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## EDITORIAL

# 'First Step' Towards What: World Peace Or World Domination?

**T**HE Partial Nuclear Test-ban Treaty has been hailed all the world over as a 'First Step' in the direction of total Disarmament and World Peace. President Kennedy, the British Premier Mr. Macmillan, and the Soviet Premier Mr. Khrushchev have, however, been very cautious and guarded in their estimate of the outcome of the ten days' strenuous talks carried on at Moscow last month among the Big Three. They are all agreed that this 'First Step' is a modest one and it does not in itself solve the major problems of war and peace. But they are hopeful that it will go a great way in reducing world tensions and bringing the leaders of the two opposing Blocs together in putting forth joint efforts to enlarge and widen the scope of this Treaty.

The Treaty is partial in the sense that it has placed a total ban only on nuclear tests in the air and under water and has left the underground tests untouched. The latter have been exempted on the ground that they do not pollute the environment with the poisonous fall-outs as the tests in the air and water do and are least harmful to the health and lives of the people. The Democratic Allies wanted to extend the ban even to the underground tests. But Russia was not agreeable to allow on-site inspection of such tests. So by way of mutual 'give and take' the parties decided upon banning only the other tests, since no such inspection is essential to police or detect them, in view of the latest devices available for the purpose.

### **NO MEAN ACHIEVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACIES**

From a reading of the clauses of the Treaty one gets the impression that humanitarian considerations more than political expediency and diplomatic clap-trap weighed with the leaders of both the sides in signing it. It was in a way, a triumph of Humanism over political petty-fogging and blind lust for power and position in international political alignments. History is replete with instances of powerful dictators whether Fascist, Communist or Feudal, stopping at nothing to fulfil their mad craze for power, not even at wading through pools of human blood and tears. They have a one-track mind and are fiercely fanatical. The present day communist dictators are no exception to this phenomenon. Mr. Khrushchev's acceptance of this Treaty therefore must be construed as a great landmark in the titanic struggle going on for years together between Democracy, Freedom and Humanism

on one side and Totalitarianism, Slavery and Barbarism on the other. It does not matter much whether this welcome change has been wrought in Mr. Khrushchev the communist dictator, by the impressive show of democratic strength made by U.S.A. in Cuba, Berlin and elsewhere or by the downright challenge hurled at his leadership of world communist movement by Mao of China, or by the slow but sure cracking of socialist economy of Russia under the heavy financial strain of a nuclear military build-up or by genuine concern for generations present and future. It is enough that this pugnacious and arrogant dictator who raised his boots at the Ex-American President Mr. Eisenhower has now at least to eat the humble pie and sign the Test-ban Treaty drawn up almost on the lines proposed by the same Ex-President of America. This is no mean achievement for the democratic bloc, coming as it does, long after its first success in 1955 when Russia had to sign the Austrian Peace Treaty which restored freedom to that country.

### **THE NEXT STEP**

The next question that crops up now is: Where do we go to, from here? The Three Big have indicated the road they intend to travel. They have promised 'a continuous dialogue' on the crucial problems facing them. Mr. Khrushchev has suggested non-aggression pact between NATO Powers and Warsaw participants which implies a clear recognition of the present communist set-up in Eastern Europe by U.S.A. and U.K. The Western powers are fully aware that such a pact would amount to a letting-down of NATO allies particularly West Germany which is opposed to the present unnatural division of Germany. The Berlin question also is a permanent headache to them. The Democratic Allies on their part intend pursuing with Mr. Khrushchev the subject of non-dissemination of the nuclear weapons to new countries so as to minimise the threat of such weapons being used by irresponsible parties and adventurous nations. Finally the crucial problem of total Disarmament has to be solved. It may be mentioned that most of these problems have been referred to in the preamble to the Test-Ban Treaty.

### **THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM.**

These tasks are no doubt imposing and formidable but they are not intractable. Given a spirit of mutual accommodation and tolerance

that was so much in evidence during the recent Moscow talks, the Big Three could arrive at a solution of these outstanding issues acceptable to all. This will require as a matter of necessity, a humanitarian reorientation of political ideologies of both the East and the West. Western capitalism has shed off many of its original ugly features and in advanced countries particularly it has assumed the form of 'peoples' capitalism. No capitalist has seriously objected to this evolution of the capitalist system and denounced it as 'Revisionism'. There is no plausible reason therefore why communism should not undergo such a reorientation in terms of human welfare as distinct from the welfare merely of a class, or a nation. Both the blocs, if they have the **Will to Peace**, can even today come to a mutual understanding regarding the time-honoured and well-recognised humanist aims and objectives of **Individual Liberty, National Self-determination, peace and Material Well-being**. In the light of these fundamental objectives, all the above-mentioned problems will lend themselves to a satisfactory solution. If Mr. Khrushchev could waive his right to test nuclear weapons in the air or under water on humanitarian grounds and sign the Test-Ban Treaty, he should have no objection, in the interests of Human Peace and Welfare, to accepting the principle of **self-determination** for the German people and other peoples of Eastern Europe. 'Peaceful Co-existence' will ever remain a dream and a mirage until and unless some common meeting ground is found between the two blocs to enable them to co-exist and co-operate peacefully with each other for the common good of mankind. As the late Mr. M. N. Roy wrote some years ago in his book 'The Alternative', on the defeat of Fascism in the last world-war Communism has outlived its usefulness and has become now moribund. The time has now arrived for the Russian communist society to find out a new and higher synthesis combining in itself the best elements of both Western Liberalism and Marxist Welfarism.

That is the fundamental problem before the two blocs. On the proper solution of this problem depends the future of World Peace and Total Disarmament. May we therefore hope that the Big Three will travel this road to a higher synthesis of capitalism and communism based on commonly-accepted humanist principles and set at rest the fears expressed by non-nuclear powers like France that this **First Step** is a clever and cunning device of the Big Three to impose their nuclear domination on the rest of the world?

\* \* \*

### MALAYSIAN FEDERATION

The emergence of Malaysia consisting of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo holding together about ten million people spread over an area of 1,20,000 square miles, with the

possibility of another 2,000 square miles of Bruenel being added to it in the near future will be warmly welcomed by all democratic countries of South Asia. India particularly should feel quite happy about this event which is a landmark in the alignment of political forces in this much disturbed Asian region. With Burma and Ceylon going slowly out of democratic fold and surrounded on the North and the West by China and Pakistan both under dictatorial regimes hostile to her, India will certainly heave a sigh of relief at the prospect of having, next month, in its close neighbourhood, a united and strong democratic federation under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rehman who has already assured India of his unconditional support in her fight against Chinese aggression. Though India's northern borders have been menaced by the Chinese bandits, uptil now the Indian ocean to the South-East has remained safe from the latter. A strong Malaysia as a look at the map will show, will prove a powerful deterrent to Chinese mischief and trouble in South Asia.

It is also a happy sign of the times that a bigger federation of Malaysia, Indonesia and Phillipines to be called Machilindo has become a live topic for discussion among the leaders of these constituents, not excluding Soekarno the Indonesian President who now appears to have abandoned his policy of 'Confrontation' against Malaysia.

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## NEHRU THE 'NON-ALIGNED'

Most of our topmost Indian leaders particularly of the Congress variety are obsessionists and fanatics. The late Mr. Gandhi made a fetish of his Non-Violence so much so that he openly admitted that he was prepared to sacrifice even the freedom of India at its altar. His political successor Mr. Nehru is now so much obsessed with his 'non-alignment' that he will stake his all on it, even his reputation for maintaining the sanctity of agreement and contract. He is reportedly withdrawing from the agreement entered into by his Government with U. S. A. Government on VOA deal under pressure from his non-aligning friends in the country and more so from that of his own leftist daughter Mrs. Indira Gandhi an unduly magnified personality in Indian politics.

So also under the same pressure and also that from Moscow he is releasing the Indian commies whom he had rightly put behind the prison bars on the outbreak of hostilities between India and China. It has to be remembered that he is doing all this at this juncture, when he is calling upon the country to be ever on the alert against the renewed attack on India by the Chinese.

Pakistan the newly found ally of China, is surreptitiously encroaching upon Indian territory in Tripura through Pakistani unlawful emigrants. Mr. Nehru plays down this menace because he is 'non-aligned' as between Hindus and Muslims and refuses to take any stern measures against the Pakistani infiltrators, lest his secularism should come to be challenged by the non-secular Muslim world.

