



# The Times of India

## INDEPENDENCE DAY

### Supplement



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## REVIVAL OF SWADESHI WILL NOT HIT EXPORT TRADE

By

Pranlal Devkar Nanjee

THE object of the Swadeshi movement, Mr. Pranlal Devkar Nanjee, President of the Swadeshi League, Bombay, says in a special article to the "Times of India" Independence Supplement should be not merely to ban foreign goods which could be produced in the country, but also to create a love in the hearts of the people for indigenous goods and services.

Mr. Nanjee states that Swadeshi means love for one's own country.

The term Swadeshi is not conceived in a narrow parochial manner involving discriminatory treatment against one or the other country. It is not a negative aspect, but a positive one in its content and application.

The broad and comprehensive idea of Swadeshi must cover all manufactures, crafts and services, as owned, developed and fostered by Indian capital, Indian labour and Indian management. This was the concept of Mahatma Gandhi when he referred to the cent per cent Swadeshi which embraces the entire sphere of our economic activities.

### Sentiment

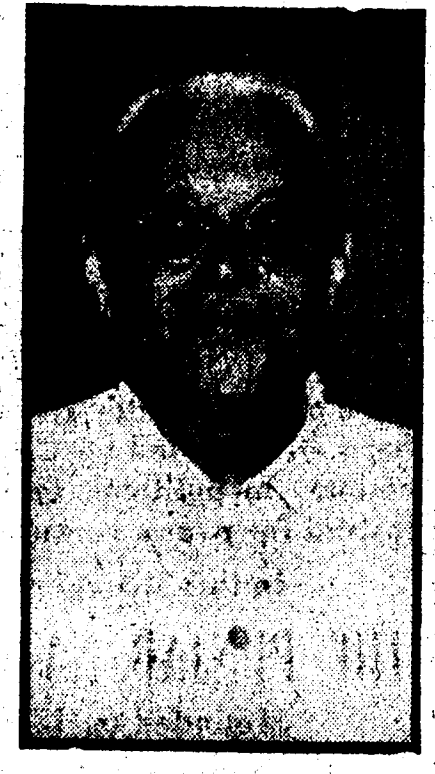
The Swadeshi sentiment in our country had its origin in the desire of an oppressed people to make their present and disastrous situation fair against foreign rule and its official policies detrimental to the country's interests. When the public opposition to the partition of Bengal was shown scant respect by officialdom, the frustrated leaders and the people of Bengal, headed by the late Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, resorted to the economic weapon of Swadeshi in its negative aspect of boycott for forcing reconsideration of the issue. About the same time, Lokmanya Tilak stressed its importance as an economic weapon in our part of the country.

In our political struggle for achieving freedom, the spirit of Swadeshi played an important part, and its economic aspect had a profound influence on those who ruled us then. But the credit for harnessing the sentiment as a potent instrument of assisting the economic progress of the country goes to Mahatma Gandhi, who always emphasised the positive economic aspect of Swadeshi as distinguished from its negative use for compelling political attention. In the fight for freedom, he always emphasised the twin objectives, viz. political freedom and economic freedom.

### On The Wane

It is a matter of regret that the spirit of Swadeshi, which played such a significant role in the fight for India's political emancipation, should lose its significance and meaning on the attainment of political freedom, and that the zeal and missionary devotion in the cause of Swadeshi be on the wane. In the modern world, political freedom will be next to nothing and unless sound economic foundations for the growth and development of our economically underdeveloped country are not provided by the true spirit of Swadeshi, our political freedom may prove a chimera.

Purchasing of our own products should be a matter of national pride. To ensure ready consumption of such articles as are produced in the country and to furnish a perpetual stimulus for production by keeping the demand for indigenous things in



Mr. Nanjee

excess of supply ought to be a sine qua non for the success of Swadeshi. It will have to be inspired by a lasting love for things made in the country and, if the objective of giving economic strength to the country is to be achieved in a substantial measure, we should follow the sound advice given to us by Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, our Minister of Commerce, who said, "even if comparably indigenous-made goods, from the point of view of workmanship and production methods, show some

deficiency, the public should be prepared to subject themselves to slight inconveniences by extending a positive preference for the goods produced in the country."

At this juncture, when unemployment on a huge scale is staring us in the face, and when we are having our Five-Year Plan aiming to increase our standard of living, the economic importance of Swadeshi to the country needs to be kept prominently in the public mind, and the present indifference to the Swadeshi sentiment calls for a concerted effort for the revival of a proper spirit and atmosphere in which the idea can flourish and gather momentum. And it becomes our duty to see that as many of our requirements as possible are made in India and are purely Swadeshi.

### How Long?

We should also scrupulously avoid helping, under plausible plea, imports of foreign goods which we can produce in our country, and should try and render all the help that we can for such goods to be made here. Mahatma Gandhi observed, as far back as 1916, speaking before a Missionary Conference, thus: "... Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be to-day a land flowing with milk and honey." It may not be possible or advisable to stop all imports, but considering our problems of unemployment, poverty, and under-developed condition, we should certainly stop or reduce to a minimum the imports of goods that we can produce in our own country. This will stop the heavy drain on our resources and help ameliorate our economic condition.

