

CALENDAR FOR
MARCH-APRIL

	SUN	MOON	
	Rise Set	Rise Set	
Saturday	30 11 18 21	5 9 17 24	
Sunday	31 11 18 21	5 9 17 24	
Monday	1 11 18 21	5 9 17 24	
Tuesday	2 11 18 21	5 9 17 24	
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Friday	5 11 18 21	5 9 17 24	
Saturday	6 11 18 21	5 9 17 24	
Sunday	7 11 18 21	5 9 17 24	



SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1957.

LET US PLAN FOR
QUALITY

It was appropriate that on the eve of the dissolution of Parliament after an eventful quinquennium the Prime Minister should have taken time to review the position and prospects of Parliamentary democracy in this country. Though not native to the soil this system of Government is not alien or repugnant to our traditions. It succeeds by skilful and resilient adaptation to changing requirements while maintaining basic continuity. And it pins its faith on reason and persuasion as the means of effecting peaceful change, whereas revolutionary or totalitarian systems depend on coercion and violence. Mr. Nehru's emphasis on the need to maintain the balance between change and continuity and to cleave resolutely to peaceful methods has topical significance in view of the elections that are just over and some of the concrete results that have flowed therefrom. The elections have given an unpleasant jolt to those who thought that the dissensions provoked by States reorganisation had been stilled. Communalism and parochialism are admittedly as strong as ever, not least so among those who have helped the Congress to come back to power at the Centre and in most of the States. The emergence of the Communists as the biggest political party in Kerala and of the Ganatantra Parishad as an entity to be reckoned with in Orissa are not unconnected with the forces that are active inside the Congress. And they introduce a new factor of incalculable consequence to the further progress and consolidation of parliamentary democracy. Not only are these States to be governed by a Party or coalition of parties which differ in their ideology and outlook from the Congress. In the case of the Communists the facts that they have nowhere abjured violence in principle and that their acquiescence in constitutional methods is purely tactical may cause stresses and strains which would be the first real test of the sea-worthiness of our democracy.

To counteract these forces the factors that make for stability must be strengthened. The Prime Minister said, obviously with reference to the spate of legislation put through the last Parliament, "We have had to make rapid changes in order to catch up. Change was necessary even for survival and, of course, for progress." While the pre-Swaraj era was undoubtedly one of stagnation and frustration not all will agree with Mr. Nehru that forcing the pace of change was the best way of making up for lost time. For institutional and legislative changes unaccompanied by changes in the minds of men rarely produce lasting effects. And the political education of a people is at the best of times a slow business. When they are so largely illiterate and live so dangerously on the margin of subsistence it is bound to be even more chancy and uneven. A seasoned administrator with an expert knowledge of the working of legislatures under varying degrees of autonomy has pointed out that one of the recent lessons of the election is that adult franchise can only result in the total discrediting of our experiment in democracy. Large sections of minority opinion have been disfranchised, so far as effective representation in the legislature goes. The result of this cannot but be disturbing to those who have watched the habitual ignoring of minority interests or wishes

exhibited by Governments conscious of the backing of drilled majorities. This is not how democracy works. Men in charge of the Congress party machine are, however, more perturbed by the signs that the hold of the Congress on the country is weakening. And they talk vaguely of renewing mass contacts. The term is hardly happy, recalling as it does the eleventh hour abortive attempt the Congress planned with regard to the Muslim masses on the eve of the partition of India.

It is not mass contact that is needed so much as the re-opening of the channels by which public opinion might be reinvigorated. These channels have been silted up ever since the flood of national sentiment was swept into a different course under the impetus of the Gandhian gospel and the urgencies of the national struggle. Nor is *panchayat raj* the panacea; for decentralisation in a society made up largely of illiterates can only result in the enthronement of faction-leaders. Democracy has nowhere worked successfully except through the instrumentality of an intelligent middle class which could supply initiative and leadership and be vigilant against encroachment on popular liberties. The worst weakness of our socio-political structure is that this middle class has been devitalised and rendered functionless.