Non-alignment has entered so deep into each and every fibre of Nehru's being that within his own cabinet he prefers to be 'non-aligned' between the Rightists and Leftists. Evidently Mr. Nehru's 'non-aligned' conscience is biting him ever since the ignominious exit of his Leftist friends Krishna Menon and Malaviya from the Cabinet. So now he wants to make Mr. S. K. Patil, the Food Minister the next target of his non-alignment policy by way of a set-off against the loss of Krishna Menon. The food crisis in the country which Mr. Patil once averted and which he alone can successfully handle again, if he be given proper protection by Mr. Nehru against the runaway Leftist policies of the Planning Commission and Pro-Communist Minister Mr. Nanda, has now come handy to Mr. Nehru to prove his non-alignment by pressurising Mr. Patil directly or indirectly to quit the Cabinet. Let us watch and see what awaits Mr. Patil under the dispensation of Mr. Nehru 'The Non-aligned.'

## DEPLORABLE STATE OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

While inaugurating the Asian Seminar at Bangalore the other day, the Bombay Governor,

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit sharply commented on the deplorable neglect of education by the Government and the Planning Commission and significantly remarked that she could not be popular in Delhi for having expressed her views that Steel Mills and such other achievements would mean nothing 'if human element was neglected'.

There is nothing new in this criticism except that it emanates from a highly influential Congress lady. Many economists have already severely condemned the progressively low status given to education in the priorities fixed by the Planning Commission under the three Five-Year Plans. They have pointed out that in Russia whose Plans India is copying, a higher priority is given to education even though Russia had a higher literacy even at the time when her First Plan was formulated than that which prevailed in India at the commencement of her economic planning. They have even expressed the fear that all financial aid and technical knowledge available to India from foreign countries will simply go to waste if there are no sufficient number of educated and well-trained people with requisite skills and knowledge to make the best use of them.

Under the circumstances, it is not in the least surprising that in this year of grace 1963 a large number of children of school-going age in our country, have to go without even primary education and many new schools started under the Community Extension scheme are without buildings and adequate staff. As for higher education, the less said the better. The school and college admission racketeering so rampant at the commencement of every academic year is an eloquent testimony to the rotten state of affairs prevailing in this sphere.

It is therefore comforting to know that at least some responsible Congress leaders like Mrs. Pandit have now come to realise that proper care and cultivation of human personality is as essential to national progress as the development of 'productive forces' about which ill-informed Socialists in our country so volubly but incoherently talk and prattle.

## CALL THE BLUFF

The Socialist-controlled Majdur Sangh is out again for its annual round of mischief and trouble in Bombay. Evidently the successful outcome of the three previous strikes of the Bombay Municipal Workers which this Union had engineered over the last two years has further emboldened its leaders to embark on still more adventurist Trade Union policies. They seem to be intent on exploiting the situation created by the soaring prices of essential commodities for gaining their own political ends. They have demand-

(Continued on Page 7)

# Social Imagination And Revolution

M. A. VENKATARAO

**I**T is necessary to break the spell of Socialist dogma on the imagination of fellow-travellers and others attracted by its Utopia, as the only road to progress based on science. This can be done by showing alternatives. Dr. Erhard did so by his 'economic miracle' in Germany. Scandinavia, Germany and Holland have shown the alternative ways on the agricultural front. But unfortunately the Industrial Policy Declaration of 1948 of the India Government and the Five-Year Plan Reports on Agriculture are modelled on Soviet and Chinese patterns except for the killings and violence. The Seventeenth Amendment to be brought in August makes an end of property as a fundamental right and weakens democracy at a vital point. Our leaders have thus shown a pitiable lack of creative imagination as also grit and devotion to democracy.

Hemingway has a short story set in the Spanish Civil War context in which an old man leaving his town on the approach of rebel armies sits on the outskirts and shows concern, to a questioner (a foreign correspondent) with the fate of his old cat that he was obliged to leave behind than with the tragedy of the people involved in the horrors of the unusually savage civil war!

We know that all through the long national liberation movement in India the British could find quite a number of Indian collaborators at the expense of their own countrymen. They did not feel the passion for freedom to any marked extent. They could not imagine how the country could manage without the British to govern them!

To the large majority of people everywhere the *status quo* and the customary round seem to be as much part of nature as the stars, the sun and the moon. They cannot imagine a different state of affairs.

In moral experience we are keenly aware that people have the greatest difficulty in realising in imagination the inward feelings and attitudes of their own neighbours. A great writer has a short story showing how the heads of husband and wife on adjacent pillows entertain widely different thoughts that seem to belong to separate worlds!

The great problem of human life is this one of increasing understanding of men of each other's inward life by means of a more sensitive imagination.

Socialist (communist) propaganda takes full advantage of this failing of human beings. It depicts the ideal state of affairs under their Utopia in such a complete fashion that nothing is left to the imagination of those who are carried away by the promises of socialism regarding its new heaven and new earth, regarding its abolition of poverty, its reign of equality, its opportunity for self-realisation for all and so on. No amount of logical criticism of the economics, psychology and philosophy of communism has

any effect on the believer and the fellow traveller. He comes to believe in the Marxist Gospel as in a new Bible or Koran as an infallible revelation for the scientific age of the present and future.

The picture presented by the propaganda of the communist-socialists occupies the imagination of the intelligentsia of the present age, by and large, by reiteration, emphasis and appeal to humanitarianism as the only way of redeeming the under-dog. It benumbs the critical faculties.

Moreover, criticism presupposes knowledge of alternatives. The greatest service that philosophy as a systematic science of reflection on ultimate reality and ultimate values renders to civilisation, as pointed out so impressively by Dr. A. N. Whitehead, is the suggestion of alternative vision of society and natural relations or structure.

Such alternative ideas release the mind from the stranglehold of custom or dogma, new or old and create an attitude of mind more open and hospitable to new ideas and rival hypotheses.

It is therefore necessary to break the spell of socialist dogma on the imagination of fellow travellers and those attracted by its dogma on travellers and those attracted by its Utopia as the only way of reform left for man, the only road of progress based on science. This can be done by showing alternatives.

L. E. Road, the founder-president of The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York (who is doing so much in this direction with his large band of collaborators) points to this lack of social imagination on the part of the people as one of the reasons for prevalence of socialist ideas. Applying this to education, he writes:

"The fact that we cannot imagine how we could do without aggressive force in education, (or in any other activity) is to be laid to the weakening of our imaginations and the curbing of our thoughts, not to the inefficacy of man in creative action." (P. 128. Government-An Ideal Concept. 1954)

Without government control of education, he continues: "Creative thought on education would manifest itself in millions of existences. Such genius as we potentially and compositely possess would assert itself and take the place of present deadening restraints." *ibid.* p. 123

Professor Bauer (specialist in the economy of backward peoples in the University of London) has said after a study of Indian Plans and Policies that the Indian Government seems **more interested in realising socialism than in economic development itself!** He has recorded his deliberate opinion that in the absence of the elaborate structure of controls and regulations, cribbing, cabinning and confining Indian enterprise in the private field, a **faster and more many-sided** progress in development would result. That is to say, his special knowledge of economic facts and ideas enabled him to see other alternative possibilities in the Indian scene at present blocked by official programmes and policies and their acceptance as good and inevitable by the public. Even the opposition parties have failed to present sufficiently well-informed and comprehensive schemes of development making for better results without curbing individual initiative, repressing capital formation and freezing investment in the private sector.

Another reason for this state of affairs, that is, for the failure of imagination on the part of critics and the general public to visualise their own schemes of development inspired by their own principles, views of social ideals and economic well-being and to present them to the electorate in rivalry to the official policy is their **inability to think of alternatives.**

When Dr. Erhard got permission from the American Command of the Occupation Army (General Clay was the chief) to abolish controls, he proceeded to do so in a total manner. He abolished the whole system imposed by the Allied Command during the war controlling every facet of the economic and social activity of the German people. He did away lock, stock and barrel with hundreds of them at one stroke! He caused dismay to the American chiefs by the sweeping nature of the action he took in pursuance of his faith in freedom and competitive economy. The world knows today the magnificent success of his daring act of faith. It calls it an economic **miracle.** Dr. Erhard deprecates such an epithet as it connotes human passivity and divine intervention to which alone marvellous results are due. The success on the other hand was entirely due to the soundness of the ideas and regulations which Dr. Erhard substituted for the forest of controls stifling the German enterprise during the war—in the early phase by Hitler's Rearmament and after the war by the American Occupation Army Command. Dr. Erhard did not contrary to the usual belief introduce **complete laissez faire** or total freedom

to the world of business. He maintained the social security and minimum wage regulations of Bismarckian days but he clarified the framework of law and permissible realm of freedom, so that businessmen could know how to plan their own production programmes, relying on the landmarks and certainties guaranteed. The result was a great and unprecedented spurt in production in defeated Germany that made it the most prosperous country in Europe outstripping the continental victors and made it the largest holder of gold and foreign currency in Europe, next only to the United States! Truly it was Phoenix rising from its own ashes to a new and more vigorous life!

