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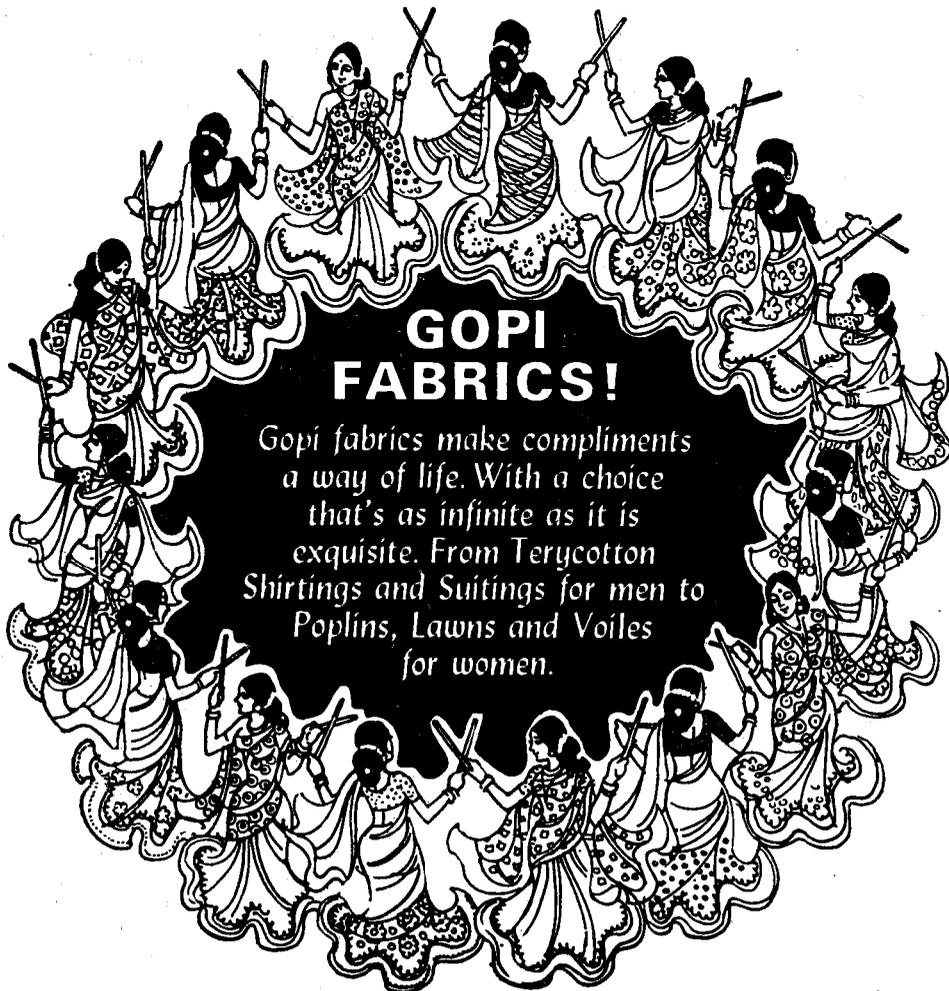
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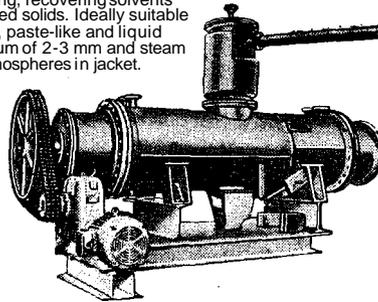
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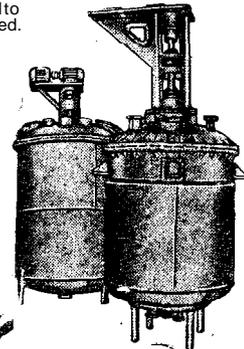
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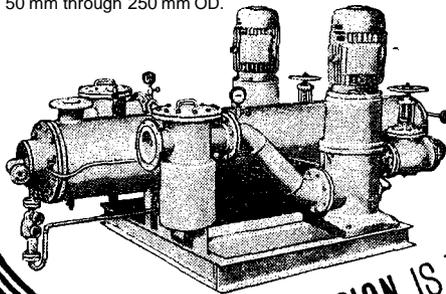
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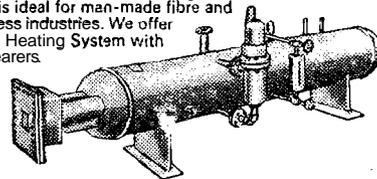
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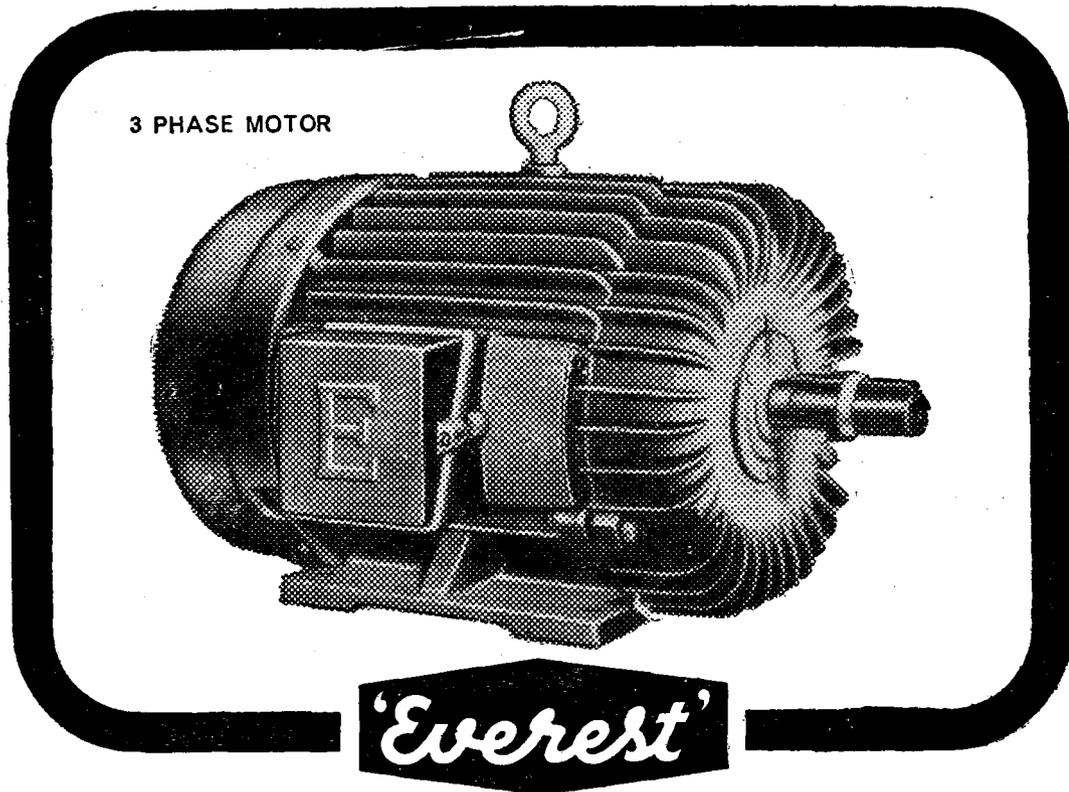
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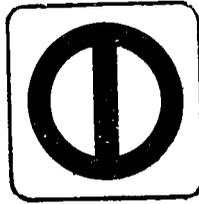
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# Swatantra Party

SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

RAJAJI NAGAR, MADRAS      APRIL 14 & 15, 1973

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**RAJAJI: Some Speeches and Writings**

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55 Gamdevi Road, Bombay 400 007.

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# Preface

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After almost four and half years we are meeting for the Sixth National Convention. These four and half years have been a difficult period for the Swatantra Party, for much has happened since we met in Bhubaneswar in October 1968. The Party which in 1967 had emerged as a leading Opposition party in India has had to suffer a number of reverses.

But the greatest blow suffered by the Party and the cruellest is the death of our Founder. When that beautiful volume *Rajaji 93* was being published, Rajaji wrote in *Swarajya* :

"When I see the spreading abuses, the cants, the hypocrisies and the general fall in the moral sense from the highest level down to the unfortunate poor, I do not feel inclined to run away from the struggle for improving things—old, weak and incapacitated though I am."

It is as much a tragedy for the Indian people as it is for us of the Swatantra Party that fate decreed otherwise.

And yet Rajaji is very much with us and will continue to be so as long as the Swatantra Party faithfully adheres to his ideals and carries out his mission for the re-establishment of dharma in our country.

The Lok Sabha elections of 1967 and the Assembly elections of 1972 saw the Swatantra Party receiving a severe battering. There were many critics who prematurely rejoiced over what they thought was the exit of the Swatantra Party from the Indian political scene. There were well-meaning friends who despaired of our future. There were even some amongst us who gave up the fight when the going got rough. Some of them even joined our sworn enemies in the mistaken belief that the verdict of the electorate indicated the irrelevance of the Swatantra Party on the one hand and of the approval of the policies of those in power, on the other.

That the party is very much alive and kicking with its head high, its flag aloft, its faith in what the Party stands for unabated and is meeting in this National Convention bears testimony to the fact that while we may have been down we certainly are not out. Like a boxer in a ring we have stood up before the count of ten.

This is a Souvenir in every sense of the term. In its pages we have sought to recapture the troubled mind and voice of Rajaji which in the last fifteen years of his life was one of pain and anguish at the way things were going on in India. The articles and comments printed in these pages are a random selection of his views on economic and political affairs. The last section 'Miscellany' seeks to provide the reader with little snippets from his 'Dear Reader' column in *Swarajya* and will give one an idea of his wide canvas. Unless otherwise stated, the articles and comments in the Souvenir have been culled from the various issues of *Swarajya*.

We have no doubt that with the blessings of our Founder we shall succeed in our role of "educating our masters", the people of India—a role Rajaji wanted the Swatantra Party to perform. ★

## **Acknowledgement**

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Our Grateful Thanks To:

Mr. T. Sadasivam, esteemed member of our Party and Managing Director of Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., for permitting the reproduction of articles and comments by Rajaji in various issues of *Swarajya*.

Mr. Harry Miller for permitting the use of his memorable photograph of Rajaji on our Cover.

Inland Printers, Bombay, for the production of this volume at short notice.

All our Advertisers for their generous response to our Appeal.

And, finally, our thanks to all those who helped us in various ways in the production of this volume.

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# Inaugural and Other Addresses

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## Preparatory Convention

BOMBAY

**B**EFORE I begin I, along with you all, must tender our grateful appreciation of the splendid work done by Mr. Masani and his colleagues for making this eventful gathering possible in this inclement season of the year in Bombay.

I have been asked to inaugurate this convention of the Swatantra Party. I do it with great pleasure as well as with a due sense of responsibility. I am not inaugurating merely a party. I think we are inaugurating a movement of freedom. Forty years ago, when I was forty years old, after twenty years' practice at the Bar, and twelve years of political life in connection with the Congress and the Nationalist Party of that time and the Home Rule Movement, I joined the Non-cooperation Movement in close collaboration with and under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Now when I am twice that age, I am leading a revolt against what I have come to believe to be a fatally wrong direction taken by the Indian National Congress in the governance of this great country. I have come to the conclusion that a movement for freedom, as important and as serious as the movement for independence against British rule, has now to be inaugurated against this misconceived progress of the Congress towards what will finally end in the suppression of individual liberty and the development of the State into a true Leviathan. The State is becoming a giant entity by itself menacingly poised against the citizen, interfering with his life at all points, mistrusting the people, imposing restrictions, introducing a series of controls

and regulations, stepping into the fields of agriculture, industry and trade, creating an army of officials, tremendously increasing the cost of administration and therefore the taxes paid by the nation, hypnotising the people with slogans that are mistaken for thought and wisdom, a scheme of Government in which it is taken for granted that the citizen is ignorant of what is his own interest. My criticism of the Congress policies and tendencies and their inevitable consequences is strong but not exaggerated.

My criticism of the ruling party's present policy is this: You begin with a false conception and make promises on that basis which are necessarily incapable of performance; then your sympathetic critics want you to be more efficient than you are and to do the impossible and you are led to make more promises in place of the old promises. The whole business which is faulty at the base and in the superstructure leads to the people being made victims of one deception after another. For example, you promise to put ceilings on land holdings in the hope of making by compulsion what *bhoodan* is trying to make by willing surrender. Then it is pointed out that you cannot have sufficient land to meet the land hunger of the landless peasants. You give up the idea of making gifts and in view of the criticism of agricultural experts you propose to substitute co-operative farming for individual cultivation. Then you meet objections to compulsory collectivisation by announcing that it will all be voluntary and will not be enforced collectivisation. In order to overcome popular objections you plan subsidies and other inducements at the cost of the nation in order to build up a case for successful co-operative farming. I have illustrated what I said first in strong and general

terms. There is no morality in creating an impression that the landless will get land as a result of the policy of land ceilings and yet that deception is the basis of whatever hold the Congress has now in the rural area.

The Attorney General's recent speech at Bombay is a scathing indictment clothed in the language of a trained lawyer and gentleman, addressed to an enlightened audience, in an atmosphere charged with gentleness. He has exposed the fatal weakness in the present regime and has made out an unanswerable case for an opposition party such as ours to come into being. He has not expressly welcomed the emergence of this party but what he has said amounts to it. He finds fault with the public and the professions for their apathy and silence. He could have gone deeper down and explained the reasons for this silence and absence of opposition. The secret lies in the octopus-hold which the ruling party has secured on men and their lives and occupations in the name of Socialism and a march towards the socialistic goal. He said that the officials are not doing their duties properly. Why? For the same cause. We should remove the cause and not hope to achieve anything by treating the symptoms. We all know how power corrupts. It is a cliché but it is true. There are two types of this corrupting power in action. At the top the ruling party and its chiefs have secured position and power to make or attempt to make basic changes in the structure of society, imagining that they can achieve revolution without revolution. Illusion and megalomania are the consequences of this corruption produced by power at the top. They attempt to change the personal laws as to succession making fundamental changes which must totally dislocate the structure of life at the very base. At one stroke, for instance, they have made laws to double fragmentation of real property and scatter the fragments by offering to the daughter an equal position with the son without taking into account the social and economic and family changes involved in a woman's life by reason of marriage which is still a universally prevailing institution in our country. This is a capital example of exhibitionism and thoughtlessness. They desire to banish religion and God from Indian life. They seek to regulate life in fields where regulation was unknown. They seek to disturb the fundamental agricultural economy of our country.

The party system and the totalitarian position of the ruling party deprive the Government of all effective checks in the implementation of these unwise programmes. I attribute the unwisdom to the corrupting influence of power and want of faith in the people, the assumption that they are ignorant and are not likely to do the right thing unless compelled.

The second type of corruption by reason of power is at the lower levels of the party, where buses and other important elements in the political machine interfere with justice in the executive administration. Officials have lost their old courage in standing up to political pressure. I need not expatiate on this. It is one of the most widely felt evils and if there is one reason more than another which has brought the Congress into disfavour, it is this.

The ruling party must be replaced by a party that will respect the freedom of the individual. The Swatantra Party stands for this freedom. It stands for individual initiative and enterprise. State initiative except where it is conceded to be necessary, amounts to compulsion. Compulsion kills initiative, and regulation kills interest and responsibility. We want all policies to be based on faith in the people as the moral foundation of government, discarding compulsion. Taxation is not, as some persons wrongly imagine, ruled out by our doctrine of freedom. Taxation may be high, though not excessive, according to the amount of the welfare activities taken up by the state. What we object to is taxation that cripples private initiative and kills the goose which we expect to lay eggs of gold. There is a wide spectrum between absolute freedom and socialist regulations or state capitalism. We stand for a pull towards private initiative and the liberty of the citizen to live a free life. We are against any form of deception intended to deceive the poorer sections of the people. There is no morality in promising the people what cannot be performed, just to strengthen your party.

In the recent past the press had lapsed into an uncritical mood and if I may say so, into an attitude of even adulation of the ruling party. It has, however, now begun to be critical. It has thrown away the reserve that prevailed till very recently. We are very grateful for this. But for that very reason, the ruling party is now angry with the Press. This is yet another proof of the unfitness of the party to continue in the present position.

The new party and its adumbrated programmes are criticised from two different angles. One class of critics display an incorrigible faith in state compulsion as necessary for progress and an equally incorrigible want of faith in the people. Their desire for compulsion and regulation is incompatible with faith in the people and with faith in democracy. It is incompatible with the principles of freedom for which we stand. In fact, the critics should hope for the reform of the Congress Party from within, which hope I have lost.

The other angle of criticism is from all those whose ambition is for a place in the sun. They enquire and

reflect whether this new party will succeed. They wish to know what its chances of strength and victory are. It is needless for me to tackle this type of criticism. The only question that we should put to ourselves is this: Is a new party, a party standing up for *Swatantra* necessary? If it is necessary, we must work for it steadily and bravely. If there is moral and political justification for the party, the nation will not allow it to fail. *Satyameva jayate*. It does not matter how old I am. It will grow irrespective of me from strength to strength.

We cannot fight oppression if we continue to be afraid of oppression. We cannot fight and remove the cause of fear if we do not throw off fear. To be afraid is to be more and more victimised.

The convention will presently consider and settle the programme of the Party. But I can say even at this stage that the Swatantra Party is pledged to social justice and equality of opportunity for all people without disjunction not only of religion, caste or occupation but even of political affiliations. The Party is based on the truth that the progress, welfare, and the true happiness of the people of our country, as in other countries, depend on individual incentive, enterprise and energy. The state is merely an aggregation. We hold that state interference and state management destroy individual incentive, individual freedom and energy. We therefore stand for the great principle enunciated by Gandhiji and constantly emphasised by him, of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State. We hold, as I have said before, that our fundamental article of faith for the policies of government should be founded on faith in the people and not on state compulsion and certainly not on the encouragement of hatred and conflict between class and class or on expropriation of lawfully held property, repudiation of obligations and on the conferment of more and more powers on the officials of government at the expense of the freedom of the citizen. We hold that the state should foster and utilise the sense of moral obligation felt by individuals to serve others and the pride and satisfaction such service gives, which are inherent in our tradition rather than adopting legislative or executive compulsion. We hold that every effort should be made to foster and maintain spiritual values. We hold that the present policies and trends of the ruling party lead to the increasing dominance of a purely materialistic philosophy.

There is a pervading sense of uncertainty in the country. We hold that this is fatal to progress. The Swatantra Party should keep as its immediate goal the

aim and the sense of stability and incentive for individual effort. This can only be done by strict adherence to the fundamental rights and guarantees specified in the Constitution as originally adopted in respect of freedom of property, trade and occupation and that if any property is to be compulsorily acquired by the State for public purposes, just compensation should be given.

Whatever principles are laid down as a result of deliberations at this convention I feel that we should make it clear that on any matter not covered by those principles every member of the party should be completely free to hold his own views and to express them and to organise for carrying them into effect without being deterred or restricted by the party whips. This is not intended to rope in all kinds of people but it is intended to create a sense of freedom instead of the present prevailing sense of suppression in the atmosphere of political parties. Just as we desire to have minimum government and maximum freedom for the citizen we ought to have minimum party restrictions and maximum freedom so that if and when we get into a position of responsibility we shall not be interfering with the essential principle of democracy that, on all issues, outside the fundamentals of the Party, the real majority view of Parliament on those matters should prevail and not what is really a minority opinion happening to be the majority view of the ruling party. These restrictions and whips and rules of discipline that are deemed so sacred in the present climate of political parties, really convert the parties into mere cliques. In the fundamentals of the Party, there should be no swerving from accepted principles. In all other matters, we should be free and we should feel free. Otherwise, there can be no progress through the Parliamentary system.

We should definitely turn our eyes away from the temptations of dictatorial governance. We may be relieved of a great deal of burden if we transfer all responsibilities to a dictator. But that is not the way to true happiness either for the citizen or for the people as a whole.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not say how grateful we are to the Agricultural Federation of India for the inspiration they gave us for the formation of this Party and to the Forum of Free Enterprise that helped us so greatly in the preliminary work. Prince and peasant, captains of industry and the toilers in the factories, the small shopkeepers as well as the wholesalers, all who prize the liberty of the individual and in particular the poor who are losing their occupations, all those who wish to resist the inroads of the

State and its machinery on liberty we welcome in this our Party of Swatantra.

With these words, I conclude, invoking the blessings of Providence and of the rishis on our deliberations.

August 1, 1959

## First National Convention

PATNA

**T**HE organisers have committed a fundamental mistake. They ought to have arranged a public meeting first and then arranged the Convention. Then the entire crowd that has gathered here and have attempted to get inside could all have seen my beautiful face first. They should have known that the interest in the Swatantra Party is beyond expectation. They thought it would be a quiet thing like the Indian National Congress. They did not realise how much resentment there was against the present government. My fault was that I did not warn them about it. My modesty prevented me from warning them. Now I hope you will make the best of it, although there is a lakh of people inside and another lakh of people outside.

I have come here to tell you why we have started a new party. We all, most of us, in fact I think all of us, put the Congress into power when the British gave the throne to us. The Congress was a well organised party ready and willing to govern the country. And they were also good people at that time. They deserved to be handed over the powers of the ruling of the country. Now however, I am of the opinion that they are more concerned about their party than about the governance of the country. A government must govern the country. A ruling party should put all its attention into the governance of the country. As a mother puts all her attention in feeding her baby, a government must put all its attention into the government of the country. If a mother who is feeding her baby begins to attend to her make-up, she is not a good mother. If she takes a comb and brush and begins attending to her own beauty, the baby will begin to cry. In the same manner the people are crying now. That is why it is so easy for me to organise the Swatantra Party.

Did anybody believe that when the Congress is in power, when so popular a man as Jawaharlal Nehru is the Prime Minister, such a large crowd would assemble here to greet us to oppose him? It was beyond their imagination. Now at least they must realise that there is some truth in what I have been saying. I have been telling them that the people believe that they

are carrying on government only with the view to strengthen their party. When any question arises the only thing that the government should consider is what they should do with respect to that question in order to improve the condition of the people, not in order to improve the strength of their party. But this is the natural mistake they have committed. Because anybody who has power naturally desires to continue to possess power. Also the passage of so many years of power reduces the intelligence of the party. On account of this confusion they are not doing what they should do.

Whenever there is a party without any opposition this confusion arises. What we want is that we should have a body of strong people in Parliament and in the other legislatures to point out the mistakes of the government and to oppose them. What has happened however, is that everybody was busy praising the government and praising the Prime Minister. Therefore as a friend I have come not to praise him but to oppose him. It is only when there is an opposition that the King, the Prime Minister or the President will behave properly. Whether it is a King, or the President or the Prime Minister, we want an opposition.

You may say that there are many opposition parties. The Communist Party is there, the Socialist Party is there. But those are not Oppositions, but only ginger groups. If you put into water enough of lime juice and enough of salt it will be fit for making a dish. But if you put lime juice to lime juice or salt to salt you don't improve the dish. If you want to make a good cup of tea, you should have tea in fusion and a proper quantity of milk also. If in a cup, there is only tea and no sugar and milk, then it will not be tea. Similarly a good opposition will be offered by the party which is fundamentally opposed to the ruling party.

I hold socialism as bad. But Prime Minister Nehru holds it as good. We must attempt production first before we begin to distribute. If you want a car to run properly, you want an accelerator and you also want a brake. If you add an accelerator to an accelerator, the car will go into a ditch. If you don't have a brake in a car, the police will not license the car. The police, here, is the principle of democracy. The principle of democracy demands that there should be an opposition to the government on the fundamental policy the government follows. But there are some people who are more anxious to create a compromise before they allow an opposition to grow. That is, some people want to put grease and oil before giving the brake. What the Swatantra Party says is, that this engine is going *wrongly* and will provide a brake in the shape of the Swatantra Party. We should have no objection

to rapidity of motion provided it did not go in the wrong direction.

There are some totalitarian governments in the world, Russia and China, whom Jawaharlal Nehru admires. It is true they are very powerful governments. We would also like to be powerful. But we don't want to become slaves. All the people of China and all the people of Russia are terribly afraid of their governments. The essential principle of government there, is fear. In India now, you can tell me without my telling you, that fear is growing. In my experience, both under the British government and under the present government, I can tell that the people today who are cultivators, merchants, traders or industrialists are more afraid of the Congress government than they ever were of the British government with all their rifles.

Because of that fear, the people are getting corrupted, immoral and fraudulent. We should not allow this deterioration to go on. In order to remove this growing tendency to be afraid of government, we must have an opposition that will speak up on behalf of the people.

It is not easy to form an opposition to the Congress unless all the people of India combine to support that opposition. Those who suffer most under the Congress Government's commands are afraid of supporting the Swatantra Party. You people who have gathered here are not afraid. I thank you for showing that courage. I want more people to show courage. I do not want people to become rowdy or rebels. I want people to become thoughtful and courageous. Courage does not consist in breaking heads. Courage consists in coming forward to say what you feel and express what you think. Why are people afraid? Because of their property. Because they have property for which they care more than for their own lives, they are afraid to speak out.

The policy of the Congress Government has made all people feel entrangled in their necks; the government as a whole round their necks. The people who suffer tell us, "You become strong, you become a good opposition, then we will join you." That is like saying I will drive the cart after it has reached the goal.

You all know that we are opposed to ceilings on landed property. It is discriminatory, it favours one set of people and creates an atmosphere of favouritism. They propose to take land from those who have plenty of land. They said once that they would distribute it to other people. But now they say that they will put it under cooperative farming. Because it is impossible to find land to be given to everybody they have given up the project. In India everybody wants to have the land that he has been cultivating. Nobody

likes to part with it in favour of either a cooperative society or a joint stock company because a business can be done by other people. But the tilling of land or the maintenance of a family cannot be done by anybody else. That is why their policy is unpractical. They want to have all the trade in their hands. They have no plan to give employment to those who will be put out of the trade.

The country has grown organically and has its customs and manners and its business. It cannot all be converted because the Prime Minister or the Congress Party wants to have it changed as soon as possible. If what they wish to do is really attempted to be done by them, there will be shortage of food and there will be confusion in the country. If they take trade into their hands they will mismanage it at once. Whatever they have been managing they have successfully mismanaged. No further evidence is necessary than what has already happened.

The happiness of our country depends upon every man being given the liberty of doing what he likes in regard to occupation, or production or family management. If government takes over either land or business, only the favourites of the party will have the advantage. We cannot hold an enquiry because no evidence will be available. It is because the party has become bad that the government has become bad. It is only if you support the Swatantra Party that the disease will be reduced.

I shall have more time later on to tell you many more things. I am very grateful that such a very large assembly of people have come to welcome the Swatantra Party. There are delegates here from all parts of India. From one end of the country to the other we have people who have come all the way to take part in this Convention and write down the policy of the Party. We have to think over all the policies today and tomorrow and then the final resolutions will be published. This is a Convention of delegates and I am asked to inaugurate it. I have great pleasure and am enjoying the honour of inaugurating this Convention.

When some friends and I started the idea of this Party I did not believe that within six months there would be such a large magnitude of support. It was in Bihar, in Gaya that the Congress confirmed its policy of non-cooperation. That was a battle against a foreign government. But this is a more difficult battle, a battle against our own government. Our Party wants to instal Dharma on the throne of Delhi. It was in Bihar, from Buddha, Asoka and everybody that flourished here, that Dharma was given the push forward in India.

March 19, 1960

## Third National Convention

BANGALORE

THE external feature by which democracy is recognized in modern conditions is the holding of periodical elections. Elections have one purpose in democracy, quite another purpose in socialistic regimes. In democracies the people give their votes nominating who shall work for them in government offices and occasionally guide them. In socialism the people vote to decide under whom the majority would like to be indentured labourers. This is so because socialism is state ownership and control of the means of production and state ownership and control also of the results of production. This being so, in between, who do the production? Who but indentured workers under indentured discipline, as in all cases where everything is owned by another and the workers only work? If socialism has not been completely but only partially put in force, i.e., in a mixed economy, to that extent the Government are masters and the people slaves—slaves because they cannot opt out as free men could do. The Constitution is itself the indenture. In "democratic socialism", the ballot will be periodically held as before, but to decide who will be your masters—a new idea in elections. Your status is settled, the only choice left is as to who shall be your masters.

The Swatantra Party's dedicated task is to oppose this loss of freedom that is proposed and is being imposed by a group of people who have adopted this plan after being placed in power by Gandhi. The task is to rouse a hypnotized people to a sense of the danger, and to action to avert it. We have been at this work these four-and-half years. We have not achieved much, some may say. Achievement is not an easy thing when those ranged against you have seized all authority and economic power such as a state-socialist regime gives to those in authority. A new party has to make each brick of its construction out of intelligence and courage and self-sacrifice. Intelligent men alone can see the fraud in the socialist claims, but intelligent men are more often indifferent than active. Our recruiting campaign is necessarily a difficult one. It is not like the Congress Party getting people to join it. "You have no mass following. You have only sophisticated people gathered under your flag." This is told to us not only by our opponents but also by some of our over-eager well-wishers who themselves keep away out of fear but wish us well in their hearts. This must be so; only intelligent, courageous men, self-sacrificing men, daring men, sophisticated men in the best sense of that Greek word, can form a dissenting

party, where the opponent is a party entrenched in power and authority and more than all well protected by the hypnosis and the superstitious hero-worship of an uninformed nation.

The ruinous results of the policies followed by the ruling party are taking rapid shape in taxes, in prices and in failures. This helps us to some extent. But the party in power is clever enough to find false excuses and explanations and the people are gullible enough to swallow them. The work of our party is a hard task, but it is worth while, it is necessary, it is patriotic; it is a mission which calls for devotion in the best religious sense, faith and application and prayer.

Assessed with all this in mind a great deal has been achieved. We have shaken the enemy into a holy fear. We have given him big defeats and many more are in store for him. Let us not recount these successes of ours too often, lest the evil eye fall on us! Let us draw courage from them without boasting.

We have to educate the people to realize that it is not good to hand over the responsibility of wealth production to Government, that individuals working as free individuals hoping to gain something out of that work will alone work steadily and arduously, and vigilantly guard the results of that work against being lost or stolen. We have to educate not only the innocent members of the ruling faction, but all the people to realize that national prosperity is not made in the secretariat or in the Planning Commission's office but in the field and the factory and that too only when it is managed by some one personally interested in it. We have to make people realize that concentration of economic power in the hands of a private party is bad, but it is no less bad but a little worse if it is concentrated everywhere in the hands of the central Congress Party or in those who regularly supply funds to it. We have to educate the people to realize the danger in letting all economic and political power concentrate in the hands of a single political party and make them see that democracy will disappear if that should happen, leaving only the crust of external forms, the reality gone.

Immediately, we ought to take active steps to bring about a united front to defeat the Congress at elections and reduce its illegitimate power. I suggest, in this connection, that we should unite with other opposition parties on one specific issue, viz., the desirability to instal a wholly non-political independent board to be in supreme charge of the administration of all licences, quotas, permits and other incidents of the controlled economy both in the Centre and in the States, so long as that is to prevail. This board should be kept safe from political pressures and influences by investing

it with the same independent status as the Supreme Court, the Public Services Commission or the Auditor-General and severely penalizing any attempt to bring such pressures or influence to bear on it. The need for independence and a wholly non-political character is not questioned in the case of the Supreme Court. It is equally necessary for good and just Government in the field of the administration of controls, licences, permits and monopolies created under powers taken in modification of the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed in Part III of the Constitution. If this is done, it will greatly reduce if not do away with political corruption. The Congress Party will not, I am certain, agree to this. All parties can unite on this issue and obtain a mandate from the electors. The issue is of the greatest economic as well as political importance. I suggest we formulate an immediate demand on this subject which, if accepted, would be a significant victory for us and for the people. It would be within the range of what would be tolerable for the enemy and not make him lose face and therefore induce him to reconcile himself to it.

We want a cadre of devoted Swatantra Party workers, men and women who have no fear in their hearts and have faith in the Party's mission for freedom. The Congress Party has become a permanent enemy of freedom. The Swatantra Party's future is, according to intelligent international assessment, bright. Let us gather more and more strength quickly. I cannot wait for much longer, friends.

*December 12, 1966*

## Fourth National Convention

NEW DELHI

**I** WELCOME you all who have gathered in this National Convention of the Swatantra Party. We have been in the field for seven years. What we stand for has been set down repeatedly in unambiguous terms. What we claim to have achieved by our political activities we have set out in our draft manifesto. We have also set out in that document what we shall be responsible for if supported by the electorate in adequate measure. I need not repeat them now.

You will go through the paragraphs in the draft manifesto and improve it. That is the main work of the Convention. You can understand the difficulty of putting everything everyone wants into a document of this kind. It would swell into something like the Congress Government's Fourth Plan bag and make no useful impression. We must be clear in our statements and as brief as possible, leaving a great deal to be inferred

from the fundamental principles with which we started as a party.

Perhaps I am dull either by nature or by reason of age. So I am unable to see the logic of President's rule in Goa, replacing government through ministers, because of the poll to be held there, while we are obstinately refused a similar arrangement to meet the same situation during general elections for Parliament and State legislatures. The opposition parties contest the claim of the Congress Party in office to continue in power for another long period. But the poll on this issue is to be taken with the Congress Party in possession of full power and all the advantages of being in office. We have to fight under great disadvantages. As against this the gods have made the Congress mad and exposed it to severe public condemnation in many respects, which must help us.

Freedom was gained in 1947. But we lost it within a few years to the Permit-Licence-Raj which was mistaken for a superior kind of freedom. We must fight to restore India to India. The battle for freedom cannot terminate until we defeat the Congress and restore India to India.

As far as I am concerned this battle is a moral conflict, not a matter of mere party politics. I consider that the subjugation of human personality to State direction is a dangerous experiment. It is necessary to subordinate personal interests to national interests, but personality is something different from interests and must be preserved at all costs if we do not want the nation to become a servile state. The Russian people are capable some time of rebelling against totalitarianism even though they lose time. But we have not that strength or stamina. If we give way now, we shall get lost. We must fight now as dedicated soldiers for freedom against power-entrenched coteries masquerading as patriots while they are really concentrating on personal careers and ambitions.

Not minding success or failure we should go on fighting for as many years as may be necessary without a break as a matter of moral and religious duty. We are continuing Gandhiji's work. We shall never yield to depression on account of obstacles or reverses. As the English people fought for centuries with their kings and barons to secure democratic government, we must with equal patience, courage and stamina fight our new barons and royal families and secure freedom for the citizen and real democracy for the nation, released from a feudal hierarchy not based on the public ownership of land, but built on permit-licence-power seized by the party in office with all the attendant unworthy adhesions of that system.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi's words of encouragement

recently given to her party members only show that they stood in great need of such encouragement. The country is disgusted with Congress rule and Congressmen are down-hearted. Money-bought shows, illegitimate advantages accruing from holding office, and even borrowed ship-loads of grain bullied out of American resources will not help the Congress Party this time. The falsehood that will have to be dispelled is that the Constitution is defective and cannot help the nation to instal a good government if it rejects the claims of a solid though bad party which has disgraced itself by failure, internal rivalries and personal ambitions and ruinous mismanagement of the national economy and worst of all lowering of moral standards. We can certainly dispel this falsehood about the Constitution. The Constitution is not defective unless we misread it. Let us try it out. Let us tell the nation to try it out. Good government will come into being if the Congress is dismissed.

December 12, 1966

## Fifth National Convention

BHUBANESWAR

**S**HRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI has gone abroad to visit nine countries in South America. What for?

Globe-trotting is interesting and red carpets give a sense of well-being like mild doses of spirituous liquor. But what are we now heading for in India? Need-based wages, we are told, are not feasible. Then how is the nation to get Government work done? Absolute loyalty of Government employees is legitimately laid down as a compulsory condition for service under Government. There can be no thought of strikes or 'go-slow' or other subversive tactics for getting the wages or allowances you require. The corresponding duty of the Government to look into grievances and requirements and to give relief quickly is not laid down in words, but follows as a natural consequence. But this, we see, involves expenditure and therefore is linked up with public revenue.

An increase in direct taxation is not feasible and will lead to decreasing returns instead of increased revenue. An increase of indirect taxation, however concealed, will fall heavily on the poorer classes and increase the cost of living and create widespread anti-Government feeling. Examined calmly, it comes to this, that we face bankruptcy taking the unexpected and convincing shape of an inadmissible conflict between Government in the abstract and Government in the *de facto* shape of the administrative instruments.

A conflict between Government and its large army

of officials, a 'token' of which we saw on September 19 is as much a *reductio ad absurdum* as any we read in some of Euclid's most convincing demonstrations. We cannot carry on with Governments that cannot command the loyalty of their own instruments of action, be it their civil servants or their military arm.

Much before an economic breakdown we have this organizational breakdown to demonstrate to the good people of India that we are caught in the entanglements of bankruptcy. The non-feasibility of Government paying reasonable wages to its employees while it is impossible to dispense with their services, is nothing but the barbed wire entanglement of bankruptcy. The impossibility of levying taxes, either direct or indirect, to meet necessary public expenditure is nothing but plain bankruptcy brought home to the secretariat, plainer than an industrial breakdown. Obviously we cannot ask for American or Soviet aid to pay adequate wages to our civil establishment.

The Government cannot shut its eyes any longer to the situation or seek to escape bitter thoughts by holidays abroad. It must make room for a non-party, non-dogmatic instrument of governance, make room peacefully and through a voluntary arrangement without the intermediacy of a violent or non-violent agitation to bring it about. Drastic changes are called for in order to escape from the insolvency we have brought on ourselves. And for these drastic changes, we must first have a drastic change at the top.

This is not the time for us to make rifts and show cracks in our party. We are the only political party with proper national aims and policies, who have accepted correct principles of taxation, public expenditure and foreign policy and the distribution of power and responsibility between State and citizen. We are not after power, but want these principles to be accepted in the governance of India whoever may be holding power. We are essentially a party bent on the difficult task of educating the public. We must hold together in order that this work of propagating correct principles of good free government may go on uninterrupted until it is generally accepted.

October 5 1968

## To the General Council

MADRAS

**W**E have all gathered here on this critical occasion to consider the situation in the country and the problems facing the country—problems next only in importance to the problems that were considered when Mahatma Gandhi took up the freedom struggle.

I move this resolution, not formally as the President said, but with all my heart and with all the spirit of battle that has been revived in me for the time being.

The resolution is not mere words. It reflects heartfelt emotions and is absolutely devoid of any superficial fatuity. It reflects the realities of the situation.

The danger before the country is great. It may look somewhat odd if I should compare the position of Hitler with the present position in the country. If Hitler was a danger to Europe when he began his ambitious and mad career the present Prime Minister is as much a danger to India now as Hitler was to Europe.

I am sure some evil star has come to distort her congenial character and natural temperament. Today we suffer from the consequences of a temper that has seized her now.

