

THE

Indian

Libertarian

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

EDITOR: D. M. KULKARNI

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rs. 6.00

Vol. XI No. 2

April 15, 1963

IN THIS ISSUE

Page

EDITORIAL:

Who is Complacent Please,
People or The Government? 2

Herd Instinct And Nation-Building
By M. A. Venkata Rao 5

Ghosts of History
By M. N. Tholal 7

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT I-IV

After Nehru Who?
By A. G. Noorani 10

DELHI LETTER:

Malaviya And Mineral Ores 11

Book Review 12

Gleanings from the Press 13

News & Views 13

Dear Editor 15



EDITORIAL

Who Is Complacent, Please : People Or The Government ?

THE President Dr. Radhakrishnan, while addressing the members of the Madras Legislature is reported to have expressed his alarm at 'the sense of complacency' in the country and asked the people 'to overcome this crisis of complacency.' He also said that the primary need of the country was to build the nation's armed strength adequately to resist any external attack, to protect its self-respect and to develop self-confidence.

It is rather curious that the President who, of all the persons constituting the present Government, has been most consistently calling upon the country to do everything possible to retrieve the country's lost honour and prestige in the NEFA battles in last October, should have addressed his words of warning to the country, instead of to his self-hypnotized Ministers who are ruling the country under his benign care and guidance. Perhaps by the word 'country', he meant both the people and the Government. But if he really thought that the people were complacent while the Government was up and doing its duty, then he was doing less than injustice to the people who, in the emergency of October-December, 1962, had so magnificently responded to the call of the nation in all possible ways, men and money and even with their very blood and tears, against the detestable communist invader from the north.

The whole nation then rose to a man in the cause of its liberty and freedom. In that situation, the people only demanded of the Government a straight, honest and resolute policy and a clear-cut programme to fight the communist menace on all fronts, from within the country and without. They wanted a complete overhauling of the Defence Ministry and with one voice except for that of the 'Moscow' and 'Peking' patriots in India, begged of Mr. Nehru to dislodge the crypto-communist Krishna Menon from the Defence Ministry. With the dark shadow of communist invasion hanging over India in the North-East and Ladakh areas and the military disasters befalling in quick succession the Indian military, brave but helpless on account of being poorly equipped with arms and weapons, Mr. Nehru most reluctantly bowed to the wishes of the people and sacked Mr. Krishna Menon and brought in his place Mr. Chavan the sturdy, strong and silent man from Maharashtra. The people were happy about this new arrangement and were looking forward to a vigorous prosecution of the war imposed on us by the enemy. But the wily and shrewd Chinese leaders, for military reasons and presumably out of the political motives to create a split among the Indian nationals and also out of fear of the massive military aid spontaneously pour-

ing into India from the Western democracies which would have ultimately endangered the very existence of the 'red' regime in China, declared unilateral cease-fire and staged a dramatic withdrawal from certain areas they had taken by force.

Congress Boastfulness And Self-complacency

This tactical move of the Chinese had its desired effect on our rulers who were almost sighing for a breathing space. They grew self-complacent and boastful. Mr. Nehru started saying that his 'non-alignment' policy and 'Panchashila' had brilliantly succeeded as never before. Some of the Congress leaders even went to the length of saying that Russia had played a major part in bringing about the Chinese withdrawal. The prompt military aid from the West was given only a halting recognition, while some crypto-communist Congressmen openly tried to play it down. The Government however, cunningly and quickly enough, assumed emergency powers in the name of the Chinese invasion and began exercising them for its party ends and for boosting its discredited policies. The Government spokesmen warned the people and the press against criticism of Mr. Nehru and his policies as if they were sacrosanct and infallible.

With the imminent danger of the Chinese invasion having thus passed over, our leadership systematically tried to calm down the ever-rising temper of the people against communist China and communists at home. They told the people that communism had nothing to do with the Chinese invasion which was in their eyes, the result of Chinese expansionism. Congress agencies regaled the country with tiresome history of Chinese imperialism over the centuries even before the present red regime came to power there. This was in a way absolving Chinese communism from all blame in the matter of Chinese invasion. So the intense hatred for the Chinese reds in the country cooled down, at least among Congressmen. Colombo Proposals having been accepted by the Parliament in toto and Mr. Nehru's proposals to refer this 'border dispute' to arbitration or to the Hague Court having been unanimously endorsed now by the A.I.C.C. meeting, the President should have no reason to grumble if people were naturally inclined today to relapse into a mood of ease and relaxation.

Nehru's Way Of Wrecking National Unity

Moreover the Congress leaders including Mr. Nehru are doing everything possible to dampen the

anti-Chinese ardour of the people generated during the dark days of October last and to wreck the national unity that was so much in evidence at that time. Day in and day out, they are condemning outright all opposition parties and their leaders who do not see eye to eye with Mr. Nehru's 'non-alignment' and 'socialist' policies, as 'reactionaries' as Mr. Nehru did at the recent A.I.C.C. meeting. At the same time, Mr. Nehru makes it a point to refrain studiously and conveniently from making any reference to the nefarious activities of the Communists who are out to destroy unity even among Congress ranks and sabotage defence efforts by creating class conflicts in the name of anti-capitalism and working class welfare. Not only that. He very often alludes in his speeches to 'patriotic' elements in the communist party, simply because they are applauding him exclusively, though not his senior cabinet colleagues. But strangely enough he refuses to recognise the genuine anti-Chinese Indian patriotism of C.R. and other Swatantrites and also Jansanghis for no other reason than that they have the moral courage to point out the disastrous effects of his pet illusions and dreams on the country and to suggest the formation of an All Parties National Government at the Centre to foster and strengthen national unity and to meet the Chinese challenge more unitedly effectively and resolutely.

The Vicious System In Defence Ministry

The Prime Minister's ways are inscrutable. He has introduced a vicious system of checks and balances in the Defence Department of his Government especially after the ignominious exit of his friend Mr. Menon from the Ministry. In the result, Mr. Chavan, the new Defence Minister, who sacrificed his enviable prize-post of the Chief Minister of the Bombay State at Mr. Nehru's call, now finds himself in a quandary. His work in the Defence Ministry is being thwarted and circumscribed at every step by the constant interference of the Defence Co-ordinating Minister the redoubtable Krishnamachari and by the antics of Mr. Nehru's show-boy, the first class exhibitionist Chief Minister of Orissa, Mr. Patnaik, who has been specially drafted to Delhi as a 'special' adviser to the Prime Minister on defence matters. The people thus are sorely disappointed to see this cliquish struggle for power going on in the Defence Ministry with the full knowledge of the Prime Minister himself, even at this time of emergency. This bungling and mismanagement of the Defence Portfolio does not reflect favourably on the Government's seriousness about putting India's defence on sound lines.

People must therefore be excused if they are led to suspect that there is something more than what appears on the surface in Nehru's constant reiteration of 'non-alignment' and 'socialism' and that the country is being slowly prepared for bilateral talks between India and China in the near future on the basis of the Colombo proposals considerably diluted and made innocuous to the Chinese. Lord Mountbatten is already on his way to India to offer his services to Mr. Nehru in this matter. People therefore conclude that all this talk of emergency, not backed

up by vigorous action to repel the enemy is designed only to centralise all the political and economic power into the hands of the Government and stifle all opposition to governmental policies when Mr. Nehru finally decides to have peace negotiations with the Chinese.

Set The Government House In Order

The President of India should therefore set his own government house in order and take all necessary steps to put more vim and vigour into Cabinet Ministers and create in them an indomitable will to resist and fight the Chinese invader till he is beaten back beyond the last inch of Indian territory. He should persuade them to arrive at some definite military arrangement with U.S.A. and to adjust their foreign and domestic policies to the needs of the present emergency. He will have also to warn his Ministers including Mr. Nehru against their intolerable self-complacency and boastful spirit in beating their own drums about 'non-alignment' and 'socialism'. The President may rest assured that the heart of the people is quite sound and strong and they will support him in all his endeavours to galvanise his own government into taking effective military action against the hated red enemy from China.

Will the President wake up to the ugly realities of the situation and find out for himself: Who is complacent, People or the Government?

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THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

Independent Journal Of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by : D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.

Published On the 1st and 15th Of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates :

Annual Rs. 6; 3 \$ (U.S.A.); 12 S. (U.K.)

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25

One-eighth Page Rs. 15; One full column of a Page Rs. 50

BACK COVER..... Rs. 150

SECOND COVER..... Rs. 125

THIRD COVER..... Rs. 125

- Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.
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Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

THE RIVER-WATERS DISPUTE

The Gulhati Commission's Report on the Krishna-Godavari waters dispute is a sad commentary on the inherent defects of our National Planning. The Report has pointed out a woeful lack of basic data about the river-water discharge and its total availability, actual and potential, for being allocated rationally and scientifically for irrigating the dry agricultural areas of the river basins and for producing cheap power required by small industries in adjoining backward areas. In the absence of such definite information, it is no wonder that each one of the three States, Maharashtra, Mysore and Andhra through whose regions these rivers mainly flow, is trying its best to appropriate the maximum available flow for its own projects without giving any thought to the probable effects of such utilisation of water on the needs of other projects planned by other States along the same river systems. It is, however, comforting to note that the report holds out the promise that 'it would be possible in due course to meet reasonable requirements of most of the areas proposed to be irrigated by all the projects that have been put forward'. In the light of this possibility, the present furor raised by all the States over this dispute appears to be motivated more by vested political interests than by a keen desire for a fair and equitable distribution of the river-waters among the States concerned.

On the basis of the recommendations of this Commission's Report the Central Government have announced eminently reasonable proposals to settle this long drawn-out dispute. They have given a clearance for almost all the projects presently under construction, while curbing the overambitiousness of the States in regard to certain of their huge undertakings, which also will be favourably considered in course of time when the scientific data proposed to be collected soon, are available.