This marvellous result was principally due to the creative imagination and courage of Dr. Erhard who had an **alternative system** of economic activity ready in essentials in his mind at the time when opportunity came his way.

There was a similar opportunity before Indian leaders at the advent of independence in August 1947. But unfortunately India had a leader, sold body and soul to socialism at the moment of national self-government. Even before the first Five-Year Plan was launched under the auspices of the Planning Commission in perfect imitation of the Soviets, Parliament was made to approve an Industrial Policy Resolution (1949) that laid down the outline of socialist policy reserving the commanding heights of the economy, as the phrase goes (in British Socialist parlance) meaning nationalisation or otherwise taking control of the **key** industries, transport, insurance, railways, communications, mines, steel and other heavy industries for government ownership and management. The imagination of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was completely dominated by the socialist programme of centralised economy after the pattern of Soviet Russia.

The other members of Parliament had not the imagination to visualise the deleterious consequences for production and liberty, price levels, tax levels, misery depths and so on of such socialism as was realised through the years.

They did **not think out** the rationale of the policies of socialism **afresh.** They took the European programmes for granted. They betrayed slave mentality in the intellectual and moral field to an astonishing extent, for which the country is suffering even today. For even today the policies have not been reviewed from a rationalist and experiential point of view in the light of Indian conditions. The results of the Plans in terms of actual effects on the economy—prices, taxes, production, redistribution, national income, prosperity all round etc. have **not** been assessed from an independent point of view even yet.

The founding of the Swatantra party is some sign of the awakening on the part of the intelli-

gentsia that an alternative policy is possible and necessary.

The work of the Libertarian Social Institute of Mr. Lotvala has been earliest in the field with its own independent and critical rethinking of Marx and communist programme in general and criticism of Indian policies in particular in the light of free economy and free society. Research and publicity has gone hand in hand in this work with its library at Bombay and Bangalore and the journal **Indian Libertarian** published fortnightly.

In the field of agriculture, the very first plan contained the germ of the policy which blossomed fully into the communist pattern of co-operative farm, the imposition of ceilings on holdings with nominal compensation to lands acquired by the state for transfer to the tiller. The full communist tactics of **salami** division of the farming community into landless labourer, small farmer, middle farmer, large farmer and large landowner was adopted. The zamindar corresponded to the feudal large landowner and was removed with ridiculous compensation in 1948. This is proof that the governing leadership had **their minds made up before the advent of independence** and put their notions of imitated land revolution into force at the earliest opportunity without taking the intelligentsia into confidence. They posed as **omniscient rulers** and disdained to consult the people. This is not democracy but dictatorship—doing good to the people without their knowledge and intelligent consent! It was the good intention of the socialists in Germany that ruined her in the Hitler regime's policies.

The people did not read either the Industrial Policy Declaration of 1948 which is fully socialist in inspiration and aim nor the Five-Year Plan Reports on Land Reforms, which is modelled on the Russian and Chinese patterns, even to the minute details except for the killings and violence. The killings were unnecessary in India as the intelligentsia had not yet taken a measure of their responsibilities under democracy. The peasants and their leaders were too scattered to organise resistance. They held their first Federation in 1958 which precipitated the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress party and the founding of the Swatantra Party but the so-called "land reforms" have only been slowed down a little. No alternative scheme modelled on the democratic, constructive, evolutionary reforms of the Dutch, German and Scandinavian countries have yet been presented to the country by Indian agricultural leaders. They lack constructive imagination and the necessary stamina, grit, devotion and unsleeping vigilance both in their own interests and in the interests of democracy, to build an alternative society hinging on freedom. Both facts and creative imagination are necessary.

The Seventeenth Amendment to be brought

forward in August seeks to make ryotwari land also subject to the zamindari abolition reforms tactics. If passed, it makes an end of poverty as a fundamental right and so weakens democracy at a vital point.

(Contd. from Page 4)

ed for the Municipal workers an arbitrary increase of 25% in Dearness Allowance on pain of holding the rest of the population of the city to ransom from August 20 by declaring a strike particularly in this rainy season when any dislocation of conservancy work of the Municipality is bound to cause maximum nuisance and discomfort to the public. It may even be that the demand of these workers is not altogether unjustified but the way the Union goes about flaunting it is extremely obnoxious to any sense of public decency and rules of democratic practice.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that the Government and the Municipal authorities will deal with this annually recurring menace caused to the public health of the city by such irresponsible strikes sponsored by the Majdur Sangh, effectively and sternly by even employing all the emergency powers vested in them against the prime trouble-makers and mischief-mongers. The leaders must be firmly told that enhancing Dearness Allowance only for a section of the workers in the city will be an injustice to the other sections of workers and also to the taxpayers and that the Municipal workers alone could not be specially favoured at this stage when the whole question of D.A. is being considered by the authorities and the enquiry committee has even been constituted to conduct an enquiry into the question of linking the D.A. of all workers and employees with the new index of the cost of living under preparation. Any way in the interest of the city as well as that of healthy Trade Unionism the bluff of the intransigent Union has to be called some day and the authorities will do well to avail themselves of this opportunity to do so.

—D. M. Kulkarni

#### FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'Liberty is liberty and nothing more. For better or for worse, it is man's right to stand on his own feet, to face the problems by himself and use his own reason to find his way. It is what raises man up and by so doing makes any fall which may become more painful.'

—Massimo Salvadori.

'Freedom implies humility, not absolutism; it implies not the tyranny of the one, but the tolerance of the many. Against the monolithic world, free men affirm the pluralistic world. Against the world of coercion, we affirm the world of choice.'

— A. M. Schlesinger  
(**'Ideology versus Democracy'**)

# WAR OF AMBITIONS IN U. P.

By M. N. THOLAL

WHAT is happening in U.P. might have been easily foreseen when Mr. A. P. Jain became President of UPCC at the instance of Prime Minister Nehru. Before that happened, the reader should be able to recall, Mr. Jain had furnished proofs of his loyalty to Mr. Nehru by executing more than one command performance. Mr. Jain had been a central minister before he became UPCC President. Over and above that, he went to U.P. as confidant of Mr. Nehru. So in several respects Mr. Jain was an extraordinary President and it was not for Mr. Jain to forget the fact. But, unfortunately for Mr. Jain, U.P. Congressmen knew him only too well, and neither his central ministership nor proximity to Mr. Nehru enabled his stature to rise high enough to equal that of Chandra Bhan Gupta, the U.P. Chief Minister, much less to surpass it. So much the worse for Mr. Gupta, for it seems to have put an undue strain on Mr. Jain's neutrality between the U.P. Congress groups—which seemed real enough to begin with but which began wearing thin, mostly because the U.P. Chief Minister continued to remain unimpressed by Mr. Jain's rising stature as a result of the laurels he won from Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Jain was originally one of the Raffians of U.P., whom Govind Ballabh Pant decided to give the cold shoulder, suspecting that they will act as Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's spies. When Kidwai came over to New Delhi, the Raffians, at least the chief among them, followed him to the Capital, and, what is more, found themselves ministers of ever-growing importance—Tyagi, Jain, Malaviya, etc. Kidwai's motto was "Strengthen Mr. Nehru's hands" and, shrewd man that he was, no one can deny that, when he decided to adopt it, he knew that it would prove to be a paying one. Over and above that, he was loyal to the Nehru family, though his outspokenness about Nehru in private often tended to put the gains from his motto in jeopardy. But he was a Muslim and as such enjoyed a degree of freedom from the usual Congress restraints denied to Hindus. For, who could think of expelling Kidwai from the Congress or the Congress Government, even though he openly promoted the formation of a rival party when his "enemy," Parushottamdas Tandon, became President of the Congress? (Occasions such as these prove that the Congress High Command believes in the saying that discretion is the better part of valour!)

Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta, whose "arrogance" Mr. Jain was supposedly sent to curb, is a man who has risen to his present stature by sheer dint of service to the Congress cause. He is not

a great respecter of personalities, has opinions of his own, and, what is more, is not afraid of giving expression to them. He is in fact one of those who do not look upon Mr. Nehru as a god and who do not consider it proper to obtain his sanction before giving their approval to a project or a policy. Of course he wants cohesion in the Congress but not at the cost of principles which he holds dear, and for which he is prepared to make sacrifices. In fact it is Mr. Gupta's readiness to resign that has been frightening the Congress High Command and persuading it to acquiesce in his "highhanded" methods of dealing with his dissident and disloyal colleagues. But what can a man do except be highhanded in dealing with disloyalty or intrigue?

Mr. Gupta has been accused of arrogance, but a certain amount of arrogance should be considered a qualification in every body, particularly in an organisation where the quality is conspicuous by its absence, because it does not pay. Mr. Gupta perhaps would have been a greater leader if he had less of it and more of loyalty, not to the organisation but to the Leader. It has been said that there are serious differences between the Chief Minister and his group, on the one hand, and the dissidents, on the other. If they are of such a magnitude—and that is what the word "serious" implies—that they rule out co-operation, the dissidents should have resigned much earlier if they were unable—as they obviously were—to force the Chief Minister to resign. In any case, these differences should have been brought to light and the public taken into confidence regarding them, so that it could consider the pros and cons of the affairs. That is how people are educated in political affairs and it is a pity this rule is not followed in India, although India is a democracy.

All the actors in the U.P. parliamentary drama are men of U.P.—Nehru, Shastri, Jain and Gupta. Shastri is only a mouthpiece of Nehru. The latter has this advantage in remaining aloof upto the last minute that he is in it through Shastri and yet out of it as a last court of appeal. He is thus able to assess the strength of the forces arraigned against one another and decide whether he will be able to tilt the balance, should he make up his mind to throw his weight on either side, without farther damaging the organisation already in need of repairs. The dissidents were doubtless encouraged by the fact that Mr. Gupta was not a Nehru man and that his arrogance had prevented him from cultivating Messrs. Shastri and Jain neither of whom has the reputation of being ambitionless.

It is being said that they flirted with the



ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

RISING PRICES AND THE COMMON MAN

By PROF. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

One of the serious problems that our developing economy faces at present is the problem of rising prices. Our economic pundits when they talk of inflation or rising prices use high-sounding economic concepts with the result that a common man is left to wander in the jungle of confused economic thought. These pundits often say that rising prices are the bye products of developmental planning or a "a positive element promoting investment of price and its effect on stimulating investment and capital formation of the rate at which resources are being built, of the effect of prices on the propensity to save, of the cost structure of the industry and agriculture." It is true that the process of economic development has a built-in-tendency for price rise because it requires a large amount of investment in the capital goods industries which have a long gestation period. In other words this kind of investment bears fruit after along period, but as the incomes are created in the short period there emerges an imbalance in the demand for and supply of consumers goods resulting in upward pressure on the price level. This rising price level causes a shift in the distribution of income. As it redistributes income in favour of the rich and against the poor rising prices are socially undesirable. For this reason an underdeveloped country like ours has to keep the prices stable. The true function of price policy is related to the common man, because ultimately all planning is for the welfare of the average citizen. One of the aims of our Five-year plans is to increase the standard of living of the teeming millions, but during the last decade of planning the per capita income of the common man instead of rising has actually gone down and this is mainly due to rising prices that had taken place during the Second Plan period. It has been estimated that the general index of the wholesale prices was up by 30% during the five years of the Second PLAN. Prices of food articles as a group increased by 27%; of manufactured goods by 25% and of industrial raw materials by 45%. The price policy followed during this period failed to check the price rise in respect of essential commodities that are mostly consumed by the average citizen and the situation has aggravated by the new imposts imposed by the Union Finance Minister in the Budget of 1963-64 which have resulted in steady and steep rise in prices of essentials in recent months. The latest directives to the States from the Centre to take drastic steps against blackmarketing in foodgrains reflects Government's anxiety over the rise in

prices but prices would not come down by mere threats of imposing controls and rationing. On the other hand these measures will aggravate the situation and the common man will suffer in terms of poor quality and inadequate quantity of the supplies under rationing. Corruption will thrive and to some extent replace the antisocial activities of the middlemen. It has now been admitted that the basic cause of rising prices is the poor performance on agricultural front. During the last two years the agricultural progress was rather too slow i.e. about 2.2 per cent as against the anticipated 5 per cent. The Government cannot shirk the responsibility of stabilisation of prices and blame the trade; there are no doubt black sheep among the traders trying to take the advantages of the shortages at the cost of the community. It is contended by the business community that progressively rising fiscal levies, highest transport costs and inadequacy of transport, besides real shortages of supplies have had their impact on prices. "Selective controls and skilful use of buffer stocks can help to some extent to bring down the prices but non-stop verbal fustilades against errant, anti social elements alone cannot absolve Government of their part in the present sorry mess. It is in their ability to gear up production on all fronts especially agricultural in the shortest possible time that there is still some hope of salvaging deteriorating economic situation." But increase in production can take place by adopting a free market economy and not by controlled economy. During the last ten years we have adopted a controlled economy which has killed the incentive to produce more and this has resulted in the rising prices. What is necessary is an adequate supply of essential commodities should be made available to common man. These essential requirements cover about three-fifths of his cost of living and it is here that there is inelasticity of demand and the greatest need for supply at reasonable prices.

During the Second plan period Government has taken several measures to hold the price line but all these measures achieved only limited success. The selective credit control has achieved only limited effectiveness. It has restrained excessive stock building of certain commodities. It has checked the holding of affected commodities in anticipation of profits, in case of short supply with the help of bank credit. Though this policy is hardly efficacious yet in future it is bound to play a useful role but this will not solve the problem of rising prices permanently.

What is needed at the present juncture is that unproductive public expenditure should be reduced to the minimum. So far Government has injected a large amount of money in the market by deficit financing. During the First Plan money supply rose by about Rs 277 crores and bank credit by about Rs. 215 crores while deficit financing amounted to Rs. 532 crores. During the Second Plan period money supply increased by about Rs. 500 crores and deficit financing amounted to Rs. 948 crores. During the first two years of the Third Plan deficit financing amounted to Rs. 540 crores out of targeted Rs. 550 crores. This large dose of money supply without a corresponding increase in the supply of consumer goods is the basic cause of the rising prices and unless this policy is reversed by adopting effective pragmatic and bold policies there is no hope in the near future that the prices would come down. The common man is not interested in the country's development plans but in getting the essential commodities at reasonable prices. In this respect Government's price policy has miserably failed to assure the common man adequate supplies of foodgrains. Prices can be stabilised only by increased production and better distribution and not by rationing and price controls. Increased production of consumer goods and the abolition of the zonal system is the only effective method of counteracting inflationary pressure on prices generated by deficit financing for defence and economic development. As a result of this policy the prices will be stabilised at a particular level and this will enable the common man to save more out of his income which will enable the Government to increase its investment. Mr. Allan Day rightly observes "the best way to deal with inflation or rising prices is to make sure that the country's capacity to produce keeps on growing as fast as possible."

In a developing economy rigidity of price level fetters economic growth. At present we are trying to generate additional money income by deliberately stepping up investments and in such a situation holding the price line implies additional production to match the additional income. But additional production will not take place unless there is incentive of price rise. Prices must therefore be made to rise steadily but only slowly. A slowly rising price level is sine qua non of economic growth. What should be prevented is the inflationary price rise that is taking place at present in India and which is affecting the common man most. In order to maintain industrial peace and increase production all controls should be removed. In the short period the prices may tend to rise but as soon as the supplies come in the market the prices will find their own level. Today we require a price policy which can assure stability. The main tasks of the price policy in the near future may be enumerated. In the first place the general

index must not rise. Minor adjustments may be permitted. In order to give fair deal to the farmers the prices of foodgrains and essential raw materials should not fall out of tune with the other prices and may be allowed to rise slightly and slowly. In the interests of the consumers as a whole the prices of the foodgrains should not be permitted to rise too much. In the same way the prices of non-food articles which are consumed by the farmers in increasing quantities should not be allowed to rise. Inter-regional differences of price should be minimised by abolishing the zonal system which has caused great disparities in the prices in different parts of the country. Lastly the price policy has to take special care of the major items such as foodgrains, agricultural raw materials industrial raw materials and major manufactures which are widely consumed. But better results can be achieved if the prices are left to the free forces of the market. In a free economy the consumers are supreme. Their buying and their abstention from buying ultimately determine what the entrepreneurs produce. It is this policy that enabled West Germany and Japan to achieve miracle in economic fields within a short period. Under the present conditions prevailing in our country free market economy will deliver the goods for the benefit of common man. We cannot improve the lot of the common man unless he is allowed to consume adequate quantities of essential commodities. During the last twenty years he has tightened his belt in the interest of his country. Now he has no capacity to tighten still further. He has expected that the prices would come down in the postwar period but to his surprise the prices have tended to rise and for this reason he has no interest in gigantic development plans. To achieve co-operation of the public it is necessary that every attempt should be made by the Government to ensure adequate supplies of essential commodities to the common man so that he can play a vital role in the fields of defence and economic development.

