Sector and a growing socialistic impact on the Industrial Policy. And the crown has come at the Nagpore Session by the adoption of the Resolution on Joint — Co-operative Farming.

Joint Co-operative Farming, if it materialises, will shake the very foundation of the social structure of India. It will not stay as a dose of socialism or a step forward towards our social reconstruction. On the other hand, it will upset the entire social order and will throw the rural economy helter skelter. It may be a nice slogan to catch the imagination of the zealous and ultra-progressive reformists and to outwit and outbid the Indian Communists; but if forced on the country it will achieve nothing and shall generate chaos. In an ancient country like India, with its feuds and beliefs, co-operative farming is not easy of achievement. The Congress has launched upon this policy without taking into account all the counteracting forces. The Prime Minister himself admitted in his address to the Subjects Committee when he said "My desire is that joint co-operative farming should be started as rapidly as possible in the whole of India. But what I say is not based on a detailed knowledge of the land. I have no experience of this."

Co-operative farming under different names has been experimented and has failed in other countries too. The 'Kolkhoz' or the collective farm of Soviet Russia is known to the world. The massacre of Kulaks forms one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of Soviet Russia from 1929 to 1933 when wholesale collectivisation assumed a gigantic effort with an enormous toll in human lives and sacrifices. Thousands of families were uprooted or exiled and millions of cattle were killed; here and there pitched battles were fought. Collective farming had its way but it failed to bring about an increase in the yield per acre.

A comparative study of some of the figures brings out in bold relief the utter incapacity of collectivisation in increasing the produce of the soil. Russia and America are the two countries who cultivate big farms but both have relatively low yields of wheat. While Russia and America produce 9.3 quintals and 12.2 quintals respectively per hectare, Great Britain with her 28.5 quintals per hectare. In Denmark where the farms are still smaller the yield per hectare is 34.4 quintals. In Japan the yield per hectare is 22.6 quintals i.e. 2½ times that of Soviet Russia. While Soviet Russia produces 25 quintals of rice per hectare Japan produces 48.5 quintals of its per hectare. In India, according to the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, tractor farming yielded 356 maunds of Sugar cane, while old fashioned ploughing by bullocks brought home a harvest of 410 maunds of sugar cane.

Co-operative farming, which is really collective farming, even with Communist state compulsion has failed. Yugoslavia which took up collective farming in 1948 with a deafening fan-fare gave it up in 1957 after a full trial of strength, brutality and communist efficiency. The Yugoslav Parliament scrapping collective farming has yielded negative results, has decreased production and has resulted in peasants losing interest in farming. Poland, another Communist country, which tried collective farming under Stalin's influence has ultimately given it up liquidating thousands of collective farms and co-operatives during the last three years. Mr. Edward Ochab, Poland's Minister of Agriculture, declared recently "Polish farms will continue to be in the hands of Private owners, for, any violation of the principle of free will on the farms would result in grievous economic harm to the country. 90% of Poland's farms are owned by individual peasants."

These figures tell the tale of Co-operative Farming. An attempt is being made to thrust it upon us. The Congress does not realise that neither big farming nor tractor farming increases the yield per acre. It is the love of the man behind the plough that does it. And that love is embedded in his ownership of the land. Co-operative farming must fail, at least for fundamental reasons which are peculiar to this country, viz. eternal family feuds and a passionate sense of property. The single glaring fact that the individual holdings in our country have been reduced to small and uneconomic units proves that continuous divisions and sub-divisions of farm holdings had to be made from generation to generation. The sense of property is so deeply rooted in the Indian peasant and his attachment to it is so strong, his piece of land being the supreme symbol of his manhood and family prestige, that he will fight back any proposal which deprives him of independent rights of cultivation and harvesting of his land.

Against this psychological and economic background the Congress has adopted the policy of co-operative farming. When the

temper of the country rose and protests became loud in all quarters then emphasis was being laid on option. Element of compulsion is being removed. The powerful opposition of Rajajee and the emergence of SWATANTRA PARTY coupled with the 'Revolt' in the inner strata of the Congress itself has forced the Prime Minister to recede and he has now assured that compulsion will not be there. But in the face of the Prime Minister's assurance the Bombay Government has introduced a Bill in its Assembly whereby compulsion steps in.

In this way, state control of production, distribution and exchange is seeking a foot-hold in the agricultural economy of the country in the shape of a managerial system and bureaucratic control of agricultural holdings in place of individual freedom, initiative and enterprise. The individual shall cease to have any property in the course of time and shall be reduced to a labourer, a mere wage earner, depending on the mercy of the state. A regimented economy will lead to a totalitarian state and all that is dear and sacred in our heritage, in Democracy and in Freedom will be gone.

SURVEY OF FAMINES IN NORTH BIHAR

(from the earliest times to the present time)

By DR. UPENDRA THAKUR,

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NORTH BIHAR (Mithila or Tirhut) may rightly be termed as the land of floods and famines. The abundance of rivers, while it certainly favoured agriculture, was often a cause of sorrow to the inhabitants of this part of the country. This tract frequently, as now, had to experience floods and famines which sometimes were devastating in their effects. The areas liable to floods, roughly speaking, was the country between the Baghmati and the little Gandak, the southern part of the Hajipur sub-division and the low-lying tract in the south-east of Darbhanga which constituted, from ancient times till as late as 1875 A.D., the country of Tirhut. Before 1874 A.D., a large part of the present Hajipur sub-division was liable to floods but the repair of the Gandak embankment in recent times ensured the safety of this tract to a great extent.

Famines in Tirhut, the land of extreme poverty, have also been directly due to a deficiency in the annual rainfall, but the intensity of such famines and the loss of lives caused by them are largely due to the chronic poverty of the people. If the people were generally in a prosperous condition, they could somehow or other make up for local failure of crops by purchases from neighbouring provinces, and there would be no loss of life. But, when the people are absolutely resourceless, they cannot buy from surrounding tracts, and naturally they perish in hundreds of thousands, or in millions whenever there is a total failure of crops.

Since earliest times floods and famines have been a recurring phenomenon in this tract. We have numerous references to famines in our ancient classical literature. The *Jataks* are full of stories of famines in northern India. Once there was a dreadful drought in the land of Kosala. It is said that there came a great drought upon the Himalayan country (evidently meaning the Maithila country and the adjoining territories), and everywhere the water dried up, and sore distress fell upon beasts. Thus famines often ravaged the land and marred the happiness of the unfortunate villagers. The *Mahavastu* says that once a horrible famine ravaged the city of Vaisali (of which Videha or Mithila was also a part) to such an extent that people died in large numbers. The smell of the decaying bodies attracted evil spirits and many inhabitants

were attacked by intestinal diseases. Buddha was invited, and as soon as he set his foot on the Vajjian soil, there was a thunder-storm and rain fell in torrents. As in modern times, so in those days, people had to live more or less in similar economic conditions. The absence of rain often ravaged long tracts as a result of which a great part of the land was wild, barren and sparsely cultivated till the end of the 18th century A.D. Cultivation was carried on with great difficulty only by the aid of the great irrigation works widely spread over the country, and dating from pre-historic times. In this respect, North Bihar, in ancient times, presented exactly the same horrible spectacle as it does now.

The historians of Muhammedan period have left records of several famines, four of which were very severe. The first occurred in 1343 A.D. when Muhammad Tughlaq "ordered provisions for six months to be distributed . . . and made advances for the cultivation of lands and digging of wells." The year of Akbar's accession to the throne (1555-56 A.D.) unfortunately coincided with one of the most awful famines ever recorded in the long list of Indian famines. According to Badaoni, "public tables were spread and the army was increased in order to afford maintenance to the poor people. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies . . ." The whole country was a desert and no husbandmen remained to till the ground.

The famine of 1583-84 A.D. was also serious. The famine which began in 1595 A.D. and lasted three or four years until 1598 A.D. equalled in its horrors the one that had occurred in his accession year. Badaoni gives us a heart-rending account of this famine in which "men ate their own kind and streets were blocked up with dead bodies."

The fifth year of the reign of Shah Jahan (1630 A.D.) witnessed one of the greatest famines ever recorded in history. It afflicted almost the whole of India. There was another great devastating famine in the reign of Aurangzeb that engulfed practically the whole

of Bihar, which was then under the governorship of Ibrahim Khan. According to John Marshall, this famine swept over the whole country "from three or four days' journey beyond Banaras to Rajmahal." Scarcity and famine were so great that corpses were devoured by wild horses, tigers, wolves and the dogs, and the people died in thousands. Tirhut was one of the worst scenes of this devastating calamity. Thousands of people seem to have migrated from one place to another due to famine. It is said that several grantees of certain *Madad-i-Maash* in Jaruha, Hajipur had migrated to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) during the governorship of Ibrahim Khan on account of this great famine. This great disaster is said to have been mostly due to the activities of the masterful Dewan of Patna, Waris Khan.

Under the East India Company, "India suffered in one part or other from 12 famines and four severe scarcities." As a matter of fact, hardly a year passed without the record of some disastrous inundation. In 1788 Paraganah Bissarah had been visited by a great inundation. The Collector (of Tirhut) reported that "the country was suffering under complicated calamities of inundation and mortality of cattle, each in a degree never before experienced." The terrible effects of these calamities were felt for years afterwards. Marts were deserted, and hamlets abandoned. These circumstances drove the Collector to such straits that in a letter dated 5th February, 1790, he urged on the Board of Revenue the necessity of attracting those who had fled the country back to their homes, and so restoring the district to its former prosperity.

The earliest famine in the time of the East India Company, of which we possess any detailed record is that of 1769-70 A.D. when one third of the population of the Bengal Presidency (which then also included Bihar) is said to have perished, and Tirhut like the rest of Bihar suffered terribly. This famine affected the population of Tirhut so dangerously that it was reduced to only 18,44,309.

According to Ghulam Hussain Khan, a contemporary historian, "...whole villages and whole towns were swept away by these scourges, and they suddenly disappeared from the face of the earth. This famine desolated the whole country of Bahar (Bihar), as well as the whole kingdom of Bengal." Warren Hastings in his statement also admitted that this famine of 1769-70 A.D. carried away "at least one-third of the inhabitants of the Province"...

The following is a short but heart-rendering description of the great disaster whose ravages two generations failed to repair:

"All through the stifling summer of 1770, the people went on dying. The husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they devoured their seed-grain; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found. They ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field... Even the dogs and jackals, the public-scavengers of the East, became unable to accomplish their revolting work, and the multitude of mangled and festering corpses at length threatened the existence of the citizens."

The tragedy was so great and horrifying that the undying recollection of this famine found expression in one of the most touching verses of Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth and Governor-General of India). Of the entire records this is perhaps the only non-official description of the famine by an eye-witness:

"Still fresh in memory's eye the scene I view,
The shrivelled limbs, sunk eyes and lifeless hue,
Still hear the mother's shrieks and infant's moans,
Cries of despair and agonizing moans,
In wild confusion dead and dying lie,
Hark to the Jackal's yell and Vulture's cry,
The dogs fell howl, as midst the glare of day
They riot unmolested on their prey!
Dire scenes of horror, which no pen can trace
Nor rolling years from memory's page efface."

Another tragic after-effect of this calamity was that before the commencement of 1771, one-third of a generation of peasants had been swept from the face of the earth and the whole generation of once rich families had been reduced to indigence. Every district had the same tale to tell. Thus, from the year 1770, the ruin of the two-thirds of the old aristocracy of the then Lower Bengal dates.

The famine of 1866-67 A.D. was, however, the first great famine of the 19th century. The tracts that suffered most were the northern portions (adjoining the Nepal Terai) of Champaran, Tirhut and Bhagalpur. The estimated number of deaths from starvation or disease engendered by want was 60,321.

The next great famine which visited this part of the country was that of 1874 A.D. The wide-spread horror of this famine can be judged from the fact that Maithila folk-bards recorded the event and sang it from door to door. The famous *Akali Kavitta* by one Fatur Lal (1881 A.D.) of Shahpur is worth recording in this connection. "It is a description of the famine of the Fasli year 1281 (1873-74 A.D.) and was written by a man of the people. It is worth noting this fact for it praises both the English and the Maharaja of Dharbhanga in no measured tone." The poet describes the distress of the famine, the measures of relief, and at the same time gives a satirical description of the "sinners" during the famine in a scintillating style in the language of the people, i.e. Maithili."

In 1889-90 A.D., however, there was scarcity in Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga in Bihar. As a result of these devastating famines, a population equal to half of that of England had perished in India which, men and women, still in their old age, remember.

But of all these famines the famine of 1896-97 A.D. was the greatest to which Tirhut, particularly the district of Muzaffarpur was exposed in the 19th Century. It affected almost every province—about 3,07,000 sq. miles and 69½ millions of people. A loss of 18 to 19 million tons of corn was estimated. The famine mortality came to 7,50,000. The most commendable aspect of this tragedy was that the people in general on this occasion showed unexpected powers of resistance owing to better communications and their improved material condition. The reported deaths indeed fell short of the average of the three preceding years by 25,000.

The famine of 1899-1900 was also of a very severe type, but it does not seem to have affected Tirhut. Of the famines of 1906-07, 1907-08, the latter appears to have been the worst so far as Tirhut was concerned, both in respect of the area affected and the intensity of the sufferings. There were no rains throughout the year and the crops failed miserably. Though rice was sold one maund and

twenty seers a rupee, the purchasing power of the people had gone so low that it was beyond the means of the average people to satisfy their needs. Numerous deaths from starvation were reported. There was no water in tanks and wells, and hence the cry for water was heard everywhere. Like the famine of 1874, the famine of 1908-09 has also become proverbial. There are still many old people in villages who narrate the woeful tale of their grim and tragic experiences that they had during 1908-09 A.D.

The famines of 1913-14 and 1920-21, which affected other parts of India, spared Tirhut considerably. But, the Bengal famine of 1943 stands out as an unparalleled calamity even in "an age all too familiar with human suffering and death on a large scale". But this tragedy was confined to Bengal only and did not spread far beyond. The famine of 1946 had also affected North Bihar but the situation was saved through intensive relief-measures.

In 1950-51 the affected areas were almost the whole of North

Bihar and portions of the district of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Palamau and Hazaribagh. The estimated population was not more than 20 millions or about 50 per cent. of the population of our State.

Again, in the crisis of 1957-58 roughly the entire State with its more than 402 lakh population was taken in the grip of the most severe drought. It signified the most wide-spread distress and the greatest calamity for the State, which was, however, averted.

Thus, floods and famines have been peculiarly associated with one another in Tirhut or North Bihar. Though famines have been less frequent owing to the timely precautionary measures by the Government, floods have been more frequent and devastating in their nature in recent years. For the last few years, however, Tirhut has been passing through a chronic food-crisis and scarcity-conditions. The droughts, failure of monsoon and other natural calamities have brought about famine or near-famine conditions from which there seems to be no escape in the near future.

WHAT ALL-INDIA AGRICULTURISTS FEDERATION STAND FOR?

By
SARDAR BAHADUR LAL SINGH

Baseless propaganda :

1. Baseless statements are frequently made by interested parties alleging that the All India Agriculturists Federation (Bharat Kisan Sammelan) stands for only feudal landlordism. It seems therefore necessary to reiterate in unambiguous terms the position of the Federation in regard to land-reform and other matters affecting the agriculturists and to expose the hypocrisy and real intentions of our land reformers.

Federation definitely stands for land reforms of genuine type :

2. While strongly condemning the prevalent policy of securing votes through "wild promises" of "land to the landless" by expropriating lands from the rightful owners—promises which are incapable of being fulfilled without scrapping the present Constitution, which guarantees the sanctity of private property lawfully acquired, the *Federation definitely stands for genuine type of land reforms* practised in all democratic countries of the world, and which aim at :—

(a) discouraging parasitic type of landlordism not contributing anything to the development of land, which in India can be achieved in a number of ways (without resort to invidious discrimination) such as tax laws with suitable modification if necessary like graded tax on quantum of land.

(b) offering long-term Government loans to landless farmers, who desire to purchase land and pay its price in easy instalments over a number of years as being done in other civilized countries.

(c) ensuring equitable justice amongst all parties concerned—land-owners, tenants and labour.

(d) preventing exploitation of tenants by fixity of tenure and land rent at reasonable level, the only two safeguards that can be justifiably demanded in any democratic country by any reasonable class of people, and

(e) modernizing agriculture or in the larger interests of the nation adopting such measures as lead to maximum production from the land. In this connection some of the measures adopted in U.K. have proved effective and are worth-noting, whereby :

System in U.K.

(i) a landlord, not fulfilling his prescribed obligations in the matter of land development, can be deprived of his land on payment of reasonable compensation in terms of market price or rental value.

(ii) the tenant cannot be ejected without permission of the Minister of Agriculture; with the provision of an appeal even against his decision except when his standard of farming falls short of the prescribed standards, and

(iii) even the owner-cultivator is financially or otherwise helped to maintain the required standard of farming.

Marked contrast to U.K. Policy :

The land reform policy of the democratic countries is in marked contrast to the contemporary policy of the present ruling party which proposes to take away land even from those, who are already making its best use and hand it over (for the sake of votes) to those who have neither the means of cultivation nor the enterprise. What is most unfortunate, is, that this is being done at a time when "increased production" is the crying need of the country, and the whole economy of India is precariously poised.

Market Price for land :

3. Under the present land reform policy, the land owners, including self-cultivators, are to be dispossessed of all their lands exceeding 30 acres. Not only are they to be deprived of their hereditary occupation, but they are to be paid only a nominal price for their lands. This is in marked contrast to the policy so far pursued by our ruling party i.e. paying full market price for shares of Air Lines, Insurance Companies and Imperial Bank, etc. involving largely non-agriculturist and rich share holders. There is absolutely no justification, moral or legal, in not paying full market price to land owners.

Tenancy system prevails in all democratic countries :

4. There is nothing inherently wrong in continuing tenancy system which prevails in most democratic countries of the world.

Even in U.K. seventyfive per cent of the farmers cultivating two-thirds of the total area of land, are tenants; and in a country, like U.S.A. many farmers including a large number of Indian Farmers are finding it more profitable to utilise their limited resource, in growing crops without sealing all their capital in the purchase of land which can be had for cultivation on payment of reasonable rent. If it is not considered immoral by our Government or Scheduled Banks to charge interest on loans or by the factory and house-owners in cities to charge rent and lease money for their properties, then by what logic, is it immoral or anti-social for the land-owner to charge a reasonable rent for his land? After all, he has either purchased that land in the open market and sometimes from the Government itself, as in Punjab in open competition or reclaimed it at heavy expenses. Is there any valid reason to pay nominal price because of the incapacity of the Government or the tenant to pay the market price? If land cannot be owned, it can always be leased out, which in fact, is the universal rule in all non-communist countries. The plain fact is that the Tenancy System is being exploited in order to create cleavage and bad-blood between different sections in rural areas to gain political ends.

Slogans like land to landless are illogical and meant to create friction & conceal inefficiency:

5. Slogans like "land to the landless" are illogical and meaningless. Land is not like water and air which are indispensable to a man. Nor can the possession of a tiny-bit of land, ever improve the economic lot of the landless, as is revealed by the findings of many inquiries (such as Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab) conducted by both official and non-official agencies all over India on the Economics of Farming. And no democratic country considers it necessary for everyone to possess land. Even in countries like U.S.A. with a huge area of surplus land, only 11 per cent of its population, and in Australia (with about 75 times more per capita area than in India) only 14 per cent of population are engaged in Agriculture. The slogan of "Land Hunger" is, likewise misleading as it is only "hunger" which can be satisfied by providing employment to the people. In fact, the sons of the existing small farmers are already roaming about in millions in search of petty jobs of peons, watchmen, etc. So these slogans, coined by the ruling party, are meant to create friction and disharmony between different sections in rural areas and to conceal its failure, its utter incompetence, incapacity and bankruptcy of new ideas, to create fresh avenues of employment by encouraging new industries, big and small. Instead of decreasing human pressure on land, which every right thinking person considers necessary, the ruling party is intent upon increasing pressure and compelling millions of people to remain as serfs and dependents on land.

Cultivable waste land:

6. If our ruling party was really earnest in giving land to the landless and the landless were equally earnest to settle on land, then there was no dearth of land lying waste but capable of reclamation. According to Government's own statistics (vide Statistics of Reorganised States) no less than 5.69 crore, acres of cultivable waste land has been lying idle for generations past of which a big portion and in some places even 25 to 50 per cent could be easily reclaimed. Again, no less than 8.56 crore acres are classed as barren or uncultivable land, considerable portions

of which can also be reclaimed with necessary efforts. Besides, 3.12 crore acres of fallow land, no less than 2.99 crore acres are shown as permanent fallow, of which a good portion can again be brought under permanent cultivation. Lastly, 12.80 crore acres are grouped as forest land. In many states like Andhra and Mysore, apart from genuine forests, there are pseudo forests, for miles and miles at a stretch, which do not contain fuel or timber worth even 5 to 10 rupees per acre.

No dearth of land. But immense dearth of wherewithal:

In fact, any foreigner, after seeing crores of acres now lying waste, and witnessing the wretched standard of farming on lands under cultivation cannot help exclaiming that the greatest dearth is not of land but of the necessary wherewithal and technical know-how and paramount need is not distribution of land of its nominal cultivation but to raise the standard of farming. Some progressive farmers, even in Mysore State itself, with necessary finance have released new lands by cutting down and levelling hillocks. Likewise, the Punjabee farmers, driven from West Punjab (Pakistan) have out of necessity reclaimed, after Independence, lacs of acres of land lying waste not only in Punjab but even in the Tarai area (U.P.) which for centuries had been the abode of snakes, elephants and tigers. In fact, millions of acres of more waste lands would have been reclaimed long ago by the progressive farmers only if Domocles' sword of ceiling had not been raised on their heads by our land-reformers.

Reclamation of land through private enterprise and Govt. Agency:

Even now if the reclamation work was to be taken up by our Government, on a gigantic scale, all friendly nations would readily come forward with necessary technical assistance and supply of bull-dozer, scrapers and other equipment in this noble mission. Any sensible person must also admit that it is more economical and advantageous to get foreign help in reclamation of land rather than beg other countries for food-grains — our Government has got from U.S.A. alone about 500 crores rupees worth of farm products during the last three years only. Reclamation of waste lands would not only solve our food problem for ever but also provide employment to millions of people. In spite of repeated suggestions of many years, our ruling party has shown complete indifference to the problem.

More land by reclamation than by imposition of ceiling:

7. What is more pertinent to mention is, that reclamation of even 5 per cent of land now lying waste, could yield many times more area of land than could ever be visualized by imposition of ceiling on land holdings, and that also, after (a) creating chaos, anarchy and bad blood between different sections in rural areas and class hatred between agriculturists and non-agriculturists, as also, between rural and urban people and (b) after expelling men possessing necessary wherewithal, intelligence, enterprise and business ability from this profession, since nobody with any commonsense, would care to remain in agriculture after imposition of ceiling at ridiculously low level at 30 acres with a maximum income of Rs. 300/- per month per family. This will not only cause the greatest setback to modernization of Agriculture but would surely keep Indian Agriculture in primitive condition for all times to come — no greater crime than this, could ever be committed against Indian Agriculture. Is it not futile to expect modernization in a

profession which by legislation, is to be made the exclusive monopoly of illiterate, ignorant and poverty-stricken class of people?

Unworthy objectives of land reforms :

8. In view of the anxiety of the ruling party to impose ceiling on land holdings, "or robbing Peter to pay Paul," rather than reclaiming waste land and offering the same to the landless (if they so desire), no wonder the intelligentsia in the agriculturist community is inclined to conclude that :

(a) our so-called land reformers (drawn largely from non-agriculturist class) are not so much interested in giving land to the landless or even in increasing production, as in eliminating the stalwarts in the agriculturist class (on the plea of social justice) who, in spite of several handicaps, can still afford to compete with urbanites in education, public services, and election to the Legislatures so that after the imposition of ceiling, all people in rural area, in one or two generations are reduced to an equally dead level of poverty and

(b) the so-called "landless" are more interested in grabbing the valuable lands of their neighbours either free or at a nominal price than putting labour in reclaiming waste lands or even settling on reclaimed lands, as they have not so far shown any interest in cultivation even when they had been given land. And this is perhaps best illustrated in the case of Mysore State itself, where the ruling party is now holding its Congress Session to give practical shape to their land reforms or may we say, to pronounce death-knell to the agriculturists class.

Logical course in imposition of ceiling and ceiling in other countries :

9. Those conversant with the economics of farming do well appreciate the elementary fact that (unlike a landlord renting out his land to tenants, where he does not have to invest any money), a land-owner cultivating his own land does not find farming a profitable profession unless he has necessary finances and good managerial capacity. Since nobody can afford to cultivate more area than his resources permit without of course running into heavy loss, there is really no necessity to place ceiling on self-cultivated, especially at such monstrously low level as 30 acres. If ceiling has at all to be imposed it must bear some relation to the income of people in other sectors, and it must be at a level which will induce men of intelligence and ambition to remain in the agricultural profession. In this connection, we have before us the examples of other countries like Poland, East Germany, Egypt, Pakistan, Vietnam and others, where the ruling party, though earnest in modernizing agriculture, is not out to crush the agriculturist class for political reasons.

Communists stand quite understandable :

10. The Federation is able to fully appreciate the stand of the Communists in regard to land reforms. Firstly, communism does not, in principle, believe in the very institution of private ownership of any kind of property, whether agricultural or non-agricultural and rural or urban. Secondly, the land reform of the type envisaged in India, is in any case the first and inevitable step towards communism. Thirdly, it is also easy to understand that if all the 83 per cent of the people living in rural areas, and espe-

cially the 70 per cent engaged directly in agriculture (including the highest ones) are economically reduced to an equally dead level, both in regard to ownership of property and income, the people in the urban areas or in non-agricultural sectors or professions can overnight be swept aside by broom-stick and forced to accept socialism approximating communism in all essentials. Fourthly, if and when the rural people are economically reduced to the position, as envisaged in land reform, they themselves are bound to prefer communism to socialism, as the former at least affords equal treatment to all—whether agriculturists or non-agriculturists. In any case the rural people (human-nature as it is) after the imposition of ceiling, are themselves likely to press for similar ceiling in the urban areas as two kinds of ideologies—Socialist Pattern for agriculturists and capitalistic pattern for non-agriculturists—cannot possibly work or co-exist. So, the communists are perfectly justified in supporting the present type of land reforms which would automatically lead to communism.

Hypocrisy & insincerity of Congressmen :

The Federation is, however, unable to appreciate the policy of Congressmen—the disciples of Gandhiji, who advocated the path of Truth at any cost. The Congressmen while (a) swearing by democracy, (b) pretending to respect our present Constitution, and (c) owning lacs, or millions of rupees worth property in their own names or in the names of their close relatives and (d) earning lacs of rupees in business, or even as house-rents in cities or in Government contracts in the names of their relations have, nevertheless, the audacity to advocate socialism with vengeance for the agriculturists alone; whereas they are not prepared to consider any proposal to impose ceiling at even Rs. 2,500/- per month per person (not per family—and there may be several persons earning this much income in a single family) they feel no qualm of conscience in advocating for the agriculturists a ceiling of 30 acres yielding an income of Rs. 300/- per month per family or about Rs. 55/8/- per month per person, even for the highest agriculturist. This is on the plea that there are landless people in rural areas, who desire land, as if everyone in the urban area also possesses a house of his own, or a factory or bank balance or car; or as if, there are not millions sleeping in Winter on the pavements of the streets in the cities, and as if, poor people in the cities believe in self-denial. Alas! Hypocrisy or self-deception could have some limit.

Congressite Agriculturists :

11. The Federation can only pity those Congressite Agriculturists, who are prepared to serve as henchmen of the ruling party in signing death warrant, or in converting the whole agriculturist class—their own community and their own kith & kin—to the position of Pariahs, and all this for the sake of winning the smiles of those in power, or for retaining their ministerial gadis or seats in Legislatures. The history will record, and future generation will recall and curse, their treacherous behaviours at this critical period. Is it too late to appeal to them that if they honestly believe in ceiling, the least they can do, is to show more courage and guts to insist on equality of treatment to both agriculturists and non-agriculturists in imposition of ceilings on property and income.

Small percentage being affected :

12. Some Congressmen justify land reforms on the plea that they affect only a small percentage or a few lacs of agriculturists.

On the same analogy, one may argue, "why touch even a few lacs of Agriculturists?" Why not grab the property of only a few thousands of Crorepatis of multi-millionaries in a few cities?" The latter course will yield all the money required for Third Five-Year Plan and also satisfy "the have-nots" more than by depriving the poor agriculturists of even 50-100 acres of their lands, and incidentally it will also bring a bumper crop of votes to Congress. This, however, is not intended to be done, perhaps because blood is thicker than water in their case.

Social Justice :

13. Let it be clearly understood that Federation stands for social justice to ALL and preventing exploitation of weaker party in all spheres. But the Socialism advocated by the ruling party is of more discriminatory nature directed against agriculturists alone. Multi-millionaries, resting in palaces worth sometimes a crore of rupees each and squandering away lacs in luxuries, are patriots and good citizens in the eyes of the ruling party, because they can subscribe to the coffer of the party; but the cultivators possessing even 50-100 acres and sweating for their honest livelihood are anathema to the rulers. What a mockery of socialism. Although socialism is not a panacea but the agriculturists would not mind socialism of any brand, even approximating communism, so long as it is applicable to all. What is sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander. Failing this, the agriculturists must refuse to serve as the first sacrificial goat on the altar of socialism. Woe be to those Agriculturists, who can tolerate this discrimination against their own community.

Who is spreading class hatred?

14. Although it is the ruling party, which by raising certain slogans like "land to the landless" and by its discriminatory legislation against agriculturists, is sowing the seed of discord, friction and bad-blood by putting rich against poor, big cultivators against small cultivators landed against landless, owners against tenants, Harijans against Jats, agriculturists against non-agriculturists, ruralities against urbanites, and the Federation is only pleading for equal treatment between all sections, as social justice is indivisible, yet the ruling party has the audacity and cheek to accuse the Federation of spreading class hatred. It is like condemning a goat for its crying in agony at the time of assassination at the hands of a butcher.

The Federation, even at the eleventh hour, appeals to the ruling party to modify its Land Reforms Policy in a manner that would (a) increase production and tend to modernize our primitive agriculture and (b) avoid class hatred and discriminatory legislations, and lastly which is worst of all (c) stop appealing to the base human instinct of "getting something for nothing" as is implied in the popular slogan, and thereby, drag down the whole mass of people to the lowest depth of degradation. Nations have prospered and have elevated themselves only by hard work—sweat and turmoil and not by grabbing or dividing the property of their neighbours.

VIEW-POINT OF FEDERATION IN OTHER ALLIED MATTERS

"Price Support Policy : Ruling Party failed in test :

15. There have been occasions in the recent past, as in 1953-54, when prices of foodgrains, gur (jaggery, etc.) had fallen to the

most unremunerative level. That year had provided an acid test for the ruling party to show its sympathy for the agriculturist class in concrete form. It could have purchased the surplus stock thereby giving, on one hand, relief to the cultivators, and on the other, building "reserve stock" out of *our own* produce from within instead of *imports* from abroad, as had to be subsequently done. Earnest pleas of the agriculturists' representatives in the Lok Sabha to adopt "Price Support Policy" were ridiculed by the then Food & Agriculture Minister. While the cultivators were crying in agony, a Minister of our ruling party, and a leading industrialist had the audacity to issue press statement from Delhi expressing gratification at the fall of prices. This was a bitter regard to the cultivators for having responded to the call of Nation for increased production. Even now, India can become easily self-sufficient in food; and States, like Punjab, Andhra & Orissa, can register immense increase in food production, *only if* our ruling party can guarantee to the cultivator for a number of years a remunerative price for his produce, based on cost of production and reasonable margin of profits, as is the practice in other countries, like U.S.A., Australia, etc., and as followed even by our own Government in non-agricultural sectors. But unfortunately, our Government had so far preferred to waste hundreds of crores of rupees on import of foodgrains from abroad rather than pay remunerative price to its own growers, without realising two fundamental facts, that (a) prosperity of the country at large is closely linked up with the prosperity of the farmer and (b) the farmer cannot and *shall not* grow, unless it pays him to grow. Even the Communist Government in Russia, after trying all regimentation and compulsion, had to admit that firstly "increased production lay in the hands of farmers, and farmers alone," and secondly "it was incentive and incentive alone" that would tempt him to put in his best, in increasing food production. The sooner our Government realises this bitter truth, the better. Even at present the farmers in Punjab, Andhra and Orissa are only getting one-half to two-thirds of the price for their wheat and rice which the consumers in other States are paying—the margin being enjoyed as profit by middlemen or by our Government, at the expense of both the grower and the consumer. A Punjabi agriculturist farming on the right bank of Jamuna River is not getting for his wheat even two-thirds of the price paid by a consumer of U.P.—a few miles away on the left side of Jamuna River.

Clamour for lowering food price :

16. In connection with the constant clamour for lowering the price of foodgrains, it has to be basically realised that "the so called high price of foodgrains" does not greatly affect 83 per cent of the rural people. This is because (apart from the agriculturists) the rural people by a large—like farm labourers, carpenters, black-smiths, shoe-makers, weavers, etc. are mostly paid for their services or merchandise in kind and not in cash or they have a way of mutual adjustment. In urban areas also, it is only the labouring class and low-paid employees who feel the real pinch of price for which either dearness allowance could be given by their employers or grain could be supplied by the Government at subsidized rates, as being done in other countries. There is no justification for penalizing the farmer, by unduly lowering the price of farm produce for all the sundry including those who can well afford to pay. THE CRY OF LOW PRICE AND INCENTIVE TO THE FARMER is like blowing hot and cold in the same breath. By this cry, the ruling party can succeed neither in achieving the

desired objective of increased production nor in winning cheap applause from both the grower and the consumer.

State Trading :

17. The position of the Federation in regard to the State Trading also needs to be clearly understood. The Federation feels that the State must step in the market when the prices fall below the prescribed rates. Both the private dealers and the State may simultaneously trade and even compete in the open market. This will incidentally provide an acid test to the efficiency of Governmental machinery as compared with private agency. Exclusive monopoly to the State (apart from the impracticability of finding adequate finances for State Trading and gross injustice to private traders) would lead to inefficiency and prove ruinous to both the grower and consumer due to absence of competition. Both would be at the mercy of Government Officials—the grower getting low price and the consumer paying high price, and the margin being partly nullified by inefficiency and corruption, and partly shown as profits in State Trading—several hundred crores of rupees are already being shown in the Third Plan period as estimated revenue from State Trading.

All Facilities to rural people at par with urban people :

18. While people in the urban areas enjoy ample facilities in the form of big libraries; many Arts and Science Colleges or even professional Colleges in each town; besides numerous Secondary Schools and medical facilities such as hospitals, each costing millions of rupees and some even a crore each; metalled and tarred roads for traffic; filtered and chlorinated water for drinking; municipal gardens for recreations; and such other numerous social amenities of varied nature and more are still being asked for; people in rural areas—the producers of real wealth or raw material for the industries—do not have the satisfaction of having even a Primary School in each village, nor even a "Dai" or mid-wife for an ailing mother in each locality, roads full of ruts and not fit for even bullock-carts, no better than pond-water for drinking in many places—in short a living hell on earth.

So the rural people, forming 83 per cent of the Indian population, demand that Government must provide in rural areas all the above amenities *at par* with those in urban areas within the shortest possible time; and further, expenditure in future in all State Departments should be apportioned between rural and urban areas on the basis of population.

Reservation of seats in higher institutes and public administration, for rural people :

19. Since (a) recruitment to public services is at present on the basis of merits which largely means education (b) the agriculturists have little opportunity to impart higher education to their children, partly because of the absence of higher institutes and partly because of their financial inability to send their children to urban areas where such an Institute exists, (c) there can be no question of rural candidates being able, for long time to come, to compete with urban candidates having all facilities for education at their doors, (d) rural representation in public services is already in *inverse ratio* to their population and (e) present position is bound to deteriorate further when everyone in the agriculturist class is economically reduced to the lowest standard, as a result of land ceiling. It is incumbent on the part of our National Government (i) to reserve seats on population basis for rural students in higher Institutes, (ii) to award scholarship to the sons of agriculturists in such Institutes to enable

them to qualify for competition and (iii) to reserve seats on population basis in public administration and (iv) to ensure that, for recruitment to the Government Service through Public Service Commission, competition is held only between the rural candidates for seats reserved for rural people.

Joint Co-operative Farming :

20. In regard to Joint Co-operative Farming also, the ruling party is making confusion worse confounded by making contradictory statements. If the protagonists of Nagpur resolutions on the subject had the least practical back-ground of Agriculture, they would have confined themselves to "Service Co-operatives." Who could ever oppose Co-operative Marketing, ware-housing or purchase of farm requirements, farm credit, or even reclamation of waste lands or irrigation facilities and hundred other matters on Co-operative basis? The High Command could have watched the progress of the experiment. If even the "Service Co-operative," had proved a failure, there would naturally have been no question of any kind of Joint, or Collective or Co-operative Farming. On the other hand, had it proved a success (and there was every reason to hope for a thumping success *only if* the work was entrusted to persons who knew their job) then a suggestion could have been quietly thrown for a further step in Co-operation and the farmers would have in all probability taken it in good spirit. The Nagpur resolution, brackets Service Co-operatives with Joint Farming, and states that the former is the first step to the latter. It clearly shows that either the farmers of the resolution had absolutely no background of practical agriculture, or to the good luck of the farmers, they unconsciously betrayed their real intention of introducing Collective Farming under the guise of Joint or Co-operative Farming. In China also, the Co-operative Farming, having proved utter failure, led to Collective Farming and the latter led to communes. In Poland also, 8,000 out of 10,000 Collective Farms disappeared overnight as soon as the cultivators got opportunity to express their honest conviction.

The present position is that even though the ruling party is carrying on propaganda that it only proposes to introduce Service Co-operatives for the present, yet because of misapprehensions in the minds of the people, even the success of Service Co-operatives has been jeopardized. It only shows that even the best cause can be ruined by ill informed enthusiasts. People have begun to suspect that (a) introduction of Service Co-operatives is only a trap to lead the farmers to Collective Farming and (b) the impelling motive behind "Service Co-operatives" is political i.e., firstly, getting most cultivators heavily in debt to "Service Co-operatives" on account of loans intended to be given to Co-operatives for tubewells or tractors or warehouses or for improvements of lands etc., and then bringing pressure on the people through Co-operative Inspectors for purpose of votes.