Our Government has put its faith in planned progress. Total planning by its very nature shifts the emphasis from self-help to docile obedience in the furtherance of plans made by experts. It is all the more necessary that national planning should aim at the improvement of quality as much as quantitative progress. Physical planning and the fixing of targets of various kinds are all very well provided that the free to-operation and intelligent criticism of the citizen are secured. Otherwise no Government, however anxious to safeguard democracy, can escape the temptation implicit in planning itself. "In a planned economy", as the Finance Minister has been telling Parliament, "it was not always possible to rely on general measures of expansion or restriction of credit. A selective approach had to be adopted". This need for continuous and meticulous regulation goes to strengthen the impression in the minds of the directors of planned economies that the arcana of administration are not for the common man and that his duty is to do what he is asked to do and not come too much in the way. Democratic planning should seek to correct this inherent bias by aiming at a balanced development of the human potential and of the natural resources of the country. Steel mills are important; even more important is education. Publicity for the Plan may, if done intelligently and on the basis of actual progress, be of some value in enthusing the people. But a free Press is far more essential; the all-too common attitude of those in authority, who regard criticism of policies as a personal affront, is one that must be decisively checked if the authoritarian tendencies implicit in all planning are not to run riot. Above all, planning in a democratic State should, as the State itself is supposed to do in Marxist theory, wither away when it has achieved its object of building up a virile people confident and capable of fashioning their own destiny. The Prime Minister, we are glad to note, laid special emphasis on the danger of our losing our roots. The Indian tradition, while it has never undervalued economic security and political unity, believes no less in the spiritual autonomy of the individual. That is not easily reconciled with insensate competition and greed whether among nations or among smaller groups. Much less is it compatible with the absolutism of the anti-hill.

A Right Decision

THE Government of India's decision to pay in full the claims of policyholders who had insured with companies whose liabilities have been found to be in excess of their assets is commendable. In the Life Insurance Nationalisation Bill the Government had included a provision under which the Life Insurance Corporation was empowered to reduce the values of policies issued by "insolvent" companies to the extent that

their assets fell short of their liabilities. We had then expressed our objection to this provision on the ground that once the Government had decided to take over the companies they should fully protect the policyholders even if they had been misguided enough to insure themselves with companies which would not be able to honour their obligations. If nationalisation had not taken place and if policyholders suffered because of their lack of foresight and caution, they would have largely to blame themselves for the loss. But the Government having intervened and taken over all the companies, the right course was to protect equally the interests of all policyholders regardless of the financial position of individual companies. The Union Finance Minister stated in the Lok Sabha that as a result of the valuations carried out so far, it had been found that in the case of 29 companies the liabilities would exceed the assets by about Rs. 70 lakhs. The total business in force of these companies amounts to Rs. 16.5 crores covering 116,000 policies. In relation to the total volume of life business in force, this is a very small fraction, and the Government have done the right thing in assuming full responsibility for the uncovered deficit without reducing the face values of the policies. The Government's decision might suggest that the burden of meeting the deficit has been placed on the general exchequer instead of on the Life Insurance Corporation. But as the deficit will be met in the course of years from out of the surplus that will be payable to the Government by the Corporation, it represents no net burden on the general finances of the country.

ORDNANCE
FACTORIESMANAGEMENT BY
CORPORATIONLOK SABHA BODY'S
SUGGESTION

NEW DELHI, March 29. The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha has called upon the Government to transfer the management of Ordnance factories from the Defence Ministry to a company system of management or under a statutory corporation.

In its report on the Ministry of Defence, the Committee has expressed the "firm" view that all industries in the Public Sector, whether Defence or Civil, should be run on the same basis. All industries are intended to be run anywhere in the world and not by a departmental system of management. It is an accepted principle that the best form of management of industries is a company system of management which facilitates their running as far as possible on sound business principles.

The Committee considered—as was pointed out by the Baldev Singh Committee over two years ago—that "this reorganisation of the top set-up of the organisation of the Ordnance factories is a fundamental change of very great importance and necessity if the Defence Ministry is to work not as a Government department bogged down in red tape, but economically and efficiently in the interest of the country, which cannot be over-emphasised since they affect the very security and independence of the country."

The Committee favoured a change in the composition of the Defence Production Board which at present was dealing with policy and administrative matters concerning production in Ordnance factories. It held that the present arrangement under which the Minister for Defence Organisation was Chairman was not a satisfactory arrangement. It suggested that the Chairman should be drawn from private industrialists. The Controller-General, Defence Production, could be the Vice-Chairman.

BALDEV SINGH COMMITTEE'S PROPOSALS

The Committee held that important recommendations of the Baldev Singh Committee were being examined in a "tardy manner." It is hoped that it would be possible for the Controller-General, Defence Production, to pursue vigorously his activities for ensuring strong co-ordination among defence authorities and for keeping the defence production at the optimum level by cutting down red tape and paper work so as to keep the country fully prepared for all emergencies, the Committee remarked.