To the question as to how long this campaign for Swadeshi should be carried on, my answer is that we should keep the importance of Swadeshi prominently before the public mind and pursue the practice of Swadeshi so long as our country remains under-developed and has not achieved economic strength and solidarity, so long as there is unemployment, and so long as our standard of living is not raised appreciably, and our country has not attained a level

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## FUTURE OF CONGRESS IN INDIA

### Political Scene Surveyed

In a survey of the political scene between August 14, 1952 and Independence Day this year, "Observer" says that top men in the Congress admit that the prestige of the organisation was never so low as today. He says that if the Congress loses power it will be to the Communists.

By "Observer"

A fairly large gathering it was that heard the Praja Socialist leader, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan in Bombay on Sunday last declaring that the people of India had given just one more chance to the Congress when they voted the party into power in the last general election, the first under India's new Constitution.

It was one more chance given to Nehru, perhaps the last chance, he said.

Coming from a leader of J.P.'s standing, it sounded plausible.

Generally conservative in his estimates, he hazarded the guess that "chance" could jolly well go to his party next time, three years hence. He urged the party workers to get on to the job.

Those who supported the Socialist candidates in the last general election, in preference to better known Congressmen, would turn to the results of the elections with an uneasy feeling.

The way the nation went to polls did uncover the pattern of political opinion and indicated the direction of the fortunes of the political parties. In the biggest effort at soliciting democratic opinion, 15,000 candidates contested the election to the State Assemblies and 1,800 to the House of the People.

### Franchise

The election scheme, with 176 million voters on the rolls on adult franchise, required the setting up of 90,000 polling stations and 224,000 polling booths. Polling itself was spread over 100 days and cost the Union Government Rs.

7,00,00,000. In all 77 parties took part in the election.

The Congress which contested 479 of the total 489 seats in the House of the People won 384 (74 per cent.) seats while the Communists and their allies won 26 seats, (five per cent.) having contested 63 seats.

The Socialists had the biggest upset, setting up candidates for 255 seats but winning only 12.

The fate of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party was no better. Its candidates were 147 but only ten got in.

Of the 516 Independent candidates, 36 won the election.

The remaining 41 seats were distributed among 16 parties. Several regional groups entering the fight merely figured among the also ran.

### Result

One significant result of the election was that 45 per cent. (47,711,185) of the people in the country had voted the Congress into power at the Centre, while the total votes polled by the Congress candidates for the State Assemblies was 42.36 (43,967,942).

The next best, the Socialist Party, was far behind, getting only 10.5 per cent. of the total votes in the election to the House of the People and 9.73 for the State Assemblies.

The Congress ship was safely berthed. Though a majority of the people in the country had voted against the Congress, its following proved to be big enough to ensure a long lease of life, with every chance of success even in the next election.

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## THE SOURCE, THE SANCTION, THE PATTERN...

### Indian and U.S. Constitutions Have many Common Features

IN the U.S. Library of Congress in Washington is a rare copy of the first draft of India's Constitution. The margins of this two-volume printed document—only four of which are extant—contain notes listing sources of the various articles of the Constitution. American students are often struck by the many points of similarity between the Indian document and that of the U.S.

The Prime Minister signs the Constitution.



and comprehensive yet framed by any state. In the American Constitution these liberties are safeguarded in the Bill of Rights, which is composed of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. It is true that the Bill of Rights was inspired by the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, adopted by the National Assembly of France in 1789, but the United States was the first nation to insert such a declaration into its Constitution.

It is an acknowledged fact that the framers of the Indian Constitution closely studied those of other democratic federations, particularly the United States, Canada and Australia. The inspiration for all of these countries was, of course, England, and even the Indian Constitution in its structure is fundamentally British. But there are a number of significant similarities, between the Indian and American Constitutions.

First, of course, there is a likeness in the events leading up to the framing of the two Constitutions. Both nations had just emerged from struggles for freedom from alien domination. The significance of these events is to be seen in the fact that both nations thought it fit to insert into their Constitutions a formal declaration of the fundamental rights of its citizens. In this they differ from the Canadian, Australian and South African Constitutions which, dominated by the basic principles of English common law, contain no such insertion. Instead, like the British, they assume these rights and direct attention toward securing effective measures for enforcing them.

The declaration of fundamental rights in the Indian Constitution is the most elaborate

and state authority at the same time.

The reason behind the U.S. and Indian action in doing so stems from the significance attached to the individual in the philosophy of the state. It emphasises the fact that the state exists for the individuals or citizens, thus stressing the essentially democratic nature of the two states.

Considering the historical backgrounds of the two Constitutions it is also significant that, despite the intense nationalist feeling then prevailing, both nations chose to model themselves on lines similar to the colonial power. The Indian Constitution, like the American, is essentially a product of British rule.

### By Franklin Phelps

In its very form of government, federal as opposed to unitary, the Indian system is similar to that of America. Of course, the federal idea—the plan of government of a number of contiguous territories in association, and neither separated nor combined in one—goes back to the days of ancient Greece, but it has been employed on a large scale only during the last two centuries. The theory and practice of federalism are not older than the American federation, which came into existence in 1787.