The proposals rightly give priority to the utilisation of the river waters for irrigation purposes. In this connection the Maharashtra Government's contention that under the Koyna scheme the proposed diversion of Krishna waters westwards will not only encourage small industries in Konkan but also will irrigate fifty thousand acres of land in this long neglected area will have to be given its due weight and favourably considered by the Government.

This dispute has once again highlighted the problem of formulating an intra-regional integrated Plan for optimum utilisation of such 'scarce and expensive natural resource'. The Central Government's reported move to establish an Inter-State River Board to collect the necessary data for building up Master Plans for all river basins in India is, therefore, quite opportune and appropriate.

ZIG-ZAGS IN INTERNATIONAL ALIGNMENTS

The politics of all major countries of both the 'free' world and the communist world seem to be in a state of constant flux. 'Peace', 'co-existence', 'dis-

armament' and such other words which have now acquired an incredible flexibility of meaning are now on the lips of all the world leaders. The much dreaded hydrogen bomb perhaps has had, at least for the time being, a soothing effect on the over-wrought nerves of world politicians like Kennedy and Khrushchev. These 'Big Two' leaders are no longer looking at each other with raised eye-brows, blood-shot eyes, clenched fists and also sometimes raised boots and shoes. They are now engrossed in their friendly talks on problems of Disarmament, On-sight Inspection, the Berlin question. The 'younger' Brothers Mao tse-Tang of China and Macmillan of Britain also refuse to be outdone by their Big Brothers in this game. They are reported to be at this moment discussing 'Airliners Deal' and mutual trade in other commodities between Britain and China. Mao feels slighted at Mr. Khrushchev's carrying on talks with Kennedy directly without consulting him. Mr. Macmillan, worsted and humiliated in the European Community and somewhat let down by Kennedy in the 'skybolt' affair at Nassau is turning eastwards, where once Britain held an empire on which 'the Sun never set'. Both these 'younger' brothers are therefore coming closer out of a common sense of frustration and despair.

So every big and small country belonging to both the camps is re-orienting its policy to the pressing needs of the Atomic Age. India alone stands still and unmoved like the Yogi, firmly holding on to 'Panchashila' and 'Non-alignment' and now to 'Socialism'. All the greater glory therefore to our leadership!

D. M. KULKARNI.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'God grants liberty only to those who love it and and are always ready to guard and defend it.'

—D. Webster.

'The age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded.

—Edmund Burke.

'Government is the fundamental 'ism' of the soldier, the bigot and the priest'.

—Wendel Phillips.

'The idea of Anarchism is the synthesis of Liberalism and Socialism, liberation of economics from the fetters of politics, liberation of culture from all political power, liberation of man by the solidaric union with his kind.

—Rudolf Rocker.

'The function of the Government is that of seeing to it that the individual is free to make choices rather than that of forcing him to accept the state choices.'

—Prof. Howard Ellis.

HERD INSTINCT AND NATION BUILDING

M. A. VENKATA RAO

Today we have the Communist empire facing the Free World. The latter will have to show, for its very survival, greater sense of cohesion, common destiny and love of freedom and capacity for common action against the common enemy. The instincts of the herd must be sublimated into the higher sentiments of nationalism. The supreme sovereignty of the Nation may pass, but its existence as a self-regulating unit of society and cultural autonomy will remain within the International Commonwealth.

EVER since the first world war of 1914-18, the influence of the herd instinct even in human affairs came to the fore in the public mind of Eur-America. Trotter's book *The Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* won much attention. Earlier works of psychologists like *The Crowd* by Gustave Le Bon of France received renewed attention. The writings of Darwinists on the survival value of group behaviour with its aspects of leaders and led, domination and subordination, and the changes that the individual undergoes when under the influence of a crowd were stressed to account for the extraordinary behaviour of European crowds during the war and the post-war period.

The Nazi movement of Hitler and the Fascism of Mussolini with their systematic and deliberate use or misuse of modern devices to influence the masses and to stir up primitive or at any rate greatly simplified feelings and ideas introduced a new era in social life in the modern world.

The Russian revolution and its leaders initiated the systematic use and misuse of the new Pavlovian psychology of the conditioned reflex and of the Freudian psychology of neurosis, wish-fulfilment and the psychiatry of hypnotism to influence group behaviour in favour of official policy.

The Chinese communists seem to have carried this ruthless and callously mechanistic treatment of citizen under their control to far greater lengths than any other communist leadership. We in India are now face to face with the Chinese methods of "brain-washing," which, it is feared, they are applying to our soldiers captured by them in the recent Himalayan fighting in October-November 1962. They have refused to permit international Red Cross officials to visit their prisoner-of-war camps to see for themselves as impartial observers the treatment they are giving to prisoners in their charge.

The world had a glimpse of the thoroughness with which the Chinese carry out their brain-washing techniques in the Korean war of 1950-53. Many hundreds of American G.I's who returned from the Chinese camps were found to have been changed beyond recognition. Their attachment to homeland and Western values of humanism and democracy had vanished and they displayed a sense of the rightness of com-

munist revolution in attempting to destroy the present order of things in order to create a new heaven and a new earth. They had lost their old minds and selves and memories and had acquired new minds and selves with a different orientation altogether, without any rational basis for the change whatever! It was an emotional transformation. It was carried out more through prestige suggestion in artificially created crises of fear, hunger and tension.

Indian military and defence authorities are now confronted with the necessity of indoctrinating our soldiers in such a way with our own values that they will offer stout resistance to the Chinese subversive techniques of brainwashing if they should unfortunately fall into their hands in the course of the fighting in the next phase.

In this situation, the character of the herd instinct and group behaviour needs to be studied by national leaders, official and unofficial and publicists of all kinds.

First of all, it is well to realise that nationalism or social cohesion is a condition of social survival. The process of evolution shows that nature cares little for the individual organism but infinitely more for the species. As we cast our eyes on the ladder of evolution and watch its ascending series of species, higher in heterogeneity and complexity and powers of adaptation to the environment, we see that cohesive herds who act like one individual in defence and attack like wolves, have a greater chance of survival than lone individuals like the rhinoceros that tends to disappear rapidly when conditions change. Even at the human level, primitive societies that display great cohesive powers and social discipline, (the bulk of the members following the leaders without question in times of crises), have greater chances of success.

The Greek city states survived the Persian invasions only because they could for the time forget their bitter inter-city rivalries and hatreds and unite to resist the enslaving oppressor. Later, when the threat of invasion ceased, they fell apart, fought against each other in federations, one under the lead of Athens and the other under that of Sparta and perished in common before the Macedonian conqueror, Philip.

The Romans conquered the Italian principalities and the Mediterranean world in a few gene-

rations and built a world empire and ruled it for a thousand years, only because they could maintain their unity and organised forms of mobilisation, leadership, action and war better than their opponents.

Today we have the communist empire facing the free world with similar problems. If the free world cannot show greater cohesion, sense of common destiny and love of freedom and capacity to merge differences for the time being in favour of common action as against the common enemy, the countries yet enjoying the inestimable blessings of freedom will perish and will be absorbed as subordinate elements in the communist world empire.

The instincts of the herd should survive at a higher level of social consciousness and transcend both intra-national and extra-national rivalries, as for example in Southeast Asia if the communist Chinese empire is to be halted in its ambition.

Nature does not set any value on individual merit possessed by members of disunited societies. Nehru may be a great cosmopolitan mind, fit leader for a united world in the next phase! But **today** his mission is to unite the country in his charge **like one herd** animated by the sense of a common danger **against the enemy** who is poised for attack on the Himalayan frontiers. His task is to rally all our **neighbours**, (who are equally threatened to stand with us) **like one nation** determined to resist the would-be conqueror.

It is wrong and misleading therefore to anticipate history and hold that nationalism is outdated and evil, out of a false identification of it with Hitlerism and Mussolini-ism. Nazism and Fascism were **aberrations of nationalism**. They mixed the defence feelings natural to the herd instinct with aggressive over-compensatory mechanisms of empire and oppressions of others. The right use of nationalism is to work for a federation of free and equal nations regulating their inter-relations by negotiations and their differences by arbitration through agreed machinery like the World Court and to agree on backing its awards with a World Police. This is the right line of advance and not that of communism which is **mechanistic** and **monolithic** vision, magnifying one nation into a **super-nation**, to which all the rest should owe allegiance.

Nationalism in the sense of social unity and social responsibility for a particular piece of territory and people inhabiting it at any particular time is **necessary** and **indispensable**. It is also ethical, being the stage in moral development next higher to that of the tribe. It signifies the unity of different tribes, ethnic stocks, castes, sects, religious fellowships, economic classes, regional groups and affinities of all sorts among

people living in the same region unified by social communication and a common government.

The sentiment of nationality frees the individuals of a society from excessive and exclusive ties to narrower social bonds such as those of sect, caste, colour, occupation, social rank and every other circumstance usually connoting exclusion and social distance and freezing of social relations.

If India were a nation in the full sense, every Indian would find himself at home in every part of the vast country from Kashmir to the Comorin, from Dwarka to NEFA and Nagaland. He would be free to enter into human relations with anyone in this wide area in all realms of life—cultural, economic, political, religious, etc. He would be free to marry from any group and to trade with any one. He would be free to settle anywhere and to take a career for himself through an avenue of service anywhere. The powers of the individual would be set free on emulative basis on fair terms under a system of equal laws. The regime of equal laws and the rule of law and equal opportunity would liberate the maximum of human energies in the society at large. There would be a climate of challenge and achievement everywhere. Such a society would be supported by the sentiment of nationalism operating in the minds of all citizens, administrators, educators, employers, employees—as a psychological **disposition**, mostly subconscious but coming to the level of explicit consciousness when obstacles to the smooth functioning of social life present themselves, within or without the nation.