Acid Test :

21. So the position of All India Agriculturists Federation is that it is not against Service Co-operatives voluntarily started, *provided* financial credit, supply of fertilizer and improved seed, water-housing facilities, etc., etc. are not exclusively confined to members of the Co-operatives—but are available to all alike—members and non-members. This is exactly what had to be done in Poland. This will be an acid test of both the success of Co-operatives and its voluntary character, as is so much being publicized. If favourable treatment is to be meted out to Co-operatives then it is an indirect compulsion.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF ANCIENT BIHAR

BY

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THE modern State of Bihar consists of four administrative divisions — Tirhut, Patna, Bhagalpur and Chhotanagpur — but physically the State is divided into two broad divisions by the river Ganga. The land on the left bank of the Ganga is fertile and soft while that of the right bank is not so productive. This part is mostly full of hills, valleys, forests and rivers, but it is studded with mineral treasures for which it is famous all over the country.

The State is bounded on the north by Nepal Terai, on the east by the State of West Bengal and on the south by the State of Orissa, while the States of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh are on its west.

The modern divisions of India into different states have been created for administrative facility. But the case in ancient India was altogether different. There was a large number of states, smaller or bigger, most of which were originally known by the names of the tribes inhabiting them. There was no state such as modern Bihar. The very name of this State is an artificial one. We do not find any reference to the name of Bihar in Pali or Sanskrit literature. The name was applied to the adjoining tracts of the modern small town of Bihar-Sharif for the first time during the invasion of Bakhtiyar Khilji. The invader found a large number of Buddhist Viharas or monasteries in this district, so he named the whole area Bihar. The town itself was named Bihar after the sack of Odantapur Mahavihara which is located at this site. The town of Bihar-Sharif became an administrative centre during the Muslim rule, and with the expansion of their conquests, the whole land to the south and north of the Ganga came to be known by this name after the place from which the whole region was governed. The Chhotanagpur area remained a separate unit under the name of Jharakhand. Bihar was definitely recognized as a province during the reign of Akbar and the district of Champaran which lies in the extreme north of this State was a Sarkar in its jurisdiction. We do not know what was the position of Chhotanagpur during the Muslim rule. It may have formed a part of either Bihar or Jaganagar (Orissa). Thus we see that Bihar as the name of this State is not an ancient one.

In ancient times, the area now falling under the jurisdiction of Bihar comprised several states — some as a whole and some in parts. The states of Mithila (Videha), Vaisali (Lichchhavi),

Magadha and Ariga definitely formed parts of Bihar as a whole, while portions of the states of the Mallas, Kosala and Variga were also contained in its territory.

Let us discuss these states one by one and mark the changes that took place in the course of centuries.

VIDEHA :—

Of all the ancient states which existed in the region of modern Bihar, the land of the Videhas was the first to come into contact with Aryan civilization. The Satapatha Brahmana relates that Mathava Videgha, accompanied by his priest Gotama Rahugana came to the Sadanira (the modern Gandaki), the land beyond which was not touched by sacrificial fire and so was uninhabited by any Brahmana. The fire god, Agni promised to live there but not in physical form. Then Mathava Videgha established his kingdom there. It was after Videgha that the territory was known as Videha.

The name Videha is evidently a form of the chieftain's name 'Videha' and the story of Agni's promise to live there in disincarnate form is probably a later tradition developed after the region got its name, on the basis of a false etymology (Vi-deha "deprived of a body").

This territory was bounded on the north by Nepal Terai, on the east by the western stream of the Kosi, on the west by the Sadanira (the modern Gandaki). It is very difficult to trace the southern limit of the Videhan kingdom. We can simply state that the Vaisali territory was to the south of Videha.

In the sixth century B.C., before the rise of Buddhism, the Videhan kingdom had sunk to a low position. The monarchy had been replaced by a republic and the territory itself formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy.

VAJJI :—

The people known as Vajji or Vrijji are referred to by Panini and Kautilya. They appear to have almost merged with the tribe of the Lichchhavis who are more widely referred to.

We do not find any reference to the Lichchhavis in vedic literature. They had probably a late origin in comparison with Videha

and Magadha. The territory of the Lichchhavis was called Vaisali which was also the name of their capital, and lay on the north bank of the Ganga. We can determine its boundary roughly from various sources in Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit literature. This territory was bounded on the west, south and east respectively by three rivers — the Gandaki, the Ganga and the Bagmati while on the north was the kingdom of Videha.

The modern districts, Muzaffarpur and part of Darbhanga and Monghyr may have been comprised in the Lichchhavi territory at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., when the Lichchhavis were at the zenith of their power.

In the mediaeval period, the joint territory of the Videhas and Lichchhavis was known as Mithila. But common people may have already known it by the more modern name of Tirhut. This word is probably a corruption of Tirabhukti which has been explained in different ways in mediaeval Sanskrit works. The Mithilakhanda of the Brihad-Vishnu Purana defines the boundary of Tirabhukti as the Himavat on the north, the Ganga on the south, the Kosi on the east and the Gandaki on the west.

MALLA :—

The modern district of Saran, which lies to the west of the Gandak, should have fallen in the Kosala Janapada according to the evidence of the Satapatha Brahmana. Owing to the scarcity of facts with a firm chronological basis, we do not know how long the Kosalan monarchs ruled over this region. From the Anguttara Niki we learn that tribal or republican states such as the Mallas, Moriyas held sway in this region. Having considered the problem in different ways, one comes to the conclusion that the modern Saran district was a part of the Malla territory.

ANGA :—

The ancient state Anga has been variously mentioned in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature, but altogether references are hardly sufficient to give any detailed knowledge of the state as they do in the cases of Magadha and the Vajji territories.

The Ramayana mentions the Anga country between the river Ganga and the Sarayu. It seems probable that the Ramayana contains an ancient tradition of the migration of the Angas from west to east in the remote past when they may have settled between the Ganga and the Sarayu in the course of their eastward march.

Anga is identified with the present districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and a portion of Santhal Parganas. However its limits have varied from time to time. The natural boundary on the north was the Ganga and according to the Champeya Jataka, the river Champa flowed between the states of Magadha and Anga and thus formed the latter's western boundary. Taking the Champa as the western limit of Anga, we shall have to assume on the basis of its present course, that a major portion of the district of Bhagalpur was not under the Angas as scholars erroneously think, but under the Magadhas. We have no authoritative evidence to determine its limit on the south and east. In the south-east of Bhagalpur district there is a place called Teliagarhi which was very important from the strategical point of view. This pass might have been the eastern limit of Anga, while on the south this state comprised the northern portion of Santhal Parganas. But according to Sir

George Birdwood, the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad also formed a part of Anga. We have no evidence that at any time Anga expanded over such a large tract.

From the Ramayana, we may gather that at some time the Anga kings either ruled the Kosi area or had overwhelming influence in the region. The courtisans of Anga are said to have beguiled Rishyasringa from his hermitage in this area and brought him to the Anga capital. It would be hardly possible to perpetrate such an act in a foreign territory.

ANGUTTARAPA :—

The Kausikikhetra, which lies to the north of Anga across the river Ganga, was probably known as Anguttarapa to Buddhist scholars. The Samyutta Nikaya commentary explains it as a kingdom of Anga, near the water, across the Ganga. This Anguttarapa should thus be identified with modern Purnea and Saharsa districts. This is probably the land which has been referred to as 'Jalodbhava' (reclaimed from swamp) in the Mahabharata.

MODAGIRI :—

From the Mahabharata, we gather that Kausikikhetra and Modagiri had their own kings. The word Modagiri seems to have been derived from Mudgagiri. These references may in fact represent petty chiefs reigning in Post-Mauryan period, when the legend of the Mahabharata was brought up to date and almost every region of the then known India was incorporated into the story. The territory of Modagiri or Mudgagiri (Monghyr) may have comprised the region adjoining the present Patna and Gaya districts.

Huen-Tsang mentions the capital of a kingdom under the name of I-lau-na-po-ta to which has been generally identified with the Hiranya Parvata. This is probably the hill in the neighbourhood of Monghyr, the Modagiri of the Mahabharata.

We have no independent historical evidence other than Huen-Tsang to throw any light upon the independent principality of Modagiri. Hence the existence of this kingdom is not above suspicion.

MAGADHA :—

This word seems to have originated from Magadhas mentioned in the Yajurveda sung on the occasion of sacrifices. It is possible that the region from which minstrels went to attend the sacrifices, was called Magadha.

There are some scholars such as Zimmer and Weber who identify Magadha with the region known as Kikata in the Rig-Veda. Kikata was famous for its cows but Magadha was never famous for cows. This would suggest that Kikata was a land other than Magadha.

None of the sources present a clear picture of the exact extent of Magadha. In modern times Magah or Magadha is identified with the district of Patna and Gaya including the northern fringe of the Hazaribagh district. Hence Grierson thinks that Magadha in the time of Buddha corresponded to the modern district of Gaya only. But the ancient Magadha seems to have had a larger area than the modern word implies. From the study of the Champeya Jataka, it is clear that a fair portion of the modern Bhagalpur dis-

tract was actually in Magadha. The river Ganga formed the northern boundary of Magadha. But we are not sure how far Magadha extended on the west and south. The people of the northern part of Hazaribagh district still use the Magadhi language and therefore this area may have formed a part of Magadha in ancient days.

N. L. Dey thinks that Magadha extended up to Benaras or near it. Cunningham contracts the western limit to the Karmanasa, which is at present the western boundary of Bihar. From the Ramayana, it appears that the hermitage of Vishvamitra was situated in Karusha desa. Martin says that according to local tradition the land between the Sona and the Karmanasa was called Karushadesa after a deity of the same name. On the basis of language also, it can be presumed that the Sona may have formed the western limit of Magadha.

JHARAKHAND :—

This tract was almost a complete wilderness in ancient times and human intercourse was very rare and difficult. We hardly find any reference to this region, in our literature. There were apparently certain isolated places, such as the Parasnath hill, where a few ascetics went to meditate in peace and solitude.

The Jain literature mentions a region named Sambhuttara or Sumkottara. This region is probably that which was known in later times as Sumha Rohula Sankrityayara understands that Sumha covered a portion of the Hazaribagh district and Santhala Paraganas. As the Jain literature was composed in later centuries, we cannot hold the name to be very ancient. The Mahabharata mentions a further region Pasubhumi in the east, conquered by Bhima. One may be tempted to locate it somewhere in the region of

Chhotanagpur. In modern Chhotanagpur, there are numerous place-names which end in bhum such as Manbhum, Dhalbhum, Singhbhum and the like. It is possible that Pasubhumi was a district in this area which received its name from the abundance of its wild animals.

In the Brihatkalpa Sutra, Bhanga or Bhangi is included in the twenty-five Aryan countries, with Pava as its capital. This kingdom is referred to in the Mahabharata also. It probably comprised the districts of Hazaribagh and Dhanbad. Its capital Patna is located in the region near Parasnatha hill.

Another region Daddhabhumi is said to have been inhabited by many Mlechchhas. It may be identified with modern Dhalbhumi in the Singhbhum district.

About 1100 A.D., this region is said to have contained certain small kingdoms whose rulers helped Ramapala in recovering his ancestral throne. They are the Kujavati, Tailakana and Kayairgala Mandala. The Kujavati kingdom is identified with a place of the same name, 14 miles to the north of Nayadumka in the Santhala Paraganas. Tailakampa has been identified with Telkuhi in the Dhanbad district. The Kayangala Mandala is to the south of the Rajamahala hills. It is probably the same as Kajangala mentioned by Huen-Tsang.

Thus we see that there were several states in Bihar before the Muslims had invaded this part of the country. In the fifth century B.C. Magadha had subjugated almost all of these states, but they had been able to maintain their own names, rather they were known by their ancient names, although they were a part and parcel of the Magadhan territory.

RAJAJI'S TALK TO H. V. KAMATH

BY
COURTESY OF "THE CURRENT"

THE VERY FACT THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE SUPPORTING NEHRU MUST MAKE IT CLEAR TO HIM THAT HE IS IN THE WRONG

Exclusive to Current

MADRAS: "What is urgently needed is the formation of a non-Congress, non-Communist Front of all parties in every State in India. It will in reality be an anti-totalitarian Alliance, because the present policies of the Congress party under Nehru are taking it towards totalitarianism. That is why the Communist party is supporting him personally", said the octogenarian leader and statesman, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari ex-Governor, ex-Governor-General, ex-Union Home Minister, ex-Chief Minister of Madras, in the course of a lively and cordial one hour and fifty minute talk with me on Wednesday, February 3.

He received me in his frugally but neatly, furnished study-cum-sitting room on the first floor of his modest house in Thyagaraj-nagar. His voice was as vigorous as when I knew him in Parliament nine years ago, his tone firm, and the words came out of his mouth in clear, measured and deliberate accents.

** The last I had seen him was some three years ago, long before he founded the Swatantra Party. At that time he was very critical of the Congress party, and I had seriously suggested to him that he should openly join and lead the Opposition. He had then chuckled and remarked: "How can I do that at my age?" I am glad he has since revised his opinion.

On my way back from Kerala I took the opportunity of meeting the Grand Old Man who at the age of 40 joined the Congress under Mahatma Gandhi, and 40 years later has taken upon himself the arduous task of leading a vigorous opposition against the same Congress under Gandhiji's 'political heir' Nehru.

Bright & Clear

The latter said very recently that the Swatantra Party had arisen in the South out of the dark past. It was a somewhat silly statement to make: The North is certainly not superior to the South, and India's past, all will agree, is surely not as dark as all that. In any case I found Rajaji's mind bright and clear.

One of his grandsons led me upstairs to the door of his room. When I peeped in, he was standing near his book case, looking at some of them. As I tapped on the open door, and walked in, saying 'namaskaram Sir', he turned round and advancing towards me with a broad smile, said, "It is ages since we met." I quietly remarked: "It is only three years I hope they have not seemed ages to you." "Yes", he replied cryptically. I don't know what he meant.

After a cordial handshake, rather a handclasp, he motioned me to a chair and himself sat in one opposite. The weather being still wintryish, he was wearing a coat buttoned up. During our talk which got unexpectedly protracted, he showed no sign of impatience. His voice and expression became animated at times, but his ascetic mien betrayed no perturbation or excitement.

I asked him if he had discussed matters with Nehru or in other ways attempted to wean him from his 'totalitarian' policies.

"It's no use" he said briefly. "The very fact that the Communists are supporting him must make it clear to him that he is in the wrong. It is sad he doesn't realise it", he continued.

H.V.K.: "Do you think there is any danger of India going Communist?"

C.R.: "No, but only on one condition: All of us who are non-Communists, anti-totalitarians will have to act in concert."

H.V.K.: "There is a bright future for Parliamentary democracy, then?"

C.R.: "Yes".

Opposition to Socialism

H.V.K.: "Why are you opposed to Socialism?"

C.R.: "Because I am convinced that Socialism is incompatible with parliamentary democracy and individual freedom. Besides you, as a member of the Constituent Assembly, will appreciate that it is against the spirit of our Constitution."

H.V.K.: "How? Please explain. I don't quite follow."

C.R.: "Full-fledged Socialism will inevitably lead to, if it is not in itself indistinguishable from Communism. For instance, full-blooded Socialism will acquire private property without compensation. And that is logical too: why should the burden of payment of compensation again fall on the Community, which is unlikely to benefit by the State acquiring the property? That is why the Communists reject the idea of compensation. They simply expropriate. You will recall that Article 31 of our Constitution is firmly opposed to any expropriation, and you perhaps remember the somewhat acrimonious debate that preceded it."

H.V.K.: "Yes, Sir. I vividly remember the stormy meeting of the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly where Nehru mooted some such idea bordering on expropriation, and Dr. John Matthai, the then Finance Minister, threatened to resign."

C.R.: "Now tell me Kamath, your conception of Socialism."

H.V.K.: "Whatever else it may be, it is certainly not governmentalization or bureaucratization. To me it is only a means to end exploitation."

C.R.: "I am as firmly opposed to every kind of exploitation as I am to expropriation. If you are against governmentalization, by which I mean State ownership, and bureaucratization then there is some meeting ground between us."

H.V.K.: "I am glad to hear that, Sir."

State ownership

C.R.: "I am convinced that State ownership and control of the means of production cannot lead to a Welfare State to the establishment of which, as you are aware, we are pleaded by our Constitution. That is why in European countries and Britain today, that is to say, in those countries which are democratic, and not totalitarian or Communist, there is a perceptible swing of the pendulum away from nationalization and State ownership of industries."

H.V.K.: "Would you exclude all industries from the purview of State ownership?"

C.R.: "No. The Government will have to own and manage nation-wide concerns such as railways, posts and telegraphs, as also those industries where secrecy and enormous capital are necessary, as for example, the so-called defence industries?"

H.V.K.: "What about other industries?"

C.R.: "You don't expect me to discuss every industry, but my formula is, briefly 'private sector where possible, public sector where necessary'."

H.V.K.: "But, Sir are you opposed to State Control?"

C.R.: "No, not at all. I am firmly of the view that Government should exercise keen supervision so that there is no mismanagement, low wages or ill-treatment of labour."

Trade Unions

H.V.K.: "Are you against Trade Unions, collective bargaining and the right to strike?"

C.R.: "Once again, no. But Trade Unions should be on the right lines and under honest leadership. As regards strikes, I wouldn't call it by that word, but withholding of co-operation or non-co-operation by workers who are oppressed or unjustly treated."

H.V.K.: "What about Planning?"

C.R.: "I don't believe in long-term Planning as at present, with huge loans from foreign countries, and with outlay in thousands of crores which virtually becomes charged, non-votable expenditure once it is approved by Parliament at the commencement of the Plan. I would prefer Planning on an annual basis, and with the different priorities. We must give high priority to tanks, wells and minor irrigation works in our poor country instead of to these Big River Valley Projects."

H.V.K.: "Do you disfavour even public corporations for management of big concerns?"

C.R.: "No, not quite. But even there we can have private corporations wherever possible."

H.V.K.: "Subject to Parliamentary control?"

C.R.: "Yes, over-all Parliamentary control and supervision, but not interference in day-to-day working."

Our conversation then drifted to Dharma, and religious and spiritual values. He was emphatically of the opinion that there should be not merely moral and spiritual, but even religious instruction in all educational institutions.

I reminded him of the efforts I had made in that direction in the Constituent Assembly. He apparently had not forgotten it, and interjected, "yes, and I had congratulated you at that time."

India's foreign policy

Before leaving I asked him whether he would suggest any change in India's foreign policy.

"Of Course," he said. "Non-alignment is dead, not because of any action on India's part, but because of Chinese aggression. China has forcibly ended our non-alignment policy. We can again think of non-alignment only when China vacates aggression and quits Indian territory."

H.V.K.: "What steps would you suggest?"

C.R.: "India must strive for a defence alliance with all Asian countries, all those countries which attended the Bandung Conference. If such an alliance can be brought about, I feel that would Act as a deterrent against China."

H.V.K.: "What do you think of the Kerala elections and the future?"

C.R.: "It is only a local quarrel between the Congressmen and Communists there."

H.V.K.: "I think the Congress Party alone should form the Government there now, don't you agree?"

C.R.: "You are right. Let Congress run the Government there. We must think not so much of Kerala as of all India, and devise ways and means of organizing a non-Congress, non-Communist Alliance well before the next elections."

H.V.K.: "Do you expect any split in the Congress on account of the Swatantra Party?"

C.R.: "No. The Congress Party will not split now, because it commands office and power. It will not split unless it is defeated in the elections."

H.V.K.: "And are you sure that the non-Congress non-Communist Alliance will be able to defeat the Congress, even if there be triangular contests?"

C.R.: "Yes, I am confident."

— H. V. Kamath

OUTLOOK FOR SWATANTRA PARTY

BY
COURTESY OF
B. V. RAMAN

SOcialism of the Western type is a political and economic movement aiming at reforming society by substituting collective for individual action. Of course the term covers a wide field of political and economic doctrines and represents, on the whole, a tendency of thought rather than any defined programme of political or economic activity. In the so-called Capitalistic countries, especially since 1900 the tendency has been for all political parties, irrespective of their label, to introduce legislation which can be fairly called socialistic. The socialism of the 'Capitalistic' countries does not seem to have much in common with the doctrines of Karl Marx. Though there is no public control of banking and industry in the Capitalistic countries, measures have been enacted to ensure social justice to the common man. But in India, the matter is entirely different. The Congress Party which never accepted socialism as long as Mahatma Gandhi lived—and even Mr. Nehru was not vociferous in his advocacy of socialism—passed a resolution at the Avadi Session, adhering to what is now called "the socialistic pattern". But in the utopia of Congress rulers "Socialistic pattern" has not meant a society in which all will have equal rights and opportunities, the under-privileged and protected and helped to a better life, economic activities are harnessed to constructive nation-building purposes and integrated to the country's national culture. But *is has meant*, the state being the only employer, "every citizen will be willy-nilly an employee" doing the work allotted to him and getting what the State thinks he needs. The socialism of the Congress brand does not seem to have any objective criterion or philosophical basis. Bit by bit, the ruling Party has been securing an octopus hold on the people and their lives. This degeneration of Congress Party from being a national organisation built on the affections of the people into a body consisting of large numbers of self-seekers, opportunists and communists parading as apostles of social justice, is not an in-explicable phenomenon. The explanation becomes crystal clear to any tyro in astrology who cares to examine the horoscope of the Congress, with reference to the current directional influences. The Congress has no doubt brought Indian political freedom, during the major period of Saturn, but the political freedom is being used by the Congress to repeat the barren triumphs of the West—denying the freedom to re-establish the Indian cultural tradition. Let alone political reforms. The Party has attempted by the enactment of certain legislative measures, to totally dislocate the structure of Hindu society imagining they could overnight usher in a classless and casteless society. Under the guise of secularity, even religion and

God are being banished. Now the agricultural economy has become the target of experiment. It will be seen that in the horoscope of the Congress, the situation of the Sun in the 10th aspected by Saturn constitutes an Apakeerthi Yoga the result being bad reputation. The Congress in power has been creating an impression that the landless would get lands, the jobless would get jobs, the poor will become rich and that India would be flowing with milk and honey if only Indians would toe the Congress line. In a way it is misleading the people by making promises which it knows it can never fulfil so long as it pursues methods that have found favour only with the Communist countries. Creating such impressions in the minds of the illiterate people, when it is not possible to put them into practice, is unethical and this is due to the presence of Apakeerthi Yoga in the Congress horoscope.

As we have indicated several times, the Congress has been undergoing, since 1957, the major period of a Marakha or death-inflicting planet, viz., Mercury. In the Congress horoscope, Mercury owns the 4th and 7th and is in the 9th, in his own constellation but powerfully aspected by Mars lord of the 2nd (and 9th) from the Ascendant and 3rd and 8th from the Moon. The Congress has survived all these years because the basic structure is quite strong—lords of Lagna, 10th, 5th, 2nd and 9th, all aspecting the Ascendant. Mercury is also a part-ruler of the mind. Because of the situation of Mercury as Maraka, in a martian sign, the Congress will not approach problems with vision and understanding. Moreover, Rahu is now transiting Virgo—the radical position of Mars, Moon and Lagnadhipathi while Saturn is transiting the radical Sun. There will be further perversity of thinking and lack of vision displayed by the Congress Party and consequent waste of resources. It is clear that in the course of Mercury's Dasa, the Congress, by its utter imperviousness to public opinion will not only further disintegrate but will practically cease to exist as a political force.

It cannot be a coincidence that as the Congress sun is setting, a new political force, viz., the Swatantra Party should be rising in the eastern horizon. Kanya or Virgo which is the *astha* or setting sign in the Congress horoscope, happens to be the Lagna or the rising sign in the horoscope of the Swatantra Party, which according to usually trustworthy sources was formally born at 10-30 a.m. on 1.8.1959 at Bombay.

Before dealing with the horoscope of the Swatantra Party, we have to make it clear that ours is not the task of justifying or condemning any of the objects of the organisation under discussion. We do not belong to any political party and we hold no brief either for the Congress, or the Communist or the Swatantra Party. In the astrological analysis of the new Party which we are attempting in these columns, we shall endeavour to keep in our interpretation an objective attitude. We are interested in the application of the astrological sciences to the solution of man's most pressing problems—social, political, scientific and spiritual.

The Swatantra Party originated as a reaction to the short-sighted, utopian and totalitarian policies adopted by the Congress involving the elimination of private enterprise and extinction of individual liberty, let alone the unrealistic foreign policy adopted by the Congress Government.

A superficial glance at the horoscope reveals that it has plenty of inherent vitality. The Ascendant is Virgo and the lord Mercury is in his own asterism Aslesha—quite strong, in association with the Sun and in parivartana (interchange) with the Moon, lord of the 11th. The Moon is in the asterism of Rahu and aspected by Saturn. This is not quite desirable. This sometimes indicates lack of proper vision on the part of the men responsible for moulding the future of the Party. But as the Moon is in a benefic sign, the affliction suggested above may be ignored for all practical purposes. It will be seen that five planets—and all of them fast moving ones—are situated in the visible horizon. This suggests that the Party will be able to capture public attention and achieve its objects quickly. In the interpretation of political horoscopes we have necessarily to fall back upon, and adapt, principles from natal astrology. As Ascendant is strong, by virtue of the lord occupying his own asterism and aspected by Jupiter, the horoscope has inherent vitality and good longevity. Mercury is also lord of the 10th or Karma and hence, the Jupiterian aspect on Mercury, is highly significant. The Party's remarkable achievement would be the awakening of the conscience of the Indians to their moral rights and guiding the minds of the community from the morasses of mischievous materialistic, political and social doctrines of totalitarian West to the idealism of benevolence and Indian culture. Mark the fact that both the 9th house and 10th lord are aspected by Jupiter. The 9th has reference to the "general fortune" while the 10th signifies "Karma or real action" as different from tall talk. This fortification of the 9th and 10th indicates that the programmes and policies of Swatantra Party would be positive enough unlike the doctrinaire and unrealistic approach of the Congress, and would therefore be acceptable to a large majority of the Indian People. The 10th is also the house of realisation. The situation of the 10th lord in the 11th in parivartana with the 11th lord and the aspect of Jupiter on the 10th lord, bring into relief two factors: that the new Party would be conservative in its outlook and policies in the sense that it will uphold all that is good in our ancient values—political, social and economic—and that it would rouse the nation to the menace of indiscriminate state-control on the pattern of the Communist States. Lord of the 2nd Venus is actually in the 12th in an inimical sign in association with the lord of the 3rd and 8th Mars. But Venus is strong as he is not only in his own asterism but also in his own Navamsa. This disposition does not favour the impression that the Party is merely a tool of reactionary and vested financial interests. The inherent strength of Venus on the other hand suggests that the Party will not lack financial resources and that its funds will come from its sympathisers, unlike in the case

of the Congress, which is favoured by the rich industrialists because, they in their turn are favoured by the Congress by making them richer, at least in paper, through inflation.

The horoscope of the Swatantra Party has its own malefic aspects, such as the planets being disposed in mutual dwirwadasa (2nd and 12th) positions denoting initial failures, struggle and sometimes disappointments. Lord of Ascendant being associated with the lord of the 12th and the lord of the 9th being afflicted by the lord of the 8th are Arishta Yogas which are however neutralised because of the strong disposition of lord of the Ascendant.

Rahu is in the Ascendant in exact conjunction. Generally, in individual charts, such a combination is not favoured as it is said to indicate that the person will be "Cruel, without compassion or moral virtue in his nature". But these are general results capable of being modified consistent with the nature of the sign and Navamsa involved. Here the sign is Virgo and the Navamsa is Taurus—both benefic. We would interpret Rahu's situation in Ascendant in this particular context, as signifying, "originality of thought", independence of mind and intellectual ability". Though Rahu is a malefic by all intents and purposes he can partake of the characteristics of Mercury. Here, Rahu's situation in Ascendant denotes "freedom, equality and progress". Mercury is the planet of intellect and clarity of thought and expression. Therefore the party will display refreshing realism in its outlook.

It will be seen that the ruling Dasa is that of Rahu, the sub-period of Rahu extending till about 4-9-1961. According to Bhavartha Ratnakara, Rahu in Ascendant, can not only confer Rajayoga but prosperity in his own Dasa. As occupying the sign of Mercury lord of Lagna and the 10th and the asterism of Moon (lord of the 11th) it occurs to us that during Rahu Dasa the Swatantra Party will gain enormous influence and strength and it will act as a dynamic opposition to the Congress Party now in power.

The situation of Mars, lord of the 3rd in the 12th, denotes "death of brothers", while Mars in 12th indicates "fortune regarding brothers". Evidently this can be interpreted to mean that several of the existing political parties and groups will merge themselves with the Swatantra Party thus making it strong and more representative.

The sub-period of Jupiter in the major period of Rahu lasts from 4-9-1961 to 28-1-64. This will be a very significant time for the new Party. Jupiter as lord of the 4th and 7th is in the 3rd aspecting the 9th and the 11th besides being in the 3rd from the major lord Rahu. Jupiter's disposition in the Navamsa is equally propitious. Therefore, we may venture the prediction that during the next general elections in India—if at all they are held—the Swatantra Party will not only succeed in acquiring representative blocks in the legislatures but other opposition groups will merge themselves into it. Consistent with the nature of Jupiter, the Party's leadership will be further strengthened. Several big personalities now in the Congress, will not only sever their relations with the Congress but will indeed challenge it on the platform of the new Party. The ruling Party will get lot of jitters because of the realism that will be displayed by the new Party. As Saturn aspects Ascendant, another feature of the new Party will be that the abundant criticisms and suggestions it will be assailed with, will be absorbed

constructively. The Ascendant represents the individual. It has no doubt the influences of Rahu and Saturn focussed on it. But Rahu and Saturn are not by themselves involved in mutual aspects of associations. In a sense, the incendiary nature of Rahu has been largely neutralised. This means, the programme of the Party "individual incentive, enterprise and energy" will not border on anarchism or rightist authoritarianism. Priority will be given to people's basic requirements of food, clothing and housing and so on and it will keep away issues of a controversial nature that can have no bearing on people's immediate interests. Summing up, we have to observe that the Party after suffering from some initial strokes of Balarishta will become an influential movement for the consolidation of all that are good in the traditional values of life, leading to the greatness of India and that it will counteract the spread of some of the dangerous and harmful political and economic doctrines of the West which the Congress Party has been apishly imitating. The period of Rahu which it is undergoing now will enable the Party to grow in strength and influence. There is no doubt that with Jupiterian forces dominating and Saturn aspecting the 10th the Swatantra Party is not

only bound to become a real and strong opposition to the ruling Party but will also give a qualified hope to thinking Indians who are sick of the Congress brand of socialism.

Persons untrained in the habits of logical discrimination frequently ask questions expressing curiosity about the sense of applying astrological principles to current social, political and economic problems. Such wonderment is specially evident in the questions but by some of the so-called educated persons. Astrology is not concerned with the adjustment of means to ends which constitutes the matter of everyday thinking, nor with satisfaction of curiosities expressed by doubting Thomases. Astrology is concerned with the entire complex of entities and events, including those that have occurred in the past or will occur in the future as well as those spread out before us in the present. Astrology's contribution is in a large part to clarify that nothing in this world occurs by chance or accident. Astrology is essentially the persistent effort to transcend the limitations of science while respecting the fundamental standards of intellectual attainment upon which science has come to insist.

LAND CEILING IN BIHAR

BY
JALESHWAR PRASAD, ADVOCATE,

AFTER the Nagpur resolution of the Indian National Congress on the point of ceiling and co-operative farming, the different States have thought it their duty to place measures before the Legislature for imposition of ceiling on the area of land in possession of a peasant. The Congress is ruling in all the States of India; hence whether the States like it or not the Governments of those States feel bound to bring in legislation for the purpose of putting a limit on a man's holding. I know it for a fact that no one in Bihar likes this measure and not even the Congress Ministers but all the same they have to take steps to put it on the legislative anvil.

The proposal is to limit a land holder's holding to 30 acres and to take away the surplus land. In case of inferior quality of land the area may be larger but the target is to bring it down to 30 acres. Let us consider what would be the result of this limitation. In Bihar 85% of the people depend for their livelihood on agriculture that means 85% of the people cannot have an income more than what they can manage to obtain from yields of the highest limit i.e. 30 acres. In India the average yield per acre is 10 maunds of paddy or 8 maunds of wheat. In other words peasant will on the average get about 300 maunds of paddy every year. The average price of paddy per maund is about Rs. 12/-, therefore the price 300 maunds will be 3600/-. Half of it is likely to go towards the cost of cultivation including bullock, seed, manure and rent etc. Therefore net income to cultivator will be Rs. 1,800/- per year or Rs. 150/- per month. An ordinary family is composed of 5 persons, that is, husband, wife and three children. The average cost of educating a boy in post secondary stage is Rs. 100/- per month. If the boy takes to medicine, engineering or any other technical subject the expenditure comes to Rs. 150/- per month. In Bihar about 50% of the college students come from the agriculturists and the sure outcome of this legislation will be that the 50% of the college students will be deprived of the education that they are now receiving. This is only one aspect of the proposed legislation. The other equally important aspect is question of finding money for daughter's marriage. Then there is the question of illness in the family. It is well known that in every three years there is once a drought or a flood. Now the question arises whether all these aspects have been considered by the Bihar State Government who are dutifully obeying the command of the National Congress and the irresponsible Planning Commission which, as Mr. Masani has put it, 'consists of half-baked Marxist'. It is

only in our country that responsible Ministers, in spite of being convinced at heart of the futility of a measure, are prepared to surrender their responsibility to some outside authority and throw States to wreck and ruin.

PLAN BEHIND LEGISLATION

The idea behind all such kinds of legislation which aims at weakening the people is to perpetuate the rule of a coterie or clique of persons who have made politics their business. This class of political workers who may be said to be in league with the industrialists or big business magnets desire to perpetuate their rule by making it impossible for the 85% of the agriculturist class in India to contest elections, for it is well known that you require at least Rs. 5,000/- to contest a seat in the assembly and from what I have said it is clear that after the ceiling bill has been placed on the Statute no agriculturist will be in a position to contest any election. It is well known fact that the coffer of the Congress is filled with advances made by the industrialists and business magnates.

The desire to get more contribution from them is reflected in the latest budget proposal of the Government of India, which has raised the exemption limit from 5% to 7½% of the income or from one to 1½ lacs for payment to public and charitable institutions as donations. This proposal has been put in the budget to draw more money from the big people to the Congress fund.

The compensation that is proposed to be paid for the land above the ceiling is ludicrous. The proposal is to pay Rs. 1,200/- per acre for irrigated land and Rs. 600/- for non-irrigated and that also in bonds of 20 years, payable in 20 equal instalments bearing interest at the rate of 2½% per annum. The result will be that these Bonds can be negotiated only at the rate of 50 to 60 per cent of their face value so that the landholder will get not 1,200/- rupees but 600/- to 700/- for his irrigated acre of land. Who does not know that in Bihar one acre of irrigated land fetches 4,000/- to 5,000/- rupees and non-irrigated about 3,000/- rupees on the average; hence I say why resort to this kind of fraud on the question of compensation but tell people plainly that you want to pay them only 50% of what you propose to pay.

I hope the people specially the agriculturists will realise the folly of voting the Congress to power.

UTTAR PRADESH UNDER THE CONGRESS RULE

BY

S. K. D. PALIWAL, M. L. A.

UTTAR PRADESH occupied a very prominent place in the for freedom against British imperialism in India, but thanks to the Congress rule it has not been able to maintain its position in independent India.

The indictment for mal-administration in the State which Sardar Pannikar made in his note in the Report of the states reorganisation Commission a few years ago is too true to be denied even to-day. Many State enterprises, costing huge sums and crores of rupees everywhere, are so many liabilities instead of being assets. The cost of tube wells and canals reveal the same sad tale of losses along with the increase in capital outlay. In the last 5 years the Capital outlay has increased from seventeen to thirty crores of rupees and the increase in losses has been from 4.4% to 7.4%. Similarly in the case of canals the capital outlay has increased by thirty crores, and more than 2% profits have been converted into a loss of little less than one per cent. As to Electricity undertakings the statutory guarantee lays down 6% profit, but the actual profits as yet are much less, and should be regarded as merely nominal.

In Education and some other Social Services the State lags behind many other sister states of the country. In the field of general administration, although the use of official machinery for party ends is not so rampant now, but there is general feeling that it is the Chief Secretary who rules the state and not Chief Minister.

The Law and order situation in the State is not at all satisfactory, not only from the viewpoint of protection of the life and property of the people from the Criminals, but also from the viewpoint of the protection of the freedom of the Press from intimidation by the Officials as also the protection of the people from murders in the Police lock-up!

There are complaints from all over the state that journalists, some of them being members of the Press Advisory Committee, are threatened and intimidated by the local police and other officials. Some cases of journalists being actually beaten by goondas as the instigation or with the connivance of the police have also come to light.

According to the information given by the Government in the U. P. Assembly there were eight murders by the Police in the

Police lock-up or during police investigation in 1957, four in 1958 and as many as sixteen in 1959! In August last year ninety-eight Congress M.L.A's (including some Congress Ministers—State and Deputy Ministers—and members of the Congress Parliamentary group) who had resigned previously charged the Congress Ministry with corruption and abuse of their position for furthering the ends of their group in the Congress party. This they did in a written statement before the assembly in the Course of a debate on a no-confidence motion against the cabinet. But the Congress High Command has not dared to take any action against either the levellers of charges or against those who were charged with corruption and partisanship!

The ruling party in the State claims that it has successfully checked the rise in food prices from going beyond the 1958 level. This negative achievement also is illusory, because the government takes not of the wholesale prices only while more than ninety per cent people from amongst the general public buy from the retail market in which the prices are much higher and vary from region to region.

And these complaints of corruption, favouritism and group politics in granting licenses and allocating fair price food shops are frequently heard on the floor of the assembly.

The Congress High Command has ignominiously failed in stopping the battle of the Congress bosses in U.P. which has been going for the last three years.