What we want is the spirit of the battle ground. A Munich atmosphere will not do now. It is not the time for negotiations. It is not negotiations we want. We want absolute unity of purpose on the part of all those who do not want the *sarcari saroadhikari* spirit. What we want is *jana swatantradhikari* spirit in the country.

Unfortunately most of our people are untrained for democratic qualities. They are trained to absolute government for a long time. They have been suffering under absolute government and they seem to enjoy it also. It will not do now.

Now this is a dangerous period when the mistakes of people are bound to make the affairs of the country complex and move into further trouble. The people must be roused.

The present proposal of the Congress Party, as it is called, the Old Congress or the Organisation Congress, has come to save the country. Although the Swatantra Party had anticipated a development of this kind for a long period of time, the actual move has come only now. We must not lag behind anybody in taking advantage of this move and give a positive response to the Congress call.

Shri Kamaraj, Shri Morarji Desai and others are not the same people as they were before. I have been long in politics. I have been long dealing with people of all kinds. I claim the right to be somewhat presumptuous and tell you that I can judge people fairly even at my present age. They have changed a great deal now. Do not throw at them what they did and did not do some time ago. They now face a new problem. They may have realised it. Shri Kamaraj has been a man of few words. He cannot speak English well. He learnt to speak English from hearing others speaking it. He has been absolutely clear that India must be saved now and that democracy must be saved now.

If you are acquainted with the behaviour of some insects of the world, there is an order of insects which appear at a particular stage of life to develop a desire to die. They run into fire as if a man runs for woman. They run into fire and burn themselves.

Democracy is now trying to burn itself away in absolute *sarcari saruadhikari*. We have to stop this suicide. This is a mission for which we have to come forward.

Nobody need be afraid that in this united battle for the freedom of the citizen we may lose our image. Leaders in political life develop a vested interest in Leadership. I claim the privilege of my age if I speak unpleasant truths. Leaders develop vested interests without their being conscious of it. Then there are workers, as they are called. They also develop a vested interest in work. They feel their occupation will be gone if one party merges itself with another party. They imagine they would have no work to do thereafter. It is wrong. It is not correct for people to think they would have no work to do.

By merging, we may lose our party identity, but we do not lose our principles. We work for our principles right through, whatever our political affiliations may be. We have a common purpose now. Other things must be forgotten until the first battle is victoriously won.

Churchill plunged into battle in the Second World War and he stretched out his two fingers for victory. I want you all to stretch out your two fingers for victory as Churchill did.

I do not want the spirit of negotiations. It is good for traders. We want a martial spirit to fight the battle and win the battle now. Therefore, do not talk of negotiations now.

I wish and pray that all of you may be inspired with the same spirit as I have been at the critical juncture.

Have I to gain anything now? Have I enmity to Mrs. Indira Gandhi? She is as good as a granddaughter to me. Yet she has committed mistakes, taking the country to dangerous paths.

Take the visit of Madame Binh who has come on behalf of the rebel party of South Vietnam, for which country America has been fighting all these years against heavy odds, both inside and outside. Those militant rebels use arms and violence of all kinds and get assistance from Hanoi and even from China. The "Foreign Secretary" of that so called rebel "Provisional Government" arrives and Mr. Swaran Singh makes her his personal guest! I am glad that to a certain extent Mr. Swaran Singh's commonsense has prevailed upon him to make her his personal guest; and not a government guest. But it does not make any difference.

If the Naxalites of Bengal or Srikakulam are received

by foreign governments, what would we think of them? That is how we should assess and estimate the visit of the "foreign minister" of the "Provisional Government" of South Vietnam.

The resolution has been drafted with great care and with every consideration of all points of view. I have thoroughly approved of it. I present it to you for total acceptance.

What we want is clear. The call from the Organisation Congress is clear. The response on our part, the positive response on our part, should be clearer still. We should definitely say without mental reservation that we unite to win this battle.

*(Speech while moving the resolution on the Political Situation, July 21, 1970.)*

## Rajaji's Last Address to the General Council

MADRAS

**I**N its own way, what has happened in this General Council meeting is nearly as important as the Indo-Pak Summit meeting that is going to come. Some things are big, other things are small. But a small thing is as important as a big thing.

My blessings first of all to Mr. H. M. Patel who has really acted in an admirable manner and set an example for men to follow.

My blessings and good wishes are there for all of you. I do not believe that there is any Party in India which resists the trend towards dictatorship except the Swatantra Party. We can be proud of our lonely glory only if we are faithful to our duty. We must **realise** that the desire for power and influence has been found to be the greatest obstacle to right action. From the time of the Bhagwat-Gita, throughout the ages, we have seen that when we let our desire overwhelm our mind, we generally go wrong. So let us make up our mind that our one and only function is to prevent dictatorship to take hold of India. It must be a religious sense of duty that I am appealing for. Of course, I know the difficulty. Men want some influence, want some power of some kind — at least to travel in a railway train without paying for the ticket — but we must overcome that kind of feeling; or, at least, adjust our mind in such a way that we can be both a little bit worldly but a great deal other-worldly also.

Are we going to allow Smt. Indira Gandhi or any body else to become dictator in India and destroy democracy in South Asia? We cannot do it. When we founded this Party—myself and a few brothers here —we had imagined that we will be strong enough to fight communism, authoritarianism and totalitarianism and that we will be true to the original constitution in every respect in a real sense and not merely paying verbal homage to the Constitution. We must make up our mind—my appeal to you is only that. I am appealing as a very very old man and as a man tired of superficialities. Let us realise that it is a religious duty that we should save democracy. I bring in the word religion because that is the only thing that can save us. All other things may deceive us—it is only God and religion that can save us. Let us therefore pray that this party, even though it might look somewhat in a mess just now and somewhat weak, becomes strong because it is the only Party that fights evil which is overhanging us just now.

If you wished only to hear my voice, you have heard it. But if you see how I feel, my heart is full of admiration for Mr. H. M. Patel and the manner in **which** we disposed our affairs today. I want this to be an example to all Parties, to all Governments including India and Pakistan. I do hope that we will play our part in bringing about not a treaty which can be broken but a heart a friendship and goodwill which cannot be broken. We want this to come about and we should play our part in it. Never mind authority. Smt. Indira Gandhi is changing in my opinion, is bound to change. If we believe in truth, in its potentiality, she is bound to change. She is now in the meshes of falsehood to some extent and we will have to fight hard in order to bring her back to reality.

You have given me a chance to speak to you all and when the heart is full, words fail. I have no words enough to thank you all for the great goodwill you have shown.

Forget me. Never mind individuals. The party will be alive and must be alive if you want India to be saved from communist dictatorship. The Party is bound to be there and let us make sure that we play our part properly.

We have done well today. I am proud of the fact that you have come all the way because I am here. I do not think there was any other reason for you to come to Madras except your affection for me. I thank you for all that. Only I am sorry I am not well enough to do better than I have been able to do. If wishes can achieve things, my best wishes to you all.

*June 24, 1972*

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# The Swatantra Party

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## Why Swatantra?

**T**HE Swatantra Party stands for the protection of the individual citizen against the increasing trespasses of the State. It is an answer to the challenge of the so-called Socialism of the Indian Congress party. It is founded on the conviction that social justice and welfare can be attained through the fostering of individual interest and individual enterprise in all fields better than through State ownership and Government control. It is based on the truth that bureaucratic management leads to loss of incentive and waste of resources. When the State trespasses beyond what is legitimately within its province, it just hands over the management from those who are interested in frugal and efficient management to bureaucracy which is untrained and uninterested except in its own survival.

The Swatantra Party is founded on the claim that individual citizens should be free to hold their property and carry on their professions freely and through binding mutual agreements among themselves and that the State should assist and encourage in every possible way the individual in this freedom, but not seek to replace him.

The new party seeks to oppose the trend of the ruling Congress Party to adopt the ways and ideals of the Communists in its eagerness to prevent the Communists from going forward. The Swatantra party believes that going over to the enemy is not defence, but surrender.

The Swatantra Party, apart from the ideology here explained, hopes to furnish a real opposition to the Congress Party so that parliamentary democracy may be properly balanced. The absence of a true opposition has led to the rapid deterioration of democracy into a kind of totalitarianism. Voices have been heard from all quarters calling for a strong opposition and the new party is supplying a felt want.

This party of freedom is further making a novel experiment in restricting disciplinary control over party members to essential issues, giving freedom in all other matters to vote according to individual opinion. This is not mere strategy to "net in" discordant miscellaneous elements as at first might appear. It is really an answer to the constantly expressed sense of dissatisfaction with party rigidity, and to the complaint that it often amounts to suppression of opinion and rule by a minority in the name of a majority. A majority in the ruling caucus can always, under present conditions, impose their views on all and every issue in the Parliament of the nation.

The Swatantra Party intends to initiate a departure from the usual practice of political parties and, true to its name, give **Swatantra** or freedom to its members to vote according to their own convictions and conscience on all but the party's fundamentals so that the decisions of Parliament may on those issues truly reflect the prevailing opinion, and not be just a replica of the majority opinion of the ruling party or the fads of the ruling clique.

Without the inconveniences resulting from proportional representation and, in particular, the instability of governments formed under such a system, the reduction of voting in accordance with whips to the barest minimum, as proposed by the Swatantra Party would be a healthy example for all parties. If followed generally or even by the more important ones among the various parties, the freedom given to members on all but essential issues would result in government more in accordance with the ideals of those who conceived the system of proportional representation and laid high hopes thereon. In this matter, the new party may claim to have initiated a great democratic advance worthy of trial in all countries really believing in democracy, and not willing to be subjected to a form

of dictatorship in the name of party discipline which often serves only the ambition of individuals or groups.

The new party does not believe that legislative compulsion, any more than the violence that preceded and enthroned Communism in certain countries, can contribute to true or lasting human happiness. We must depend on the moral sense of the people in order to equalise without destroying freedom.

It may be that there are a large number of people in our ancient land who have now lost the capacity to respond to moral appeals, who are impervious to the call of *dharma*. There have been causes that have brought about this state of things. But this large number of bad and successful men of the world should not blind us to the fact that in the large mass, *dharma* still rules and supports our society. The millions that make up our nation are still moved and guided by their sense of *dharma* and the voice of their conscience. If the cynics who deny this were right, our society would have broken down long ago and perished. We should have been hearing of starvation deaths in thousands every day. If we take a survey of the numerous charitable foundations and trusts that work as a matter of routine in the country and which were born of a sense of *dharma*, without any kind of State compulsion, we can cure our cynicism with irrefutable and abundant facts. The charitable motives and compulsions of the heart which prevailed in the days when these trusts and charitable institutions were founded can prevail today, for we are the same people after all.

"There is no need for charity when there is an obligation; let the State compel". This is the slogan of the Socialists. But it is forgotten that this will lead irresistibly to total serfdom.

The cynics are not right. Our society is still maintained by the inner law. The outer laws can touch but the fringe of life. They deal with criminals and keep order going. Normal life does not depend on the laws. It depends on the moral consciousness of people. This moral sense has not been effaced whatever changes may have taken place in the rituals and observances of forms. It is by *dharma* that society is sustained, *Lokah dhriyate*. It is on *dharma* we must build, and not on the sands of material motives and our capacity to satisfy them quickly and get votes to be in power. The good seed is not lost. It is still there. We must not ignore its availability. The soil also is good and God will send us the rains. Let us not fail to look after it.

(From the pamphlet "Why Swatantra" published by the Swatantra Party, National Headquarters)

## Our Mission

**W**ELL in time before the next occasion arrives for a trial of strength against the ruling power, it is necessary that those who are interested in the Swatantra Party should do some earnest thinking. Unless we realize wherein our strength lies and also in what respects we are, and must continue to be, weak or vulnerable, and on the basis of that analysis shape and build our work, we are likely to meet with depressing results and disappointments. Talking as to simple folks, a dog knows what it can do and what it cannot do and a crow, likewise, instinctively relies on what it can rely on. The crow does not give battle or defend itself where the dog is bound to prove the better of the two. The comparison should not be thought to be a complete simile. I have used it only to explain the point that those interested in the Swatantra Party should examine the principles on which the party is founded and the inherent nature of those principles, and adapt their work to that unalterable basis. The Party's work should conform to its anatomy and histology.

Examining the principles of the party, we shall see that our economic approach is based on reason and not on pleasing people's emotions. Our goal is the same as that of every other decent political party, viz., the happiness, prosperity and progress of our nation; but the means by which this result is to be attained vary from party to party. We lay stress on spiritual values because happiness cannot be procured otherwise, whatever be the material conditions. We lay stress, again, on the traditional basis of the lives of our people, the family and the farm, and the artisan's workshop. We put the individual's liberty of action in the forefront and seek to restrict the State's authority over him. Our party seeks to—rest social service largely on voluntary action, because therein only is happiness associated with sacrifice of self-interest.

Now it is obvious that these essential principles are such as can appeal only to reason and intelligence. We cannot expect to rouse the emotions of the illiterate masses by such appeal. Our principles cannot make much of an appeal to those who would be lazy rather than active, who would like the State to do as much as possible for them, and relieve them of responsibility for their own lives. We cannot therefore touch the mass mind as easily as other parties can, who offer free gifts from the Exchequer or from other people's properties robbed by 'legal' process. We cannot excite them with promises of egalitarian

distribution of wealth, to be obtained somehow by somebody. We have to work hard and educate the educatable over the economics of freedom which we have adopted as our party's basis as distinguished from statism and State capitalism for which the Congress and the communists stand. We have to make people see the spiritual losses and material defects inherent in the latter.

It is only reason that can appreciate the need for a voluntary element in social service. The mass mind will not easily perceive the evils of State coercion. We must however, face our own more difficult task, because that is our mission, and not the acquisition of power somehow or other. Our party workers must, therefore, apply themselves to the intelligentsia and not seek to jump over them to the proletariat or the 'masses' as we call them in India, which the communists, and now the Congress, can do with their programmes and policies specially made attractive for them and based on class conflict although to the detriment of true national interest. We should not think of improving our party position by competing with the Statists on their lines.

The question arises, then, how can we hope to get votes to defeat other parties at the poll? Convinced that our principles are right, and that it is necessary in the national interest that we must put up an opposition on the basis of those principles, we must persevere in our mission not concerning ourselves with calculations of success or defeat. As the Gita teaches us, we should work patiently through the discerning elements of the population and look to the steady dissemination of ideas through that medium. We must believe more thoroughly in the motto of the State than does the ruling party: *satyam eva jayate*; Truth must ultimately win. The masses will not ultimately reject justice and truth and good administration although now they may be open to seduction.

For the same reason and consistently with the fundamental principles of our party, we must lay stress on character and good example in all the ramifications of our work. If we adopt means of adharma, whatever be our motives, we shall build in haste and error and the structure must collapse.

The movements towards democracy from other forms of government is a movement towards the wider distribution of the power of the State. It is not a reinterpretation of truth or reason in terms of democracy. There is no illusion or fallacy more harmful to the people than that truth or reason should yield to or be modified by, the installation of democracy. Democracy is not an adulteration of reason, but only a wider distribution of power that is involved

in the system of governance to which that name is given.

Just as in our non-violent struggle for national freedom based on Ahimsa and Truth we did not at all stages and everywhere live up to the expressed principles, and yet the international situation and the hour came to help us to win our goal, so also our struggle for freedom against the statism of the Congress and the communists may with Heaven's grace—in spite of our failings—win more speedily than we may expect. Extraneous circumstances such as the corrupt practices that have so rapidly developed out of statism and which stare the people in the face may help us. But we must ever stick to our main path, that of appealing to reason.

I have founded the party. I feel I have not done wrong. It was a good and necessary thing that I did. The nation stands in need of such a party of stiff opposition to the trends of the ruling party that is exploiting the glory of the Indian National Congress and going contrary to the principles advocated by Gandhiji. Our processes must necessarily be slow. They cannot run as fast as time runs against me. It is therefore for the younger people to remember what I have said herein and to carry on the work with a sense of mission and with faith in Truth and God.

July 28, 1962

## A Deliberate Calumny

**I**N a democracy, men engaged in any kind of national work, industrialists, merchants, wage-earners or any others, may combine to form a party to protect their particular interests. This would be perfectly legitimate. In that sense "the rich could organize themselves. But when Congress leaders attempted to calumniate the Swatantra Party calling it a rich man's party, because it would not accept the Congress Party's policies of Statism and the reversal of the Constitution in respect of citizens' fundamental rights, they were deliberately spreading an untruth. Their own contacts and arrangements with the richest corporations and individuals in the country for contributing to the party's election fund proved this charge to be a deliberate calumny. Be it as it may, whether the Swatantra Party is a rich man's party or not, recent disclosures make it quite clear that the Congress Party is a party systematically utilized by many of its prominent leaders to become rich. One wonders if all

that has been coming to light should be suppressed according to the doctrine now enunciated by the Union Minister for Broadcasting and Information.

August 22, 1964

## An Anonymous Letter

DEAR RAJAJI,— For the last few years I have been reading with admiration and appreciation your articles in *Swarajya* along with the reports of your speeches in the press. I was once encouraged that your sane and wise opinions would prevail and the Swatantra Party would be able to influence the Government. Alas, that hope is fast fading, through no fault of yours. As a private individual and as a public figure, you have done your utmost in the last ten years to convert the Congress to your sensible and humane economic policies but your efforts have been of no avail with the electorate. Your superhuman task is that you have to convert the Congress, Communist and Socialist parties of this country, who will continue to bamboozle the ignorant and impoverished electorate that only a Statist economy will improve their lot where the Government will produce and distribute goods for the welfare of the masses, while private enterprise is only pursuing its own pecuniary gain. The line of propaganda is completely false but it works with the electorate and, therefore, there is not a hope in hell that politics will polarize along this difference. Only an army revolution can dislodge from the Government the practitioners of a spurious socialism. As a habituated politician you will continue your battle against the Statist economy regardless of the results, in the same fashion as a saint or a martyr seeks God irrespective of whether he finds Him or not.

But politics is not a way of life for the vast majority of people who believe in the Swatantra principles, and when they find that these principles will not be put into practice against the overwhelming might of the Congress, Communist and Socialist parties making polarization of politics impossible, they will turn away in despair from political activity. That is how I feel.

I joined the Swatantra Party with great enthusiasm but I am now convinced that this eminent party will never attain the organizational, financial and popular strength to make its sensible and humane views prevail. "What does that matter?" you will say, as long as they peg away pursuing the right path. For a professional politician and parliamentarian this is all very well but not for the average man in his home, his office, his farm. Do you blame him for wanting results?

I am writing you this letter after reading your article

on "Rebel Congress Parties". It is packed with common sense and wisdom, but for the practical effect it may have, it might as well not have been written! I am getting weary and despondent of the Swatantra Party remaining in the slough of political impotence. The British Government abandoned its rule of this country because of the aftermath of Hitler's war and the election of the Labour Government. Mr. S. K. Patil had the honesty to admit this fact in a public speech. Who is going to liberate us from the evils of Statist rule, when three of our political parties are unswervingly sworn to "socialism"?

I ask you, Rajaji, is not the mass of our electorate similar to the Russians as described above? And will they not be duped into believing in the promised land of socialism in the same fashion as the Bolsheviks duped their victims? Please do not take this letter as a criticism of your actions. Our greatest tragedy is that Vallabhbai Patel is not there and you are not twenty years younger, to guide the policy of the Congress Party. I doubt if there has been anyone in the history of civilization who can write and speak as lucidly and sanely as you do in your 87th year.

My bitter complaint is that you are no longer the guide and philosopher of the ruling party which spurns individual effort for a rightful and proper gain. Today people have to hide their money and goods lest the Government steal them on the plea of taxation, which they have the unscrupulous audacity to proclaim as being for the benefit of the masses, and like in Soviet Russia the masses, believe and act accordingly. The Government has no need to silence a sane voice like yours because it knows your voice will never reach the masses. The malicious propaganda that Swatantra is for the rich and prosperous has succeeded. Who is going to analyse this patent lie? And what good would analysis do when an uneducated and impoverished electorate can be lulled by falsehood, money and party-management? No, indeed, Swatantra policies will never succeed in our polling-booths as long as the Congress, Communist and Socialist parties have the men, money and organization to spread their doctrine.

Yours faithfully,  
ANONYMOUS

(This is an anonymous but a well-argued letter; so it has been given publication. Can we, for the reasons given, abandon the fight? Or shall we turn our thoughts from peace and democracy to force and revolution? We cannot do either. We must keep our faith in the power of truth and in the methods of peace intact, and work harder and more intelligently than we have

hitherto done; especially because even the masses have had an opportunity already to realize the failure of the policies and programmes pursued by the ruling party both in internal and external affairs. —C.R.)

May 22, 1965

## Solidarity with World Liberals

**T**HE Swatantra Party is not just a group of people seeking office to displace the present rulers through success in elections. It is a party devoted to the education of the people in true liberalism with its emphasis on individual freedom and rejection of Statism. In the words of the Liberal International, "our way of life must be safeguarded not only against communism and other non-democratic forms of government, but equally against the great liberal heresy of dogmatic socialist planning. The suppression of economic freedom must lead to the disappearance of political freedom. Service is the necessary complement of freedom and every right involves a corresponding duty. If free institutions are to work effectively, every citizen must have a sense of moral responsibility towards his fellow men and take an active part in the affairs of the community".

May Swatantra workers realize their solidarity with the lovers of freedom and opponents of Statism, of whatever type, throughout the world and carry on their work in the spirit of men and women with a mission which is higher than merely ousting undeserving men from positions of power.

July 24, 1965

## Swatantra vs. Paratantra

**M**ONTESQUIEU said in his famous book, *The Spirit of the Laws*, that there is no word which contains a wider variety of meanings than 'freedom'. Abraham Lincoln also said a hundred years later that we all declare in favour of freedom but we do not mean the same thing when using this word. By far the best word to denote the freedom which we desire in national economy is the word we use in India: Swatantra. It is the power of the individual to put his will in motion without having to submit to the coercion of another's will in the management of his affairs. Swatantra is opposed to Paratantra. Your will is free to move in Swatantra. It is subject to an external will in Paratantra. The Swatantra Party's twenty-one principles are by now well known. The opposites of those principles are given in an ironical list by Prof. Jewkes of Merton College, Oxford. They are exactly

the present principles of the Indian Congress Party:

First, that the growth of private property should be subservient to the growth of State property. Second, that State spending should take priority over private. Third, that more government is always better than less government. Fourth, that of all the incentives to effort the making of profits is the least commendable and that economic competition is degrading although, unfortunately, not altogether escapable. Fifth, that big units, especially big industrial units, will always be more efficient than small. And Sixth, that there are short cuts to economic prosperity, which will obviate the need for hard work, of which perhaps the most important is the myth of central economic planning.

March 26, 1966

## About a Challenge

**M**Y offer in the course of a speech that if the Government reduced taxes by 50 per cent, I would even advise the Swatantra Party to disband itself has disturbed some ardent Swatantra workers. They ought not to get frightened by challenges of this kind. The Swatantra Party will indeed get a fresh lease of life if taxes are reduced as a result of my remarks.

April 9, 1966

## The Genius of India

**T**H E Genius of India is peace. Even parliamentary parties opposing the government party is looked upon by the uneducated masses as a kind of undesirable and avoidable conflict. We do not find it easy to convince our people that debate is not conflict and that useful debates in parliament cannot be had without the previous conflict called election and the continuous conflicts implied in the formation and growth of political parties. The people see that when political parties come to power, one party behaves very much like another. In actual administration there is little difference which the common man may see between one party and another. Simple folk may then well ask, why then do they fight with one another?

The answer is that the basic principles of the party in office effect policy and pace in office a subtle manner and this makes a great difference for the people governed. It may make all the difference between a happy and a troubled State.

The Swatantra Party is thoroughly convinced that production of additional wealth is a condition prece-

dent for doing much by way of helping the poor. The production of national wealth, the Swatantra Party is convinced cannot be efficiently done through Statist policies. It can only be achieved through individuals with a keen interest of their own in such production. The proper business of the State is to watch and prevent abuses and not "to get into the kitchen and make a mess of things". In short the Congress Party believes and believes only in the State while the Swatantra Party believes in the individual. The State is a thin concept built on the reality of officials working for salaries with no other concrete bond to hold them together.

As I wrote in May, 1963: The Swatantra Party believes in the citizens liberty and in limited government, and in free enterprise. The Congress Party, on the other hand, believes in utmost authority for the State in daily practice. The Congress Party believes that individuals are more often dishonest than honest, whereas the State and its officials can always be trusted. The Swatantra Party holds that this is an illusion and that maximum efficiency is obtained through the urge of self-interest in private management. The Congress looks on private management as an evil which must be reduced to the smallest proportions.

The Swatantra Party believes that the State and its management are conceptual and that the actual functioning agents are individuals who are as honest or dishonest as others and who, when invested with great power and opportunity, are inescapably liable to become selfish and dishonest. The Swatantra Party wants people not to forget that the State being incorporeal has no arms through ministers and officials who are not angels and are not different from men not holding office. The Swatantra Party believes that apathy and indifference characterize public management whereas the profit motive results in vigilance and good husbandry. And this has been amply demonstrated in recent reliable surveys by non-political disinterested men.

Many parties operating under various names carrying the word Socialism or its grammatical variations, also feel as strongly as the Swatantra Party does, that Statism cannot help to attain socialism's legitimate objectives. That the objectives are identical with the stated aims of the Congress Party does not amount to much. The methods adopted lead to excessive compulsory subservience of the citizen to the bureaucracy and to the political party in power, which Statism necessarily involves, a result none of the non-Congress socialist parties desire to bring into being. The crux of the matter is maximum freedom for the citizen and the involvement of the citizen's own self-interest in

the production of national wealth, as against the excessive domination of government which prevails today under the Congress Government. The policy of reducing private profit is carried to a dangerous degree, so dangerous as to kill interest. Even the support of congressmen to this Statist policy is based on the fact that today they are in office and power. They do not realize that they would not much like this excessive power for the State and its officials if they went out of office and power as a result of a general election and another party came into power. What is laid down as law by the ruling party should be such as it would like to be enforced by any party in power and not only when Congress is in power. It would be wrong to lay down policies on the assumption that you will be always in power and will never be thrown out. We should make laws to be good and useful under all conditions and not only when we are in power.

Having said all this, I must confess the genius of India is peace. The people desire to be left alone while government should be run by a composite body of worthy and able people prepared to make adjustments with one another and taking advice from a parliament of mixed delegates. They do not see much good in party conflicts. I do not express my opinion in this but only say what our people as a whole appear to think and desire and we must take note of it.

May 11, 1966

## Help Us Achieve Our Objectives

**T**HE *Hindu* commenting on the Swatantra Party's draft manifesto, while approving of its claims on the merits, deplores the lack of sufficiently strong organization at the base to push the party's case to the masses. I trust it is only a case of regret and not a suggestion that therefore the voters should neglect the party at the elections. While deploring the inadequacy of the Swatantra base the journal might have even added the lack of help from officials and semi-official organizations which the Congress Party enjoys as long as the ministers sit and function all through the elections and before. I could convey confidential information too to the *Hindu* that the Swatantra Party lacks the funds the Congress has at its command. The press too is more generous in space allotment to the governing party than to its opponents, whatever the inevitable reasons for this may be. I respectfully suggest this should be reversed. The press should make up for what good opposition parties lack.

December 3, 1966

## Call to Swatantra Workers

**T**HE Congress pretends to be confident, but its diffidence is obvious. The proceedings of our National Convention held in New Delhi and the appreciation it secured from the Indian press in general has confirmed our convictions and greatly encouraged our party. We are on the right track. Truth must triumph. Destiny is leading the Congress Party to its appointed end. Its follies, and the moral weaknesses and turpitude of the careerists who now form the 'effective' though disunited section of that party, have resulted in rifts, revolts and resignations which disfigure the front pages of our newspapers who have got involved in a convention to give large and prominent place to the internal affairs of the Congress party. We may pity the Congress which has now come to this pass. But pity should not lead us to hand the country over to that party again, and allow the nation's affairs to be ruined. The myth about the solidarity and stability of the Congress Party has been exploded.

It is the duty of every worker and sympathizer of the Swatantra Party to do his or her utmost now, to secure a democratic victory over the candidates put up by the Congress Party. Let no one be deceived by phrases, such as right and left, positive and negative and so on. It is a plain moral duty to vote against a party which has taxed the people as it has done, caused prices of essentials of life to rise as they have risen, and made the life of the people miserable, borrowed in the name of the nation as it has done, and brought about national bankruptcy.

One can understand facing misfortune that has come unexpectedly, but the Congress Party has been deliberately planning for bankruptcy, obstinately following a policy which takes the nation to irredeemable involvement in foreign debts which cannot be repaid. This policy, the Congress plans to continue. I wish the Press helped us a little more than it is doing, to make the people understand the measure of this folly and mischief, and helped Opposition parties to force a change in the Government of India.

It remains only to add what is perhaps the biggest sin of the Congress Party. It has managed by its policies to convert honest men into a hopelessly dishonest godless crowd of self-seekers.

Every vote against the Congress is a vote for Democracy and an act of worship at the altar of Honesty. The people hunger for good government, and they eagerly desire that the unreal atmosphere of dishonesty should be replaced and a reversion brought about to what we stood for throughout the ages. viz., Dharma

This hunger can be satisfied only if we vote in the coming elections not yielding to economic fear or individual interests but as we honestly feel, and defeat the Congress, or at least compel it to sue for peace and co-operation from the Opposition parties. Only honesty and courage save nations from disaster. We have to overcome an enemy who has entrenched himself in office, and who has seized control over our nation's economy even as the Communist Party has done in Russia. We have therefore to save ourselves by redoubled courage and energy. May God bless us in this great effort. It is an effort no less important than what the Indian National Congress leaders put forth for emancipation from British control.

Comrades! go to the field, resolved to humble the Congress, the enemy of the citizen's freedom in life and occupation. The misguided Congress Party which sought to make this nation a servile State like the nations under Communist governments must be humbled in 1967. By how much shall it be humbled depends on our efforts and the Unseen Power behind all human effort.

*January 21, 1967*

## Understand Swatantra Aright

**W**ELL considered and carefully measured State intervention may help the liberation of national energy instead of hampering it. It may be of great use in preventing abuse and exploitation. But subject only to this, free enterprise, liberated from the Permit-Licence raj of the Congress Party and the immoral consequences flowing from it, must ultimately prevail and be accepted by all parties to put democracy and progress on their feet. The individual is the working reality of the nation, not the machine called the State, which has and should serve its purpose; but can never be a substitute for the individual. Prison labour has never been found to be good in quality, although it has its value in keeping the prison in order. Statist industrialization is a form of prison-labour. Let us liberate the genius and the enthusiasm of the individual by the natural incentive of a good share in the yield that comes from his own intelligence and labour.

Let the Government run such public services as it may efficiently run in the general interest but it should not be made a government monopoly and be protected against competition by efficient private entrepreneurs.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that industrialization is not an end in itself but is only a means to the end, of finding gainful employment for the mass of

the people. The conditions required for such employment on a vast scale should be kept in mind when launching out on a programme of industrialization based on the investment of thousands of crores of rupees. This has not so far been done. Resources have been grossly misinvested and hence the universal stress and the resentment expressed in the recent elections. Excessive taxation has not helped but only hindered progress. State undertakings should be denationalized and taxes reduced so as to help expansion and multiplication of free industries; and this will produce a vast scope for employment for people discharged from government service by reason of being away with many departments which can be wound up in order to reduce government spending. The trespasses on States' jurisdiction should be terminated. It is thus only the vicious circle of inflation can be cut and prices brought down.

Government spending must be brought down by retrenchment and reorganization as well as by improved diplomacy which could make healthy play on armament expenditure. These are the steps called for by the inflation which has passed the tolerance limit.

It is a libel when spoken and a gross fallacy when it confounds thinking, to look upon the Swatantra Party as a rich man's party. The unavoidable necessity for capital in the production of wealth must be recognized; but it does not mean favouring the capitalists against national interests or against the poor man's just claims. The Swatantra Party's basic principle is, the recognition of the natural laws governing men's energy and production of any kind. Men have to work in all directions in order to make the nation prosperous. Men work better under self-regarding motives and under competition than under compulsion. There may be response to temporary emotions during a war or a violent revolution, but that is not a sustained phenomenon. We must fall back on human nature and help every one to have an adequate and even a large share in the profits of labour and of organization. In the long run this liberality pays, not the opposite policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Excessive taxation does not help the nation. It is suicidal in its effect,

Swatantra stands for sanity and the education of the electorate in every respect on right lines without caring for popularity and immediate results based on the propagation of untruth. Whether or not the Swatantra party tries to find a commanding or other place in the Central or other Cabinets, the party's mission is to educate the nation in correct, sane politics and economics. This mission can be performed by a group of a thousand men and women or by a whole party of tens of thousands of ardent politicians actively

engaged in winning office and responsibility. Whether we are granted power and office by the electorate or whether we are not so invested, we want the politics and economics of the nation to run in the right direction. Our standing mission is the education of the public. The misguiding of the electorate in order to get power should never be our line.

The 1967 elections have happily paved clearly the way for India's return to freedom and sanity, freedom of the individual's genius and exertion and the autonomy of the States under the wise and overall guidance of a central government which does not seek to extinguish local autonomy and become a Leviathan.

March 25 1967

## An Appeal to Dr. Lohia

DR. LOHIA it appears is warned not to get close to

Swatantra. Everyone, especially in what we call democracy, has a terror of losing his image which though built on unrealities serves him well. I appeal to Dr. Lohia not to get upset on account of taunts or insinuations of subversionist or other competitors, but stick to the voice of God within. Reality must guide us in all things, and if Swatantra attracts, it does so by reason of the realities it stands for. I may assure subversionists and unrealists that they need not be alarmed by the pulls of reality which they notice. Narcissism is strong still and the mutual isolations of the Opposition parties keep going the unreal "majority" of the Congress Party in power. The US and USSR may see wisdom and come together, but the anxiety of each one to preserve his own group in Indian politics prevents any early coming together. May true courage guide us all and light our way to see reality where it calls for change as well as where it calls for maintaining the *status quo*.

July 15, 1967

## Swatantra Stands for Change

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

July 15, 1967

## What the Party wants at the Centre

**T**HE Congress Party which however rotten still holds the reins of the Centre, which under the Constitution and by the precedents of twenty years has become very powerful, sticks to the same Statism as the Communists do. Statism means this, that the State must get every recourse and do all the spending, the people being sermonized not to question but work hard and be honest. This has not produced the results aimed at by the party, so far as national interests are concerned, although it has helped the party's interests enormously. The people, be they those who have inherited a higher standard of life or those who work with the muscles of their bodies and live at a standard of life nearer to the slum-dwellers than to the white-collar men, are sons of nature. Skill and devotion do not issue from them unless they see adequate gain for themselves issuing out of their work. The Communists as well as Congressmen both aim at deceiving and making the proletariat believe that they benefit by these policies and thereby getting political support from them either as voters or as trade union members.

The Swatantra Party's aims and principles are aims and principles which would give a satisfactory and encouraging return to all those who invest capital and expand industry and agriculture and thereby provide decent gainful occupation in increasing measure for the masses. On the other hand the Congress Party and the Communists, and others who follow the same misleading ideology, make savings impossible and strike capital dead at the root. The system they seek to follow would lead to total tax-collected capital and a bureaucratic administration of all national work. The result would of course be the conversion of a free nation into a nation of serfs. The well-known results of making a living nation into an ill-correlated lifeless mechanism is a dictatorship at the top maintained by intrigue on a base of popular deception.

Looking upon the State as a managing agency and national affairs as those of a Corporation, which is the simplified picture of this policy, it is quite clear that it would be unwise in the extreme for the managing agency to sap the nation so dry and seek to carry on. If in building a structure we dig up and use all the earth for bringing the structure into shape, the building will in course of time fall down for want of continuing support. The same will happen to a living tree if all the water in the soil is drawn and used up by the tree depriving its roots of all moisture. These are general propositions which apply to all particular cases, to

the nationalization of banks, to the adding of general insurance to life assurance already nationalized and to every other attempt to mop up the nation's entire moisture and dry it up. It is this that the old familiar story of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs conveyed. Communism as well as Congressism and other sister 'isms' all wish to do this killing of the mother goose. The State must rule the nation, but the nation should be allowed to live and not die in the process. This is what the Swatantra Party stands for, not for a share in mismanagement and a portion of the fleeting glory of governing a nation of 500 millions. It wants a drastic change in the philosophy of the governance of a people with immense potential power.

*October 14, 1967*

## Educate the Electorate

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

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

*June 1, 1968*

## Get the Gandhian Blessing

**W**ROTE about some illusions last week. True knowledge is the basis of proper action. Indeed it may be said that knowledge is the beginning of action. But knowledge is not by itself enough. To know that an illusion is an illusion is good. But this knowledge by itself does not replace the illusion by the corresponding

reality. To bring into being the reality replacing the illusion is the positive work that has to be done. The mission of the Swatantra Party is not negative. It is positive. It has to find and organize men to take up this work of replacing each illusion by the reality that the illusion has kept unrecognized.

This means the coming together of men with a sense of mission, finding pleasure in hard work. Once upon a time, long ago in the history of our emancipation from bondage to Britain, some opponents of non-cooperation and the boycott of the Councils, who were however as good patriots as those who stood up for the Gandhian programme of non-cooperation and boycott of the Councils, said at a meeting of the AICC of those days that Gandhiji was great but that he made men into clay. That is to say, he sapped all individuality out of his followers, who became mere clay in his hands. Gandhiji was not present at the meeting; I suppose he was then undergoing one of his many terms of imprisonment. I made the counter-claim that Gandhiji made men of mere clay into heroes. I claim even today that I was right in my assessment.

We should find the heroes who will work to replace the illusions that I pointed out last week by the corresponding realities. We have today no Gandhi who can inspire and make men of ordinary clay into crusaders and heroes. But we must do our best, because the work is urgent. We cannot wait for a great man to arrive.

The Swatantra Party's mission is a revolution, but it is a revolution that has to be accomplished by the ordinary men that we are, without the help of the Gandhian alchemy that made men of clay into heroes. A disciplined party can do much, but it cannot create the heroic material that we want for a positive revolution. Discipline can help avoid a political body of convinced men with drive and energy who do not wait for the party to cook things for them, but who will light the fire and cook what the party needs. The passions and the energies wasted on the illusions have to be conserved and used for building the realities. Instead of the wrong passions we should create new passions that generate energy for the revolution that we aim at.