As a federation, however, the Indian Union both resembles and differs from that of the United States. Included among providing for personal liberty

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## Unity Alone Can Preserve Our Heritage

THE unity of India is generally taken for granted; we care little to consider how it was built up and destroyed, and how it is now being strengthened and undermined at the same time. This is a very important subject. If this unity weakens freedom goes, and with it our future.

Nature has given us two bases for our unity: First, the sea and in the north the unbroken wall of snow-capped ranges of mountains from Pamir to Burma and China; and, second, the basin of the Ganga which, by reason of its richness and fertility has been the home of the civilisation and culture which has developed and unified the country. But the unity which we have to consider is not geographical. Such unity has little value. Let us not forget that in spite of it, disunity came and resulted in the partition of India.

Unity is sometimes imposed on a people through fear or violence, by military occupation or state action. Real and lasting unity, however, is achieved only by people developing themselves either by tradition, necessity or action into an aggregate with a soul or Collective Unconscious. This soul sets them on a career of feeling, thinking and willing themselves into a living organism.

People gifted with such a Collective Unconscious are one in their tradition, way of life and institutional continuity. They are

Mr. K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, in this article, makes a fervent plea for the preservation of our heritage by

hering the unity of India. He traces the survival of unity in our Collective Unconscious through the course of our history, from the proto-historic period to the present, and asserts that one of the chief reasons for its survival, inspite of disintegrating influences, is the existence, within us, of a Central Idea—of the possibility of man emerging as divine in life, which has vitalised other values from time to time. We must safeguard that unity.



Mr. Munshi

capable of making conscious effort to maintain a living sense of oneness, and they build up common habits, beliefs, reactions and outlook.

In India the basic strata of unity is proximity and a longing for divine providence and a faith that we are of God. Temples of proto-historic deities, Shiva and Shakti, are found in every village; the temples of other and later gods also abound in almost every region. Holy places, rivers and mountains are invested with sanctity and attract people to them. Last Vaishnaki I watched six lakhs of people come to bathe at Hardwar, a lakh of people visit Badrinath every year, most of them undertaking a very trying trek on a difficult mountain path over a million visit Banaras; another million will be attracted to Prayag next January. In recent years, we have seen Somnath rise again and Sanchi re-dedicated as a shrine.

The next value imbedded in our Collective Unconscious is that India is the holy land of dharmas, the universal law of righteousness, and that such a law ought to have an upholder, the chakravarti.

The concept of chakravarti is as old as the post-Vedic period. The pre-historic King Bharat was a national chakravarti par excellence and the country was called by his name. Sri Krishna was Vasudeva, the upholder of dharma, from age to age. When the tribal kings of India met at Panipat to shed their blood in a fratricidal war between members of the royal dynasty of Hastinapur, political unity, represented by the chakravarti concept, was transferred from concept to collective action. The memories of that Epic War, its heroes and of the values they stood for became woven into our Collective Unconscious.

Later several conquerors tried to be chakravartis by performing Ashvamedha sacrifices. The memory of Chandragupta II of the Gupta Dynasty, recognised as a national symbol of power, gave to his title Vikramaditya a permanent significance in the national mind. The Pratiharas of Kanauj were accepted as Raghukula Chakravarti upto the 11th century.

Another value which runs like a golden thread through our unity is the concept of the

father as the root of the family in whose personality the mother is merged by the magic virtue of marriage. This concept was sublimated in the national mind into satya. This ideal has done more than anything to maintain the stability and continuity of our family life. One can hope that the warning lapse in the behaviour of women would end in social chaos will not go unheeded by those who consider themselves to be 'advanced'.

Another thread that glistens through our unity is social solidarity which, in early times, took the form of chaturvarnya. It was not a congeries of mutually hostile castes, but an interdependent four-fold order of society. In this order, accepted as universal, everyone and every tribe found a place. This concept provided a great unifying urge. Wherever it was accepted, people were Aryas—the cultured, the noble. In order that it should triumph, the whole world had to be Aryanised. There was Aryavarta, wherever this dharma was accepted or enforced. This concept has changed in content from age to age. From the earliest days there have been protests against hereditary castes by farseeing men. Sri Krishna himself and Yudhishtira being the foremost. But behind these social forms, the contents of which may change, is the typical Indian ideal of society. Men of ideals and learning; who forswear worldly possessions, are at the head of the social structure; those devoted to military activities and acquisition of wealth are next in order of merit or importance.

### Higher Life

This social stratification aims at creating conditions in which man can consistently with social security, lead an ever-increasing higher life. Such life alone makes it possible for man to emerge as divine. This great Central Idea of the possibility of man emerging as divine in life has vitalised other values from time to time and preserved India as the land of dharma.

"But where are those God-budded men in India?" you will ask. "We are as bad in our ways of life as any other set of men in the world." True. But the difference is this. We obey a man in power, or one who has wealth; fear or self-interest may drive us to do it; we may admire them. But when we meet a man who

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