This group fight has extended its operations to the Universities with the result that the Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow had to be closed and the armed constabulary had to be posted on the campus of these universities. The Congress High Command remains a helpless spectator of these shameful scenes!

In the sphere of industry Uttar Pradesh is not behind any state in its inability to revive the small scale Cottage, farm, and village industries! The heads of the departments of industry have not dared to deny their failure in this connection before the Public Account Committee. In the case of big industries, there has been some activity in private sector. Such industrial enterprises as J. K. Rayon Factory at Kanpur and the Sahu Jain Soda Ash Factory

at Banaras have been started with the financial aid of crores of rupees from the State Government.

Two more agreements have been executed by the State Government in the private sector in respect of two large units. The first of these, the synthetic Rubber Factory at Bareilly is expected to go into production this year and the second—the Aluminium Factory in Mirzapur district—is Scheduled to the commissioned in the Second year of the Third Plan. The record of the state in implementing the two Nagpur resolutions is also not very bright.

The Land Ceiling Bill which is still in the select committee stage is of very doubtful value in giving any land worth the name to the landless. At the most it may have some propagandist value in arousing the cupidity of the landless and in winning their votes for the Congress party as a consequence.

As for the claim of having established 10,000 service co-operatives, about half of them have been brought into being by paper conversion of the Primary Agricultural Credit societies into

service co-operatives, and one fourth more are defunct societies which have been revitalised by being made credit worthy, only fifteen hundred out of 10,000 can be really claimed to have been recently organised. Even Pundit Nehru was not free from doubt about these societies while performing the opening ceremony of one of these societies at Bechpuri in Agra district. The Congress organ "National Herald" described this achievement as a 'Stunt'!

To Uttar Pradesh goes the credit of not having a Co-operative act of its own even after the formation of 10,000 service co-operatives! The ancient Co-operative Act of 1912 with vast powers of interference by the executive is still in force with minor amendments.

The recruiting and training of the personnel for the supervision of service co-operatives still remains to be done.

There is no proper auditing of accounts of co-operatives while the allegations of corruption, embezzlement and group partisanship among Congress men continue to pour in.

**Biographical
Sketches**

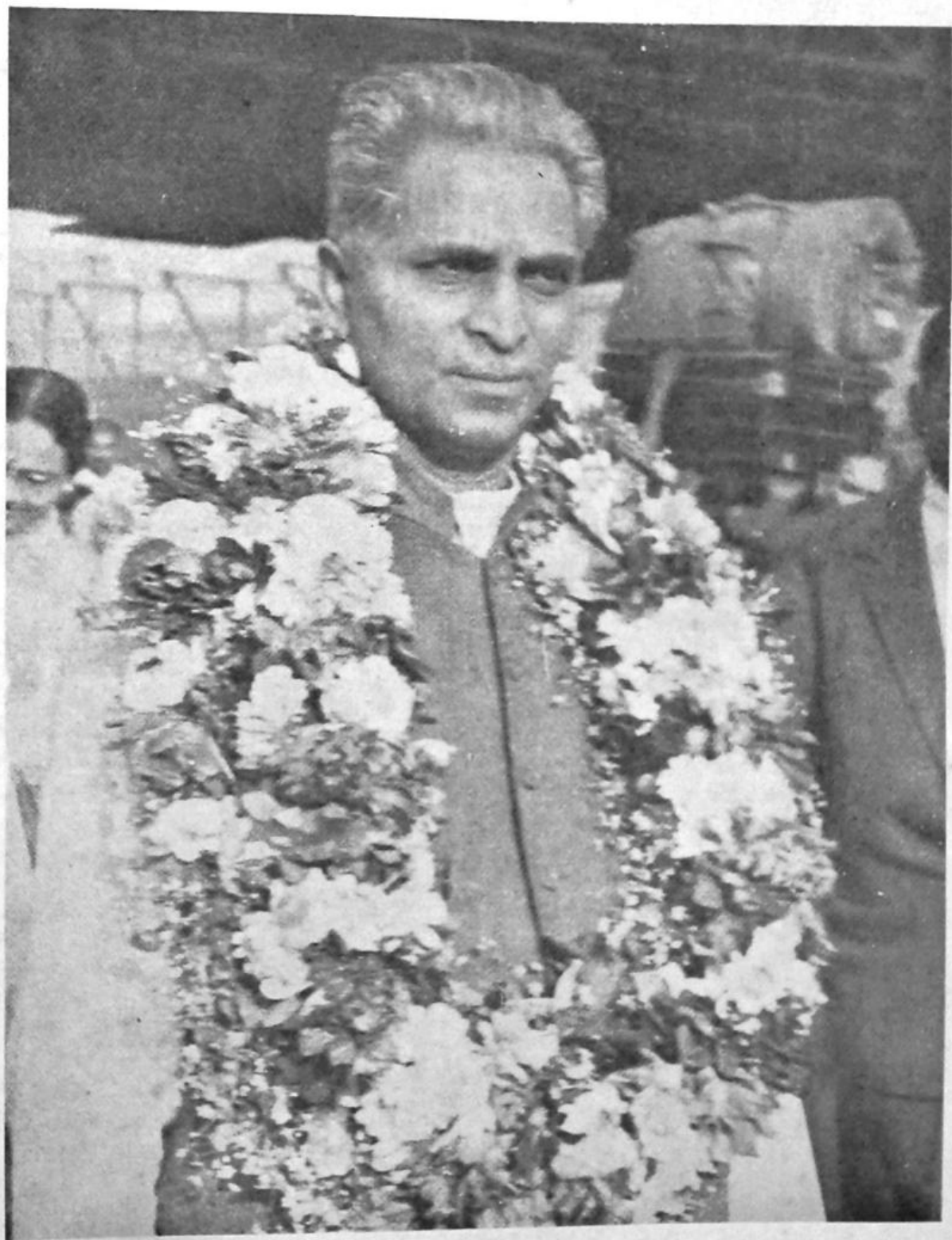


Sri C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Shri C. Rajagopalachari

Shri C. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L., Bharat Ratna (1954), Leader Swatantra Party, was born in a village near Hosur, Salem District. Rajaji studied at the Government Law College in Madras and joined the Bar in 1900. In 1919 Rajaji joined the Satyagraha campaign, and in 1920 the Non-cooperation movement. During Gandhi's imprisonment Rajaji edited the former's paper, Young India. Rajaji was the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in 1921-22 and a member of the Congress Working Committee from 1922-42 and again from 1946-47. He served sentences of imprisonment on five occasions in freedom movement campaigns. Rajaji was a member of the Council of the All-India Spinners' Association from the beginning upto 1935; Secretary, Prohibition League of India; Vice President of Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha; Chief Minister, Government of Madras, in charge of Home and Finance Portfolios from July 1937 to 1939; resigned from the Chief Ministership of Madras in October 1939 with other Congress Ministers; resigned in April 1942 from the Congress on account of difference of opinion; assisted Mahatma Gandhi in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in September 1944. He was a member of the Governor-General's Council from September 1946 to August 15, 1947, holding the portfolios of Industries and Supplies, of Education and Finance for different periods; Governor of West Bengal, August 1947; acted as Governor-General of India—November 1947; Governor-General of India, June 1948—January 26, 1950; Minister, Government of India, without portfolio, May-December 1950 and Home Affairs January-November, 1951; Chief Minister of Madras 1952-54; among first recipients of Indian decoration of Bharat Ratna, 1955.

Publications: Tamil books on: Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, Bhagavad-Gita, Mahabharata, Ramayana and Upanishads; Fatal Cart and other stories, Mahabharata, Bhagavad Gita, Upanishads and Hinduism, Doctrine and Way of Life, in English.



PROF. N. G. RANGA

Prof. N. G. Ranga

Professor N. G. Rangan, M.P., Chairman, Swatantra Party; Principal, Indian Peasants' Institute, Nidubrolu, was born on November 7, 1900; Educated at Oxford, Chief Professor of Economics and Political Science, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras 1927-30; Member, Congress Working Committee 1947-51; President, All-India Kisan Sammelan, Rural People's Federation; ex-President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee; one of the founders of International Federation of Agricultural Producers and member of its Executive (H.Q. Washington) and Paris, and Colonial People's Freedom Front (H.Q. London) and African, Asiatic and European People's Congress (Paris); Founder, Indian Peasant Movement; member, Congress Economic Policy Committee, Agrarian Reforms Committee, National Labour Committee, and Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh; led Indian delegation to London (1946), the Hague (1947), and Guelph (Canada 1949) Conferences of International Federation of Agricultural Producers; participated in I.L.O. Conferences (San Francisco) Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference (Ottawa), F.A.O. Conference (Copenhagen) etc.; toured extensively in Europe and America, spreading Gandhian philosophy and ideals; specially invited to address the Fourth Congress of International Peasants' Union, New York, 1954; resigned from Congress, April 1951; formed new Party, the Bharat Krishikar Lok Party 1951; rejoined Congress in 1955; member of National Executive Bharat Sevak Samaj; Vice President: All India Co-operative Union; member of Indian Parliamentary delegation to USSR, and Yugoslavia, 1955; visited U.K., France, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Egypt, etc. 1955; elected General Secretary of Congress Parliamentary Party; resigned; is also Senior Vice President of All India Co-operative Union.

Publications: 15 Books including Economic Organisation of Indian villages, Colonial and Coloured Peoples, World Role of National Revolution and Communists, Revolutionary Peasant and Towards World Peace, Credo of World Peasantry, The Peasant and Co-operative Farming, The Panchayat Landlordism Vs. Peasant Economy.



DR. K. M. MUNSHI

Dr. K. M. Munshi

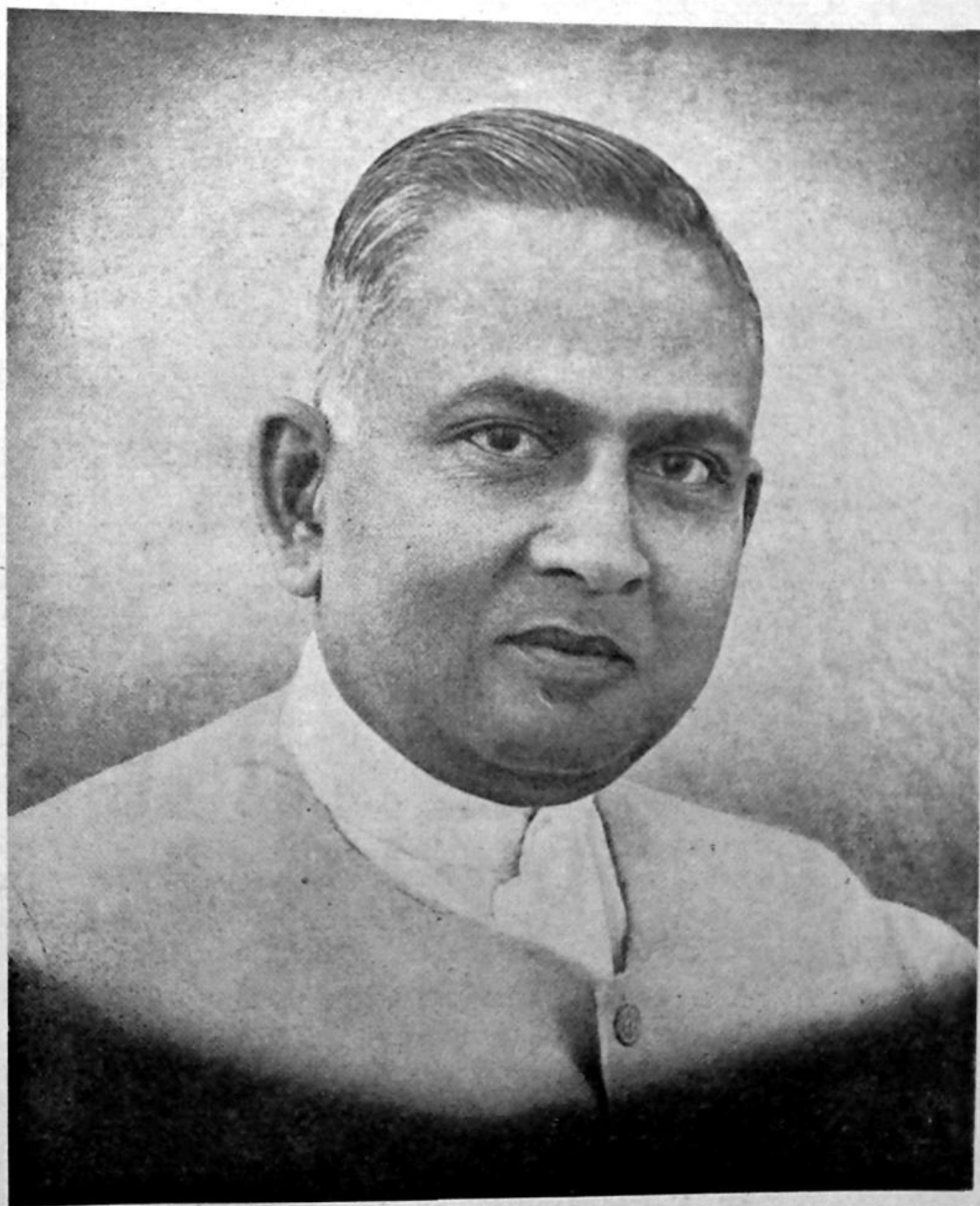
Dr. K. M. Munshi after a brilliant scholastic and academic career devoted his life to the furtherance of Education in India. His associations, throughout his career, have never been far from this metier, as is evidenced by his connections with Universities throughout northern India from 1920 to 1957.

His entry into politics came at an early age, when, in 1919, he became the Secretary of the Bombay Home Rule League. From that time on he was closely connected with India's struggle for freedom, and had the misfortune to be incarcerated for showing the courage of his convictions on no less than three separate occasions.

In 1930 he became a member of the Working Committee, Indian National Congress, and later, from 1931 to 1936, of the All India Congress Committee. In 1937 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly, Bombay, where he served until 1945. During this period he served as Home Minister of the state for two years. Here he earned a reputation as an administrator and was publicly praised for his efforts by Sir Roger Lumley.

From 1947 to 1952 he was a member of Parliament and, for the last two years of his tenure, was elected minister for Food and Agriculture, Government of India. In 1952 he was honoured with the position of Governor of Uttar Pradesh where he laboured unceasingly for the good of the State and the country until 1957. Visualising the totalitarian tendencies of Congress proposals of Co-operative Farming, he did not hesitate to protest against the Nagpur Resolutions. For this reason alone his presence in the Swatantra Party has given added status to its work.

It would not be fitting to close this brief sketch without mentioning Dr. Munshi's achievements in, and contribution to the literary field, covering as they do, almost every sphere of literature including Social, Historical and Political subjects.



RAJA BAHADUR KAMAKHYA NARAIN SINGH

Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh

Born on the 10th August 1916 at Padma as the heir apparent of the Gaddi of RAMGARH RAJ spreading over five thousand square miles in the Hazaribagh District of Bihar. He received education in the Raipore College. Took charge of his estate in 1936. Started schools and Hospitals, built roads and bridges in the estate. Kept on meeting his people and serving them.

In 1940 the Indian National Congress held its session and RAJA BAHADUR contributed to its success with all the resources required. He attended the session and gave a party in honour of the Congress leaders and it was attended by all except Gandhijee. On that very occasion MAHATMA GANDHI blessed him and wrote how grand it would be if his ideals of Rajas and Zamindars could be realised through him.

In 1947 when the Congress Ministry of Bihar let loose a reign of oppression, on the call of his people he formed a Party known as Kisan Forward Block and fought the congress in the Hazaribagh District Board Elections, defeated it, captured the District Board and his younger brother Dr. BASANT NARAIN SINGH became its Chairman.

In 1948 Raja Bahadur made his holdings of the peasants of his estate rent free permanently and wrote off his annual income of Twenty six lakhs of Rupees and set the Ideal of rent free peasant proprietorship which later on became the plank of the JANATA PARTY and is now receiving support from many quarters in the country.

In 1946 he was elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly from the Landholders' constituency.

At the instance of SARDAR PATEL of the beloved memory he joined the congress in 1948 but the cunning, devices and parochialism of the Bihar Congress were more than what one could put up with and hence after the death of Sardar Patel he left the congress in 1950.

In 1951, he formed the Chotanagpore and Santhal Parganas Janata Party and fought the Congress in the General Elections of 1952. He himself won from four constituencies and defeated the then Revenue Minister of Bihar in one. His party captured the majority seats in Hazaribagh and some in Ranchi and Dhanbad.

In 1953 on the call of Sant VINOBA BHAVE he joined the Bhoodan Movement toured many parts of Bihar on foot and besides the collection of land donations from others and the donation of Jewellery by his wife he made the unparalleled donation of two lakh acres of land.

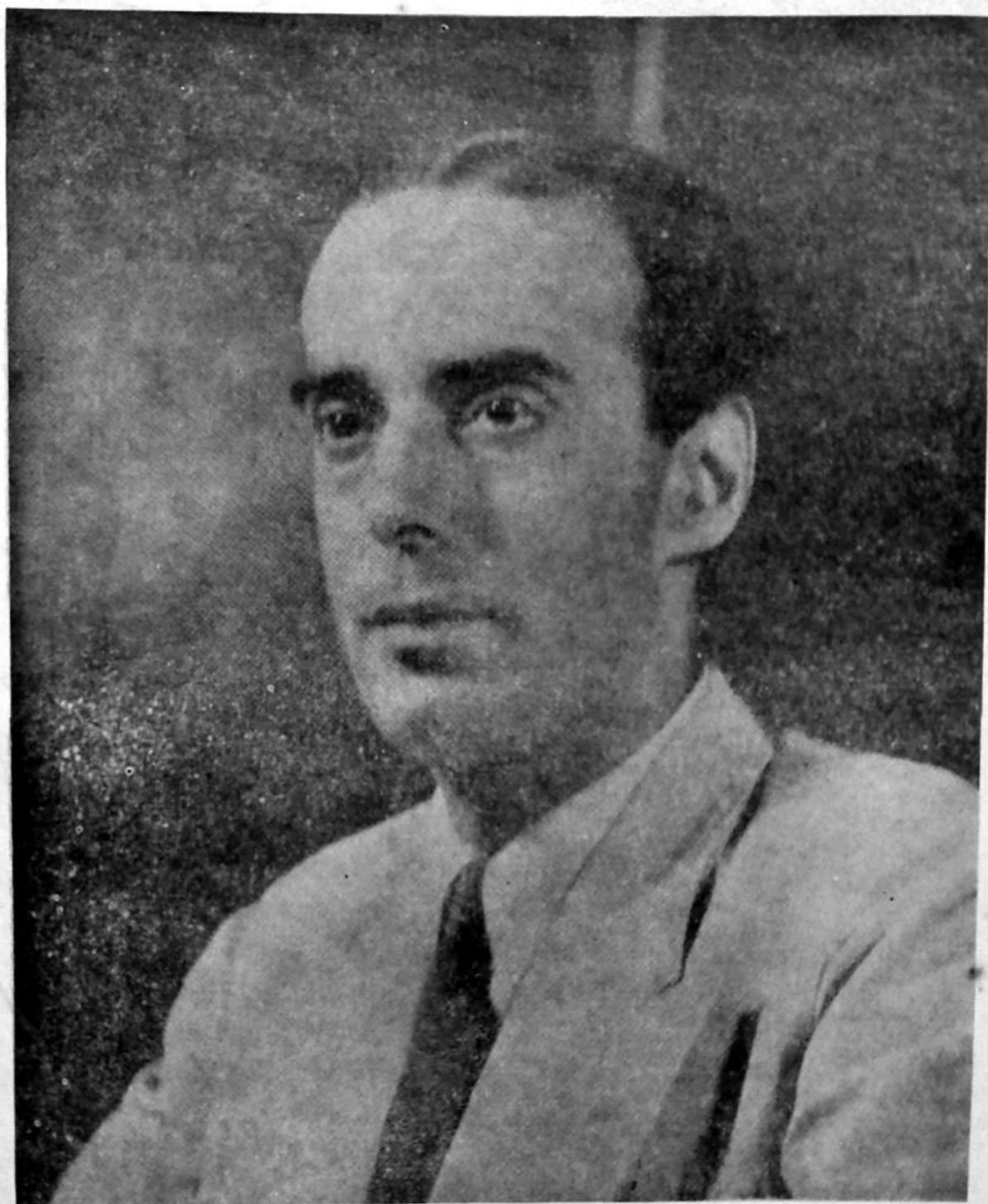
In 1954 he extended the field of activity of the JANATA PARTY to the whole of Bihar and as President of the Bihar Rajya Janata Party began his activities.

In 1955 when the Bihar Government resorted to firing on students in Patna he rushed to the rescue and the relief of the suffering and the wounded, and representing the popular anger forced the government to appoint a judicial tribunal to inquire into the firing.

In 1956 when the Bihar Congress resolved to merge Bihar with West Bengal he voiced the anger of Bihar aloud, marched a procession on the streets of Patna and staged a demonstration before the Assembly gates. And when parts of Bihar were handed over to West Bengal, Raja Bahadur along with his other party M.L.As. resigned the Assembly seats in protest.

In 1957 he fought the Congress in the General Elections. He routed it from the whole of Hazaribagh District where his Janata Party won all the Assembly and the Lok Sabha Seats. He himself won in two constituencies defeating the then Revenue Minister of Bihar in one and an Ex-Parliamentary Secretary of Bihar in the other. Another Minister lost to his younger brother's wife. His wife and his younger brother's wife were elected to the Lok Sabha. His brother and mother too were elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly. In 1958 for leading a hunger march in Hazaribagh in defiance of the Government order he with his brother and other colleagues was put behind prison bars and after a month's detention was acquitted.

After the merger of his Janata Party with the ALL INDIA SWATANTRA PARTY now he is President of the Bihar State Swatantra Party and the Vice-President of the ALL INDIA SWATANTRA PARTY. He is the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Patna convention of the All India Swatantra Party.



Sri. MINOO R. MASANI, M.P.

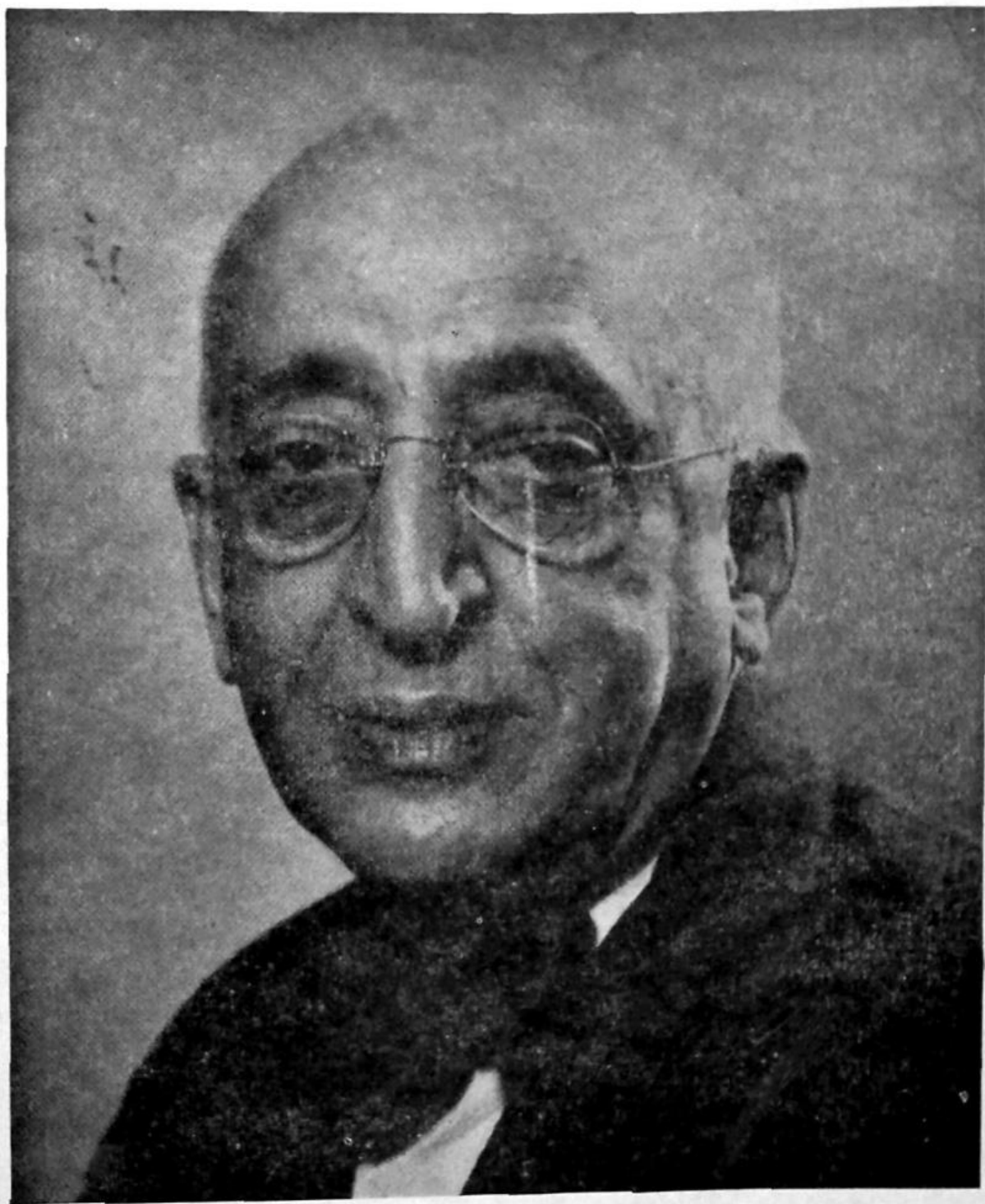
Sri MINOO R. MASANI, M.P.

At 54, Sri M. R. Masani, M.P., General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, can look back on a life of varied achievements. His abilities have found public recognition in his election as Mayor of Bombay in 1943, as a Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1945 and then of the Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament of India from 1947 to 1951. From 1948 to 1949, he was India's first Ambassador in Brazil. During 1950 and 1951, Mr. Masani was Chairman of the United Nations Sub-Commission for Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The wide range of Mr. Masani's interest are indicated by the fact that he is also a Patron of the Liberal International, on the Governing Body of the National Productivity Council, a member of the Executive Committee of the All-India Management Association and a member of the International Executive of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Among his many publications are *Our India* (1940) India's largest circulated book in modern times; *Our Growing Human Family* (1950) and the *Communist Party of India — A Short History* (1954).

A graduate of Bombay and London Universities and a Barrister-at-Law of Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Masani commenced his career as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court. From 1941 till 1957, when he severed his connection with Tata's on his election to Parliament, Mr. Masani was associated with Tata Industries.



SIR HOMI. P. MODI

SIR HOMI MODI

Sir Hormasji Pheroshaw Modi was born on September 23rd, 1881, and was educated in Bombay, where he obtained his degrees, viz. M.A. and LL.B.

He gained early recognition as an author, first with his work "The Political Future of India", published in 1908, and later with his biography the "Life of Sir Pherozechah Mehta", published in 1921.

His exceptional talents received full recognition from the British Government when he was knighted in the year 1935. Further honour was accorded him in 1946, when he was awarded the Grand Cross of George I of Greece (1st Class).

In Commerce and Industry he has always been an acknowledged leader as is evidenced by his directorship of Messrs. Tata Sons (Private) Limited, and Chairmanship of various Banks and other Commercial and Industrial organisations.

Politics began to play a part very early in his life, and he was elected a member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1929, where he held his seat till 1943. During this period, he was a representative at the Indian Round Table Conference held in London during 1930-31. In 1937 he was elected as the Employers Delegate to the 23rd International Labour Conference held at Geneva.

In 1947 Sir Homi was appointed Acting Governor of his home state, Bombay. This was followed by a three-year appointment as Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

With his outstanding talents and vast experience, his having associated himself with the Swatantra Party can do naught else but enhance the solidarity of the movement.



SARDAR BASANT SINGH.

SARDAR BASANT SINGH OF PATIALA, MEMBER,
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE, ALL INDIA SWATANTRA PARTY

Born in an aristocratic Sikh Agriculturist family of Gujranwala district, in West Punjab, in the year 1920, he Matriculated from his home district and graduated from the Forman Christian College, Lahore; spent two years studying Law in Punjab University Law College there, till 1941.

LIFE SKETCH OF SHRI BHAILALBHAI DHYABHAI PATEL, VALLABH VIDYANAGAR

Shri Bhailalbhai D. Patel hails from Sojitra (Kaira District). He was born at Sarsa in Kaira District in 1888 on the 9th of June. As he lost his parents at the tender age of 11, he was compelled to fight against poverty, neglect of Society and illiteracy at the same time. This calamity was a blessing in disguise because he had the opportunity to realise the difficulties of the poor at a young age. This hard experience stood him in good stead in moulding his later life.

He was very brilliant as a student and finished his high school studies in 1905 and got his L.C.E. degree in 1911. He started his career as an Engineer in Baroda State, and resigned to join the British Service. From the beginning his hard work and extra-ordinary abilities won laurels from his superiors and he had rapid rise in service. He was specially in the charge of the construction of Sukkur Barrage where he created world records in speed, economy and efficiency in building dredge excavators for digging of canals. He saved Larkhana District from the floods of turbulent Sindhu river in 1930. In 1939, he was appointed as special road engineer in Sindh. From 1936 to 1939 he built Katch roads of 3000 miles and Pakka roads of 200 miles. Besides this, he acquired land and prepared plans and estimates for 10,000 miles.

After retiring early in 1940, he served as municipal engineer for two and half years in Ahmedabad Municipality where he left permanent imprint of his dynamic personality on some of the monumental works of that city. He resigned as municipal engineer during the National struggle in 1942.

In 1946, he started the work of building Vallabh Vidyagar, a great educational centre, in rural area near Anand, with the help of late Shri Bhikhabhai Patel. In the course of ten years it has developed into a rural university — Sardra Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth, bringing highest educa-

While still in his teens he actively associated himself with the Students Union and the Congress Organisation in Punjab. After the completion of his academic career he started his public life by devoting his whole attention towards rural uplift. Became Office-bearer of several Public Committees in his home district and continued to function as an active Congress worker until the year 1956. On the partition of the country he settled down in Patiala and started afresh with a clean slate his ancestral profession, viz. Farming and devoted the major part of his time in reclaiming waste land and developing and mechanising the Farm. He developed new contacts with several Governmental and private Organisations interested in development of Agriculture and Rural Uplift.

On the enactment of Land Reforms Legislation in the erstwhile Patiala and East Punjab States Union in 1955, he pioneered the foundation of a Rural Organisation under the name of "Kashatkar Union" and staged several demonstrations against the said legislation, as also against the arbitrary imposition of ceiling in almost every district of P.E.P.S.U., simultaneously educating the peasantry on the disastrous effects of land ceiling on agricultural production. He toured America and some countries of Europe and Middle East as a member of the 'Farm leaders Study Group', sponsored by the Technical Co-operative Mission of U.S.A. Government to study Agriculture and other allied subjects. Soon after his return from this tour abroad, early in 1959, he brought together some prominent Agriculturist and Rural leaders in a preliminary meeting to probe into the sinister move of Co-operative Farming, set up by the Congress after its Nagpur Session, which ultimately resulted in the formation of "Dehati Janta Party" under the leadership of Jathedar Udhham Singh Nagoke, M.P., which held its first Conference in Doraha, (Punjab), under the Chairmanship of Professor N. G. Ranga, M.P.

After the formal inauguration of the Swatantra Party in Bombay, in August, 1959, the "Dehati Janta Party" and its Office-bearers merged themselves in toto with the Swatantra Party. Since then he has been functioning as a Member of the Central Executive and in various other capacities therein.



SRI BHAILAL BHAI PATEL.

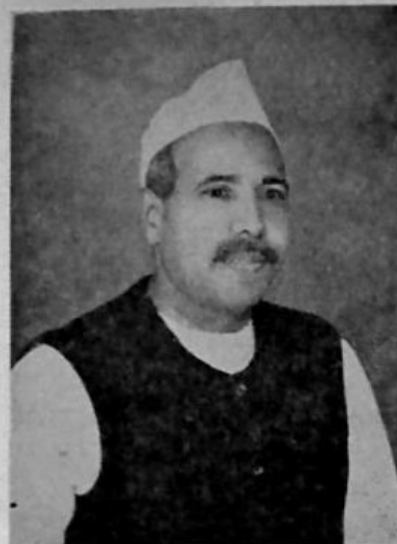
tion to the doors of the villagers. He is thus the architect of this new township and of the Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth. In appreciation of his great service, he has been conferred upon the degree of D.Sc. (Honoris Causa) by the Chancellor of the University. He has always been interested in the uplift of rural India, and has been devoting most of his time in solving problems of rural India. Even at this age he puts in an amount of work which would put a younger man to shame.

Pandit S. K. D. PALIWAL

Pandit S. K. D. Paliwal, President of U.P. Swatantra Party is Sahitya Ratna in Hindi, M.A. (Economics) of Allahabad University, boycotting his LL.B. (Final) examination in consequence of 1920 freedom fight. He took over the editorship of the "Prabha" Monthly Magazine and daily and weekly Pratap published from Kanpur. In 1923 he was elected as a member of the Legislative Council on Swarajya Party ticket; in 1934 he was elected as a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly. In 1925 founded and edited Weekly Sainik which is now one of the most largely circulated Hindi dailies of U.P. In 1937 he became the chairman of Agra District Board and remained as such till 1947. He was twice elected as Chairman of All India Hindi Journalist Association, in 1936 and 1940. In 1940. In 1940 February he was elected President of the U.P. Congress Committee and remained as such till April 1946. Joined U.P. Cabinet as Finance and Information Minister (1947, 1948). In 1951 rebelled against the Congress on the issue of enquiring into allegation of corruption in Cabinet and founded the U.P. People's Congress but rejoined the parent body moved Nehruji's appeal assuring inquiry into Ministerial Corruption but returned congress ticket of Parliament 1952 when assurance was not carried out.

Was elected to U.P. Legislative Assembly in 1956 bye-election from Agra city constituency defeating Congress.

In 1957 General elections he was again elected from a rural constituency defeating the Congress Deputy Minister for Police and that very year became the leader and president of Independent People's Progressive Party which is the second largest party in U.P. Assembly.



SRI S.K.D. PALIWAL

He is the author of more than half a dozen Hindi books such as Five Year Plan for Peasant Rule, Commentary on Gita and Gandhism and Marxism.



RAJA RAGHAVENDRA

Raja Raghavendra Pratap Singh is the son of the late Raja Raghuraj Singh, O.B.E., Taluqdar of Mankapur in district Gonda. He was born in 1910 at Mankapur and when he attained the school going age he was sent to Colvin Taluqdar School, Lucknow as a boarder. He had a brilliant record of attainments both in the class room as well as the playing field. He was captain of the riding school, hockey football and swimming teams. He won the Butler

challenge cup for being head-boy of the school and the much coveted prize of the institution, known as the Lady Sewett Gold medal for good conduct satisfactory work, was also awarded to him.

He passed his High School Examination in 1927 and then proceeded to England for higher studies. The teachings of Mahatma Gandhi had stirred in his nationalistic feelings and the inner call to join the movement came to him when Gandhiji started the salt tax agitation at Dharsana. He was one of the 50 volunteers who were arrested there under the leadership of the famous late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in 1930. He greatly impressed Gandhiji who took him on his personal staff. He was with him for over one year and had the opportunity of coming in contact with all the leading political figures of the time. Most of them know him personally and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, our President of the Republic is one of them. He appeared on the political firmament of Uttar Pradesh when the Congress party captured the legislature in 1937 and remained a member of it for 20 years without a break. He participated in all the congress movements and went to jail four times and the total period of his incarceration was 2 years.

Mankapur, as he is popularly known, left the Congress in 1955 when political wire-pulling became acute and men of independent views found it impossible to stay in the party.

He contested the election for the Uttar Pradesh Assembly in 1957 as an independent candidate and he with five other friends was returned to the Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha as independent candidates from Gonda.

Mankapur was invited to the Swatantra party convention held in Bombay in September 1959 and was elected a member of the All India Executive Committee of the same year. He organised a convention of the party in Lucknow and Sri K. M. Munshi, the ex-Governor of U.P. inaugurated it and addressed a large gathering of the delegates from all over the State in October last year. He is the treasurer of the party in U.P. He has recently been elected President of British Indian Association of the Taluqdars of Oudh and the funds at the disposal of this organisation are being utilised in educating the sons of the expropriated landlords.

JATHEDAR UDHAM SINGH NAGOKE, M.P.

Born in 1892 in a well-to-do Jat Sikh, (Agriculturist), family of Nagoke, district Amritsar, entered public life in the year 1918, to start with in the "Singh Sabha Movement", which, later on in the year 1920, assumed the name of 'Akali Movement' of which he was one of the pioneers. Joined Congress as early as the year 1921 and continued to remain its zealous and conspicuously active worker and supporter, both inside and outside the Province, until the year 1959. Participated in three major "Morchas", viz. (i) for the restoration of the keys of the Golden Temple, Amritsar, (ii) 'Guru Ka Bagh', Amritsar, in the year 1922 and Jaitu, (Nabha), agitation in 1923-24, wherein Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also participated. Was arrested and imprisoned for having participated in all these three 'Morchas' in the years 1921, 1922 and 1923-24, respectively. Functioned as Jathedar of 'Akal Takhat', Golden Temple, Amritsar, from 1923-26. Was a Member of the Shrimoni Gurdwara Parbandhal Committee from 1926 to 1952 and its President from 1948 to 1952. He also functioned as President of 'Akali Dal' for 8 years. Took active part in Civil Disobedience Movement in the year 1930, organised 'Kissan Movement' in the year 1932 and his movements were restricted to his home village for one year in 1935. Arranged a mammoth Kissan Morcha in 1938, defied Section 144 Cr.P.C. in that connection, when the demonstrators were subjected to a very heavy 'Lathi Charge'. Undertook individual Satyagraha in 1940 and joined hands with "Quit India" Movement Legislative Assembly from 1946 to 1952 and a Member of Parliament since 1953. Total imprisonment courted for the emancipation of his country and fellow beings no less than thirteen years in all. Before severing his age-long connection with the Congress Party in the year 1959, he repeatedly brought the growing corruption in the Organisation to the personal notice of the Prime Minister but on receiving no response from him he quitted



JATHEDAR UDHAM SINGH NAGOKE.

it in the said year and formed 'Dehati Janata Party', which held its memorable first Convention at Doraha, (Punjab), under the Chairmanship of Professor N. G. Ranga, M.P. On the formal inauguration of the Swatantra Party in Bombay, in August 59, the 'Dehati Janata Party' merged itself in toto with the Swatantra Party, with which he is wholeheartedly attached ever since.