It is possible and necessary to sublimate the nation as a social personality as an honourable member of the international comity of nations, co-operative with other nations and hostile to none. For this, the idea of empire should be destroyed and that of commonwealth substituted in its place. The biological **herd** passes at this higher stage into a **national personality** which can take pride in contributing to human good in the largest sense in all spheres of life. Research should be undertaken to study the economic and other obstacles that today come in the way of international co-operation. The supreme sovereignty of the nation may pass but its existence as a self-regulating unit of society and cultural autonomy will remain within the international commonwealth, even as individual personality, club, cultural association etc. will remain in national society.

It has been necessary to reiterate the value and necessity of nationalism within limits because of the view of some influential intellectuals that nationalism is outmoded and that humanism too cannot do without subordinate groupings. Human nature develops in successive constellation, super-posing new patterns on earlier patterns and not effacing them.

GHOSTS OF HISTORY

By M. N. THOLAL

The author opines that except for C. Rajagopalchari and his Swatantra Party, there seems to be little awareness of the present crisis in the country, much less any attempt at meeting the same with the forethought that it demands. He narrates how in past also the Congress lost golden opportunities of meeting the Hindu-Muslim crisis for want of statesmanship of the highest order among the Congress leaders.

In moments of crisis we are unable to rise to the occasion. The present crisis, for example, demands statesmanship of the highest order but, except for Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and his Swatantra Party, there seems to be little awareness of the crisis, much less of any attempt at meeting the same with the foresight that it demands. The history of the country of the past forty years is full of examples of how we missed the bus time after time, and will bear perusal today.

To combat the stubbornness of the British Government in resisting proposals of constitutional advance, the Gauhati Congress (1926) decided to create a united front. Some prominent Muslim leaders, headed by Jinnah, met in Delhi and put forward what came to be known as the Muslim proposals. They were agreeable to joint electorates for the provincial and central legislatures, provided: (a) Sind was made into a separate province, (b) the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan were treated on the same footing as the other provinces, (c) in the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of Muslim representation was in accordance with their population, and (d) in the central legislature it was not less than one-third of the total.

At the All-India Congress Committee meeting held in October, 1927, a resolution was passed substantially accepting the Muslim proposals. A resolution on the question of framing a constitution for India in consultation with the leaders of all parties was also adopted. The Madras Congress (1927) accepted the Muslim scheme submitted by Jinnah and laid down certain rules dealing with the religious and social aspects of the problem. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulana Mohammad Ali were overjoyed. The former made a touching appeal for unity and the latter exclaimed that the Muslims no longer wanted protection of minorities from Earl Winterton, for it could be better secured by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

As a result of the Congress acceptance of the Muslim proposals, the Muslim League split into two this year. One part under Sir Mohammad Shafi met at Lahore and welcomed the Simon Commission. The official League, which followed Jinnah, met in Calcutta and adopted a resolution boycotting the Commission. It also decided to appoint a committee to take up with the Congress and other political organisations the work of drafting the constitution and of suggesting the necessary safeguards.

The country was overjoyed to find unity at last between the two main communities inhabiting the land. The efforts of Srinivas Iyengar had borne fruit. Nothing more could have been expected. The Madras Congress resolution had the blessings of Madan Mohan Malaviya, the great Hindu leader, on the one

hand, and of Maulana Mohammad Ali and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the two great leaders of Muslims. And yet the resolution, which sent a thrill of joy throughout the country, was treated as if it had not been passed at all by the Congress. Motilal Nehru was not present at the Madras Congress, being away in England. Gandhi attended the open sessions of the Madras Congress, but did not attend the meetings of the Working Committee. He took no part in the shaping of the Congress policy that year. The resolution on independence as well as that on the boycott of British goods was not to his liking. As if that was not enough, there was no love lost between Motilal Nehru and Srinivas Iyengar, who stood for independence with Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. I once heard Motilal Nehru say that, if we were to plump for independence, Srinivas Iyengar would begin supporting dominion status.

So with both Gandhi and Motilal Nehru prejudiced against the harbinger of Hindu-Muslim unity, the chances of the terms on which it was brought about being acceptable to the Congress for long were indeed small. Mr. N. C. Kelkar had a little earlier described in choice language the infatuation, as he called it, of Pandit Motilal Nehru for power and position, authority and wealth. Who does not like them? The British Chief Justice of U.P. was nearer the mark when he said, "The place Motilal Nehru occupies automatically becomes the head of the table." In his duel with the Responsivists, headed by Kelkar, the Pandit was right, though he could not publicly drive home the main reason for the correctness of his attitude against them, which was lack of rectitude in men who were to become ministers in pursuit of responsive co-operation.

It is interesting to turn to the pages of the *History of the Congress* by that devotee of the Mahatma, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, for an inkling of the mind of the Mahatma on Srinivas Iyengar and his ambition. Says he: "Altogether 25 riots had broken out. . . . In less than 18 months, the toll taken was stated by Lord Irwin in his Address to the Indian Legislature on August 29, 1927, to be between 250 killed and over 2,500 injured. The Viceroy's exhortation to unity was followed by a unity conference which, however, did not achieve much. A similar Unity Conference was organised by the AICC on October 27, 1927, and it was opened by Srinivas Iyengar (the Congress President of the year) whose one ambition in life, as he repeatedly said,—an ambition which rested in a fund of self-confidence,—was to evolve a formula for Hindu-Muslim unity. . . . The A.I.C.C. met immediately after the Unity Conference, i.e., on October 28, 29 and 30, 1927, in Calcutta. The resolutions of the Unity Conference on the communal relations were passed bodily."

This Congress historian gives the text of the resolution on music before mosques and cow slaughter, but says nothing about the resolution passed substantially accepting the Muslim proposals, as if that was of no significance! This fling on Srinivas Iyengar's ambition might have been justified if he had failed, but here is this Congress historian having his little fling on that great man because of his most legitimate ambition "which rested in a fund of self-confidence". What business had anyone in the Gandhian Congress to have any patriotic ambition, much less one based on self-confidence, so out of place in the Gandhian era? For was not Gandhi there, an expert in everything that mattered, including sandal-making, which he taught to his disciples in Segaon? Gandhi and his followers might as well have told Srinivas Iyengar: "We like your cheek. Let us see how far you go with your plans of Hindu-Muslim unity." That is the only inference to draw from Gandhi's silence on the most important achievement of patriotic Indians since 1916 when there was a Hindu-Muslim or rather Congress-League Agreement at Lucknow. Was it because Gandhi differed from Jinnah's dictum that "Hindu-Muslim unity is Swaraj" and insisted on obtaining "Swaraj through the spinning wheel"?

At the AICC meeting in October, 1927, a resolution had been adopted on the question of framing a constitution for India in consultation with leaders of all political parties. Thus the All-Parties Conference which met in Bombay on May 19, 1928, formed a committee with Motilal Nehru as chairman. This Committee in its report proposed dominion status as the basis of the Indian constitution, for effecting maximum agreement among all parties. It recommended joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims where they were in minority in proportion to the size of the community. (August, 1928.)

When the AICC met on December 26, 1928, in Calcutta the Ali Brothers strongly opposed the Nehru Report. The same day the Muslim League in Calcutta adjourned without coming to any important decision on the Nehru Report. Jinnah wanted a few amendments to the Report adopted but he was discouraged by the Congress leaders who were present there, including Maulana Azad and Dr. Kitchlew. The year's President of the League, the Raja of Mahmudabad, was also an ardent advocate of the Nehru Report. Later an All-Parties Muslim Conference, under the chairmanship of the Aga Khan, repudiated the Nehru Report, saying they wanted a federal constitution and separate electorates. Maulana Mohammad Ali, who attended the Conference, strongly condemned the Nehru Report. Thus the Nehru Report proved to be an apple of discord because of the attitude, not of Jinnah, but of the Ali Brothers. The Congress, in thus indirectly setting aside the Madras unity resolution, failed to act on the maxim that a bird in hand is worth a hundred in the bush.

THE 1936 RAPPROACHEMENT

Eight years roll by. On the eve of the 1937 general elections progressive leaders of the U.P. Congress and the U.P. League, who had been Motilal Nehru's lieutenants, agreed among themselves to oust the ruling party of zamindars and replace them in the provincial legislature by forming a coalition govern-

ment after the elections. It was hoped that the Congress and the League together would be able to win a majority of seats. But the elections gave a thumping majority to the Congress and the Gentlemen's Agreement was forgotten. Even the League manifesto had been drafted in consultation with Congress leaders. The social policy it advocated was much the same as Congress policy. The League was to play its part in building a new "social edifice", though it would oppose "any movement that aims at expropriation of private property." Industrial development, uplift of the rural population, the relief of agricultural indebtedness—all this was common ground. The federal scheme was condemned; the provincial scheme was severely criticised, but it was to be worked "for what it was worth". The manifesto even preferred to omit the two word "separate electorates". The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was hailed as "one of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history of India" and as "a signal proof of the identity of purpose between the two great sections of the people of India." From that time onwards, Muslims had "stood shoulder to shoulder with sister communities in the cause of Indian freedom. If they demanded that their minority position should be safeguarded in the structure of the constitution, that was not communalism. Any one conversant with world history would realise that this was a natural claim and that its acceptance was essential in order to obtain the whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities *who must be made to feel that they can rely upon the majority with a complete sense of confidence and security.*" (Emphasis mine.)

But their thumping success at the polls turned the heads of Congressmen and they decided to ignore the gentlemen's agreement arrived at on the eve of the elections. The AICC meeting held at Delhi in the third week of March, 1937, adopted Gandhi's compromise formula authorizing the acceptance of offices, under certain conditions, in provinces where the Congress commanded a majority. On March 19 the Convention of Congress members of provincial legislatures met at Delhi "to pledge to work under the discipline of the Congress".