### GOVT. BLAMED FOR RISING PRICES

NEW DELHI: The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has urged the government to make a thorough investigation into the causes of increase in prices.

While blaming the business community for the spiralling prices, the government conveniently forgets that its own fiscal policies are sending the prices up, the FICCI points out.

For instance, since last budget there had been a direct increase in import duty of industrial raw materials by about 17 per cent, which is naturally reflected in the cost of production.

In some cases like strips the import duty this year has been as high as 27.5 per cent, which is a sudden rise from the previous 10 per cent.

If, therefore, the government is really anxious to hold the price line, the FICCI has urged that it must revise its own taxation and other cost-increasing policies.

# AMERICAN INDIANS UNDER CONTROL

SAD RESULTS OF GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION  
BY EDNA SHAKER

**W**HAT government control and bureaucracy can do to a people is not a matter for guessing or speculation. All around us we can see the stifling impact of the state. But nowhere in this country is there more of a laboratory case of government restriction and its deleterious consequences than has been inflicted on the American Indian.

A more regimented and minute grasp of peoples' lives by the state probably does not exist outside the communist bloc.

There are now about 380,000 Indians on several dozen reservations, primarily in the western states, which taken together amount to a land area greater than New England. The maze of legal directives, prescriptions, and specifications shackling their lives is truly staggering. Now on the books are 389 treaties, 5,000 statutes, 2,000 federal court decisions, more than 500 Attorney General opinions, hundreds of Interior Department and Solicitor rulings, and literally thousands of administrative regulations and a massive manual for Bureau of Indian Affairs operations.

The BIA is the principal government overlord of the Indians. Its 15,000 employees work out of 10 area offices and 500 field installations directed by the Washington Central Office. This is not all. At least 7,000 other government workers spread among other Departments, principally Health, Education and Welfare, and Agriculture, are involved in Indian affairs. Thus the ratio of federal government personnel to Indians regulated is an incredible 1 to 18. The states also have employees dealing with Indian matters on a lesser scale.

Since 1900 over three billion dollars have been spent for servicing and regimentating these unfortunate *de facto* wards of the state. The annual amount has jumped in recent years so that for the coming fiscal year, a sum equal to \$725 for every Indian man, woman, and child will be appropriated.

## The Sad Results of Intervention

The 75-year results of all this bureaucratic domination and billions of dollars stands as eloquent testimony of the futility and debility incurred by the "state way". American Indians have been maintained in a state of shocking poverty, ignorance, disease, and complete de-

pendence. Average per capita yearly income runs around \$200. Of 380,000 reservation Indians, only 100,000 are considered employable; the rest are too young, too infirm, or too unskilled. But ever after this drastic selection process, 40 per cent of the 100,000 considered capable of working are unemployed. Compare these figures with 4 to 6 per cent alleged to be unemployed for the labour force as a whole.

The educational level of Indians is abysmally low. Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs gives out glowing enrollment figure of 90 per cent of all Indians under eighteen years of age, the actual attendance figures are much lower. Why should poor parents send their children to below par Bureau schools to indoctrinate them into a way of life that one Indian war veteran described as "abide and ye shall receive your handout." Many Indians, young and old alike, so fear and dislike BIA officials that they identify everything about "the white man's ways" with these officials, including the learning of English. Many know no English at all.

The average Indian life span is about 45 years. Infant mortality rates are about three times as high as the average for all Americans. Death rates from such preventable diseases as gastroenteritis, influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis run up to eight times higher than in the general population. It is clear that the federal government has not even been able to do a minimum job of sustaining health.

Much reservation land is held by the government in so-called trust for individuals or tribes. This means that if a Crow or Blackfoot Indian wants to sell or lease or improve his land, permission must be granted through a labyrinthine hierarchy involving delays, uncertainty, endless legal interpretations, and frustration. Just intolerable is the assumption of incapacity or wardship which has indentured Indians to the state.

Millions of dollars of Indian money, received by income from leases, judgments, and other sources, are held by the U. S. Treasury instead of letting the Indians have their funds in their economic development. Statutes, regulations, and intricate procedures tell the Indians how and under what circumstances they can hire technicians and counsellors and under what supervision by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

### **Paperwork**

The Secretary of the Interior maintains minute regulations of even minor actions by Indians and their tribal governments. The BIA, by its close control of budgets and expenditures on reservations, insures that there will be little private initiative and decision-making. The restraints on the efforts of Indians to improve themselves and to develop their own property are so vast and specific as to be almost inconceivable. For many matters relating intimately to the lives and plans of Indians, they are neither consulted nor informed before the decision is taken in Washington.

The regimentation, which for decades has cost taxpayers millions and has kept the Indians dependent on government bureaucracy while draining away even the hope of self-betterment, can be seen in one illustration out of many that could be cited. Suppose a group of Indians got together to hire an architect-engineer to build a lumber mill. The architect and any other technicians who contract to do the work must itemize the cost of each meal consumed and make sure to list the tips separately. They must state the subject and cost of every longdistance telephone call. They then submit the voucher to the tribe, which is required to send it to the Area Office for approval, where, upon arrival, it goes on to a field Solicitor who, if he concurs, passes it on to the Superintendent who, if he approves, returns it to the tribe for payment. All this elaborate paperwork and channeling must be undertaken even if only one telephone call is involved.

### **Supervised Stagnation**

For years the attitude of the BIA was that the 57 million acres of Indian land offered little or no opportunity for economic development. It had never made any studies to confirm this observation and an entrenched bureaucracy was not interested in possibly undermining their comfortable status quo by probing for resources that would make the Indian self-reliant, self-productive, and free, as he so fervently wished to be.

It is now unequivocally certain that sufficient resources exist on Indian lands to afford Indians prosperity and independence instead of the state-imposed servility which is now their bitter lot. The lands are rich in timber, forage, minerals, agricultural products, and fisheries. Many reservations include attractive mountains, lakes, streams, forests, and even deserts, offering potential recreational and relaxational facilities which could blossom into a vast tourist industry. But the Indians never have been allowed the freedom to exploit these marvellous endowments for a progressive and distinct life of their own. In the rare instances where they

have had an opportunity to be self-sufficient and their own masters, away from the reservations and BIA dominance, Indians have achieved success and self-fulfilment in all fields of human activity.

### **BIA Knows Best**

After nearly a century's smothering of the spirit of a proud, independent people and preventing their rising out of degradation and poverty, who has benefited? Principally, job holders whose weekly salary from the BIA was guaranteed. This not to say that BIA employees are incompetent or have any but the best of intentions; the system largely demands that they act as they do. But the premise is, as always, that BIA knows best. In most addresses, statements, and discussions by the BIA or other officials about the "Indian problem", as it is called, the base point is always what the government should do for the Indian. It is made quite clear that the federal government is to continue its domination of the Indians far into the future.

The idea that Indians should be completely liberated to apply their intelligence and energy to the development of the vast resources available to them is not contemplated.

Any enterprise in a free market which has losses for a few years running is almost sure to find itself bankrupt and out of business. Federal Indian policy and the BIA have been showing "losses" for more than a century. In maintaining Indians as wards, the government has done worse than nothing; it has struck at the very nerve center of human dignity by prohibiting responsibility, initiative, creativity—that individual self-determination which is the touchstone of the founding philosophy of this country. How many Indians, wasting their lives away on the reservations, might have been great writers, artists, scientists, entrepreneurs, and statesmen? The number will never be known, but the controls responsible for the situation are visible in all their pervasive cruelties.