The controversial and most difficult task among all the things the Swatantra Party wants to be done is to replace discord and conflict by harmony and true cooperation between managements and workers in all industrial, commercial and agricultural concerns. The cooperation and harmony must be as good as that between brain and body in a healthy human frame. This is at the root of all the progress we aim at, at the root of all the welfare and general happiness we yearn for. Conflict is a disease and must be discarded, given up either as an end or as a means. We must build up a

family consisting of management and workers in each unit of production or distribution. Employees of all grades, workers at all levels and management at the top must all come together and work as members of one family, jointly proud of every achievement in quality, speed, or volume. Of course, this great result cannot be achieved by mere sermonizing or argumentation, but by real and full realization of what is good for all and for each member of the family. This knowledge must be communicated from soul to soul by the spoken word and by example.

Can the Swatantra Party attract men and women who can function in this respect with the sense of mission, and with the ardour of sincerity in all their conduct? Otherwise, though we may talk for years, fill pages of written matter, we cannot bring about a change in the state of affairs in the country.

The party can live by the strength of more organization, but not live a purposeful life unless we attract to it men of the requisite quality, dedicated to work. Of course this calls for the cooperation of all around us, which can come only out of the trust that the party generates in its favour, by the conduct of its individual members. A party that is only or too anxious for power in politics cannot generate this. But sincerity of feeling and patience can generate faith in spiritual values and generate this trust and inspire managements to set good examples, and the whole prowess will then be accelerated. We must transform groups of men who work to produce commodities into brothers and sisters.

"This is a revolution that you are asking for". Of course it is and it is this kind of revolution which will change everything, not wage boards or compulsory arbitration. Incessant effort should be put forth by the party and its top members to turn the mentality of industrial captains from the mere profit motive to love and affection for the workers, to draw them from isolation to comradeship. Unbroken service for a certain number of years should entitle a worker to be given in effect a shareholder's status with suitable privileges and profits. Each period of unbroken service of this length and kind must be rewarded with increased privileges. Such rewards should be looked upon as a proof of achievement and not as added expense.

A kind of pride or quasipatriotism should be evoked from the minds of the proprietors, members of the management and the workers. "Our concern is our joy" must be the anthem of success that should be sung at the social gatherings of the unit. These gatherings should relieve the tedium of work as often as possible. The profits made by the firm should be an open affair and should be looked upon as the prosperity fund belonging to the whole family of employers and

workers. Gandhian socialism should not be a mere phrase but become a felt reality. 'Democratic socialism' is the name given to central planning when it fails to secure adequate funds. Gandhian socialism is a Hindu joint family-bond between managements and employees. The Swatantra Party wants not only money to set up candidates and win elections. We want good examples of management from industrial leaders, because the initiative must come from them. Workers have hitherto been underdogs and have been badly misled and fed with illusions. We want a revolutionary and brave lead from industries. Let us not waste energy on the pursuit of power. Power will run after us. This initiative from industrialists will liquidate the frauds of Congressmen, Communists and others and get the Gandhian blessing.

June 22, 1968

## Not a Rich People's Lobby

**T**HERE can be nothing more untrue than the notion that still persists among people who ought to be better informed but who do not care to enquire, that the Swatantra Party works for rich people. The Swatantra Party works to propagate truth, to educate people who have undertaken the difficult tasks of democracy in the truth that economic progress rests on healthy competition and on the incentives that make people work for their own advantage while also serving the nation. The party works to make people see that management by Government means management by inefficient and uninterested officials or the creation of monopolies for favoured licencees who are interested in making more for themselves than for their customers or for the general public.

The Swatantra Party finds some help from some moneyed individuals because it has to find it somehow. But these people give help, not to win politicians to serve their personal or group interests but because they are convinced that the economic principles advocated by the Swatantra Party are correct principles and will contribute to the national good. But there is nothing harder than to get money from wealthy folk even for a good cause which they appreciate and accept as right in principle. The Swatantra Party has learnt, as libertarians have learnt in other countries, that big businessmen cannot be relied upon as good allies in the battle against government's encroachments. Businessmen will often advocate tariffs, import prohibitions and restrictions on competition because they think rightly or wrongly that these interventions will be in their personal interest or in the interest of their

companies, and are not concerned whether they may be at the expense of the general public. Many businessmen do not realize or reflect on what the actual consequences will be of the particular measures they propose or support. They do not perceive the cumulative debilitating effects of growing restrictions on human liberty.

Most often businessmen acquiesce in controls out of sheer timidity. In the capitalistic system there is a tendency towards self-destruction. Big businessmen facing direct attack display much cowardice. Truth must and will triumph at last. But this may take far too long a time for the national economy to wait. We want success in the elections and resulting strength in the State and Central legislatures in order to hasten the victory of reality over illusion. Parliamentary democracy has made this necessary, because it is a form of government in which the relatively ill-informed get power, and in India this takes a very acute shape. In fact without disrespect, I may say the Government in India is nearly as illiterate in the effective sense, as the electorate is in the ordinary sense. It is Government of the illiterate by the illiterate but unfortunately not for the illiterate. The national good can be served only by those who are truly educated and are motivated not by party or personal interests but by an ardent desire to lift the nation up from poverty and bankruptcy to solvency.

Calumny has had a start and it keeps on maintaining the falsehood that the Swatantra Party is a rich men's lobby. The rich men know where to go; they go to the party in power. "Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny." I make bold to assert that the Swatantra Party has never once stood up for untruth or to help any single rich exploiter at the cost of justice or fair play. The Party has stood for reduction of taxes and for reduction of public expenditure. This is because such reduction is good for the nation since it increases savings and productive investment of such savings. The Swatantra Party's principles and the policies it commends are the only policies and principles that can help general welfare and national progress.

July 6, 1968

## Principled Politics

**T**ENDENTIOUS despatches of big newspaper reporters should not deflect Swatantra Party adherents from their basic convictions. The amount of power a party gets or the number of seats it manages to win by hook or crook ought not to decide the worth of a party

or the value of its policies, or the truth of the propositions forming its creed. Even if the voters at a general election, as a result of communal propaganda, by an over-whelming majority vote for an anti-Pakistan or an anti-Christian or anti-Muslim policy, the Swatantra Party cannot give up its basic creeds in this respect. Politics is not a technique for some people to get power over others but an instrument for civilization, and as far as the Swatantra Party is concerned, its policies shall continue to serve the advancement of civilized life.

July 27, 1968

## The Spokesman of Progress

**T**HE Swatantra Party has no special interest in the fortunes of the present rich or in the present working labourers. The Party is the spokesman of progress. It is interested in keeping the door open for new entrants either as entrepreneurs or as workers. It is against a closed shop in either case. Read what Ludwig Von Mises says, "The rich, the owners of the already operating plants, have no particular class interest in the maintenance of free competition. They are opposed to confiscation and expropriation of their fortunes, but their vested interests are rather in favour of measures preventing newcomers from challenging their position. Those fighting for free enterprise and free competition do not defend the interests of those today. They want a free hand left to unknown men who will be the entrepreneurs of tomorrow and whose ingenuity will make the life of coming generations more agreeable. They want the way left open to further economic improvements. They are the spokesmen of progress."

This is the secret of the lukewarmness of the big industrialists towards the Swatantra Party and explains why they hang on to the skirts of the Congress Party in spite of kicks and insults.

August 10, 1968

## Evaluating the Party's Work

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

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

October 26, 1968

## We are not 'Careerists'

**W**E are nearing the month of December this year when I shall complete my ninetieth year. It is pleasant to read this which is woven into an article contributed by Mr. Leonard Read to the issue of the Freeman which has just reached my hands:

Glory to the men who can truthfully attest "Life begins at ninety."

I feel like venturing to appropriate this slogan, in the critical times we are in, the members of the Swatantra Party stand firm by the principles of the Party, work steadily without being intimidated into inaction or compromises with statism by the number ranged against them or by the powers exercised by the present Government of India.

The Swatantra Party's sacred mission is to prevent the folly of statism from ruining our country, whether it be Congress statism or Communist statism. Let us keep this goal before ourselves as our guiding star and not be tempted to be deflected from it by prospects of power or position of some kind or other to be gained by such deflection. We are not careerists. We have to save India from the careerists as well as from those who are steadily taking India to the status of a bankrupt satellite of the communist powers. It is in the hands of the Swatantra Party to enable me to save without being guilty of gross stupidity or vaingloriousness, that my life begins again at ninety.

Let us not forget that the Gandhian struggle for India was waged from 1919 to 1947. It was a struggle supported by intense dislike of foreign rule. In some respects our present struggle is a harder one, being against some of our own people. We have in addition the opposition of strong vested interests. Impatience weakens. It does not add strength.

November 23, 1968

## A Truly Revolutionary Party

**T**HE Swatantra Party was founded on principles of which this building up of friendship between India and her neighbours is one of the most important. It is the only party that stands inflexibly by this policy. And therefore it is the only party that deserves to and must ultimately take charge of affairs. The worth of the party is not to be judged by the number of seats it is immediately able to gain. It is to be judged by the principles it is founded on, and holds on to. The aim must be to build up goodwill and trust between Pakistan and India, whatever the means may be. The means may be variously devised. The aim must be the development of goodwill.

Salvation lies in the hope that one day (1) the men engaged in trade and industries will help the Swatantra Party and become members thereof obeying the conviction in their hearts, and shedding their fear of the party in office, not minding the consequent difficulties, (2) workers will see the identity of interests between them and those owning and managing the industries in which the workers are employed, realizing that the prosperity of the business is the foundation for their own well being and that if the investors do not do well, they too will suffer along with the investors, (3) politicians will see that unless public expenditure and taxation are reduced, there can be no national well being or progress, and (4) for this, goodwill and trust will be developed between us and our most important neighbour nation.

There is revolution in every one of these hopes and salvation lies in these revolutionary hopes being fulfilled. The Swatantra Party pledged to work to achieve these aims is truly a revolutionary party though it does not designate itself by that phrase and not those that delude themselves and beguile others to believe that subversion is the way to betterment.

*January 11, 1969*

## Prepare Unilaterally for Emergency

RESENT-DAY advertisements, some of them, contain wonderfully striking sentences of general importance. Taking one of them and adding to it a few words, I say, "Now is the time for all good men to forget the party and think of the people as a whole." It is time for people to demand less of advantages from the party to which they attach themselves and

give to the party more of the energy and advantages they have. An old party holding office can distribute favours easily out of the power and resources it has built up, before anyone can expect personal benefit out of them by way of power or material possessions. Those who join parties without understanding and accepting this truth are a liability and not a source of strength to any party.

There is a crisis brewing in our country, political as well as economic. It is covered over by borrowed money and tall talk so that all seems well. But one day it must burst and then, unless we have got ready for it beforehand, we shall not be able to cope with the disaster.

There have been many attempts, honest and sustained attempts, at forging a merger of the opposition parties, so that a combined front may oppose the ruling party and its wrong policies—and displace it. But these have all failed. This is because every party tries its best to improve its image and gain advancement. The differences among the parties continue and the ruling party benefits by this failure of the opposition parties to come together. It is not as if the ruling party "divides and rules." It rules because the divisions are there, kept up by those who ought to come together. The old British regime successfully resisted the efforts of freedom lovers in India in the same manner, and for the same reasons. The British did not, in my view, divide and rule as is often alleged. They ruled because we were divided. It is the same story now in a different shape, after Independence.

The Swatantra Party is the only party which, I believe honestly, ought to take charge of the disaster when it comes. But it must get ready for it before hand with a minimum emergency programme, which all good and sensible people can accept and help in working. This is what the Swatantra Party should think about, instead of seeking vainly to induce the many to form a united political front against the ruling party. The Swatantra Party's own full programme may be kept in abeyance while the emergency programme is being worked. The Congress appears bent on taking the country to bankruptcy and satellitism. It is not necessary to be explicit under whom this satellitism is developing. Various parties, new and old, are each concerned more in strengthening themselves than in any emergency-strategy to save the nation from the impending disgrace and calamity. Let the Swatantra Party, therefore, unilaterally prepare and take time by the forelock.

An emergency minimum programme should be prepared and the door kept open for all who accept it. Order and good government, economic reform to stave

off bankruptcy, resistance against all tendencies to let the nation be swallowed up by communism of any type or denomination must be the core of the programme. Details must be worked out by a select group of the party, which can give the clear thinking that is necessary for the task.

February 8, 1969

## Educate Government and People, Spurning Cheap Demagoguery

THE Swatantra Party begins a fresh two-year period with a newly elected national executive after completing its first decade. It is my pleasure and duty to give to the party my most sincere blessings. Whatever may be the misconceptions of people, including even some of the party members themselves, the Swatantra Party is a poor party which cannot spend as much money as the present election procedure entails. Self-supporting candidates hesitate to declare their difference with the Congress and to stand for election to the National and State legislatures on behalf of the Swatantra Party. If and when the procedure at elections is drastically altered and the Government takes over, as it should, much of the expense now incurred by candidates and parties, the Swatantra Party can attract the right type of candidates and make good in the measure of the merits of that party. Till then we have to be content with the undoubted influence we exert and not worry ourselves with thoughts of achieving direct power. We are an educating body rather than a power-seeking group, and we should accept and be proud of this role, vigorously adhering to our economic and political policies without selling ourselves for popularity among the, as yet very gullible, people. Our educational function is our *swadharna*, to use a *Gita* phrase, and we should zealously seek to fulfil that function, and not abandon it by way of compromise in order to get votes. In particular, this warning is for candidates in their local and individual electioneering work. The party's quality ultimately depends on the sum-total of the qualities and practices of the individual candidates working in the name of the party. If half-a-dozen of our members or candidates indulge in drink or in any morally wrong practices, the whole party gets the bad name by the laws that govern reputation.

Let us not be afraid of bad names hurled at us by those who are in the present ruling group's bandwagon. We are called 'reactionaries' by people who

are ignorant of economic truths and of the realities of life and by people who dole out slogans and promises for obtaining votes. Let us not be afraid of any man or woman, whatever be the power wielded by him or her. Let our loyalty centre on economic truth and on the political wisdom which we have been taught by Gandhiji. Truth must be our lodestar. Let us be afraid of nothing except of deflecting from honesty and of being hypocrites. Let interested people call us 'reactionaries' if they like. Honesty and economic freedom are ancient rules and in that respect let us be old-fashioned, whatever bad names may be given to us by ignorant and dishonest opponents. Let us not be afraid of slogans invented by them, however widely and loudly they may be shouted from the seats of power or by those who receive benefits from them in power. Loyalty to our *swadharna*, which is to educate people out of their ignorance, must mark the activities of our party and of our members.

We cannot hope to raise the poor to better conditions of life or equality with others, as we wish to do, unless and until the nation as a whole increases its gross production in an adequate degree. This latter condition is a necessary prerequisite for what is vaguely talked and sloganized about as 'socialism'. The Swatantra Party works for the fulfilment of this prerequisite. Present-day socialist talk is all hate-centred. Hate does not produce wealth but impedes the processes of production.

We should educate wage-earners and make them realize that under authoritarian socialism they will be reduced to the status of serfdom and deprived of the rights they now have by way of collective bargaining. The condition of workers in Soviet Russia and the dictatorship exercised over them from Kremlin to other countries should be brought to the notice of workers in our country so that they may realize what their condition would be if India adopted Communist Statism or the communist way of life.

About the Swatantra Party, we do not need any compliment or appreciation beyond what E. B. Rajendra Prasad expressed a couple of years ago.

During later days he (referring to me) has said that in a democracy a well-organized Opposition is as necessary as the party in power. With that in view he has founded what is called the Swatantra Party which has a programme of its own, which differs from that of the Congress and can very well form an alternative to the Congress programme. It can gain the support of the people. With the exception of the Communist Party no other party has got such a clear-cut and well-defined programme.

differing from that of the Congress as the Swatantra Party has.

Our mission of educating and taking people out of wrong economics and out of racial, religious and class prejudices and conflicts has been rendered easier now than it was until recently. The debacle of the Congress has brought about this result. More than twenty years of trial have been given to the Congress Party to justify their wrong notions about how to bring about general social welfare. The failure is too patent to fail to help us in promoting right policies. It is easier now for us to convince the people of the truths the Swatantra Party stands for. We should take this opportunity and put forth all our strength in the task.

If, as I have stated, owing to the expensiveness of elections, and owing to apathy or fear on the part of those who can afford the expense, they do not come forward to stand as Swatantra candidates, and we do not secure as many seats in Parliament and in the State legislatures as we ought to secure, let us not think we have failed. Our influence is surely felt whatever be our numbers. We have seen it even in our present experience. The time is not far off when the reform of electoral procedure will come about and financial hurdles will then be immensely diminished and truth will have the chance to which it is entitled in democracy. The time is also not far off when all the people who can help us with funds will realize their duty to do so in order that wrong and futile economic policies may be replaced by what will effectively further national prosperity and leave a better India for our children to live in.

Other parties believing in democracy who have not fallen victims to the lure of Statism can join with us and reduce the hurdles we have to get over and save the country from Congress totalitarianism making India a satellite of Moscow. But at present I see that they are all easy victims of illusory programmes of socialism-in-a-hurry and compete with one another in futile extremism and promise to build up welfare without adequate production. They are tempted to declare policies to get votes anyhow and reach the means to power. Let us be patient. These other parties cannot but see the truth in course of time and cooperate with the Swatantra Party. Let others cooperate or not, let us be ready to cooperate when others see the wisdom of cooperation. And until that time, let us be quite content to work alone, loyal to truth and wisdom and spurning cheap demagogy.

*January 10, 1970*

## The Star of Truthfulness

**W**HATEVER may be said or believed by interested and ill-informed people, the Swatantra Party's principles are the only ones consistent with reality and its campaign the only ones conducted with respect for truthfulness. The star symbol of the party truly represents reality and truthfulness for which the party stands. The party is prepared to make such compromises as have become necessary on account of the mistakes committed by others because no one, be it individuals or parties, in this ever-changing world of human affairs can escape and act independently of the results consequent on what others have done. The basic adherence to reality however remains, because what others have done results in realities which must be taken into account. So also does the Swatantra Party's adherence to truthfulness stand unaltered. Nothing but the truth should be told the people in any campaign. Gains based on untruthful stunts cannot but end in futility and confusion.

*August 20, 1970*

## Who is Outdated?

**D**R. R. C. COOPER sends me a copy of 20th Century Socialism published by Penguin Books in 1956, of which an Indian edition has been produced in 1970 by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. The similarity between many of the views propounded in this book and the Swatantra Party position outlined in its statements of policy is amazing, as Dr. Cooper observes in his letter to me. Even a casual perusal of 20th Century Socialism shows how close the Swatantra Party is to modern socialism and how unmodern and outdated the vociferous slogans of our 'socialist' friends are.

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*October 3, 1970*

**M**ANY correspondents write to me suggesting reforms in the tax structure and in the government policies. The Swatantra Party has explained its objectives very clearly in these directions. But these objectives can be achieved, only if people help and contribute more than they do now to strengthen the party. I have often written deploring how people who ought to help, and who know the reasons for it, help the ruling party and its wrong policies to continue, thinking only of the immediate present and not of the interest of coming generations. Fear of some immediate troubles leads them suicidally to help misgovernment.

*October 17, 1970*

## The Party's 21 Principles

**A**S the centre-piece of this issue of *Swarajya* the principles of the Swatantra Party are set out for readers to read again. It is a body of political thought conceived eleven years ago for the welfare and progress of all sections of the people of this country, to be attained in peace and harmony, without conflicts or deprivation of the freedom which the human spirit needs for true happiness. These principles are, I make bold to say, the best that any political party pledged to honesty, justice and democracy can adopt. Whoever may hold power, the Swatantra Party's work is to educate the government and people in these basic principles and secure their acceptance, as far as possible.

November 21, 1970

## No Me-too-ism

**I**HAVE read the story tale which Sri M. R. Masani has presented to the Swatantra Party's General Council for consideration at its meeting in Bombay. It is the sad story of how all his attempts to bring into existence a consolidated democratic opposition to the ruling power in New Delhi failed. Before this issue of *Swarajya* will be printed and be available to the public, the Swatantra Party Council will have come to conclusions which will be given to the press. Failure in any good attempt is no disgrace. The effort was our duty and the result is not our fault. The Swatantra Party's mission remains and can be summed up briefly. It is: one, to fight against the totalitarian tendencies at the top and to defend the Constitution, and, two, to educate the people out of the ignorance of economic laws that rule production and out of the tendency among people, educated as well as uneducated, to vote for those in power irrespective of whether they deserve support or not. Both tasks are difficult but we have undertaken these difficult tasks and we must persevere undaunted to justify our existence. The Swatantra Party cannot seek to justify by any form of me-too-ism in the hope of acquiring power. Other parties may follow such a line. So far me-too-ism has not brought and is not likely to bring any power to those who practise it. A party which is dedicated to truth and to educating the electorate cannot follow that line. It would be better to wind up, if that be the only way to maintain the party's existence and leave the nation to learn by going through the calamities that totalitarian rule will lead to. A nation can learn through calamities, but the Swatantra Party's mission is to save the nation from such suffering.

April 24, 1971

## A Clarion Call

**I**T is high time the Old Congress realized that its main function while sitting in Opposition to the astute Prime Minister and her party is the defence of the core of the Indian Constitution against the Government's concerted plan of striking down the guarantees. The core of the Constitution is the body of fundamental rights guaranteed for the citizens against any tampering of them by the Executive. A phantom socialism is made to play before the people bedecked with jewels and gold and silver like the Maaricha stag that deceived Sita in the forest.

What the nation needs and should be promised is social justice as stated clearly in the Constitution, not nationalization of banks, expropriation of earnings, curbs on expansion of industries, all of which and allied suicidal programmes go under the comprehensive name of socialism. If the Old Congress does nothing more than repeating the same phantom plans which have given a majority to Smt. Indira, the Congress(○) will only be strengthening Smt. Indira's position and not achieving anything towards social justice.

The policies and programmes advocated by the Swatantra Party all along and re-affirmed at the recent meetings of the party in Bombay are the only policies and programmes that will benefit the people. They are bound to become the Government's policies and programmes if not now, some years hence. This is inevitable, because there is no escape from truth. The poor cannot be uplifted by doles, and corrupt practices during elections but only by the provision of opportunities for work and fair wages on the widest scale possible, instead of deceiving the people with vague slogans.

Open air employment in the several ways set out in the Swatantra plan, expansion of roads, drainage, drinking water supply, housing, minor irrigation projects, etc., all furnish scope for a huge increase of open air employment suitable for the vast mass of our people, not the investment of tax money in small or big cars or other similar concerns producing commodities for the pleasure and convenience of the rich. The miserable spectacle presented by India in the country-side is due to the lack of what I have comprehensively called "open air" projects on a vast scale. Social justice will result from undertaking these open air projects, not otherwise, and certainly not by increased taxation which will act as disincentives for saving and as encouragement of wasteful expenditure and shortsighted fatalism.

If there is wisdom in what I have said in brief here, I have the right to appeal to all sane men, young and old, to join and strengthen the Swatantra Party and the Old Congress whichever they prefer, if the latter accepts my advice and gives up its futile competition in phantom socialism with Smt. Indira. There is every scope for Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Orissa and Tamil Nad to become strong if sane young men and women flock to the Swatantra Party giving up the hunt after the Maaricha stag as a fatal deception which will only result in loss of freedom and adding strength to the Government against the privileges of the people guaranteed in the constitution.

I wish I were young and able to go round all parts of this great and dear land of ours to explain that the Swatantra's is the only true and efficacious programme for driving out of our land the squalor and disease that characterize the countryside. If I could go round I would appeal to all sane men and women to flock into the Swatantra Party and give it the strength of their conviction, their numbers and their dedicated work and save the country from the perils of misgovernment and totalitarianism that now threaten it. As Moksha should not be confused with the various means effective or ineffective for attaining salvation, socialism, which is offered as the means to attain social justice, should not be confused with social justice itself. Social justice is the end to be attained by what is offered under the comprehensive name of socialism, which as I have explained in what I have written from time to time, will only expand the power of the State and reduce the freedom of the people, making them serfs under a totalitarian regime. The working classes, in particular, should realize this and understand the value of the guaranteed rights inscribed in the Constitution which are threatened by what is called socialism.

May 1, 1971

## Power Should Seek Us

**T**HERE is a great difference between a party devoted to educating the Government and the people in the right direction on matters relating to the economy of the nation and parties primarily seeking power, although they may have the public welfare as a secondary aim. The Swatantra Party's primary aim is to educate the electorate and the governments whatever party they may be dominated by. I have written about this in Swarajya of April 24. Why I refer to this now is to remove a misapprehension in connection with this enunciation of the Swatantra Party's mission. The party does not seek power like other

parties, but if power and responsibility come, the party will certainly accept the burden. Power must seek us. We should not seek power. Power attained by devious and unworthy ways is a bad thing for the nation. Power that comes unsought and the responsibility which comes with it are real and worthy. If the party and its members do their work in furtherance of the mission as I have described it, power will come in due time unsought. A dedicated worker brought to my attention that unless we offer power it would be difficult, if not impossible, to enlarge the base of our party. I had thought I had made it quite clear in what I have been writing that we do not shirk power or responsibility. But I write this to clear the doubts I have heard expressed by the devoted worker. Power obtained by parties working for it as their primary aim may be described as chaff. Power that comes unsought as a reward for dedicated work is a golden opportunity for further service.

May 29, 1971

## Defiance

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

September 25, 1971

## Defend Fundamental Rights

**O**RGANIZATIONS differ from individuals in one very material respect. Individuals are born as a by-product of the love and attachment of parents to one another. Organizations are deliberately conceived and nurtured for well-defined purposes.

The Swatantra Party was founded and nurtured for the purpose of preventing a totalitarian drift in the governance of India. It was the aim and purpose of the founders of the Swatantra Party that it should servc

to defend the citizens' rights inscribed in the Constitution as fundamental and to prevent the State from curtailing those rights without just cause open to the judicial arm of the Government to review. If this purpose of the Swatantra Party's birth is abandoned by the leaders of the party, it is as well to dissolve the party as an encumbrance in the politics of the nation!

I am grieved that instead of standing up for the just and carefully framed Constitution we have, some leaders are inclined to accept the doctrine of Bolshevism, feeling that the bloodless revolution supposed to be planned by Shrimati Indira Gandhi is preferable to a revolution through bloodshed which they think would be otherwise inescapable. Whatever view others may take, I hold firmly that the business of the Swatantra Party is to guard the Fundamental Rights inscribed in the Constitution upon the insistence of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other leaders. Totalitarianism may present a strong front against this function of the Swatantra Party, but we should carry on *Sidhyasiddhyoh samo-bhootwaa*.

On account of the special conditions prevailing, seats in legislatures may not be won by the Swatantra Party in sufficient numbers. *The power of a party however depends not only on the number of seats won, but on the numerical strength of the party, of members joining not in the interest of rival personalities (as in the case of the new Congress and the old Congress without difference in aims or principles), but for the well-defined purpose of defending the Constitution against totalitarianism.*

No jurist competent to give an opinion on the interpretation of laws, would allow the Fourth Part of the Constitution to be utilised to over-rule the Third Part thereof. The Swatantra Party should hold on to this position firmly and not surrender the rule of law in favour of the Bolshevik creed of total submission to the demand of the majority.

Congress (R) is top heavy. It has no base below. It rests only on the support of the career seeking politicians. Congress (O) has committed suicide. My appeal is, therefore, for hard work and optimism in enlarging the numerical strength of the Swatantra Party at the base, not minding gains and losses in the legislatures. This is the secret of how to increase the power of the Swatantra Party and this is what the defence of Fundamental Rights against totalitarianism demands. It is not too difficult a task if we put our heart into it.

*(To the Party's Workers on the eve of the Assembly elections of 1972)*

## "No Capitulation" Our Slogan

INDIA has drifted into communism and without realizing it into its necessary corollary, dictatorship. The free way of life which was guaranteed by the 1950 Constitution is being wrecked as a result of the hold on the permit-licence monopoly held by the Indira Congress. Are we to allow this without any form of resistance? Parliamentary resistance has been rendered impossible. We must depend on other forms of resistance if the people of India must have democracy and are not to be doomed to serve under an unqualified dictatorship which knows how, and has the power, to perpetuate itself.

The mission or swadharma of the Swatantra Party has been made more obvious than before by its failure to make any show in the recent polls. Its duty is to live, not to allow itself to be extinguished, to live purposefully, and save the Constitution. It is the corner-stone of our temple. The more powerful the dictatorship which has established itself, the more necessary is the Swatantra Party for the nation. 'No capitulation' should be our slogan.

The sovereign advice of the Bhagavad Gita is for one to pursue one's mission with equanimity as regards success and failure. This is the yoga of *samatvam*. If we follow this advice and pursue our swadharma without capitulating, God's grace will help us to overcome all difficulties. Let us put our trust in the words of Bhagawaan and in *Satyam eva jayate*.

Let us not fall into the traps in our way and be instruments for communism and irredeemable dictatorship. The Swatantra Party should stand firm and not extinguish itself. To give up one's Swadharma is to extinguish oneself. Let us realize our dignity and our importance to the nation as the corner-stone of the temple. Outside the legislatures we can, if we make up our minds, be more powerful than all the abettors of the drift to dictatorship.

April 8, 1972

## Social Justice vs. Socialism

THE Swatantra Party stands for social Justice as clearly as it firmly opposes statism. Social justice is a great and proper aim for all good governments to work for and it is included in the aims of the 1950 Constitution of India. But socialism is a wrongly conceived means to attain social justice. Socialism is the name given to a complex of policies and measures which curb the growth of national production without helping the cause of social justice. Socialism is statism

which accelerates the acquisition by the State of total control over citizens and extinguishes the free way of life. Socialism is the word for policies and measures which lead to dictatorship and do not, in the least help social justice. In fact what is called socialism postpones social justice for which increased production is the first essential. Expropriation, 'ceilings' on wealth, heavy taxes, etc., are all of them disincentives for greater production, without which social justice measures are impossible. While Gandhian ethics forbade immoral or violent means even to achieve good ends, plain common sense forbids erroneous means to attain good ends. And socialism, which consists of pulling down capitalists, and other measures born out of sheer hatred and envy, is a wholly erroneous way to attain or help social justice. Measures and policies that curb investment and greater production are enemies of social justice. Disincentives for investment and increased production are not the road to achieve social justice. The worst of the errors is heavy taxation which makes increased production not worthwhile to the persons concerned. No Gandhian ethical doctrine is involved here. Just simple arithmetic and practice in the application of it to life and realities unaffected by likes and dislikes are what are required. We learnt the rule of law and fair judicial trials from the British.

We have to learn the rule of arithmetic also frp, tje, as ABU pointed out in his cartoon (reprinted in last week's *Swarajya* from the Indian Express). He rightly asked us in his cartoon to learn a lesson from the cuts in taxation in Britain. When the limit of prudence in taxation is crossed we have to face diminishing returns and great reduction incentives to work and produce. When I met Sri Dandekar in Madras recently he suggested a change in the name of the Swatantra Party as a step to cope with the lie propagated about the party that it was founded and kept up for the advantage of capitalists and princes and other rich people. I was inclined in favour of his suggestion and wrote about it in last week's *Swaraiya*. But on further reflection I realized that a change in name will not help. Those who were interested in spreading the

lie about the Swatantra Party did not depend for their distortion of the aims and objects of the Swatantra Party on its name. A change in the name of the party will be of no use to meet their interested campaign. They will call it a trick to deceive people and ridicule the attempt. We must, therefore, depend on our efforts to explain *the* truth and tell the people what the party stands for as clearly as we can in our speeches and writings, instead of changing the party's name. We should persist in doing our duty, to warn the people against allowing or assisting the Prime Minister and her party to sabotage the Constitution, to extinguish democracy and the free way of life and put the people of India under the total power of the state and suffer serfdom as the people do in communist countries.

Everyday now we hear about Bills and measures initiated by the State Governments which are all founded on the plan to treat the 1950 constitution as a mere scrap of paper which is no longer to be respected.

April 8, 1972

## Our Sacred Duty

**T**HE only party that firmly resists the drift to dictatorship is the Swatantra Party. A party that is pledged to resist authoritarianism is as necessary as government itself for the welfare of the people of India. Members and sympathisers of the Swatantra Party should consider resisting authoritarianism and dictatorship as a sacred duty of theirs. Power does not consist only in securing a majority in parliament. The power to resist dictatorship and defend the Constitution and the fundamental rights inscribed in it is morally as well as politically true power. It is worthwhile exercising this power and do everything to expand opportunities in and out of Parliament to perform this sacred function.

July 8, 1972

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# The Indian Constitution

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## The Keystone of the Constitution

ON the 26th Day of November 1949, "the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens, social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all fraternity, securing the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation adopted, enacted and gave to themselves the Constitution of India."

This great preamble to our Constitution is a shining monument of the wisdom, courage, foresight and sense of justice of the founders of our freedom. It should be read over and over again with concentration of mind and precision of understanding, when anyone is asked or intends himself to do anything to the Constitution. Every word in the preamble is important.

The keystone of this great Constitution, which the people of India through the Constituent Assembly 'gave to themselves' is Part III thereof which guarantees the rights of citizens and to which the Constitution itself has given the name and title of Fundamental Rights. This Part of the Constitution locks the whole together as the keystone as the summit of an arch holds the arch together.

The Indira Congress has secured the support of Parliament for amendments which will destroy what I have called the keystone of the constitutional arch. The Congress (O), which refuses to accept Smt. Indira Gandhi's leadership, has, however, resolved to join in the game of destruction initiated by Smt. Indira Gandhi. It is a strange development that out of all the political parties in India, the Swatantra Party has to bear the burden of defending the Constitution of India, all alone.

Mr. Palkhivala gave a magnificent address in Madras on 16th October to a record audience assembled in the Bertram Hall of Loyola College under the auspices of the Servants of India Society. The audience overflowed into the verandahs and grounds of the college. Mr. Palkhivala fully dealt with what he called the outrage on the Constitution planned under the 24th and 25th amendments. Mr. Santhanam has dealt with the subject in an exhaustive manner in his article in *Swatantra* of August 7. The founders of the Constitution intended the fundamental rights inscribed in Part III to be the heart of the Constitution. The physician or surgeon may do some repairs to the heart. But he may not remove the heart and hope to keep the man alive. Part IV of the Constitution lays down objectives which the Constitution of India wants the Central and the State Governments to endeavour to achieve. Any violation of Part III is justiciable. But non-endeavour in the direction laid down in Part IV of the Constitution is not justiciable. Neither can the citizen seek to obtain an order from the judiciary to compel the Government to take action as directed in Part IV, nor does Part IV authorize the abrogation by the State of the rights inscribed in Part III.

The Swatantra Party does not, like other parties including the Congress (O) and the Indira Congress, promise to give to the people castles which they see through the clouds. The Swatantra Party sticks to the principles stated in the preamble of the Constitution which I have quoted and in particular to the principle of maintaining the dignity of the individual along with unity of the nation. The Swatantra Party maintains unaltered loyalty to the assurance given in the Constitution not only to freedom of speech and expression but to the right of the citizens, to acquire, hold and dispose of property, and to practise any profession or to carry

any occupation, trade, or business, as clearly stated in Article 19(f) and (g).

With an electorate more than half of whom are ill-informed and consequently very gullible, the Swatantra Party failed to secure in the recent elections any significant number of seats either in State legislatures or in Parliament. The Swatantra Party was thus in the position of the stone which was rejected by the builders in the Psalmist's Hymn (Ps. 118-22). Today, however, this stone that was rejected has become the 'head-stone of the corner.' The Psalmist sang and Jesus quoted the hymn in the temple of Jerusalem (Mark 12, 10 and 11): "Have you not heard this scripture, the stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner; this was the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes?" Let us hope and pray that this stone which has become the head-stone of the corner will keep the temple of our Constitution from going to pieces.

If the property of any individual is wanted for public purposes, the Constitution as it stands gives the state the right to acquire such property after justifying such acquisition, but recognizing that the whole nation should bear the cost of such acquisition, lays down that just compensation should be paid by the State to the person who is deprived of the property. It would be totally unjust and contrary to the preamble of the Constitution and amount to sheer robbery to deprive an individual of what he has acquired or inherited without making the nation pay just compensation to him. A free way of life would be an impossibility if this fundamental right to acquire, hold and dispose of property, as clearly laid down in Article 19 (f) and (g), be nullified. Citizens would then be only serfs dependent on the mercy of those in authority.

October 30, 1971



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

September 15, 1971

## A Motor Car with no Brake

**I** HAVE been constantly reiterating the importance of defending the Constitution. This is because the Constitution guarantees the following: first, the complete protection of minority communities in the practice of their religions and their equality with the majority community in all secular rights and privileges; secondly, the complete protection of citizens in the enjoyment of their properties inherited or otherwise acquired legally and a guarantee that if the State desires to acquire any part of them, the State should give just and adequate compensation to make up for the loss; thirdly, the need for any acquisition and the adequacy of the compensation should be subject to judicial examination and the award of the courts should be fully respected. It is these guarantees inscribed in the Constitution that save the citizens from dictatorship and serfdom.

If therefore, the Constitution should be saved from being sabotaged in these respects, a party pledged to these guarantees and to resist totalitarian rule is absolutely necessary. The people may elect anyone they choose to rule over the affairs of the country subject to the guarantees briefly mentioned above. A party dedicated to defend these guarantees is as necessary as it is necessary to have a parliament and leaders dedicated to good government. The independence of the judiciary and the authority of the Supreme Court should not be interfered with directly or indirectly. These axioms of good government and democracy should be explained clearly to the people and they should be warned against being misled into agreeing to a sabotage of the Constitution.

The economic policies of the Government should be so framed as to lead to social justice which is not impossible, if party politics is not allowed to interfere with genuine economic reform and steps are taken to maintain and improve respect for moral values. This is the fundamental basis for any good government. Leaders should be men and women of the highest character and competence. They should lead and not be led by those whose votes may, by numbers, give power and authority over the citizens without considering what is good for the nation in the long run. A solid group of people, who guard the Constitution and the rights of the people, the rights of the majority as well as of the minorities, is as important as a Prime Minister and President are necessary. Without such a party it would be like a beautiful motor car without a brake.

The notion that the justification for the existence of a party is only that it can be an alternative government

if it secures a sufficient number of votes and that otherwise it may be dissolved and extinguish itself is wholly erroneous. A party of those who are dedicated to defend the core of good democracy is even more important than those who run governments according to the requirements of change in times. Politics is not merely a competition between groups for the acquisition of power. The fundamental articles with which the Swatantra Party was founded must be read over and over again by good men and women in the country and must be explained to the less informed section of the community. The defence of the Constitution is not less important than the defence of the country against foreign aggression.

May 13, 1972



**W**HAT the people of India require is good government and not merely a 'stable' government. The stress ought to be on good government which does not seek to make serfs of citizens. The stress should not be on stability. A regime bent on doing away with the fundamental rights of citizens is not good

government. Authoritarian dictatorship can perpetuate itself without other assistance. What should be done is not to make it stable, but to bring it to public condemnation. A free way of life is not possible under majority oppression and intimidation. The illusion that 'stability' by itself is good must be dispelled. This reiteration of mine is not a redundant reiteration.