Among other recommendations of the Committee was one for the transfer of the management of Ordnance factories producing civil goods to the Production Ministry. This step, the Committee felt, would relieve the Defence Ministry of the burden of having to manage industries which were not of a security nature.

JAKARTA BANKS
SEARCHED

JAKARTA, March 29. Indonesian police and armed troops to-day raided Jakarta banks. Banking officials said police and Army officers searched through bank files and examined strong-boxes. They carried a list of names and appeared to be looking for files or property of people on a list.

A number of safe deposit boxes and valuables as well as files were removed from the banks by the officers.

NEHRU CHOSEN
LEADER AGAIN
UNANIMOUS VOTE
BY PARTYMENPREMIER LOOKS
AHEADLONG TERM IN OFFICE
"A BAD HABIT"

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

NEW DELHI, March 29. Prime Minister Nehru was today unanimously re-elected Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party consisting of the newly-elected Congress members of the Lok Sabha and Congress members of the Rajya Sabha.

Members of the Congress Party newly elected to the Lok Sabha and the Congress Party members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in the central hall of Parliament to elect their leader. Since the Congress has overwhelming majority in Parliament, Mr. Nehru's election means that he will pilot the ship of State for another term of five years.

When Maulana Azad announced Mr. Nehru's unanimous election as leader, the whole Assembly burst into applause. Led by the Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, who was present by special invitation, several Congress leaders garlanded Mr. Nehru.

Addressing the members soon after the unanimous election, Mr. Nehru said that he was too willing to carry on the great responsibility of being a Prime Minister. Both physically and mentally he felt he was fit. However, Mr. Nehru said, in a parliamentary democracy it would be good to lay down a convention that no person should continue too long in any position of high responsibility. In America, they had a law passed by which nobody could be elected as President for a third time. There was a good reason for this, there was the exception of President Roosevelt being chosen for a fourth time because America wanted him to continue the leadership during war and he paid for it with his life.

"UNEXCITING ELECTION"

The Prime Minister referred to the way in which he had been elected leader without "much excitement and without any argument or canvassing, or collection of signatures." He had been Prime Minister now for ten years which was perhaps long enough for a person in high office in any other country. Whenever he went to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference he always found that there were different persons at different times but he alone was the oldest member. Personally, he felt he was not tired and did not want to run away from responsibilities.

HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES

Mr. Nehru added, the Prime Minister, in a parliamentary democracy, had a very great responsibility to shoulder. In a sense he was the corner stone of the State. The Prime Minister had broken down under the strain. "So it is not normally a good thing for persons who have to shoulder heavy responsibilities to be charged with them for long periods. We are in need of getting rid of the habit of doing so. It is a bad habit for a variety of reasons but it is worst of all for the persons so continued."

Persons in high authority, Mr. Nehru said, should be alert all the time and they could bring a freshness of approach at all times to intricate problems.

Mr. Nehru referred to several members "even valuable colleagues" who had fought the elections, and he said that it was more a challenge to a person thinking himself indispensable and continuing, than a defeat for the Congress because other Congressmen had been elected in the same manner. "The public is not likely to understand their dislike of it. It is a healthy sign of a healthy democracy. Even if you lose a valuable colleague, you will appreciate the public reaction and act up to it. If you fall into a rut, you must get out of it because you do not see the consequences immediately but only afterwards. It is better to do something which is likely to have consequences."

In India, they were apt to be devoted to personalities. The personal equation became more marked when the same person continued to occupy the same place for long. There should be change and a shaking up, otherwise one was apt to become static.

So, while I thank you with all humility for electing me to the leadership of the Congress Party, this great organisation, I can tell you, I am not very happy at this continuation, day after day, month after month and year after year. That does not mean I am tired and that I am not prepared for many many varieties of work. Wherever am, I shall work. But I do not feel happy at this habit we are getting into."

Mr. Nehru concluded by expressing the hope that the new members would soon learn the ways of parliamentary democracy.

NEW CENTRAL
CABINETFORMATION EARLY IN
APRIL UNLIKELY

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

NEW DELHI, March 29. Prime Minister Nehru said here to-day that he did not think the new Cabinet would be formed early next month.

To a question whether the Cabinet would be formed before the Presidential election or after the Presidential election, Mr. Nehru replied: "The question is whether it will be formed before the new Parliament meets or after it meets. There are different views about it. I cannot say anything now."

The Prime Minister spent some time chatting with Pressmen, answering their questions at a function held by the Congress Parliamentary Party to bid farewell to the outgoing members of Parliament. There was also a large gathering of newly elected members who had come to Delhi.