SRI K. S. VENKATAKRISHNA REDDIAR

SRI K. S. VENKATAKRISHNA REDDIAR

Sri K. S. Venkatakrishna Reddiar, President of the Madras State Swatantra Party, is a man of indomitable courage, and an able organiser. He has a warm heart, and is quite incapable of doing anything that savours of stinginess.

The scion of a leading land-owning family in South Arcot District (Madras State), he had quite early in life attained a personal popularity that has been growing steadily all these years and has never once shown any signs of slackening. It is Sri Reddiar who was a tower of strength to the Tamil Nad Congress Committee when he was its Vice-President. It is he who administered the first shock to the French Government at Pondicherry which eventually led to the *de jure* transfer of power to Indian hands. His handling of the elections in Pondicherry led to his disagreement with Sri K. Kamraj, and he resigned from the Congress.

Only a few days prior to the Second General Elections, he organised the Indian National Democratic Congress which won 22 out of the 42 seats it contested, and later formed the main Opposition in the Madras Legislative Assembly. The interests of Madras State Swatantra Party of which he is the President are quite safe under his able stewardship.

SARDAR BAHADUR LAL SINGH EX-M.P.

Unique combination of a Scientist, Administrator and a public man.

Official Career: Sardar Lal Singh, born on March 16, 1896 at Nandpur, Dist. Ludhiana, Punjab, is an agriculturist by birth, training and profession and has occupied most responsible positions, both in scientific field and administration, such as Professor of Agriculture, Fruit Specialist, Punjab Government, Advisor to Government of India, Director, All India Food Technological Institute (now merged in C.F.T.R.I. Mysore), Dean of Agricultural Faculty, Punjab University. He retired in 1951 after serving as Director of Agriculture, Punjab, for four years.

His services, both as a Scientist and an Administrator in the development, Leaders of all Political Parties in the Punjab Assembly paid Agricultural Department, were acknowledged by the award of titles, medals and public appreciations not only during British Regime but also by the National Government after independence. At the time of his retirement, Leaders of all Political Parties in the Punjab Assembly paid glowing tributes for many of his achievements and credited him for converting East Punjab, from the position of a highly deficit to a highly surplus state within a few years. The Punjab Cabinet & Government also officially expressed highest appreciation for his meritorious services.

Public Life: Within a few days after retirement from Government Service, he successfully fought election to the First Lok Sabha against a very strong Congress Candidate. During his tenure of five years as a Member of Parliament, he was well-known as the greatest champion of the cause of Indian farmers and of modernization of Indian Agriculture. He fought against certain aspects of land reforms policy of the Government and advocated Price Support Policy i.e. remunerative price for agricultural produce. He was a Member of many important Committees like the Estimate Committee of Parliament and Member of several Delegations including Sugar Delegation to Australia. Even at present, he is the non-official Chairman of several important official Committees, like the Evaluation Committee, Rajasthan Government, for Agricultural Production, Joint Committee of Sugar Development Council and Indian Central Sugarcane Committee on Utilization of Cane Cess and "Payment of Cane Price on Quality Basis" and Chairman of Ad Hoc Committee to scrutinize Research and Development work on sugarcane in various States of India. He is also the Vice-President of Indian Central Sugarcane Committee and Chairman of Finance & Executive and several other Committees, and a member of Second Joint Indo-American Team to scrutinize Agricultural Teaching, Research & Development in this country, as also a



SARDAR BAHADUR LAL SINGH.

Member of Irrigation & Power and Minor Irrigation Teams of the Planning Commission. In public life, besides being the President of Swatantra Party, Delhi Pradesh, he is also President of All India Cane Growers Federation and All India Agriculturists Federation—both of them being non-political and non-sectarian Organizations. He was also the Chief Editor of Indian Cane Grower run by All India Cane Growers Federation and Rural Voice, an English Weekly, run by the Agriculturists Federation.

Wide Travels: He has world-wide experience having visited Japan, Australia, Europe (twice), Hong Kong, Israel, Hawaiian Islands, Egypt, Indonesia, etc., besides nine years' stay in U.S.A. where he won laurels by his high academic achievements in the field of agriculture, such as securing first prize in the Nationwide (Inter-Universities) Contest in America for writing best Thesis on Food Products, Graduating with Honour from California University and being elected to Membership of Sigma Xi, a National Scientific Honour Society of American Colleges. He was also the President of Hindustan Students Association of America and Honorary Secretary of Pacific Coast Khalsa Dewan Society, Stockton, California.



SHRI K. B. JINARAJA HEGDE, B. Sc. LL.B., Advocate,

Born in the year 1903, educated in Mysore and Benares Hindu University. In 1938 he was elected to the Central Assembly, was a member of the Congress party until the Assembly was dissolved in the year 1946. From 1942 he headed the agitation for the formation of the Karnatak State as its president, resigned from the Congress when it resolved against formation of linguistic provinces in its A.I.C.C. session held at Bangalore just before 1951 general elections.

He is the General Secretary of the All India Agriculturists' Federation formed in the year 1958 to protect the agriculturists from the drastic land reforms contemplated by the Planning Commission. When he found that the Nagpur resolution toed the line for communists he invited various political leaders of the Country to meet at Madras on 4-6-1959 for collaboration without commitment. This meeting under the Chairmanship of Rajaji decided to form a political party under the leadership of Acharya Ranga which Rajaji named as "Swatantra Party" Mr. HEGDE and Mr. V. P. Menon were nominated as joint Secretaries.

Mr. Hegde is the Vice President of the Mysore State Unit of the Swatantra Party.



SRI K. B. JINARAJA HEGDE

SRI B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI

B. Ramachandra Reddi was born in Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh in 1894. After graduation from the Madras University, he took interest in the workings of Local Boards in the District. He was an elected member of the Madras Legislative Council (pre-reforms) from 1923 to 1937. In between he was the President of the District Educational Council and the District Board. From 1930 to 1937 he was President of the Legislative Council. He took interest in certain industrial concerns. He was a member of Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1957. He was in the opposition and served as Deputy Leader of National Democratic Party. He was made a C.B.E., in 1937. But he surrendered the title on the day when Independence was achieved by India. He is an agriculturist by profession. He is the Vice-President of All India Agriculturists Federation.



SRI B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI



SRI V. P. MENON

SRI V. P. MENON

Began service as a clerk in the Home Department of the Government of India in 1914. From 1917, when Montague came out to India, and right up to the transfer of power in August 1947, he was in continuous association with the various stages of constitutional reform in India. He rose by successive stages to the position in 1942 of Constitutional Adviser to the Governor-General. This position he continued to hold till the transfer of power in August 1947. He held other posts in addition, including that of Secretary to the Cabinet. In 1947 he was specially selected for the post of Secretary to the newly created Ministry of States. In this capacity he worked directly under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of India. After his retirement from the States Ministry in 1951 he was for some time the Governor of Orissa. Author of two books, viz. 'The Story of the Integration of the Indian States' and 'The Transfer of Power in India'.



SRI SHIVA NARAYAN RAM

Born in a middle class family in the year 1952 Sambat started life as a 'Medical Practitioner' with success. Joined politics in 1924, he became member of the District Congress Committee and remained so till 1927 when due to some difference he left it and contested District Board election and defeated the Congress candidate. He continued as a member of the District Board and Chairman of the Sadar Local Board by defeating Congress candidates and other rivals for more than 20 years till 1950. Once he was nominated by the Government. He served as Honorary Magistrate for about 8 or 10 years. He was for a few years member of the Divisional Railway Users Consultative Committee, Eastern Railway, Howrah Division. He has been President of the Divisional Backward class Federation for several years. He is well known for his philanthropic works in the district.



SRI SHIVA NARAYAN RAM

SRI RUPLAL RAI, M.L.A. (BIHAR)

Left school and joined the 1942 'Quit India' movement and courted imprisonment. Elected to the Champaran District Board in 1947. In 1951 President of Thana Congress and Member of D.C.C. In 1957 defeating the Congress rival by a wide margin elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly. Now a member of the Bihar State Swatantra Party Working Committee.



DR. RUSTOM C. COOPER

DR. RUSTOM C. COOPER

Hony. Treasurer, Swatantra Party (Bombay Office)

Dr. Rustom C. Cooper is a prominent Chartered Accountant and Economist of Bombay, and is a partner of a well-known firm of Chartered Accountants. For the past several years he has been taking active interest in public life. He is a member of the Senate of the University of Bombay, and Hony. Treasurer of Indian Red Cross (Bombay State). He is also a member of the Central Council of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India and Member of the Managing Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber.

He holds high academic qualifications, being a Master of Commerce and Doctor of Philosophy in Economics. He is also a Fellow of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India and a Fellow and Honoursman of the Society of Incorporated Accountants of England.

Dr. Cooper is a regular contributor to various important commercial and economic journals and is author of several important books on Fiscal Law. He is also an authority on Taxation, and Finance. For a number of years, he has been actively championing the cause of Free Enterprise through learned articles and lectures on various topics.

SRI DADUBHAI M. AMIN

Sri Dadubhai Muljibhai Amin of Vaso, Taluka Nadiad was born in Samvat year 1954, now residing at Ahmedabad, Patel Society Vishnukunj, Ellisbridge. Educated up to Matric, he began life as an Asstt. Secretary in the Shahpur Mills of Sheth Chinubhai Baronet in 1920. He started coal and store business in 1921 independently and thereby made good connections with the manufacturers throughout India.

He built a building for a Kanya-shala in remembrance of his first wife Gangaben in Vaso. He donated lands for a Dharamshala at Khedbrahma and presented a marble statue worth Rs. 6,000/- of the late Hon'ble Shri Vitthalbhai Patel to the Ahmedabad Municipality. He is a patron of Vaso Kelavani Mandal and Patidar monthly. He is a donor in Ahmedabad Education Society.

He started his political career under Congress Party in 1934 and remained as an active congress worker participating in all its activities for the achievement of the National Freedom upto 1947. He remained as a councillor of the Ahmedabad Municipality for 12 years and worked on the Standing and Public Works committees. Subsequently he joined the Krishikar Lok party of Prof Ranga and is at present Vice-President of the All-India Kishan President of the Ahmedabad Dist. Khedut Sangh. Sangh and Gujarat Khedut Sangh as well as the He is also the Vice-President of Maha-Gujarat Janata Parishad and a member of the Legislative Council. He is one of the Convenors of the Swatantra Party, Gujarat.



SRI DADUBHAI M. AMIN



SRI RAJA GOPAL NAIDU, B.A., M.L.A.

SRI RAJA GOPAL NAIDU, B.A., M.L.A.

Sri Rajagopala Naidu B.A., M.L.A.; belongs to Chittoor District; member, Pradesh congress; Secretary, Pradesh Kisan Congress; Joint Secretary, Andhra Krishikar Lok Party; Executive member, All India Kisan Sammelan; President, Chittoor District Kala Parishad; consulting member, All India Radio, Vijayawada; Now Deputy leader in Andhra Pradesh Assembly to Swatantra Party;

He is a constructive worker who trained many students in political school by giving them good lectures under the auspices of Prof. Ranga; a man who was even appreciated by opposition parties as essentially moral; an ideal representative for the people; he used to go around the villages in his constituency and tell them what was happening in assembly and what was government's attitude towards peasants; a research scholar for the party with plenty of material in his brain; a legislator who used to represent peoples grievances in the assembly and persuade authorities to oblige peoples needs; a decent lecturer in public meetings and political camps; he participated in many political meetings held under the presidentship of Prof. Ranga; a good essay writer; also story writer; simple, energetic and constructive freedom loving man which our Andhra Swatantra Party is proud of.

SRI MURARJI J. VAIDYA,
Chairman, Bombay Swatantra Party

Among the industrialists in the country well-known and well-respected not only by businessmen and industrialists but also by the general public, Mr. Murarji Jadhavji Vaidya figures prominently. After graduating in commerce and Economics in Bombay in the year 1928, he became a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society, London. Mr. Vaidya received his practical training in the silk industry in U.K. and he started his silk mills in the year 1932. Mr. Vaidya has successfully participated in various spheres of public life and especially with his knack of interpreting the role of the businessmen and industrialists, their place and function in society has been widely appreciated. He was the President of the Indian Merchants Chamber during 1956-57 and was also Founder and Chairman of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation. He is now the Chairman of the Indian Council of Foreign Trade. Apart from numerous commercial organisations of which he has been an office-bearer, his services have also been availed of by the Government on several committees like the Central Advisory Council of Industries and the Railway Equipment Committee. He was also a Trustee of the Bombay Port Trust. He has the unique distinction of being the Honorary Consul for the Federal Republic of Austria in Bombay. He is the Vice-President of the Indo-Japanese Association.

Since 1956 he has taken up cudgels on behalf of Free Enterprise as one of the sponsors and Vice-President of the Forum of Free Enterprise. As a man with an unusually clear mind, pleasant manners and possessing deep insight into human nature, Mr. Murarji Vaidya has been an asset to the Swatantra Party in Bombay.



SRI M. J. VAIDYA

SRI H. N. KANOONGO

Sri Hemendranath Kanoongo, M.A., B.L., Advocate, was born in 1910 in village Mangalpur District Cuttack Orissa. His father, late Upendranath Mohanty was a Magistrate under the Bihar & Orissa Government. His brother late Debendranath Mohanty, though a scholar gave up his studies on the eve of the B.Sc. examination and joined the Ahmedabad Congress but unfortunately died a premature death at the age of 27. Sri Kanoongo after his graduation from the Patna College, Bihar wanted to go for higher studies to England but his father, old and broken in mind and spirit due to the death of his eldest child, Debendranath would not allow him to go over-seas. But Kanoongo was bent upon it and accordingly began to serve at different places as a Teacher and save money for the purpose. By this process he was able to get himself admitted into the King's College, London and was to leave India on the 4th September, 1939 but due to his bad luck great War No. II broke out on 3rd September and he had to cancel his passage.

Thereafter he gave up his career as a teacher and passed the Law Examination and joined Bar in 1941. After 12 years of practice in 1954 he was appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge under the Orissa Government but that high post and monetary security did not satisfy him and he resigned the job six months after. After resignation he again joined the Bar.

Temperamentally a lover of peace and given to a sort of quiet life, he had not taken any part in active politics but was feeling more and more oppressed from day to day by the ways of the Congress Government and was helplessly thinking of a way out of it. That feeling caused him to get in correspondence with Rajaji even before the Swatantra party was thought of. Accordingly when the great Leader Rajaji met at "Wood-lands" Hotel at Madras on the 4th of June, 1959 with his friends to form the Swatantra Party, Kanoongo was there as a founder member.



SRI H. N. KANOONGO

SRI MAGANLAL B. JOSHI

Born at Jam-Jodhpur (Saurashtra) on the 20th April 1899, son of Sri Bhagwanji S. Joshi, a primary school teacher in a rural area. He was sent to school at the age of 4 and after finishing his primary education in the rural area he was sent to Jamnagar for secondary education at the age of 11. He passed the Matriculation Exam. in 1918 and owing to strained family circumstances he could not go to college and had to accept service as a teacher in a secondary school, where he served for about nine years.

As he was not satisfied with his lot and wanted to study further he studied law at home and appeared for the Bombay High Court Vakil Exam., which he passed in 1926. He soon left service and started legal practice at the Jamnagar Bar. By diligence and hard labour he soon found himself as one of the leading advocates of Jamnagar and won the esteem of the people as an honest and painstaking advocate. He cared more for prestige than for money and particularly he offered free legal aid to agriculturists and other poor and backward classes.

He joined the Congress in 1939 and started the movement for Responsible Government in the Princely State of Jamnagar against heavy odds. He was secretary of the Jamnagar Prajamandal in 1939 and in 1947-48 he was President of the organisation until Jamnagar was merged into the composite State of Saurashtra. After the said merger he was taken up as a member of the Law Integration Committee of the new State and was elected as Member of the Saurashtra Assembly uncontested.

After having practised successfully for full 25 years at the Jamnagar Bar he gave up practice in 1951 in order to serve the public more effectively. In 1952 he was elected as M.L.A. from Jamnagar Taluka and was unanimously elected Speaker of the Saurashtra Legislative Assembly. He



SRI MAGANLAL B. JOSHI

worked as Speaker till 1956 until Saurashtra was merged with the bilingual State of Bombay. In 1957 he was elected as a Member of the Rajya Sabha where he was nominated on the panel as Vice-Chairman. He left Congress in 1958. He joined the Swatantra Party in August 1959, having been nominated a Member of the General Council from Gujarat. He has been working as Convenor of the Party for the SAURASHTRA region of Gujarat.

*

COL. RAJA ADHIRAJ MAHESHINDRA SINGH, M.L.A.



COL. RAJA ADHIRAJ MAHESHINDRA SINGH, M.L.A.

Comes of the ruling family of the premier Sikh State of Patiala in Punjab and was born in August, 1913. Educated in the Aitchison Chiefs College, Lahore and passed the Diploma Examination of the said Institute in 1931. Proceeded abroad in the year 1928-29, for educational tour, under the guardianship of Mr. R. G. Wright, I.E.S. and visited England, France and Germany etc. in that connection. He is uncle to the present Maharaja of Patiala and worked in different capacities on the personal Staff of his late Highness Maharaja Bhupindra Singh of Patiala. While on that Staff he received Military training as also administrative coaching in various departments and was a Member of the War Board of Patiala State during the World War II. On the partition of the country in the year 1947, he was made Vice-President of the Refugee Camp in Patiala and has been greatly instrumental in re-habilitating lacs of refugees in the erstwhile Patiala State. He was appointed Military Secretary in August 1947 to the then Rajpramukh of Patiala and East Punjab States Union and continued to occupy that position until the year 1951. Entered politics for the first time in the year 1952 and fought election to the PEPSU Legislative Assembly from Sunam Constituency of Sangrur district but lost it. He again fought PEPSU election from the same Constituency in the year 1954 and was duly elected. Then in 1957 when PEPSU was merged in Punjab and country's General election took place he defeated Shri Brish Bhan, ex-Chief Minister, PEPSU, in the same Constituency, by some ten thousand votes, standing as an Independent Candidate. Worked for the formation of "Dehati Janta Party" with other friends and was one of its founder members. After the inauguration of the Swatantra Party and the merger of the "Dehati Janta Party" and its founder members in it, he has been actively associated with the Swatantra Party and has devoted almost all his time, energy and resources for its structure on solid and sound footings in Punjab.

SRI T. G. KRISHNAMURTHY, M.L.C.

A graduate of the Madras University, Sri T. G. Krishnamurthy is the Vice-President of the Madras State Swatantra Party. He entered public life some thirty years ago when he took part in Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement. His revolutionary outlook and activities led him to the prison gates, and he has been imprisoned several times. He is a talented speaker in his mother-tongue Tamil, as well as in English.

In 1947, when the then Congress Ministry refused to budge an inch in regard to the demand for the fixation of fair wages for the peasants in Madura District (Madras State), he organised a mass movement to compel the Government to yield to public opinion. Despite Government repression, the movement eventually succeeded. The Government was compelled to release him, and he was subsequently taken into the Congress. He has been a Member of the Madras Legislative Council since 1952.



SRI T. G. KRISHNAMURTHY, M.L.C.

SRI A. C. SAMPATH IYENGAR

Sri A. C. Sampath Iyengar, Organiser, Swatantra Party, West Bengal Branch; Called to the Bar, High Court, Madras, 1916; a leading lawyer on the Appellate Side of the Madras High Court; enrolled as senior advocate of the Supreme Court in 1952 and now practicing at Calcutta. Author of several studies on current economic problems. An authority on tax matters. Author of a leading commentary on the Indian Income-tax Act in three Volumes. Author of "The Three New Taxes", 1959, being a commentary on the Wealth, Gift and Expenditure Taxes. Clubs: Calcutta Club, Calcutta and Cosmopolitan Club, Madras.



SRI A. C. SAMPATH IYENGAR

**RAJA JAGAT KISHORE PRASAD NARAIN
SINGH OF MAKSOODPORE**

Eri Jagat Kishore Prasad Narain Singh was born on 5th March 1917 as heir to the Maghara Estate. Education was imparted to him by private teachers Indian and foreign. In 1945 he took over the Maksoodpur Estate in the Gaya District as heir to his maternal grandfather.

Being interested since the beginning in the social and political affairs of the day he joined the Janta Party of Bihar and was the General Secretary of the Party till it merged in the All India Swatantra Party.

He was arrested by the Bihar Govt. in connexion with the B.M.P.O. case against Raja Bahadur Ramgarh and was detained in the Hazaribagh Central Jail for one month along with the Raja Bahadur.

He is now General Secretary of Bihar State Swatantra Party and President of the Gaya District Swatantra Party.



**RAJA JAGAT KISHORE PRASAD NARAIN
SINGH OF MAKSOODPORE**



SRI GOKULESHWAR MISHRA

SRI GOKULESHWAR MISHRA

Shri Gokuleshwar Mishra is a member of the Bihar State Swatantra Party Working Committee and Vice-President of the Dhanbad district Swatantra Party. Born in 1904 in a noble family of Dhanbad Shri Mishra has a record of service to the people of his district. Kind and sympathetic Shri Mishra has shown generosity to Kisans by resettling their rents when zamindari was in existence. He was a good grasp of political subjects. He has good command of English, Hindi and Bengali literature.

Laxmidas R. Sampat

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As against Socialism of any type Gandhi said "I look upon an increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear because, although while apparently doing good by minimising ~~exploiting~~ exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress!"

**SRI JALESHWAR PRASAD, Advocate,
Vice-President, Bihar State Swatantra Party**

Born on 3rd April, 1896 in the District of Saran (Bihar). Took his M.A. Degree from the Christian College, Allahabad, standing first in the Allahabad University.

Joined B. N. College as Lecturer of Philosophy in 1919. Participated in Non-Co-operation Movement in Feb. 1921. Was elected to the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in Nov. 1923. Was leader of Swarajay Party in the Council till 1926. Joined Chapra Bar in 1924 and High Court Bar at Patna in 1933 where he practiced with distinction till 1948 when he was taken in Govt. of India as Chief Labour Commissioner, from where he retired in Dec. 1950. After which he resumed his practice at the Patna High Court.

He strongly opposed the CEILING BILL OF GOVT. OF BIHAR in 1954 and addressed a number of Kisan Conferences and led the agitation against the Bill. The Bill, after passing through a Select Committee had to be dropped by the Govt.

Was member of the Patna Senate for 10 years and also of the Patna High Court Bar Council. Was instrumental in focusing the attention of the Bihar Govt. to the necessity of the Gandak Project.



SRI JALESHWAR PRASAD



RAO BAHADUR B. L. PATIL, DHARWAR

Born in 1891. Graduated from the Deccan College, Poona 1915, took law degree 1918 and enrolled himself as an advocate of the Bombay High Court. Soon entered Local Self Government activities and was elected President of the Dharwar Municipality 1923 and on 3 successive occasions elected President of the District Board. Then was elected to the Central Legislature and sat as such from 1930 to 1934 as a Member of the Independent Party. Served as elected Chairman of the District Co-operative Central Bank Dharwar, for a number of years.

Coming from a landowning Watandar Family of Patils he has been always carrying on Agriculture and Horticulture under personal supervision, besides his legal profession.

Supported Tenancy legislation in 1939 but opposed it when it became oppressive, expropriatory and unjust to land owners in 1948 and 1955. Presided over Bombay Karnatak Landowner's Conference at Belgaum in 1955 and at Hubli in 1956 and at Shimoga in 1958. Formed the political wing of landowners and organised joint Conference of agriculturally and politically minded landowners, Belgaum, March 1959. Since the inception of the Swatantra Party he has been its Member and delivered the inaugural address at the First Swatantra Party convention at Bangalore on 22-8-1959 and has been since then working as the President of the Organising Committee of the Mysore State Swatantra Party. Now, as such, he is spreading the gospel of Self-employment, Individual freedom and "Protect your Farm and Family."



SRI B. L. PATIL



SRI GOUTU LATCHANNA, M.L.A.

SRI GOUTU LATCHANNA, M.L.A.

Sri Goutu Latchanna, M.L.A. Born 16.8.1903; Education : S.S.L.C. Kisan worker from the beginning; entered into politics as Ranga's follower; participated in swaraj movement; conducted political school in 1937 at Ichapuram; reception committee chairman of the Kisan congress conference; 1940-43 underground; 1942-45 detenuue; 1946-50 Andhra congress joint secretary; 1948-52 M.L.A.; founder of the Andhra Pradesh trade union congress; also its president; member, Madras trade union board; Conducted tappers satyagraha which caused the then ministrys fall; 60 days minister in Prakasam ministry; resigned to exercise his free will on Capital issue; Secretary Andhra Krishikar Lok Party founded by Ranga; 1955-1956 Minister in Gopala Reddi's Cabinet; resigned from congress 1959 February and joined in Democratic Party; joined in Swatantra Party Oct. 59; Vice-Chairman of the Andhra Pradesh S. P.; also president of the Srikakulam District Swatantra Party; President, A. P. Backward classes Association; Editor, Manager BAHUJANA (Monthly in English and Telegu for the up-life of Backward masses).

A born fighter for the cause of kisans and backward people; himself a restless worker, loves workers and encourages workers and also gives them proper push whenever necessary; a leader who never bowed his head for power and threw over his ministryship for the sake of people; also a good speaker regarding practical problems; now undertook the organisation of four Districts and working day and night for the sake of up-pressed masses through Swatantra Party.



SRI K. R. KOSHTI

Born at Rahuri in Ahmednagar district on 1-9-1915. Had early education at Rahuri, Panchgani and Poona. Graduate of the University of Bombay. Visited England and Europe twice.

While a student he offered satyagraha in 1930 and participated in the campaign of boycotting foreign goods for which he was severely reprimanded by his guardian he Collector of Ahmednagar.

He entered public life at the early age of 23 by taking up the cause of handloom industry, which he helped to organise on a sound footing. He was General Secretary from 1939 to 1946, and President from 1946 to 1952 of the Bombay State Handloom Weavers' Association. He presided over Weavers' Conferences held at Nagpur in 1945 and 1950. During 1950-51 he undertook an extensive tour of the state to study and report the problems of the handloom weavers. He has been a member of the Bombay State Handloom Board since 1951.

He came in contact with Rajaji in 1944, when he took Rajaji and Devdas Gandhi in his car to meet Mahatmaji at Panchgani. He has been closely associated with Acharya N. G. Ranga since 1947 as one of the Vice-Presidents of the All India Handloom Weavers' Congress led by Rangaji.

He was a councillor and leader of opposition of the Poona Sub-urban Municipality in 1948. He has been associated with several industrial and business concerns, and is Vice-Chairman of the Poona District Industrial Co-operative Association Ltd.

At the instance of Acharya Ranga, he entered active politics for the first time by joining the Swatantra Party and acting as Convenor of the Party in Maharashtra.



SRI K. R. KOSHTI

Kumar Ambika Prasad Singh, M.L.A. (Bihar). Born 19th Nov. 1914 in Bedauli of Gaya District. Left study after Matriculation and joined politics. A member of the Managing Committees of many schools. Secretary of Kanimganj (Imamganj) H. E. School. Elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly as an Independent Member in 1957. Joined Swatantra Party in 1959. Now a member of the Bihar State Swatantra Party Working Committee and General Secretary of the Gaya District Branch.

KUMAR AMBIKA PRASAD SINGH, M.L.A.



SRI SHYAM SUNDAR PRASAD



Born in 1923 in Village Sherpur, P.S. Bukhtapur in the Patna district. He had a brilliant academic career and he graduated from the Patna University in 1946 and took his B.L. Degree in 1948 and M.A. in Economics in 1950. He joined the teaching profession in 1952 as the headmaster of the Rajgir H. E. School but resigned the post in 1956. While he was in the school as Headmaster he was very popular with students, teachers and guardians. He is loved and respected equally by every section and community of the people. He believes in frequent mass contact which, in his opinion, is key to success in his life. He became Secretary of the Janata Party in April 1959 and that position is held by him with distinction to this day. By virtue and nature of the post, he occupies a pivotal position in the party so far as the execution of details are concerned, and he is discharging the heavy and onerous responsibility credibly. The ensuing All-India National Convention scheduled to be held at Patna, has virtually monopolised all his attention.

Shri Shyam Sunder Prasad, M.A., B.L., M.L.A.
Secretary, Bihar State Swatantra Party

Being a good craftsman in weaving, he earned a good name and money in the manufacture of cotton carpets during the first World War. He established a book at the Race-course and till his retirement from business he was a popular figure at all important Race courses in Western India. He entered public life at the age of 35. Was elected to the Poona City Municipality in 1932 and was President in 1934. It was during his tenure of office that the Congress flag adorned the Municipal building for the first time. Despite opposition he presented an address on behalf of the Municipality to Mahatma Gandhi who was then on a Harijan tour. It is an happy incident to recall that Mahatmaji escaped a bomb explosion at the entrance of the Municipality. One of his great achievements in life is the organisation of the handloom industry for which he had been striving hard since 1935. He was President of the Bombay State Handloom Weavers' Association from 1939 to 1946. A member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly from 1937 to 1942 and was appointed "Whip" of the Congress Legislative Party. He joined the Swatantra Party during Acharya Kanga's visit to Poona in October 1959 and is now the Treasurer of the Maharashtra unit.

SRI B. B. WALVEKAR



SRI B. B. WALVEKAR

SRI GADADHAR JENA, Advocate,
General Secretary, Swatantra Party, Orissa

After taking a Law degree from the Patna University, he joined Cuttack Bar in 1933 and became Junior to late B. K. Ray, Ex-Advocate-General of Orissa, later Judge of the Patna High Court and ex-Chief Justice of the Orissa High Court. He very soon acquired extensive practice both in criminal and civil side. He was the defence lawyer in the famous Bazalgette murder case (murder of Political Agent of Orissa Feudatory States during the time of States Peoples' Agitation) and Mr. Justice Shearer of the Patna High Court gave high encomium in his judgement in the Bazalgette murder case. Subsequently he was engaged in different sensational cases including the Communist Conspiracy case in Orissa.

He took active part in the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts and formation of a separate province for Orissa. He was the Secretary of the National Party of Orissa under the leadership of the Maharaja of Parakhimedi and contested election from Jajpur Constituency to the Orissa Legislative Assembly on behalf of the National Party which formed the first ministry in Orissa soon after the creation of a separate province.

He was elected Commissioner of Cuttack Municipal Corporation, nominated member of the Advisory Committee of the Cuttack District Board. He was associated with several cultural, educational, literary institutions of Orissa such as the Joint Secretary of Utkal Sahitya Samaj, Joint Secretary of Oriya Peoples' Association and member of the Managing Committee, Cuttack Training School and other allied institutions, Founder of and first Secretary of the City High School, Rajabagicha, Cuttack in 1955 and Vice-President of the Legal Aid Society in 1953. Since the formation of Orissa High Court he is successively and continuously elected as member of the Bar Council and Secretary of the Bar Council Orissa High Court for over 12 years.



SRI G. JENA



SRI JANKI NANDAN SINGH, M.L.C.
General Secretary Bihar State Swatantra Party

Mithila Kesari Pandit Janki Nandan Singh was born on Wednesday, the Poush Sukla Paksha Dwadashi in 1315 Fasli at Indrapur Dewrhy, P.S. Madhipur, District Darbhanga. He is the uncle of the present Maharaja Dhiraj. He showed signs of greatness from his infancy. Intelligent and brilliant promising youth, he left high school and joined the non-co-operation movement at the call of the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 and whole heartedly plunged himself into political movement.

He was elected General Secretary, District Congress Committee, Darbhanga in 1946. He was elected member of District Board in 1949 and was chosen leader of the Congress Party in Darbhanga District and Chairman of the District Board. He was elected member of the Legislative Assembly in 1952 and was nominated member of the Executive Committee of the Legislator's Party by Dr. S. K. Sinha, Chief Minister Bihar.

In 1953 he was nominated a member of Pradesh Working Committee and, was elected member of All India Congress Committee till '56. He revolted against the decision of the Congress High Command regarding selection of Congress Candidates for General Election of 1957. He organised Jan Congress which fought general election in 1957 and secured nine seats in the Assembly. He wanted Rajajee to lead the dissident Congress men not only of Bihar but other parts of the country and when Rajajee formed the Swatantra Party he merged the Jan Congress with Rajajee's party. He was elected general secretary of the Bihar State Swatantra Party. An experienced and devoted leader of Janji Babu's standing is an acquisition to this party.

Now there is a growing consciousness of the fact that Janki Babu represents in himself all the attributes in ample measure which are required of a public man.



SRI JANKI NANDAN SINGH, M.L.C.



SRI PARMANAND KEJARIVAL
Treasurer, Bihar State Swatantra Party

Born in 1915 in the well known Kejarival Family of Muzaffarpur. After leaving college joined the Congress Party in 1937 and was elected on the Congress ticket to the Muzaffarpur Municipality at the very young age of 21 years. Worked there as the Secretary of the Party. When the Congress decided to resign all elective positions, he resigned at the start of the Second World War. Then he joined business in Bombay—Business interests are wide spread in agriculture, Banking, Industry, Trading, Export, Import with a network of offices all over India.

Has been taking keen interest in politics continuously and was a candidate for Parliament in the First General Election. The Congress bosses were very particular in defeating him and he lost the election. In the Second General Election he decided to back all opposition candidates in the District of Muzaffarpur and he also with others greatly contributed to the defeat of the Congress Boss, Mahesh Prasad Singh, the then Transport Minister of Bihar.

Associated with the Swatantra Party from the very start and has been nominated as a treasurer of the State Party.

As a President of the North Bihar Merchant Chamber he has been doing a lot of work for the business community and his association with the party may bring Kudos to the Business class.



SRI PARMANAND KEJARIVAL



SRI. RAM BINOD SINGH

SHRI RAM BINOD SINGH

Vice President of the Bihar State Swatantra Party

The life of Shri Ram Binod Singh is a burning example of selfless devotion to the cause of the motherland. He never failed or faltered at the call of the nation and that is why he has earned a place of pride of the political life of Bihar. Born in the year 1894 Ram Binod Babu was attracted to the national movement from his very infancy. The bomb explosion by Khudi Ram Bose at Musaffarpur created a deep impression on Binod Babu's mind and he could never rest until he could get Darshan daily. While reading in College—he read upto B.A. standard he plunged himself heart and soul into the political life of the country.

The Bomb explosion at Muzaffarpur, the death sentence of Khudiram and imprisonment of Lok Manya Tilak for his editorial note on the Bomb explosion, penetrated in him a sense of devotion for the country. He was then determined to sacrifice his life for his motherland, and die for India's Independence.

In the year 1918, there was All India Convention of this "Terrorist Group" at Kamakhya (Assam). The leader of this group was Bagchi Jee. In the terrorist movement he was arrested and sent to Ranchi Jail where he met Late Abul Kalam Azad, who was also a prisoner. After his release in 1920 he came in contact with Gandhijee in Champaran in 1921. Gandhijee's principle of Satya and Ahimsa could not impress on the terrorist mind of Binod Babu although the latter had high regard for the former. He organised again the terrorist movement in Bihar with headquarters at Patna where his "Sewa Sadan" became the centre of terrorist activities. But soon Gandhijee's non-cooperation movement found him in the forefront and his "Gandhi Kutir" at his village home Molakhachak in Saran District, became the centre of Gandhian activities.

He was imprisoned many times while celebrating the full independence demand day 1930 he was arrested. In the "Quit India" movement he played a prominent part in Bihar and he was the last man to be arrested.

In the post independence period his work as a Legislator is commendable elected to the Bihar Assembly in 1946 he retains his seat till now. On the eve of 1957 general election he rebelled against the Congress high command because of its bungling in selection of candidates for Bihar and he along with Shri Janki Nandan Singh, Sardar Harihar Singh and other stalwarts of the Congress he founded the Jan Congress which was later merged with Swatantra Party. After the merger he was elected Vice-President of Bihar State Swatantra Party.

Ram Binod Babu is a shining personality. He leaves a deep impression on those who come in contact to him.



RAJA HUTHEESING

Raja Hutheesing, born 1906. Non co-operated from school and joined Congress 1920. Went to Europe and joined Oxford University (1926) where he took a degree in Economics, Politics and Philosophy (1930). Returned to India after studying at various European Universities, 1932. Practiced at the Bombay High Court until 1937. Re-joined the Congress and in 1934 was one of the founder members of the Congress Socialist Party. Appointed Secretary of the National Planning Committee 1937. Went to Prison in 1940 in the Individual Satyagraha Movement and in 1942 Quit India Movement. Released from Prison in 1944. Went to Malaya in 1946 as Secretary to Pandit Nehru to investigate and assist the Indian Community and report to the Congress on the I.N.A. movement. After Independence worked as Hon. Planning Advisor to the Ministry of Rehabilitation Govt. of India which post he resigned and returned to active Journalism. Asst. Editor, Free Press of India 1947-1949. Editor, Evening Star 1949-51. Visited China in 1951 and 1952 and wrote a book "The Great Peace". Fought Election on behalf of P.S.P. in 1952. Since then he withdrew from Politics until the formation of the Swatantra Party.

MANDAYAM ANANTHALWAR SREENIVASAN

Sreenivasan, Mandayam Ananthawar; Retired Prime Minister, Mysore State; b. September 20, 1897; Educ. Madras University; entered Mysore Civil Service 1918; served in practically all Departments of Government including Revenue, Judicial, Finance, Audit, Army, Industries, Local Administration and the Secretariat; Controller of Supplies, South India 1940; Minister for Food, Industries, Civil Supplies, Forests and Mining, Mysore State; Chairman, Mysore Iron & Steel Works, Board of Industrial Research 1943-45; Minister for Agriculture, Local Self-Government, Army, etc. 1945-46; Prime Minister, Gwalior State, and Member, Constituent Assembly, States Negotiating Committee, Union Constitution Committee etc. 1947-48; Director, Buckingham & Carnatic Co. Ltd., Consolidated Coffee Estates (1943) Ltd., Coffee Lands & Industries (Mysore) Ltd., The Indian Oxygen Limited, and Rallis India Limited; President, Forum, of Free Enterprise, Bangalore; Member of the State Organising Committee, Swatantra Party, Mysore State. Address: High Ground, Bangalore.