August 19, 1972



**I**T is treason for one to assist a foreign aggressor. It amounts no less to treason to assist the replacement of democracy by dictatorship. Freedom is a husk without grain if we get our military forces to defend the country against the invasion of a foreign Power but we permit a dictator of our own to establish totalitarian rule, depriving the citizens of any way of resistance to those who have seized authority over the people. This is the reason why certain fundamental rights are inscribed in the Constitution framed by the fathers of our freedom. They had foresight enough to see that power corrupts people and in particular, absolute power absolutely corrupts.

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# Socialism Statism Permit-Licence Raj

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## The Menace of Statism

**S**TATISM is the policy of concentrating extensive economic, political, and related controls in the State, at the cost of individual liberty. This is the present Government of India's policy and what the Swatantra Party strenuously opposes. Where under the Constitution a political party can seize government as a result of a general election, the concentration of all power in the State, at the cost of individual liberty, gives to that ruling political party the power of perpetuating itself, making itself impregnable and rendering the parliamentary system a sham and mockery. This is what has already happened in India; it must be reversed if freedom is to be restored. Those that oppose Statism and seek to maximize individual liberty should fight the election on this single issue. If a united front is organized on this basis, the Congress Party can be defeated.

We have examples of complete Statism in Soviet Russia as we had in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Dr. Lin Yutang's book *The Secret Name* dealt with the Soviet record of 40 years, from 1917 to 1958. It was written eight years ago. But the withering satire and effective exposure of communism contained in it make the book worth reading for all those who are still attracted by the glamour of the communist revolution in Russia. Dr. Lin Yutang explains how the communist leaders of Russia have actually gone over from extreme left to extreme right. There has been a total reversion to autocracy. It is not the Czar, but it is the closed-shop party that autocratically rules. The party is not an adult-suffrage-elected single party, as people in India may think mistakenly. It is a limited number of people, a self-perpetuating small circle. Labour has

no rights under its rule. Strikes and collective bargaining have been abolished. Chairmen of Unions are appointed by Government. Unions help the Government to pay less and extract more work. It may be thought that this will not happen in India. We have only to wait for the burden of foreign debt, recklessly incurred, to mature into a national obligation—to work, produce and export in repayment. The drive for production is bound to lead to the same sort of slave-labour as obtained in Russia to meet the Government's requirements. This is the natural and logical termination of the State-capitalism adopted by the Congress Party and enforced by the Government of India under that party's direction. The citizen becomes just a tool.

If we do not like this to happen, we must oppose and fight it. 'Socialism' is a technical word used to denote a particular method of regulating the national economy. The word is used to deceive people to think that it is a benevolent process. It is nothing but State-capitalist totalitarianism in the hands of a self-perpetuating circle.

"The problem is complex economy," says Dr. Lin Yutang, and asks the crucial questions:

"Shall State control increase to a point dominating the personal life of the individuals or is it worthwhile always to guarantee the scarcity of individual freedom against the, encroaching power of the State machine? What is our human destiny? Shall there be more autocracy, or more freedom? Both Communism and Fascism place the State above the individual. Is this going to be the flower of future culture?"

These questions arise with reference to "socialism" as much as to communism and fascism, whatever the name the regime may assume, wherein the State is

placed above the individual, and the goal is set down by the individual to become a smooth and efficient and submissive working tool for the State, willing or unwilling—but complete.

Abraham Lincoln has defined the correct position: "The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done, which they cannot do so well in their separate or individual capacities." This should be the firm boundary between State and the people. And it is quite the opposite of Statism.

May 15, 1965



**W**E have often heard it said that as a result of Congress rule, the rich have become richer and the middle and poorer classes have become more miserable than before. This is not a mere slogan of opposition of political parties but the inevitable consequence of the permit-licence-raj going by the name of Congress socialism. Party rule under the parliamentary form prescribed by the Constitution has a natural inclination to perpetuate its rule, one election after another. This means party expenditure on a grand scale, besides public expenditure, devoted to election results rather than true general welfare. Party expenditure for five thousand candidates means enormous collection of election funds; this can be most easily done in the permit-licence-raj's controlled economy regime by providing and ensuring advantages to rich corporation bosses and other businessmen. Of course intimidation goes along with it but positive preferences are naturally more effective. The rich are bound to become richer under this system, as economic laws operate to push the poor into worse and worsen plight. There are no greater permanent supporters for the Congress Party and its policies of controlled economy than the millionaires whose names are well known but it would be invidious to mention. They were rich to start with, but the thing to be observed and reflected upon is that since 1954, after the Avadi Congress, they have accumulated monstrous wealth. We need not hate wealth or the wealthy people, but we should note how Congress's socialism works.

July 24, 1965

## Political Collections

**T**HE Ryots of Kuchipudi village, Tenali Taluk, Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh, have sent a petition to the Prime Minister of India, a largely signed copy of which has been sent to me. The memorialists say:

We, the ryots belonging to Kuchipudi village in Pañchatyat Samithi, Tenali (AP) have to pay compulsorily Rs. 3 for a fertiliser bag towards the "Nehru Memorial Fund. In this respect some literate and enlightened ryots received "Nehru Memorial Fund tickets for the amount they paid, i.e. Rs. 3 a bag; other illiterate ryots did not, under the pretext that the tickets were not available and would be issued later. Even after the lapse of 20 days we were not issued the tickets. It seems not all the officers, the Agricultural Extension Officer, Village Panchayat Executive Officer and Shri K. Umamaheswara Rao of Pedaravur Co-operative Society, who are the responsible persons for the distribution of fertilizers, are accounting properly for the amounts collected.

We request you to check up this illegal exaction from ryots groaning under heavy taxes or else add this amount towards the cost of fertilizers which will automatically increase the cost of production of paddy whose present ceiling rate of Rs. 39 per quintal may be enhanced to Rs. 44 per quintal.

The Nehru Memorial Fund is not the only fund for which the administrative machine and quasi-official bodies are utilized for political collections. There are birthday gifts for Congress bosses which are also similarly served. The manner of these collections is not only illegal but gives scope for much malversation.

September 4, 1965

## More of the Same

**W**E are familiar with Allopathy, Homoeopathy, Ayurveda, Unani, and other systems. They are run on various basic principles of cure for diseases generated in its regime. The principle is more of the same. If controls produce shortage and blackmarketing put more controls on the economy. If controls increase corruption, put on yet more controls. If Statism has proliferated the bureaucracy, open more offices and employ more officials. If there is wastage, arrange for more waste. If we have borrowed too much, borrow even more. If politicians interfere in administration and the results are bad, let there be more political intervention in administration—and all will be well.



February 5, 1966

**W**E cannot admire the political intelligence of people who after twelve years of trial given to the Congress Party's socialism, with no results in its favour but with results just the opposite—higher indirect taxation of the poor through duties loaded on prices

of essential and semi-essential commodities of daily consumption and through un-intelligent deficit financing—still believe that the socialism of the Congress Party is better than the policies of other parties. Socialism as practised by the Congress Party is State Capitalism. The word 'socialism' is misleading. The reality, not words, must guide intelligent voters. As Louis Fischer has remarked, while reviewing a book of tributes to Jawaharlal Nehru, "Socialism in India's infant industry could only be State Capitalism with the concomitant evils of burgeoning bureaucracy and high costs".

The issue before the people is: which is better for them, State Capitalism or private Capitalism which depends on the savings and voluntary investments of individuals, risking their own money in their own business and taking the losses on their own heads. The losses incurred in State Capitalism fall on the people in the shape of fresh duties and taxes levied in the annual budgets.

Thus "Socialism", which word so much figures in canvassing campaigns, is just State Capitalism. Production always demands not only human labour but also capital. We may dislike capitalists because they happen to be better off than ourselves. But we cannot dispense with capital if we desire greater production. The only question is, how shall we get the necessary capital. Shall we allow rich people to invest their own savings in undertakings of their own or shall we ask the Government to tax the people, put duties on articles of consumption and mismanage the undertaking so financed? The answer is simple but it seems the magic of words confuses the political intelligence even of leader-writers. British socialists have given up nationalization. Interventionist strangulation of private enterprise is not socialism. It is an economic desecration.

*February 12, 1966*

## Our Topsy-Turvy Socialism

**S**WEDEN is generally believed to be the best example of successful socialism. But there are few nations in the world that rely more on free enterprise, its motives, its methods and its management, in the matter of production, than Sweden which is classed as a completely socialist state. The creative end and the consumption end are two very different points in national economy.

Swedish socialism not only trusts private citizens to be in charge of production but also provides large room for incentive and rewards for the private citizens that produce and distribute.

The advice of the Yugoslav Ambassador in India, Dr. Uvalic, which was reproduced in *Swarajya* of March 5, does not therefore stand alone to prove that natural laws are respected by the sensible and successful socialists of Europe. Sweden's policies reinforce the Yugoslav Ambassador's plea of the inevitability of private and personal interest for successful production. His statement about his own country is the best form of advice an ambassador of a foreign nation can give to us.

Where the state refuses dogmatically to trust citizens and banks on its own bureaucracy, failure and futility follow. Incidentally the phrase 'public enterprise' is a misnomer. It is state enterprise, involving official management and bureaucratic apathy as to results, that Swatantra is up against. The 'public' are the people and not the State. The Swatantra Party is against management of production and distribution by salaried officials guided and controlled (and hampered) by partisan politicians.

In Sweden the line is drawn between the massive welfare programmes of the State at the consumption-end of the economy and freedom at the creative end. Devices eventually to bring about the welfare State are common both to Socialist Sweden and Capitalist countries. But both America and Sweden can prosper only to the extent that the State allows the free citizen and the free market to function. So is the case for us in India also.

There is convincing evidence, to use William Henry Chamberlain's words, to show that State economic planning ends either in tragedy or futility, tragedy when the planning is compulsive, futility "when it has no teeth in it." If the State concentrates all political and economic power in its own hands, tragedy is the result. When planning is an exercise in exhortation and depends on a chain of 'ifs', the planning ends in futility as in the case of our so-called land reforms in India. Here is a story about collective farming told by Winston Churchill in his great book.

"Tell me", I asked, "has the stress of this war been as bad to you personally as carrying through the policy of the collective farms?"

This subject immediately aroused Marshal Stalin.

"Oh, no," he said, "the collective farm policy was a terrible struggle."

"I thought you would have found it bad," said I, "because you were not dealing with a few score thousands of aristocrats or big landowners, but with millions of small men."

"Ten millions," he said, holding up his hands. "It was fearful. Four years it lasted.".....

"I record as they come back to me, these memories,

and the strong impression I sustained at the moment of millions of men and women being blotted out or displaced forever."

The war which Stalin waged against a considerable section of the Russian people themselves, to enforce collective farming, was according to his own confession more bitter and terrible than the great struggle with Hitler. That collective farming was a higher form of agriculture was the firm belief of Stalin and this was automatically adopted by the Indian Congress leaders at Nagpur. They gave a different name to it, as 'Collective' had by then become a word of bad repute. But the idea was identically the same. And this brought the Swatantra Party into being.

One cannot be sure that the bosses of the Indian Congress Party have yet given up this wrong belief taken over from Stalin. The smashing up of the larger farmers through "ceiling laws" resulted in a tragic fall in the supply of essential food-grains to the urban markets that kept the industrial and administrative workers going. Realizing that so-called co-operative farms proved impracticable, our pinchbeck Stalins are now thinking of organizing joint-stock companies to run agricultural production. Driving out the big lawful owners, they seek to bring in new big owners who have no sympathy with peasants or land-labourers and who are just speculators without any of the virtues associated with rural life.

After fifty years of the Soviet regime, Russia is saved from hunger by repeated big purchases of grain from the individual farmers of the US, Canada, and Australia. Equally appalling results as in Russia have been registered in terms of human death and suffering from the communist rulers of China attempting to impose collective farming on its peasants. And now we know about the Chinese purchase of wheat from capitalist countries.

From Soviet Russia and its satellite countries come news of attempts to graft the profit-motive and market-pricing system on the communist bureaucratic system. This is a mule, very different from the honest horse. The effective virtue of free economy rests on the element of ownership, and the motivation and powerful incentives such ownership releases. No such dynamic forces will come into operation, where ultimate ownership and authority rest in the State and in the hands of anonymous groups of bureaucrats.

Eminent economists are convinced that central State planning for production based on insufficient knowledge and theoretical reasoning, without the actual experience that such production demands, must lead to fatal failure. The Planning Commission should be disbanded along with its huge establishment. A

non-official Production Council covering both industry and agriculture should take its place, to be constituted by recognized unofficial Chambers of good standing of industrialists, of leaders in commerce, of agriculturists, and others. They should formulate national plans of production for such a limited number of years as may be found suitable for each type of production, and carry them out, on the strength of their own self-determined resolutions, obtaining from Government whatever legislation they require from time to time for efficient execution of their plans. All matters which are now dealt with by the Planning Commission and which would not be covered by this arrangement of a non-official National Production Council should be dealt with by the Central Cabinet itself with such ad hoc assistance as it may require and call for.

Sweden and Yugoslavia teach us plainly that production cannot be left to the mercies or ownerless socialism. The general welfare and help to those that need and deserve it is common ground and it rests on production. Our ruling party's topsy-turvy socialism has proved both futile and tragic owing to infantile imitation without pondering on realities and the laws of human nature.

Let us hope that what Dr. Uvalic said about Marshal Tito's country and the policies followed there, will have a salutary effect on our Government and bring about a healthy disillusionment among the people beguiled and misled by the Congress bosses whose eyes are bent more on their own power and its perpetuation than on the country's problems.

March 19, 1966



**S**TATISM is not a new evil. Long ago a protest was lodged against it by the folk wisdom of Gujarat in the shape of a proverb: "When the king takes to trading the people must take to begging". Kliuchevsky, the great historian of Russia three centuries ago, wrote "The State swelled and the people shrank."

July 2, 1966

## A Deceptive Description

**L**OOSE Talk about "democratic socialism" is now the shield behind which the Congress Party shelters its exploded socialist pattern. 'Democratic socialism' like 'nature cure' can serve to confuse people. The word carry no precise denotation. All cures are nature cures. Anything used to cure, from poisonous drugs down to water by way of an enema, or a hot water bottle is no

just nature but an external addition. The text-books of 'western medicine'—as modern advanced medicine is inaccurately called, it being more eastern than western in origin in early development—refer to nature and lay it down as the first rule in the art and science of healing that doctors can only help nature to heal, that they cannot heal anything by themselves, and that even in helping nature they should not overdo it. What is 'democratic socialism apart from other kinds of socialism? If the state compels producers positively, or negatively restricts or prohibits what the producers themselves do not feel inclined to produce or stop producing, on the basis of the decisions of a central bureau of the government, it is the economic coercion called socialism, whether the government itself be a democracy or anything else. The distinction is between persuasion and coercion, between freedom and State compulsion in the economy of the nation. The centrally planned economy of the Congress Party is the coercion pattern. If government is well organised in respect of economic problems it can advise and warn so that men need not wait to learn from the reactions of the market, internal or external. But to order that production must be this or that is communist socialism, whatever adjective we may deceive the people with.

November 26, 1966



**T**HE view that even as carts are best drawn by castrated bullocks and coaches by gelded horses, with ropes and leather straps and steel bits to guide them by the nose or the mouth, so the national economy must proceed on regulated and regimented lines controlled by the State is still adhered to in spite of all the education that experience and the Swatantra Party have given to those in authority. The appointment of Prof. D. R. Gadgil as Plan Chief confirms this. The natural relation between work and profit and vice versa and the impact of one on the other are driven out by Statism. But Nature will still find her way back, as Horace said. The nation's output is the sum of the output of the individuals working for themselves; and this can be expected to run efficiently not on Central directions but only on self-interest. This is Nature which Horace said will find her way back "though driven out with a pitchfork." Prof. Gadgil's learning makes him a good horse in the stable. But horses, very good in the stable, are not all of them good on the road. The *Eastern Economist* is thoroughly disappointed over the appointment.

August 5, 1967

**I** AM an incorrigible believer in freedom for the peasant farmer and am an adversary to all the measures of curbing that freedom that are taken in the supposed interest of other important sections of the population. I am the son of a peasant farmer and I know what it is to look after a rice field and make it yield a good crop. I know the character, the diligence and the worth of all those concerned in it, not excepting the women of the village called in for transplantation and, after that, for weeding the fields. If I see a handful of rice prepared in the kitchen or to dole out to a famished beggar, I see in my mind's eye all the work and vigilance and risks undertaken by the peasants that brought these grains of rice into existence and made it available for those who cook and eat it.

February 24, 1968

## Penalising Success

**I**F Birlas, Tatas and Mafatlals have greatly increased the assets of their concerns, why should politicians be disturbed? Industries if managed well are bound to produce profits, and out of profits in the hands of good industrialists issue re-investments along with expansion as a result of popularity of stocks. This in spite of heavy corporation taxes. Instead of being happy over such expansion, a sickening attitude of intolerance is bred as an integral part of leftism. Leftism is not jealousy of wealth issuing out of good management. A good economic policy is the best instrument for social welfare, as a German paper has recently put it. It works automatically for social welfare. But it seems as if our leftists are more happy with "public" sector undertakings incurring heavy losses year after year than with successfully managed concerns in the "private" sector. Expansion proves successful management and not something which we should avoid.

April 19, 1969

## The Essential Difference

**T**HE State is and should be all-powerful, but there is a difference between a totalitarian State and a democratic State. In the totalitarian State, the individual does not count. The wisdom of the ruling group or dictator is the only wisdom that is recognized. Individual thought is looked upon as dangerous to law and order. In the democratic State, the individual does not disappear in the State, but is alive,

rich with thought and initiative. The final fate of totalitarianism is as some one has said, the seizure of all power by the Communist leaders in the army, because where thought is not free, and only force counts, the standing army is die real residuary power.

May 3, 1969

## The Permit-Licence Raj

**T**HE Prime Minister and others in her party are willing to discuss and express opinions and promise improvements on all sorts of matters. But there is one thing to which they will not refer: the handing over of the Permit-Licence-Raj to an autonomous board of persons competent to deal with industries and interested in the progress of the country in that direction. The administration of industries and the controls which Government exercises over them serve as the party's gold mine. This the PM is resolved not to give up. The reform proposed which would result in divesting party governments of secret sources of funds has been pending for a long time. If I am not mistaken Sri Ram Subhag Singh, leader of the Congress (O) Party in Parliament, has pledged his party to this divorce between party resources and the permit-licence-raj. The collection of funds for the ruling party, whichever it may be, should not have anything to do with the administration of industries and controls. This principle is kept out of all current discussions. Any thinking citizen can see the dishonesty of the inaction and silence maintained on this subject. The PM is not willing to give up her hold over the tycoons and their purses.

The State Governments would also like to have a share in the control over industries, for the same reasons and purposes as I charge the Delhi ruling party with. It would be a calamitous development if this proliferation of what is really extortion should come into being.

August 15, 1970

## A Deceptive Slogan

**S**HRI MASANI and myself have been pointing out and explaining *ad nauseam* that 'socialism' which denotes a policy of State action intended by socialists and communists to achieve social justice should not be confounded with social justice itself which is the aim. The view of statesmen is that the policy which goes by the name 'socialism' will place too great power in the hands of the ruling party and its bosses and

consign citizens to the position of serfs. It is old and tried wisdom demonstrated by experience that without a sense of freedom citizens cannot be happy with crumbs thrown to them by the State at its pleasure. This is the essential difference between Statism and the principles of the Swatantra Party which is firmly opposed to all forms of Statism, communism, fascism or Indira Gandhi's illusions. It is difficult to educate the electorate in India to see this difference between what we all aim to achieve and the means advocated by some people to attain it and to which the name 'Socialism' has been given in public speeches, newspapers, and other mass media. The Swatantra Party follows Mahatma Gandhi in being opposed to the conferment of big power on the State and the consequent reduction in the freedom of citizens, workers and producers. Socialism has become an empty and deceptive slogan to catch votes and the communists are happy that this confusion prevails.

March 6, 1971

## Killing the Golden Goose

**W**E have the state, the nation and the individuals who make up the nation. The nation is not a separate reality. The State is constituted by the nation to discharge certain essential functions for the benefit of the nation; not the other way about. It is sheer illusion to imagine that any nation derives its strength from the State. The people should be constantly vigilant to see that the State does not overstep its function and weaken the nation by killing the golden goose. The nation is only a conception. It is really made up of individuals. If the individuals are intelligent, industrious and not too self-regarding the nation grows in strength. If the individuals are not industrious and intelligent and broadminded, but are dull and unwilling to work, the nation, as a necessary consequence, loses strength and goes towards death. If the State eats up the freedom and strength of the individuals under the illusion that its strength will increase throughout such a diet, the result is disaster. The State gets weaker and weaker as the goose is digested. The nation loses its strength and the State has nothing to draw from. This is the progress of totalitarianism. The Constitution and what is written into it in the shape of the freedoms guaranteed therein must be defended at all costs, so that the goose that lays the golden eggs may not be eaten up. Communist States have learnt the truth and are slowly reversing their policies without making any public confession of the failure of their original ideologies.

August 7, 1971

## Why Prices Rise?

*"The Union Finance Ministry has expressed concern over the unwarranted rise in prices of a number of commodities, including those not subjected to a budgetary levy this financial year, and wherever appropriate, the Government will not hesitate to extend the arrangement for price control and distribution, particularly in the case of essential goods."*

*-The Hindu, August 18*

ON this text I could write a whole page of comment to expose the futility of price controls. But it is unnecessary as the Secretariat officials, and therefore the Ministers, are in touch with businessmen for other purposes and can get a full exposition from them on the subject of this front page news item. The buyer is a whole and indivisible human being. The budget's taxes and duties cannot divide him. The Centre expresses wonderment at the rise in prices of all sorts of commodities, whereas fresh taxes and duties and surcharges were imposed only on some particular commodities. If Mrs. A goes shopping intending to buy a new sarct, but finding that it costs more than she thought was reasonable, she buys a bicycle for her little son instead of the saree for herself she and others who do likewise increase the demand for children's bicycles to that extent and cause their price to rise according to the law of supply and demand. Natural laws including the laws governing human wishes and decisions cannot be suspended or repealed by Government orders or even by a law of Parliament. If a man had intended to buy new car tyres, but drops the idea on account of an unexpected rise in prices, and he goes in for re-treading his old tyres everyone can understand why re-treading also costs more than before. But it may also happen that the gentleman may stop using his own car and hire taxis more often than before, raising the demand for taxis from what it was before. Human satisfaction is what is sought to be achieved by any purchase. It is not only commodities that serve the same end that form alternatives, e.g., ghee, til or coconut oil, but to replace by another, by quite often totally different things, may give him as much satisfaction. Human satisfaction is an intangible thing and it is obtained from one of a dozen things totally different from one another. If the Government levies taxes and duties, they affect the whole market and are not limited in their impact to the particular commodities taxed or even to articles serving the same objectives.

Objectives themselves are interchangeable and so the market is one and indivisible and cannot be subjected to the decisions of the Government. Controls and more controls to meet evasions, artificial scarcity, blackmarkets and frauds, these are bound to result, though not intended.

*August 28, 1971*

## "Department of Totalitarian Progress"

INSTEAD of de-linking the pernicious and corrupt connection between the ruling party and the industrialists, we have, on the contrary, an active "Department of Company Affairs" in New Delhi whose latest threat is to strike at the press. The management of big newspapers is a very difficult job and unless there is adequate capital and harmony between labour and capital, the press will be a weak and timid observer of the national atmosphere. If the Department of Company Affairs thinks of legislation to lilliputize the big newspapers or to get the workers to get into conflicts with the management, the Governments, both in the States and at the Centre, will all become more totalitarian than they have already become.

This Department of Company Affairs, 'acting in consultation with the publicity departments of the Central Government' may well be renamed as the Department of Totalitarian Progress. It is now passing on from the established economic totalitarianism to the fundamental field of thought and expression. Those who help this rapid movement from freedom to serfdom, with funds and passive abetment are enemies of democracy, national welfare and human rights.

The press in general has exposed the totalitarian motive behind the Bill to control the management of big newspapers. The *Hindu* wrote in its leading article (August 21):

"The Supreme Court has clearly said in one of its judgments that management of newspapers cannot be treated as an ordinary trade or business activity and the freedom of the press (which is a part of freedom of speech and expression) cannot be abridged under the guise of controlling 'monopolies' in newspaper management."

Under the guise of curbing a 11011-existent monopolist trend, those in authority seem to have started a process by which they could gain control of the press. The whole thinking behind the fantastic proposal is patently mala fide.

What the sponsors of the draft Bill are now aiming at obviously is to put shackles on the press through the backdoor. They are seeking to impose restrictions regarding the ownership and management of newspapers that will make it impossible for papers to function as a free press should.

*August 28, 1971*

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# Farm Family Freedom

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## The Food Situation

**A**S AESOP'S DOG took a commanding position in the manger and kept the horse out of its food, Government has taken up a "commanding position" in the rice trade, and has savagely driven out the machinery of competitive procurement and distribution by the business community, and is trying to do what it has not the capacity ever to do. It seeks to cope with a gigantic task and make up for the inherent defects of centralized official management by simply multiplying its inefficient and unsuitable employees. We will soon have a war-time supply department to be looked after by the tax-payers—mainly the sales-tax victims. Expenditure will grow, but there will be no lessening of the distress.

The Government monkeyed with land by a grandiose scheme of placing a ceiling on ownership, and taking away land in order to distribute it among the Government's voters in the name of uplift of the poor. Fragmentation has taken the place of prospective mechanization and benami holders have newly come into being. Benami holders have a knack of also becoming real holders and tough litigants. The big farmers would have improved production by utilizing modern facilities, fertilizers and mechanization, which would have boosted production. But the fragmentation brought about by our law-makers has put an end to all this.

The favourites of the Government party were saved by means of provisions in favour of non-rice crops. Consequently, much of the land which, formerly produced paddy is now under sugar-cane cultivation.

Those who supplied grain to the cities and towns have thus gone out of commission and the smaller holders are too shrewd to part with their grain for

currency that has depreciated, and are evading sales. Higher prices are offered but not with much success in dealing with unwilling farmers. Illegitimate threats and indirect coercion, and barricades against free private movements by rail or road which are now operating, will soon be succeeded by plain coercion—"No movement out of the district without permits"—this is now the railway decree. Thus, at the source of supply, everything has been done to make a mess and prevent supply to the urban markets.

Imagine a State Government, once noted for common sense, trying to finance government purchase of all the rice wanted in the cities and towns of the Madras State! The business community was finding its own finance. Government put breaks on the orderly flow of finance by banning credit in banks on pledge of stocks. This credit was a regular and proper means of securing a continuous flow of grain from the rice basin to the urban markets, in the period from one harvest to another. This was blocked in the hope that Government would manage it and prices would go down if the money supply was reduced. The result is a complete mess.

The queues in cities and towns are lengthening beyond the catch-up width of cameras. The poor labourer's time is being cruelly wasted and his purchasing power reduced.

Then we have this anti-national idea of barring the export of rice and wheat and gram and pulses from one district to another or from one State to another. Neighbourhood is ignored and artificial barriers are sought to be utilized to prevent producers from earning what they have laboured for. State ministers are particularly fond of these tactics as they easily earn local popularity. Can law and order and civilization survive if there is abundance in Tanjore and Tiruch

while the people in Kerala or Coimbatore are starving? Can Punjab and Andhra and Rajasthan be happy if they manage to keep all their gram to themselves and the people of Madras are under a famine? This is insane food policy if India is to be one country and not a continent of warring nations. Cheap parochialism instead of being deprecated is sought to be utilized as a means to bring down prices and secure adequate supply for the local urban areas and overcome popular indignation against bad government. What is called for is a fundamental change in Government's policies; the courage needed for this reversal of policy must come from God, the source of all good and the source of all courage.

October 31, 1964



**O**F all things, an indiscreet tampering with the trade of provisions (Foodgrains) is the most dangerous, and it is always worst in the time when men are most disposed to it—that is, in the time of scarcity." Edmund Burke wrote this in 1795. The nature of man and the nature of foodstuffs have not changed during these 170 years and what the great political philosopher statesman of England said in 1795 is as true and serious today for India as it was for Britain then.

October 23, 1965

## The Mystic Phrase 'Land Reforms'

**A**LMOST every one of the critics from abroad who examine our national economy and express their opinions, and comment on our Plans, refers to 'land reforms' and recommends speedily bringing them into force; because they are essential to progress, agriculture being the foundation of progress in other spheres. But it is almost certain these critics have not examined what they refer to as 'land reforms'. Because this phrase is constantly used in official literature it is taken for granted that they denote some very desirable reforms. It is not realized that the legislative enactments and Bills going under this fine name are expropriatory enactments and proposals which far from being changes calculated to improve agriculture, do just the opposite. These legislative measures are disincentives for increased production. They are framed to deprive owners of land of their rights of ownership, and to break up large farms into non-mechanizable small units. They are intended to bring about transfer of

ownership, so as to place the broken-up units in the hands of poor labourers who cannot save or invest money on any improvement of their lands.

Just when there was a great wave of interest among the bigger farmers, be they owners or lessees, to introduce modern tools and methods of cultivation, and a phenomenal demand for fertilizers and tractors was growing, these new legislative measures based on socialist dogma were passed under the thoughtless dictation of the Congress High Command. They in fact, crushed the movement for modernizing agriculture by liquidating those farmers who were eager and had the means to modernize and improve production. A great and unhealthy fog on uncertainty descended on the occupation and the lives of agriculturists. Good farmers who had planned for greatly increased production, naturally expecting to increase their net earnings, are now afraid even to go near their lands, the Congress Party having fanned the fire of class-conflict and violence. Discord between owners and lessees, and wage-earners, and generally between those who 'have' and those who depend on the 'haves' for providing them fruitful occupation during seasons of agricultural activity, has taken the place of co-operation and industrious work in what Burke rightly called the most difficult of all occupations.

Those who would have brought progressively increasing agricultural production into being are looking on those who once most loyally co-operated with them in that work as their dangerous enemies receiving orders from irresponsible political 'workers'.

Such are the 'reforms' to which constant reference is made without understanding their true nature. These 'land reforms' are the legislative contrary of chemical fertilizers. Any amount of fertilizers may be bought or distributed even free, but without the great psychological fertilizer of ownership-incentive and harmonious co-operation, the chemical fertilizers by themselves will bear no fruit. And a great part of the stuff will even go to the black-market from small farmers for the ready money which it will buy, as they prefer it to waiting on the monsoon for a better crop.

Henry Hazlitt, the well-known economist, writes: "The so-called 'land reform' that our government officials are demanding has meant and still means destroying existing large-scale agricultural enterprises, dividing land into plots too small for efficient or economic cultivation, turning them over to untried managers, undermining the principle of private property, and opening a Pandora's box of still more radical demands."

Although these remarks were made by Henry Hazlitt about Latin American governments receiving Aid

from the USA, readers can see how every word in the extract quoted applies completely and appositely to what has been done and is being done, in India.

The abolition of zamindari estates and the liquidation of the intermediary collectors of land revenue was real reform. That has nothing to do with the liquidation of freehold-owners of land as is being contemplated as land reform. Indeed, I led the zamindari abolition in India in 1938 by a legislative committee that went into the subject in undivided Madras and gave its report, which led to the abolition of zamindars in all the provinces throughout India. There is confusion in the minds of many people on this point. The hereditary agencies set up for collection of government land revenue should not be confused with big owners of freehold land, who are not just intermediaries appointed for administrative convenience by the British Government for tax collection from peasants. These freehold landowners may be big or small and should not be confounded with farmers of land revenue created by the Government. The bigger landowners have been now made the target of a liquidation programme, and this is what has arrested the progress of farming in India. In addition to the direct injury done, the smaller peasants have lost their natural leaders, for these have abandoned their rural homes and gone to live in the towns and cities. Large acreages of rice land have been turned to production of sugarcane to feed the sugar mills, and thereby evade the Land Ceiling Acts. Indeed these exemptions from the Ceiling Law are closely connected with the politics of the Congress Party. One of the staunch supporters of the Congress in Madras has thus evaded the Ceiling Law. He was one of the biggest rice producers in Thanjavoor district. It is a case big enough for an independent parliamentary enquiry. So also the change from rice to jute in other parts of India.

Land is a sensitive wife, said the author of *Kural*. If the owner does not personally attend to the minutest detail in cultivating the farm but is indifferent, the farm will in turn become indifferent to him, like the housewife who is not duly cared for by the husband. The uncertainties and conflicts that now hamper investment and generally reduce the interest of the owner in his land, must be brought to an end and give place to a bond between owner and land such as exists between a Hindu wife and her husband, to which Tiruvalluvar has compared it. This is the true land reform that national production requires. Every form of property, including farms, small as well as big, calls for this guarantee of relationship, so that sacrifices may be willingly made for its conservation and improvement.

April 16, 1966

## An Oppressed Class

THE farmers who are now an oppressed class should be given the highest status in society. The tax on food producing fann land is a shame. They should not be coerced to part with the product of their labour and care except for prices settled in the free market. The present practice of directly or indirectly coercing them to sell at government-fixed prices must be stopped. The entire nation should bear the burden of the inflations caused by government policy. To compel the producer of food to sell cheap so that cost of living index and industrial wages can be kept low is gross injustice. We should take all necessary steps to have the farmers' interests adequately represented in Parliament.

September 3, 1966

## Foolish Advice

SMT. GANDHI has asked people to change their food habits to meet the food shortage. Shri Asoka Mehta wants family planning to be given a more serious drive, otheiwise he says his plan must break down. More money should be spent and a grand rural attack on population should be organized. Leaving this futile, expensive and wasteful proposition aside, Indira Gandhi's advice that people should change over from wheat and rice to potatoes and vegetables is indeed a fresh edition of the old French story of bread and cake. Are vegetables and potatoes more plentiful than wheat and rice, and are they cheaper? Both availability and cost make vegetables and potatoes as good as cake against bread. Cheap cellulose cannot make up the calories required for maintaining life, and worthwhile vegetables or potatoes are a luxury even for the "middle" economic level of the population.

\* October 29, 1966

MAKE the tillers the owners and all will be well some thought. But it did not work any more than making all the owners the tillers would have worked. Owners and tillers must work together, Like vowels and consonants in spoken language. Congressmen and the Communists set them by the ears, and food has now to be imported. A policy of harmony and cooperation can set things right, if men give up the art of reaping votes by sowing conflict. Management and investment are as necessary as ploughing and sowing and the two must come together again in mutual trust.

July 29, 1967

## Agricultural Income-Tax

**T**HERE appears to be a feeling in some quarters that the rural sector incomes are not laid under such heavy taxation as the urban incomes are, and that therefore agricultural income-tax would be a reasonable levy. An income-tax on farmers would be oppressive in many ways. The expenses incurred by farmers for many purposes connected with raising and protecting foodgrains and the personal labour and attention the farmers, families and dependents put into the work are substantial but unaccountable and would not go to reduce any income-tax levied on farmers' incomes. Expenditures incurred in industrial and other urban incomes go to reduce the latter, but not so the cost of labour and vigilance that go to make a harvest. The intrinsic difficulties of accounting would render the levying of an income-tax on farmers, most of whom are peasants holding small areas of agricultural land, a great hardship.

The big farmers, owners of large holdings, it may be thought, may engage clerks and accountants and keep accounts and furnish all the returns which the Income-tax Department would demand. But these large owners of land are disappearing fast by reason of socialistic legislation fixing ceilings on holdings and by reason of the fragmentation necessarily attendant on sons and daughters and grand-children. If any tax on agricultural income is introduced, it would call for a floor level of income different from that of the tax on urban incomes, and also procedural differentiation in many respects. Those who are in actual touch with the affairs of rural families can understand what I have tried to explain. Academical considerations are one thing, but the realities of rural life are quite another, which can be realized only by those who are in direct contact with that life.

Whether these arguments make any impression on those who believe that an agricultural income-tax would be a legitimate levy, I hold fast to the plea put forward by Gandhiji that those who produce the food necessary for the nation should be rewarded instead of being taxed for the great service they render. Gandhiji held this view very strongly and I know this not only from what he has written but from many conversations I had with him on this subject. The peasant, who produces food for the people, undertakes the risks involved in the vagaries of the monsoon and the ravages of pests, and of birds, rodents and other animals. The Income-tax Department cannot and will not deal with losses, while it will be alert on the income-side. The small farmer generally keeps his rice and wheat for himself and his family, and if

he has any surplus left sells it to neighbouring consumers to meet the social burdens he has to bear and to meet his other needs. It is the big farmer really that sends part of his stock to the urban markets for maintaining the officials and the industrial workers who crowd in the cities and fight for fair wages, and get them through the strength of their trade unions. The big farmers too are, therefore serving the nation in an essential way at their own risk, and it would be unjust to tax them instead of rewarding them for the national service they render. As already mentioned the tribe of holders of big farms is dwindling. Companies with their offices in the cities can remain big and continue to be big but not those who raise food crops in the rural areas. I hold fast, as I said, to the view which Gandhiji argued and justified that those who produce rice, wheat or the coarser grains going to the kitchens of all the other sections forming the nation should not be taxed.

The traditional levy of "land revenue" which has been inherited from the old rulers of India, Hindu and Muslim, and kept up without any statutory basis by Government in the days of the British regime and by the national Government is itself an unjust impost. It was defensible when the main source of revenue for the sircar in the old days was land revenue, but not now when direct taxes and indirect taxes of various kinds furnish money for the bulk of the needs of the sircar.

The rural people, those who still stick to the rural area, without going to the cities for sharing in industrial production, really work hard and serve the nation, while the rest of the population have come to look upon work as an intruder in life and try as far as possible to escape it. We should be grateful to them, not tax them for what they are doing for enabling the nation to live. Any rewards they enjoy as a result of their hard work and their patience, they fully deserve and ought not to invite the jealousy of other sections of the population who can justly be classified as living on the fruits of the hard work of the farmers and who enjoy much political power in one way or another.

*November 2, 1968*

## Procurement Policy Wrong

**G**OVERNMENT' procurement should not become a dogma. It is only an administrative policy dictated by the situation regarding supply and demand. If food production is ample, Governments should not pursue the policy of procurement but should allow the trade to solve the problems of capital investment in pur-

chases and proper storage until the grains get distributed among retailers. The decentralization itself will solve more than half the problems, and the rest will be solved by the better knowledge and experience and close touch of the wholesalers with the retailers in their respective areas. The national economy will profit by this relinquishment of procurement in favour of freedom of trade. It is wrong to hold on to procurement out of the fear that the dropping of it when we have good production will make it difficult to resume that policy when necessary. The Administration should be released from dogma, as it should certainly be from interference at the instance of party bosses for reasons of personal advantage or party interests. Reason must be freed from the chains of dogma and the Administration must be isolated from the interests of the party in transient authority. National welfare and public confidence in democracy demand these two emancipations. My advice may be discarded if we do not wish parliamentary democracy to succeed in India.