What the BIA can do for the Indian is very simple. It can recommend its own dissolution and terminate what one brave congressman recently described as "the world's most vicious socialist system."

—The Freeman, New York.

dissidents and allowed them to run away with the impression that they will not be easily allowed to part company with Mr. Gupta. This flirtation could be anything from good manners to generating vain hopes. Neither Mr. Shastri nor Mr. Jain appeared to have asked himself the question what their attitude would have been if the dissidents were Mr. Nehru's colleagues. In that case dissidence would have been out of the question. Is there to be one rule for the Centre and quite another for the States? And to what end? Eternal wrangling and jockeying for positions?

Mr. Gupta's strongest point—beside the fact that he was in the right, which, however does not go far in Congress morality—was the prevailing demoralisation in the Congress which dissidence indirectly encourages. When all is said and done, dissidence is born of ambition with a view to ousting the fellow who does not agree with you. It can hardly be called an aimless state of mind, and can even be said to involve a certain amount of moral turpitude. Mr. A. P. Jain let the cat out of the bag at Dehra Dun when he told newspapermen on July 28 that Chief Minister Gupta should resign and seek re-election as party leader to enable some other candidate to oppose him. He was commenting on Mr. Gupta's decision to seek a vote of confidence in himself from the State Congress Parliamentary Party. Jain is right when he says that the Chief Minister, while in office, carries a plus handicap of as many votes as he has ministers, and in U.P. the number of ministers is more than forty. He also favoured secret ballot which, as he rightly said, is the essence of democracy. But, surely, there are some conventions, if not rules, regulating such matters, and the fact that Mr. Jain should have singled out Mr. Gupta for such ultra democratic procedure is significant. As the Secretary of the U.P. Legislative Congress Party put it, Mr. Jain's statement is "more in the nature of personal vendetta which in no way adds to his personal dignity or to the high prestige of his office".

"Sharp differences on matters of policies" have been assigned as the reason for their resignation by the seven dissident ministers, and it is surely for them to decide whether the differences are sharp enough to demand their resignation. But it seems there has been a good deal of miscalculation on the part of the resigning ministers, both as regards the attitude of the High Command and the political aptitude of the Chief Minister, who has come out of the imbroglio as a man with any amount of self-confidence born of rectitude. He has raised the status of the Chief Minister in the eyes of the public and shown that he need not be a puppet in the hands of the High Command. Perhaps the main reason why he won was that he knew his mind whereas the members of the High Command did not. The issue was simple enough. How can

a Chief Minister function with a number of ministers making a mountain of the molehill of their differences with him? It is to be hoped that the crisis, and the way it was resolved, has shown to Congress leaders that loyalty to the Chief is not something to be trifled with at the dictates of ambition and that the latter requires curbing in the interest of the party, the Government as well as democracy, whose interests the U.P. Congress Chief appeared to have so much at heart.

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### HOW GOOD IS MIG-21 ?

Last year the Government decided to set up an MIG Factory in India. To manufacture our own fighter planes is obviously essential for building up our defence strength.

#### Its Six Major Defects

The argument that planes are too expensive—and too fast changing—for us to manufacture is obviously defeatist. **Buying** planes is not less expensive than **making** them. And we obviously have to start manufacturing current patterns in order to be ready for the coming ones. Well-informed sources, however, are not sure that MIG-21 is the best fighter plane for us to make.

For one thing the MIG-21 is only a fair weather day interceptor. It has only one 30 millimetre gun with 60 rounds. It has no bomb-carrying capacity for ground attack. It has a maximum radius of action of only 218 nautical miles without re-heat. Its absence of ground level capability for seat ejection renders it hazardous for the pilot. Its fixed ring reflector sight is not good enough for accurate attack.

#### How About HF-24 M.K. II ?

Even the revised MIG-21—which, however, is still on the boards—makes it an all-weather day-night interceptor. But its other weaknesses remain. At the same time plane manufacturing plants are reportedly available in some other countries—e.g. the British HF-24 M.K.II—with a better performance on all these counts. It is therefore felt in informed circles that the Government may fully go into all these circumstances before deciding finally what plane to manufacture.

The fact that recently Russia charged us Rs. 56 lakhs for repair and overhaul of two Russia-built Ilyushins should also put us on guard about the cost factor in Russian projects.

—Organiser, Delhi.

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### LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

*Professor M. A. Venkata Rao delivered a lecture on Foreign Policy and Philosophy at Bangalore at Libertarian Social Institute on Friday 25th June.*

# NEHRU'S RETREAT

BY J. M. LOBO PRABHU

**T**HE Cabinet changes announced, particularly the appointment of Dr. K. L. Rao, who retired as Chief Engineer, may signal a change in favour of merit as a qualification for the Cabinet. Both Shah and Alagesan are young and earnest, with a capacity for work, rare in Cabinet Ministers. K. C. Reddy who makes his exit typifies ministers in the Cabinet who were selected for territorial, caste or class reasons. The exclusion of leftists shows that Nehru is no longer afraid of the communists. The question therefore is if Nehru is realising his mistakes. It must have become obvious to him that whatever votes these ministers can collect are due more to their office than to their personal qualifications. Secondly, such support is at the cost of the support of the public, which has become critical about the qualifications of ministers. Thirdly, Nehru does not require support because it is the party that draws strength from him and not he, from it.

The logical step for Nehru is to be rid of more ministers like Reddy. It is just reported that senior ministers accept this necessity. Jagjivan has been a dead weight for a long time. Lal Bahadur, Swaran Singh, Shrimali, Satya Nrayan Sinha have only political qualifications. Nanda has become a liability because of the mess he has made of Planning and Labour. Sen is associated with Malaviya in the Serajuddin case. S. K. Dey should join some missionary order, while Sushila Nayar, Lakshmi Menon and Tar-keshwari are there because no intelligent and honest women will join the Congress.

It will not be easy for Nehru to make a sweep only on the basis of merit. A working rule may be to retire all those in office for more than five years, but this would touch Nehru, Morarji, Patil, who are considered irreplaceable. The best course may be to get the Ministers to declare their present assets and those prior to assuming of office. Many ministers prefer to keep their assets, than be ministers without them. This will be more so if the assets of their relations are also included and secondly, the Income Tax is made to carry out verification.

The same procedure will have to be applied to State Ministers and all office holders in the Party Organisation. It can be extended also to legislators of all parties so that the public knows the cost of democracy. There will be a natural

purge of those in office and a clear branding of those who capitalised on their positions.

The question is natural whether such a purge will not injure the Congress Party. It should not do so for two reasons, first the public already assumes that the ministers have enriched themselves and further exposure will make little difference. Secondly, to the extent the Congress purifies itself, and office becomes associated with merit, Congress will enhance its popularity. The growing section of opinion which now abhors the Congress Party as a conspiracy to cash its power at all levels, may renew its old loyalties. It is true that the Congress will lose the money and management of some of the old guard but the money came largely from their office and if the management won some votes it equally alienated others.

The question remains how Congress can find in the legislatures, talent which will impress the public. The largest number, almost 90% of the present members are dumb, having been elected on anything, but merit or integrity. One source which will be available soon to the Congress will be from the election of some sixty new members to the Rajya Sabha and some 200 members to the Legislative Councils. If the Congress sets some standards, educational or professional, it will not only wipe out those who are now a disgrace to the Congress, but also improve the sources of appointments to the Cabinets. The same standards may apply to other elective and organisational bodies. At the same time, there should be a strict ban on those who pilot business in the name of their wives and relations, and with which Government is in any way connected. Of course those associated with black-marketing should be excluded. At the same time, government nominations should not be restricted to party sympathisers, because there is far greater merit among those who avoid politics.

The decisions will have to be taken by Nehru. His position is quite safe whatever he does. He has therefore to consider if he should continue to have a Cabinet which is a collection of courtiers and legislatures which are Durbar Halls of self-seekers. His recent experiences with ministers at the Centre and the State may convince him that both the present and the future expect better from him as the first Prime Minister of an Independent and Democratic India.