RAJYA SABHA
HOUSE ADJOURNS
"SINE DIE"DR. RADHAKRISHNAN'S
CALL TO MEMBERS

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

NEW DELHI, March 29. The sixteenth session of the Rajya Sabha concluded to-day after one day and one night. The House was adjourned sine die. The Chairman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, wishing good luck to the outgoing members, expressed the hope that they would continue to serve the country in other spheres of activities.

In his speech Dr. Radhakrishnan expressed the hope that the members would remember the fundamentals of democracy and help to make this a truly democratic Socialist State.

Dr. Radhakrishnan reminded them "We are trying to fight the evils of poverty within the framework of democratic orientation."

The Chairman said: "Though this House is a continuing body and one-third of its members retire once in two years on account of the general elections, it has happened that 19 of the members are leaving us. Fifteen of them will now go to the Lok Sabha and four to the State Assemblies. Many of them have been active participants in the discussion in this House and we will miss their presence. But I do hope that with the knowledge and experience they gained of the democratic practice in this House, they will continue to utilise in the larger sphere—they think the larger sphere—to which they are moving. Our country today has been in a state of peaceful transition. It is in a perpetual state of peaceful revolution. It is a democratic revolution that we are trying to bring about."

Proceeding, Dr. Radhakrishnan said: "Democracy is not merely a political system, it is an economic system, a social outlook and an ethical way of approaching life. We have had the political arrangement. We are striving for the economic system. We are trying to fight the evils of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, ignorance, superstition and superstition, and the evils of democratic orientation. The world is watching with great interest our attempt. There are some who think that the future of Asia and Africa will be determined not in London and Washington or Moscow and Peking, but here (applause). The way in which we are able to transform our society, the way in which we are able to behave as civilised human beings in the discussion of our problems, national and international. We believe that it is not enough if the goal is right, the means should also be right. The way in which we are treating the problem of Goa is an illustration of this truth. It is ours. But we don't want to annex it by force. So I hope nothing will happen to disrupt this democratic orientation of our country. It opens its way to not only ourselves but the whole world too. I do hope that our members who are leaving this House will remember these fundamentals of democracy and carry them to the truly democratic Socialist State."

WEST BENGAL
ASSEMBLY

CLUTTA, March 29. The final party position in the 252-member West Bengal Legislative Assembly is as follows: Congress—121; Forward Bloc—46; Praja Socialist—21; Forward Bloc—8; Lok Sevak Sangh—7; Revolutionary Socialist Party—3; Marxist Forward Bloc—2; Socialist Unity Centre—2; Independents—11.

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ELECTIONS IN
KASHMIR

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

JAMMU, March 29. The National Conference and the Praja Parishad have announced the results of the two major results of the general elections announced here this morning.

In Ramnagar constituency, the National Conference sitting member, Mr. Hemraj Pandey, was defeated by the Praja Parishad candidate, Mr. Hans Raj. The Praja Parishad candidate secured 8,717 votes and Mr. Durgadas (Ind) got only 724 votes. Mr. Durgadas lost his deposit.

In the Besholi constituency, the Praja Parishad candidate, Mr. Maheshchander, defeated his rival, the National Conference sitting member, Mr. Mahantram, by over 3,200 votes. Mr. Maheshchander got 9,083 votes and Mr. Mahantram, 5,886 votes.

The National Conference has won eight and the Praja Parishad two of the 20 contested seats.

The party position in the State Assembly is: National Conference: 48; Praja Parishad, two.

REQUISITIONING
OF COTTONPOWER GIVEN TO
TEXTILE OFFICIAL

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

NEW DELHI, March 29. The Government of India have authorised the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, to requisition cotton by directing those holding cotton stocks to make sales of the commodity as specified to him.

The Commissioner of Industries Press note said that this step was taken in order to enable mills to obtain cotton at reasonable prices.

The Press Note said: "Of late there has been a tendency for the prices of indigenous cotton to rise and to reach a level which has already touched the ceilings. This is mostly due to speculation."

"In order to enable the mills to obtain cotton at reasonable prices, the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, has authorised the holder of the Cotton Control Order to requisition cotton by directing any person or class of persons, holding any stock of cotton, to sell to any person or class of persons such quantities of such description of cotton as he may specify."

"Any manufacturer desiring assistance from the Textile Commissioner for the purpose of obtaining supplies of cotton may make an application to the Textile Commissioner in such form as may be prescribed by him."

The Textile Commissioner has also been authorised to determine the prices of cotton so directed to be sold."