*August 28, 1971*

**T**HE so-called reduction of land ceiling may give satisfaction to those who politics are based on envy but not those who believe that it would, if mechanization finds a place in agriculture where it can do so without disturbing other things. The laws governing succession among Hindus and Musalmans provide automatic fragmentation without the help of statutory ceilings. Neither Hindus nor Musalmans are inclined to indulge in testamentary disposals contrary to the rule of intestate succession, unless special circumstances of family justice demand such variations.

*March 11, 1971*



**I**F 18 crores of land are good enough for one family what happens if that one family becomes six families on the demise of the present owner and the six families become 36 families before long? Reasonable taxation on income is legitimate but not ceiling on areas of land held at present.

*May 20, 1971*

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# Mrs Gandhi, Her Party and Government

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## Speaking to the Poor

**T**HE Congress Party's **daily** assertion is that it is deeply concerned about the welfare of the poorer section of India's people. And that the Swatantra Party's leaders are concerned with an opposite interest. This is a great propagandist lie. We are all concerned about the uplift of the poor and their welfare. It is one thing to be concerned, another thing to know how to realise the welfare of the poor—which we desire to achieve. The licence-permit-quota regime and the monopolies which it has created, the nationalisation of big concerns and the mismanagement and losses that it leads to, the indirect taxation which inevitably accompanies State trading, all these and other features of the Statist socialism which the present Government of India is practising do not contribute to the uplift of the happiness of the poorer sections of our people.

Taxation and the public debt, and large administrative expenditure, have caused prices to soar, making the poor man's life a life of unrelieved distress. The Swatantra Party wants a reversal of all these Statist policies. It stands for the restoration of normal competition among producers and distributors. The poor are being deceived by the Congress Party, because the power resulting from the licence-permit-raj and the day to day enjoyment of it by that party are too sweet to be given up. The Swatantra Party insists that it should be given up. No Government, whatever be the party in office, should be allowed to enjoy the power that the Congress Party now enjoys on account of the licence-permit-quota raj going by the name of 'socialism'. It is not democracy. It is not freedom. It is tyranny and a machine for perpetuation of power in a single party. In 1954, the Congress Party formally

adopted a policy of increasing the State's power over the people's economic life, in the hope, thereby, of improving the lot of the poorer sections of the population. Eleven years have passed and the party has not succeeded in demonstrating the wisdom of that policy. It has steadily increased the control of the State over the national economy, but it has utterly failed to improve the lot of the poor. No Government can reasonably ask for longer than eleven years' trial for any policy which it adopts in variation of established usage. The Congress Party still refuses to admit its error.

The lot of the poor can be improved only by increased production, industrial as well as agricultural. Such increased production must necessarily issue out of better incentives for those engaged in production, and not by more and more controls or harassments by officials, or by more and more taxation which reduces the incentive for work and production.

The Swatantra Party wants less taxation, and more incentives for production which will, in turn, increase employment, increase wages and improve the lot of the poor. The natural incentive for saving is the opportunity of re-investment and thereby the prospect of increased **income**.

In vainly persisting in its wrong policy, the Congress Party has led the nation into a degree of indebtedness to foreign nations, which will sit on succeeding generations of the poor as a monstrous and irredeemable burden making life miserable and devoid of all hope for them.

In spite of patent failure, the Congress Party holds on to power without abandoning its erroneous policies. The Congress Party has learnt to utilize the administration to perpetuate its rule, but the electorate has

unfortunately not learnt yet to use the ballot-paper to dismiss the party from power. The electorate is largely uneducated. It is deceived to think that the goal of socialism, viz., the improvement of the poor man's lot will be attained in some miraculous way by the Congress—an old, hallowed national institution which cannot be speaking falsehood! The poor man's lot cannot be bettered by trade and industry being managed by officials—and this, in reality, is socialism. The Congress Party has deteriorated in all ways and its desire to be in office has disabled it from thinking aright.

The poor need opportunities for giving their honest labour and earning reasonable wages to run their families. These opportunities will increase with the increase of private industries and private trade spread all over the country, not through a few big Government plants or State-trading concerns which can only engage a limited number of people. Free economy alone can bring employment to the doors of the poor millions, and this is the policy of the Swatantra Party. This obvious truth is sought to be hidden away from the poor by sheer calumny and abuse. Those who utter calumny against private trade and private enterprise have been given more than ten years' trial to improve the lot of the poor through the policy of giving all power to ministers and officials. The results of that long trial are well-known—corruption, the rich getting richer, and the life of the poor remaining just as miserable as it was in 1954.

It is not a battle between two broadly different policies, between State management and free economy, but between a group that has seized the administrative machinery, and all government and quasi-government influence, enabling it to win elections, and a group that offers free economy to the people but which has no power to bribe the voters with anything immediately attractive to the voters, because it is not in office nor in possession of the public exchequer. The voters should not allow themselves to be thus bamboozled but should cast their votes so as to remove this Congress incubus out of office and give a chance to those who oppose Statism and are prepared to take charge of the affairs of the nation on the basis of free economy and minimum State-intervention.

The poor should ask themselves the simple question: Are we better off today than ten years ago? If the answer is in the negative, they should put the stamp on the Swatantra Party candidate or any one else, that, like the Swatantra Party, opposes the blighting State controls and believes in free economy. The electorate should refuse any longer to support the Congress Party. Let the Congress Party sit in oppo-

sition and plead for State controls wherever such controls would be for the good of the poor. The reins of government should no longer be in their hands. And this the electorate has the power to decide.

*June 5, 1965*

## Shielding a Congress M.P.?

**T**HE Speaker directed the Minister of State for Finance to lay on the table of the Lok Sabha a statement on the quantity of gold seized from the car of a Congress M.P. in Bombay". This is an *Express News Service* item from New Delhi of September 2. "Replying to a question on the seizure of gold from the car of this unidentified M.P., the Minister said the matter was under investigation." If it had been not a Congress M.P. but, say, a Swatantra M.P. would he have been left "unidentified? I ask this question, ugly though it is. "Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari intervened to point out that the driver of the car was suspected to be involved in smuggling". This intervention of the Finance Minister seeking to create a defence for the Congress M.P. throwing the driver to the wolves, while "the matter was under investigation" does not make a good show.

*September 11, 1965*



**T**HERE is no secret treaty or conspiracy about it, but it is a fact that America by its aid is maintaining the Congress Party in office. But for the aid, it would have toppled down in confusion. This incontrovertible fact has been turned into a secret treaty by imaginative journalists in America.

*November 5, 1966*



**S**M.T. INDIRA GANDHI is going on a long holiday to East Europe. One wonders if present Indian conditions justify her absence from the country, unless it has been prescribed as a cure for mental tension.

*October 14, 1967*



**I**T appears that with the expert assistance and experience of the Prime Minister of India, who is moving from one important centre to another in East Europe, the knotty problems of that continent may be resolved. The problems of India meanwhile not only continue but are growing in complexity.

*October 28, 1967*

## A Tax on Windows

**T**HE hard worked postal and telegraph employees will thank the Finance Minister for the new scale of stamps. The pressure of work will be substantially reduced as a result.

The next step for investigation in the Finance Department can be whether a central tax cannot be levied on the number of windows dwelling houses have. This would be levying a tax on the air we breathe, but why not, when we so badly need revenue?

May 25, 1968

## A Tale of Two Sons

**I** SHALL not believe the story about the Prime Minister's son and the small car which appears on the front page of Organizer which I have just received and read until it is confirmed. I am under the impression that Smt. Indira Gandhi is too shrewd to commit such a mistake as is taken for granted by the Organizer. If it turns out to be true, it would be a great contrast to what Sri M. R. Masani's father R. P. Masani did when he was Vice-chancellor of Bombay University and a committee had made Minoo one of the law examiners on the ground of his qualifications. "As long as I am Vice-chancellor my son cannot be made an examiner, whatever may be his fitness" declared R. P. Masani.

September 5, 1970

## Wisdom or Claptrap?

**I** HAVE said harsh words about how Smt. Indira Gandhi has come to hold dictatorial power and about her policies of governance. But I was delighted to read the report that in the course of her speech at Oxford, when the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws was conferred on her, she expressed the hope that India would not abandon the values by which it had preserved itself for thirty centuries. I hope these words expressed Smt. Indira Gandhi's sincere thoughts inspired by the occasion and the place, and were not mere claptrap. Let us pray that she may be blessed with the strength and purity of spirit and the wisdom to help the fulfilment of this hope. There is nothing God cannot bring about if He chooses. Did not Saul of Tarsus who persecuted the Christians become Paul the apostle by the grace of Jesus? (N. T. Acts. ch 9).

November 13, 1971

## Understanding Mrs. Gandhi

**S**OME people wishfully believe that they understand Smt. Indira Gandhi's mind better than she herself does. They imagine that she is only totalitarian for show and that really she is pragmatic at heart and on that presumption wish to join her and her party. This is folly and will only precipitate totalitarian dictatorship.

January 22, 1972

## A Remedy Worse than the Disease

**H**AS not astute Smt. Indira Gandhi realised that all the funds she gets for strengthening her position is got out of fear of harassment and injustice and not out of devotion or any appreciation of her regime? This way of finding funds is nothing but extortion. No one who gives her funds gives out of love but only out of fear.

They hate the prospects of her rule but give because of the apprehensions of immediate harassment and ruin. Smt. Indira Gandhi ought to be able to see at least now that this is not government but anarchy. And anarchy cannot last. As long as the permit-licence extortion is the PM's illegal monopoly, it is anarchy and not government or the rule of law. A time will come when the illusions of gains through wrong and immoral policies will go up in smoke and godliness will triumph. God knows how to bring this about and through what instrument of His, but it is as certain as the laws of nature that it will come about.

The sooner the PM makes up her mind to give up her illegal licence-permit monopoly and hands over its administration to an autonomous expert body, the better it would be for her and for the people. Evil spreads fast and the sooner it is over-come, the safer it is for the future of our nation. Instead of doing away with the Permit-Licence-Raj to share it with the State Governments and their party bosses to gain support from the States is to perpetuate and increase the evil and make even the lowest levels rankle with corruption.

The slogan of State autonomy is an unreal slogan although it can be theoretically justified in a political 'seminar'. The language of the Constitution about federalism may theoretically justify the State autonomy slogan. But it is unreal in the context of the financial structure laid down in the Constitution. All taxes and duties that can serve as legitimate resources in any significant measure are under the control and administration of the Central Government. The taxes and

duties that can be administered by the States are very limited in character and capacity. We should remember that an ill-considered increase in the taxes and duties under the control of the State Governments will prove suicidal to the Governments and the political bosses of their parties. Any ill-considered increase in the State's taxes and duties must lead to want of confidence, increase of general distress and chronic instability.

The slogan of State autonomy can serve as a political deceiver but, as I have said, in reality, it is only a demand for a share in the corrupt resources of the Centre. The remedy for this corruption would be worse than the disease if the State Governments and the

parties acquire a vested interest in it through State autonomy and oppose the elimination of the Government's connection with the licensing administration and help to continue it as an executive monopoly for the ruling parties in the Centre and in the States.

What is required is a surgical operation. A fracture in the leg cannot be cured by applying Vicks or Amrutanjan to the head. Permit-Licence-Raj furnishing illegal and corrupt funds to the Government parties to perpetuate themselves must disappear if the health of the national economy and the regimes of the various governments must be improved.

*March 11, 197*

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# Elections Parties and Funds

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## Queering the Pitch

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

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

*February 11, 1967*

## The Ban on Company Contributions

**T**HE character of any Government policy must be determined by the time and context in which such a policy is inaugurated and not merely by an academic

analysis of the policy. The Bill now to be introduced to ban company contributions to political parties is particularly open to the objection that it is calculated to let the Congress Party continue to thrive on its authority over the permit-licence field while legally barring the opposition parties from receiving any help from companies. The observations of the *Indian Express* are based on uncontestable ground:

"Four years after the Santhanam Commission recommended a ban on donations by joint stock companies to political parties, the Union Government has introduced a Bill providing for the ban. When the Opposition parties in the Lok Sabha, long before the Santhanam Commission's report, demanded that public limited companies should be banned from making such donations, the Congress strongly opposed the move. Its attitude at that time seems to have been largely influenced by the fact that it was the largest, if not the sole, beneficiary from such contributions. Following the 1962 elections, which saw a weakening of the Congress Party's strength at the Centre and the emergence of the Swatantra and Jana Sangh in some numbers in the Lok Sabha, the approach of companies to political parties appears to have undergone a sea-change. Several big business houses started distributing their political largesse over a wider circle. Can it be the realization that joint stock companies would in future be more favourably disposed towards non-Congress parties... which has belatedly moved the Congress Party to set about imposing a ban on such contributions?"

The immorality of the Government's present move is obvious, although the *Indian Express* puts it in the form of a question. The Central Government's hold

over companies is too well known to require any evidence to be cited. The Government's belated discovery of the corrupting effect of company donations to party chests has been referred to in the statement of objects and reasons, prefacing the Bill.

Governments may be corrupted by donations to the party chest. But the more obvious fact is that government parties can extort 'donations'. The intimidation and fears that brought about donations of vast sums to the Congress Party both at the Centre and in the States during previous elections are glaringly obvious and make such donations sheer robbery. The robber may not be always grateful to the victims of fear and may in some cases seek to sanctify his own image by doing disservice to the very companies and persons victimised. But this does not alter the immoral nature of the exactions.

The proper thing to do now is to make an all-out effort to reduce the cost of electoral campaigns for parties and candidates. The State should take over and bear all such expense as can be legitimately so done, and relieve parties and candidates of a large part of the expenditure they now have to bear. The objections that may be pointed out to such a shift of work and expenditure must be overruled and every step should be taken at State expense to make such a shift free from undesirable consequences. Where there is a will there is a way.

Most important of all is a plain and clear and immediate re-organization of the permit-licence-raj so that all power exercised over companies by the Central and indirectly by State Governments should be transferred to a completely autonomous and non-political body. This is a *sine qua non* which should not be shelved on any ground whatsoever.

Indeed these should be first done and put on a satisfactory footing before the proposed Bill to ban company donations is taken up for debate. This priority must be insisted on (1) of having the election campaign expenses for parties and candidates to be justly analysed and the proper share of these expenses placed on the State and (2) of installing an autonomous Board to administer the permit-licence-raj at all stages,—to precede the debate on the Bill to ban or curb company donations. If the opposition groups fail to insist on this priority, we are doomed to be a totalitarian slave State. Labourers and workers of all types will be Government employees strictly under discipline soaped with sweet phrases. A State under the governance of a closed group of Communists, though they may call themselves Congressmen, will be upon us. Of course as long as human nature is human nature hope need not die. We may yet look

forward to a revolution, and the slave State may one day reorganize itself into a democracy of free citizens.

May 25, 1974

## Save Democracy : Make Elections Less Expensive

SERIOUS and sufficient attention has not been given in responsible quarters to the problem of making elections to Parliament and to the State legislature very much less expensive than they are now. I have for a long time been insisting on this as an essential reform. If we desire to have good government in India this is an absolutely necessary step to be attended to at once. Whether we desire to re-organize Government on the majority party basis, or on a coalition basis or a no-party basis, or on a proportional representation system, this reform is a condition precedent. We must make it possible for candidates to contest seats though not able themselves to bear much expense and not desiring to depend on wealthy friends or wealthy parties.

The more expensive we make elections, the greater the dependence on political parties will be. The loss of that independence which Edmund Burke wanted for members of Parliament becomes a necessary consequence. The nexus that has developed between the ruling party and the permit-licence-raj which prevails will be a permanent feature of India's economy if we do not take serious, effective steps to make elections very much less expensive. The party in office can raise funds from its potential clientele; not other parties.

Every nation has its own peculiarities. Poverty is our peculiarity in India. Poor people should perhaps be content with a monarchic system of government. But we have been ambitious and plunged for democracy, based on elections. This ambition cannot be truly fulfilled unless our experienced administrators find a way to make elections dead cheap. I would go so far as to say that we ought to be willing to sacrifice many good features if we can succeed in making every seat in the legislature available to a man or woman of merit however poor he or she may be, without having to go and beg for money from others to enable him or her even to try.

We have had quite a few general elections, and some of our retired officials as well, as some still in office have acquired considerable knowledge of all the details of expenditure which a candidate has to go through. They can sit together and devise adequate

measures to bring about the reforms I am insisting upon. The party now ruling in Delhi should realize that this is one of its most important and urgent responsibilities. It should give up the temptation to maintain its own life by perpetuating the expensiveness of elections for candidates willing to serve in Parliament or in the State legislatures.

As I have often pointed out, much of the expense is really what the State ought to bear on behalf of all the candidates. We should see to this transfer of the burden from candidates to the State, while at the same time safeguarding the voters against the blandishments of the party in power. The High Command of the election proceedings should be an autonomous Board totally independent of the ruling executive. This is not a difficult task to organize, as we have already a fairly independent judiciary throughout the country as well as at the top in the Supreme Court. Let us remember that there is not a single reference to political parties in the Constitution. The tendency has however been to make the party system more and more firmly planted. Instead of this we ought to make it more and more easy and popular for independent candidates to enter the legislatures. It may be administratively easier to handle things if candidates come in only through recognized political parties. But what is easy is not always the best way to attain national welfare and efficiency. We have had enough of political parties. Wherever else this system may have done well, it is not doing well in India, and will not do better as time goes on but will get worse and worse. It is crude, undemocratic and immoral to make elections so expensive as to drive candidates to sell themselves to parties by shutting other avenues against them in order to reduce the number of candidates and make official work easy. A panel of experienced men should be immediately set up to deal with this matter of making elections less expensive for candidates desiring to be independent of the financial help of political parties or of wealthy bosses.

If the increase in the number of candidates is thought to be undesirable from any other point of view, a system of voting which will obtain the voters' preferences and enable the unspent vote to be transferred to the next preference can be devised. All aspects of the problem should be thoroughly gone into by an expert committee, without losing sight of the main objective, viz., to make elections as inexpensive as possible for candidates. Politics should not become a preserve of wealthy parties or of wealthy men's stooges.

*July 13, 1968*

IT is sometimes pointed out that the Swatantra Party also receives donations from businessmen though admittedly very much less than what is got by the Congress Party. Donations to a party in office is corruption. Voluntary donations given to a party which is not in office but opposing and criticizing the Government is not corruption but a commendable sign of courage and legitimate assistance to the progress of democracy.

*January 18, 1969*

## **Misplaced Gratitude**

THE Swatantra Party has done a great deal by way of educating the Congress out of its Statist policy. The leaders of the business community are quite content with this, and are grateful; not to the Swatantra Party. They support the tyrant for the small mercies they now have from him, ignoring how they were obtained.

*February 22, 1969*

## **Money Influence and the Remedy for it**

THE esteemed elder statesman of USA, Mr. David Lawrence, writes in his editorial in *US News & World Report* (a weekly magazine with a circulation of 1,850,000) what should be deemed most valuable support for my oft-repeated plea in respect of the burden of expense falling on candidates and political parties who have not the advantages which office and control of the economy give. Unless the heavy expense involved is taken over by the Government wherever it is possible and legitimate, there is no prospect of making parliamentary democracy work properly in India. Mr. David Lawrence's approach deserves the earnest attention of the Election Commission and the Government of India. Mr. Lawrence, in his article, lays emphasis on the corrupting bias donations collected from individuals and private corporations give to the votes of those who have attained positions with such help.

"The issue is not a new one. Campaign expenses have risen tremendously in recent years, and only the very rich find it possible to run for public office without depending on contributions.

"Is there a way, therefore, by which campaigns can be financed by the Government itself, in order that office-bearers will not be put under obligations to groups

or individuals who have contributed to their selection? Certainly the total sum of money spent in a congressional election is not relatively large. Nor is it so big even in a presidential campaign that an appropriation for the expenses of each party would be too great for the American people to bear, especially if this assures that officials and legislative representatives in government will be independent-minded.

"The public generally is unaware of the financial burden imposed on candidates in federal, State and local elections.

"But should all this be a personal expense?

"The best plan of all would be for the Government to provide for the expenses of nominees campaigning for federal office.

"The small amount of money that needs to be appropriated would be well worth what could be achieved by substituting it for the financing practices in the politics of today."

In India the mischief is not only the corrupting bias which obligations to individuals and companies give to the members elected to legislatures or appointed as ministers. The heavy expense of candidature keeps out everybody except those who can find money from rich friends and corporations. Many a person who would be an excellent member or minister is precluded from candidature by reason of the expense involved in informing voters of their voting rights and details in the voter's lists relating to the several voters. This information and this expense are repeated by all the candidates who contest. There is no reason why Government should not give all this information to the voters without making it necessary for candidates to do this. The expense of the Government for doing this would be much less than the total of the expenditure incurred for this purpose by the candidates and parties. We must remember in this connection that the electorates run into lakhs of voters.

Again, there is no reason why Government should not arrange to collect votes from the voters direct at their residences instead of assuming that the voters would be able to go to the polling booths without the help of conveyances or paying for such conveyances themselves. Candidates are today prohibited from helping voters with transport. All these unreasonable conditions would be obviated if the ballot-papers were taken to the voters by electoral officials in mobile booths and the voters' preference recorded at each voter's residence.

The experiments made in a few places on these lines have been quite successful. The system should be universalized. Successful democracy calls for this change in procedure whatever be the additional burdens

on Government on this account. It must be remembered that elections are held, not for the benefit of candidates who should therefore bear all the expense but are held for the nation's benefit. It is legitimate that all the expense and trouble involved in collecting the votes of the electorate should be borne by Government. This reform will keep out the corruption and group intimidation that now play a large part in the elections, besides enlarging the scope for securing good and worthy candidates who are not in a position to incur the expense involved in an electoral contest.

The man or woman who gets to top power in New Delhi without being too scrupulous about how to retain power, has a vested interest in making elections too expensive. The person holding power can get any amount of money he or she needs, through the tight hold on tycoons which the Permit-Licence-Raj gives and contrariwise starve all others in that respect. In addition, the expense of elections places a powerful instrument in the hands of the Prime Minister to keep his or her hold on those who sit on the ministerial chairs by a threat of dissolution of Parliament and throwing the members into the costly mess of fresh elections if they are not obedient and suppress their own convictions however strong they may be.

*November 21, 1970*

## The Congress (R) Symbol

IF Smt. Indira Gandhi and her legal advisers insist on holding on to the cow symbol, the Supreme Court will be compelled to set aside any election which is fouled by the exploitation of that religious symbol. The cow symbol by itself is a silent and forceful religious appeal. This is my answer to the Election Commission's argument that unless an appeal is made by candidates on the basis of religion the symbol by itself is not illegal. Gandhiji has more than once emphatically declared that cow worship is an essential and distinguishing feature of Hinduism. The calf ever if it is made big to help the two-bullocks simulation really emphasizes the Hindu feeling of sacredness of the mother cow and makes the objection to that symbol even stronger.



*February 6, 1971*

AS I have protested in my telegram to the Election Commission, it would be totally unfair and wrong to give to the New Congress the cow symbol. It would lay the election open to being declared as improperly conducted if the error is not rectified. The best symbol

for Smt. Indira Gandhi's party would be the steam engine as she claims to be a "progressive." The dates fixed in the President's notification leave no time for necessary correction of serious errors made by the Election Commission. This hustling cannot however be a justification for serious blunders to be permitted.

*February 6, 1971*



**T**HE Cow & Calf symbol should not have been allowed to any party. Go-maataa, the cow-mother, is an object of Hindu worship throughout India and it should not have been allowed to be an election symbol for any political party. Gandhiji wrote that cow worship is an essential part of Hinduism. Gandhiji was not a faddist or fanatic. He examined the subject in a spirit of pure enquiry and came to this conclusion. That this wrong allotment was done at the last poll should be no reason for continuing a grave error. Congress (R) wants this symbol to continue for the very reason why it was wrong to give it to any party, viz., that it brings

in Hindu votes almost automatically on account of religious feeling in favour of the symbol.

*November 27, 1971*

## **A Peculiar Recommendation**

**T**HE Election Commissioner has suggested that the Congress (O) should find a new name for itself. What the Congress(O) should do is to find a policy, not a new name. Old Congress and New Congress are the right names respectively for what is old and what is new. The Election Commissioner's recommendation is like giving the Protestant church the right to call itself "Christianity, and asking the Vatican to find a new name for its Christianity! But it is not names that matter. What matters is policy. The Old Congress should go back to the Constitution and give up the policy of wrecking it. Its policy should be the defence of the Constitution and opposition to the wrecking of it. It could then fittingly call itself Old Congress.

*November 27, 1971*

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# Thoughts on Gandhi Jayanti

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## The Gandhi Centenary

**A** CENTENARY celebration should be a festival of joy. The Gandhi Centenary which the calendar brings up this October is in a year which witnesses perhaps the least joy and the greatest disarray in Indian affairs and also perhaps the greatest disappointments in world affairs.

Not a night passes but Gandhiji comes up alive in my dreams. Whatever may be the physiological causes of this, it is happening. I shall in this page pretend to speak to him and include his replies to me as I conceive them.

"Bapu," say I, "would you take charge of Indian affairs now and set things right?"

"No, my dear friend, I shall not be able to set things right, not even I. Everything has gone contrary to my way and gone too far the wrong way."

"Bapu, but suppose you were compelled to take charge of India, what would you do?"

"Why should I be forced to do what I cannot do? But let me see. Yes, if I must return and take charge, I would lead a battle against the people of India as I led the battle against the people of Britain fifty years ago."

"I do not understand. You battled then to compel the British Raj to withdraw from India. What is the battle you now propose against the people of India?"

Gandhiji: "The battle will be to make the people of India honest; to give up the idea of robbing one another, they should be told to rob Nature which is eager to be robbed. Produce, do not steal, will be my slogan."

"Are not our people honest?"

"I am surprised you ask this. Is there not widespread dishonesty? It is at the root of India's ills. This dishonesty must go and the atmosphere be cleansed."

"Can it be done?"

"I am a man of faith and hope. To go back to honesty is to go back to nature. I admit it calls for a stiff battle. With honesty, will come back the will to do hard work. I would battle for honesty and hard work. To go to prison was easy. To work hard is more difficult than going to prison. Without everyone working hard and without banishing dishonesty India cannot be saved from its present bankruptcy."

"Talking about bankruptcy, what about our foreign debts?"

"I would beg our foreign friends to wipe them off and declare India insolvent, and give her a chance to begin again."

"What would you do for Pakistan and others around us to become our active friends instead of nursing distrust and illwill?"

"Kashmir has become an immovable barrier if we discard untruth. Kashmir has not been solved. Pakistan wants it to fall into the pattern of the allotment in other areas on the borders on the basis of religion. India claims it on the basis of the Maharaja's accessions to India. Let us face this problem boldly and truthfully, remembering that it is the people that are to be helped to govern themselves and not the land called Kashmir."

"What about our public expenditure?"

"Yes, public expenditure and heavy taxes to meet it. Both should be reduced. But do not ask me too many questions. The main battle is the battle for honest conduct and for the banishment of laziness and indifference on the part of investors as also on the part

of workers. Hard work should be the motto on both sides, and no conflict between them. This battle for work and for honesty must be fought first. Then all will be well."

"What would you do with the Congress? Would you repeat the advice you gave just before you were assassinated?"

"Yes, I would ask the Congress to give up power, which has corrupted it as I had anticipated. I have much stronger grounds to advise it now than I had twenty years ago. A non-party council of advisers should replace the Congress for the governance of the country."

"There is no constitutional provision for this."

"True, there is no constitutional provision for the battle I would fight. I would not be deterred by lack of constitutional provisions. The Constitution was framed under the influence of illusions. If I were asked to take charge and conduct my battle, I would ask first for this change of management as a war measure."

*October 5, 1968*



"OH for Gandhi"! says a very good cartoon in the *Organizer*. But supposing a Gandhi or Gandhiji himself came in answer to this and other earnest calls for help, what could we do with him? We will not do what he wants us to do and will do what he does not want done. Like Karl Marx rising from the grave, saying "I am not a Marxist", Gandhi too would exclaim "No, I am not one of you!" to the Congressmen who drag his name down and hang on to it whenever they feel like slipping from power.

*October 14, 1967*

## Whole of India is Gandhi Sadan

I am writing this, on Gandhi Jayanthi Day, October 2. I am sorry to write unpleasant words instead of swimming with the current of hypocrisy which seeks to exploit the common folk's reverence for Father Gandhi.. Birla House is to become "Gandhi Sadan". The whole of India is really Gandhi Sadan; but, alas, all that Gandhi stood for has been given up by those in power in India and the Birla House Gandhi Sadan will be a contradiction of the policies now governing India. Godse assassinated Gandhi on January 30, 1948 and he was tried and executed. But almost everyone who now holds authority in India and who, instead of speaking the truth, speaks untruths, is a co-assassin with Godse, though not tried and convicted. Everyone in power who misleads the big Gandhi Sadan of India to totalitarianism, away from the freedom for which Gandhi stood all his life is an unconvicted abettor of Godse. Every dishonest man, either in Government or in business, is a co-assassin with Godse. Everyone who utilizes power for personal or party advantage is a Godse. Everyone who gives or receives a bribe is an unconvicted Godse. Every hypocrite in public life puts a knife into Gandhi's side.

Let us not delude ourselves into self-satisfaction by the cant of hypocrisy which is the worst of all cants as well as most tormenting. Gandhi was great. Indeed he was a miracle, but the parties and powers that rule prefer to do without him. The Gandhi Sadan ceremony on October 2 in Delhi will go on very well and make great noise like the proverbial empty vessel but it will not help us against the forces ranged against truth and freedom and the simple life and the pursuit of happiness under those conditions. We have strayed into the wrong road and must get back from the slough we have been led into and pray for the courage and firmness required for the penitent pilgrimage.

*October 9, 1971*

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# Birthday Thoughts

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## The Gita in Secular English

**T**O all those who thought good thoughts on my behalf last week and sent me messages of good wishes I tender my grateful thanks. One of the finest pieces of modern English poetry is Rudyard Kipling's 'If', which a dear young friend quoted in his letter as appropriate on the occasion of my birthday. It is the Bhagavad Gita in secular English:

If you can keep your head when all about you  
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,  
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,  
But make allowance for their doubting too;  
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,  
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,  
Or being hated, don't give way to hating,  
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise:

If you can dream – and not make dreams your master;  
If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;  
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster  
And treat those two impostors just the same;  
If you can bear to bear the truth you've spoken  
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,  
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,  
And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings  
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and toss,  
And lose, and start again at your beginnings  
And never breathe a word about your loss;  
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew  
To serve your turn long after they are gone,  
And so hold on when there is nothing in you,  
Except the Will which says to them: 'Hold on!'

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,  
Or walk with Kings – nor lose the Common touch;  
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,  
If all men count with you, but none too much;  
If you can fill the unforgiving minute  
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,  
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,  
And – which is more – you'll be a man, my son!

December 18, 19



**I** AM not proof against the intoxicating fragrance of sincere expression of appreciation coming from valued friends. Last week there has been plenty of this; the most remarkable instance of it was what S. N. V. Gadgil, at present Vice-Chancellor of Poona University, most generously said at a meeting in Poona. I was deeply touched by it and by what S. J. B. Kripalani said in Madras. These kind words from friends make me sad when I contemplate, in the context of such appreciations, of what little use I have been. The land is full of troubles and harassments, officials protected by governments. The economy has touched a dangerously low level. So much borrowed money has gone down the drain. Our rupee's purchasing power not only abroad but even in our own country has grievously gone down making life miserable for the seemingly well-paid workers and domestic employees. Our dear land is being encircled by dangerous and unreliable loyalties. Government goes on drawing money mostly from its capital, viz., past prestige. Where friendship and goodwill should have prevailed, our policies and diplomacies have stimulated hatred and indifference. Of course others are also responsible

this state of affairs. But it is our business to meet the impediments that arise and find solutions for problems even when created by others. This is life, individual as well as national.

*December 25, 1965*

### **"Rajaji 93"**

**T**HE great fuss made by Sri Sadasivam and his Committee over "Rajaji-93", without intending it, seems to order me out of the public scene with this December. But I do not propose to do this and terminate my life of protest exceptionally long though it has been. We are not masters of our lives, either in length of days or of what our work has to be. But when I see the spreading abuses, the cant, the hypocrisies, and the general fall in moral sense at the highest levels down to the un-

fortunate poor, I do not feel inclined to run away from the struggle for improving things, old, weak and incapacitated though I am.

*November 13, 1971*

### **An Old Man's Request**

**P**EOPLE are glad that I have reached the age of 93 and am entering the 94th year which is not a common occurrence. Ninety-three is not a mere arithmetical figure. It denotes and implies all kinds of physical difficulties and impediments. People send me greetings on my attainment of 93 but ask me to do a number of things, to give interviews, send articles, blessings, good wishes, messages, etc., which I am unable to do and I write this to be forgiven for not doing what I am unable to do.

*December 11, 1971*

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# The Princes and their Purses

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## Wiser than Sardar Patel!

**T**HE Present Home Minister Mr. Chavan is using all his talent for acid and irrelevant wit to denigrate India's greatest and first Home Minister Sardar Patel's word of honour given to the rulers of Indian States who agreed to retire from power as heads of their States to make India one and great. It is hoped however that in spite of all the forces behind this disgraceful proposal, India will maintain its honour and credit by rejecting the suggestion; nations must respect treaties and agreements if they wish to be considered civilized.

Does Mr. Chavan think he is wiser than Patel, Patel who was a "statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere; in action faithful, and in honour dear, who gained no title, and who lost no friends"? And what is this unintelligent scoffing at a retired I.C.S. man duly elected to parliament, or is it merely asking for laughter for want of matter? If politicians seek to bring the retired administrators into ridicule in a House that is ready to laugh at any jest of the ministers, they can retaliate by raising a laugh at the professional politicians, with greater reason behind the ridicule.

July 22, 1967

## Was Rama Foolish?

**W**HAT a fool Rama was say, Congressmen, to give up the crown and go to the forest in order to enable his father to keep his word of honour and not break his pledge. We break our pledges without compunction," the Congress Party says. "Our ideas of morality and honour have marched with the times. We are not old-fashioned like Gandhiji or Vallabhbhai Patel".

July 27, 1968

## A Personal Protest

**S**RI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Sri Vallabhbhai Patel and myself all stand to be dishonoured if Government of India uses its power to vote for a constitutional amendment to escape its legitimate financial obligations regarding the former Princes.

If a country goes so far as to vote by a two-third majority for a change in the Constitution to escape legal and moral obligations and break its sole contract, will any foreign interests feel inclined thereafter to enter into financial obligations with the country?

I have written about this emphatically and clearly. But I wish to add this personal note to the general argument. The negotiations regarding the privy purses and privileges of the Princes were concluded when I was Governor-General and was not a mere figurehead. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel are gone. I who was then Governor-General share in the responsibility of maintaining honour in this affair and it is my particular and personal duty to protest most strongly before anything dishonourable is done.

November 16, 1967

## The Real Anachronism

**T**HE PM of India described that the payments to the ex-rulers were an anachronism. I agree in quite another sense. It has now become an anachronism to keep promises. A people's reputation cannot be saved when they look upon the keeping of promises and pledges made in return for performance of the obligations on the other side as out of date. Breach of p

mises and breaking of pledges have become the characteristics of the new era in India under Smt. Indira Gandhi.

The tragedy of 1971 is the determined attack on the fundamental rights embodied in the Constitution. The misinterpretation of the Constitution is that the directions given to the Executives in Part IV of the Constitution are to be considered as over-riding the provisions embodied in Part III, wherever and whenever the Executive considers that Part III stands in the way.

This misinterpretation is truly a tragedy, which can be defended only by force of majority and not by commonsense or any code of interpretation recognized by jurists.

I am glad the small band of Swatantra Party members in the Lok Sabha as well as in the Rajya Sabha voted against the wreckers of the Constitution undaunted by the massive numbers ranged on the other side.

*December 18, 1971*

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# Vietnam

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## An Indian Squad for Vietnam

**I** MAKE a proposal for the due consideration of the Defence Ministry and the Government in order to help save this country and South Asia from what is mounting into a very grave emergency. First, Part XVII of the Constitution should be indefinitely suspended by an immediate Amendment of the Constitution. Next, a suicide squad of a thousand hardy young volunteers should be raised, 500 from South India and 500 from North India, to be trained for guerilla warfare and pledged to go to Malaysia and South Vietnam to aid in the defence of those countries against Indonesia and the North Vietnam communists. This squad should be trained, maintained and equipped for effective participation and defence in guerilla warfare. These young men's families should receive adequate allowance all the time they are under training and whether serving in India or abroad. Each one of them should be insured so that, on death or disablement, the nominated next-of-kin may immediately, and without any red tape, receive a sum of Rs. 3,000 each. A fund of thirty lakhs of rupees should be set apart for this purpose along with the inauguration of the scheme. Each section of the 1,000 men squad should consist one half of North Indian volunteers and the other half of Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Andhra volunteers. They should be equipped with weapons, drugs, etc. to cope with all the problems that would arise in jungle and guerilla warfare. The simultaneous suspension of the Official Language and the raising of this suicide squad will do a tremendous deal for national morale, integration, prestige and security.

I hope this proposal of mine will be seriously considered and not looked upon as an anti-Congress or

partisan bit of propaganda. It looks as if the resistance in Viet Nam is about to fade away and that certainly would be a decisive gain for Chinese hegemony. India must do something to change the atmosphere.

*January 23, 1968*

## A Question of Morality

**A** GAINST South Vietnam's 14 million people, Vietcong's 200,000 are waging a violent war to establish communist rule in that State. This one-seventh of the population may have a right to persuade their fellow-citizens to accept communism by peaceful reasoning but not by shooting and killing and other forms of physical intimidation. It is against this violence that America is operating and, in that process it has found it necessary also to operate against the external communist State of North Vietnam which gives military support to the communist subversion inside South Vietnam. It is a question of morality whether it is not the duty of those who have power to stand up for justice and for the defence of the world in the human family. Arguments based on national isolationism have no force in this era of one human family. There can be no neutrality on a moral issue.

*February 12, 1968*

## A Valiant Hero

**P**RESIDENT JOHNSON has stood heroically against all the tremendous pressures put upon him. Like Hercules he has stood firm as no President in American history has done before in any similar situation.

only that part of Asia which desires to hold on to democracy and freedom but the whole of the civilized world should appreciate this heroism of the American President, unprecedented in the annals of the history of democracy. Election or no election, public polls and other pinpricks and stabs in the back notwithstanding, Lyndon Johnson has proved himself to be a vaiiant hero firmly intent on carrying out the moral obligations cast on the USA. This stabbing in the back of a brave and honest man should stop if the intelligentsia of America do not wish to humiliate their nation. It is strange they do not realize the likely consequences of a US withdrawal. It looks as if they have all been brainwashed by the Communists in a subtle and effective way.