## **TIME OF TESTING AND TRIAL**

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

On August 3 Prime Minister Nehru told Mr. Hem Barua, a PSP MP, that the civil posts set up by the Chinese in the 20-kilometer demilitarised zone on the Northern border were backed by military power and that China had improved its striking power. Not being an astrologer, Mr. Nehru could not say whether China would attack India in the immediate future or whether China would attack India before it could become effective in air power. The PSP leader informed Mr. Nehru that an unfortunate impression had been created in the country that the Government had raised the bogey of heavy Chinese troop concentrations along the Northern border in order to suppress the growing dissensions within the Congress Party. Mr. Nehru emphatically remarked that this was not true, but there is no denying that the impression referred to by Mr. Barua suggests that the country is losing faith in the Prime Minister.

About India's recent agreement with the Voice of America regarding the supply of an air transmitter to All India Radio, Mr. Nehru told Mr. Barua that he considered this deal as "infringement of our policy of non-alignment". Mr. Nehru further made the amazing statement that no country, whether aligned or non-aligned could agree to such a proposal, and gave expression to his doubts whether India could get out of the agreement. What is there to prevent India from getting out of the Agreement except a lack of desire to do so, having regard to the fact that non-alignment is our national policy and supported by parties other than the Congress in Parliament? It is being said here that the Prime Minister is in the habit of straining at gnats while swallowing camels, and that the proposed Indo-American-British joint air exercises on India's Northern border is one such camel.

Unless Russia is also invited to join these joint exercises, our alignment would appear to be almost complete, having regard in particular to the fact that Mr. Nehru told Mr. Barua that there was a lot of goodwill for India in Russia. It is high time our Prime Minister ceased thinking in terms of non-alignment and thought more and more in terms of the country's security, which has been entrusted in his hands. And he should think as he thought in October last year at the start of the Chinese invasion. It is now being realised here even in Congress circles that it is his pseudo-non-alignment which has been standing in the way of his Government exploiting to the full the pro-Indian and anti-Chinese

sentiment in the Western camp for the country's benefit. After all, if there is a real rift between China and Russia, the latter should feel happy over India getting stronger and stronger anyhow to prevent China from translating into practice her theories which Russia pretends to detest. That would be the real test of the rift being a genuine one.

Inaugurating the Conference of State Ministers of Community Development and Panchayati Raj, Mr. Nehru urged the nation to imbibe a sense of dynamism and be prepared for further sacrifices in the interest of India's defence and said the nation was likely to pass in the next two years through a difficult period of testing and trial. "Every one," he observed, "must think much more deeply than in the past." It is to be hoped that every one includes himself, regarding whom he has often declared he has no time to think. But it is not given to every one to think deeply, and Mr. Nehru should be aware of it, particularly as he has monopolised all the thinking in the Congress Party. If he has done so because there are no other thinkers in the Party, this Correspondent at least has no quarrel with him on that score. But, obviously, there are some thinkers in the Swatantra Party headed by Rajaji, whose services Mr. Nehru will do well to utilise in the interest of the country. Let not sheer cussedness stand in the way in this emergency. It is because he is doing nothing of the kind that people are beginning to suspect that he himself does not believe in there being an emergency in the country. If he believes there is, it is for him to take the necessary and proper steps to deal with it.

No one is asking him to include men like Dr. Lohia in the Government. Men who contradict themselves everyday can hardly be regarded as thinkers, much less deep thinkers. At least in this hour of crisis let him forget his animosity towards those who have clear heads and whose clearheadedness has been proved by the march of events. According to Mrs. Pandit, who should know, Mr. Nehru is a different man now, not his usual temperlosing self. She wants him to lose his temper as in the days gone by, but unfortunately he is known to have been losing his temper not with those with whom he should but with those who happen to be near when he is in a fit of temper. That takes away all the good that temper-losing can do.

Surely he knows how effective his father's loss of temper used to be. And why should he



lose his temper with those who have been forecasting the evil results of his policies like astrologers? He should impress them in the service of the nation, thanking his stars that he has such men in the country.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Socialist leader, thinks there is just a "5 per cent chance" of a full-scale Chinese invasion and that the Government has cried "wolf" a little too often. One would have thought that, even if there is but one per cent chance of a full-scale Chinese invasion, the emergency and the cry of "wolf" would be justified, on the universally accepted proposition that no country should take chances with its security. But the emergency is a national emergency and demands a national government and should not be exploited for party purposes, particularly when the party in power has already proved its bankruptcy. Dr. Lohia's remarks in the context of the emergency show how our leaders are prepared to toy with the country's security as if it were a matter of minor concern. It is indeed amazing how even non-Communist leaders, with the exception of those of the Swatantra Party, tinker with the problem of defence and fail to give it the importance it deserves, knowing that the Britisher is no longer here to protect us. Indeed, quite a number of them seem to think that no protection is necessary and that nonviolence and its foster child, non-alignment, are enough to keep the country safe. This despite the lesson China taught us in October last.

#### GUPTA'S GREAT VICTORY

Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta, the U. P. Chief Minister, has emerged with flying colours from the U.P. ministerial crisis. The credit that goes to him is all the greater because he had among his opponents some very senior Congress leaders of the state and had hardly any supporter in what is generally known as the Congress High Command. Very serious view was taken here in Delhi by the High Command of some of his moves. That need not have been the case, for it was generally conceded that intrinsically he was in the right. But people wanting to fish in troubled waters can always be found, with the sole aim of increasing their own importance. On this occasion at any rate Mr. Gupta has succeeded in decreasing their importance, and that was something very much overdue. Without realising it, the dissidents made Mr. Gupta's case much stronger when they admitted that their differences with him were of a serious nature and justified the Chief Minister's query, "How long can we pull on like this?"

Agriculture Minister Charan Singh, explaining the reasons for the dissidents' resignations said: "The Chief Minister did not implement the Delhi formula given to him by the High Command. He should have exonerated Mr. Shastri

of all charges before his resignation. But he did not do so. The Chief Minister also did not implement the second alternative provided in the formula. He should have resigned and reconstituted his cabinet, dropping Mr. Shastri. This is a clear defiance of the High Command." But a news item emanating from the Capital also said that Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister, was able to soften Mr. Algurai Shastri and persuade him to resign. In other words, the High Command itself retraced its steps, for the Chief Minister had given a time limit of a few hours to the Governor for Mr. Algurai Shastri's resignation, after which the resignation of the Cabinet offered by him would become operative. So the resignation of the entire ministry was averted by the Home Minister and the U.P. Governor through their successful persuasion of Mr. Algurai Shastri. A tough man can get away with many things, particularly if he is in the right.

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## Book Review

**CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES** By R. M. MACIVER AND OTHERS. Religion and Civilization Series. A Publication of the Institute for Social and Religious Studies. Distributed by Brothers New York and London. Pages 150. Price two Dollars.

This co-operative volume contains twelve addresses by different professors at The Institute Religious and Social Studies New York delivered in 1950-51 including the introduction by Dr. R. M. MacIver. They deal with some of the most searching clashes of Loyalties in modern man's conscience from the American context and point of view. But the substance of thought and treatment are universal in interest and method.

Dr MacIver starts off with the form such clashes take as between religion and national patriotism. He analyses the Sophoclean tragedy of *Antogone* to throw light on this crisis. *Antogone* breaks the royal mandate and command embodying the national sentiment and performs funeral rites over the dead body of her brother. He had revolted and brought a foreign army to the city to conquer it and to gain the throne for himself from his brother. Both brothers die in battle. The king Creon is incensed at this affront to patriotism which is stark treachery and is contagious being an example also from the royal family. He gets *Antogone* confined in a distant rocky tower and condemns her to die to slow death by starvation. Both Loyalties are obligatory—the command of religion and the demand of nation and state for loyalty.

If an Indian Buddhist were to side with the



Chinese aggressors on the ground of common faith, the Greek situation would be reproduced. As it is, we have Indian communists ignoring national loyalty in favour of international communism and siding with Chinese aggressors. If they are tolerated, national unity would be destroyed.

Socrates has a similar problem when he could have escaped from prison but he preferred to accept death at the hands of law, even when it was wrong, than to disobey the nation's voice.

There is a discerning discussion of the spiritual problem posed by American world power. Professor Lyman Bryson prefers adherence to the ideal of developing **great persons** loyal to the universal values of freedom and truth, science and art than to the temporal ideal of imperial power. He reviews American foreign policy in this light, illuminating examples from Athens, Rome and Britain in the nineteenth century as democracies at home and empires abroad.