Sri N. C. Chatterjee, President, Swatantra Party, West Bengal Branch; Born October 19, 1895; educated in Calcutta and London when he took the LL.B. degree and joined the Calcutta Bar; joined the Hindu Mahasabha Movement in 1937; withdrew from politics for four years; Councilor, Calcutta Corporation 1940-44; became Judge of the Calcutta High Court 1948-1950; joined the Hindu Mahasabha Movement again and became its President; Member, Lok Sabha from 1951; senior advocate, Supreme Court of India.

Sri N. C. CHATTERJEE



Sri N. C. CHATTERJEE

Mr. JOHN DENG



Born in 1928 at Nonglailang, Khasi-Jaintia Hills, (Assam); Educated at St. Anthony's College, Shillong; Ward Commissioner of the Shillong Municipal Board (1955-1958); First Editor of a Khasi Weekly, "Ka Lymjung Rilm" (1956); One of the founders of the Hills State Movement; Asst. Secy of the East India Tribal Union (1956-57); General Secretary of the K-J Hills Emergency Border Relief Committee; on the Staff of St. Anthony's High School, Shillong; General Secretary of the Swatantra Party (Shillong Branch).

JOHN DENG, B.A.

Sri J. S. NARAYAN



Born on 2nd May, 1898 at Trichur, Educated at C.M.S. College, Kottayam and Bishop's College, Calcutta; Secretary, Students' Christian Movement of Bengal (1922); Principal, St. Andrew's School, Batticaloa, Ceylon (1927-1928); on the Staff of St. Joseph's College, Trincomalee (1928-1941); Editor, Assam Publicity Department (1943); Author of Aquaviva and the Great Moghul; first Chairman of the Swatantra Party (Shillong Branch)

JOHN STEVENS NARAYAN, B.D.





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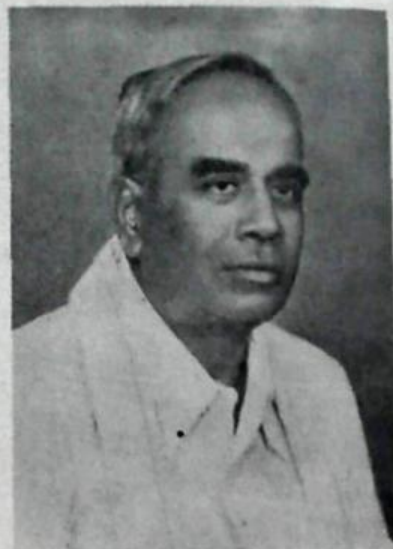




SRI V. K. RAMASWAMY MUDALIAR, M.L.A.

Sri V. K. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M.L.A. hails from an ancient family in Chingleput District, Madras State. He engaged himself for several years in social reform work, and has been connected with the co-operative movement over a long period. He has also held the post of President of the Panchayat Board, Member of the Taluk Board as well as the District Board, for many years.

He was a Congressman, and a member of the A.I.C.C. for a long time. He has been a member of the Madras Legislative Assembly since 1952, and is now the Leader of the Opposition. His outspoken criticism of Government policies has endeared him to the public, besides striking fear in the minds of the men in authority. He has toured extensively in the Continent and South-East Asia. He is an important member of the Executive Committee of Madras State Swatantra Party.



SRI V. K. RAMASWAMY MUDALIAR



SRI K. H. SRINIVASAN

SRI K. H. SRINIVASAN

Sri K. H. Srinivasan is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Swatantra Party of the State branch of Mysore. He was born on December 24th 1898 and is now 62 years of age. He belongs to a very well known family of coffee Planters of Coorg and himself owns coffee plantations. After serving the Government of Mysore in the Agricultural Department for over 22 years, he retired as the Director of Agriculture. He is now engaged in the business of coffee production and distribution. In addition, he is on the Directorate of the following Companies :

Vice-Chairman : Coffee Board

Chairman and Managing Director :

Mysore Fruit Products, Ltd.,
The Mysore Tobacco Co., Ltd.,
The Mysore Chemicals & Fertilisers, Ltd.,
The Mysore Lamp Works Ltd.,
The Mysore Coffee Estates, Ltd.,
Coffee Lands & Industries, (Mysore) Ltd.

Proprietor : Sakamma's Coffee Works.

MISS M. B. BLAH, M.A.

Born in 1932; Educated at St. Mary's College, Shillong and Calcutta University; Professor of English, St. Mary's College, Shillong; Treasurer of the Swatantra Party (Shillong Branch).



MISS M. B. BLAH, M.A.



श्री गणेशाय नमः (काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय)

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कविश और समाज

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कार्यों में किसी की सम्पत्ति लेने की स्थिति में उसे समुचित मुआवजा दिया जाय और भारतीय संविधान की तत्सम्बन्धी धाराओं का पालन उचित रूप से किया जाय।

पड़ोसी देशों से सम्बन्ध

हम यह देख रहे हैं कि पड़ोसी देशों में, जैसे पाकिस्तान, बर्मा, लंका, हिन्द-शिया आदि में गणतन्त्र विफल हो रहा है। उन देशों की परिस्थितियाँ भिन्न हो सकती थीं, पर सबका परिणाम एक ही रहा और वह यह कि गणतन्त्र की विफलता हुई। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का अवश्य विश्वास है कि गणतन्त्र की सफलता के लिए एक मजबूत विरोधी दल हो, जो 'हिप्प' का काम करे जो जरूरत पड़ने पर अपनी सरकार भी बना सके।

भ्रष्टाचार का बोलवाला

पिछले बारह वर्षों का कांग्रेसी शासन इस बात का प्रमाण है कि देश में भ्रष्टाचार किस हद तक बढ़ा है। भ्रष्टाचार का अंत करने एवं एक निर्दोष सरकार की स्थापना करने के लिए भी यह आवश्यक था कि एक सबल राजनीतिक दल की स्थापना की जाती। देश में शायद ही ऐसा कोई नागरिक होगा, जिससे राजाजी जैसे महान नेता की योग्यता, कर्मठता, त्याग, सेवा एवं उनकी देशभक्ति में अविश्वास हो। स्वयं राजा जी ने कांग्रेसी प्रशासन के भ्रष्टाचार से ऊब कर एक सबल विरोधी दल बनाने की आवश्यकता महसूस की।

कांग्रेस की सहकारी खेती

आज कांग्रेस सहकारी खेती के अविवेकपूर्ण नारें लगा रही हैं। सम्पत्ति देश में सर्वाधिक आवश्यकता खाद्यान्नादन बढ़ाने की है और इसका सर्वोत्तम उपाय स्वामित्वपूर्ण कृषि व्यवस्था है, जिसमें किसान अपनी भूमि से अधिकतम उत्पादन में स्वतः रूचि ले। कृषि के विकास के लिए भौतिक साधनों और मनो-वैज्ञानिक प्रेरणाओं की सहायता से ग्राम-जीवन की व्यवस्था स्थिर रखते हुए सशक्त और सर्वग्राही कार्यक्रम बनाया जाना चाहिए। स्वामित्व, प्रबन्ध तथा कृषि की वर्तमान व्यवस्था में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं होना चाहिये। सिंचाई एवं कृषि संबंधी साधनों की उपलब्धि, आर्थिक सहायता तथा विक्रय सम्बन्धी सुविधाओं को प्रदान करने की दृष्टि से अधिक प्रभावकारी कार्यक्रम अपनाया जाना चाहिए। कृषि के लिए सभी प्रकार की सुविधाएँ प्रदान की जायें, किन्तु संस्थाओं और संगठनों के माध्यम से कृषि का संचालन न हो। इससे निजी स्वामित्व समाप्त होता है। किसान तथा उसके परिवार की प्रेरणा नष्ट करने वाली संयुक्त स्वामित्व व्यवस्था खड़ी हो जाती है, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप उत्पादन भी घट सकता है।

कांग्रेसी सरकार ग्रामीण जनता की आवश्यकताओं की ओर समुचित ध्यान नहीं देती। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी यह समझती है कि सभी आवश्यक उपायों की सहायता से तथा विकास के मार्ग में आने वाली सभी बाधाओं का निवारण करते हुए ग्रामीण जनता के जीवन का स्तर उन्नत बनाने का प्रयास किया जाय। इस बात का विशेष प्रयत्न हो कि किसानों द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तुओं के भाव बाजार में स्थिर तथा उचित रहे। वे अन्य वस्तुओं के भावों के भी समकक्ष हों।

उद्योग-व्यवसाय

आज उद्योग-व्यवसायों का दिनों दिन राष्ट्रीयकरण हो रहा है, जो वांछनीय नहीं है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी उद्योग के क्षेत्र में प्रतिस्पर्धा द्वारा उत्पादन बढ़ाने तथा विकास करने में विश्वास रखती है। साथ ही, अत्यधिक लाभ के लिए मूल्यां के अनियमित उतार-चढ़ाव तथा ऐसी अन्य बातों के विरुद्ध है, जिनमें समुचित तथा स्वस्थ प्रतियोगिता नहीं है। वह मजदूर वर्ग को सभी आवश्यक संरक्षण प्रदान किये

जाने के पक्ष में है। पार्टी का मत है कि राज्य भारी उद्योगों के अतिरिक्त जो निजी क्षेत्र के लिए कठिन हों, अन्य किन्हीं उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण न करे। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी व्यापार के क्षेत्र में राज्य के प्रवेश का विरोध करती है। वह स्वतंत्र वितरण की व्यवस्था नष्ट करना नहीं चाहती, तथा नियंत्रण और नौकरशाही व्यवस्था को अहितकर समझती है। उद्योग नीति के दायरे में भी इस प्रकार कांग्रेस का स्वतन्त्र पार्टी से मौलिक मतभेद है।

आर्थिक नीति

कांग्रेस की अर्थनीति घोर आपत्तिजनक है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी उसमें मौलिक परिवर्तन चाहती है। वह विकास की उन सब योजनाओं के विरुद्ध है, जो अत्यधिक कर-भार तथा ऐसे विदेशी कर्णों पर आधारित हो, जिनका चुकाना देश की शक्ति से बाहर हो।

पार्टी उन सब नीतियों के विरुद्ध है, जिनके कारण मुद्रा-स्थिरता हो तथा दीर्घ कालीन सुख की आशा में वर्तमान पीढ़ी के कष्ट अत्यधिक बढ़ जायें। पार्टी का यह मत है कि शासन के व्यय में आवश्यक कमी की जानी चाहिए। नौकरशाही का विकास न हो तथा ऐसे कामों को, जिन्हें नागरिक और सार्वजनिक संस्थाएँ भली भाँति सम्पन्न कर सकती हैं, करने की स्वतंत्रता उन्हें होनी चाहिए।

शक्तिशाली-विरोधी दल

स्वतंत्र-पार्टी के बनने के समय और उसके बाद कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने स्वतंत्र पार्टी की आलोचनाओं व तर्कों के विरुद्ध अपने उत्तर देने के बावजूद अपनी नीतियों में परिवर्तन किये हैं। तात्पर्य यह कि कांग्रेस की नीति स्वतंत्र पार्टी के विचारों से प्रभावित हुई है। किन्तु कांग्रेस फिर न उलट जाय और एक स्थायी संतुलन कायम रहे, इसके लिए स्वतंत्र पार्टी जैसी एक मजबूत शक्तिशाली विरोधी दल की आवश्यकता महसूस की गयी, अन्यथा भारत में गणतंत्र द्वारा जनता की कोई भलाई संभव न होगी। भविष्य में कांग्रेस तानाशाही में परिणत न हो जाय, इसीलिए भी स्वतंत्र पार्टी जैसी संस्था की आवश्यकता थी।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का लक्ष्य

स्वतंत्र पार्टी जनता की प्रगति, कल्याण, सुख, व्यक्तिगत उद्योग, प्रेरणा तथा कार्यक्षमता पर विश्वास करती है। वह प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को अत्यधिक स्वतंत्रता देने तथा राज्य द्वारा उसके कार्यों में न्यूनतम हस्तक्षेप करने के सिद्धान्तों में विश्वास रखती है। साथ ही, इसमें भी कि असामाजिक प्रवृत्तियाँ रोकने तथा दृढ़ करने समाज के दुर्बल अंगों की रक्षा करने तथा ऐसी परिस्थितियों का निर्माण करने का सारा उत्तरदायित्व राज्य पर है, जिसमें व्यक्तिगत उद्योग पूरी तरह फल फूल सके। पार्टी वर्तमान काल जैसे राजकीय हस्तक्षेप के सर्वथा विरुद्ध है।

उपसंहार

यही है आज की परिस्थिति एवं पृष्ठभूमि, जिसमें स्वतंत्र पार्टी की स्थापना की गयी और जिससे राजा जी जैसा तपा-तपाया राजनीतिज्ञ कर्णधार के रूप में मिला। व्यक्ति-स्वातंत्र्य का संकट एवं कृषि का भविष्य अंधकारमय देखकर तथा सम्पूर्ण अर्थनीति को गलत रास्ते पर जाते देखकर स्वतंत्र पार्टी का संगठन किया गया है। अनेक राजनीतिक पार्टियों के रहते हुए भी इसकी स्थापना की आवश्यकता महसूस की गयी, क्योंकि अन्य पार्टियाँ वह भूमिका अदा नहीं कर सकती थीं या कर सकेंगी, जो स्वतंत्र पार्टी को करना है। आशा है, वह स्वतंत्र पार्टी देश एवं समाज के विश्वासों के अनुरूप अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन करती रहेगी। 'स्वतन्त्र-पार्टी जिन्दाबाद', 'व्यक्ति-स्वातंत्र्य जिन्दाबाद'।

अधूरा इतिहास पूरा हुआ

श्री भारत भूषण

राजनीतिक पार्टियों का अब हुआ इतिहास पूरा ।

सच कहें, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के बिना जो था अधूरा ॥

ईश्वर निज देश की शासन प्रणाली में कभी ।

हो उठा उद्दिग्न उर, मन खिन्न, नयनों में नमी ॥

रो पड़ा आकाश, बिलखाने लगी भारत मही ।

चक्रवर्ती को न तब कुछ धैर्य की सीमा रही ॥

अस्सी बरस की हड्डियों में जोश नूतन भर चला ।

अन्याय की हस्ती मिटाने के लिए नर दर चला ॥

नव-क्रान्ति का आह्वान कर वह आ गया ।

सत्य की रक्षा निमित्त अन्यायियों पर छा गया ॥

भय नहीं उनको कभी जो सत्य का दीपक लिए हैं ।

जान रख तलहटियों पर काम बनता का किए हैं ॥

संत आँ परिवार की रक्षा करो ललकारते हम ।

करमुक्त भू-स्वामित्व के अधिकार को भी चाहते हम ॥

भर पेट रोटी के लिए आजाद भारत तड़िता दम ।

लाखों करोड़ों के अपव्यय से हमें होंगे न गम १

हम कर रहे थे कल्पना आजाद भारत की कभी ।

इसीलिए ही तो बहायें खून की नदियाँ कभी ।

स्वप्न मिट कर रह गये साकार भी होने न पाये ।

सीख 'बापू' की अधूरी, पूर्ण अब तक कर न पाये ॥

हो रहा विश्वास ऐसा हम न भूखों अब मरेंगे ।

न्याय पर मिट जायेंगे, अन्यायियों से क्यों हरेंगे ?

हो सफल सम्पन्न यह शुभ कार्य जन-हित का महा ।

हतकामना सबकी यही, दुख दैन्य जनता का टला ॥

माँन हो हम सह रहे थे, अब हुआ इजहार पूरा ।

सच कहें, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के बिना जो था अधूरा ॥

वीर केसरी बाबू कुंवर सिंह

‘श्री हीरा प्रसाद चतुर्वेदी’

सन् १८५७ के महान् सेनानी वीर केसरी बाबू कुंवर का जीवन सभी भारतीयों के लिए गौरव की वस्तु है। उससे स्वाधीन भारत के नवयुवकों को भी एक प्रेरणा मिलेगी। अस्सी वर्ष की उम्र में भी उन्होंने युद्ध में अंग्रेजी सेना के छवके छुड़ा दिये। महाप्रयाण के समय जगदीशपुर में आजादी का झण्डा लहरा रहा था। शेष प्रस्तुत लेख में पढ़िये।
—सम्पादक

“शहीदों की चिताओं पर लगेंगे हर बरस मेलें।
यतन पर मरने वालों का बाकी यही निशां होगा।”

आज हम जिस स्वाधीनता का उपभोग कर रहे हैं, उसका शिलान्यास सन् १८५७ के स्वाधीनता संग्राम में हुआ था। कुछ विदेशी इतिहासकारों ने उसे “गदर” या “सिपाही विद्रोह” की संज्ञा दी है, मगर वह हमारी स्वाधीनता के लिए एक विशाल पैमाने पर लड़ा गया प्रथम स्वातन्त्र्य संग्राम था, जिसने अंग्रेजी हुकूमत की नींव जड़ से उखाड़ दी थी। यह बात दूसरी है कि हम उस संग्राम के अंतिम दौर में विजयी नहीं हुए, पर हमारी पराजय भी एक प्रकार से विजय ही थी। बाजी हार जाना कोई कलंक नहीं। कलंक की बात है अन्याय का चुपचाप सह लेना। सन् ५७ के स्वातन्त्र्य संग्राम में जिन महापुरुषों ने भारतीय सेना का नेतृत्व किया और जिनका नाम आज भी हमारे लिए प्रातःस्मरणीय है, उनमें से एक थे वीर केसरी बाबू कुंवर सिंह।

वंश परिचय

वीर कुंवर सिंह का जन्म शाहाबाद (बिहार) जिलान्तर्गत जगदीशपुर गाम में हुआ था। पिता का नाम था साहेबजादा सिंह, जिनके तीन पुत्र थे। सबसे बड़े थे वीर कुंवर सिंह। उनके पूर्वज १४वीं शती में मालवा से बिहार आये थे और जगदीशपुर में बस गये थे। वहां आपके पास एक बड़ी जमींदारी थी। वीर कुंवर सिंह परमार राजपूत थे। प्रख्यात तथा उपाख्यान में वर्णित राजा भोज उनके पूर्वज थे, जिनसे कई पीढ़ी पूर्व महाराज विक्रमादित्य पैदा हुए थे।

बचपन

बाबू कुंवर सिंह बचपन से ही जोशीले और साहसी थे। बचपन में उनकी पढ़ाई लिखाई नहीं हो सकी, क्योंकि उनके पिता जगदीशपुर छोड़कर चले गये थे और लम्बी अवधि तक जगदीशपुर से बाहर रहे। इसके साथ ही गद्दी हासिल करने से पहले उनके पिता की आर्थिक स्थिति भी सीमित थी। बाबू कुंवर सिंह साधारणतः परिवार से दूर अलग रहते थे। उन्होंने जितारे के जंगल में अपने लिए फूस का बंगला बनवाया था और वहीं रहकर शिकार तथा आमोद प्रमोद में समय बिताया करते थे। वे बहुधा १०० सवारों को साथ लेकर जगदीशपुर के आस पास के जंगलों में घुसकर काटा करते थे। वीर कुंवर सिंह का विवाह ईशमूंगा (गया) के प्रसिद्ध जमींदार राना कतहनारायण सिंह की पुत्री से हुआ था।

x x x x

गंगा की तरल तरंगों की तरह वीर कुंवर सिंह का जीवन विभिन्न परि-

स्थितियों से होकर गुजरा। कभी पारिवारिक विवाद उपस्थित हुआ, तो कभी वे कण के बांध से लड़े थे। पर दिल में सदैव स्वाधीनता की आग जल रही थी और अन्तर्तांगत्वा सन् १८५७ में वह प्रज्वलित हो उठी।

महा मानव

वीर कुंवर सिंह महामानव थे। दिल में उदारता थी। शत्रु के प्रति भी न्याय की दृष्टि रखते थे। वीरतापूर्ण युद्ध उन्हें पसन्द था। क्रान्ति ज्योंही भड़की, बहुत से अंग्रेज बच्चे वीर कुंवर सिंह के सिपाहियों के हाथ लग गये। दानापुर, जो अंग्रेजी सेना का अड्डा था, पूरी तरह बरबाद कर दिया गया था। वहीं से वे बच्चे लाये गये थे। कुंवर सिंह रोते बच्चों को दौखकर इतने विकल हुए कि वे स्वयं रो पड़े। इसके बाद उन्होंने दूध का जल्य इन्तजाम करने का आदेश दिया। बच्चे जब सा-पी चुके, तो उन्हें अंग्रेजी छावनी में भेजने का सबाल सामने आया। सतरा यह था कि जो इन बच्चों को पहुँचाने जाता, उसे अंग्रेज पकड़ कर बिना फांसी पर लटकाये नहीं रहते। हुआ भी यही। जो सिपाही उन बच्चों को छावनी में पहुँचाने गए, वे पुनः लौटकर नहीं आए। उनमें वीर कुंवर सिंह का एक निकट सम्बन्धी भी था।

उम्र बाधक नहीं

१८५७ के स्वातन्त्र्य संग्राम के महानायक वीर कुंवर सिंह ने जिस समय क्रांति की पुकार सुनकर युद्ध में पदार्पण किया, उस समय उनकी अवस्था ५० वर्ष की थी, किन्तु बालों को छोड़कर किसी बात से यह कोई नहीं कह सकता था कि वे वृद्ध हैं। वीर कुंवर सिंह का पुरुषार्थ दौखकर हठात् महाभारत के वीर सेनानी भीष्म और द्रोण की याद आ जाती है।

सन १८५७ की महत्वपूर्ण घटनाएं

सन् १८५७ के स्वातन्त्र्य संग्राम के समय अनेक रोमांचकारी घटनाएं घटीं, जिन्हें भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। विप्लव प्रारम्भ करने की तारीख २१ मई तय हुई थी और यदि उचित समय पर विप्लव हुआ होता, तो शायद उसका परिणाम दूसरा ही होता। लेकिन बात वैसी नहीं हुई। मार्च में ही बागपुर की छावनी में सेना में विद्रोह हो गया। मंगल पाण्डेय नामक अमर सैनिक अपने को रोक नहीं सका और परदे के मैदान में ही एक अंग्रेज अफसर को उसने मार डाला। यह काण्ड चरबी वाले कारतूस को ही लेकर हुआ। अंग्रेजों ने मंगल पाण्डेय को गिरफ्तार किया और दस दिन के भीतर फांसी पर लटका दिया और २४ वीं और २६ वीं सेना को, जो विद्रोह पर तुली हुई थी, भंग कर दिया। लेकिन, जो आग

॥ श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री लक्ष्म्यै नमः ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्री रामाय नमः ॥ श्री शिवाय नमः ॥ श्री ब्रह्माय नमः ॥ श्री विष्णवे नमः ॥ श्री महेश्वर्यै नमः ॥ श्री परमात्मने नमः ॥ श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

1. 11-10 2. 11-10 3. 11-10 4. 11-10 5. 11-10 6. 11-10 7. 11-10 8. 11-10 9. 11-10 10. 11-10

1. 11-10 2. 11-10 3. 11-10 4. 11-10 5. 11-10 6. 11-10 7. 11-10 8. 11-10 9. 11-10 10. 11-10

[illegible][illegible]

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

[illegible]

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[illegible]

ਮਲਕ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

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6. What is the purpose of the study?

110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564

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"अथ कः स निवृत्तः, तः, आ गीता का वा बाल ।
गुणान्ते तु तां कर्माणि, ज्ञान-मनो न च उच्यते ॥"

: 12th 12th

महा का महिपव कर दिवा, विस पर विनी कवि की लखनी स हठाल पर

विद्यार्थी से विज्ञाप

1. The size of the bubble in the jet depends on

1. ਮਾਫ਼ੀ ਜੋ ਮੁੜ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਲਈ ਆਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਲਈ ਮਾਫ਼ੀ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਕਰਨਾ
2. ਸ਼ਿਕਾਇਤਾਂ ਲਈ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਕਰਨਾ
3. ਸ਼ਿਕਾਇਤਾਂ ਲਈ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਕਰਨਾ

[illegible]

संज्ञा

पिछली पर भागियाली को अधिकातर मूलकर अर्थात् अधिकांश धन व

उम्मीद है कि आप इस बात पर ध्यान देंगे।

[illegible][illegible]

बिहार में गान्धीजी

श्री कामेश्वर शर्मा 'नयन'

विश्ववन्द्य महात्मा गांधी की जो राजनीतिक, सामाजिक एवं आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि हैं, वह किसी भी भारतीय संछिपी नहीं हैं। पर बिहार तो अन्य दृष्टियों से भी आभारी हैं। किस प्रकार बापू ने अंग्रेज निलहों के आतंक और शोषण से बिहार-वासियों की रक्षा की, यह आज इतिहास का विषय बन गया है। शेष प्रस्तुत लेख में पाँद्वेय।

— सम्पादक

विश्व के रंगमंच पर मानवता के परित्राणार्थ जिन व्यक्तियों के नाम सौल्लास लिये जाते हैं, उनमें हमारे स्वर्गीय राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी का स्थान सर्वप्रथम है। भारत-वासियों की आत्मा का सच्चा प्रतिनिधित्व यदि किसी ने किया तो वे थे हमारे "बापू"। आज से कुछ वर्ष पूर्व भारत के उस महामानव ने अपने समस्त प्रकाशपुंज से यदि अराधु-अराधु में चेतना का संदेश न दिया होता, तो भारत का यह विराट् स्वरूप कदापि परिलक्षित न हो पाता। यह बापू का ही प्रसाद है कि हम संसार के सामने अपनी समस्त महत्वाकांक्षाओं के साथ कंधे से कंधा भिड़ा कर अबाध गति से बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं।

महात्मा गांधी का भारत और भारतवासियों के जीवन में जो स्थान प्राप्त था उसका अनुभव अब हो रहा है। स्वार्थ-तमिस्र से आच्छादित इस संसार में त्याग-ज्योत्सना की भांकी उन्होंने दी थी, वही तो आज हमारे भारत के लिये प्रशस्त पथ-प्रदर्शिका है। यद्यपि महात्मा गांधी की भौतिक काया का पर्यवसान हो चुका है फिर भी उनके दिव्य संदेश आज भी भारत ही नहीं, अपितु विश्व के करा-करा को उद्भासित कर रहे हैं।

गांधी जी की जिन विशिष्टताओं ने उन्हें महामानव ही नहीं, बल्कि अन्तरिक्षान्वित इस सारी संसृति का वह सूर्य बनाया जिसके प्रकाश में सारी सृष्टि को चेतना प्राप्त हुई, वे थीं उनकी त्याग, तपस्या तथा विशुद्ध सत्याहिंसात्मक भावनाएं।

गांधी जी ने भारत को प्राण दिया। यों तो सारे भारत पर गांधी जी का सम ममत्व रहता था, पर वे बिहार की सरलता और सज्जनता पर मुग्ध थे। यही कारण था कि जब कभी बिहार को जरूरत पड़ी, उन्होंने यहां आकर लोगों के दुःख का निवारण किया। अफ्रीका से आकर अपने जीवन का सबसे बड़ा पौख्य यदि गांधी जी ने कहीं प्रदर्शित किया था, तो वह है बिहार। सर्वप्रथम गांधी जी ने यहीं से सत्याग्रह का वह बिगुल बजाया, जिससे सम्पूर्ण देश की कुम्भकर्णी निद्रा भंग हुई। यही वह स्थल है, जहां से गांधी जी ने अपने आत्मबल का प्रयोग शुरू किया था। उनके आशीर्वाद की प्रथम कड़ी प्राप्त करने वाले इस प्रान्त को वे प्राणों से भी प्यारा समझते थे। तभी तो लखनऊ कांग्रेस के बाद ही उन्होंने बिहार पर अपनी दयादृष्टि ढाँझी। लखनऊ कांग्रेस में बिहार के जो प्रतिनिध गए थे, उनमें चम्पारण के लोग भी थे। उन दिनों चम्पारण में गोर निलहों का अत्याचार चरम सीमा तक पहुँच चुका था। लोग उनके उत्पीड़न से परेशान हो चुके थे। ऐसी परिस्थिति में गांधी जी से मिलने के सिवा दूसरा कोई चारा नहीं रह गया था। चम्पारण के लोगों ने लखनऊ में ही गांधी जी से भेंट की। जिन

लोगों ने गांधी जी से वहां की परिस्थिति देखने का आग्रह किया था, उनमें स्व० बाबू ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद, राजकुमार शुक्ल आदि उल्लेख्य हैं। शुक्ल जी तो तत्कालीन निलहों के शिकार भी हो चुके थे। फिर भी इन लोगों ने हिम्मत नहीं हारी और अन्त में कांग्रेस में इस प्रश्न पर कड़ी आलोचना की। बाबू ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद ने इस प्रस्ताव को कॉमिंसल में भी पारित कराया था।

इसी समय बिहार के लोगों को ज्ञात हुआ कि अफ्रीका का आन्दोलन सफलता पूर्वक चल चुका है, जिसका नैतृत्व महात्मा गांधी ने ही किया है। फिर क्या था, लोगों ने इस विषय में परामर्श लेने के लिए महात्मा गांधी से भेंट की। गांधी जी ने सारी बातें सुनकर चम्पारण जाने की स्वीकृति दे दी।

उन दिनों कलकत्ता में कांग्रेस की विषय समिति की बैठक थी। गांधी जी वहीं से लौट कर पटना आए। पटना आकर उन्होंने मजहूरल हक साहेब के यहां थोड़ी देर विश्राम किया, पुनः वे उसी दिन मुजफ्फरपुर चले गये। ज्ञात समय गांधी जी ने बाबू ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद को भी बुला लिया था।

गांधी जी ने निलहे गोरों के द्वारा प्रपीड़ित किसानों और मजदूरों की सही स्थिति जाननी चाही। अतः वे गांव-गांव में पैदल धूम-धूम कर उनकी जांच करने लगे। गांवों में जाकर उन्होंने निलहे गोरों द्वारा लूट-खसोट के निशान देखे। जब वे इस प्रकार गांव-गांव में घूम रहे थे, उसी समय उन्हें वहां के कलक्टर ने चम्पारण छोड़ने का आदेश दिया, पर गांधी जी ने अपना काम नहीं छोड़ा और उन्होंने उस काम में दृढ़ता उत्साह दिखलाया।

गांधी जी के चम्पारण पहुँचते ही लोगों के हृदय से भय नामक वस्तु सदा के लिए काफूर हो चुकी थी। उनके उत्साह में जैसे चार चांद लग गये हों। जनता का सौंदर्य से जकड़ा हुआ मानसिक दौर्बल्य कपूर की तरह उड़ गया था। एक दिन ऐसा भी हुआ कि गांधी जी पर कलक्टर की निषेधाज्ञा के विरुद्ध आचरण करने के कारण मुकदमे चलाये गये। शासकीय क्रूरता के शिकंजे भनभना उठे। इधर जनता के हृदयों में युगों से सांथी हुई भारतीयता जाग उठी। चम्पारण की कचहरी के भीम्य का वह दिन क्या फिर कभी संभव है? हजारों प्रयाग की पुण्य धारा से युक्त जन-त्रिवेणी का संगम अपूर्व हो गया था। राज्य और वैभव की मद्माती व्यर्थ ममता के मायाजाल में फंसे निलहे गोरों की अजीब हालत थी। ऊपर से जहां शासकीय रोब के शस्त्र निक्षेप द्वारा निलहे प्रदर्शन रोकने में अक्षम थे, वहीं उनकी आत्मा इस युगावतार के सामने प्रकीर्ण होकर कह रही थी — "देखते दया हो, जाओ जहां से आये हो"। अन्त में सभी कुत्तियों के

बाबूद उन्हें अत्याचार चौकित किसानों के सामने मुंहकी खानी पड़ी। यद्यपि जनता का यह प्रवाह रोकने के लिए अनेक पाप किये गये। जन-आन्दोलन की प्रगति रोकने में जब निलहों ने अपने को असमर्थ पाया तो सैकड़ों इलाजाम भर कर उन्होंने गांटी जीतनी चाही, हालांकि इसमें भी उन्हें असफलता ही मिली। कुछ निलहों ने रात में अपने मकानों में आग लगाकर जनता के नाम दोषारोपण किया, किन्तु पीछे चलकर इसका गुल खिल गया था। निलहों के भूठ दोषारोपण पर ही महात्मा जी को विप्लवी तथा अराजकता-प्रचारक आदि कहा गया था।

बिहार के गवर्नर उन दिनों रांची में थे। गांधी जी ने चम्पारण के इन सत्याग्रहियों की सूचना गवर्नर को देनी चाही। वे स्वयं उनसे मिलना चाहते थे। अन्त में सत्याग्रहियों की दो टॉलियां वे बनाकर रांची गए। वहां जाने के पूर्व उन्होंने सत्याग्रह का भार बाबू ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद, डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद तथा गोरख बाबू पर सौंप गए थे। गांधी जी ने गवर्नर से मिलकर एक कमीशन नियुक्त करवाया। कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार किसानों और मजदूरों की जीत हुई। अब तक उन्हें जा परेशानियां उठानी पड़ी थीं, उनके लिए उन्हें ताबान के रूप में लौटा दिये गए।

चम्पारण-आन्दोलन चला कर जन सामान्य का आर्थिक कष्ट भार तो उन्होंने दूर किया ही, आपसी मतभेद को भी भूलकर बिहार के नेताओं ने जिस तत्परता और कर्मठता का परिचय दिया, वह अनिर्वचनीय है।

गांधी जी के बिहार आकर सुदृढ़ कदम बढ़ाने से बिहार ही नहीं, अपितु सारे भारत के लोगों में निर्भीकता का प्रसार हुआ। इसी प्रकार १९३४ के भूकम्प में भी गांधी जी ने बिहार आकर इसकी सेवा की। इस कार्य में उस समय बिहार रिलीफ समिती द्वारा डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने प्रान्त के पीड़ित स्थानों एवं लोगों की भरपूर सहायता की। तन मन देकर उन्होंने योगदान किया। फलतः कुछ दिनों

के बाद महात्मा गांधी भी बिहार आये। उनके आते ही स्व० सेंट जमनालाल बजाज, आचार्य कृपलानी, श्री हार्डिकर और श्रीमती सोफिया सोमजी आदि ने आकर जनता की बहुत बड़ी भलाई की। रेल पथ तथा राज-पथ के नष्ट रहने पर भी गांवों में रसद आदि किसी न किसी प्रकार पहुंचायी गयी। महात्मा जी ने प्रत्येक स्थल पर जाकर स्वयं उस स्थान को देखा, जहां लोग भूकम्प से पीड़ित होकर असाहाय से हो गए थे। उनकी दशा देखकर गांधी जी का हृदय द्रवित हो गया।

इस प्रकार जब जब देश के साथ इस प्रान्त को आवश्यकता हुई, महात्मा गांधी आये और बिहारवासियों के कष्ट दूर किये। स्वतन्त्रता की लड़ाई के निकट तक हमारा प्रान्त उन्हें चैन से नहीं रहने दिया। जिन्ना के कुचक्रों के कारण स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त के पूर्व भारत के दो टुकड़े हुए। फलतः पंजाब, बंगाल और सिंध में जहां मुसलमानों की घनी आबादी थी, लोगों ने गलत प्रचार करके जनता को उभाड़ा और साम्प्रदायिकता की आग फैलायी। यह आग केवल उन्हीं हिस्सों में न रह कर प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप बिहार में भी फैल गई। बिहार में भारी बलबे शुरू हो गए। हिन्दू मुसलमानों का पारस्परिक भावभाव बिलुप्त हो गया, जिसके कारण महात्मा जी को पुनः प्रान्त में पदयात्रा करनी पड़ी।

उन्होंने कहा था - "यदि बिहार में बलबा न रुका तो मुझे आमरण अनशन करना पड़ेगा। अपने राष्ट्रपिता की इस मर्मस्पर्शी चेष्टा का बिहार की जनता ने अनुभव किया, फलतः बिहार का बलबा सदा के लिए बंद हो गया। नोआखाली से लौटकर गांधी जी ने सीमान्त गांधी अब्दुल गफार खां के साथ घर-घर, गांव-गांव घूमकर अपनी आंखों सारं बीभत्सपूर्ण दृश्य देखे। कई जगहों पर तो वे रो पड़े। जनता की सरल भावना भी द्रवित हो गई। कुछ दिनों की ही पदयात्रा में महात्मा जी ने सारं सूबों को राम-नाम की ध्वनि से आप्लावित कर दिया। क्या हिन्दू, क्या मुसलमान, सबों ने सांध्य-प्रार्थना सभा में समान रूप से भाग लिया। सबों की जिद्दा पर "रघुपति राघव राजा राम" की मधुर ध्वनि गूंज उठी। कुछ आततायियों द्वारा प्रसारित उनके मन के दुस् मिट गये।

"यदि तुम्हारे पास धन है, मगर तुम उसे अच्छी तरह खर्च करना नहीं जानते, तो वह धन तुम्हारे सिर पर एक तरह का बोझ है, जो मरने पर ही उतरगा।"

— शंखसीपथर

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हम मातृभूमि के सैनिक हैं,
आजादी के मतवाले हैं,
बीलबंदी पर हंस-हंस करके
निज शीश चढ़ाने वाले हैं।

जननी के वीर पुजारी हैं,
सर्वस्व लुटाने वाले हैं,
हम मातृभूमि के सैनिक हैं
आजादी के मतवाले हैं।

हम अमर शहीदों की टोली में
नाम लिखाने वाले हैं,
हम मातृभूमि के सैनिक हैं,
आजादी के मतवाले हैं।

— साहनलाल द्विवेदी

"अमानुषिक बल से, पार्श्विक अत्याचारों से कभी किसी ने सर्व-साधारण के हृदय पर विजय प्राप्त नहीं की। आत्मिक बल, प्रेम और उदारता से ही दूसरों के हृदयों पर शासन हो सकता है।"

— एक विद्वान

* * * *

"जो कुछ मेरे पास उस पर नहीं, किन्तु जो कुछ करता हूं, उसी पर मेरा अधिकार है।"

न त्वहं कामयं राज्यम्
न स्वर्गं ना पुनर्भवम्।
कामयं दुःख तप्तानाम्,
प्राणिनामार्तिनाशनम् ॥

"व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता ही मानव-जीवन की मर्यादा एवं प्रसन्नता का प्रथम साधन है।"

— बुल्वर बिटन

जेल यात्रा

श्री कैलाश पति सिंह एम० एल० ए०

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की बिहार शाखा के अध्यक्ष श्री कामारुखा नारायण सिंह ने हजारीबाग जिले के किसानों की हित-रक्षा के लिए जो त्याग एवं बलिदान किया है, वे इतिहास के विषय हैं। आपने जिस बहादुरी से यह कार्य किया है, वह चिरस्मरणीय रहेगा। इसी किसान सेवा के चलते आपको जेल यातना भी सहनी पड़ी। मगर आप अपने कर्तव्य-पथ पर डट रहे। इस जेल-यात्रा का हृदय-स्पर्शी विवरण लेखक ने प्रस्तुत निबन्ध में सुरुचिपूर्ण ढंग से किया है।

— सम्पादक

१५ जनवरी आती है और चली जाती है। लेकिन, बिहार में दो पन्द्रह जनवरी आयी और इतिहास लिख गयी — जमाने पर अपनी मुहर डाल गयी।

१९३४ की १५ जनवरी — एक बड़े दिन जब जाड़े से ठिठुरता हुआ बिहार बसन्त की गुलाली के सपने देख रहा था, एक जलजला आया — धरती कांप उठी और कांपती रही तब तक जब तक आंसू और हाहाकार को साथ लिये बर्बादी समाँ बांध कर घूम न गयी बिहार के गांवों और शहरों में। भगवान का भंजा यह भूकम्प एक सत्यानाश का तमाचा था, जिसकी चोटों से समाज और सत्ता की रंगें हिल उठीं अनगिनत मानव तथा अन्यान्य प्राणी काल के शिकार बने और जिसकी याद भावी पीढ़ी एक सिहरन और कम्पन से ही करेगी।

और फिर आयी १५ जनवरी सन् १९५५ में एक समाँ बांधे — एक तूफान लिये। इस बार भी वही जलजला वही भूचाल। लेकिन, धरती पर नहीं। इसने न घर ढाहे, न तो समाज को बंकार और बर्बाद किया। लेकिन, इसने बंकार कर देने की ठानी बिहार के शासन को। हजारीबाग के बाग बगीचों में, पहाड़ और जंगलों में। हजारीबाग जिले के शहरों और गांवों में लोगों के दिल-दिमाग हिल उठे। गुस्से से लोगों के चेहरे लाल हो उठे। भौंहे तन गये। मुट्ठियाँ कस गयीं। बलिदान की बाजी लगने लगी। आज अनहोनी होने जा रही है — गांवों का प्यारा और शहरों का दुलारा रामगढ़ नरेश आज जेल जा रहा है इसलिये कि उसने भूखी नंगी जनता के लिए रोटी और रोजी मांगी, उस सरकार से जिसने जनता ने बनाया है और उन कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने जेल का फर्मान दिया है जिनकी लीडरी को हजारीबाग ने एक एलान के साथ मटिमामेंट कर दिया है, इसी राजा के इशारे पर यही सवाल पूछा जाने लगा हर दिल और दिमाग में। और उठने लगा सवाल कि आखिर क्या हो ? १४ जनवरी की रात बेंचनी और तड़प से गुजरी सारं जिले में और पाँ फटते ही शहीदों की

टोलियां उमड़ने लगीं हजारीबाग शहर में। सर पर कफन बांध कर चारों दिशाओं से निकल पड़े बूढ़े, और नवजवान। चल पड़े हजारीबाग शहर की ओर।

अगर आज जमाने पर अहिंसा की बुलन्दी न होती और यदि रामगढ़ नरेश अहिंसाप्रतधारी न होता तो तलवार खनखना उठती — खून की पुकार मच जाती। लेकिन कांग्रेसी अफसरशाही की गोली और जेल को ललकारते हुए जनता अपने विराट रूप में आ पहुँची। राज्य सत्ता भौंचक थी। शासन यन्त्र हिल उठा। अफसर सन्न रह गये। पुलिस परेशान थी। बन्दूकों और लाठीचार्ज सजने लगीं — लेकिन, उन्हें उठाने वाले हाथ भी कांप रहे थे। हर दिल में यही सवाल था कि आखिर यह किसलिये ? भूखी जनता के लिए रोजी और रोटी की मांग पर ?