*November 4, 1967*

It is easier to fight and overcome a lie, but it is a more difficult battle if one has to fight a half-truth. The Vietnam struggle is against an external enemy who seeks to gobble up South Vietnam. But it is made to look like coping with an internal insurrection with external aid. Hence the difficuliy for America both in the war and in the negotiations.

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*May 11, 1968*

**R**EPORTS indicate that South Vietnam does not accept any coalition government as proposed by intermediaries. Obviously, the South Vietnam President, Mr. Thieu, apprehends communist domination if a coalition government gets into power. He is right in his apprehension.

*October 28, 1972*

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## Significant Essays

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### Have We Lost the Will to be Free?

**S**HORTLY after the Philadelphia Convention, the story goes that Benjamin Franklin was asked by a lady about the nature of the Constitution hatched at the convention, to which he replied "we have given you a republic, madam, if you can keep it".

In 1947 we were emancipated from British sovereignty. We were made free. But in course of time the Government into whose hands we placed ourselves has, in the name of socialism, taken away all the economic freedom that the citizens enjoyed for thousands of years, and the people have shown little inclination to resist this usurpation, the will to be free not being exercised.

Two elements are relevant in this connection. One is the basic human desire to be free or its obverse, the dislike to be ruled by any external authority. The other element is the economic rationality of socialism, apart from the question of the citizen's liberty. Even when the second point is thoroughly discussed and accepted, viz., the irrationality of disregarding natural laws and seeking to increase production and furthering prosperity through bureaucratic management, replacing private ownership and private management, the economic conviction does not take shape in action, where the will to be free is not strong enough but has been weakened by long sufferance of foreign rule. People appear to be quite willing to suffer bondage as they did before 1947.

Freedom rests not on constitutions but on the will to be free. Freedom endures only in the measure, and only so long as this will last. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women. When it is not there burning and

alive, no constitution, no law, no court can save it, an American judge put it.

Often have I felt surprised when at by-elections the Congress Party won inspite of widespread dissatisfaction with Congress rule and disapproval of Congress policies shown beyond doubt at vastly attended public meetings. I have asked myself the question, why do these people get into the Congress lorries and buses and jeeps and go and vote for shackles? Is it to be attributed to bribery? Or terror of pains and penalties likely to issue from disobedience? Surely, I have said to myself, this cannot be. The puzzle can be resolved by this absence of the will to be free. Gandhiji used to call it slave mentality. He fought hard to eliminate it. But the reaction was just anti-Britishism, not, as we now regretfully realize, the positive love of freedom and a readiness to sacrifice for retaining that precious possession against anyone interfering with it. 'Our' own Government can be as great an enemy of freedom as any foreign usurper.

The problem is, therefore, how to revive this will to-be-free and to recover it from the terrible entanglements of the State-socialist economy. It was not entangled when the British Parliament governed us.

Controlled production, controlled prices and other similar controls mean in the ultimate analysis controlling of persons. Under a controlled economy, it is persons, not things, who are told by some person who are collectively called government what they must or must not do. It is this that goes contrary to respect for human personality, gradually robs the victims of the will-to-be-free, and develops in the government a hunger for owning slaves. Happiness, even mere physical happiness, requires not only food, clothing and shelter; but also a sense of freedom. A shortage or total deprivation of any of these essential

makes men and women unhappy. Whether the rope that strangles human beings is made in England or elsewhere, or is of indigenous make, makes no difference.

Men and women can by continued force be got to accept unhappiness as a normal condition either by society or governments. And this can be carried up to a point when protests and resistance disappear, and a state of dependence is even preferred by them to the responsibility which goes with freedom. One may wonder whether the electorate in India has come to that stage; or whether we can save ourselves from that sub-human condition. The Swatantra Party hopes that this is possible. It has been truly said that every significant movement in history has been led by one or just a few individuals with a small group of energetic supporters. We saw it, not so long ago, in Gandhi's Swaraj movement in 1920, which came like an accident on top of the Khilafat movement. Liberation from the present permit-licence-raj will come, too, in that way.

July 10, 1965

## Out of it was born Indian Freedom

**T**WO small demonstrations, one one-hundred-strong and the other eighty-strong, the first wanting me to be put in prison for non-conformist political views, and the other to compel me to change my political opinions have been reported in the papers of last week. There may be any amount of pressure from the Jana Sangh or the Hindu Maha Sabha or the RSS or from neo-Congress groups led by editors of **Nathikam** and other disciples of veteran Periar, a confirmed atheist; I am conscientiously unable, for their sake, to give up my faith in the principle of self-determination. The doctrine of self-determination formulated by President Wilson was the tap root out of which Indian Freedom and the freedom of many Asiatic nations grew and shaped themselves in this century.

Self-determination is a moral, religious and political doctrine, which is an essential foundation for world peace. Out of the principle of self-determination was born anti-colonialism and our Swaraj. It would be like denying our mother not to honour the principle. It and the rule of law must govern all decent politics. Every nation has its own interests and ambitions but they must all be governed by the moral law which includes the principle of self-determination. Force can and should never replace this moral law. **Jawaharlal Nehru** recognized this and gave maximum loyalty to its principle. Let us not repudiate him in this, the

noblest feature of his personality, while uttering his name and exploiting his fame.

Our military answer to Pakistan's challenge was as right as it was successful. Let us never bend our necks to brute force, small or big. Let us never concede anything to violence, individual or national. But let us ever be loyal to fundamental moral principles.

The Government may decide on its policy from time to time according to political expediency. But the right of individuals to hold and express their views and advise the Government cannot be taken away without fatal damage to democracy. The world's respect for India today depends not on anything else but her adherence to democracy. Every deviation from the normal principles of a democratic regime, or from other firm principles of morality, would be an invitation to the nations of the world to diminish their respect for her wvering it up by polite words. Tolerance of divergent views is one of the essentials of democracy as distinguished from totalitarian regimes who also call their governments by the name of 'democracy'.

I put great hopes in Prime Minister **Lal Bahadur** particularly because of the catalytic forces generated by the Pakistani aggression. What do I want him to do? I want the following:

- (1) a decontrol committee to be established on a sound working basis to change the economic pattern of our country, which has turned out to be far from good;
- (2) an independent tribunal for distribution of such permits, licences and quotas as must remain, and be tolerated;
- (3) more and more natural incentives for investment in private enterprise, trade and agriculture;
- (4) substantial reduction of taxes;
- (5) a committee to study and bring into being substantial administrative economy;
- (6) respect for fundamental rights to be restored; Democracy and the rule of law can and should run together without conflict;
- (7) election procedures to be completely overhauled to enable elections to be contested by candidates not commanding much wealth of their own or the resources of abundantly financed political parties;
- (8) we should fight all wars and aggressions, efficiently and bravely, but let us keep the development of friendship with our neighbours as an essential aim of our foreign policy;
- (9) the small farmers and Iessees should be assured firmly by Government that there will be no compulsory or semi-compulsory procurement from them by governmental or quasi-governmental authorities,

and that there will be no restraints on their freedom of trade; that there will be good production and increased supply to areas all around the production centres with healthy competition among the producers and efficient consumers' resistance; rationing will only increase consumption; let such procurement as has to be done be only from the bigger farmers; let the distribution of foodgrains be left to the trade, as official intervention is bound to create corruption and harassment; and

(10) recognition of the Chinese menace, aggression as well as intrigue, as the biggest factor in Asian politics; our foreign policy should be shaped effectively to prevent danger to India's security and the integrity of her territories arising from that source, and to prevent damage to India's prestige with her neighbours on the northern border due to the same cause.

October 30, 1965

## A Neglected Duty

**A**LL political thinkers accept the truth of the oft-repeated proposition that for the proper working of democracy, an Opposition party, whose responsibility is criticism and vigilant check on the party in power, and whose strength is sufficient to keep the ruling party in fear of replacement, is essential, as also an efficient and honest non-partisan administrative machine to carry out the policies laid down by the Government without opening itself to partisan influences. The party that has, by securing a majority, taken over responsibility can enforce the policies for which it had stood and on the basis of which it came to power, but it is bound, in the enforcement of these policies, to act in the interest of the whole nation irrespective of who supported its political advancement or who opposed it. The actual administration of policies must not be in the hands of the politician policy-makers but must be in the hands of just and efficient persons who are pledged to be non-partisan in their work.

Two things are, therefore, essential for the proper working of the democratic system such as we approve of as distinguished from the pseudo-democracy of the one-party totalitarian States: One: an adequate Opposition functioning in *the* legislature as well as continuously in a free press and on the public platform. Two: an efficient non-partisan administrative machine, acting independently of party influence. If either of these requirements is absent or is inadequate, the regime soon becomes a self-perpetuating one-party rule, Communist, Socialist, Nazi or Fascist, or what-

ever other name you may choose to give it, according to its particular colour.

When a political party commanding certain advantageous advantages gets entrenched in power, it loses sight of these important principles and comes to look at the attacks of the Opposition parties as a kind of treason. The ruling party asks those who oppose it to win electoral support by such sheer strength as they can themselves gather as against all the resources that the ruling party commands by reason of its holding office. When the Government has successfully seized all economic power, when it controls the activities and properties of all the men engaged in national production and distribution, these resources are tremendous. Opposition becomes as difficult as an armed insurrection against a government commanding a standing army and an armed police force always on duty everywhere.

If the principles enunciated above as essential for the sustenance of a well ordered parliamentary democracy are accepted, it follows that a government which is in office should take steps to make the Constitution a reality, by doing everything to help a sound and strong Opposition to grow up. Certainly, it should at least refrain from doing or maintaining what prevents such growth. A party in power is free to exercise its privileges, but its responsibility to sustain the Constitution remains intact. It cannot say, "it is not my business to build up an Opposition or help one coming up". Without an adequate Opposition, the constitutional structure is only half-built.

What I say may read like a college essay. But everything said herein has a practical bearing on current affairs, which those who are concerned in the politics of our country can realise without expatiation. Far from being a mere dissertation, it is very topical and calls for current application.

The neglect of this primary duty of the ruling party—to see to the emergence and growth of a balanced Opposition—has led not only to bad government but to moral deterioration in the ruling party itself. This deterioration has now come to a head and has started compelling the attention of good men in the party itself.

November 27, 1965

## The Public Good through State Coercion

**P**OLITICAL Liberalism holds that the State should encroach as little as possible on the freedom of the individual, its function being to afford protection

and keep order. The corresponding economic attitude is freedom of private enterprise in industry and commerce, free trade, and free competition. Ethically liberalism stands for liberty of thought, liberty of conscience, liberty of the Press, unhampered intellectual research and creation. Swatantra is the Sanskrit word for all this freedom.

The meaning of words suffers change in the course of events and people's attitudes take different shapes in different countries. A liberal in US politics is very different from liberals in Germany or Britain. The original liberalism of the United States was the same as it was and continues to be in Germany or Britain. viz., the shaping of governance so as to diminish compulsion in social life and increase voluntary co-operation. Today a US 'liberal' politician stands for greater governmental authority over the citizen's life; he stands for control and diminution of the citizen's individual choices in his affairs; he supports State coercion where it is considered that such coercion is necessary for the public good, the decision resting with the Government; he supports Federal authority reducing State autonomy. We can thus see how much confusion can be caused in India by mixing up what is said about 'liberals' and 'liberalism' in current American literature. German and international liberalism in their general approach are identical with the Swatantra attitude. Not so American neo-liberalism.

All are agreed that governments should help the handicapped sections of the people out of public funds. Apart from this, the public good can be achieved in two ways, one: by leaving citizens free to judge for themselves and work for their own good and by State intervention only when individual action tends to hurt others; or two: by governments deciding what should be done by citizens and dictating by law what they should do and who should do. In India the latter way has been adopted by the Congress Party Government and it has taken the shape of the notorious Permit-Licence-Quota-raj.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), the great British philosopher of Evolution wrote:

"The fanatical adherents of a social theory are capable of taking any measures, no matter how extreme, for carrying out their views; holding, like the merciless priesthoods of past times, that the end justifies the means. And when a general socialistic organization has been established, the vast, ramified, and consolidated body of those who direct its activities, will use without check whatever coercion seems to them needful in the interests of the system, which will practically become their own interests. They will have no hesitation in imposing their rigorous rule over the

entire lives of the actual producers, traders and other workers; until, eventually, there is developed an official oligarchy, with its various grades, exercising a tyranny more gigantic and more terrible than any which the world has seen."

One can see in this a true picture of the present Indian scene. Taxation goes up in order to meet the cost of State intervention and transfer of management from the hands of the individuals who were interested in its being efficiently done to those of officials who enjoy power without factual responsibility. When any defects or failures are brought to light, the tendency of those in political authority is to defend the officials lest the philosophy of State intervention may be discredited by these oft-recurring lapses. For defraying the cost of carrying out the ever-multiplying regulations, each of which requires an additional staff of officers and for meeting and outlay for new State institutions, new taxes have to be levied and they are planned to be levied, always giving the benefit of doubt in regard to quantum to the Government.

"Hitherto you have been free to spend a portion of your earnings in any way which pleased you; hereafter you shall not be free so to spend it, but we will spend it for the general benefit". This is how Herbert Spencer in anticipation put in simple language the socialist scheme of intrusion of the State for the public good. The coercion of older days was felt by political reformers to be evil, even if it was mitigated by many beneficent acts for the public good. The coercion exercised by present-day governments is ought to be justified by the argument that the governing body of a nation, which is in position as a result of free elections, is entitled to practise such coercion.

Herbert Spencer asks:

"If men use their liberty in such a way as to surrender their liberty, are they thereafter any the less slaves? If people by a plebiscite elect a man to be a despot over them, do they remain free because the despotism was of their own making? Are coercive edicts issued by him to be regarded as legitimate because they are the ultimate outcome of their own votes? The liberty which a citizen enjoys is to be measured, not by the nature of the governmental machinery he lives under, whether representative or other, but by the relative paucity of the restraints it imposes on him. Whether this machinery is or is not one he shared in making, its actions are not of the kind proper to liberalism if they increase such restraints beyond those which are needful for preventing him from directly or indirectly aggressing on his fellows."

Elections do not improve men's talents or character. The working of institutions is **determined** by men's character. "There is no adequate endowment of character such as is required to prevent the growth of despotic bureaucracy". These words of warning uttered by Herbert Spencer have been completely vindicated by what we have seen and are seeing in India today. Political parties in power inevitably become flourishing mutual benefit associations, as the Congress Party in India has become,

We have news that the Congress Party has put off the elections that are now due to constitute its important committees. It is not stated that this is because of the Chinese expansionist moves or to Pakistan's aggression. The patent absurdity of such a claim seems now to have been realised. The postponement is just to cover up discord, to camouflage disunity so that no difficulties may be created in the way of continuing the present bosses in position.

The question will be asked, what is your constructive proposal to remedy the inevitable evils of party governments which you point out? The answer is that governments, whatever their composition, should not be allowed to have these powers of subtracting from the freedom of the individual. This was Herbert Spencer's firm view. It was also the considered view of the fathers of the Indian Constitution as passed in 1950, which was embodied in the Fundamental Rights. Whatever party the government may be formed out of let there be minimum government and maximum freedom to the citizen: this is the answer to the question and this is what the Swatantra Party of India and Liberals all over the world stand for.

The new liberalism of the United States of America is an illegitimate product of what may be called the infection of the opposition. It has transformed itself into the opposite of what it originally was. Tolerance opposes intolerance but in order to gather and conserve strength for this purpose, it itself develops intolerance. All virtues and ideologies tend thus to be transformed and corrupted by a process analogous to electro-magnetic induction. Liberalism in order to meet the growing demands of an un-enlightened crowd which refuses to be enlightened and impatiently presses for welfare through State coercion itself adopts its opponent's coercive principles of governance. The cause of Freedom calls for true and sturdy defenders, who will not thus compound with evil, but work for freedom and enlightenment however hard or long the task may be. Otherwise in the long run while the party in office may gain power, freedom's battle will be lost.

December 25, 1965

## The Killing of Charity

**W**HEN Young Socialists attempted to corner Gandhiji by asking him how with his great compassion for the poor, he could tolerate the rich continuing to be rich and whether he should not make socialism an integral part of his message, he reflected and as was always his way he looked into India's spiritual traditions for an answer. And he found it. According to India's dharma, all the wealth, talents and good luck of which an individual happens to be the possessor, come from God, and he holds them as a trustee for the benefit of those around him—relative friends and fellow citizens. All these have a claim on him. The claimants are in ever widening circles around him. Necessarily as the circle widens the help expected is reduced.

Giving is the biggest enjoyment one can extract out of one's possessions. *Tena tyaktena bhunjeetha* in *Isa Upanishad* was thus interpreted by Gandhiji. There should be no legal compulsion intervening in the working of this moral trusteeship. Giving ceases to be enjoyment if it is subjected to coercion. The individual is bound to those around him as by the *brahmastra* of mythological warfare. It does not tolerate the super-imposition of any flaxen or other physical rope. Compassion and traditional charity disappear if taxes and laws seek to achieve what the instinct of unity with those round one should achieve. The key to Gandhiji's trusteeship bond between the haves and the have-nots is the voluntary character of the giving, the preservation of the precious illusion of free-will. I say illusion of free-will because of the compulsions of the inner spirit and of public opinion. External physical coercion dispels the free-will feeling. Taxes and State regulations not only rob us of the means to practise compassion but rob us even of the will to practise it.

The care of the poor which is the moral responsibility of the better off was not neglected in the old days. But we are now living in a different age, and one may feel that care of the needy is now so big that only the Government is able to handle it. Ralph W. Husted in an address to a Young Men's Forum in America dealt with this point, of course particularly having in mind American conditions:

"I lived through the depression of the 1930s. I saw people go hungry and without enough clothing. But I never saw or read of anyone starving or freezing to death. On the contrary, in the early days of the depression, I saw the greatest voluntary response of people to the needs of their fellowmen that this nation has ever seen. Without being asked by any one, people

who had less than enough to satisfy their own needs shared what little they had with those who were in a worse condition. And then something happened. Someone decided that the government could do a better job of feeding and caring for the unemployed, and a vast government programme of handout was launched. What happened? The spirit of charity that brought people to the aid of their fellowmen was destroyed. The Government tried to assume the mantle of Christian charity, the noblest characteristic of mankind. The poor were fed. The unemployed were given work of sorts; but the people of this country were changed. They had lost something. They had surrendered to Government their moral responsibility—the thing that made them men and women—and from that we have not recovered to this day." (Courtesy Freeman)

We have seen in India also that after Government began to levy big taxes to run big expenditure for the poor, the spirit of charity declined and now threatens altogether to disappear. Not only because the Government has publicly undertaken all the responsibility to look after the poor but also because the people who could afford to be charitable are far too heavily taxed.

The duty of individuals as well as of government is to provide opportunities for the poor to work and earn what they need. The care of the physically handicapped is different and should not be confused with policy in respect of the normally fit. It is not good to train poor people to feel that they have a right to be helped and may demand their welfare needs to be met. It ultimately weakens people to let them slide into this state of mind.

"To make a government requires no great trouble. Settle the seat of power teach obedience; and the work is done. To give freedom is still more easy. It is not necessary to guide; it only requires to let go the rein. But to form a free government, that is, to temper together these opposite elements, liberty and restraint, in one consistent whole, requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful, and combining mind." These are Edmund Burke's words. It is on the basis of the philosophy contained in these words of the great British political philosopher that our Constitution was framed and completed in 1949.

Part IV of our Constitution lays down what the governments that take responsibility from time to time are asked to do; and Part III of the document lays down strict adherence to the essentials required for freedom. To try to fulfil what is laid down in Part IV, or anything else which the Government considers it good to do from time to time, should not be sought

to be done ignoring or setting aside what is laid down as fundamental in Part III. To govern without taking away the essential freedoms is what Edmund Burke as well as the framers of our own Constitution visualized and desired. Efficient government with strict adherence to the rights and liberties of citizens in respect of person and property, as conceived by the framers of the Constitution, may be difficult but that is what is to be done. It may be easy to govern by snatching away freedom. It may be easy to let citizens be free to do whatever they like. But this would be anarchy and the other tyranny. To temper together the two opposite elements of liberty and restraint "in one consistent whole" requires "much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful and combining mind," to repeat Burke's words. And that was what was hoped for by the framers of our Constitution by which all the leaders and representatives assembled swore to abide.

If the activities of Government are limited to what properly belongs to government and the people are allowed, singly or in combination, to produce and trade and do business as free citizens, competing with one another and exercising their best talents, earn and save, and reinvest for further production and profitable business, there will be plenty of opportunity for employment and the spread of general happiness. On the other hand public management means waste and a burden of taxation which means for the people the direct opposite of well-being.

May 28, 1966

## Administrative Reforms

SRI Morarji Desai wrote to me making a personal appeal that I should revoke my previously intimated decision declining to give evidence before his Administrative Reforms Commission. His distressingly generous letter moved me deeply but I had to stick to my former decision.

He had no doubt a claim to ask for my evidence, in view of my "active public life extending for more than half a century." But apart from my present relative ignorance of the administrative machine's composition and working, I have fundamental difficulties which I proceed here to set out.

I believe that if the nation's economy is to be managed as the present Government is trying to do, that is, if not wholly, largely, on a State-controlled and stiffly regulated basis, the administrative machine and its working should be altered and shaped to bring about the best possible results under that policy.

Even if I entirely oppose this manner of running our people's affairs from the government secretariats, I can see what that difficult, if not impossible, policy requires in the matter of administration. If, on the other hand (as I ardently desire and wish to work for with all the power I can put forth) this wrong policy should be terminated, and our national economy put on a free and competitive basis with maximum individual initiative and freedom, restricting the function of the State to its proper sphere, the administrative machine should be reformed and geared to that policy. The reforms to be introduced in the latter case would be wholly different from the changes that would have to be made if Statism must be continued and made as effective and as beneficial as possible.

What I have said must be sufficient to explain why I was unable to comply with Sri Morarji Desai's request. The two economic worlds would be completely different from each other—one revolving round controls and regulations, the other round individual activities centred on free competition, with no large or small monopolies created by government licences. The administrative arrangements to meet the requirements of these two very different conditions would be so different from each other, that it would be possible to consider the problem of reform in an alternative way and do justice to it. The set-up, the size, the character, the recruitment of officials, everything would be so different in the one case from the other, that it would be a futile waste of energy to discuss reform without knowing whether we want it for the one or the other kind of governance.

There is an enormous difference between government as liberal philosophers understand it and government as the regimentation school conceive it. The difference is something like that between iron and steel. The difference makes the two government types two different species. The administrative set-up for the one will not suit the other. My difficulty is one which every witness before the Commission should also feel. But some of them may take for granted that the present ruling party's economic policy must continue, and give evidence accordingly. But I do not wish to do this.

Others may mix the two things up, the need for freeing the economy and the administrative reforms the Commission is dealing with, and give evidence in what I would call a confused way. I am not sure if the Commission assumes that a change of economic policies is within the ambit of its enquiry. As far as I understand proprieties, it should not be the function of the Commission to discuss that issue.

This Commission should not have been appointed

now on the eve of the general elections. It would be a big fallacy to proceed on the assumption that administrative reforms can be usefully thought out isolated from the question of national economic policy. The total control which the present Government seeks to have over the economic activities of all the individuals composing the nation calls for a kind of administrative machine entirely different in size and composition, as well as in methods of operation, from what a free economy requires by way of government administration. We cannot discuss administrative reforms in a concrete and useful way unless we know how the economy is to work—is it to continue as it now works or in the Swatantra way? This is the difficulty which confronts me and makes me abstain from giving evidence before the Commission. It is not a case of non-co-operation.

July 23, 1960

## How to Govern

**D**EMOCRATICALLY based governments should be able to sense public opinion beforehand and act in advance of agitation and violence. Waiting till violent and intimidatory forms of agitation start and then swearing firmness but yielding to such intimidation, step by step, is the surest way to kill parliamentary government.

Now, if the intimidation and violence are brought about by active groups but the general opinion of the country is with government, the government should be firm and not yield to threats or self-developed fear. If, on the other hand, either as a whole or active groups, find it far cheaper and easier to get government to do things through intimidatory agitation—cheaper than to spend on elections and win causes in the parliamentary methods out of the field and politics will run on intimidatory and anarchic basis.

Again, if princes and their families in spite of all their denigration that has been done to them by the Constitution still have a great hold on the affection of their people and the Congress Party is forced to bid for their assistance by patronage and adoption as candidates and other favours, it throws a lucid light on the relative unpopularity of the Congress administrations that have replaced the past rule of the princes. The princes have a tradition or high-mindedness and dignity, which help them with the people, which the small men who have been pushed into power by the Congress Party have not and will not be able to learn or practise. The spite of abuse showered on the old rulers have not been able to efface the memory of their good govern-

ance when they were in power, nor to mitigate the present offences and miserable failures of the new power-holders.

A certain softness along with finality, characterized the decrees of the old princes. Haughtiness is not dignity, nor is firmness to be confounded with obduracy or oppression. The princes always issued orders after taking advice from experienced administrators in private. This did not permit the latter to compete with one another, or against the ruling prince, for popularity among the people. There was nothing corresponding to what is happening now among Congress leaders in that pattern. All this is not to be taken for an argument in favour of princely rule as against democracy, but only to deprecate the evils we notice in upstart tyranny. Instead of improving their capacity or their manners, the ruling bosses depend on a single axiom—a rehash of the old monarchist claim "after me the deluge." They keep telling the public that if they do not vote for and return the Congress Party to power there will be chaos or anarchy in the country. This claim is mere electioneering strategy. I have affirmed and re-affirm again that there will be no chaos if the Congress is humbled or turned out, but the nation will have good government and breathing space for the liberation of the forces and incentives for productive enterprise, resulting in prosperity. Let us not be frightened into voting for one-party-perpetuation by the Congress bluff of chaos and anarchy. There will be no anarchy, but on the contrary, an honest efficient administration will come into being which will keep the nation's good in mind and not the interests of any party.

We have had enough of a regime that has saddled the nation with foreign debts to the tune of four thousand crores and invested the resources thus and otherwise obtained so as to raise prices beyond toleration limit and made the life of the poor and the middle-classes insufferable.

Even if through its illegitimate use of the power of office and the power of enormous money collected in secret from its industrial victims, the Congress Party scrapes through to be entrusted again with office, the elections should result in the plucking out of its poison fangs by confronting it in Parliament with a powerful regiment of members who will oppose its policies of extravagance and ruin, and who will hold it in effective check. In addition some states are likely to be emancipated by the elections from the totalitarian control of the Congress, and this will make a great change in the situation. I appeal to the electors unflinchingly to record their disapprobation of Congress

rule by voting against every congress candidate and inaugurate a new era for the nation.

February 4, 1967

## Listen to a Friendly Warning

**D**R. ZAKIR HUSAIN, India's President, is one of our most enlightened citizens. He is one of those who do not believe in speaking what is not true but what is pleasant. "Truthfulness" is too cold a word. Dr. Zakir Husain is truthful as Gandhiji was truthful, in a rich and spiritual sense. When he said in Madras recently that he was full of hope about the great future that awaits Tamilnad, he uttered what he felt in his heart. He was not indulging in conventional flattery. That is not in his nature.

Speaking regionally, Dr. Zakir Husain belongs to the North, and I believe he was unconsciously thinking in comparative terms when he spoke so favourably about Madras. He must have felt sad over what was happening in the Hindi area of India, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The educated leaders of those regions are being intimidated by unthinking and uneducated people to fall in line with them, or at least keep silent, when they drive their people and governments into the altogether misconceived plan of doing away with English, doing away with it literally with tar and brush—and fire. The great illusion, that there is a fight between Hindi and English and they must back Hindi like the patriotic soldiers they are and squash English, will ruin the future of those regions. Those who are enlightened and brave should shed their fear of brute force and act like men and refuse to abet the foolish guerilla war against English and keep the way to rapid enlightenment open and not blocked.

Times does not stand still for anybody, even for people who plan to improve and enrich their language and literature before absorbing modern knowledge and keeping pace with the rest of India. Truly Madras will progress swiftly, leaving those who fight English to struggle behind with attempts to improve and enrich their language, instead of battling with ignorance and with problems of production and distribution and getting out of the economic muddles we are caught in.

Dr. Zakir Husain referred to all the ingredients that made for progress and prosperity, intelligence, love of peace and order and hard work, and said that these, together with efficient administration and a succession of stable governments made Madras what it was and what he hoped for about its future. In these words Dr. Zakir Husain conveyed, I am sure, not only what he felt about Madras and some other parts of India but also, without saying it in so many words, what he

sadly felt about Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Not Dr. Zakir Husain only, but every citizen of India who dreamt of seeing a great solid India emerge, will feel sad over the way in which things are going on in these anti-English regions under the compulsion of men who believe that they are following Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. Dr. Lohia was carried away by cruel death prematurely when the time was ripe for him to blossom into a different kind of leader. He insisted on hard work and honesty. He no doubt hated the snobbery of speaking in English when one could speak better in one's mother-tongue and be understood. *Mankind* was edited by the late Dr. Lohia. Why was it run in English? He spoke to me in English when he visited me and overwhelmed me with his affection. If he had been spared still further to grow he would not have blocked the path to knowledge and India-wide communication. Dr. Lohia would not ask us to give up modern medical and surgical aid in favour of recourse to our old veds. Nor would he ask us to give up the railway and the telegraph and the motor bus, all brought from abroad. He valued these things for their usefulness. So would he have seen the specific and trite arguments that are as sound arguments as ever. In no circumstances would Dr. Lohia approve leaving India to divide itself into two administrative water-tight departments. He would have seen the inevitable consequences of such compartmentalisation.

A great illusion has unfortunately descended on some of the regions of India like a blight. May it clear by the grace of god, and leave India united and with the promise of hope for the future which India deserves and has been waiting for.

January 20, 1968

## **Piling Ossa on Pelion: Deficit on Deficit**

**T**HE Case of borrowing nations is not very different from that of borrowing individuals. Here is a vivid description of the individual bankrupt affairs: A clever man can survive and even appear to prosper for a while on very limited resources. He can live on borrowed money, shifting from creditor to creditor as bills become due, going ever deeper into debt. Promises flow from him, and plans for recouping his fortunes and producing great wealth. Many will extend credit to him, for he puts up a good front, weaves fascinating justifications for his failures, and paints seductive word-pictures of his prospects. There comes a time, however, in the affairs of the cleverest of such men when their confidence game no longer works its magic.

The algebra of finance may be mastered only by specialists but everyone knows that the three angles of a triangle together always make up two right angles. Whatever you may do to reduce the size of any two of the angles, the burden on the base remains the same. So it is with fresh taxes and deficit financing. Whether it is fresh open taxation on articles and services which the millions have to pay for because they want them or whether it is an increase in the printed currency floated to meet Government spending, whereby the burden falls on the poor in increased prices of all articles, the weight has to be borne by the poor. It makes no difference how much is raised by open taxation placed on the poor and how much is left to lift prices up by the issue of printed money when the new taxes are all placed by the Finance Minister on the shoulders of the poor and not on the rich.

The socialism of the Congress Government of Delhi is a strange socialism that permits heavy increases in postal, telegraph and railway charges and in the excise duties levied on articles which the poor have to buy.

The peasants raising food crops are left to be dealt with by the State Governments. What happens to them depends on the policies of the Governments and the finances they will get from the Centre.

The mild welcome or tolerance with which the budget has been reported to be received by the industrialists is understandable as almost all the new burdens fall on the poor. But this tolerance or satisfaction is a shortsighted attitude. If the poor are hit, the industries too will suffer, even as the converse is also true.

When the current year's budget was presented it was put up as a balanced budget. But there have been shortfalls all round as taxation beyond a limit always brings about. Thus it is expected that the current year's budget (1967-8) will show a deficit of nearly Rs. 350 crores.

Government policies have led to successive huge budget deficits and these affect the total economy and the prices for all commodities. These deficits have produced a big growing factual devaluation of our rupee. This is concealed taxation largely falling on the poorest sections of the people who cannot transfer the burden to others. Ingenious proposals of visible new taxation hatched in the Finance Secretariat to cover the budget gap remind one of the line in the Bhagavad Gita: *Yaavaanartha udapaane sarvatah samplutodake* (like pools and tanks losing significance when a big flood covers the whole land).

The total economy stands in disarray. The Defence expenditure is linked to the faults of our unchanged foreign policy, and it has gone up to four times what it was in 1960, reaching we are told Rs. 1,015 crores

now. We have not yet seen where we shall end up in that respect. Foreign 'Aid' bearing interest is another growing element. Proliferation of the bureaucracy and rising expenditure on the administrative services are not likely to give us a holiday.

The officials of the Finance Department have loyally assisted Shri Morarji Desai to put up a show. He must be grateful to them.

A word about 'right' and 'left'. Every one agrees that maximum production must be a nation's aim. In this there is no distinction of right and left. The division of opinion on this question is as to the motivation: to produce on a basis of individual incentive of profit, or on the basis of the patriotism of those engaged in production, or on some form of central direction and compulsion. The question is, which is the best and most efficient means to be employed. The next question is how to control the errors and excesses that may issue out of the means employed, be it the incentive of individual profit or compulsive direction. If we rule out the spirit of patriotism as not sustainable for a long time or on a mass scale but to be utilized as only an ancillary force of much importance when it is possible, it is easy to see that compulsion is far inferior to the incentive of personal gain, provided this is kept under due control. This is the real dividing line, not right or left, capitalist or socialist.

A very important project is offered by a very important, reliable and reputed private entrepreneur. But this is objected to because such an important item of national production should not go to the private sector! The Government could do it perhaps in the public sector if State capital were available, throwing the burden of it on the tax-payer. It would be done most probably then at a great and recurring loss as a result of mis-management. This is a sample of the present disastrous economic policy. Believing that through ill-equipped and inexperienced management we can achieve things is not doctrinairism but mere stupidity, and when it reaches a certain big measure of consequences, it is national dis-service of a serious nature.

The Congress continues to live on the stupidity of the opposition leaderships. These have no respect for one another and even advertise their disrespect. When there is no respect there can be no attraction for coalition projects, and recent experience frightens even the willing away from any such attempts. Thus the Congress Party thrives with its slogans and dogmatic attitudes, which keep on ruining the economy of the nation instead of redeeming it from the mess it is in.

March 9, 1968

A friend has written to me that the caption I gave to my article in *Swarajya* of 9th March should be "Pelion on Ossa" and not "Ossa on Pelion". Brewer's Dictionary of Phrases is relied on for this "correction". The Latin original is *imponere Pelio Ossam*. Pelio is locative, Ossa is accusative. Other books of reference give it correctly as I have put it.

March 23, 1968

## The Negro Problem : Militancy or Synthesis?

THE government, and in a democracy responsible citizens also, must face immediate problems of law and order and preserve the necessary conditions for industry and progress and the normal life of the majority of the people, notwithstanding deep-rooted problems of great difficulty remaining unsolved. There is no conflict in reality between stern police action and a fixed resolve to do justice to all and build up a nation well integrated, with eyes turned towards peace and harmony irrespective of numbers or economic power.

It is therefore proper that the Negro problem should be taken up for consideration beyond the immediate task of maintaining order, and that the Negroes and their leaders be asked to apply their minds to fundamental questions relating to their continued progressive life in America. They cannot go back to their original home in Africa. To that extent they have been fully Americanized and de-Africanized. Every other aspect should be considered taking this for granted. It is an important and effective limitation on the possible alternatives open to the black population, whatever may be the strength and heat of the emotions generated by prevailing conditions.

The question for Negro thought and the problem for Negro leaders is, which one of two courses is the better: Shall they continue to make themselves more and more American and less and less separate, and strive in course of time and progress to produce what may be called colour-blindness among the White Americans? or should they develop group-cohesiveness and thereby increase their power, learning completely to drop the sense of inferiority and, as a result, develop themselves into a sub-nationality distinct and proud, and live an unending life of militant political competition with the white group, not gradually dispersing their separateness and losing themselves in

the big white group but maintaining an active separatism? This must, by the laws of nature; bring about an equal and opposite reaction of white separatism.

This question is of capital importance for America and for the Negroes. It is easy to be proud and to prefer a militant existence led by man's animal instincts. It is difficult to choose the course of dispersal into individuals and to forget their own colour and characteristics, making the whites also forget them. It is not easy. But it would be a great and noble fulfilment of historic purpose, because Abraham Lincoln plunged America into a dangerous Civil War not only for Christian humanity or tenderness to life, but for achieving something new and big, and meaningful for America. Otherwise the Civil War would prove to be nothing but a blind alley.

When Lincoln fought against his own people and got the slaves released, he certainly meant to make them and their progeny American citizens. He did not mean to keep them apart as second class citizens or as a separate nation; nor could he have intended to export them back to Africa. In gratitude to the great President, for whom a monument stands in Washington as the most sacred spot in that city, the President who plunged his people into Civil War rather than allow the custom of slavery to be legally continued in the States founded on State autonomy, the young Negroes of America should do all they can to develop and enlarge the spirit of assimilation rather than militancy—which is sweet like ambrosia at the outset but becomes poison as things proceed as the Gita says:

*Yat tadagre (a) mrtopamam  
parinaame vishamiva*

Militancy is unilateral and easy and attractive for the young, synthesis is slow and difficult, often dreary and frustrating, calls for cooperation from the other side, but is the nobler aim, for both whites and blacks. India can supply some visions of hope in this respect. The southern part of this sub-continent is the more ancient part as the geologists tell us. Here we have all the races and all the shades of human complexions mixed up. History does not tell us how this happened. There are caste feelings and class conflicts, but these have nothing to do with colour or facial characteristics traceable to race origins. All castes in the south of India have all the variations of colour and facial characteristics. The history of India is lost in irretrievable obscurity. But we can see the synthesis that has somehow taken place and it is stable.

*March 30, 1968*

## About Yoga and Yogis

**A**MONG the sophisticated people in India, the hypocrites and the cheats unfortunately outnumber the truly pious people and the real yogis. One must say this publicity is only to protect good persons abroad who have exaggerated and erroneous notions about the spiritual atmosphere in present-day India and who should be warned against not only being disillusioned but against being defrauded.

Yoga is a technical term in Indian philosophy which primarily connotes a gradually perfected process of coordination of the human faculties and emotions towards a realization of reality. The Bhagavad Gita is the holy book containing the clearest exposition of yoga in its correct sense. According to the Gita, yoga is the state of mind that results from detachment in motion and serenity at rest. Yoga demands performance of duties in cooperation with society—but without being 'contaminated' by attachment to profitable results, by reason of failure or to egotistic elation by reason of success.