Maulana Azad in his *India wins Freedom* blames Jawaharlal Nehru for the imbroglio which resulted in the League remaining outside the U.P. Government. "Chaudhari Khaliqzaman and Nawab Mohammad Ismail were then the leaders of the Muslim League in U.P.," he writes, "They assured me that not only would they co-operate with the Congress but would fully support the Congress programme. They naturally expected that the Muslim League would have some share in the new Government. The local position was such that neither of them could enter the Government alone. Either both would have to be taken or neither. I had therefore held out hopes that both would be taken into the Government." He left for Patna and when he returned he found to his regret that Nehru had written to Khaliqzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan that only one of them could be taken into the Ministry. They therefore expressed their regret saying they were unable to accept the offer.

(Contd. on Page 9)

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT**Planning and Employment In India**

by Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.,

Our Five-Year Plans are based on certain objectives and one of them is to achieve maximum utilization of man power in order to achieve full employment but one must say with regret that employment is not the main objective with our planners with the result that little attention has been paid to the need for maximising employment which has been regarded as the bye-product of economic development. This view can be seen from the following excerpts. At the time of Second Five-Year Plan it was stated by the Planning authorities that "the problem of unemployment especially in an under-developed country like ours can only be solved after a period of intensive development..... In determining the programme for the next five years the prime consideration is that at least the deterioration in the unemployment situation should be arrested". The same view persisted during the Third Five-Year Plan, "Full utilisation of man power resources can be achieved after a considerable period of development". From these it is quite clear that the Planners have given a secondary importance to the employment aspect with the result that the backlog of unemployment is increasing from plan to plan. Now the question is whether it is possible and advisable to plan to achieve full employment in the short period, and whether our planners bent upon establishing socialist pattern of society can achieve the same. It is now recognised that the two objectives of achieving maximum rate of economic growth and the attainment of full employment do not go together in the short period of time though they are compatible in the long run. In the words of Shri V. V. Giri "the primary object of democratic planning in India should be to absorb the surplus work force by so drafting the programme of development as to yield full employment". The Directives in the Constitution envisage full employment and the right to work and live, but employment is full when everybody who wants to work can find it at established rates of pay. According to W. Beveridge "Full employment exists only when there are always more vacant jobs than unemployed men. It means that the jobs are at fair wages, of such a kind, and so located that the unemployed men can reasonably be expected to take them; it means, by consequence that the moral lag between losing one job and finding another will be very short". It must be remembered here that in normal times 100% of the working population in employment can never exist; a minimum of unemployment is bound to

exist but in our country unemployment problem has become a very serious problem next to exchange crisis; it was argued that free capitalist countries failed to achieve full employment and only socialist economy can do the trick but our socialist planners have aggravated the problem by adopting unrealistic fiscal policy. By imposing direct as well as indirect taxes in the name of emergency and development incentives to save and invest have been greatly reduced. Employment cannot be increased without investment. Investment is based on the expectation of profit which is a sine qua non of economic progress, but our Finance Minister has imposed super profit tax in the last budget so that the private sector will have no incentive to invest and as a consequence of this, employment will tend to fall. The backlog of unemployment at the end of Second Plan in 1961 is reckoned at 9 millions. The number of new entrants to the labour force during the Third Plan period (1961-66) will be as many as 17 millions. The Planners are expected to provide employment opportunities for about 14 million people. Thus the reserve army of man-power at the end of the Third Plan will be as high as 12 million persons. For this reason the planners should give priority to the eradication of unemployment once and for all during the Third Plan. The Mahalanabis Strategy in this respect has miserably failed, because it was based on the wrong assumption, namely, that by increasing purchasing power through investment in heavy industries in the public sector and through expenditure on health, education and social services and secondly meeting the increasing demand for consumer goods by a planned supply of such goods. The problem of unemployment can be solved. This strategy would have been successful if capital were available in adequate quantity to expand the consumer goods industries when the development and expansion of heavy and basic industries were given top priority in the Second Plan period. The Planning Commission gave more emphasis on cottage and household industries rather than on large scale consumer goods industries. The problem of unemployment could not be tackled satisfactorily by the Planning Commission due to the absence of the creation of adequate new employment opportunities in large scale industries producing consumer goods. The problem of unemployment would not have taken a serious turn during the Second Plan period if the planners have curtailed the volume of investment in heavy industries
(Continued on Page IV)

Britain, The Giant Invalid

It is not altogether easy to detect and analyse the irrationalisms of one's own times, but three of them which certainly pervade the world of 1963 are:—

1. **Landlordism:** A belief that some are rightly entitled, to the exclusion of others, to receive the site-rent that arises from the activity, enterprise and progress of the whole community, and to appropriate that rent as their own earned income.

2. **Ticketology:** The belief that money is wealth and a great many other surprising things besides, instead of being merely a labour-saving device used for a medium of exchange and a measure of value. The printing of ingenious tickets is advocated by hosts of people as a cure for poverty and almost all other social ills.

3. **Self-impoverishment.** The custom of cutting off one's supplies and income for one's own protection and enrichment. It is commonly believed that imports from abroad cause unemployment and other mischiefs, and also that what we export is a gain but what we import is a loss. This gives rise to a socialistic regime, with the government assuming control of trade in order to discourage profitable trade with foreigners and encourage uneconomic production. The enormous loss caused by this form of irrationalism is beyond calculation, and its pernicious effects are more far-reaching than they at first sight appear to be.

QUICK DECLINE

The first two of these three irrationalisms require adequate treatment, but we must confine this examination to the third. The giant invalid is the great United Kingdom, only yesterday the world's leader in trade and many other fields, and now the victim of this irrational self-impoverishment. When in 1932 Britain returned to the closed port policy, miscalled "Protection," it was prophesied that within 20 years she would be a third-rate power. Few took the prophecy seriously, but it came true. Successive doses of protection, Empire trade "pacts," Keynesism, the Welfare State, and numerous other forms of socialism and semi-socialism, have brought Britain to her present condition, that of an invalid sending out urgent appeals for assistance and sympathy.

The British Isles are so geographically situated a comparative disadvantage. British history proves this right up to the hilt. All countries depend on trade for their prosperity, i.e. to build up and maintain their standard of living, but Britain above all others. She is splendidly adapted to manufacturing the raw materials of the spacious and far-flung rest of the world, and for selling in the world markets in exchange for the wealth which they can abundantly produce. Her encouragement of foreign trade by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1847, followed by the open port policy till 1932, caused Britain to be-

come the acknowledged leader of nations and London the commercial centre of the world. Conversely, the abandonment of that free market by her return to "protection" in 1932 produced an immediate and spectacular decline which only the blind could fail to see. The creation of protected and privileged classes and groups tends to grow until the process kills the nation. Every crisis caused by "protection" causes a louder cry for more protection. The whole United Kingdom is now so weakened that a sharp revolution is the only alternative to a complete decline.

THE COMMON MARKET

This crisis made the Common Market seem, to those who did not radically analyse, a heaven-sent opportunity to maintain the protection and the servile state and to gain relief. This happens to all protected communities (it happened in Australia). The world outstrips them, they decline, and they strive to join up with a more prosperous area, which they drag down into protection with them. With Britain and the Common Market the situation was confused, but it is clear that the Common Market is a strongly tariff-ridden area. To the dispirited British the surrender of more freedom seemed a small consideration for the promised increase in prosperity and business. The lion was prepared to run round its enlarged circus-ring under control, with the other tariff-enclosed countries in a fresh world poetically but falsely named the Common Market.

THE CURE

To cure the disease which will ultimately kill any civilisation, i.e. inequality and loss of freedom, a great and radical restoration of freedom is necessary. A mere reduction, or even abolition, of tariffs is not sufficient. The decline into "protection" is itself the consequence of a radical departure from freedom: the decline comes from within, and can be arrested and reversed from within. How seriously Britain has declined is evident from its unemployment problem alone. True freedom will abolish unemployment.

How pathetic when a great country forgets the message of its own greatest poet:—
England, bound with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds;
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.

Social decline can be arrested, the ingredients of the remedy being (1) a moral reformation, and (2) a growth of knowledge of social science. This originates, not in governments but in individuals who acquire social knowledge, dedicate themselves to the task and act as the leaven of society.

—The Standard (Australia).

Small Business Can Be Keystone Of Developing Nations

By AUSTEN NAZARETH

ONE of the most important conferences ever sponsored by the United Nations—that is the rating that Secretary-General U Thant gave UNCAST—or, to use its full and graphic title, the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less-Developed Areas—which has just concluded a two-week session (February 4-20) at Geneva.

And no wonder. The subject is a vital one: vital to the emergent nations—"two-thirds of the world", as President John F. Kennedy reminded the U.S. delegation to the conference—and hardly, if at all, less vital to the remaining one-third. The almost 2,000 delegates who conferred in Geneva—presided over by India's Professor Maneklal S. Thacker—came from some 80 developed and developing countries around the globe and formed a unique international constellation of top-ranking scientists, technologists, engineers, economists, bankers, educators, and government officials.

The 1,800 papers read and discussed by these experts dovetailed into a fascinating panorama of possibilities, problems, and hopes for the developing countries of the world. They covered a dozen broad categories—such as human and natural resources, agriculture, communications, health and a whole host of specific questions: irrigation (how can the vital but often absent contact between the engineers who build the irrigation systems and the agronomists who decide how to use the water be maintained?), fisheries (are artificial reefs the answer to depleted fishing-grounds?), power (how long will the world's supply of fossil fuels last?), to cite a random few.

Some of the most interesting and significant papers in Geneva have been those read by the social scientists. The more voluntary, democratic participation a developing nation gets from its people in planning and executing economic growth plans, says U.S. sociologist Melvin Tumin, the quicker its climb to prosperity is likely to be. Tumin, who is associate professor of sociology and anthropology at Princeton University, emphasizes in his paper that only as genuine social, political and economic democracy is progressively achieved can any nation hope to establish firmly the social processes necessary to effective development.