आज जनता पार्टी के नेता रामगढ़ नरेश श्री कामारुखा नारायण सिंह और मकसूदपुर के राजा और दूसरे साथियों के साथ इसलिये जेल जा रहे थे कि इन पर बिहार जन सुरक्षा कानून का पंजा डाला गया था। और वह इसलिये कि २५ सितम्बर १९५० को अकाल से घिरे जिले की जनता को लेकर हजारीबाग की कचहरी पर राजा ने 'भूख मार्च' का नेतृत्व किया। जंगल कानून और जंगल विभाग से लूटा हुआ जिला अकाल की घाटी में तेंजी से बढ़ रहा था। महंगी आसमान छू रही थी। गरीबी और बेकारी अडिग थी, अमिट थी। और इसी समय ऐसा डर आ गया कि जिले के गरीब गांवों में भूख की आग धू धू कर जल रही थी। इसलिये १२ सितम्बर को जनता पार्टी के मंत्री श्री कैलाशपति सिंह ने हजारीबाग के जिलाधीश श्री के. आर. सुब्रह्मण्यम को लिखा कि बिहार मन्टन्स आफ पब्लिक आर्डर नामक कानून के अनुसार भूख मार्च की इजाजत दें। २२ सितम्बर को जिलाधीश ने इजाजत देने से इनकार कर दिया २५ सितम्बर को जनता पार्टी की कार्यकारिणी समिति ने इस कानून को तोड़ने का फैसला

किया। २६ सितम्बर को जनता पार्टी के आला कमान की ओर से महामन्त्री राजा साहब मकसूदपुर और राजकुमार बसन्त नारायण सिंह ने जिलाधीश और पुलिस अधीक्षक को अपने फंसले की खबर दी और एक बार फिर भी शान्ति के हित में कदम उठाने को कहा। लेकिन, सत्ता की नशा में डूबे अफसर ने एक न सुनी। २९ सितम्बर को जनता पार्टी का भण्डा लिये रामगढ़ नरेश के पीछे पीछे ५० हजार जनता ने कचहरी पर भूस भाव्य कर दिया। यह कदम शान्तिपूर्ण और जनतान्त्रिक था। न अशान्ति करनी थी और न कोई उधल-पुधल मचानी थी। संविधान से प्राप्त अधिकार जताना था। हमें बोलने की स्वतन्त्रता है, यही दिखलाना था। कहीं एक कंकड़ की आवाज भी न हुई। भूसी प्लेटन ने तो अपने नेता के साथ जेल का अभियान कर ही दिया था। लेकिन, सत्ता का हाँसला पस्त था। हिम्मत टूट चुकी थी कांग्रेसी अफसरशाही को। मजाल न हुई कि एक आदमी को भी पूछें कि हुकूम क्यों तोड़ा है। महाराजा बहादुर ने मांगें रखीं जिलाधीश के समक्ष और कहा कि सूबे बिहार की हुकूमत को लिखा कि हजारीबाग जिला 'अकाल-पीड़ित क्षेत्र' घोषित करें - मौजूदा साल का कर माफ करें - सरकारी ऋण की वसूली रोक दें और जंगल का शासन पंचायत के हवाले करें। इसके बाद जुलूस अपने घरों को रवाना हो गया।

इस 'भूस-मार्घ' से कांग्रेसी हुकूमत पर कोई आसमान नहीं टूट पड़ा। कोई बिजली नहीं तड़पी। हजारीबाग की जनता ने अपने नेता को संकट में पकड़ा था। और इसी लिए रामगढ़ नरेश ने कांग्रेसी नेताओं को ललकारा था। १९४७ में ही जिला परिषद के चुनाव में कांग्रेस राजा के सामने मुँहकी खापी थी। १९५२ में बिहार के राजस्व मंत्री श्री कृष्ण बल्लभ सहाय एक क्षेत्र में महाराजा से हार चुके थे और चार क्षेत्रों से कांग्रेस के खिलाफ महाराजा विजयी हो गये थे। १९५७ में सारं हजारीबाग में कांग्रेस राजा से हार कर चिढ़ा हो चुकी थी। चाँटी के नेता श्री कृष्ण बल्लभ सहाय और श्री अब्दुल कयूम अन्सारी को भी घुटने टंकने पड़े। एक व्यक्ति के लिए यह एक बेजोड़ इतिहास था। ऐसे महाराजा रामगढ़ के खिलाफ सत्ता ने 'पिछले दरवाजे' का रास्ता अपनाया और एक लम्बी साजिश के बाद फंसला किया कि कचहरी में मुकदमा चला कर इज्जत समझली जाय, जो २९ सितम्बर को चूर हो चुकी थी। महाराजा विदेश से लौट चुके थे और १५ जनवरी को अदालत में मुकदमा शुरू होने वाला था। कांग्रेसी अफसरशाही की दुर्नीति और जुल्म के विरोध में महाराजा आज जेल जा रहे थे।

और इसीलिए जबसे चले आ रहे थे हर सड़क पर - हर गली में। 'बीर कामादया जिन्दाबाद', 'जनता पार्टी जिन्दाबाद', 'रोटी रोजी कपड़ा दो - नहीं तो गाड़ी छोड़ दो', 'लाठी गोली की सरकार, नहीं चलेगी - नहीं चलेगी', 'सुरक्षा कानून तोड़ दो - नहीं तो गाड़ी छोड़ दो' आदि नारों से दिशाएं गूँज रही थीं। शान्ति के सिपाही अपने प्रियजनों से बिदा लेकर आये थे उस घड़ी का सामना करने के लिए जो कुछ भी बलिदान मांगती जनतन्त्र के लिये और राजा के लिये। एक हाथ में भण्डा और दूसरे में माला लिये जनता उमड़ पड़ी फेंयर फील्ड बंगला की ओर। साढ़े दस बजे के लिए पल-पल का इन्तजार बेसबूरी से किया जा रहा था और क्षण क्षण में जनता का रूप घिराट होता जा रहा था। शहर के सभी बाजार और सभी दुकानें बंद हो रही थीं। दफतर के बाबू लोग अपनी मुँजों को छोड़ कर बरामद से भाँक रहे थे श्री के. एन. प्रसाद जुडीसियल मजिस्ट्रेट के इजलास की ओर, जहाँ रामगढ़ नरेश के मुकदमे की सुनवाई हो रही थी।

आखिर साढ़े दस बजे। फेंयर फील्ड बंगला में महाराजा रामगढ़ निकले। चंहर पर गुस्काँ और आँसों में आग। आँसों की त्वारी दँस कर कांग्रेसी अफसरशाही लड़खड़ा रही थी। एक इशारे पर जलजला मच जाता। पीछे सर ऊँचा किये राजकुमार बसन्त नारायण सिंह और मकसूदपुर के राजा जगत किशोर प्रसाद नारायण सिंह थे। साथ में कैलाशपति सिंह, रामेश्वर प्रसाद महथा - मांतीराम, नन्द किशोर सिंह, ब्रजेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह सभी बिहार विधान सभा के सदस्य, लोकसभा के श्री काजी मतीन, और साथ ही कुंवर धनुषधारी सिंह, श्री अक्षयबट दयाल सिंह, ठाकुर सिद्धनाथ सिंह, श्री जीतनाथ सिंह, श्री टीवर गाँव, श्री शफी महमूद, श्री सिक्की साहू और श्री श्यामसुन्दर भगत और श्री

मांती सिंह भी थे। साथ में अपार जन समुदाय भी था। फूल बरस रहे थे। फूल बिछ रहे थे। जेल के मुसाफिरों के गलाँ में फूलों के हार सज रहे थे।

महाराजा रामगढ़ श्री के. एन. प्रसाद के इजलास में आ गये। भीड़ भी आंधी तूफान की तरह आयी चारों ओर से। इन्साफ की कुर्सी पर बैठे मजिस्ट्रेट अवाक था। भावनाएं खँल रही थीं उसके दिल में और उसके चेहरे पर। उसे कानून की प्रतिष्ठा रखनी थी। उसे अपनी कलम से जनीप्रिय महाराजा के लिए जेल फर्मान लिखना था, जो असहनीय था, जिसे नहीं देखना चाहिए था। भर्रायी आवाज में उसने महाराजा से कहा, "राजा साहब, यह मेरे ही हाथों से होना था।" महाराजा हट गये - जमानत देने से इन्कार कर दिया था। बेसब और बेचैन भीड़ पागल हो रही थी। पुलिस आ गई और पुलिस की पाँच गाड़ियाँ इजलास के दरवाजे पर लग गयीं। पुलिस के अफसर बदहोश थे। महाराजा बाहर आये। वे जेल जा रहे थे, अपने साथियों के साथ। भीड़ ने तय कर लिया कि महाराजा को वह जेल नहीं जाने देंगी। पुलिस गाड़ी के नीचे आज हजारों इन्सान बिछ जायेंगे। गांधी जी ने तो जेल यात्रा को तीर्थ यात्रा बना डाला था। यह खुशी और नाज की मीजल थी। देश की आजादी पर लुटने वाले शहीद शान से जाते थे जेलों की ओर। उनकी माँ बहनें क्रिस्मत सराहती थीं। तो फिर आज यह बेचैनी कैसी? जनता आज इस लिये बेचैन थी कि उसकी खुशी पर बनने वाली सरकार उसके संवक कहलाने वाले अफसरों के इशारे पर उसके नेता को जेल जाने को मजबूर कर रही थी, क्योंकि उसने उसके लिए रोटी मांगी थी। क्या यही आजादी मिली है हमें? क्या यही स्वराज्य है? क्या इसी को राम राज्य कहते हैं? क्या रही जनतन्त्र है? ये विकराल सवाल नाच रहे थे भीड़ के सामने और कांग्रेसी राज के तमंचा ललकारने की तमन्ना लहरा रही थी। पुलिस के अफसर ने कहा कि गाड़ी में बैठें महाराजा ने इन्कार किया। पुलिस ने जोर दिया और तात्पर्य यह कि रामगढ़ का शेर डा. बसन्त नारायण - नहीं बैठेंगे - हमें जबर्दस्ती पकड़ कर गाड़ी में ठंस सकते हो। अफसर आरजू करने लगे। महाराजा ने गाड़ी पर खड़ा होकर जनता से कहा कि आप लोग शान्त रहें - मेरी गैरहाजिरी में कोई काम ऐसा न हो कि हमारा नाम में दाग लग जाय - आप परेशान न हों - जहाँ आप का एक दूँ पसीना बहेगा वहाँ कामाल्या नारायण सिंह का खून बहेगा।

तब महाराजा जेल की ओर चले और साथ में उनके साथी चले। पागल जन समुदाय भी चला। पलक गिरते ही लगा कि कचहरी से जेल की सड़क भीड़ के ताँता से एक हो गई। हर दर्जे के और हर तबके के लोग साइकल से, मोटर से, पाँव पैदल चले जा रहे थे - दौड़ें जा रहे थे जेल की ओर जहाँ सूबे की वस्तु जनता का हृदय समाट कांग्रेसी सीखचों में बंद होने जा रहा था। आसमान पकड़ रहा था - धरती चिल्ला रही थी - दिशाएँ कह रही थीं कि राजा जेल जा रहे हैं। पाँव पैदल महाराजा जेल पहुँचे। फाटक पर एक मील तक पाँव रखने की जगह नहीं। मूश्किल से फाटक पर नजर जा सकी तो देखा कि श्री इन्द्र नारायण सिंह श्री नारायण राय बिहार विधान सभा के सदस्य और दूसरे बहुतों लोग फाटक पर लट्टे हुए हैं यह एलान कर के कि महाराजा और उनके साथी को वे फाटक में नहीं जाने देंगे और यह उनकी लाश को कुचल ही कर हो सकता है। तनाव बढ़ा। आसमान भी जल रहा था - नीचे लोगों के दिल और दिमाग जल रहे थे। एक घंटा हो चला। भीड़ के जोश और गुस्सा का पारा चढ़ने लगा। पुलिस ठंडी पड़ रही थी। शासन शिथिल हो गया था। बैस्टाइल का नजारा सामने आ गया था। राज्य सत्ता बंकार हो गयी थी। "जनता पार्टी का भण्डा शान्ति और शक्ति का भण्डा है। जनतंत्र में महाराजा को आस्था है और शान्ति में श्रद्धा है।" राजकुमार बसन्त नारायण सिंह ने गाड़ी पर खड़ा होकर सत्याग्रहियों से ऐसा कह अपील किया कि "आप रास्ता छोड़ दें। जनमत तैयार करें और हुकूमत को बदलें।" सत्याग्रही हट रहे। आखिर, राजकुमार साहब ने कहा, "जनता पार्टी के नेता की हींस-यत से मैं हुकूम देता हूँ कि आप फाटक पर से हट जायें।" अनुशासन का रुतबा था। सत्याग्रही हट गये।

महाराजा और उनके १६ साथी जेल में चले गए। अजीब दृश्य था। जो प्रियजन साथ में आला फाटक तक गये दूट गये। बरस पड़ी उनकी आँखें।

सबों से विदा लेकर महाराजा जेल अहाते के अन्दर चले आये। पहाड़ की तरह ऊँची पत्थर की काली दीवारें चारों ओर से गोलाकार बन कर घेरें हुई थीं। आला फाटक पर ही जेल अधीक्षक और जेलर आदि के दफ्तर हैं। वहाँ से शुरू हो कर चारों ओर काली धारी वाली मोटी कमीज और पैंट तथा काली या उजली टोपी पहने रंग विरंगे कैंदी घूम रहे थे - काम में डूबे - जिन्दगी के दिन गुज़ारते चले जा रहे थे। यह हजारीबाग केन्द्रीय कारा बिहार में मशहूर है राजनीतिक कैदियों से पीबत्र बनने के लिये। कितने ही भारत माता के सपूत अपनी जिंदगी और जवानी को जला डाले इन काली दीवारों के नीचे, इसलिए कि आजादी की मशाल जले। इसी कारागार में वे लोग भी रहे जो आज बिहार के भाग्य विधाता बने फिरते हैं। आला फाटक पूरब दिशा में खुलता है। भीतर में सीधे पश्चिम की ओर आलू और कोबी के हर पत्ते लहरा रहे थे। मालूम हुआ कि सीधे पश्चिम में जेल का पुस्तकालय है और वहीं मीनार है, जहाँ से रात में पहरों की बिजली जलती है और बिगुल बजता है। महाराजा उत्तर की ओर चले। अर्द्धचन्द्राकार मार्ग था। बायीं ओर 'टी शेल्स' नाम के कमरे थे जो टॉर्चर शेल्स कहलाते थे और जहाँ कठिन यातना वाले कैंदी रहते थे। फांसी की सजा वाले कैंदी उन्हीं में रहते थे। महाराजा और उनके साथियों को एक अन्दर के अहाते में ले जाया गया। इसे 'छोकरा कित्ता' कहते थे बच्चों को यहाँ रखा जा रहा था। इसकी बायीं दीवार बाहर वाली ऊँची दीवार थी। दायीं ओर एक ऊँची दीवार के बाद 'ऑरर कित्ता' था। उसके बाद पश्चिम की ओर विद्यालय वाला आहाता था जहाँ स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के दिनों में देश के नेता रहते थे। इन दीवारों को देख कर ऐसा लगा कि अगर इन दीवारों में जबाँ होती तो कौन से अफसाना और तराना ये आज सुनाती। सीमान्त गांधी अब्दुल गफ्फार खाँ, डा. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद आदि महावीर इसी जेल से युद्ध संचालन करते थे। जयप्रकाश ने इन्हीं दीवारों को तड़प कर क्रान्ति का इतिहास रचा था।

'छोकरा कित्ता' जहाँ महाराजा 'जेल जीवन' में कदम रखे, एक लम्बा हाल था। बाहर में विभुजाकार हाता। हाते की जमीन पर ताल कंकड़। दक्षिण की ओर सीमेंट के बने लम्बे चबूतर जहाँ पुराने दिनों में कैदियों को बैठकर खाना खाना पड़ता था। दक्षिण में ही फाटक टिन का था, जिस पर एक कैंदी सिपाही रहता था। हाल के बाहर दायीं ओर एक कटहल वृक्ष भूमता था, जिसके नीचे मिट्टी का गोल चबूतरा था। बायीं ओर एक आम का हरा वृक्ष साक्षी बना खड़ा था। वहीं एक दो छोटे कमरों का मकान रसाई घर बना खड़ा था। कुछ फूल के छोटे पौधे भी उस घुटनेवाली हवा में सांस ले रहे थे। उत्तर पश्चिम की ओर टीन के पांच ठट्ठर खड़े थे जिनमें नाबदान रहते थे और शॉच क्रिया के समय खड़ा होने से पांचों व्यक्तियों को लज्जापूर्ण स्थिति में देखा जा सकता था। इसके ठीक उत्तर में जानवरों को पानी पिलाने वाली एक नली बनी थी। उसी में पानी की एक नली थी। वहाँ पानी गिरता था जिससे सारा काम होता था। इसके पूरब की ओर मटर के कुछ पौधे लहलहा रहे थे। अन्दर हाल में सात पाया बीच में उत्तर से दक्षिण तक खड़े थे और उनसे हाल दो तरफ बंटता था। पश्चिम की दीवार में चार दरवाजे की ऊँचाई की लोहे की छड़ वाली खिड़कियाँ बनी थीं। दो ऐसी खिड़कियाँ उत्तर की ओर थीं और आला दरवाजा दक्षिण की ओर खुलता था। पूरब की दीवार में एक नली सी ताखे के अन्दर बनी थी जो रात के समय मल मूत्र त्यागने के लिए थी।

महाराजा जब दल के साथ अन्दर आये तो देखा कि जेल के अफसर आतंकित थे। एक श्रद्धा की लहर दौड़ रही थी सबों में। इस महान अतिथि को किस तरह रखा जाय, यह एक प्रश्न था। जेलर श्री सरस्वती प्रसाद सिंह साथ आये। जर्जर कुर्सियाँ और मेजें धुल रही थीं। कुछ लोहे की कुर्सियाँ भी आ गयीं। महाराजा बैठे। बैजू कहार और लक्ष्मण सिंह आदि कैंदी, जो अनेक अपराधों की सजा लम्बे बरसों से भुगत रहे थे, सलाम किया। ऐसे १४ कैंदी तैनात किये गये 'छोकरा कित्ता' में। 'पहरा', 'पनीया' 'भिनस्या' 'जमादार' आदि उपाधियों से विभूषित ये कैंदी हृदय में श्रद्धा और आस्था में करुणा लिये साथी हो गये उन दिनों के। अहो भाग्य मनाने लगे वे कि उनके बीच महाराजा आ गये और अब उनके दुःख के दिन लट गये। यह भावना तमाम जेल में उमड़ रही थी। फाटकों

के भीतर से ऐसी आवाहें भाँकती थी महाराजा की ओर और कुछ दिनों बाद जब सारं कैदियों ने महाराजा के दर्शन की अभिलाषा व्यक्त की, तो जेल के अफसरों ने महाराजा को उनके बीच ले जाने की व्यवस्था की। जब महाराजा पहुँचे, तो तमाम कैंदी पलकें बिछाये हुए थे।

उस दिन दो बजे कुछ जेल भोजन का प्रथम दर्शन हुआ। लम्बी घोंड़ी जली रोटीयाँ - नीचे जमी दाल, जिनमें ऊपर पानी छलक रहा था और कोई गंदी सब्जी भी आ गयी पीतल की थालों में। १५ शीशा के ग्लास भी आ गये। शाम होते १५ लालटेन भी आ गई। मोटी रखड़ी चटाइयाँ और कांटों की तरह काले कम्बल उस जेल के सत्त्व प्रतीतिधि थे - सत्त्व प्रतीक थे, रूप रंग में असर में, लाजबाब, ला मिसाल।

सन्ध्या हो गई। जेल की पहली शाम पलक मारते काली रात में बदल गई। इधर सूर्य भी लाज से लाल होकर पश्चिम में डूब रहा था। उधर महाराजा के सारं परिवार भी उनसे जेल में मिलने आये। आज के हिन्दुस्तान में लाशानी परिवार। जिसके त्याग और तपस्या सभी बँडोड़। राजनीतिक जीवन में इन्होंने चार चांद लगा दिये। माता सहित दोनों भाई बिहार विधान सभा में। महाराजी और कंवराजी लोक सभा में। युवराज भी जिले के नेता। लेकिन, प्रियजन की भावनाएँ राजनीतिक दृढ़ता की सरहद तक पहुँच जाती हैं।

काली रात घिर आयी। कुछ लालटेन जल उठीं अन्धकार को चीरने के लिए। ६ बजे ही तमाम फाटक बन्द हो गये। बाहरी संसार से सारा नाता टूट गया। अब शॉच के लिए भी हाल ही था। लेकिन, जनता के सरदार और सिपाहियों की हिम्मत पस्त कौन करता। निराशा और यातना को भी वे हँसी-खुशी में परिणत करने लगे। हाल में एक जगह सब बैठकर राजनीति पर और छिड़ संघर्ष पर विवेचन करते। उधर वहीं दूसरी जगह चावल, रोटी और सब्जी को लिये बड़े बड़े चूल्हे जल उठे। पानी छप छप करने लगा। मसाला भूनने की महंके आने लगीं। महाराजा के जीवन का यह पहला तजुर्बा था। एक ब एक नाब-दान से भयानक बद्बू आयी और नजर उस ओर गयी तो देखा कि खाना के करीब में ही एक टब में सेवा पर तैनात कैंदी मूत्र त्याग कर रहे हैं और गद्गद की आवाज हो रही है। रोंगट खड़े हो गये। क्या अंग्रेजी सल्तनत और हिन्दु-स्तान की गुलामी अभी भी नहीं गयी? क्या आज के आजाद देश के जेलों की भी वही दृढ़ता? क्या वे ही मिनिस्टर आज बिहार में हैं, जो इन नाबदानों को देख गये थे? क्या रॉयल नरक आवाद है उनकी बदौलत? लगा कि एक सपना देख रहे हैं।

६ बजे पीतल की थालों में सारा भोजन मिला कर महाराजा दल के साथ खायें। फिर काले कम्बलों के भीतर सभी लिपट पड़े। महाराजा सो गये और सब भी सोने की छेष्टा में लग गये। इतने ही में १-२-३ की आवाज आयी। यह आवाज १ से १५ तक होती और एक एक घंटे तक होती। पीछे पता चला कि मीनार से एक सिपाही पुकार कर जानता था और जताता था कि राजनीतिक कैंदी भाग न जायें। उसी पुकार के जबाब में इधर से सिपाही आवाज देता था। नींद रह-रह कर उचट जाती थी। इतना ही नहीं। एक एक घंटा लालटेन लेकर सिपाही हाल में सोये लोगों को देखता था और १-२-३ करता था। यही है आज के जेलों की दृढ़ता जहाँ अपराधियों को स्वस्थ नागरिक बनाने की छेष्टा।

इधर तो दिन और रात १५ जनवरी के इस तरह बीते और उधर समाज डोल उठा, सल्तनत कांप उठी। कचहरी की दीवारें धरा उठीं। पचीस हजार की भीड़ टूट पड़ी राज्य सत्ता के गढ़ पर, इसलिए कि वह राजा को छोड़ दे था उस में जेल भंड दे। घंटों कचहरी को घेर कर रखा गया। अफसरवाही मिन्नत करने लगी लेकिन जब भीड़ न सुनी तो कचहरी को सींगन कर अफसर भाग चलें। शाम होते-होते बिजली की तरह यह खबर सारं बिहार में फैल गयी - सारं हिन्दुस्तान में पहुँच गयी। हजारीबाग का काना-काना कांप उठा। घर-घर से नवजवान निकलने लगे। महाराजा के जेल जानने पर भीड़ में सत्याग्रह करने

का फैसला किया और एलान किया कि यह सत्याग्रह तब तक चलता रहेगा, जब तक महाराजा अपने साथियों के साथ जेल से बाहर नहीं आ जाते। इसके लिए शालिग्राम सिंह (बिहार विधान सभा के सदस्य) को जनता पार्टी के नेताओं ने डिक्टटर चुना। हुमराव के महाराजा कुमार श्री विश्वनाथ सिंह ने भण्डा पकड़ा और श्री बुद्धन राय वर्मा बिहार विधान परिषद के सदस्य भी मैदान में आ डटे। जब वस्तु और पस्त शासन सत्याग्रहियों का एक बाल भी न छू सका तो सारा जत्था शाम को आकर जेल के आला फाटक से टकरा गया और तब तक डटा रहा जब तक महाराजा निकल कर उन लोगों को दर्शन नहीं दिये।

यह तां १५ जनवरी की कहानी है जो न भूली गयी, न भूली जायगी। लेकिन इस दिन उस संघर्ष का श्री गणेश हुआ जो एक महीना तक कांग्रेस राज के साथ चलता रहा और जो उस युद्ध की भूलक दं रहा था जो आये दिन मचेंगा। १६ जनवरी से शान्तिमय संघर्ष छिड़ गया। हजारीबाग, चतरा और गिरीडीह की कचहरीयों में सत्याग्रही टूटने लगे। कोडरमा, जरीडीह, गौला, बगौंदर आदि अंचलों में भी सत्याग्रह की धूम मच गयी। ब्रथं आने लगे इसी नारा के साथ कि 'राजा का छोड़ दो - नहीं तो जेल भेज दो', 'सुरक्षा कानून तोड़ दो नहीं तो जेल भेज दो।' तीन दिनों तक जुलूस आते रहे - डिप्टी कमिश्नर और एस. डी. ओ. तथा दूसरे मजिस्ट्रेटों के इजलासों में सत्याग्रह होता रहा। लेकिन अफसर लोग भागतें रहे। इजलास बन्द होते रहे।

धर चारों ओर से सत्याग्रहियों की बाढ़ आने लगी। गया, पटना, बिहार-शरीफ, मुंगेर, मुजफ्फरपुर, भागलपुर, चम्पारण से सत्याग्रहियों की टोलियां आने लगीं। पलामू में जुलूस कई जगहों में निकलीं लेकिन कोई गिरफ्तारी नहीं हुई। सारण के सीवान में भी सत्याग्रह हुआ और सात आदमी गिरफ्तार कर लिये गए, लेकिन जिला मजिस्ट्रेट ने नहीं चाहा कि वह सुप्रहमण्यम बनें और सारण हजारीबाग बनें जाय। इसीलिये समाचार पाते ही उसने उन्हें छोड़ दिया।

तीन दिनों तक हजारीबाग का शासन यन्त्र निरुप्राय, बेसहारा सा बना अपने कर्म के काले कारनामों पर जनबल की घोट देखता रहा और ज्ञान शून्य सा बना रहा। आखिर जब पटना के सीधवालय से टेलीफोन गुंजन लगे और कांग्रेसी सब अपने आन पर आंच को रोकना चाहें तां पुलिस का सबल कर सतर्क किया गया और लाठी गोलियों का सजाने का फर्मान दे कर आम सत्याग्रहियों के लिये जेल का दरवाजा खोला गया।

गिरफ्तारियां होने लगीं। १४४ लाइ दिया गया हजारीबाग में। सत्याग्रही नेता फाटक में बन्द किये जाने लगे। हालांकि यह भी एक ऐसा नजारा था, हुकूमत के दीवालपन का, कि कुछ नेताओं को गिरफ्तार कर के सन्तोष की सांस अफसर ले रहे थे। शायद यह सोचते थे कि नेताओं के चले जाने के बाद जनबल टूटेंगा। जुलूस क्षीन नहीं पड़ेगा और सतन्त अमन के साथ चलती रहेगी। लेकिन ये गिरफ्तारियां ला असर थीं उन बहादुरों पर, जो हथेली पर जान लिये फिरते थे। नेता गिरफ्तार होते थे, लेकिन हजूम अपना काम कायम रखती। हर इजलास में ४ बजे तक प्रदर्शन होता रहता और कचहरी का काम बन्द बना ही रहता। यह बंदूट सिलसिला का ताना-बाना बना रहा तब तक जब तक महाराजा जेल में बन्द रहे।

गिरीडीह में गिरफ्तारियां हुईं। २० नवजवान १६ जनवरी को गिरफ्तार हो कर आये। यह तांता बना रहा। श्री नागेश्वर राय सदस्य बिहार विधान सभा सजावार बन कर आये। गिरीडीह से पच्चास से ऊपर व्यक्ति हिरासत में या कैद में रखे गये। हण्टरगंज से ६ व्यक्ति गिरफ्तार कर चतरा सब-जेल में लाकर बन्द किये गये, जिनमें एक साल के मुकदमे के बाद सजा का हुकूम हुआ। हजारीबाग में यह सिलसिला २० जनवरी से १२ फरवरी तक चलता रहा। हर रोज टोलियां आतीं। गिरफ्तारियां होतीं। श्री हेमलाल पुरानेत सदस्य बिहार विधान सभा १० फरवरी को गिरफ्तार हो गये। १२ फरवरी को श्री

इन्द्रनारायण सिंह तथा श्री शालिग्राम सिंह सदस्य बिहार विधान सभा भी गिरफ्तार कर लिये गये। हजारीबाग के विधान सभा और लोक सभा के १६ विधायकों में १२ व्यक्ति हिरासत में ले लिये गये। बानाहप्पा के कुंवर नागेश्वर सिंह, हिरौंग के बाबू नागेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह, इचाक के सरदार बट्टी नारायण सिंह जलौध, तंत-रिया, भुसाई आदि जगहों के बहुतेरे नामी आदमी, पटना, बिहारशरीफ, रजौली आदि के बहुतेरे व्यक्ति हिरासत में ले लिये गये। राजा साहब मकसूदपुर के कारण भी गया और पटना उमड़ रहा था। महाराजा रामगढ़ के नाम से तां तूफान था ही। करीब पच्चीस दिनों में दो सौ व्यक्ति हिरासत में आये या सजा पाये। और यह तब हुआ जब रोज सौ दो सौ सत्याग्रहियों में ५-७ गिरफ्तार होते थे। ये सत्याग्रही सुरक्षा कानून को तोड़ चुके थे और न तो इन्होंने १४४ दफा की ही परवाह की थी। साथ ही ऐसा तब हुआ जब जेल में आने के पहले ही महाराजा रामगढ़ ने सारं जिला में दौड़ा कर के जनता को यह फर्मान दे रखा था कि वे शान्त रहेंगे। उन्हें कुछ भी नहीं करना है, जब तक महाराजा जेल में रहेंगे। उस समय का वह दृश्य भूला नहीं जाता है, जब आम सभाओं में महाराजा यह एलान करते थे और जनता बेचैन हो उठती थी।

जनता के इस रंग ने २५ जनवरी, १० फरवरी तथा १९, २२ और २३ फरवरी को वह समां बांधा, कि जो क्रान्ति के इतिहास में एक लाशानी कहानी बना रहेगा। लेकिन इस ओर से नजर उस जेल में जब जाती है जहां महाराजा तीस दिनों तक बन्द रहे, अपने अनुज, महामंत्री और साथियों के साथ और जहाँ हर रोज सत्याग्रहियों का तांता बंधा रहता था, तां मालूम होता कि वहाँ भी एक बेजोड़ इतिहास बन रहा था।

जिस दिन से महाराजा जेल में आये वे और उनके साथी न्याय दण्डीधिकारी श्री के. एन. प्रसाद के आदेश से ऊंचे दर्जे में रखे गये। पलंग, कुर्सी, भोज, लालटेन, कांच का ग्लास, अखबार, सेवक, ऊंचे दर्जे का भोजन, दूध, घी, महीन चावल, आटा, रंग विरंगी सिंजियां, अण्डा, मांस आदि आते थे। इनकी जरूरत नहीं होती थी लेकिन वे आते थे और सेवक कैदियों में बांट दिये जाते थे। कुछ भोजन बाहर से भी आता था और कुछ जेल के भोजन से महाराजा के साथी अपना काम चला लेते थे। लेकिन यह ऊंचे दर्जे का सवाल एक हंगामा बन कर हुकूमत के साथ और हजारीबाग के जिलाधीश ने अपने को कांग्रेसी सरकार का सच्चा प्रतिनिधि होने का परिचय दिया। यह जिलाधीश साथ ही उस पुराने आई. सी. एस. वर्ग का भी प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहा था, विचार और मनोदृष्टि में सिवा योग्यता के। मद्रास का यह नवजवान श्री के. ए. आर. सुब्रह्मण्यम कुछ सालों से बिहार में था लेकिन जनता और जनतन्त्र से अलग रह कर अपनी चांदी के मीनार और शीश-महल से राज चलाना चाहता था। विवेक से कुछ काम लेना तथा अहंकार से कुछ अधिक प्रभावित होना ही उसका काम था। यह जिलाधीश महाराजा के जेल जाने से आतंकित हो उठा और १६ जनवरी को जेल आया। सुना गया कि वह महाराजा से मिलना चाह रहा था और उस वार्ड में गया जहां महाराजा रहते थे। लेकिन महाराजा उस समय आला फाटक पर आ गये थे और जिलाधीश उनसे मिल न सका। साथ ही उसे कुछ हीन भाव सता रहा था और बदला की भावना आ गई उसमें। उसने जाकर कचहरी से आदेश भेजा कि लोकसभा तथा विधान सभा के सदस्यों को छोड़ कर सभी कैदी तृतीय वर्ग में ('सी' वर्ग) में रहेंगे। इनमें जनता पार्टी के महामंत्री और मकसूदपुर के राजा श्री जगत किशोर प्रसाद नारायण सिंह जैसे व्यक्ति भी थे, कुछ जिला परिषद के सदस्य, वकील तथा दूसरे ऊंचे परिवार के व्यक्ति थे। सुना जाता है कि जब कांग्रेसी लोग जेल में रहते थे और उनसे ऐसी नीति बरती जाती थी तां कांग्रेसी लोग ऊंचे दर्जे के लिये संघर्ष करते थे। लेकिन जब ऐसे कांग्रेसियों की हुकूमत ने यह दुर्नीति महाराजा के साथ बरती तां महाराजा और दूसरे विधायकों ने अपने दर्जे का त्याग किया। महाराजा पलंग के भोजन का भी उन्होंने त्याग कर दिया। जो भोजन आता रहा वह उसे गरीब कैदियों में बांट देने के लिए महाराजा ने जिलाधीश को लिखा तथा भारत के प्रधान मंत्री और बिहार के मुख्यमंत्री को भी लिखा। जिलाधीश तां अफसरशाही के नाम में फूला ही था और मुख्यमंत्री तथा प्रधान मंत्री का पत्र उन तक पहुंचा ही