The philosophies of life among all enlightened nations put the same emphasis on detachment and equanimity even as the Hindu philosophy of Yoga does, and no special claim can be made on behalf of India, except that it has been the subject of a great deal of high level and closely reasoned thought in India from time immemorial.

The theistic approach of surrender and devotion to God is also an integral part of the Hindu doctrine and way of life, but without detriment to the emphasis on the rule as to work and how to work as above stated. The term yoga is applied to both doctrines, one is called bhakti yoga and the other karma yoga. The yogic teaching is to dedicate to God and His Will each duty done and each work accomplished with detachment. Step by step as this is done, the whole of life gets surrendered unto God and His Will, bringing Karma yoga work with (detachment) and bhakti yoga (devotion and surrender) together in one sequence.

There is a persistent notion that the Hindu way of life is based on fatalism and that free will and moral responsibility are not sufficiently emphasized. That this is a completely erroneous notion will be evident on a reading of the Gita, Chapter 111, mantras 37-43 said in answer to a question of Arjuna as to why men commit sin as if compelled to it:

Man's enemy is desire born of the element of energy in the scheme of nature. Insatiably ravenous and most wicked, it is the cause of all sin. This enemy of man

attacks judgment and puts it out of action. As fire is surrounded by smoke, as a mirror is covered over by dust, so is judgment, with which man is endowed, enveloped by desire. It seizes the senses and the will and finally judgment. It deceives taking many forms and disables the soul from attaining jnana. Check the senses, therefore, at the very outset, O prince, and vanquish this evil thing that is the enemy of all knowledge and enlightenment. The rebellious senses are governed ultimately by will and though will can be guided by discrimination, this great enemy overwhelms discrimination by its evil strength, and puts it out of action. Realizing this danger, do thou exercise the inherent strength of thy soul and defeat this elusive and terrible enemy and save thyself.

These verses of the Gita make it clear that the Gita way of life is not fatalism but thorough-going acceptance of moral responsibility to struggle with evil thoughts. Yoga demands the maintenance of a detached mind while participating in all the affairs that appertain to one's place in society. The Gita-acharya does not want men to isolate themselves from society. All work should be done in the spirit of duty performed. Results should not be permitted to agitate the mind.

The results do not belong to the doer but to God. They may form the subjects of fresh duties, but should not be allowed to become cause for mental excitement. This unselfish and detached attitude and dedication of all work to God can and should be cultivated while we are diligently engaged in life's activities, like ordinary folk. "Practice this yoga and I shall enable you to overcome all difficulties." This is Sri Krishna's pledge as sworn to Arjuna in the Gita.

There was a great deal of psychological and physiological experimentation among the past generations of Indian men of religion in order to develop the full potentiality of the human nervous system. These researches naturally got mixed up with the yoga as expounded in the Gita. The consequent confusion is great, especially for foreigners attracted to Hindu yoga. These power-developing yogic practices have little to do with the true yoga as expounded in the Gita and the other Hindu scriptures. It is the power-developing yoga practices which have lent themselves to the spurious claims and frauds to which I referred at the commencement of this article. Those who follow in their lives the yoga of detachment and devotion do not call themselves yogis. A good rule of guidance would be to be on guard against those who call themselves yogis.

April 27, 1968

## Axioms of Peace and Production

"YOU cannot lift the wage-earner by pulling down the wage-payer" is one of the axioms laid down by President Abraham Lincoln. It is one of the simplest of truths but yet it has been made by organizational complications almost impossible to convey the truth to those most concerned with it.

When businessmen began to pay bonus to wage earners, it was thought to be a great change bringing about a nexus between the wage-earner and the prosperity of the business. It was believed to hold great promise for cooperation and harmony. But soon the union leaders made the 'bonus' into an addition to wages and a cause for fresh disputes instead of growing into profit-sharing.

This and another truth equally plain, viz., that men will work zealously and efficiently when they are motivated by results personally beneficial to them are at the root of our national progress.

Without increased production we cannot become wealthy. India cannot hope to become prosperous by borrowing from other nations. One nation can borrow from another within limits for profitable investment for production, but the limits must be well understood and the investment and management must be done with the greatest care, for otherwise interest will run while we do not earn but lose, or earn not as much as we should.

Increased production being a *sine qua non*, which is Latin for an indispensable condition, let us go back and fully realize the importance of the two truths just stated. Wage-earners have been all unionized. The unions are mostly handled and their policies and activities decided by political groups whose first priority is the strengthening of their own influence and power and not the welfare of the wage-earners.

The leaders of the unions bargain and decide on strikes when they would bring additions to their political power or lustre to their image. Achievement in these respects and not increased production is their goal. The management of labour unions in India has become a great impediment for economic truth to get across or production to go forward. Priorities have no chance to get recognized.

Increased, if not full, employment ought to be the national goal. But this can be achieved only if there are jobs which can be filled. And jobs in increasing number can be available only if industrial enterprises grow in size and number, and only if industrial investments are profitable to the investors. Bypassing this

hard truth, and turning to the State with its tax-fed exchequer leads to what we are suffering from today—increasing taxes of all kinds and budget gaps and created money and inflation and distressing rise in prices.

If we turn to the management of public enterprises, we have official management replacing that of experienced industrialists. Managers must know their business; managers must be interested in good management and not merely in securing favourable entries in confidential reports from superiors; they must be free to frame their policies and do their work without intervention by persons not so much interested in production as in their own careers in politics. Bureaucratic management under the baneful system of loyalty to ministers with political motivations has been the ruin of our public enterprises. Any one would have learnt the lesson from the invariable losses reported systematically all these years, but ideological dogmatism sits like the old man of the sea on our Sinbad's shoulders and does not allow good sense to prevail.

Neighbours every nation must have, Mountains and rivers and even broad seas do not divide and protect countries these days, as they did in olden times. These neighbours should be friends. If neighbours are not friends they soon become unfriendly. Power and prosperity beget friends. We seemed to be doing well in this for some time. But we have fallen on less good fortune these days. We cannot make friendship by wishful thinking or achieve it by bargaining. The dynamics of friendship is closely related to the heart. There are political parties swiftly earning sectional popularity through stirring up or keeping up suspicion against

Pakistan bordering on hatred. This does not help. The Swatantra Party does not believe in this kind of: popularity but believes in the more difficult policy of cultivating friendship and trust in our neighbour. Whether the neighbours be small nations or big nations, the principle of cultivating friendship and trust rather than seeking to dominate should prevail. People living on our borders cannot be treated as legitimately 'belonging' to us, and considered unfriendly if they do not accept our over-lordship in *toto*. In the olden days the land was demarcated by rivers and mountains, but now it is the people with minds of their own who have to be made friends or fellow-citizens. And this cannot be done always on our terms or on a uniform plan. The flexibility of good sense must not be put out of action by dogma or pride.

Quite a few political leaders accept the validity of the truths I have given expression to, but the desire for what is called mass adherence compels them to adopt attitudes contrary to the axioms stated, and to advertise themselves as one kind or another of 'socialists' that is, as parties pledged to the same losing battle against natural laws as the Congress party has indulged in. It is only the Swatantra Party which has been plodding on, adhering to truth irrespective of the strategy adopted by others to gain mass adherence by selling untruths and prejudices based on sectional nationalism.

Let us hope that this courage and adherence to truth and the patience it calls for, will not fail us and that the Swatantra Party will always keep its mission in mind and its standard "Satyam eva Jayate" flying high.

May 4, 1968

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## Miscellany

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*(The following comments and views of Rajaji made by him from time to time on a variety of subjects indicate his wide range of interests. Nothing was too small for him. All the snippets in this section have been taken from his "Dear Reader" column in SWARAJYA.*

**T**HE authority given by law to disperse unlawful assemblies and to use adequate force for that purpose, has steadily come to be regarded by angry Chief Ministers and police officials as authorization of physical punishment on the spot without trial. This is most illegitimate as well as an immoral exercise of power.

*February 6, 1965*



**G**OOD Dr. N. B. Khare (82) has very kindly sent me a copy of his autobiography with his personal inscription on the flyleaf. It is a big book full of interesting anecdotes although it deals mostly with a short period around the time the Congress Party accepted office in 1937. Dr. Khare's anger is understandable. He has not forgotten or forgiven Gandhiji or the Congress Working Committee. I cannot rely on my memory of the events dealt with in this interesting book. During my long public life I kept no notes and wrote no diary. I wish I had, for I could have composed a fat book of very interesting reminiscences which might be a 'best seller'. From other points of view, it is well I don't attempt writing any reminiscences. One is bound to put on record everything to one's own advantage and even when confessing errors so do it as to reflect credit on oneself. My letter to Dr. Khare thanking him for sending me the book expresses my reaction to what he has published:

Madras, 28th June, 1965

"I thank you most sincerely for sending me your autobiography with your autographed inscription. Many years have passed and many things have happened, and strange changes have taken place since the historic occasion when you were treated badly by a powerful organization which did not suffer from any lack of arrogance. One can now laugh over all the phases of this quarrel and over the various events which display pride, folly, lamentable passion and incompetence. But I can quite understand the proud and honest spirit in you which keeps you still angry, and unforgiving. Most of the people involved are dead. May God help us all against our errors. I have kept no diary or notes and many points are out of my memory. I have reached a stage when the past appears like a comedy. I beg of you to pardon me for anything I did in those days which hurt your feelings. You are four years younger than me. God bless you."



*July 10, 1965*

**H**ERE are two gems taken from the Sunday Statesman's (Aug. 22) weekly record of unconscious humour: "Pakistan is a peace-loving country," said Mr. Z. A. Bhutto. He might have chosen some other time to make this claim. Even more unconsciously humorous is the following statement of Mr. Morarji Desai: "If Hindi is made the official language, the country will produce more engineers and doctors than ever".

*September 4, 1965*

**T**HE "Great Society" in America may be anything. But the "great society" in India would be a regime which would assure for the rural population in India pure drinking water, good drainage, clean sanitary conveniences, food and clothing, and decent shelter. This would indeed be great if we could accomplish it, but we are far, very far from it, whatever else we may be able to boast about.

October 30, 1965



**I** DO hope that there will be no change in the name of the Banaras Hindu University, simply because we wish to remove the word 'Muslim' from the name that the Aligarh University bears. Let us have names as they stand to indicate the history of the institutions and let us mind only the substance of things. We cannot ask the Madras Christian College to drop 'Christian', or the 'Jain' or 'Vaishnava' prefixes. The Amrita Bazaar Patrika and its Ananda Bazaar sister should not give up their names because they have grown to be all-India papers. Our political leaders cannot be asked to change their Hindu names in order to demonstrate their secularity.

November 27, 1965



**H**AVE protested before, but it is worth while repeating the protest—it is disgraceful that a government department like the CID Police should make enquiries of people as to whether they belong to the Swatantra Party, or open letters in order to get at information to help the Congress Party as such, or sit down and take notes of speeches at meetings for the Congress Party's use. Departments of Government are there to serve the nation as a whole and not a party, although that party may happen to hold the reins of Government. The political work and interests of a party should be kept distinct from government, and public servants and departments ought not to be used to do work that concerns the ruling political party as such. The majority party may become government, but government should not merge in the majority party as a part of that process. Recently a friend was visited by the CID and he was asked whether he had joined the Swatantra Party. Obviously a letter that passed between the friend and me had been intercepted when it passed through the post and the enquiry arose out of this. This kind of interception of letters is inconsistent with the freedom citizens are supposed to enjoy as of

right, but this has become legitimate by prescription. But I must protest even more strongly against the Police being used for party-purposes. During the British regime the alien government used the Police for getting information about congressmen. But that practice cannot be considered proper when one of the political parties of our democracy happens to hold office. The confusion between government and party will vitiate democracy in increasing measure as things proceed, unless things are set right soon in strict accordance with law. The Congress Party does not pay for the CID service. It should have its own spies and not use the national police or the national magistrates or the postal officials for its benefit.

December 25, 1965



**A** NEWS Item from Bangalore tells us that the Police have registered a case under the Defence of India Rules against the owner of a bakery on a charge of having sold eatables after the "prescribed hour on a Monday afternoon. The case has not yet gone to court. I would respectfully advise the Government of Mysore to stop this comic business of connecting the defence of India with biscuits or cakes in a cafe after 4 p.m. on Mondays in Bangalore. It is very doubtful if the "prescribed hour on Monday" is constitutionally valid. The Prime Minister's appeal was for voluntary restraint.

January 8, 1966



**T**HERE is a lot of loose talk about "foreign" countries helping certain parties with funds. These charges are, it is guessed, related to the Communist parties. They may be true or untrue. But the undoubted help the Congress Party gets from America passes unnoticed. It is the economic and food Aid coming from the USA that keeps the Congress Party in power. But for the gigantic government-to-government Aid the USA is giving, the Congress Party would have been unceremoniously thrown out of office long ago., I plead for sincere national gratitude but point out and object to the political effects. The government-to-government Aid policy of the USA is responsible for Statism in India and for Congress rule continuing unbroken, practically converting democracy in India into a single party dictatorship.

April 30, 1966

**W**HEN the office of the Federal Chancellor of West Germany, Ludwig Erhard, recently indented for a new car to replace the four year old Mercedes, the Federal Audit office rejected the request, saying: "Vehicle 0-2 must complete 200,000 kilometres."

(From *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 21st June 1966.

Courtesy: *German Tribune*).

July 23, 1966



**T**HE Difference between English judicial procedure and that of the continent is, said Adolf Beck, quoted for a chapter motto by Hilaire Belloc, that in England a man is presumed innocent until he is found guilty, while on the continent, he is presumed guilty until he is proved innocent. Is it only in the Western Continent that this presumption of guilt prevails? What about Sheikh Abdullah's case and all the arguments over it? And what is the guilt about? The guilt of agreeing with President Wilson, who brought the First World War to an end with a World Charter about self-determination.

August 27, 1966



**T**HERE is talk about a scheme for vaccinating fresh born babies with B.C.G. vaccine. I do not wish to spend my energy in this controversy again. I wish firmly to put it down however that the B.C.G. vaccine being a live vaccine has probably changed now in the course of the years. So eminent doctors have opined. Its use to prevent tuberculosis infection is pure quack empiricism, and our fresh born babies are to serve as a mass basis for this quackery. B.C.G. vaccination without follow up is quackery. I fear that compulsion and bribery will be used to get babies to serve as guinea-pigs. I hope my fear may turn out to be groundless. Anything can be done with money with our ignorant starving people.

August 27, 1966



**E**UCLID (We called it by this name and not geometry, as they now call it), was a favourite subject with me when I was in school. An eminent mathematician of those days, one Hanumantha Rao (he is forgotten now), produced a book and shocked people by explaining how Euclid was a laborious logical exercise in proving the obvious and therefore it should be dis-

carded and real geometry should replace that study in our scheme of High School education. Now like Euclid some of us are trying to prove the obvious about work and industry through logical debate. We try to prove that incentives, not slogans of the Government, produce work and that production of wealth can only be done by work; that poverty cannot be reduced except by production of wealth, certainly not by conflict and hatred or through voting for those who talk most lies. All this must be as obvious as the problems and propositions of Euclid. But we have to prove these things, and so all this writing and speaking on my part and that of others. A point is reached in the smog raised by much writing and excessive talking, when the obvious becomes invisible, and as a result the country goes to the dogs.

September 3, 1966



**B**ROWSING over Marco Polo's travels I see what a great document it is for all those interested in the history of civilization. The Tartars were not Mussalmans then. Marco Polo's hero is the great Khan Kublai, Emperor of the Tartars, sixth in succession after Chenghis Khan. Marco Polo returned to Venice after his eastern travels in 1295 A.D. Long before that date paper currency had been put in authorized vogue in the territories ruled by the Tartar Emperor. But one can see that the currency was fully backed by gold in the imperial treasury. There was no question of making up for or camouflaging bankruptcy.

October 29, 1966



**S**WARAJ Is Our Birthright and we shall have it, said the Lokamanya. Today's lokamanyassay "foreign aid is our birthright and we shall have it." So they demand loans from powerful foreign governments as of right and mortgage our country on behalf of our children and push them into bankruptcy as the "great and only Lokamanya" pushed us into freedom.

December 3, 1966



**W**HEN I met Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia some days ago, he was an angry and unhappy man; he had good reason to be. But it was pleasant to note his affection. He told a good story about his first meeting me years ago which I had entirely forgotten. It seems he said that he cared a tuppence for the Working Com-

mittee's resolutions and that I replied, "I thought you would swear by Russian currency and not by British currency". A thirty-five-year-old joke but enjoyable even now and perhaps relevant also to present-day politics.

May 27, 1967



**I** MUST confess I don't feel happy over the practices and conventions of political parties, be it the party in office or those outside office. People gather together on account of identity of opinions. But when, reversing the natural order, opinions are made implicitly to follow the directions of party leaders, I do not feel that it is democracy or freedom. Identity of opinions should not follow party loyalty but precede it. It should not be just a mechanical arrangement to keep power, actual or potential. By all means let people hold together and not too easily fall out. But there must be a reality in opinions voiced by the party as distinguished from the authoritarianism of party leaders and what may be called sheep loyalty.

July 8, 1967



**F**ROM an answer given to an interpellation in Parliament by the Minister of State for Food we have the interesting information that India has imported rice during 1967 from Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Nepal, UAR, Guyana, Italy, Brazil, Spain and the USA. Aren't we doing wonderfully well? But why worry? Dr. Chandrasekhar is concentrating on the denominator of the fraction and reducing it—thereby increasing the fraction's value. I may remind Dr. Chandrasekhar—I am sure he knows it already—that the female population has greater potential than the male population for his programme of decimation. The old books about India tells us that female babies were disposed of quietly by the public-spirited rural midwives!

July 15, 1967



**W**E have politicians who talk unceasingly of prosperity but hate anyone who is prosperous; they cannot bear the sight of him. It is forgotten that it is only prosperity that breeds prosperity, not laws or politics.

July 29, 1967

**I**T is a small matter but it may be good for South Indian language papers to know that the Home Minister's name, Chavan, rhymes with jawan, General Cariappa's word for soldier. It does not rhyme with Ravan, king of Lanka, who was slain in battle by Ramachandra.

August 19, 1967



**S**IDNEY Webb, one of the great inspirational sources of Nehru's pro-Sovietism, in his presidential address at the Labour Party conference of 1920 stressed the inevitability of gradualness. Others have stressed the same truth but Sidney Webb is a great authority. "Revolutionary", kranti, puratchi (Tamil) and other words denoting a sudden and complete turning of the wheel are all very popular now, so much so that every new political group which emerges now christens itself as a kranti something, or a puratchi something, or a 'revolutionary' something else. The notion is that the use of this adjective will at once capture the hearts of people in distress. Quack remedies put on great names which serve for some time to deceive; then they become mere nomenclature. Nature's way which is always gradual is inevitable. If this is a 'conservative' and 'reactionary' position, I answer it was the position emphatically taken up by a great socialist acknowledged as one of Nehru's gurus.

Attlee was Britain's Prime Minister who signed India's Freedom. He was one of England's great men of modern times. He was good without a blemish and he had a keen brain. His obituary on Nehru, among many other penetrating observations, said that "Nehru understood power and he understood poetry but what he did not see was where one began and the other left off". This gives us a good clue both about Nehru and Attlee. One of the truly good men of Great Britain has been called off and I pay my sincere tributes of respect, gratitude and appreciation to the departed statesman.

October 14, 1967



**A** LEADING daily strongly objects to a statement made by a Pakistan Minister that "any one lacking in love for Islam and the Holy Quran cannot be a true Pakistani and a loyal citizen". The criticism is of course right. But applying this loyalty-test to Sheikh Abdullah's long detention because he would not clearly state his opinion about Kashmir is not less of a breach of liberty. To impose a loyalty-test on the basis of

Kashmir and intern a man for years and years is to convert Kashmir into a State religion and follow the discarded statecraft of a bygone age. The essential principle is forgotten that punishment can be awarded only for acts and not opinions held, disclosed or undisclosed. The case against detention becomes doubly strong because it is based on a failure to express the opinion which the Government wants to come out of his mouth in order to free him from detention.

October 28, 1967



HERE is a new thought, a complement to Lord Acton's often quoted proposition which a new book on Herod gives us to understand and remember: "If power corrupts, the fear of the loss of power is the mightiest corrupter of all."

November 4, 1967



REFERRING sadly to the heavy taxation in free America, Jerome Beatty of the *Saturday Review* has put his thoughts down in an unpatriotic song:

Excise, Income, Sales Tax,  
away!  
Send me a Tea tax — I'll gladly pay.  
of the world's biggest bargain, I sing:  
Thirteen colonies under the King —  
We blew it, and how we erred  
Overthrowing that wonderful George the Third.

An unpatriotic tuneful citizen of India could now sing a like song. For do not the mass of men in free India now lead lives of "quiet desperation", as Thoreau wrote, a result of the adventures of progress based on ill-digested ideas and borrowed Capital?

November 4, 1967



SOME years ago, to a friend who became a Sessions Judge and sought my blessings, I wrote as follows: It gives me genuine pleasure to read a happy man's request for blessings. May God bless you with the energy, the intellect and the heart for serving Him from your seat on the Bench.

Make a point of reading a dozen or more judgements of the High Court in appeals and Referred Cases of murder. I suppose you can arrange to get them somehow. Not the reported cases, for they deal only

with legal issues. I want you to read judgements dealing with facts and points of weight of evidence. The legal procedure in murder cases postpones execution until the High Court confirms the sentence and the clemency petitions to the local Governor and President are disposed of. Therefore much of the emotional pressure is removed from the Sessions Judge concerned. Read the Penal Code sections again each time you have to handle a case, not depending on memory. Hear the arguments patiently whatever the quality of the advocacy. I presume to advise you in these terms as I know you will not mind it. Keep the person killed before your eyes as well as the accused. God bless you.

November 25, 1967



THE dear reader will forgive my indulging in some inconsequential and, perhaps, stupid thoughts and putting them down in this personal column. Often I have wished I were young and joined a band of men engaged in scientific research instead of being trapped in this mess of politics. Here is the Sun which is said to be a globe of intensely hot gas, holding together in the firm shape which we see every morning rise to warm us. We are told that all gases tend to disperse and are held together only in a closed vessel. It is lucky the Sun holds together somehow. It was a pity I gave up physics and took up law. It was perhaps a pity, again, I gave up law and took part in politics. Tired of politics, my mind turns to Religion. This same Sun is the theme of the Gaayatri prayer given to our forefathers by the Rishi Viswaamitra, which every Hindu who is invested with the sacred thread of sacrifice and service is taught to repeat. May the most adorable divine brilliance of the Sun enter my mind and direct all my thoughts! This is the meditative prayer of the Gaayatri prayer. We are taught by science that the Sun is an inorganic mass of hot gas. But our meditating ancestors were confident that there was a living god in the Sun, a god which is the visible form vouchsafed to us of the invisible Supreme Spirit, creator and master of the Universe, Pratyaksham Brahma. The Sun is Brahman made visible to our eyes. It won't hurt any politician or student, whatever else he may be doing, to look at the mild form of the Sun which is presented to us daily, each morning and each evening, and silently utter the Viswaamitra prayer to himself, not only mechanically in the form of the mantra but entering into the substance thereof. Our ancestors felt the Sun was a god and the Viceroy of the one God on whom the sages meditated and

into whom they sought to be absorbed. The Gaayatri prayer may save us from falling into the evils around us which are eager like wild beasts to eat us up. On the Sun depend this earth and all life as we know it. May the God in the Sun enter our minds and save us from evil.

November 25, 1967



**T**HE fathers of the Sikh community bravely defended Hinduism against the powerful onslaught of Islam. In the process of defence and reform the teaching of the Sikh gurus took on its own individual shape and became a new religion, and gave birth to a new community. This is the fate of many a reformist movement. In reality however Sikhism is only a denomination of Vaishnavite Hinduism.

December 2, 1967



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

December 16, 1967



**S**RI HANUMANTHAIYA thinks Sheikh Abdullah is being given too much prominence. If Sri Hanumanthaiya had been Prime Minister of Mysore and 'Sher-e-Mysore' and put in detention by a guilt-conscious Government of India for fifteen years and released in 1968, he would have received even greater prominence than is now given to Sheikh Abdullah. To some people Kashmir is not the problem but Sheikh Abdullah is the problem! I suspect Smt. Indira Gandhi does not agree with Sri Hanumanthaiya on this subject. It is India's good luck that she does not wear blinkers and inherits a lot of her father's traits and sometimes sees wider than most others.

January 10, 1968



**I** AM one of seven children" said one holding a high office in Madras State to me. I told him he was lucky to have been born before Dr. Chandrasekhar came on the scene.

March 23, 1968

**I** DON'T know if the story is apocryphal. But it deserves to be true. Max Mueller was asked by someone why, though taking so great an interest in the ancient wisdom of India, he did not go to India. "I do not wish to be disillusioned" was his answer.

April 6, 1968



**O**N Yogis from India going about the Western world, here is an interesting AP agency's news item from New York dated May 15.

The Beatles said here yesterday that they were disillusioned with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi.

"We made a mistake," said Paul McCartney, at a news conference. "We thought there was more to him than there was. He's human. We thought at first he wasn't." Lennon said the Beatles had taken up meditation because "it seemed to be nice, like cleaning your teeth."

McCartney said his and Lennon's feelings about the Guru were shared by Harrison and Starr.

"We tend to go in and out of things together," said McCartney.

Beatles Ltd. is being reorganized as Apple Corps Ltd. The new company will make films, produce records, get into electronics and operate clothing stores in London.

This disillusionment of McCartney, Lennon, Harrison, Starr and others confirms and exemplifies the general warning I wrote into my article in *Swarajya* of April 27 entitled 'About Yoga and Yogis.' Yoga is a moral and religious discipline, not a physical improvement device. We may benefit physically, too, by moral and religious discipline. But the main aim is moral not physical.

May 25, 1968



**S**RI MORARJI DESAI is more famous for his honesty than for his jokes. I hope he does not go back from Rajapalayam with this wrong notion, among others, that more people know Hindi in South India than English. He spoke in English and made a joke at the southern plea for retaining English. If he had spoken in Hindi, he would have had glimpse of the flaw in the anatomy of his joke.

June 29, 1968



**T**H E Swadeshi principle is good but the recognition of the Swadeshi principle must be guarded against giving a monopoly to manufacturers who disregard

against giving a monopoly to manufacturers who disregard quality and dump bad stuff on consumers through the monopoly they enjoy. There is not sufficient competition among producers. A certain element of competition in quality can and should be maintained by importing comparable commodities from abroad. The verdict is of course to be obtained from the free market. This will keep a watch on our producers.

September 21, 1968



WHEN M. R. Masani said that the Fourth Plan now produced was mulish, he used the word in its correct sense, obstinately attached to old errors. The Prime Minister diverted the House with an exposition on the excellent qualities of the mule, its patience, its hardihood, etc. But it was no answer to the charge of a plan or policy being mulish. If one's behaviour is sheepish, that is awkwardly bashful or timid, it is no good answering that sheep's is good meat. If a fellow is called goatish for his lustfulness it is no use expatiating on the nimbleness of the goat.

There is no harm in entertaining the House with a diversion of this sort. Adjectives with an -ish ending convey the not so admirable qualities of the substantives from which the adjectives are derived, e.g., boyish, womanish, etc. I was amused reading a cutting sent to me which said the PM "rebuked" Mr. Masani. The PM did nothing of the sort, but merely entertained the House with praise of the donkey-mare sterile hybrid.

June 21, 1969



A SCOTCH Whisky advertisement (of course full page) is based on a quotation from Aristotle (340 B.C.):

We should behave to friends as we would wish them to behave to us.

This precept of Aristotle was an anticipation of what Jesus said and is known as the Golden Rule:

And as ye would that men should do to you, Do ye also to them likewise.

—Luke: 6:31 and Mathew: 7:12

That the Golden Rule should be misused to promote the sale of whisky is blasphemy.

January 4, 1969

WE can be said to have correctly understood a principle, political, moral or legal, only if we know when to make exceptions to the general rule. Dogmatic adherence to a general rule without understanding when to depart from it, is stupidity.

August 15, 1970



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

September 5, 1970



THE Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine has introduced large-scale terrorism against civilian travellers in the international airlines. This growing extension of warfare methods to the hijacking of planes by armed terrorists makes it necessary to keep a defence unit in every plane to prevent the exercise of violence against pilots. This means practically complete deterrence of all civilian international air traffic. The protective farces kept in international planes should deal ruthlessly with the hijackers.

September 19, 1970

**T**HERE is a notion that plastic bags are cheaper and otherwise as good as gunny bags for holding things. One of the advantages noted in gunny bags is that there is adequate aeration to prevent deterioration and the harbouring of moths. This should not be forgotten before attempting the proposed substitution.

*October 31, 1970*



**I** MAKE this appeal to the Muslims of India, young and old: if you have faith in my judgment and in my sense of justice and if you believe I have been consistently upholding your just causes during the last half a century, despite every misunderstanding or unpopularity it might have involved, I earnestly advise you not to put faith in any person whose first interest is self, but vote in the present elections for the Swatantra or Old Congress candidate in whatever State or constituency he or she may be, and whatever his or her community may be.

*January 16, 1971*



**T**HE strategy of press advertisement of party appeals, initiated if I remember right by the Swatantra Party, has caught on and I am sure the proprietors welcome this new strategy adopted by all parties. When anything is overdone it loses its value. Advertisements written up like long newspaper articles are not read. This is lost sight of by those who invest in such advertisements. The best of these advertisements which I have seen is what Messrs Larsen and Toubro have issued. "Emotions stifle reason. Steer clear of emotional propaganda. Vote according to reason. Democracy gives you the privilege to vote. And your vote gives you the privilege to uphold tolerance, non-violence, human dignity and individual freedom. So much depends on your vote. Make sure you vote." This is the best advertisement that has appeared on behalf of the Democratic Front.

*March 6, 1971*



**T**HE rape of the Moon is going on and extorting the admiration of people who read the news. Much may be said in favour of scientific research for its own sake. The spirit of adventure shown in this connection is also worthy of great honour. All the same I do not like this attack on the beautiful moon for no definitely

planned objective. Robbing the moon of tons of rock may have some effects not altogether insignificant. A great deal of money is spent for which it is not as if there is no other use more tangible and beneficial.

*August 21, 1971*



**V**IPs of India prefer going abroad at public expense and hearing sweet flatteries there to remaining in India and being daily criticized by the press (which is yet free).

*September 11, 1971*



**I**T is easy to be wise after the event. It may, however, not be quite useless to reflect even after the event is irreversibly over. When the independence of India was coming quite close upon us and Gandhiji was the silent master of our affairs, he had come to the decision that Jawaharlal Nehru, who, among all the Congress leaders was most familiar and best acquainted with foreign affairs, should be the Prime Minister of Free India, although he knew Vallabhbhai Patel would be the best administrator among them all. In those good days there was no jealousy or competition among us. So, Jawaharlal became the Prime Minister, Vallabhbhai Patel felt he would be most useful as Home Minister. And so it was finally arranged. Now reflecting over it, one can say that undoubtedly it would have been better for the nation and its future if Jawaharlal Nehru had been asked to be the Foreign Minister and Vallabhbhai Patel had been made the Prime Minister of India. I too fell into the error of believing that Jawaharlal Nehru was the more enlightened person of the two and therefore it would be best that he was Premier of Free India, rather than Vallabhbhai Patel. Jawaharlal Nehru, we all thought, would make India bright and equal to any other civilized nation.

Vallabhbhai was a sturdy man, good for the job of Home Minister, but a myth had grown about him that he would be harsh towards Muslims. This was a wrong notion but it was the prevailing prejudice. Vallabhbhai Patel was a very experienced and just person. He would not bend but he would never be unjust. Jawaharlal Nehru's enlightened personality was, however, overwhelming and we thought all would be well and that if he was made Premier it would fit in better with the greatness of Free India and satisfy all minorities. India would then be an honoured member of the comity of free nations.

Thinking over it all now it seems that this was not wise, though attractive. The history of India would have been entirely different if we had not fallen into this error. There would have been no diminution in the stature or lustre of India if Jawaharlal Nehru had been Foreign Minister and Vallabhbhai had been Premier. And India would have avoided under Vallabhbhai Patel many of the errors she was led into under Jawaharlal Nehru and the glamour that egalitarianism associated with communism which captivated his innocent heart. We now know that egalitarianism is an *ignis fatuus*, a fabulous illusion and not an attainable goal. Young people did not know it twenty years ago and were attracted by the will-o-the-wisp. Experience has taught people now that what can and should be aimed at is justice to all and not an impossible equality.

November 27, 1971



**R**EPUBLIC Day was celebrated all over the country on the 26th of January. The victory achieved in the two-week Indo-Pakistan war added zest to the celebrations.

People confound Republic Day with Independence Day and vice versa. Independence Day in August is the annual festival of our emancipation from foreign rule. Republic Day is the annual festival of the adoption by the people of India of their Constitution. It is ironical that we make a festival over the Constitution in January and at the same time the top authorities plan to aim a mortal blow at the core of the Constitution. They plan to annul the essence of the Constitution, which, it is superfluous to repeat, is the guarantee of certain fundamental citizens' rights against the State and the placing of this guarantee above the laws made by Parliamentary majorities from time to time. The Constitution intended that they should be the infeasible law of the land as held by more than one Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Annulment by amendment may be allowed to be done in the case of parliamentary laws but cannot be done in respect of the Constitution. 'Fundamental' has a constitutional meaning and implication. It is not just a word which can be ignored as mere style. The Executive, which is supported by a majority in Parliament, may like to do away with this infeasibility, but as I have said, many Chief Justices of the Supreme Court have held that it cannot be done. It is really ironical that this attempt to do away with the core of the Constitution coincides with the annual festival celebrating the Constitution which is almost entering its Silver Jubilee. The Con-

stitution laid down the structure of democracy and guaranteed it against totalitarianism exercised by a Parliamentary majority.

February 5, 1972



**T H E** defection of persons from the Swatantra Party may give a good deal of political satisfaction to the Prime Minister. But I am sure she can have no respect for people who defect so easily or receive them with any confidence. If these persons, who are more concerned in politics than about the welfare of the country, desert the Swatantra Party for that reason, they will be disappointed. I have, after full and earnest reflection, expressed my view in an article in the front page of the last issue of *Swarajya*.

May 20, 1972



**W**HEN a Dictator is Prime Minister, the defections from other parties to the Congress (R) have become as common as fire-flies in their season. The reasons sometimes offered for desertions may be made to look reasonable but the real motive is to please and acquire influence with the dictator. The defectors, at least some of them, may please and acquire some personal influence with P.M. But they will not command her respect or confidence.

May 27, 1972



**A** LITTLE reflection will make it evident that 'black' money is the result of excessive taxation. It is a natural development and is not the result of particularly bad character. Money is undisclosed for fear of being lost to the man who earned it by reason of unjust and excessive taxation. Among the uses to which it is put, one is to bribe governments and vulnerable sections of the administrative establishment to obtain favours. The root cause of the evils is excessive taxation, which along with bad consequences, turns white money into black money. If we desire to stop any evil we should probe into the causes and remove them, instead of showering abuses on the consequences. Mr. Chavan advises the State Governments to levy more taxes on the people. The result will be more black money.

June 10, 1972

B E E R is made from barley or other similar grains. It is soaked in water and kept warm until it sprouts. After some days it is roasted and crushed, placed in a tub at a warm temperature and allowed to ferment with yeast. It is then put in vats to clear. Hops are added to the beer to give it a bitter taste and the particular characteristic of beer. The active element in hops is the same as in ganja, bhang, or charas.

There is a great deal of talk now about breweries being established in our country to make what is called a light drink, viz., beer. The effect of any intoxicating drink depends not only on the alcoholic percentage in that drink, whether it is 8 per cent or 12 per cent or 50 per cent, but also on the quantity consumed.

Beer contains besides the usual intoxicating element, alcohol, a quantity of hops which is a hallucinating drug. The peculiar characteristic of beer is due to the hops in it. This is got from the resin-coated flowering tops of the female hemp plant. The resin is discharged for want of impregnation and formation of seed. Hops, like ganja, bhang and charas, are

derived from the hemp plant alluring consumers by the first pleasing sensations produced by hallucination. Indulgence in any drink containing these hallucinating drugs end in making the consumer a miserable wreck by addiction to the hallucinating effects.

August 5, 1972



**F**ROM an American Advertisement: "The Romans had a wonderful way with life. Who else could think of putting a sun-filled courtyard right smack in the middle of the house—where it could be enjoyed in complete privacy? They had a word for it, "Atrium". "Who else?" asks the advertisement. We in India had the same central sun-filled courtyard around which the living rooms were constructed. But modern match-box shaped, echo-filled, hard ferro-concrete cement rooms have replaced the old domestic architecture. The poor folk still live in their old central sun-filled courtyard houses.