What is the most reliable compass for charting such development? Profits, says a paper presented by Professor Edward S. Mason. The leading capitalist countries long ago abandoned

the idea of letting all economic decisions be determined by unregulated market forces alone, the Harvard economics professor points out. But the Communist countries have never succeeded in finding a substitute for profits as a guide to sound economic planning.

A formula for building profitable private businesses in the developing countries is given in another paper read in Geneva. Put the accent on small and medium-size enterprises, it says. This is the recommendation of Bert F. Hoselitz, professor of social sciences at the University of Chicago.

The Chicago professor was a member of a team of advisers to India in 1957-58 on the master plan for the national capital region. In 1952 he served on a U.N. technical-assistance mission to the Central American republic of El Salvador. Last year he attended conferences in Turkey, Nyasaland, and France.

Hoselitz suggests in his paper that the evolution of successful private business communities in the new nations will depend largely on the small and medium-sized funds that played an important part in the economic growth of the more highly developed nations.

Private (as opposed to public) industrialization, says the Chicago social scientist, "must be thought of in the next two or three decades not in terms of new Pittsburghs or Birminghams in the developing nations of Africa and Asia, but rather as a process in which small capital is allocated in various industrial and commercial fields. Although these units may increase in size, they will remain, from a world point of view, fairly small or, at best, medium-size in their fields of economic activity."

This is a carefully thoughtout theory solidly based on sound and successful practice. For while Professor Hoselitz's own country is widely recognized (accurately) as a land of prosperous big businesses, it is far less widely known as a land of equally prosperous small businesses. Yet it can even be said that, taken as a whole, small businesses are the "biggest business" in the U.S.A.

The key role the small businessman plays in the American economy can be better understood when it is realized that almost 95 per cent. of all U.S. businesses are small firms. There are more than 4½ million of these small businesses in operation in the United States, and it is conservatively estimated that at least half-a-million more small firms will have gone into business within the current decade alone.

Small businesses account for some 40 per cent. of the United States' total business activity. They employ (as owners, managers, or workers) about 30 million people—nearly half of all those at work in the nation. Taking for granted, as we reasonably may, an average of almost two other dependents for each, we find that small business provides a livelihood for at least 80 million of the 180 million people in the U.S.A.

The importance of small business in the United States is not only statistical. It is a fount of new ideas, new inventions, new processes. Many, if not most, of the important commercial inventions of the last 50 years have come from the workshops of independent inventors and small independent businessmen—to give a few notable examples, domestic gas refrigeration, automatic transmission, air-conditioning, Cellophane, Kodachrome.

Since the nation's early days, small business enterprises have formed the keystone of the vast edifice of social, political and economic democracy that is the United States. Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin often warned that economic power should be kept decentralized among many independent owners as a safeguard against concentration of power and consequent loss of individual liberty. Time has proved their wisdom.

Today, we see small business as the keystone of the free American nation. Tomorrow, it can be the keystone of the developed free nations of the world.

—U.S.I.Service.

(Continued from Page I)

and released capital was utilised for the expansion of employment in the large scale consumer goods industries. As a consequence of this policy the price level would have come down and the value of rupee would have gone up. During the Second Plan period the prices rose by 6 per cent per annum and this was mainly due to the large dose of deficit financing during the last two years of the Second Plan. In the Third Plan we find that the Planning Commission has not attempted to frame a co-ordinated policy for creating employment opportunities for 26 million persons. The Planning Commission has chalked out a programme for creating employment for 14 million persons, but whether even this can be achieved or not is problematical. The imposition of super profit tax will certainly kill the incentive of the private sector to invest and this will aggravate the problem of unemployment in the Third Plan and the Fourth plan will begin with a backlog of unemployment not less than 15 million persons. The major burden of reducing unemployment lies in raising the level of investment in the economy which is the key factor in increasing employment as well as to increase the tempo of economic development. To achieve this objective private sector should be given proper scope to play a vital role in the economic growth of our economy. The present policy based on ideological

grounds should be reversed and then alone the twin problems of unemployment and rapid economic growth can be solved. The private sector should not be treated with indifference. Economic growth should not be the monopoly of the public sector alone. Rural as well as urban unemployment can be successfully tackled if labour intensive or capital saving techniques are adopted. This may lead to a slow progress in our planning but that is inevitable. Planning aims at utilisation of available resources in the best possible manner to attain the higher standard of living. Economic growth of a country is as much dependent on the development of its people and the people who are denied employment are the people who are denied the chance of development. In a country like ours with large unemployed and underemployed man power planning for employment is preferable because employment will bring about an increase in output. Abundant labour supply should be regarded as an asset rather than a liability in the sense that it presents opportunities for augmenting production. Because of this factor, employment planning has a greater significance in a country like India. A suitable strategy for employment planning can be thought out only in regard to the future. In the Third Plan greater attention is paid to the growth than to the employment. Unemployment problem is bound to become serious and the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans should give top priority to the employment problem. It is estimated that during the Fourth and Fifth Plan addition to the labour force would be about 23 and 30 million. This reinforces the case for an active population policy. In the Third plan the Government has also failed to frame a realistic population policy to control the rate of growth of population. The price policy has failed to keep the rising prices under control. In this respect one cannot expect that the Government should be able to create employment opportunities for 14 million persons. In this regard Japanese experience has a good bearing for India. In that country the absorption of man power in non-agricultural occupations has shown a very great rise in the inter-war period. This was mainly due to the labour intensiveness of Japanese small scale units. This policy can be followed in our country by giving small scale industries which are employment creating industries. They will not only create employment opportunities but will also increase the total supply of consumer goods which is scarce in relation to demand. In these industries the gestation period is shorter than in the large scale heavy industries which are capital intensive.

So the problem of unemployment can be eradicated in the next two Five-Year plans if top priority is given to employment aspect instead of growth aspect. Economic development and employment must go hand in hand and this can be achieved by adopting free market economy. Planned economy has failed to solve the problem. West Germany and Japan have shown the way.

(Contd. from Page 8)

Azad says he "found that Purshottamdas Tandon had taken a leading part in the whole affair and influenced Jawaharlal's judgment". The opinion in U.P. among those who knew Nehru was that it was Nehru's desire to have Rafi Ahmed Kidwai in the Cabinet that led him to write to the League leaders as he did. In fact what made matters worse was that Rafi Kidwai, who had lost in the general election, was later allowed by the Muslim League to be returned unopposed in a by-election, but when he became minister he started a campaign in his paper, *The National Herald*, to oust Khaliqzaman from the chairmanship of the Lucknow Municipal Board and succeeded therein.

Azad could have prevented the breakdown of the talks and insisted on the inclusion of the two Leaguers in the Cabinet, if he was so sure of the results that would follow a rift between the Congress and the League. He could have threatened to resign and would then have carried the Mahatma with him. (Azad says in his book Gandhi had agreed with him "and said he would advise Jawaharlal to modify his stand. When Jawaharlal put the matter in a different light Gandhiji submitted to Jawaharlal and did not press the matter as he should have done.) But instead he sent the following terms to the Provincial League leader: "(1) The Muslim League group in the U.P. legislature shall cease to function as a separate group. (2) The existing members of the Muslim League Party in the U.P. Assembly shall become part of the Congress Party and the decisions of the Congress Party shall be binding upon them. (3) The policy laid down by the Congress Working Committee for their members in the legislatures along with the instructions issued by the competent Congress bodies pertaining to their work in such legislatures shall be faithfully carried out by all the members of the Congress Party, including these members. The Muslim League Parliamentary Board in the U.P. will be dissolved and no candidate will thereafter be set up by the said Board at any by-election. . . . All members of the Congress Party shall abide by the rules of the Congress Party and offer their full and genuine co-operation with a view to promoting the interest and prestige of the Congress. In the event of the Congress Party deciding on resignation from the ministry or from the Legislative Assembly, the members of the above-mentioned group will also be bound by that decision." *The Pioneer*, July 30, 1937.)

These are terms from victors to the vanquished, not to partners in a coalition which was envisaged on the eve of the elections, and they were communicated by Maulana Azad himself, the zonal member of the Congress Parliamentary Board. He cannot therefore escape all blame for what happened. In fact his portion of the blame is greater inasmuch as he says he foresaw what was likely to happen and did not try to prevent it with all the power at his command. What is the use of blaming those who thought they would get away with what U.P. Congressmen themselves said was "double-crossing, pure and simple"? When the Madras unity resolution was by-passed, in favour of the Nehru Report, much could be said in favour of the statesmanlike

document. But what excuse could there be for ignoring the gentlemen's agreement on the eve of the elections except, "After all, what can they do?" The Congress historian cites in defence "the absence of a definite promise or pact between the League and the Congress". The quoted words suggest he knew better.

If there was no definite promise or understanding, why, as Pattabhi Sitaramayya, himself admits in *History of the Congress* (Volume II), did the Congress choose "to work in concert with the League," and why did Khaliqzaman, U. P. Chairman of the League Parliamentary Committee, as he admits again, work "in unison with the corresponding functionaries of the Congress in U. P. and with the Congress in the selection of candidates for the Provincial Legislative Elections in 1937"? Horace Alexander of the Friends Society, a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, in his "India Since Cripps" dealing with the affairs in U. P. rightly said, "Before the 1937 elections there had been something like an election pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. In the United Provinces, for instance, where Congress did not expect to get an absolute majority of seats, it was understood that they would act together and that, if a ministry was to be formed at all, it would be a coalition ministry."

The Muslim Leaguers were bitter. Jinnah told them again and again, "Have I not been telling you what sort of men you have to deal with?" In a speech at Lucknow in October, 1937, he went for the Congress and its leaders. Gandhi wrote to him: "I carefully went through your speech at Lucknow and I felt deeply hurt over your misunderstanding my attitude..... As I read it, the whole of your speech is a declaration of war." On December 28, addressing the Muslim Students Federation in Calcutta, Jinnah said, "The Congress High Command must be brought to their senses." On May 26, 1938, in discussions with Gandhi and Congress President Bose, Jinnah in one breath talked of his fourteen points and in another said, "We can go on multiplying the list"! So far as Hindu-Muslim unity was concerned, all was over.