नहीं, क्योंकि कारागार अधीक्षक अफसरशाही और नाँकरशाही का ऐसा बेंजोड़ नमूना था कि उसने उन पत्रों को आगे भेजने से इन्कार किया क्योंकि पत्रों में प्रिय पीडित जी तथा प्रिय श्री बाबू का सम्बोधन था। अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद में भी अफसरशाही इतना बाबू से बाहर नहीं थी। इस बात को लेकर आतंक मच गया और बिहार के समाचार पत्रों ने खुली चिट्ठी कर के इन पत्रों को छाप दिया। सनसनी बढ़ने पर जिलाधीश ने राजा साहब मकसूदपुर तथा कुछ दूसरे साथियों को ऊंचा दर्जा दिया, लेकिन महाराजा निम्न कोर्ट का भोजन ही करते रहे। साथ ही महाराजा और उनके साथी अपने जीवन को आने के साथ ही बदल डाले थे। सबों ने दाढ़ी छोड़ दिया था। उस समय के दाढ़ी वाले चित्र देखते ही बनता है। महाराजा की दाढ़ी के बाल उजलते हो गये हैं। वे तो लगते थे जैसे पुराने जमाने का कोई महाराजा किसी क्रान्ति के बाद जनता की पुकार पर आया है और वैसे ही वेश भूषा हो गई थी महाराज रामगढ़ की। अपने भोजन की भी यही हालत थी। सुबह में चना और गुड़। सारा दिन उपवास। रात को हल्का सा भोजन। विचित्र अनुभव था। सारं कैदी यही जीवन अपना चुके थे। प्रातःकाल में प्रार्थना होती थी। दोपहर में गीता प्रवचन होता था। डा. बसन्त नारायण सिंह गीता प्रवचन करते। आलाचना - समालोचना होती। रात में रामधुन होता। दूसरी प्रार्थनाएं भी होती। फिर राजनीतिक विवेचनाएं भी होती। रात में कुछ दर जेलर भी आ जाते और अपने हास्यपूर्ण वार्तालाप से मनोरंजन भी करते। जेल जीवन का दैनिक क्रम इसी तरह चलता रहा।

लेकिन इस निरत प्रवाह की तीन और धाराएं थीं। एक तो सारं जेल अधिकांशियों के साथ तमाम जेल के कैदियों में महाराजा के प्रति, श्रद्धा का उमड़ना। महाराजा और दूसरे नेताओं को जेल के भिन्न भिन्न दर्जों और कित्ताओं में घुमाया गया। कैदी लोग सिखों के भीतर से प्रणाम कर रहे थे। दबी जबान से जहाँ तहाँ अपनी दुर्दशा का बयान कर रहे थे। मानो अंग्रेजी जेल और स्वतन्त्र भारत के जेल के बीच की दिवारें आज तक ढही नहीं। वही खान-पान, वही दुर्व्यवहार, वही अपमान - वही यातना। एक दो बार जब महाराजा पुस्तकालय भवन में नये सत्याग्रहियों के जत्थों के साथ प्रार्थना के लिये जा रहे थे तो रास्ते के सभी कैदियों को दूर कर दिया गया और बन्द कर दिया गया। सलतनत हहराती थी यह अन्दाज कर कि ऐसा न हो कि महाराज के इशारों से जेल की सलतनत भी हरहरा कर गिर पड़े, हालाँकि महाराजा की कभी भी ऐसी इच्छा नहीं थी।

इसी का ज्वलन्त नमूना कई बार सामने आया। महाराजा की आँसों के सामने एक हवलदार ने आला फाटक पर एक कैदी को पीटा। इसी हवलदार ने पुस्तकालय भवन के सत्याग्रहियों के साथ जालिम दुर्व्यवहार किया, इसी पर रात को इतना हंगामा हुआ कि जेल की ईंटें कांपने लगीं। महाराजा के कुछ दूसरे साथियों के साथ भी इन सिपाहियों और डाँट जेलरों ने एक दो बार ऐसा ही व्यवहार किया। इन कठिनाइयों और यातनाओं का अन्दाज तब लगा, जब महाराजा को उस मीनार के पास ले जाया गया जहाँ आजादी के सिपाहियों को घंटों लटका कर कोई से पीटा जाता था। वयोवृद्ध नेता बाबू रामनारायण सिंह को यहीं कई बार कठिनतम यातना दी गई थी।

तीसरी धारा इस जीवन की थी दर्शनार्थियों की अपार भीड़ आला फाटक पर हर शाम को। हर रोज़ ज़रूर कचहरी से आला और महाराजा को अपनी श्रद्धांजलि भेंट कर दर्शन से प्रेरणा पाकर चला जाता। इस हर रोज के नजारा के अलावे जो २५ जनवरी और १० फरवरी को हुआ, वह अकथनीय है - कल्पना से परे है - एक स्वप्न सा लगता है।

२५ जनवरी मुकदमों की सुनवाई के लिए नियत थी। पीछे कुछ कानूनी अड़चनों की वजह से इस दिन केवल कैदियों की हाजिरी लेकर उनके स्वास्थ्य और दूसरे पहलुओं को देखना था। सुबह ८-९ बजे महाराजा अपने साथियों के साथ तैयार हो रहे थे अदालत जाने के लिये। खबर आयी कि अदालत जेल में ही आ रही है। कांग्रेसी सलतनत और अफसरशाही मैदान छोड़ चुकी थी जनता की ताकत के

सामने। सरकारी वकील ने दरखास्त दूँ दी थी कि आम अदालत में सुनवाई होने पर स्थिति बाबू के बाहर हो जायगी। महाराजा जेल से बाहर आयेंगे तो कांग्रेसी राज के पाँव उखड़ जायेंगे और अफसरों की अफसरी मिट्टी में मिल जायेंगी। इसी लिये अदालत जेल में आ गयी। इस जेल की जिन्दगी में यह सब से नयी घटना थी। स्वतन्त्र भारत के राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, जयप्रकाश, सीमान्त गान्धी जैसे यादों भी इस जेल में रहे लेकिन अदालत को कभी भी जेल में न आना पड़ा। आजाद हिन्दुस्तान में शायद ऐसी घटना कभी नहीं घटी और बिहार में तो ऐसा नहीं ही हुआ। यही एक घटना साबित करती है कि महाराजा का लाशानी व्यक्तित्व कितना ऊंचा है, कितना महान।

अदालत जेल में आयी और अस्पताल के एक भवन में आ बैठी। कुछ घुने निज जन तक वकीलों की जमात आयी। महाराजा अपने दल के साथ अदालत में आये। दर्जा तोड़ने के बाद बहुत साथियों का स्वास्थ्य खराब हो रहा था। बजन गिर रहा था। इस सूचना की अर्ज पेश की गई। श्री शिवपूजन राय एडवोकेट ने 'एमिकस क्युरी' 'न्याय मित्र' की हैसियत से शानदार तथा भावनाओं से भरी बहस किया और कहा कि स्वतन्त्र भारत में विधान के द्वारा प्रदत्त अधिकार का प्रयोग करना उचित है तथा एक क्षण भी महाराजा को हिरासत में रखना उस संविधान के विरुद्ध है। साथ ही उन्होंने यह कहा कि अदालत को आम जगह में आम तौर से इन्साफ करना चाहिए जो जेल में सम्भव नहीं। महाराजा की ओर से भी ऐसी बहस हुई। लेकिन न्याय दण्डाधिकारी ने अर्ज को नामंजूर करते हुए १० फरवरी सुनवाई के लिये नियत कर अदालत का काम बन्द कर दिया। अखबार वाले यह सारा दृश्य अपनी आँखों से देख रहे थे। और दूसरा दिन तमाम बिहार काँप उठा इस खबर को पाकर और सारं हिन्दुस्तान में सनसनी छा गई।

जेल में तो यह हो रहा था और उधर अनहोनी, अनसुनी भीड़ अपूर्व समारोह लिये फ्रांस के बस्ताइल को दुहराने जा रहा था। २७ जनवरी की शाम से ही पचासों मील से चले पाँव पैदल साइकिल, मोटर से आये नर-नारी गाँव में बच्चा लिये, हाथ में लाठी, कम्बल, चूड़ा, सत्तू, चावल लिये चारों दिशाओं से जेल से कचहरी तक की सड़कों पर जमा हो रहे थे। २५ जनवरी के सुबह होते होते करीब एक लाख जनता जमा हो गई। चिलचिलाती धूप में अपने नारों से आसमान को चीरती हुई यह भीड़ सारं दिन जमीन पर जमी रही और बढ़ती ही चली गई। पत्थर की काली दीवारों को लांच कर वह आवाज अन्दर जाती और 'महाराजा' 'महाराजा' पुकारती। राष्ट्र के नेताओं के जेल में बन्द होने के समय भी इतना बड़ा मानव सागर का उमड़ते न कभी देखा था न सुना था। जब मीजस्ट्रेट बाहर आये तो धीरे-धीरे बांध टूट गया। भीड़ ने बर्दाश्त की सीमा तोड़ दिया, तार तोड़ दिया, खेत कुचल गये और 'महाराजा' 'महाराजा' करते आला फाटक से टहराने लगी। लेकिन इस दिन जेल के अफसर महाराजा को आला फाटक पर नहीं आने दिये और युद्धराज ने आकर उस जन समुदाय को सान्त्वना दी और समझाया तो भीड़ वापस गई।

उधर सारं बिहार में खलबली मच रही थी। सारी विरोधी पार्टियाँ विक्षिप्त थीं। क्षांभ का ज्वार आ रहा था। २५ जनवरी के अपूर्व दृश्य के समाचार से तमाम हिन्दुस्तान की अखबारें रंग गई थीं। प्रजा समाजवादी पार्टी के नेता श्री महामाया प्रसाद सिंह ने अभिव्यक्ति दिया। भारखण्ड के नेता श्री जयपाल सिंह महाराजा से जेल में मिलने आये। बिहार विधान सभा के विरोधी दल के नेता श्री बागे महाराजा से जेल में मिले और एक बयान अखबार में दूँ कर सरकार को ललकाया कि वह अपनी दुर्नीति को वापस ले, नहीं तो ज्वालामुखी फट पड़ेगी और बिहार कांग्रेस की सारी संगीनें और ताँपें उसे नहीं दबा सकेंगी। पटना में अंजुमन इस्लामिया हाल में विभिन्न दल के नेता श्री महामाया प्रसाद सिंह, श्री रामानन्द तिवारी, श्री रामचरित्र सिंह आदि ने जनसभा में भाषण देकर सरकार को चेतावनी दिया कि वह रामगढ़ नरेश को तुरत जेल से बाहर करे। भारतीय समाजवादी पार्टी के नेता डा. राममनोहर लोहिया ने पटना के गांधी मैदान में आम सभा में भाषण करते हुए महाराजा रामगढ़ को बधाइयाँ दीं और १२ फरवरी को आकर उनसे जेल में मिले।

इसी तरह तूफान और औंधी बिहार के राजनीतिक क्षितिज पर आ गये थे। उसी हालत में १० फरवरी आयी और २५ जनवरी का नजारा दूने जाँस और जाँस के साथ हजारीबाग पर चढ़ आया। उसी तरह एक सिर से दूसरे सिर तक की जनता आ गई। १ फरवरी की रात में मशाल की जलूस निकली शहर हजारीबाग में। ऐसी जलूस पहले कभी देखी नहीं गई थी। जलूस के बाद हजारीबाग की सड़कों पर हजारों चूल्हे जल उठे। किसान अपने गाँवों से हाँडी और जलावन भी लाये थे। सत्तू, चूड़ा, बर्रा जो गरीबों का भोजन होता है सारे शहर में कहीं मिलने नहीं लगा। दूसरे दिन १० फरवरी को १० बजते बजते वही नजारा बढ़ पैमाने पर जेल से कचहरी तक की सड़क पर आ गया।

इधर भीतर में महाराजा का दल दाढ़ी का बाल बढ़ाये, जेल के मोर्त, भद्दे लिबास में नारा लगाते जेल की अदालत में पहुँचा। सारी सड़क कौंदियों से खाली कर दी गई थी। लेकिन कुछ दूर भी न हूई कि मालूम हुआ कि आला फाटक पर संघर्ष मच गया है। न्याय दण्डाधिकारी ने आदेश दिया था कि मुद्दालों लोगों की ओर से वकील सहित चालीस व्यक्ति अदालत में प्रवेश कर सकेंगे। उनके साथ ही अखबारों के सम्पादक और संवाददाता भी आयेंगे। लेकिन आने के समय जेल के अधीक्षक ने अफसरशाही का सम्राट् बौधा। आनेवाले प्रवेश पत्र नहीं पा रहे थे। अखबार वालों का आना बन्द कर दिया गया। महाराजा की ओर से आये बैरिस्टर श्री बलदेव प्रसाद सिंह की गाड़ी रोक दी गयी। इस पर बैरिस्टर ने आने से इन्कार कर दिया और जेल अधीक्षक को बहुत डाँटा। स्थिति को काबू से बाहर पाकर न्याय दण्डाधिकारी ने कुछ दूर के लिए अदालत का काम बन्द कर दिया। पीछे जब महाराजा के दल ने अन्दर से और जनता ने बाहर से तूफान मचाया तो कुछ अखबार वाले अन्दर आये और बैरिस्टर भी अन्दर आये। बैरिस्टर ने मीजस्ट्रेट को कहा कि वे पुलिस और जेल के अफसरों तथा जिलाधीश के कौंदी बन चुके हैं और उन्हें इन्साफ की कुर्सी से हिम्मत और ताकत दिखलानी चाहिए। मीजस्ट्रेट ने एलान किया कि मुकदमा की सुनवाई ११ फरवरी से कचहरी में होगी। जेल में नहीं। यह न्याय विभाग की ही स्वतन्त्रता है कि जनतन्त्र की रक्षा हो रही है। नहीं तो यह कांग्रेसी नादिरशाही क्या कर देती कहा नहीं जाता। एक बार फिर जनता और जनतन्त्र के सामने अफसरशाही ने मुँहकी खायी।

११ फरवरी आयी। जनता ज्यों की त्यों डटी थी। सारी राह को पाट रही थी। पलकें बिछार्य थीं। आज उसकी बाछें खिल रही थीं कि महाराजा जेल से बाहर आ रहे हैं कुछ घड़ी के लिए न सही क्या। सत्ता की सारी लाठी गाँवियाँ समझाली जा चुकी थीं। सुना गया था कि सशस्त्र पुलिस और गुरखाओं को सड़क के दोनों ओर मुरब्बा के मैदान में छिपाया गया था। डर आ गया था कि जनता महाराजा को पुलिस के हाथों से छीन न ले। एस. डी. ओ., एस. पी. सभी अफसर आ गये। महाराजा का दल कचहरी गाड़ी से पहुँचा। कचहरी के मैदान में तितल रखने की जगह नहीं। मीजस्ट्रेट ने महाराजा से लिख कर आग्रह किया था कि मुकदमा की शान्तिपूर्ण सुनवाई के लिये वे जनता को शान्त रखेंगे। इसलिए कचहरी में गाड़ी से उतरते ही उन्होंने गाड़ी की बॉनेट से भीड़ को सम्बोधित किया और उनके

प्रेम के लिये बधाई देते हुए उन्हें शान्ति रखने का कहा। कमाल है महाराजा का नेतृत्व और कमाल है जनता कि फिर लारानी नमूना। कचहरी में भाँकने की भी जगह नहीं, हालाँकि महाराजा और साथी भीड़ को सम्हालने में खुद लगे थे। सारे दिन सुनवाई होती रही। गवाहान का बयान होता रहा। बैरिस्टर साहब ने भी कमाल कर दिया।

१२ फरवरी आयी। फिर वही हजूम और वही हंगामा। वही दृश्य और वही नजारा। वही अवा और वही शौकत। आज मुकदमा में बहस थी। सरकारी वकील ने सरकार की ओर से बहस किया और कहा कि मुद्दालदुम को सजा मिलनी चाहिये। बैरिस्टर साहब ने महाराजा की ओर से बहस करना शुरू किया। 'मर्चेंट आफ वीनस' का दृश्य या लाल किला में आजाद हिन्द फौज के मुकदमे का नजारा जाँखों के सामने भूल गया। बैरिस्टर साहब ने न्याय दण्डाधिकारी को कहा कि वे मामूली मुकदमा का फँसला नहीं करने जा रहे हैं। यह मुकदमा इतिहास में लिखा जायगा और इसके साथ उनका नाम भी। उन्होंने कहा कि आयर, ओहायर, रसेल और टैनब्रूक भूल जा सकते हैं लेकिन आजाद भारत के हजारीबाग का जिलाधीश सुरेन्द्रनाथ नहीं भूला जा सकता, जिसने इस लज्जापूर्ण काण्ड का सूत्रपात किया है और जिसने जनतन्त्र के नाम पर कालख पोता है। बहुत ओजस्वी भाषण के बाद बैरिस्टर ने महाराजा और उनके साथियों को निर्दोष साबित किया। इसके बाद महाराजा दल के साथ फिर हिरासत में ले लिये गये।

अब १३ फरवरी आ गई। आज मुकदमे का फँसला सुनाया जायगा। उत्साह और खुशियाँ लहरा रही थीं। बंसब्री में इन्तजार किया जा रहा था। वही भीड़ और वही ताँता। आज क्या होगा? यही सवाल था। क्या जनता और जनतन्त्र की विजय होगी? क्या अफसरशाही का दामन शर्म से रंगा जायगा? अनेक सवाल नाच रहे थे। महाराजा और उनके साथी २ बजे दिन में कचहरी लाये गये। विदा होने के समय जेल में, कौंदियों में, अफसरों में, पीछे आये साथियों में अजीब भावनाएँ थीं। क्या महाराजा सजा पाकर वापस आयेंगे अथवा वे रिहा हो जायेंगे? ज्योंही महाराजा पुलिस गाड़ी में बैठे कि एक सम्राट् आ गयी। क्षितिज पर बादल धिरकने लगे। किसान उनकी ओर निगाहें किये बैठे थे। आधी राह में बारिश और कचहरी के दरवाजे पर आते-आते मूसलाधार पानी। बचैनी और बंसब्रा को दिल में लिये - उम्मीद और निराशा के बीच लड़ती जनता पानी में भीग कर खड़ी थी। महाराजा कचहरी में दाखिल हुए। 'जय जयकार' का नारा लगा। मीजस्ट्रेट ने भावनाओं से रुंधे गले, लेकिन इन्साफ करने की हिम्मत करने की खुरशी से चमकता चेहरा लेकर एलान किया कि सभी बँकसूर हैं और सबों को रिहा किया गया। खुशियाँ नाच उठीं। जनता विजयी हुई। जनता पार्टी विजयी हुई। जनतन्त्र की जीत हुई। टेलीफोन गूँज उठे सारे बिहार में। महाराजा भीड़ के साथ फेयर फील्ड में आये। उन्होंने जनता को बधाइयाँ दीं। राजकुमार बसन्त नारायण सिंह ने कहा कि "यही महाराजा आप के लिये तीस दिनों तक एक शाम उपवास रह कर, जमीन पर साँ कर और घना गुड़ खा कर समय बिताये हैं, ताकि इस अकाल के गाल से आप बचें।" हजारों में सिसकियाँ बंध गईं।

सुनंगी माता की आवाज
रहंगी मरने को तैयार,
कभी भी उस बेदी पर दब,
न होने दूंगी अत्याचार।
न होने दूंगी अत्याचार,
चला मैं हो जाऊँ बलिदान,
मातृ मन्दिर में हुई पुकार,
चढ़ा दो मुझको हे भगवान।

— सुभद्रा कुमारी चौहान

उठो नई किरण लिये जगा रही नई उषा
उठो, उठो नये संदेश दे रही दिशा-दिशा
खिले कमल अरुण तरुण प्रभात मुस्करा रहा
गगन विकास का नवीन साज है सजा रहा
उठो, चला बढ़ो समीर शंख है बजा रहा
भविष्य सामने खड़ा प्रशस्त पथ बना रहा।

— सत्यनारायण लाल

हिन्दी काव्य में राष्ट्रीय चेतना

श्री श्रीरंजन सुरिदेव

देश की बदलती परिस्थितियों के अनुसार राष्ट्र के कवियों ने भी समय-समय पर अपने शंखनाद फूँके और देश को जगाया। श्री रंजन ने अपनी विद्वत्तापूर्ण शैली में इसका सम्यक वर्णन किया है। शेष प्रस्तुत निबन्ध में पढ़ियें।

— सम्पादक

हिन्दी काव्य में राष्ट्रीय चेतना पर विचार करने के पूर्व आवश्यक है कि राष्ट्रीयता की परिभाषा से अपने पाठकों को परिचित कराऊँ। आज प्रत्येक राजनीतिक वर्ग का नेता, प्रत्येक राजकीय पदाधिकारी और प्रभारी एवं प्रत्येक धार्मिक और सामाजिक उपद्वष्टा राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं के विकास का स्वर बुलन्द करता नजर आता है। यही स्थिति हिन्दी कवियों और लेखकों को भी है। पता नहीं, उपर्युक्त महानुभाव राष्ट्रीयता का क्या अर्थ समझते हैं। हम यहां राष्ट्रीयता का सही अर्थ जानने की चेष्टा करें।

राजनीति शास्त्र के पीढ़तों के मत से राष्ट्र उस जन समुदाय को कहते हैं, जिसमें लोगों की स्वाभाविक समानताओं के बन्धन इस प्रकार सुदृढ़ हों कि वे एकत्र रहने से सुखी और पृथक् हो जाने से दुखी एवं असन्तुष्ट रहें और ऐसी समानताओं के बन्धनों से असम्बद्ध अन्य लोगों की पराधीनता का सहन न कर सकें। देश, राज्य, वर्ग और धर्म राष्ट्र के आवश्यक अंग होते हैं। इन सबके सम्मिलित एवं संघटित स्वरूप ही वस्तुतः "राष्ट्र" है।

मानव समाज में उक्त सम्मिलित या संघटन की प्रवृत्ति से ही राष्ट्रीय भावना या चेतना का विकास हुआ है। इस पारस्परिक संघटन या सम्मिलन में सर्वप्रथम परिवार का स्थान आता है और तत्पश्चात् क्रमशः ग्राम, पुर और राष्ट्र का, जिनमें जन-जन की स्वाभाविक समता को दृढ़ बनाते हुए और पारस्परिक पार्थक्य को दूर करते हुए एकता लाने वाले उपायों को ढूँढ़ निकाला जाता है, साथ ही उन्हें समृद्ध एवं पुष्ट करके लोगों के लिए सुख का साधन बनाया जाता है। उक्त एकता विभिन्न प्रकार की होती है, जैसे देश सम्बन्धी एकता, राज्य सम्बन्धी एकता, धर्म संबंधी एकता, पूर्वज गौरव संबंधी एकता, भाषा और साहित्य संबंधी एकता, हानि लाभ और वर्ग संबंधी एकता आदि-आदि। राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए इन सब एकताओं का होना अनिवार्य है। और राष्ट्रीय समृद्धि के लिए इन सबकी समृद्धि भी आवश्यक है। और, इसी राष्ट्रीय समृद्धि और एकता विषयक चेतना को "राष्ट्रीयता" की संज्ञा मिली है।

काव्य में राष्ट्रीय चेतना का स्वर हमें कगबंद काल से ही मिलता है।

"संगच्छन्व संवदन्व संवो मनोसि जानताम्।

समानो व आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ॥ आदि।

कदाचित् इसी से प्रभावित गो० तुलसीदास ने अपने परम पूजित महाकाव्य

रामायण में, "राम-राज बैठें बँलौका, हरिषित भये गये सब सोका।" आदि के द्वारा राष्ट्रीय चेतना को भँकार दिया था।

जो लोग काव्य में राष्ट्रीय चेतना का प्रारम्भ बीसवीं शती की देन मानते हैं, वे भ्रम में हैं। आज राष्ट्रीयता के नाम पर काव्य जगत् में बहुत ही वाग्व्यभिचार किया गया है। अंगूजों को मार भगाने और रोंटी कपड़ा एवं घर द्वार के लिए चिल्लाना ही राष्ट्रीय कविता का ध्येय हो गया है। वस्तुतः काव्य में राष्ट्रीयता का यह पक्ष एकांगी है और उपर्युक्त "स्वाभाविक समानता" की गलत व्याख्या भी।

भारतेंदु ने अपनी कविताओं में राष्ट्रीयता का जो तत्ताधिक स्वस्थ चिन्तन उपस्थित किया है, वह अब रूपान्तर प्राप्त कर चुका है। अधुना श्री मैथिली-शरण गुप्त, बालकृष्ण शर्मा 'नवीन', श्री सुमित्रानन्दन पन्त, श्री रामधारी सिंह 'दिनकर', श्री श्यामनारायण पाण्डेय आदि सहसा दृष्टि आर्वाजित करने वाले राष्ट्रीय कवियों में पाँचवें हैं। इसके पूर्व ही मुझे यह भी कहना चाहिए कि काव्य में राष्ट्रीयता के व्यापक रूप की आलोचना की दृष्टि से कबीर, तुलसी, भूषण, लाल, सुभद्रा कुमारी चौहान, माखनलाल चतुर्वेदी की कविताओं में राष्ट्रीयता की गूँज बड़ी प्रभावकता के साथ अनुनादित हुई है।

इस प्रसंग में भारतेंदु युग की चर्चा करते समय बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त, प्रताप-नारायण मिश्र और प्रेमधन के नाम उल्लेख्य हैं, क्योंकि भारतेंदु युग ने न केवल परतंत्रता को ही धूलिसात् करने की आवाज उठाई थी, बरन् राष्ट्रीय एकता और समाज-सुधार की दृष्टि से भी बड़े तीखे शब्द बाण चलाये थे। स्पष्टता के लिए यहां यह ज्ञातव्य है कि भारतेंदु-काल में अंगूजी साम्राज्य का चण्ड सूर्य जन-जन के प्राणों को उत्पन्न कर रहा था। शांषण, दाँहन, अन्याय और अत्याचार से भारत निर्जीव सा हो गया था। ऐसे समय में भारतेंदु युग ने कविताओं के द्वारा राष्ट्र को प्राणित करने के लिए शब्द शंख ध्वनित किया, इसलिए हिन्दी काव्य में राष्ट्रीय चेतना की चर्चा बिना भारतेंदु-युग के अधूरी और औचित्यहीन समझी जानी चाहिए।

राष्ट्रीयतावादी आधुनिक कवियों में राष्ट्र और पुर की अवस्था की ओर ध्यान देने की जो प्रवृत्ति उद्बुद्ध हुई, वही क्रमशः ग्राम और परिवार की विपन्नता की ओर भी आकृष्ट हुई। पंत की 'युगवाणी' और 'ग्राम्या' ने इस दिशा में पर्याप्त प्रियता प्राप्त की। मैथिलीशरण गुप्त की 'भारत भारती' ने ताँ प्रसीद्धि प्राप्त कर ही ली थी, 'नवीन' और 'दिनकर' की राष्ट्रीयता का स्वर फूँकने

वाली कविताएं, विशेष कर राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन के युग में, जन-जन की कण्ठमाला बन गईं। स्रग्धरी ही राम नारायण पाण्डेय की 'हल्दीघाटी' रंगों में उबाल पड़ा करने वाली प्रमाणित हुई।

राष्ट्रीयता के वर्णन वैविध्य की दृष्टि से श्री दिनकर की लेखनी काव्य-पाठकों को आविष्ट करती हैं। 'हिमालय के प्रति' शीर्षक कविता द्वारा कवि ने पूर्वज गौरव संबंधी राष्ट्रीय एकता का दिग्दर्शन बड़ी बंधक शैली में प्रस्तुत किया है। स्थापना की गीत श्री दिनकर की कविताओं का अपना वैशिष्ट्य है, ऐसा सभी काव्य-पाठक और आलोचक स्वीकार कर चुके हैं। शोषकों के प्रति आक्रोश व्यक्त और शोषितों के प्रति सहानुभूति दिनकर जी की राष्ट्रीयता का दूसरा रूप है। उन्होंने गरीबों, किसानों और मजदूरों के दलित जीवन का चित्र बड़ी सफलता के साथ अंकित किया है। जनतन्त्र का स्वागत दिनकर जी के शब्दों में दीखता है :

सिंहासन खाली करो कि जनता आती है !
दो राह, समय के रथ का घर्घर नाद सुनो,
सिंहासन खाली करो कि जनता आती है !
सड़ियाँ से ठंडी बुझी आग सुगबुगा उठी,
मिट्टी सोने का ताज पहन इठलाती है,
दो राह, समय के रथ का घर्घर नाद सुनो,
सिंहासन खाली करो कि जनता आती है !

श्री दिनकर एक ओर ध्वंस और विनाश चाहते हैं, तो दूसरी ओर शान्ति और नव-निर्माण के भी आकांक्षी हैं।

श्री नरेंद्र शर्मा और डा. शिवमंगल सिंह 'सुमन' ने राष्ट्रीयता के नाम पर जीवन से सम्बद्ध विषयों पर लिखते समय लोक कल्याण का सदैव ध्यान रखा है। हिंदी काव्य की राष्ट्रीयतावादीयों में जन-जागरण-गान भी सम्मिलित है। आचार्य जानकीवल्लभ शास्त्री और रामदयाल पाण्डेय ने भी जन-जागरण के अनेक गीत लिखे और गाये हैं। शास्त्री जी की विशेषता यह है कि उनकी राष्ट्रीय भावना बहिर्मुखित न होते हुए भी बड़ी सशक्त और प्रभावक है। 'शिप्रा' और 'अवन्तिका' में उन्होंने दीप गान के व्याज से मानव की जिस दलिततावस्था को

उरह कर उसे फिर से सुस्थ करने का संकेत दिया है, वह अतिदुर्लभ काव्य कल्पना है। पाण्डेय जी की :

"मैं न भागंगा जमी की पस्तगी से,
मैं धरा को ध्याम से उन्नत करूंगा।"

आदि कविता में नव-निर्माण की भावना ही मुखरित है। पाण्डेय जी का 'नया हिमालय' सशक्त भाव वाली सरल रचना है, जो मानव की अगति को प्रगति के लिए ललकारती है। मानव-जीवन की शिथिलता को हिम्मत और साहस का संदेश देती है।

यद्यपि राजनीतिक और सामाजिक स्थिति में विषमता ही राष्ट्रीय कविता का कारण है। फिर भी, आज राष्ट्रीय कविता का स्वर बदल गया है। अब राष्ट्रीय चेतना-सम्पन्न कवि क्रान्ति और ध्वंस का गीत नहीं गाते, वरन् शान्ति और निर्माण ही उनका लक्ष्य हो गया है। देश-सुधार, ग्राम-सुधार, परिवार-सुधार सब में सहिष्णुता और समझौते से काम लिया जा रहा है। चीन द्वारा भारत सीमातिक्रमण के फलस्वरूप कविताओं में कहीं कहीं पुनः क्रान्ति की सुगबुगाहट मालूम होती है, किन्तु उस महत्व की दृष्टि से नहीं देखा जा सकता। क्योंकि भारत न अब परतन्त्र है, न शक्ति-साधन से हीन है। साथ ही, जनता भी तन्त्राभिभूत नहीं, जो उसे झुकझोरा जाय और समुद्र या हिमालय लांघने के लिये उसे अपनी सुपुष्ट शक्ति का स्मरण दिलाया जाय।

आज पुनः प्राग्वैदिककालीन राष्ट्रीय चेतना की आवश्यकता है, जो जनता को इस मंत्र का महत्व समझा सके :

"सह ना भुजवत्, सहनायवत्
सह वीर्यं करवावहं।"

वस्तुतः आज हमें वैसे कविता चाहिए, जो राष्ट्रीय चेतना के नाम पर हमें अपने कर्तव्य-पथ से गुराह न करे, अपितु उसमें ऐसी व्यापकता भी अपेक्षित है, जो राष्ट्रीयता ही नहीं, वरन् अन्तर-राष्ट्रीयता की प्रगति से भी परिचित करा सके।

हे कोटि चरण, हे कोटि बाहु !
हे कोटि रूप, हे कोटि नाम !
तुम एक मूर्ति, प्रति मूर्ति कोटि,
हे कोटि मूर्ति तुमको प्रणाम।

तुम बोल उठ, युग बोल उठा,
तुम मौन बने युग मौन बना,
कुछ कर्म तुम्हारे संचित कर,
युग कर्म जगा, युग धर्म तना।

— साहनलाल द्विवेदी

"वैष्णव जन तां तने कहीये
जे पीड़ पराई जाणें रं।
पर दुःखे उपकार करं तोये
मन अभिमान न आणें।"

"जननी और जन्म भूमि स्वर्ग से भी बढ़ कर हैं।"

— बाल्मीकि

* * *
"स्वाधीनता विकास का प्रथम चरण है।"

— विवेकानन्द

धरती प्यासी है

श्री रामप्रिय मिश्र "लालधुवां"

धरती प्यासी है
पेट भूखा है
चेहरा पर उदासी है,
कहता है कौन फिर
आदमी विलासी है ?
जिनको है हाथ
उन्हें काम नहीं,
जिनको है काम
उन्हें हाथ नहीं,
तिस पर भी कहते हो -
आदमी अनाथ नहीं ।
चलती है जांगर की चक्की,
पिसान नहीं,
इतनी दीवारों में
एक भी मकान नहीं,
ढोते हैं भार
पर अपना सामान नहीं ।
अवलमन्द काहिल है,
कारकुन जाहिल है,
यहां पर आंस नहीं
वहां पर कान नहीं ।
धरती प्यासी है
पानी बिना,
नाटक अधूरा है
कहानी बिना,

यह टूट-झंझ का जमाना है,
मरी है नानी मरी,
किस्सा कौन कहे फिर नानी बिना ।

x x x x
वदता का मुँह चलता है
श्रोता का दिल जलता है,
दश मातीदल दिल वाला -
सुबहों - शाम टहलता है ।
नाम इसी का जीना है,
जिसमें खून पसीना है,
आओं खस की टट्टी में
शरबत जिसको पीना है ।
एक बाप के बेटे हैं,
जितने भी अधपेटे हैं,
साँतले साहब-जाद -
खा-पीकर के लेंटे हैं ।
एक टांकरी नाँकरियां,
तिस पर टूटी छोकोरियां,
तिस पर टूट पड़े लड़के,
टांकेरियों पर टांकेरियां ।
आओं, हम सब भिल जायें,
इस धुच्ची में पिल जायें,
ताकि खेलने वालों के -
दिल खुश होकर खिल जायें ।

x x x x

छात्र और राजनीति

श्री वृन्दावन विहारी सहाय, एम० ए०

छात्र राजनीति में भाग ले या नहीं, यह एक गम्भीर प्रश्न है, जो पिछले कुछ वर्षों से देश के शासकों, राजनीतिक दलों एवं असंख्य अभिभावकों के समक्ष उपस्थित है। कहा जाता है कि इसी के चलते शिक्षा-संस्थाओं में आये दिन अशान्ति पैदा होती रहती है और स्कूल, कालेज एवं विश्वविद्यालय बंद होते हैं और समाज में एक प्रकार की खलबली मालूम पड़ती है। छात्रों द्वारा अनुशासन भंग होने की घटनाएँ भी आये दिन हुआ करती हैं। इन सब बातों के लिए बस्तुतः उत्तरदायी कौन हैं और छात्र क्या करें ?

स्वाधीनता के पूर्व कई दशकों तक महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में संचालित स्वातन्त्र्य संग्राम में भारतीय छात्रों ने सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग लिया था। देश के नेताओं ने ऐसा करने के लिये छात्रों का आह्वान किया और छात्रों ने मातृभूमि की पुकार पर अपनी पढ़ाई-लिखाई को तिलांजलि देकर भी खुली राजनीति में भाग लेना अपना पवन कर्तव्य समझा। स्वाधीनता के उपरान्त राजनीति में एक नया मोड़ लिया, फिर भी परम्परा न टूटी और छात्रों का राजनीति में भाग लेने का क्रम जारी रहा। कभी छात्रों ने स्वयं ऐसा किया और कभी राजनीतिक दलों ने ऐसा करने के लिए उन्हें प्रेरित किया - संभवतः अपने स्वार्थों की सिद्धि के लिए।

स्वाधीनता-संग्राम की आन्दोलनपूर्ण राजनीति से लाभ तो अनेक हुए, पर एक नुकसान भी हुआ वह यह कि हम सीमाहीन बन गए। किसी भी स्वाधीन देश के लिए जिस अनुशासन एवं संयम की आवश्यकता होती है, उसका विकास हम अभी तक ठीक से नहीं कर पाये हैं। आज का छात्र समाज की इन दुराइयों से बच न सका। वह अपने को अछूता न रख सका। वह विद्या-मन्दिर की पवित्रता को कायम न रख सका। परिस्थितियाँ कुछ ऐसी ही रही हैं। आज सभी यही कटु अनुभव कर रहे हैं। शिक्षा-संस्थाओं में अशान्ति के कारण ही वे कभी कभी बंद कर दी जाती हैं और पुलिस वहाँ परेड करने लगती है। कुछ इन्हीं परिस्थितियों में गत वर्ष काशी विश्वविद्यालय बंद कर दिया गया। पिछले महीने इलाहाबाद और लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालयों में भी कुछ इसी प्रकार की घटनाएँ घटीं और वे बन्द कर दिये गये थे। इन घटनाओं में किसका दोष है, इसका विवेचन करना इस लेख का उद्देश्य नहीं। हम तो यही कहेंगे कि कुछ अभिमान घटनाएँ घटती हैं, विश्वविद्यालय बन्द होते हैं, और कई महीने तक छात्रों की पढ़ाई-लिखाई में बाधाएँ उपस्थित होती हैं। जो कुछ हुआ या हो रहा है, वह अच्छा नहीं है। कोई भी अभिभावक इन घटनाओं से प्रसन्न नहीं होता पर हम यह सब मूक बन कर देखते रहते हैं।

छात्रों में अनुशासनहीनता की भी चर्चा आये दिन हुआ करती है। इस समय की ओर देश के मनीषियों, केन्द्रीय एवं राज्य सरकारों तथा विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों का ध्यान आकृष्ट हुआ है। मोटे तौर पर अनुशासनहीनता का विश्लेषण इस प्रकार किया जा सकता है -

(१) आज छात्रवृन्द के समक्ष उच्च आदर्शों का अभाव-सा देख रहा है, जिससे उनको समुचित प्रेरणा मिल सके।

(२) अध्ययन-काल की समाप्ति के बाद छात्रों को जीविकोपार्जन की

समुचित सुविधाएँ नहीं मिल पाती, परिणाम यह होता है कि छात्र बगावत का भण्डा उठाता है अथवा ऐसा करने को वह बाध्य होता है।

(३) स्कूल और कालेजों में प्रत्येक कक्षा में इतने छात्र रहते हैं कि अध्यापक छात्रों से निजी सम्पर्क स्थापित नहीं कर पाते। अध्यापक एक रिकार्ड भरी मशीन की तरह कक्षा में आता है और अपना लेक्चर समाप्त कर बाहर चला जाता है। छात्र यंत्रबत सुनता रहता है। प्रेरणाहीन भाषण उसे जागरित नहीं कर पाते। तात्पर्य यह कि आज गुरु-शिष्य परम्परा का अभाव है।

(४) कभी-कभी राजनीतिक दल या नेता अपने स्वार्थों की पूर्ति के लिए छात्रों को सक्रिय राजनीति में घसीटते हैं। कभी वे अपनी पार्टी को शक्तिशाली बनाने के उद्देश्य से ऐसा करते हैं, कभी अपनी नेतागिरी कायम रखने के लिए और कभी इसी प्रकार के अन्य उद्देश्यों के कारण।

तात्पर्य यह कि आज का छात्र इन्हीं परिस्थितियों में पलता और पड़ता है। उसकी आकांक्षाएँ अपूर्ण रहती हैं। वह अपनी परिस्थिति से असन्तुष्ट रहता है। उसे रोजी-रोटी के लाले पड़े रहते हैं वह कर तो क्या करे ?