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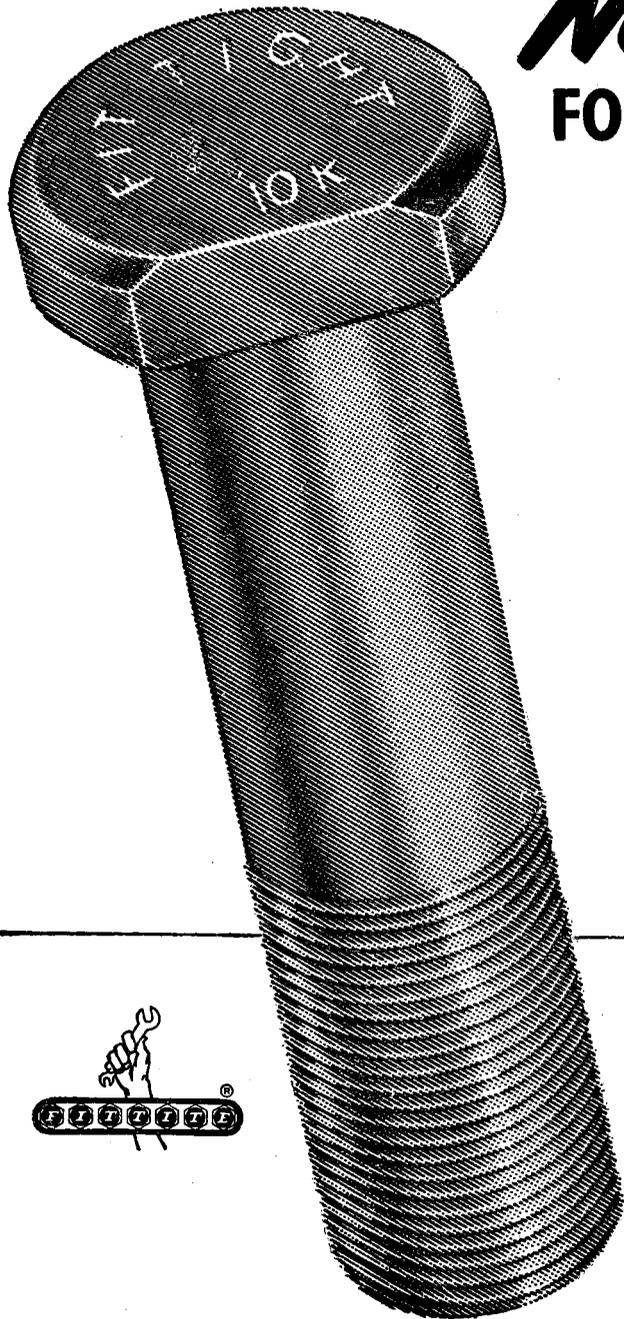
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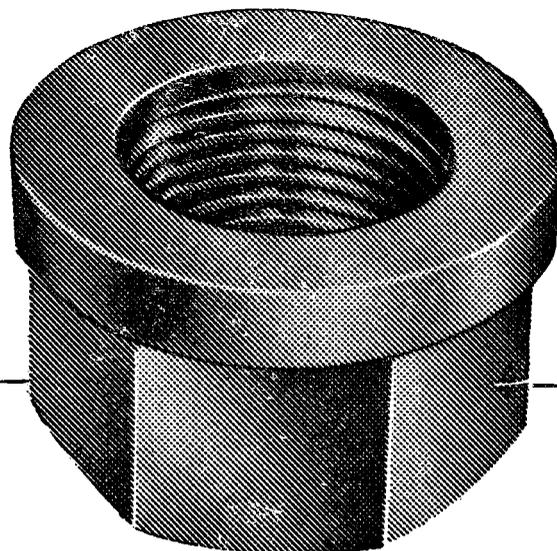
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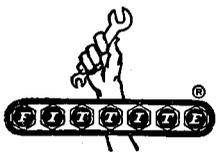


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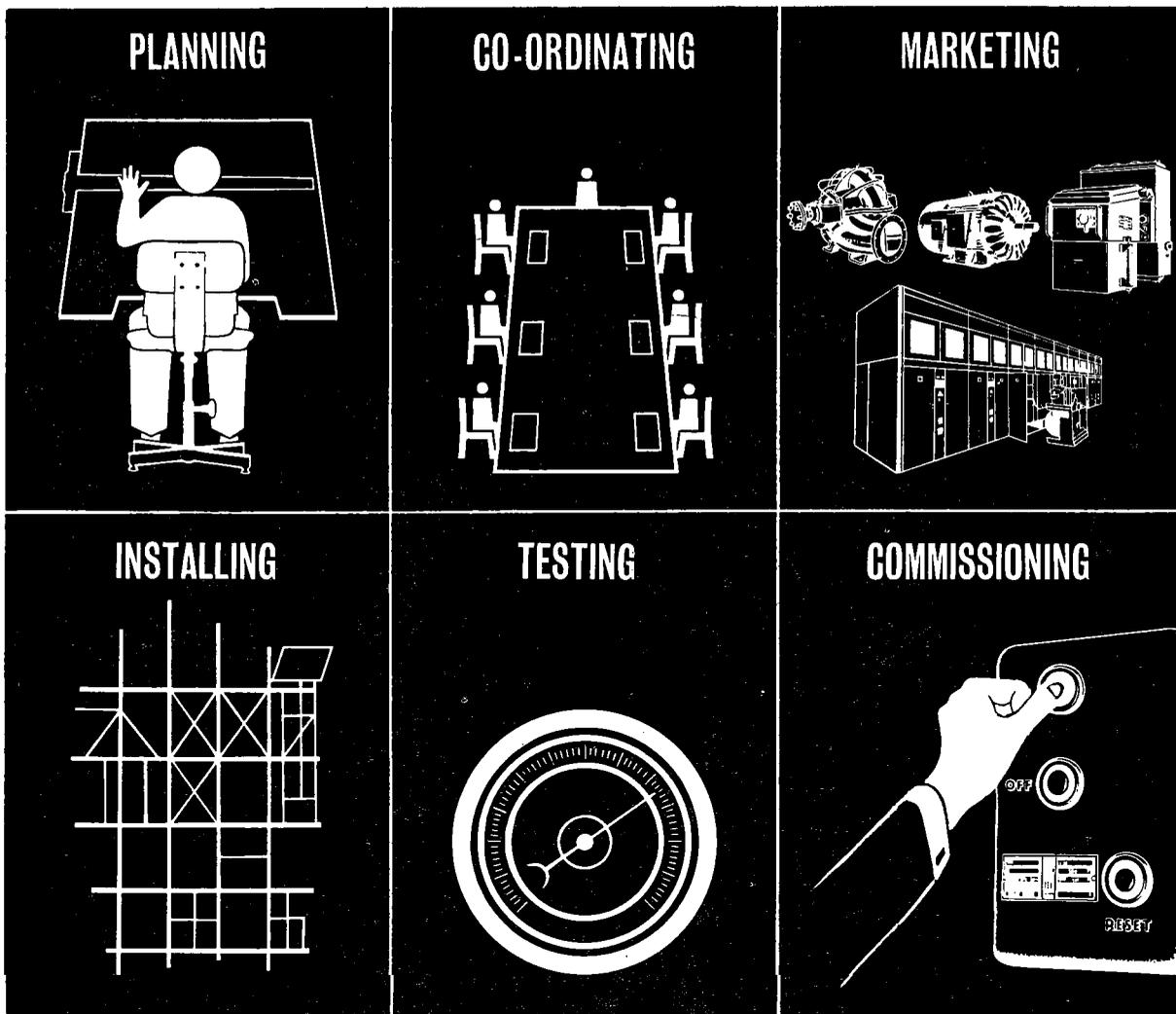


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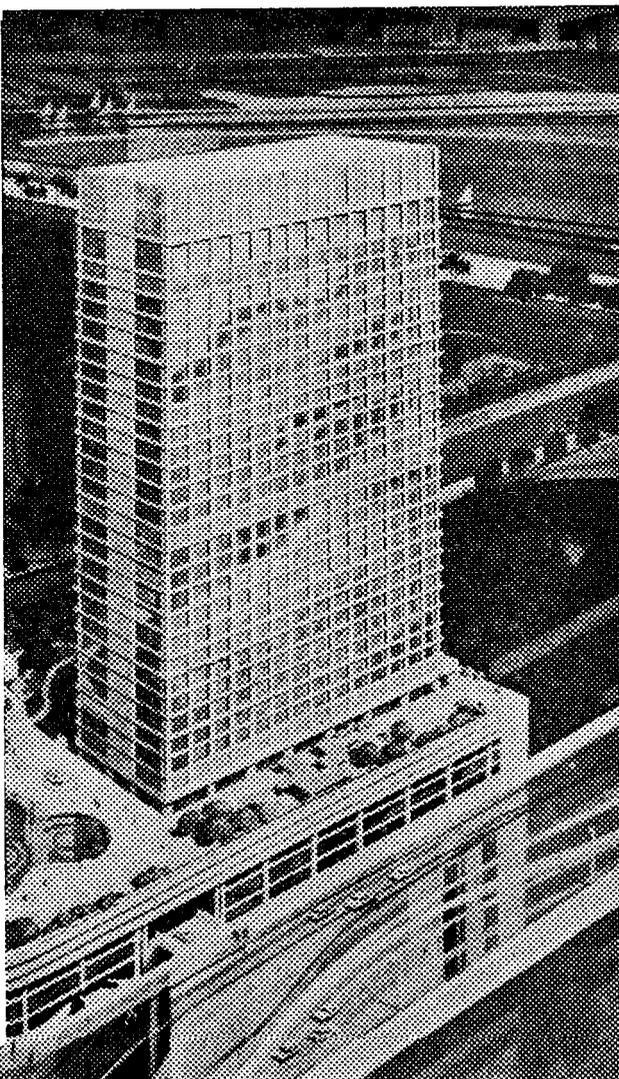
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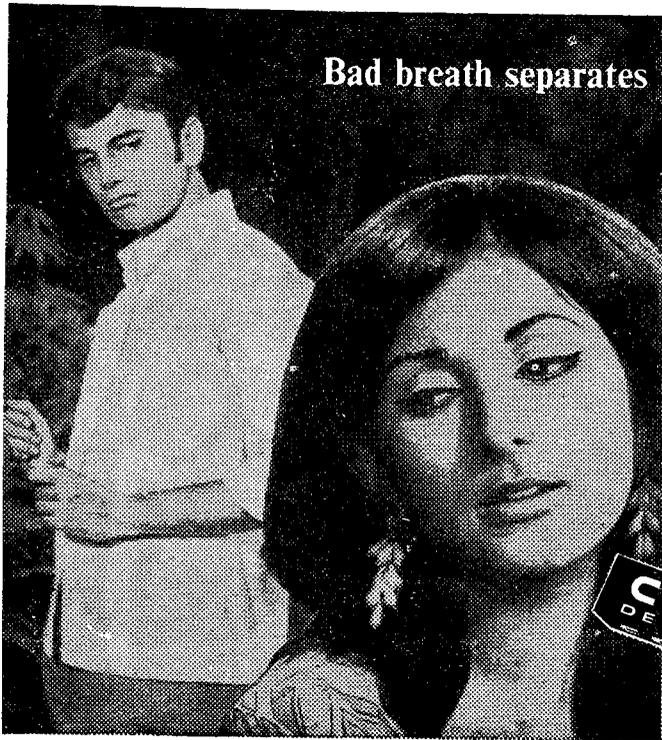
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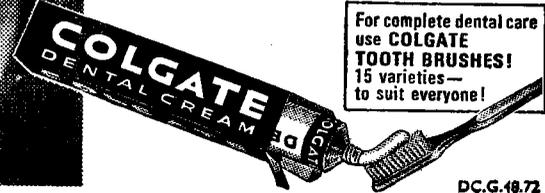
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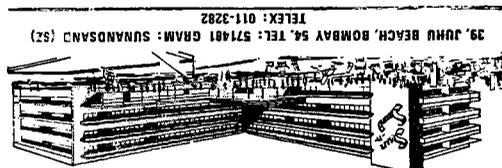
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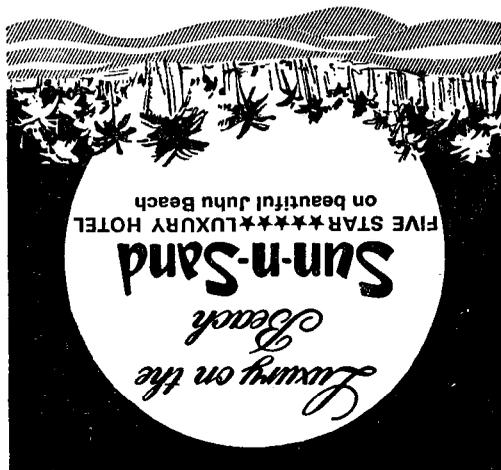
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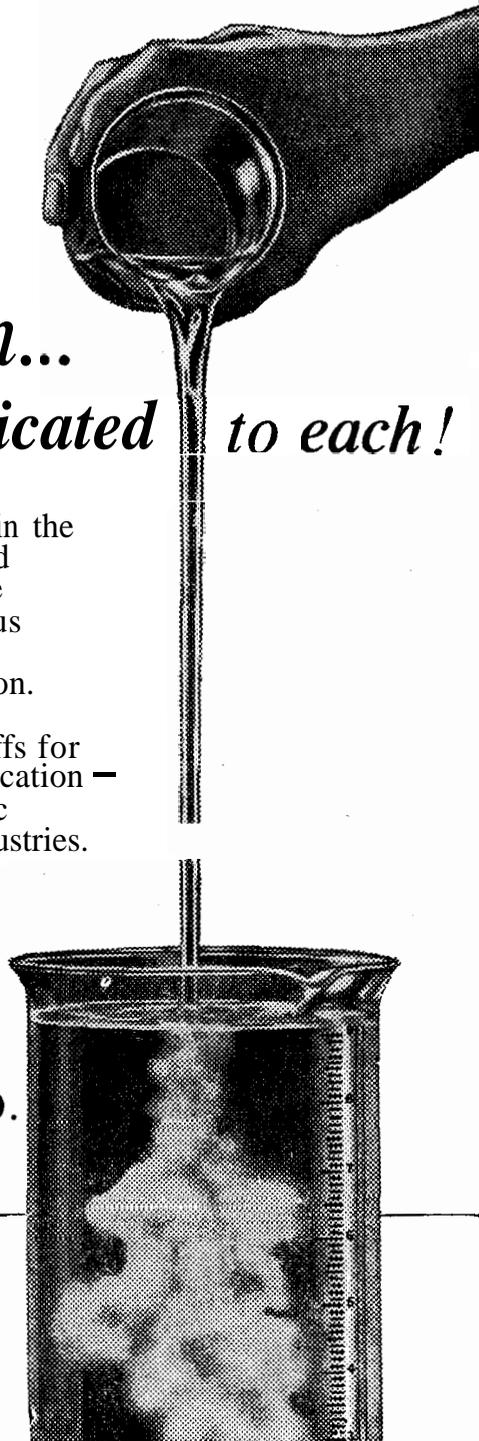


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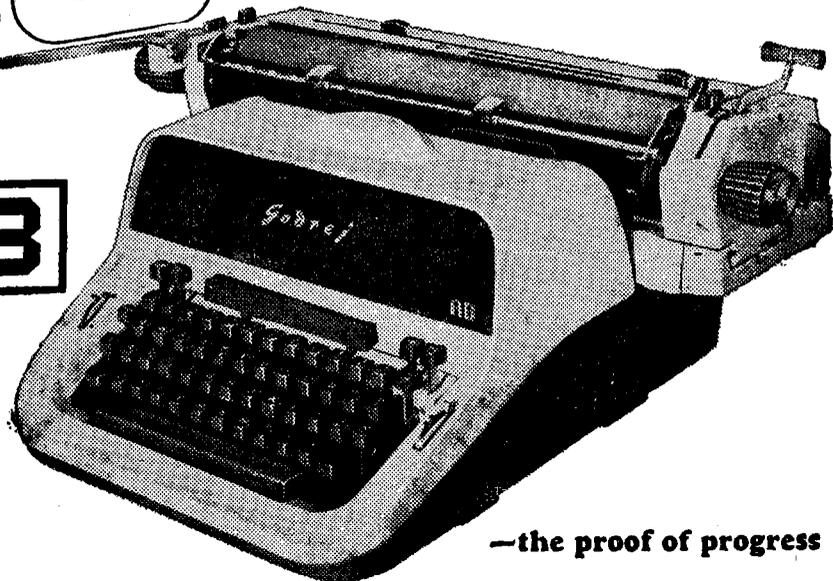
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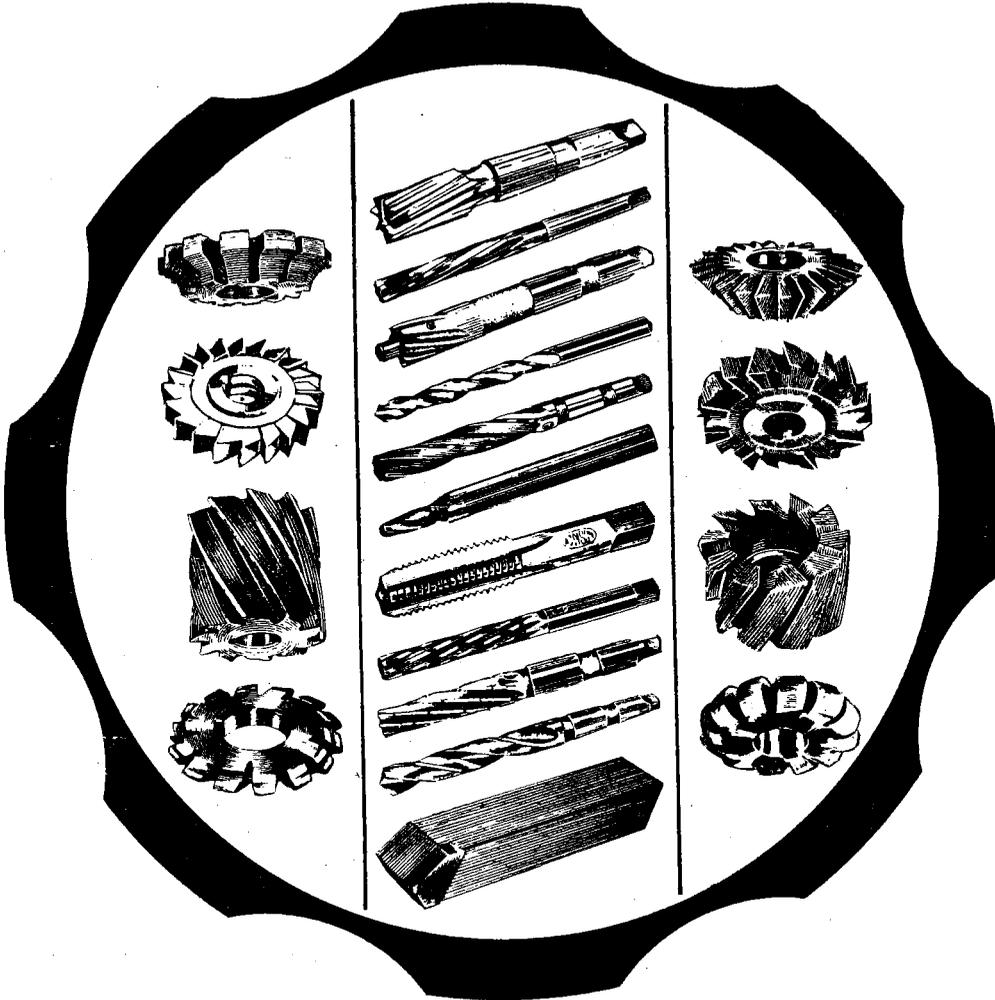


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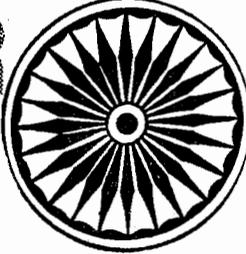


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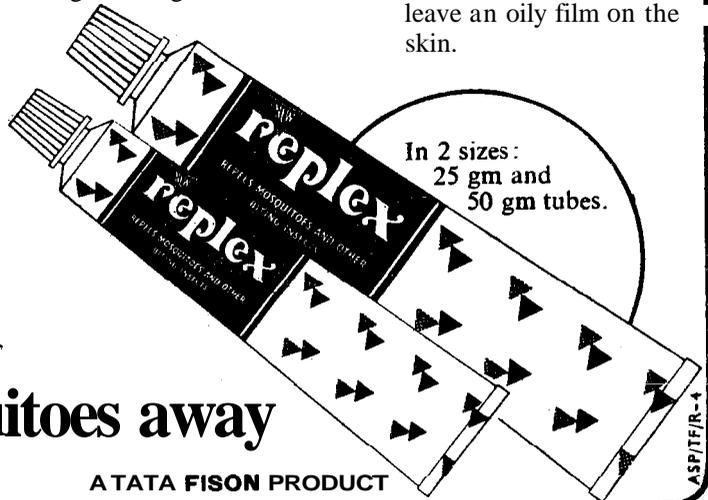
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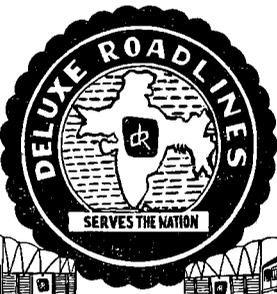
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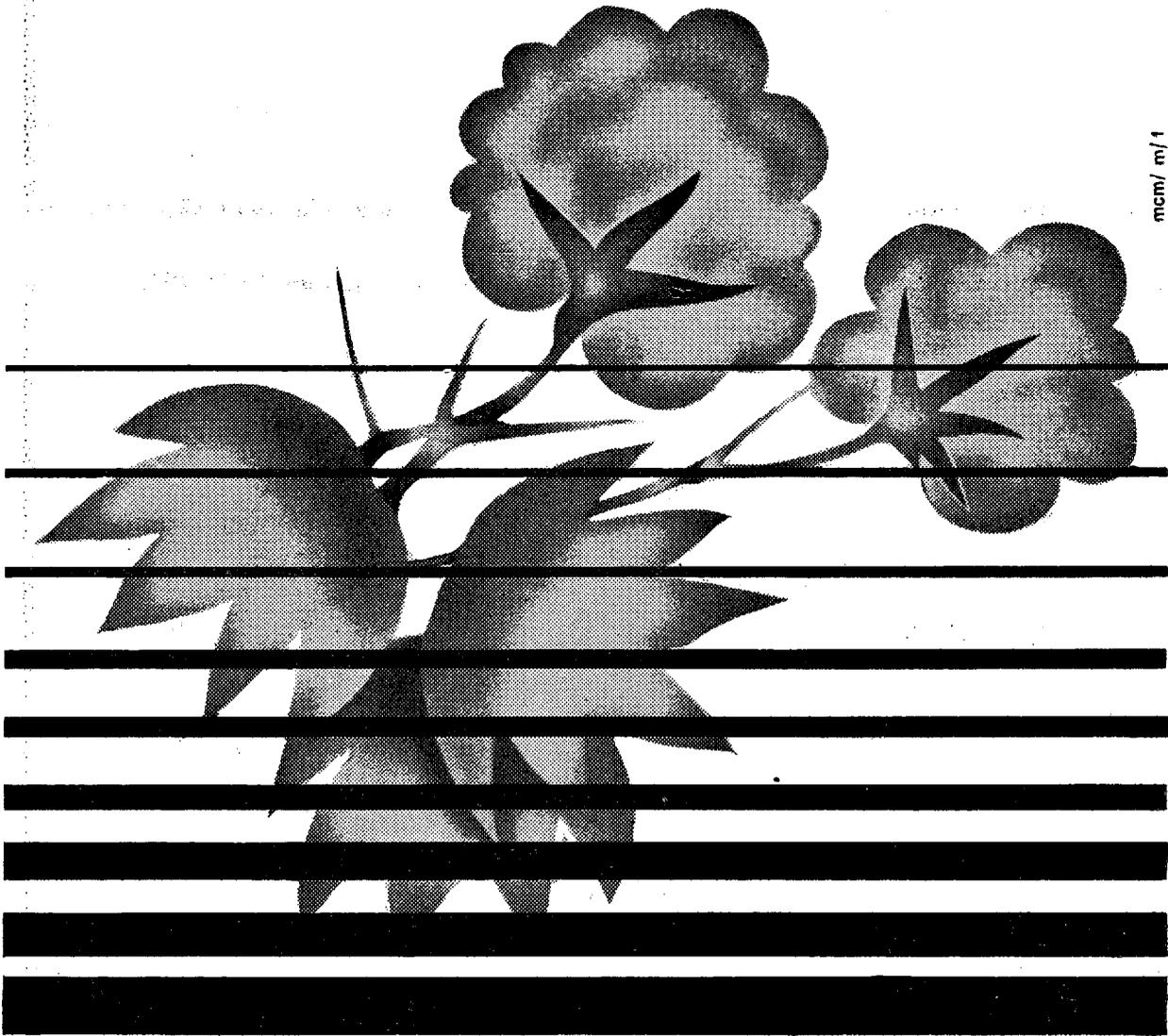
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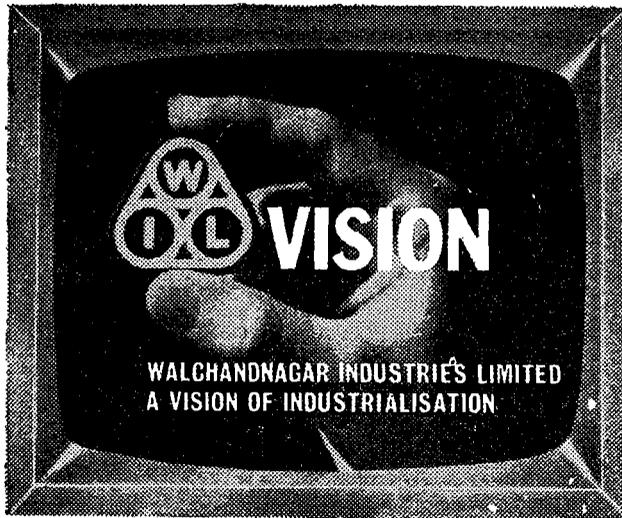


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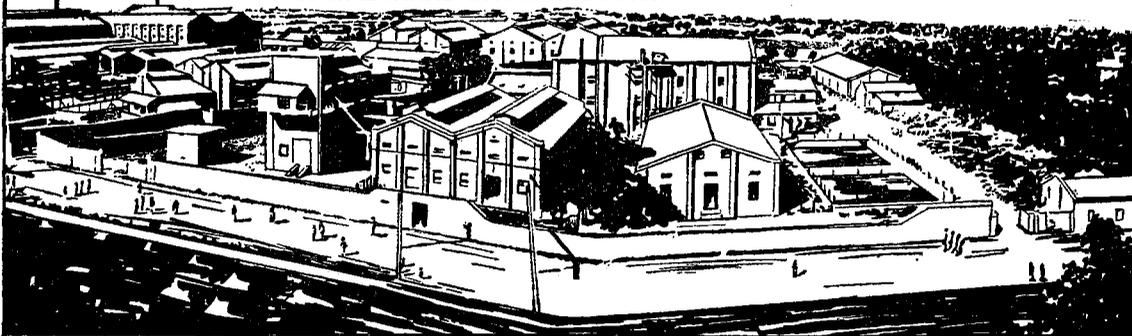
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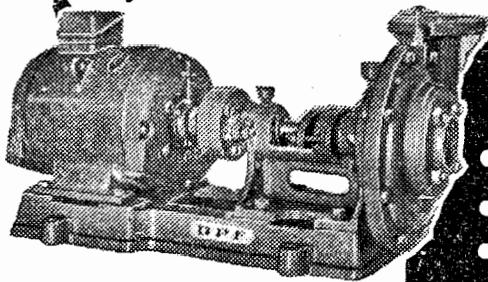
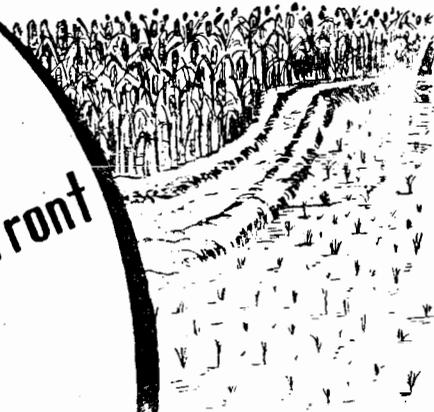
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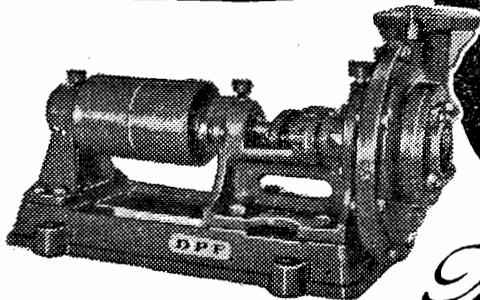


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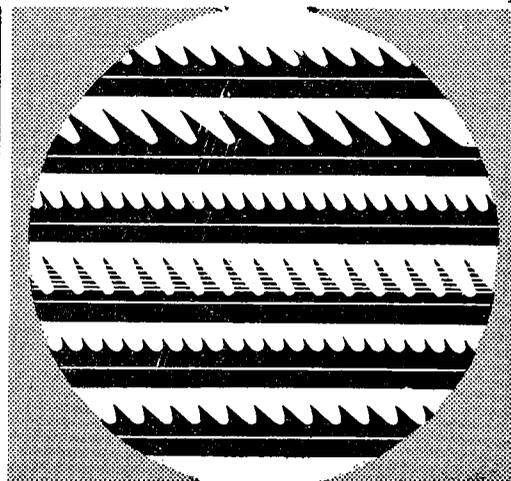
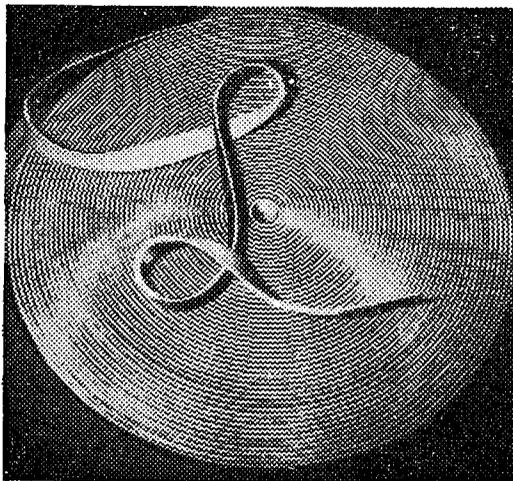
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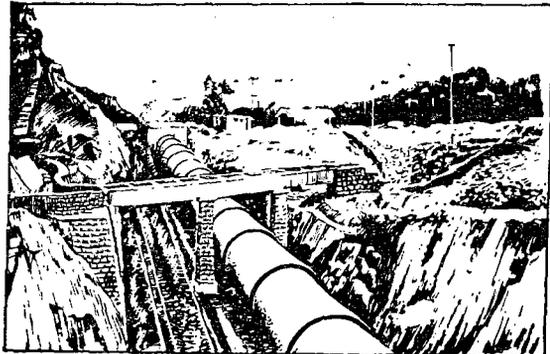


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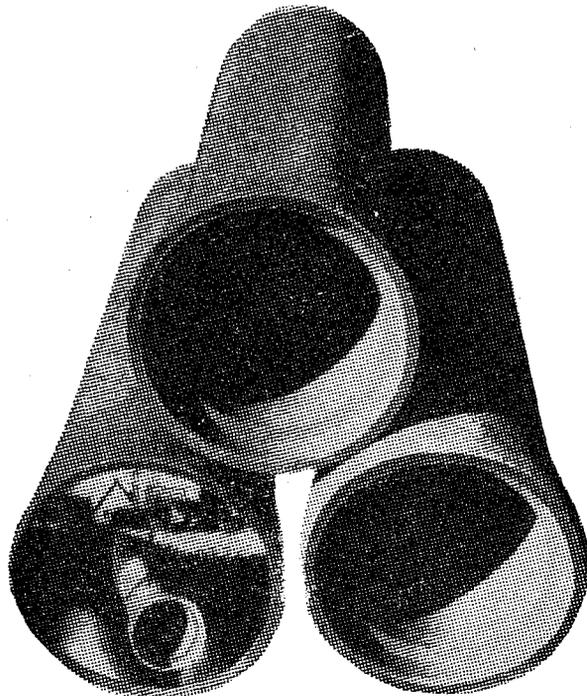


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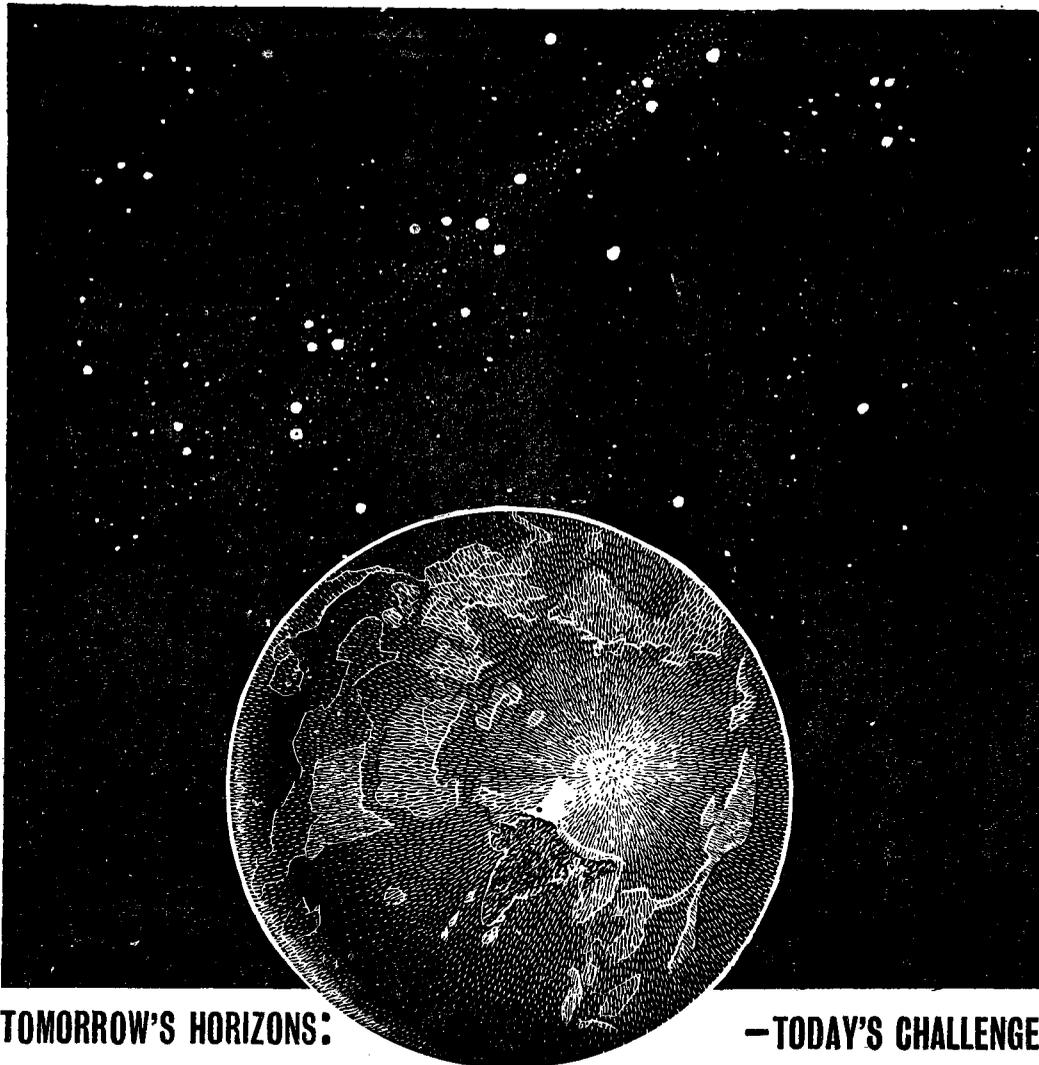
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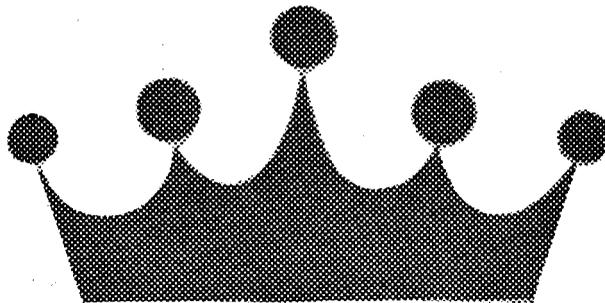
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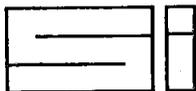
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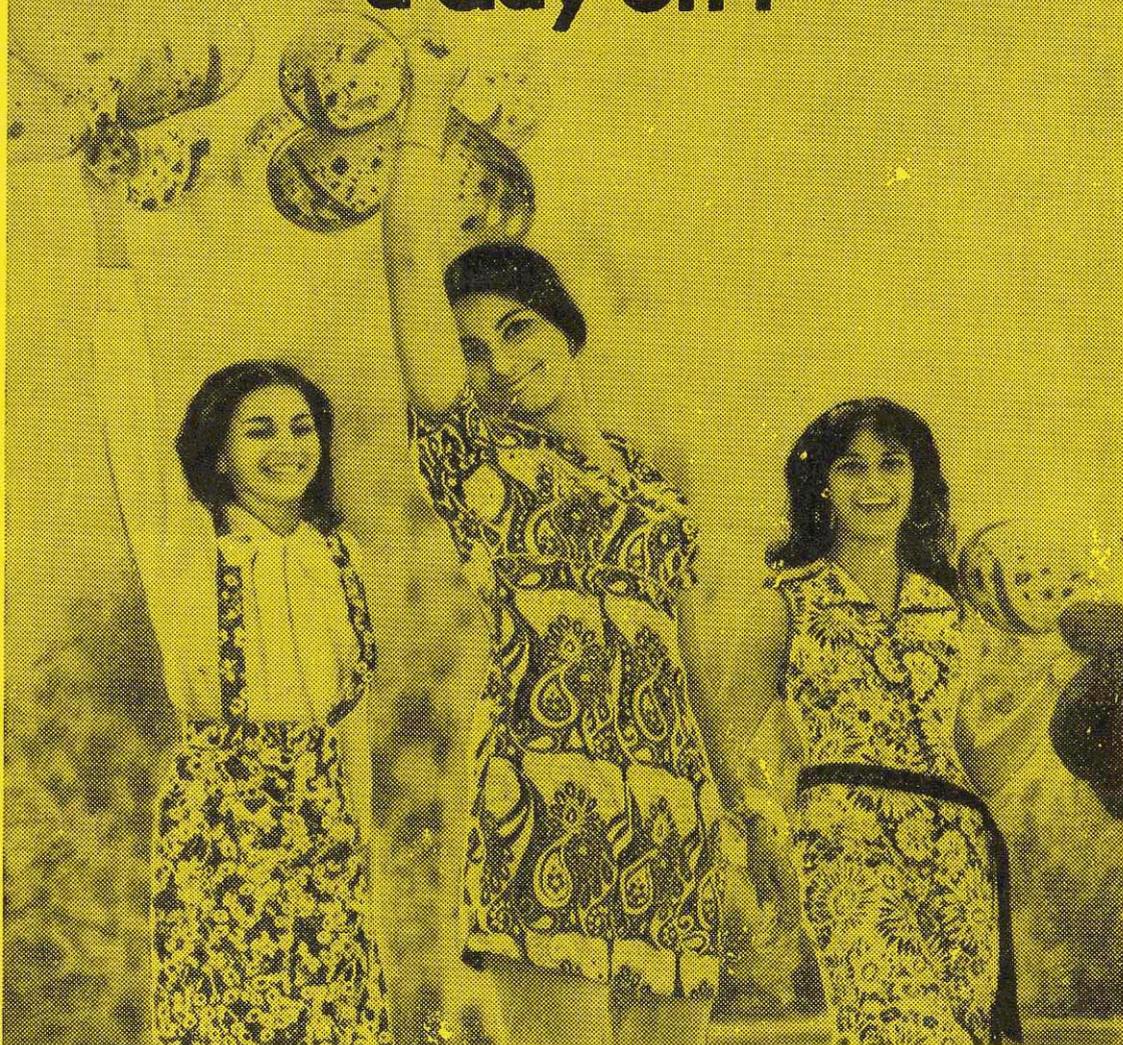
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