"In these negotiations the Congress laboured under a distinct disadvantage," says Sitaramayya in his *History of the Congress*, "While the Muslim League spokesman was one single individual leader, and the same person always, the Congress had more than one leader—a non-official leader in Gandhi, an official leader in the Maulana, a de facto leader in Jawaharlal and a dynamic leader in the Sardar." Here he is quite right, except for attributing to the Sardar and Nehru the roles that belonged to the other. The de facto leader was the Sardar and it was Nehru who was the dynamic leader. Thus apart from the power struggle between the Congress and the League or Gandhi and Jinnah, there was plenty of power politics within the Congress in both of which the only casualties appeared to be moral sense and patriotism.

The present dispute over Kashmir is a continuation of the Hindu-Muslim problem and requires statesmanship of the highest order rather than excuses for bypassing commitments, particularly in the context of the Chinese menace.

AFTER NEHRU WHO ?

A. G. NOORANI

THE success of a great leader, Laski once said, is measured by the extent to which he makes himself dispensable. Nehru, it is by now very clear thinks otherwise. He has not only refused to name a successor but has also neglected the very necessary duty of preparing a second line of succession. Barring Lal Bahadur Shastri, the other possible contenders to premiership have come up very much on their own. All the while his own immense powers have remained secure in his own hands. Yet, in the very nature of things Nehru must go one day. "After Nehru Who?" is therefore a pertinent question to ask. Though, not many regard it so. "When I arrived in India," Welles Hangen writes in his book *After Nehru Who?*, "I met many people who said that question of Jawaharlal Nehru's success was irrelevant. They had a touching faith in Nehru's durability and preferred to close their eyes to the future." One reason for the reluctance to conceive of an India without Nehru is the ignorance about his likely inheritors. "There is the mistaken notion that only Nehru stands between India and leaderless chaos." After interviewing "hundreds of politicians" Hangen comes to the conclusion that "gifted leadership was available but little known even in India." The book contains profiles of eight leaders: Morarji Desai, Chavan, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan, S. K. Patil, Menon and Kaul. "Each, it seems to me, is a living refutation of the widely accepted notion (not only outside India) that Nehru is the sole leader who can pilot India, that after he leaves the ship of State will be like a derelict in a typhoon." One must disagree here with regard to the last two. They could certainly be depended upon to usher in chaos. Kaul, according to the writer, "has made it clear in private talks recently that the army should not hesitate to seize power if the civil government were incapable of ruling or India were to fall prey to communists, foreign or domestic." Menon's devotion to democracy is well-known. "Nehru is the reluctant despot, and Menon the unwilling democrat." Happily both Kaul and Menon are in eclipse though it must be understood that the latter has "no intention of relinquishing the pursuit of power or his special place in Nehru's confidence."

Among the others Morarji Desai came very close to being elected Deputy Leader in 1961. He failed because of Nehru, whom Hangen quotes as saying that "Right wing parties are a greater menace than communist," and Morarji was the Congress Right Wing. Instead, "Nehru shelters and protects the Congress Left Wing, not only because it mirrors his ideas, but because he has an old Fabian socialist's horror of Right Wing reaction." This Left Wing as we know from the

pronouncements of Messrs. Menon and Malaviya "would pursue Nehru's version of non-alignment with an even more pronounced pro-Soviet bias"

This is something often lost sight of by those who speak of P.S.P.-Congress merger. The P.S.P. is democratic and, therefore, necessarily anti-communist. The Menon-Malaviya group is its very opposite. The so-called Congress Left has little in common with the P.S.P. Hangen has done a very good job in interviewing thoroughly the principal individuals to be considered for the Prime Minister's post and ascertaining their views on the basic issues. Informal interviews are more rewarding than a study of public pronouncements. Certainly the author has been very fortunate in the confidence which his interviewers reposed in him. Of Morarji Desai he writes, "as Prime Minister he would probably continue his social faddism, but his main political emphasis would inevitably be on a programme of modernisation (which means Westernisation) that would ultimately destroy many of the traditional values he seeks to uphold." Non-alignment will continue to be professed but "its practice may be considerably less fraudulent." For, Morarji Desai has never shared Nehru's dogma that "India should befriend Russia at all costs in the assumption that the Soviet Government would curb its Chinese ally's hostility towards New Delhi."

Lal Bahadur, on the other hand, is "a social conservative, but he identifies himself too closely with the underdog ever to feel really at home with Indian big business." Nonetheless his disagreement with the rightists does not blind him to the Red menace. "Indian Communist leaders go to Moscow and get the line there which they then try to carry out here," he told the author in May 1962. This is in refreshing contrast to Mr. Nehru's exculpation of the principal abroad while condemning the local agent. Also, Shastri realises that you cannot equate the Right and the Red. The latter is the greater danger for, as he said, "if the communists ever won here, India would change completely. Democracy would be no more. Parliament and other institutions would be finished." When Hangen asked him pointblank in the spring of 1962 if adequate steps were being taken to protect the northern border he answered 'No.'

One of the first pronouncements Chavan made as Defence Minister was the warning he administered about the Soviet Union's unavailability. In common with the other two, Chavan is free from all illusion about communists. The author regards him as the political expression of the "new generation about to inherit power in India to-day." He has "a more balanced combi-

(Continued on Page 12)

Malaviya And Mineral Ores

(From Our Correspondent)

Mines and Fuel Minister K. D. Malaviya made an admission before the Congress Parliamentary Party executive on April 3 that some time early in 1957, before the general election, he had requested Messrs. Serajuddin and Company to help some Congress Assembly candidates in Basti District (U.P.) and that Rs. 10,000 was paid by the firm to one person. (Basti is Mr. Malaviya's parliamentary constituency). Giving an account of this, Mr. Raghunath Singh, the Party Secretary said, "Mr. Malaviya stated that sometime early in 1957, before the general election, he had contacted, *among others*, Messrs. Serajuddin and Company to help some Congress Assembly candidates standing from Basti district of U. P. and a sum of Rs. 10,000 was paid by Serajuddin and Company to this gentleman (one of the candidates) who gave a receipt therefor."

The Party Secretary added: "Mr. Malaviya stated that no new licence, as alleged, for the export of mineral ores was recommended by his Ministry for Serajuddin and Company. He said, that to his knowledge, no fresh permit had been given to this firm by any other Ministry." The latter statement, it will be noted, is qualified by the phrase "to his knowledge" as it necessarily had to be, there being so many ministries. The money was presumably secured for past favours, and given in the hope of future favours, though the exposure is likely to act as a deterrent to the latter.

No reaction to Mr. Malaviya's conduct was formally made available to newsmen. A resolution is said to have been prepared by some senior members of the Congress Party for adoption by the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Patil is reported to have told the executive that, apart from the question discussed that day, it would be necessary for the Congress organisation to lay down some positive code in respect of collection of funds for the Congress organisation. He said that funds should be collected in the name of the Congress and not in the name of individuals.

Surely, he must be aware that the Prime Minister some years ago laid down a positive code in respect of collection of funds when he went into a complaint by Babu Purushottamdas Tandon against Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to the effect that the latter was collecting funds in the name of the Congress and spending the same as he liked. Mr. Nehru found the complaint correct but gave the verdict that the funds had not been misspent. He also said that Congress funds should go to the Congress Treasury and not spent by collectors as they deemed fit. Obviously, the code laid down by the Prime Minister has been violated by one of the ministers who can hardly plead ignorance of the Prime Minister's decision on the issue.

It can always be said that the funds were coi-

lected in the name of the Congress; the point is that they should not be spent without the necessary Congress authority, directly by collectors or persons named by them. The Prime Minister's decision in the case of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was questioned on the ground that, if he had no authority to spend it, it could only be said to have been misspent.

All codes are likely to be vitiated by the consideration that what strengthens the organisation cannot be too lightly condemned. The principle flows directly from the pursuit of power politics to which the Congress and its leaders are wedded. Nothing striking may, therefore, be expected from the consideration of the issue by the Congress Working Committee or the manner in which its resolution is honoured by the Ministers. The stature of the Congress Working Committee cannot be said to be higher than that of the great Congress leader, Prime Minister Nehru. If the latter is in earnest about weeding out corruption, he should follow the advice tendered him by the PSP leader in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Surendra Nath Dwivedy, who has demanded the resignation of Mr. Malaviya from the Cabinet. In a Press statement he has rightly observed that Mr. Malaviya's dismissal "would not only raise the morale of the administration but also improve the integrity of public life." The Company, as he says, deals with mining material, which is directly under the control of Mr. Malaviya's Ministry. That is in fact why the request was addressed to him. Nobody denies Mr. Dwivedy's conclusion: "Mr. Malaviya is morally responsible and involvement of a Minister in this transaction is against all codes of conduct. He should, therefore, immediately resign."

SLOW SOCIALISM

Inaugurating a seminar organised by the Congress Forum for Socialist action on April 4, Mr. Nehru said, "In India we talk a lot about socialism but we proceed rather slowly towards that goal." The reason for the slow process would appear to be that votes cannot be gained only by talking a lot about socialism. In fact money is needed even for talking about socialism, much more for organisation of campaigns to bamboozle the people, and money can only be had from capitalists, as the biggest socialist in the Cabinet has emphasised in a rather awkward fashion. And as money is wanted again and again, the money gods have to be propitiated and that means slowing down the process towards socialism and increasing the wealth of the wealthy, which runs counter to the slogan of equality of opportunity. How many of us can get a free gift of one thousand rupees as easily as Mr. Malaviya's friend got ten thousand? I am prepared to bet any amount that nothing is going to happen to my friend Mr. Kapil Deo Malaviya. It is not exactly for equality of opportunity that many have donned Gandhi

caps since independence, and it is not exactly equality of opportunity that is promised when people are asked to become members of the Congress, though a certain equality of opportunity is certainly expected by the enrolling member vis-à-vis other Congressmen. As the Prime Minister admitted, there are many gaps in the thinking and action of Congressmen, but surely he should do something to prevent the widening of those gaps which has been proceeding apace.