MINISTRY IN
ORISSACONGRESS PARTY'S
CONFIDENCEMAHTAB CLAIMS
MAJORITY

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

CUTTACK, March 29. The newly-elected leader of the Orissa Legislative Congress Party, announced at a Press conference here this evening that the Congress Party would be reinstated in power in Orissa in the first week of April.

He said the Party which was returned with a strength of 56 members was to-day 64 strong besides having the support of 11 others. He, however, refused to disclose the names of the new members of the Party although he said they came from among the Independents and the Ganatantra Parishad.

MINISTRY IN FIRST WEEK
OF APRIL

Replying to questions, Dr. Mahtab said that the new Ministry headed by him would be formed by the support of one Socialist, five Independents and the Ganatantra Parishad.

"If everything goes normally, I think the Ministry will come into being in the first week of April. The new Ministry will be a Congress Ministry, headed by me, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation comprised four foreign experts on the subject, two from the U.S. and one each from Sweden and the U.K."

Dr. Mahtab said that the report of agreement between Ganatantra Parishad and Jharkhand Party for forming a non-Congress Government was "misleading" and his latest information was that there had been no agreement.

In a statement he read at the Press conference, Dr. Mahtab urged all elected members of the Orissa Legislative Assembly to support the Ministry which he would head.

He said that he was convinced that the people at large had faith and trust in the Congress programme.

PSP ATTITUDE CRITICISED

Dr. Mahtab said that the unconditional association "amounting to the merger" of the PSP group with the Ganatantra Parishad was the most surprising in the movements of the different groups during the past few days. "Their unconditional support of the Ganatantra Party reveals that they are prepared to crawl and lick the dust at the feet of power," he added.

Mahtab thought that there was no scope for an acute difference of opinion on the working of the Second Five-Year Plan and the speedy and "all-round" improvement that had to be brought about in Orissa. He said: "No one in his senses would oppose the opening of communications, the expanding higher education, building up of industries, increased irrigation facilities and such other nation-building activities which the Congress Party had put in the forefront of its future programme. The Opposition groups do not have any such programme except a negative one. The attitude of the PSP group which professes to be more progressive than the Congress is a disgrace."

Dr. Mahtab said that no party other than the Congress was "entitled to shoulder the responsibility of working out the programme of the country. The Congress alone had the right to do so. He said that he proposed to continue acting upon convictions and under the obligations of principles and not by force of political parties."

The service of the public is open to every party," he said, "and I respectfully invite those who are worthy of it to help me in this task. A member is not an attorney of his constituency. He is a representative of the people and is free to act as his conscience dictates in the best interests of the State."

NATION NOT TIRED OF CONGRESS

While the Congress Party had no doubt suffered reverses in the recent general elections in the State, Dr. Mahtab said he did not agree with the claim put forward by opposition members that the nation as a whole was "tired" of the Congress administration. He said that the spokesmen of the Ganatantra Parishad had been insisting that the bulk of the nation was in the country was in favour of non-Congress rule whatever that might mean. But there was no party known as non-Congress party in the State.

He said that there had been "fought amongst themselves" in the elections. For instance, he said, the PSP fought Ganatantra Parishad and vice versa in many constituencies. Now, after the elections, they turn round and make a strange combination and say that a non-Congress Government has to be formed, is to say the least, preposterous," he added.

Dr. Mahtab said that in his opinion the reason for the return of a large number of candidates of the Ganatantra Parishad to the Assembly was that the personal element had invariably triumphed over the doctrinal element. There were other reasons as well. By far the most substantial reason appeared to be that the people of the ex-State areas were unaccustomed to vote till the other day, and possessed no clear idea as to how to participate in administration as they were not allowed to do so ever in the past. It was, therefore, not to be wondered at that their votes had been cast in a "pitiable way."

"I refuse to believe," he said, "that they prefer autocratic rule to democratic process, however unpopular they may be. Democratic habits of thought would equally be uncharitable to suppose that the people of Sambalpur disapprove of the huge expenditure made in that area in building up irrigation projects."

Dr. Mahtab said that Mahtab, was to-day re-elected Leader of the Orissa Assembly Congress Party at its first meeting here this morning.

Dr. Mahtab's name was proposed by Mr. Lingaraj Panigrahi and seconded by Mr. Radhanath Rath. Orissa's veteran politician Pandit Nilakantha Das presided on the occasion.

PARISHAD CHIEF ON COMMUNIST STAND

Mr. R. N. Singh Deo (Maharaja of Patna), President of Ganatantra Parishad giving his reactions in a brief statement to the Communist Party's comments on the Ganatantra Parishad, said: "I have

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