दूसरी ओर गरीब अध्यापक की दशा दीनतापूर्ण है। वह भी दरिद्रता का शिकार बना हुआ है। उसने स्वाधीनता-संग्राम के दिन देखे, यथासाध्य उसमें सहयोग किया - बड़ी बड़ी आकांक्षाओं एवं अभिलाषाओं के साथ। मगर, आज की विचित्र परिस्थिति है। महंगी चाँगुना बढ़ गयी, किन्तु वेतन में साधारण हेर-फेर हुआ, परिणाम यह होता है कि न अपना जीवन ठीक से बीतता है, न बाल-बच्चों का ठीक से पालन हो पाता है और जिन्दगी में कोई आराम नहीं। अपनी परिस्थितियों से असन्तुष्ट एक अध्यापक अपने छात्रों को क्या सिखायेगा ? पारिवारिक चिन्ताओं का बोझ सिर पर लदा है। पेट में भूख की ज्वाला जल रही है। मस्तिष्क में विद्रोह का ज्वालामुखी धधक रहा है। कब यह आग भड़क उठेगी, नहीं कहा जा सकता।

दोष पूर्ण शिक्षा पद्धति

अनेक वर्षों से इस बात पर जोर दिया जाता रहा है कि वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति हमारे अनुकूल नहीं है और इसमें आमूल परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। खेद है कि इस दिशा में समुचित कदम नहीं उठाया गया। पिछले वर्षों में डिप्लोमा और टेक्निकल शिक्षा की ओर कुछ ध्यान दिया गया है, मगर इस दिशा में अभी तक जो कुछ हुआ है, वह सिंधु में बिन्दु के समान है। आज इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि टेक्निकल शिक्षा पर पूरा ध्यान दिया जाय और शिक्षा-पद्धति ऐसी हो कि वह हमारी शारीरिक, मानसिक और आध्यात्मिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति कर सके। उससे समाज एवं राष्ट्र दोनों की आवश्यकताएँ पूरी हो सकें। तभी देश एवं समाज का हित होगा।

आर्थिक विषमता

जब देश पराधीन था, तो हम यह कह कर सन्तोष कर लिया करते थे कि

हमारी गरीबी इसलिए है कि अंगूज हमारा शोषण करते हैं, मगर जब हम आजाद हो गये तो समझ में यह बात नहीं आती कि अब भी हमारी गरीबी क्यों नहीं मिटती। कारण स्पष्ट है। पहले अंगूज हमारा शोषण करते थे और अब हमारे भाई-बन्धु ही हमारा शोषण करते हैं। पहले जमीन्दार हमारा शोषण करते थे और अब वे हमारा शोषण करते हैं, जिनके हाथ में आज सत्ता है, भले ही वे हमारे आदमी हों। परिणाम यह हो गया है कि देश आजाद हुआ, मगर सर्व साधारण की गरीबी नहीं मिटी। गांवों में फूट का भयंकर वृक्ष पल्लवित हो रहा है गाँव पंचायतें शोषण का केन्द्र बन रही हैं। मुखिया, सरपंच और सभापति — सब अपनी गोटी लाल करने पर तुलें हुए हैं। मध्यम और निम्न वर्ग कराह रहा है। वह तृष्णा भरी दृष्टि से अपने इर्द-गिर्द देखता है, मगर उसे आशा की एक भी किरण दिखाई नहीं देती। इस स्वाधीनता के जमाने में भी रोटी के लाले पड़े हुए हैं। इन अनाथों की सन्तान जब स्कूल और कॉलेजों में पढ़ने जाती है, तो वह कौन सी आशा लेकर आगे बढ़ेगी।

सवाल है कि आजका छात्र क्या करे? क्या वह सब अनाथों को अपनी आंखों के सामने देखता रहे? आज घूसखोरी और भ्रष्टाचार का बोलबाला है। दंगातों में एक दारोगा और सिपाही की भी रॉबदाब देखने योग्य है। दिल में आग भभक उठाती है। फिर भी प्रश्न होता है कि आज का छात्र सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग ले या नहीं।

आवादा की समस्या

आज देश की आवादी तेजी से बढ़ती जा रही है। मध्यम और निम्न वर्ग

अपनी सीमित आय में अपने बाल बच्चों को पौष्टिक भोजन नहीं दे पाता और न अच्छी शिक्षा-दीक्षा की व्यवस्था ही कर सकता है। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि गांव-गांव में परिवार-नियोजन केन्द्र खोले जायें। सीमित परिवार कल्याणकारी सिद्ध होंगे और भारी किन्तु गरीब परिवार अभिशाप बन जाएंगे।

सैनिक शिक्षा की आवश्यकता

आज समाज में और खास कर छात्रों में फैली अनुशासनहीनता को दूर करने के लिए छात्रों को सैनिक शिक्षा दी जाय। देश की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से भी यह आवश्यक है। लाखों सैनिक शिक्षा प्राप्त छात्र सुरक्षा की दूसरी पीढ़ी का कार्य करेंगे।

उपसंहार

सभी परिस्थितियों पर विचार करने पर हम इसी निर्णय पर पहुँचते हैं कि छात्र सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग न लें, मगर वे छात्र यूनिवर्सिटी, छात्र-क्लबों, छात्र परिषदों एवं अन्य सभी प्रकार की बैठकों में सभी राजनीतिक विषयों पर विचार-विमर्श कर सकते हैं, वाद विवाद कर सकते हैं। स्वयं उनके कल्याण की दृष्टि से एवं देश की भलाई के विचार से यह आवश्यक मालूम पड़ता है कि वे खुली राजनीति से अलग रहें, मगर शास्त्रीय विवेचन, सम्यक ज्ञान एवं वाद-विवाद उनके लिए, समाज के लिए एवं देश के लिए हितकर होगा। आज के छात्र कल के शासक, नेता एवं शिक्षक हैं। उनका व्यापक ज्ञान सभी दृष्टियों से देश के लिए हितकर होगा।

पत्थर को पिघला न सकें जां,
करुणा भरी कहानी क्या ?
ढरने लगी मरण से जां,
वह चढ़ती हुई जवानी क्या ?

— दिनकर

असंख्य कीर्ति-रश्मियां, विकीर्ण दिव्य दाह सी,
सपूत मातृभूमि के, रक्तों न शूर साहसी,
अराति सैन्य-सिन्धु में सुबाहुवाग्नि से जलां।
प्रवीर हो जयी बनों, बर्द चलां, बर्द चलां।

— प्रसाद

"सच्ची शिक्षा वह है, जिसकी सहायता से मनुष्य अपना तथा समाज का प्रत्येक कार्य उत्तरदायित्व एवं कौशल के साथ कर सके।"

— मिन्टन

भरा नहीं है भावों से, बहती जिसमें रस-धार नहीं।
वह मनुज नहीं है पत्थर है, जिसमें स्वदेश का प्यार नहीं।

वह हाथ

श्री कृपा नारायण सिंह

दूसरा महायुद्ध अन्तिम सांस ले रहा था। कोहिमा पर अणुबम का प्रयोग विनाश लीला का पटाक्षेप कर चुका था तथा विश्व का सागर गौरव जल समाधि ले चुका था। सत्य तो यह है कि अणु की प्रलयकारी विभीषिका पर बहादुर जापानियों को भी आत्म-समर्पण करना पड़ा। नाज़ियों के अंत की कहानी सुन कर लोग सन्न हो रहे थे। रूस के बहादुर सिपाही थक चुके थे और अमीरों की यादों विश्राम चाहने लगे थे। इस महान युद्ध में बर्तानिया अपनी प्रतिष्ठा जिस चातुरी के साथ बचा सका है यह सब किसी को मालूम हो चुका था। जिनके राज्य में सूरज उदय ही रहा है, अब लड़ाई के बाद अस्त हो चला था। आजाद हिन्द फौज के सिपाहियों का दस्ता भारत लौट रहा था। उन बहादुर सिपाहियों पर बगावत का निशाना करने में सत्ता की भीति हिल चुकी थी। यह कहानी कल की घटना को याद दिलाती है। मिलखा घंटों बैठकर सरल आंख भाषा में अपने गांव वालों से कहता तो लोग अवाक होकर सुनते ही रहते। मिलखा भी आजाद हिन्द फौज की कहानी कहने में किंचित थकता नहीं था। गांव लौटने पर उसकी मां ने बेटे के खैर लौटने के निमित्त सत्यनारायण की पूजा की थी तो गांव के सब लोग उसके घर आए थे। मिलखा अपनी पत्नी और नवजात शिशु के मृत्यु की कहानी सुन चुका था। प्रसव की पीड़ा में तड़प-तड़प कर वह मरी थी तो किसी ने कभी भूल कर भी कुछ पूछा तक नहीं। एक गरीब सिपाही की पत्नी के लिए सत्ता ही क्या कुछ कर सकती थी। इस महान युद्ध में बड़े बड़े राष्ट्र मिट चुके थे तो मिलखा जैसे अदना सा सिपाही के घर को उजड़ने की परवाह ही कौन करता? सिपाही बनकर जब वह घर से चला था तो उसकी घरवाली की आंखों में आंसुओं का प्रवाह पीकर ही गया था। मां ने अपनी गरीबी की फटी आंच को पसार कर भुवन भास्कर से अपने बेटे के खैर की भीख मांगते हुए उसने ईसा था, आंखें भर आई थीं। और मिलखा जब घर लौटा था तो उसकी अंधी मां ने उसी प्रकार पूरब मुंह खड़ा होकर सूरज ईश्वर को प्रणाम किया था।

मिलखा गांव वालों से बड़ी दिलचस्पी तथा रोशनी कहानियां कहता। उसकी टुकड़ी का लड़ाई के मैदान में उतरना, जापानियों के भय से अंग्रेजों का भागना तथा विराट ईश में हिन्दुस्तानी सिपाहियों के भाग्य के भरोसे छोड़ना आदि तमाम घटनाएं मार्मिक तरीके से रखता। आजाद हिन्द फौज के सिपाहियों की बहादुरी गुर्वत और जिन्दादिली का और उसके साथ अपना भी नाम गर्व से लेता। और हकीकत भी यह है कि उन सिपाहियों के विषय में जो कुछ भी कहा जाए वह थोड़ा ही है। आजादी का इतिहास लिखने वाले सुनहले अक्षरों में जय हिन्द का दास्तान लिखेंगे और आने वाली पीढ़ी उस पृष्ठ पर श्रद्धा का पुष्प चढ़ा कर निहाल होगी। वह कहता : "साब, भारत की आजादी के लिए बड़ी मंहगी कीमत चुकानी पड़ी है। आजादी की दस्तावेज पर आजाद हिन्द फौज के सिपाहियों ने अपनी खून से हस्ताक्षर किया था तथा जब वह दस्तावेज तौला गया था तो मन भर का भारी था।" उसके बाद मिलखा क्षण भर के लिए रुका। फिर मायूष होकर उसने आरम्भ किया : "मगर आजाद भारत में उसके जैसे लाखों सिपाहियों के हिस्से बड़ी दुःख एवं जहालत की बतौर खिल्लत के मिली हैं। वही रोटी के लिए व्यक्ति की खुशामद, जी हजरी।" यह कहते हुए उसकी सांसें फूटने लगी और सिराएं तन गईं।

वह कह रहा था : "सिपाहियों ने बड़े अरमान और हासला को दिल में संजो कर खून दिया था खून। जीवन की बहुमूल्य निधि। साब, नेताजी ने सिपा-

हियों से स्वतन्त्रता के वसीयतनामा पर हस्ताक्षर लिया था तो उन्होंने गर्व के साथ घोषणा की थी, "तुम खून दो और बदले में मैं आजादी दूंगा। नेताजी की इस वाणी पर, इस घोषणा पर, एक एक कर नौजवानों ने गौरव के साथ अपनी खून से हस्ताक्षर कर उस मसीवदा को पीवत्र और बहुमूल्य इसलिए नहीं बनाया था कि ममतामयी माता की गांव में भूख से तड़प तड़प कर उसके मासूम बच्चा का प्राण पखरे उड़ जाय और वह मां आजादी की वंदी पर हर वर्ष घी के दीप जला कर खुशियां मनाए। हस्ताक्षर इसलिए नहीं किया था कि जनतन्त्र के नाम पर शक्ति और सत्ता का उपयोग गलत तरीके से किया जाय।" मिलखा ने कहा : "वह एक सिपाही है जिसने जिन्दगी से खेल करना सीखा है। क्या उसके जैसे लाखों सिपाहियों के खून की कीमत, उनके जौहर का मूल्य यही रहा है? क्या गांधी जी के राम राज्य का नक्शा यही रहा है? घी दूध की नौदियां बहेगी का यही प्रकरण है? काश, गांधी जी आज जीवित होते तो वह दौड़ कर उनके पास जाता और, और उस छात्र की लाश को जो सत्ता की बेदर्द गोशियों से छंद कर चलनी कर दी गई है, दिखाता और पूछता, बापू, तुमने इसी दिन के लिए स्व-राज्य लिया था?"

इस समय मिलखा की आंख के सामने सत्ता, हुकूमत, व्यवस्था और जनतंत्र का ही नहीं बल्कि गांधी जी का सत्याग्रह, विदेशी वस्त्र बहिष्कार, भद्र अवज्ञा आन्दोलन और अंग्रेज भारत छोड़ो का चिह्न भी सामने नाच रहा था। कितने सुनहले और लुभावने आशा के पलने पर स्वराज्य देवी भूल रही थी। यदि एक भी साकार हो पाता। एक भी सत्य निकलता।

मिलखा मायूस संज्ञा में गांव वालों से उसी प्रकार बोलता चला जा रहा था, "साब, हम सिपाही काँम के हैं, सिपाही। यह काँम किसी से डरती नहीं। मौत इसे डरा नहीं सकती। वह सत्य के लिए जेहाद करती है। जेहाद, वह भी व्यक्ति के लिए नहीं, देश के लिए, समाज के लिए।"

"साब, एक रोचक कहानी कहता हूँ। नेताजी को हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए बहुत से सिपाहियों की जरूरत थी इसलिए घर घर घूम कर वे नौजवानों को आजाद हिन्द फौज में सिपाही बनने के लिए आमंत्रित करते। उनमें कुछ ऐसे खूबी थी, कुछ ऐसा आकर्षण था कि उन्हें देख कर तथा उनसे एक बार बात करने पर कायर के दिल में साहस का श्रोत फूट पड़ता। ऐसे दौरान में एक बार वे एक बुढ़िया के घर पहुँचे। उन्होंने बुढ़िया से गुलाम भारत को आजाद करने के लिए भीख का दामन फैलाया। गरीब बुढ़िया घबड़ा उठी। उसके पास गरीबी के जलावा अन्य कोई वस्तु नहीं थी कि वह देती। बुढ़िया की आंखों में आंसू की धारा को देखकर नेताजी ने कहा : "मां, तुम्हारे पास बहुत बड़ा धन है। देश के नाम पर मुझे दोगी। बुढ़िया और अधिक अधीर हो उठी थी। नेताजी ने उचित मौका देखकर कहा : मां, तुमसे आंसुओं का उपहार नहीं, तुम्हारी जैसी करोड़ों माताओं और बहनों की आंसुओं की कीमत चुकाने के लिए उसके बेटे की भीख मांगने आया हूँ। और नेताजी की इस वाणी पर उस बुढ़िया ने अपने बेटे का हाथ पकड़ाते हुए कहा था : "आजादी की राह पर अगर उसके एक बेटे की कुर्बानी वह कर सकती तो अपनी कोख को धन्य समझेगी। और सत्य तो यह है कि इस तरह लाखों मां ने घर के जलते चिराग को गुलकर के स्वतन्त्रता के महान यज्ञ को सफल बनाया है।

बुढ़िया का बेटा दूसरे दिन ही खेत में काम आया। जिस मोर्चे पर वह गया था, फौज को विजय मिली थी। हकीकत तो यह थी, मिलखा ने कहा : आजाद हिन्द फौज का एक एक सिपाही बला का बहादुर रहा है। नेताजी फिर दूसरे दिन बुढ़िया के घर पहुंचे। नेताजी को देखकर बुढ़िया चीख उठी। उसकी आंखों की बाढ़ में नेताजी भी बह चले थे। बुढ़िया की नजरों से वे अपने को छिपा नहीं सके थे। बुढ़िया ने बड़ी दृढ़ता से अपनी आंखों को सुखाते हुए कहा : "आज दोबारा अपने नेता को अगर दूसरा बेटा होता तो दंकर देश के नाम पर अपना फर्ज अदा करती। करुणामयी वीर नारी की इस वाणी को सुनकर नेताजी फूट पड़े और बुढ़िया के चरण रज को सर पर चढ़ा कर उन्होंने कहा : मां, यह तुम्हारा दूसरा बेटा, मां के हाथों में पड़ी पतन्त्रता की बेंड़ी को ताड़ें, ऐसा आशीर्वाद दो मां।"

इस आजादी की लड़ाई में कितनी माताओं ने अपने कोख सूना किये एवं कितनी सुहागिन बहनों ने सुहाग की सिंदूरी आभा को गौरव के साथ धोकर स्वतंत्रता के लिए नहीं किया कि दूर दूर की खाक छानने वाली उस करुणामयी माता को पगली की संज्ञा देकर लोग हंस दिया करें। क्या इसी उपहार के लिए उसकी बेंटी ने अपनी जिन्दगी एवं जवानी की आहुति देकर प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स जलपात के अभियान को धूल में मिलाया था। उसकी इस बहादुरी के बदले में उसकी मां को पगली कहा करें। प्यारी बेंटी की बलिदान के उपहार में पगली की उपाधि ही लेने के लिए।

मिलखा अब उग्र हो रहा था। इसी मौके पर एक बूढ़ा पड़ोसी जो रिश्ता में दादा लगता था, उसने कहा : "प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स जलपात को तो जापानियों ने डबाया था। यह तुम क्या कहते हो?"

दादा की इस बात को सुनकर मिलखा जोर से हंसा और बोला : "किसी कॉम को परास्त करने के लिए उसके इतिहास को मिटा दो की परिपाटी गलत है, घातक है।" उसने कहा : "हकीकत तो यह है, सत्य तो कुछ और है। मिलखा तब उस बुढ़िया की कहानी कहना आरम्भ किया।" दादा, उस दिन जब मैंने उस पगली के चरण छूये तो गांववालों ने भी मुझे अधूरा पागल ही समझा था। खैर

पागल ही रहने दो। आज भारत सरकार भी तो हमें ऐसा ही कुछ समझ कर मेरी अवहेलना कर रही है। यह कह कर मिलखा चुप हो गया था मगर बूढ़े दादा के आग्रह पर पुनः बोलना आरम्भ किया। "दादा, हम के छोड़ने के साथ जहाज का डूबना और भारत की बहादुर बेंटी का एक हाथ उड़ा तो वह जाकर भारत की पवित्र भूमि पर गिरा।" उसने कहा : "दादा, इस हाथ के विषय में एक पुरंदर कहानी है। यह सच्ची घटना है।

साब, आजाद हिन्द फौज के आतंक से बर्तानिया का कलेजा दहल उठा था। ब्रिटिश फौज के आला कमान प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स को रवाना कर हमारे विनाश का संवाद सुनने को अधीर हो उठी थी। नेताजी को मालूम होते ही उन्होंने सिपाहियों को मैदान में खड़ा कर तिरंगे झण्डे को भारत की बहादुर बेंटी की सम्मान में झुकाते हुए गौरव के साथ कहा था कि आज अंग्रेजों के गौरव पात की हस्ती मिटाने वाली भारत की यह दूसरी लक्ष्मीबाई है। और सिपाहियों ने तलवार झुकाते हुए सलामी दी।

मिलखा कह रहा था कि अंग्रेजों का वह विश्व गौरव जलपात आंतरिक सागर को पार कर प्रशान्त सागर में उथल पुथल मचाने की तैयारी में संलग्न था। वह आया तो हमारी कब्र सांढ़ने किन्तु स्वयं उसका शिकार बना। यह घटना

अमावस के पिछले पहर की है। मध्यरात्रि की अधियाली में अपनी खंभे की ओर बढ़ता हुआ एक आदमी को देखकर हम चौंकने लगे थे। प्रहरी सतर्क था किन्तु उसी क्षण पहिचान का सिगनल पाकर एक संतरी आगे बढ़ा और कुछ क्षण के बाद ही अपनी संरक्षण में उसे लाकर नेताजी के खंभे में घुसा। ठीक मध्य रात्रि को घंटे भर बाद, फौजी बिगुल के शब्द पर हम सरो सामान सहे हो गए। सभी सिपाही अपने नेता के संकेत के लिए अधीर हो रहे थे। आजादी की प्राप्ति के लिए उन्होंने खून से दस्तावेज लिखा है तो उसकी कीमत चुकाने के लिए वे तैयार हैं। हजार तूफान और बला को वे चीर कर आगे बढ़ेंगे, बढ़ेंगे और जरूर बढ़ेंगे, ऐसा आभास मिल रहा था। उसी अवसर पर नेताजी ने सिपाहियों को संकेत किया कि कौन वह बहादुर है जो प्रिंस आफ वेल्स जलपात को, जिस पर बर्तानिया के सिपाही उनकी हस्ती को मिटाने के लिए, बढ़ रहा है।।"

एक नौजवान लड़की आगे बढ़ी और नेताजी को सलाम करते हुए बोली : "प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स के अभियान को चूर करने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान की एक बहादुर लड़की ही काफी है।" नेताजी ने उसकी पीठ ठोकी। बात की बात में हवाई जहाज पर बम रख दिये गए और अपने नेता को फिर अपने प्यारे तिरंगे को एक पार सलाम करते हुए वह ललना बिजली सी काँधती हुई वायुयान पर चढ़ी। मैदान का एक बार फिर दूसरी बार चक्कर काट कर उतरा। सिपाही दौड़े पड़े। नेताजी स्वयं दौड़े पड़े। उस वीर लड़की ने बड़ी अदब से कहा : "मेरे सरदार, मेरी एक आरजू है, बस एक ही तमन्ना है और वह यह है कि इस जहाज में उतना ही तेल भरा जाए जिससे वह फिर लौट कर वापस न आ सके।"

उस बहादुर लड़की की इस बात पर नेताजी ने कारण पूछा तो, उसने गौरव के साथ नत मस्तक होकर कहा : "मेरे सरदार, प्राण का भय संभव है इस महान उद्देश्य की सफलता में बाधक हो, इसीलिए मैं चाहती हूँ कि अपनी एक जान जान की आहुति उस विशाल जलपात की चिमनी की तह में जलने वाली अग्नि शिखाओं की लौ पर कर सकें तो सचमुच उसका यह बलिदान सफल होगा। और वही हुआ। प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स अपनी गीत पर गौरव से बंदरगाह की ओर बढ़ रहा था। रात का तीसरा पहर था। सिपाही उठ चुके थे। सिपाहियों को तैयार होने की घंटी बज चुकी थी। जहाज अब संकटगुस्त मजिल को पार कर चुका था, इसीलिए उसके कप्तान और सिपाही सभी समान भाव में अपने अपने काम में लग चुके थे कि ठीक इसी मौके पर एक छोटा सा हवाई जहाज नीचे की ओर बढ़ी तेजी से झुका और उस विशाल जलपात की चिमनीयों में समा गया। जहाज के सिपाही अभी कुछ सांच भी नहीं पाये थे कि धड़ाका पर धड़ाका और आवाज पर आवाज होने लगी। जलपात धरा उठा। खतर की घंटी बज उठी और देखते ही देखते विश्व के इस महान जहाज की जल समाधि हो गई। कितने सिपाहियों ने वीर गीत पाई।

मिलखा ने कहा : "उस धड़ाके के साथ ही भांसी की दूसरी लक्ष्मी बाई का हाथ उड़ कर भारत की पवित्र भूमि पर गिरा, जिसके कारण ही भारत को स्वतन्त्रता मिली है।"

मिलखा ने कहा : "दादा, वह बुढ़िया जो उस दिन चौराहे पर कह रही थी, वह पवित्र हाथ उसकी बेंटी का है जिसने बर्तानिया के अभिमान के गढ़ को पानी में मिला दिया था।"

अभांगिन बुढ़िया, आज भी पागलों की तरह दूर दूर की खाक छानती हुई रट लगा ही रही है : "किसी ने देखा है वह हाथ जो उड़ कर भारत की पवित्र भूमि पर धड़ाम से गिरा तो ब्रिटिश सततन का पाया डोल गया था।"

एक मंत्री की दिलचस्प डायरी

वाचाल वांकीपुरी

आज कांग्रेसी सरकार के मंत्रिगण किधर जा रहे हैं, इसका नमूना एक उपमंत्री की डायरी से मिलेगा। उनकी योग्यता कैसी रहती है, पार्टियों में कितनी दिलचस्पी ली जाती है और घूसखोरी का कैसा बोलबाला है, इसकी भांकी प्रस्तुत डायरी में मिलेगी। शेष जानकारी स्वयं पढ़कर प्राप्त कीजिये।
— सम्पादक

३ जुलाई

आज दोपहर को मैंने उपमंत्री की हॉसियत से राज्यपाल भवन में जाकर 'ओध' (शपथ) ली। वहाँ जाने का पहला ही मौका था। मैंने 'ओध' लेने के बाद राज्यपाल से हाथ मिलाया। न जाने क्यों, उनका हाथ एक दम ठण्डा था। इस समारोह में मंत्रिगण और कई बड़े-बड़े सरकारी पदाधिकारी भी थे।

५ जुलाई

आज नगर के प्रातः संस्करणीय समाचार-पत्रों में मेरे संबंध में काफी चर्चा थी। उन्होंने मेरा जो फोटो छपा था, वह मुझे बहुत जंचा। मैंने उसे पत्नी को भी दिखाया। आज मैं बहुत प्रसन्न हूँ, क्योंकि मुझे सपने में भी उम्मीद न थी कि मैं मंत्री बन जाऊंगा। आज मैंने 'सेवाय' होटल में एक बड़ी शानदार पार्टी दी, जिसमें मंत्रिगण, सदस्यगण और मेरे दोस्तों की अच्छी खासी भीड़ उपस्थित थी। पार्टी में मेरा कुल खर्च ग्यारह सौ ग्यारह रुपया हुआ, जिसको मेरे एक परिचित मारवाड़ी श्री धन्ना सेठ ने दिया। मैं उनका कृतज्ञ हूँ, जो एन मौके पर उन्होंने मेरी इज्जत रख ली, वरना होटल वाले को देने के लिए मुझे दूध की जे के गहने को गिरवी रखना पड़ता। इस पार्टी में महिलाओं ने भी अच्छा खासा सहयोग दिया था।

१० जुलाई

मुख्यमंत्री पता नहीं क्यों, मुझे योग्य नहीं समझते? तभी तो उन्होंने मुझे सहकारिता और जंगलात विभाग सुपुर्द किये हैं। मुझे तो कोई ऐसा विभाग देना चाहिए था, जिसमें काम कम और नाम अधिक उजागर करने का अवसर मिलता। मैंने मुख्यमंत्री से विभाग देते समय कोई आग्रह भी नहीं किया था। क्योंकि करता क्या? उन्हीं की दूरियादिली के कारण तो मैं मिनिस्टर बना हूँ, वरना जिन्दगी भर तो कनस्टर ही होता रहा, तेल घी का रोजगार करता रहा और खादों पहन कर भी सबको सलाम करता रहा।

२४ जुलाई

कल मैं अपने गांव गया था। दूरवाजों पर मिलने वालों की भीड़ हो गई। सब को पत्नी ने बताया कि भीतर हवेली में मिलने वालियों ने उनका भी बुरा हाल

कर दिया था। मुझ से जितने लोग मिले, सभी को मुझसे आशा थी। कोई नौकरी की इच्छा से मिलने आया। कोई बंट को बी. ए. में पास कराने की इच्छा से और कोई अपनी लड़की की शादी कहीं ठीक कराने के लिए। मैंने सबको आश्वासन दिया। हवेली में मेरी पत्नी ने भी सबको उम्मीद बाँधी कि मैं 'उनसे' आपका काम जरूर करवा दूँगी। आश्वासन देने में उन्होंने बाजी मार ली। एक बुढ़िया ने उनसे अपना दुखड़ा सुनाते हुए जब कहा कि "बहू, मेरी इच्छा यही है कि मेरी बहू को एक लड़का हो जाता, ताकि पात का मुँह देखकर मरती, तो पत्नी ने इसकी जिम्मेवारी भी अपने ऊपर ले ली।"

५ अगस्त

मुझे मंत्रिमण्डल में आये हुए लगभग एक महीना हो रहा है। अभी तक मुझे यह नहीं मालूम हो सका कि निवास के लिए मुझे कौन सा बंगला मिलेगा। दूसरे मंत्रियों को मोटर पर चढ़ते देख मुझे रश्क हो रहा है। एक महीने के बीच मैं दो बार दहात के दारों पर गया। मेरे निजी सचिव ने कल बतलाया कि इन दोनों 'टूरो' के लिए उन्होंने तैरह सौ का बिल बनाया है। मैंने उनसे साफ कह दिया कि भाई, एक हजार तो मैं लूंगा और तीन सौ तुमको दूंगा। अभी धन्ना सेठ के ही मकान में रह रहा हूँ। खाने-पीने आदि का खर्च उन्हीं के यहां से आ जाता है। औरों के साथ एहसान-फरामोशी नहीं कर सकता।

१२ अगस्त

मोटर न मिलने के कारण मन उचटा उचटा रहा है। सोचता ही रहता हूँ कि कोई ऐसा रास्ता मिले कि मैं मोटर खरीद कर उसको दौड़ा सकूँ। आज सबरे धन्ना सेठ अपने एक परिचित को ले आये। उन्हें एक फैक्टरी के 'एलाटमेंट' और एक्सपोर्ट-इम्पोर्ट के सिलसिले में मेरी सहायता अपेक्षित थी। उन्होंने स्वयं कहा कि सन्तावन के 'माडल' की 'स्टूडीबैकर' इस काम के पारिश्रमिक में वे मुझे देंगे। मैंने वादा किया कि उनका काम जरूर पूरा कर दूंगा।

१३ अगस्त

आज मैं धन्ना सेठ के मित्र के काम के लिए मंत्री से मिला और उनका काम भी पूरा कर दिया। उन्होंने भी अपनी प्रीतिज्ञा पूरी की। शाम को चमचमाती और

लहराती हुई 'स्टूडीबैंकर' मेरी कोठी पर पहुँच गई। रात को मैं अपनी पत्नी के साथ उसी माँटर में चढ़कर "दिल्ली का ठग" फिल्म देखने गया।

१५ अगस्त

आज स्वतन्त्रता-दिवस के सिलसिले में "राज्यपाल महोदय ने आठ बजे प्रातः भण्डोत्तोलन किया। उनके साथ मैंने भी फॉज की सलामी ली। शुरू में गलती से मेरा बायाँ हाथ उठ गया, लेकिन मैं फॉरन ही संभल गया। सन्ध्या को गवर्नमेंट हाउस में ज़ोरदार पार्टी हुई, जिसमें भंग पीने के कारण मैंने फ्लेटों पर पूरा हाथ साफ किया। पार्टी में सांस्कृतिक प्रदर्शन भी हुआ, जिसमें केवल लड़कियों ने ही भाग लिया। उसमें मुझे एक लड़की बहुत जंची और सपने में मैं उसे भूल न सका।

२२ अगस्त

जब से मंत्री बना हूँ, दफ्तरी का काम करने की नौबत नहीं आयी है। अलबत्ता सेक्रेटरीयट रोज़ जाता हूँ मगर फाइल देखकर उस पर कोई नोट लिखना मेरे वश की बात नहीं। नोट लिखने वाला काम मेरा निजी सचिव करता है। मैं उस पर बहुत विश्वास करता हूँ, क्योंकि वह मेरी सारी खुदाई का भाई है। वह सरकार की पालिसी समझता रहता है। मगर सच्ची बात यह है कि मेरी समझ में खाक पत्थर कुछ भी नहीं आता। मुझे लोगों से मिलने में बड़ा मजा आता है, इसलिए ऑफिस का भी सारा समय मैं लोगों से मिलने जुलने में ही काट देता हूँ। लड़कियों के इन्टर्व्यू में मुझे से अधिक समय देता हूँ।

३० अगस्त

मेरे निजी सचिव ने आज कहा कि सेक्रेटरीयट की कुर्सियों पर बैठने से कोई फायदा नहीं। चाँदी की फसल काटने के लिए अकालगूस्त क्षेत्रों में दौरा करना आवश्यक है, किन्तु मुख्यमंत्री के सचिव को क्या कहें, जो आज ही पहुँचा है और जिसमें आदेश दिया गया है कि कोई भी मंत्री मुख्यमंत्री से आज्ञा लिये

बिना अपना "टूर प्रोग्राम" न बनाये, क्योंकि "टूर" में सरकार का अधिक स्वचा खर्च हाँता है और अभी सरकार की माली हालत ठीक नहीं है। सचिव में यह भी लिखा हुआ है कि दौरे का सारा काम मुख्यमंत्री ने अपने ही सैर पर ले रखा है।

१ सितम्बर

मुख्यमंत्री से मिलकर मैंने उनसे यह आदेश ले लिया है कि मैं "टूर" कर सकूँ। लिहाजा आज मेरी खुदाई और उनका भाई कल की यात्रा की तैयारियाँ कर रहे हैं। झाड़वर माँटर को साफ कर रहा है और मैं सीलों रीढ़ों से दुखती रगों को छड़ने वाले फिल्मी गाने सुन रहा हूँ:

"रूप सहा नहीं जाय नखरवाली का"

१५ दिसम्बर

आज बहुत दिनों के बाद "हायरी" लिखने बैठा हूँ। दर असल पिछले दिनों रात-दिन "टूर" में रहने के कारण हायरी लिखने की फुरसत नहीं मिली। इस बीच मैंने कागज़ पर पूरे प्रान्त का दौरा किया। वैसे पन्द्रह रोज़ तो ससुराल में ही रहा। आज ही राजधानी में वापस आया हूँ। इस बीच मैंने सैकड़ों सभाओं में रट-रटाये भाषण किये और सांस्कृतिक प्रदर्शन के नाम पर "वाजिदअली शाही" आनंद लेता रहा।

१६ दिसम्बर

मालूम हुआ कि मुझे बहुत जल्द एक सांस्कृतिक शिष्टमण्डल के साथ मध्य यूरोप के दौरे पर जाना पड़ेगा। पत्नी को जब यह खबर लगी, तो वे भी साथ चलने के लिए ज़िद्द करने लगीं। मैं उन्हें समझा बुझा कर राजी किया कि वे विदेश-यात्रा में मेरे साथ न जायें। उनको नहीं ले जाने का कारण यह था कि शिष्टमंडल में लड़कियों की ही संख्या अधिक थी, ऐसी हालत में अपनी सारी खुदाई को ले जाकर मैं उनको संभालता या उन लड़कियों को। हाँ, उनके भाई को ले जाने के लिए मैंने आश्वासन दे दिया है।

बिनु भाषा उन्नति अहैं, सब उन्नति को मूल।
बिनु निज भाषा ज्ञान के, मिट न हिय को शूल।

— भारतेन्दु हरिश्चन्द्र

* * * *

"हमारा उद्देश्य इस संसार के प्रति भलाई करना है। अपने गुणों का गान करना नहीं।"

— विवेकानन्द

* * * *

"स्वच्छता और श्रम मनुष्य के सर्वोत्तम बंध हैं।"

— रोमीसन

धील होने की परवाह नहीं, मैं हूँ, कष्टों का राज्य रहे,
मैं जीता, जीता, जीता हूँ, माता के हाथ स्वराज्य रहे।

— माखनलाल चतुर्वेदी

* * * *

"मानवता के लिए क्रूरतम अभिशाप है - पराधीन रहना।"

— सुभाषचन्द्र बोस

x x x x

आदम को खुदा मत कहो, आदम खुदा नहीं,
लेकिन खुदा के नूर से आदम जुदा नहीं।



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