(Continued from page 10)

nation of political attitudes than any Indian leader I have met except Nehru." One of these attitudes is his "uncanny knack for making all parties in a controversy think he is on their sides." He has however, yet to prove his standing as an all-India leader. "As long as he ran a one-caste political organisation in Maharashtra, he could never prove that he had the capacity to balance caste and communal forces, required of any all-India leader." Such limitations should not obscure his immense talent for self-development and the fact that "he has a far more cosmopolitan outlook than any Chief Minister in India has had."

Book Review

DEMOCRATIC VALUES (selected speeches of Acharya Vinoba Bhave) Published by Sarva Sangh, Varanasi, Pp. 237.

Authoritarians believe that societies are exquisitely fragile and must be guarded, at all costs, against disruption and confusion. Libertarians hold that human societies are constantly changing, and that the material and spiritual factors determining change, must be rediscovered in each generation, if societies are not to fossilise and die. People wonder if central administration and authority can ever be dispensed with. The question is not immediately relevant. Neither good government nor the rule of majority, but more and more freedom from administration, with emphasis on decentralisation of power, is the underlying theme of Vinoba's speeches (1951-1960) collected in this small volume. The reader is bound to savour the author's incomparable style and methods of analysis.

The chief aim of this book is to replace the Government of Professional Politicians, by a Government of the people. One is reminded of Bertrand Russell's opinion that "no government by a democracy, either in its political acts or in the opinions which it fosters, ever did or could rise above mediocrity." "The initiation," he continues, "of all wise or noble things, comes from individuals. The honour and glory of the average man is that, he is capable of following that initiative; that he can respond internally to wise and noble sayings and be led to them with his eyes open."

Though the aim of Sarvodaya is freedom from Government, explains Vinoba, he does not mean absence of government but an administration which governs least. Consider for a moment the relation of an ordinary taxpayer to a Government Officer. The tax-payers are collec-

tively the officer's employers; and yet the average official assumes great authority, to an extent where the individual tax-payer is made to feel a humble subject whose duty is to tremble and obey. The same is more or less true in public services. Even if you have to make enquiries at a Railway Station or a Post Office, the clerk behind the window is in a position of momentary power; he can decide, when to notice that you desire attention. He can, if he happens to be in a bad mood, cause you considerable annoyance by giving short replies in rough tones, leaving you as ignorant as before. Likewise, a petty police-constable can, on the slightest pretext, bully you and cause you a good deal of inconvenience. Ironically enough these men are called "public servants". The ordinary Voter, far from finding himself the source of all power, is content to be bossed over by every official, he may be required to deal with. So long as democratic control is remote and rare, so long as public administration is centralised, this sense of individual importance, before the powers that be, is difficult to avoid. Vinoba's remedy is to do away with authority delegated from the centre to the circumference. Removal of the sting of power (prerogative) from administrative positions seems to be one of the methods of removing corruption.

True freedom connotes self-discipline which is the only true discipline. It is this self-rule which constitutes the life-principle of real democratic conduct. Government after all, is a matter of priorities—of compromise, not dogma. It is quite obvious that democratic power can only operate within a frame-work of consent. But although this is the first essential, it is by no means the last. Something more than consent is required if democracy is to be more than negatively successful—there must be a common belief in the value and importance of what is being done and the commonsense that all have in some measure, the opportunity of contributing to it.

Not majority but unanimity or near unanimity is the key-note of Vinoba's political philosophy. It is of course questionable if unanimity is possible on every decision. The stress, however, is on the assurance of freedom to the weak and the powerless. Mob uprisings are not expressions of public opinion. Conscience of the people is not a matter of numbers. Right and wrong cannot be decided by a majority of vote. The true essence of democracy is that every citizen shall feel free and every minority secure. The final guarantee of the freedom of minorities is the goodwill and tolerance on the part of the majority—their standards of justice and good faith constitute the plinth of democratic values. It is the conviction of all reformists that force or threat of punishment are detrimental to the development of right conduct for they render the citizen colour-blind to the higher Values of Life.

In his brilliant and thought-provoking preface, Dada Dharmadhikari, defines the conduct of citizens towards one another as it could be under the administration which Vinoba proposes. He says "It is basic to our conception of the nature of family loyalty and the ties of kinship, that the values of the market-place and considerations of legal status have no place there." What Vinoba says is just this—that the behaviour of citizens towards one another needs to be rooted in a spirit of belonging, reciprocity and fellowship. The elements of legalism to be found in dealings today, could be steadily reduced till they disappear. This is precisely what is meant by more and more freedom from government, and this freedom from

external restraint or compulsive administration is in essence, the natural state of human affairs.

The present notion that service could be effectively rendered only through power is quickly dispelled, for as Dada says: "A man whose honest intention is to win and keep power for the Promotion of Public Welfare and social good is always on the look-out for circumstances that will be conducive to the success of his own bid for power. He constantly has to strike not only to capture but to retain power as the most potent instrument of Social Service." The root idea of a democratic organization is that representation of the people should be as simple, practical and direct as possible. But the politician, is in the very nature of things obliged to give priority to his own success and that of his party; representation of his people becomes secondary. *This is a serious flaw in the present democratic system of struggle for power.* Every candidate strives with all his might to get his party into the saddle. The question may well be asked whether the passion for power is, any less a bar to human fellowship, than the craving for possessions? If economic competition is against man's best interest, submits Vinoba, the competition for power, even within a democratic framework is also injurious to Public Welfare. If the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is inimical to social prosperity, the concentration of political power in the hands of a few is even more detrimental to the freedom of the common man. That is why decentralisation of Power and a wide sharing of responsible authority are put forward as one outcome of the acceptance of democratic values.

By and large it is believed that war is made by governments and not by the people of a country. If this be true, it is imperative that citizens tackle their national problems one after another, independently, by their own strength. "If we fail to do this, warns Vinoba, and allow all authority to remain in Government hands, it will be difficult to maintain Peace in the World."

—NOSHIR BILPODIWALA.

Gleanings from the Press

REVERENCE OVERDONE

For a country with a philosopher for President and an intellectual for Prime Minister, India's recent record in respect of freedom of opinion is nothing to be proud of. About a year ago the Government banned the further entry into the country of "The Lotus and the Robot" by Arthur Koestler. His sin, in the eyes of the self-righteous set in Delhi, was lack of reverence for Gandhiji. Lack of reverence for Mr. Nehru, in an article on India by John Mander, nearly led last month to the impounding of copies of the February issue of "Encounter" by the Customs authorities in Bombay.

As it happens, both the writers have discussed that strain in our emotional and mental make-up which accounts for this aberrant tendency against freedom of opinion. Arthur Koestler's words are typically forthright: "Gandhi was the father of the nation; and though Pandit Nehru is a different type of person, he had to step into the same role; whether he liked it or not, he became the new father-figure. India is a democracy only in name; it would be more correct to call it a Bapucracy..... Out of the sacred womb of the Indian family only political yes-men could emerge. Their compliance to the will of

the leader was not due to opportunism or cowardice, but to an implanted reflex." John Mander, more gently, says the same thing: "In effect, there are two co-existent patterns of political leadership in India. There is the basic democratic, party-political pattern, borrowed from Britain, to which the great majority of educated Indians are attached. Besides it, intersecting it at many points, there exists an older, semi-religious pattern of personal authority..... Elsewhere, Jawaharlal Nehru would have become an Asquith. India required him—the least religious of men, as he remarks in his "Autobiography"—to be a Guru. It is India's luck—but also her good judgment—that she has chosen a Guru with the instincts of an English liberal."

It is one thing to proscribe political subversive material which questions the territorial integrity of the country. The entry of successive issues of the "Peking Review" has been banned, for this good reason. But it is quite another thing to be so thin-skinned in the realm of ideas as to deal in the same way with books and journals of opinion. Surely, reverence for Gandhiji or for Mr. Nehru does not require that we should close our minds.

—THOUGHT.

News & Views

"THANK GOD I WAS TRIED IN INDIA"

NEW DELHI: "If I am sent back to Russia it will mean death to me." Barely a month after making this despairing plea, VLADISLAV STEPANOVICH TARASOV shed tears of joy saying: "THANK GOD I WAS TRIED IN INDIA WHERE JUSTICE IS DONE. The truth had to come out."

The acquittal of Tarasov by Mr. N. L. Kakkar, Sub-Divisional Magistrate, New Delhi, on the ground that there was no prima facie case against him, marked the happy culmination of a sensational case which began on November 25, when the 24-year-old Russian leaped off a Soviet tanker and sought refuge on a neighbouring American vessel.

Long before the Magistrate arrived, national and international newspapermen and photographers, and large numbers of the general public had converged on the Court and packed it to capacity.

Tarasov, in navy blue suit, white collar and matching tie, stood tense and trembling in the dock, but smiled incredulously with a flood of obvious relief, when the magistrate declared him innocent of a charge of theft which had been preferred against him by the Soviet Embassy.

TOTAL ABSENCE OF FREEDOM IN RUSSIA

One of the highlights of this case was Tarasov's written submission before the Magistrate on March 1, in which he gave his reasons for wanting to quit Russia. Said Tarasov:

"In Russia an individual has no position. He can neither express his ideas nor do anything which the Party forbids. I had no freedom even to visit my relatives. I could not even go and stay with my own parents because they lived in another town and had limited accommodation."

"People are not in any case allowed to go to another town without the permission of the Police. In Russia a person is at the mercy of the ruling class for his destiny."

Tarasov then told the Magistrate that he had found such a life intolerable and had lived in fear of deportation to Siberia.

USA COULD NOT STAND ASIDE FROM FREE NATIONS & KENNEDY

President Kennedy said the world was at a crucial juncture and near a climax of historic convulsion.

Decisions being made now and in the near future in some 80 developing countries would ultimately decide their future economic and social systems, political leadership and institutions which would promote either consent or coercion for one-third of humanity.

"Africa is stirring restlessly to consolidate its independence and make that independence meaningful for its people through economic and social development . . .

"Free Asia is responding resolutely to the political, economic and military challenge of Communist China's relentless efforts to dominate the continent . . .

Latin America is striving to take decisive steps towards effective democracy—amid turbulence of rapid social change and menace of Communist subversion."

The United States, President Kennedy said, could no more stand aside "in this climatic age of decision" than could withdraw from the community of free nations.

UNITED NATIONS.

KMT DENOUNCES RED CHINA

The leader of the Kuomintang Chinese delegate to the U. N. has said the Sino-Pakistani "border" agreement would not be binding on his Government.

This is so because "the Chinese Communists cannot represent the Chinese people and have no right to conclude any treaty or agreement with any country in the name of China."

In a letter to the Security Council President the delegate, Mr. Liu Chi-eh also affirmed that Communist Chinese actions against India were "incompatible with the peaceful traditions of the Chinese people." Reuter reports.

Mr. Liu referred to a letter dated March 18 from the Indian representative, Mr. A. B. Bhadkamkar, stating that China and Pakistan had unlawfully apportioned part of Indian territory between them.

In this letter mention had been made also of Chinese aggression, Mr. Liu noted. "I wish to observe," he said, "that the Chinese Communist military activities in the border area between China and India are incompatible with the peaceful traditions of the Chinese people and that my Government has repeatedly condemned the use of force in disputes over unsettled boundaries.

"Whatever wrongs may have been done must be attributed, not to the Chinese people, but to the inherent aggressiveness of the Chinese Communists whose policy and tactics have consistently been to threaten the security of neighbouring countries by infiltration, subversion and resort to force."

BENGAL REDS AS AGENTS OF CHINA

CALCUTTA, West Bengal's Finance Minister, Mr. Sankar Das Banerjee, said in the State Legislative Assembly today that the Communists arrested in the State were not only pro-Peking, but some of them had a closer connection with the Chinese agents.

Mr. Banerjee, who was replying to the discussions on the supplementary budget demands, said that the cases of Communists arrested after the declaration of Emergency, would be reviewed and as soon as final decisions were taken, the Government would consider the question of their release.

So far, 15 members of the State Legislative Assembly and three of the Council had been arrested.

USA'S POWER TO STRIKE BACK

WASHINGTON, The United States could, after a nuclear attack, strike back strongly enough to destroy the Soviet Union as a civilised twentieth-century nation.

Mr. Robert McNamara stated this before a congressional subcommittee in testimony released today.

The Secretary of Defence estimated American casualties in a Soviet nuclear attack at 10 million "at an absolute minimum and I would say the much more probable figure would be on the order of several times that."

His reply to a question on possible Soviet casualties was deleted from the record.

Mr. McNamara, who was testifying before the House Appropriations Sub-committee, said neither side could win a nuclear war "in the normal meaning of the word 'win.'"

The losses on both sides would reduce these two world Powers to secondary or territory Powers."

The Defence Secretary said that to the best of his knowledge neither Russia nor the U.S. had 100-megaton bombs.

Although the U.S. was capable of developing weapons of this size, "it does not appear to us at the moment that the need for such weapons requires their development."

NYERERE RAPS COMMUNIST TACTICS

President Nyerere of Tanganyika told at the opening of the Afro-Asian peoples solidarity organization at Moshi, that Communist countries "are now committing the same crime as was committed by the capitalists before."

"On the international level they are now beginning to use wealth for capitalist purposes — that is for the acquisition of power and prestige," Mr. Nyerere told delegates from 58 Afro-Asian countries.

FURTHER PRIVATE AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN INDIA UNLIKELY DUE TO NEW TAX PROPOSALS

NEW YORK.

American private entrepreneurs, who have already invested in India or are considering investments, have expressed to the India Investment Centre here, as well as to the Indian authorities, their concern over the tax proposals, it is learnt.

In their initial reactions, the American investors have conveyed their adverse reaction and expresses fears that further American investments might be reduced if not completely stopped.

There are criticisms of the proposed super-profits tax the increased import and excise duties and the higher personal taxation and compulsory savings in so far as it concerns foreigners. They argue that taxation on their profits will go up to 70 or 80 per cent. and make it difficult to get foreign technical personnel to accept assignments for more than three years.

ARMY UNITS SEIZE POWER IN GUATEMALA

Pledge to Rid Country of Communism

GUATEMALA CITY.

The Guatemalan Army toppled the Government of President Miguel Ydigoras-Fuentes in a lightning coup

d'état recently, set up a provisional military government and suspended constitutional rights pending the re-establishment of order.

The capital was generally calm and public services were operating normally several hours after the *coup* in which a few shots were exchanged around the presidential palace.

The new chief of the Government, appointed by the army, is a former Defence Minister, Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia. He dissolved the Guatemalan Parliament and announced that he would rule by decree.

A manifesto issued here by army leaders said President Ydigoras-Fuentes was brought down because he had shown "tolerance and complacency" toward communists trying to take over the Government.

The manifesto said the army was taking over the Government and appointing Col. Azurdia the top army leader, to exercise the Government's executive and legislative functions.

It added that, "at an opportune time," a provisional constitution would be promulgated, guaranteeing essential rights.

The manifesto called on Government workers to act "in accord with the ordinary law of the country."

The new Government, it said, would respect its existing international agreements.

All political parties dissolved in order to "facilitate the return to normal life."

The manifesto called on Guatemalans to co-operate with the new regime in preparing for the establishment of a government that would be "truly democratic" and the "eradicating communism from the country."

SHARP DECLINE IN CHINA'S TRADE WITH RED NATIONS

NEW DELHI.

China's total trade with the other communist countries during 1961 had slumped sharply to about half of what it was in the previous year, it is learnt.

Reliable figures for 1962 are not yet available, but it is fairly certain that there must have been a further heavy drop.

In 1960, China's total trade with the other communist countries amounted to 2,238 million dollars. In the following year it dropped steeply to 1,184 million dollars.

Since in communist countries trade generally follows a political pattern, the substantial reduction in Chinese trade with other communist countries is regarded as a reflection of the growing friction between China and the Soviet bloc of nations.

Taking the three-year period ending 1961 as a whole, the volume of China's trade with the communist world went down by as much as 40 per cent. against a fall of only eight per cent. during the same period in China's trade with the rest of the world.

One reason for the general shrinking of Chinese world trade during this period was probably a sharp fall in agricultural production in China during 1960 and the consequent shortage of agricultural produce for export.

DRAFT BILL FOR ASSOCIATE STATUS FOR ENGLISH

NEW DELHI.

The draft of the Official Language Bill, seeking to make English the associate official language after January, 1965, which is to be introduced in the Lok Sabha this

session, has been approved at the highest level. The Bill as approved, it is learnt, contains a provision for review of the position after a period of ten years.

which is apparently meant to satisfy the demands of the protagonists of Hindi, is bound to be considered a snag which goes against the spirit of the Prime Minister's assurance to people in non-Hindi areas that English would continue as associate official language till such time as people in non-Hindi areas want it.

Dear Editor.....

LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

Is it not cruel to burden the students with three languages, plus science, higher mathematics, history, geography etc.? The majority of the students are poorly fed, poorly housed and are affected by the financial worries of their parents. Thus the student is stunned physically as well as mentally, as has been lately proved in the matter of army recruitment.

We are short of human material to man our army. Our industries also cannot find competent technicians and managers, and our government is poorly administered, thanks to the over-loading of our students with more and more subjects and languages.

However if a common language is necessary to enable all the Indians to communicate with one another, then let colloquial Hindi be taught for only 3 years from standard 3 to 5, in non-Hindi areas. Let students who cannot continue their studies in colleges, master the vernacular language along with Hindi upto 7th standard. Those who wish to prosecute their higher studies, should be taught English right up from the fifth standard.

Since the Muslim rule in India, Hindi has had no fair chance to develop fully, as we had Persian and then English as court languages for centuries. Now it will take centuries to bring Hindi in line with the modern languages of the world. And are we to put into cold storage our scientific and industrial progress, till we get all this literature of the world rendered into Hindi?

Today we cannot afford the luxury of loading our poor young men with the study of three languages at the cost of the nation's scientific and technological progress.

This controversy over languages has reduced education only to a farce. It has tended to produce sheep-like 'follow the leader' quality of young men, who care for nothing except getting some service with the help of pompous certificates and degrees. If today we are not already governed by the delinquent rulers, we certainly are in the hands of mentally and physically deficient administrators who are themselves the product of the present chaotic system of education. Our rulers are after material planning but have woefully neglected human planning. The result would surely be a catastrophe on an unprecedented scale for the nation.

Rajkot.

NAUTAMLAL C. TEJPAI.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

Feb. 8, 1963: Mr. P. Kodanda Rao addressed the Study Circle Meeting on "World Culture" Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

Mar. 22, 1963: Mr. B. K. Venkatakrishna, Advocate, addressed Study Circle Meeting on "International Situation". Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

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THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

by

Ralph Borsodi

Ralph Borsodi, a former Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Florida makes a penetrating study of the conflicting ideas and ideals in this book. The author maintains in this book that the decision that Asia will make between the Free world and the Communist world will decide the political future of mankind. In our present crisis arising out of war with Red China, this book should make interesting reading.

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