Professor Lasswell has an extraordinarily instructive lecture on the respect for **privacy** as essential for the dignity of man and citizen in democracies. He shows how modern means of communication and other technical devices could be used to invade the privacy of the citizen. He draws grim warning from the awful example of the aggressive invasion of privacy in communist countries in their mobilisation of the common man—his leisure, his inmost thoughts, his ideas and values through the radio, newspapers, books, control of paper and printing and the Iron Curtain generally. This address is a stimulus to the social imagination that helps us to **realise** the incredible oppression of body, mind and spirit (hell in medieval terms) going on in communist countries today in the name of progress and science.

The atom bombing of Hiroshima and the enlistment of dubious allies in foreign policy are all dealt with thoughtfully.

— M. A. Venkata Rao.

## The Mind of the Nation

### **WHY PEKING SHRIEKS AT THE PROPOSED INDO-AMERICAN AIR EXERCISES?**

India's agreement with the United States of America and Britain for the training exercises for the Indian Air Force is one more happy development in our country's growing friendly ties with the West. The training is intended to familiarize our Air Force personnel with "sophisticated" radar and other ground equipment so necessary for the operation of supersonic as well as subsonic planes. By its very nature the agreement is of dynamic significance. It presupposes possession by India of modern aircraft, which is but another name for jet fighter and possibly jet bombers too. Though, for various reasons, neither the U.S.A. nor Britain

nor, for that matter, India is prepared to say that in case the Chinese repeated their performance of last autumn this country would have at its disposal striking power from the air at a meaningful level, the present agreement is helpfully eloquent.

It would seem the agreement is a somewhat belated but indirect explanation why we could not use our air strength to check the Chinese advance in the months of October and November last year. We did not want to give the Chinese a pretext to bomb our open cities and industrial centres from their fairly secure Tibetan bases. The Chinese at the time of their last invasion were supposed to have as many as 3,000 combat planes. Not all the planes were in Tibet, for China's Communist rulers had to keep quite a few of them along their South China sea-coast for fear of attack by the Nationalist Chinese based on Formosa. But we had every reason to apprehend devastating blows if we used our Air Force without ensuring the defence of our cities and industrial centres. The agreement now announced is an implicit guarantee of that defence. It is no wonder that Peking has begun shrieking at the agreement.

— Thought, Delhi.

## News & Views

### **U.S., RUSSIAN IDEALS NOT RECONCILABLE**

WASHINGTON: Mr. Averell Harriman said U. S. and Russian objectives were "irreconcilable," although both had a common interest in avoiding nuclear war.

"I find no difference in Khrushchev from Stalin in terms of determination to communise the world", Mr. Harriman, who represented the U. S. at the successful Moscow test-ban talks, said.

"On the other hand, there are certain areas in which we have common interests. It became increasingly clear when Khrushchev withdrew his offensive missiles from Cuba, that he does not want to face a nuclear war."

Mr. Harriman, who is the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, is a former Ambassador to Moscow with long experience of negotiating with Soviet leaders during the Second World War and in the post-war period.

### **Challenge**

He said the Chinese Communist challenge to the Soviet Union for leadership of the international Communist movement was of "long duration and apparent even during Stalin's time. But since Cuba, the Chinese have been making greater efforts and greater inroads in the communist parties throughout the world."

"Khrushchev and the Soviet Communist Party say they are going to lead the world to communism while avoiding nuclear war. Peking is the one which endangers world peace," he declared.

### **U.S. NOT IN FAVOUR OF MIXED ARMS AID Soviet Help May Create Problems, Delhi Told**

WASHINGTON: The United States has told India that any intermixture of U.S. and Soviet aid would create both military and foreign policy problems between the two Governments.

Officials disclosing this said an Indian arms mission now negotiating in the Soviet Union has reached no final agreement with the Russians.

These sources said the Indian Government has given assurances to Washington that there would be no intermingling of Soviet and American assistance. But the United States will want to satisfy itself on that score independently, after the Indian mission returns from Moscow.

### **SOUTH KOREA, INDIA OFFENSIVE LINKED?**

WASHINGTON: The U. S. State Department said the possibility that new incursions by Communist troops into South Korea were linked with the reported Chinese build-up along Indian border was not excluded.

The Administration was discussing "counter-measures" following armed clashes with North Korean troops in South Korean territory.

(The United Nations command in Seoul announced that an American soldier, a South Korean policeman, and two North Korean soldiers were killed in a clash south of the demilitarised zone.

### **WEST READY FOR OPEN PLEDGE**

Neither Britain nor the United States will hesitate to help India against a surprise Chinese attack.

It has been reassured that if India desires, both will make a joint public declaration that they will fulfil their promise of help.

According to Anglo-American intelligence, there is no evidence so far to suggest that Pakistan, despite her threats to India's security, is really capable of attacking India.

It is also hinted that both Britain and America are impressing on Pakistan that the Seato, Cento military aid is meant for Pakistan to combat communism and not for any other so-called "defensive" purpose.

If Pakistan gives these weapons to "Azad Kashmir" forces, the other Seato and Cento members may reconsider Pakistan's membership or force her to fulfil the terms of the pacts.

### **VOA ROW 'OVER NOTHING'**

T. V. PARASURAM of Express News Service reports from WASHINGTON: Some astonishing facts have come to light in the course of investigations I have been making into India's deal with the Voice of America.

They will come as a great surprise to critics who argue that "pure Indian radio waves" will be polluted by American propaganda.

I learn that for a long time All-India Radio and Voice of America have had close collaboration in exchanging programmes.

And last year AIR received from VOA programmes totalling 18½ hours weekly. Of these, 2 hours were prepared in Washington in English and Hindi and 16½ hours were prepared in India.

The biggest surprise to critics may be the fact that VOA's biggest foreign base in the world is India—with centres in New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The biggest VOA foreign base used to be West Germany.

Officials are maintaining a stiff upper-lip at India's efforts to modify the agreement. It is assumed that after some haggling a mutually satisfactory solution will be found.

Another interesting fact emerged in the course of my enquiries. This is that broadcasts from the transmitter would not be able to reach listeners in China.

Its beam would be only directed at the countries of south-east Asia, like Burma, Siam, Laos, Viet Nam, the Philippines and Malaya

### **CHINA EYES BURMA AND THAILAND**

Washington Post has published the following under "China Eyes Burma, Thai Access."

The Laotian-Chinese friendship highway between Mang La, Chin, and Phong Saly, Laos, is open to traffic but the Chinese Communist road builders are still hard at work in Laos. They are linking up Thailand and Burma with China's road system.

Several thousand Chinese engineers and labourers are on the job.

With them, according to Laotian sources, is at least a battalion of soldiers from the "people's liberation army." And last week Thai Defence Minister Thanom Kittikachorn said he heard reports that three battalions of Chinese had moved into northern Laos. Peking denies it all.

What frightens Thailand, and presumably Burma as well, is the parallel that begs to be drawn between these Chinese road projects in Laos and that in Ladakh, the Indian controlled section of Kashmir, a couple of years ago.

The Ladakh road was built in secrecy. So for the most part is the present work on the Laos roads.

### **CHINESE DESTROY TIBETAN CULTURE**

GANGTOK: The Chinese communists have taken yet another step to a systematic destruction of Tibet's centuries-old cultural heritage and unique national integrity.

A campaign to change and regimentate names of the ancient Tibetan towns has been launched by the Chinese authorities.

The communists are now reported to be changing names of almost all townships in Tibet and reducing them to mere numbers under a general head: "Liberation townships".

This has come in the wake of the campaign to "award" Chinese names to the so-called "serfs and slaves" elected to what the communist hierarchy terms as "high" positions in society and in the Township people's Congress, which they claim to have established in Tibet.

Wanton destruction of centuries-old Buddhist scriptures in Tibet by the communist overlords is now a well-known fact. The Chinese are known to have converted the precious Buddhist texts and scriptures to paper pulp to meet increasing demand for paper, most of which goes for printing propaganda material.

The communists have printed new scriptures and texts, which are now being sermonised in Tibetan monasteries after destroying the people's freedom of worship early this year.

According to a decree issued by the political commissar of Tibet, the Tibetans are free to worship and visit monasteries only between the odd hours of 3 and 5 a.m.

Monasteries are now few and far between. Yet there are reports of Tibetans trekking for hours to visit and pray in monasteries before they go for the daily 12 hours of forced labour.

### **A COUP IN PAKISTAN?**

The Malabar Herald reports: Prominent industrialists,

ousted politicians and the present opposition leaders in Pakistan have started thinking as to how to save the situation in which which Pakistan is, in order to retain U. S. friendship.

Ever since President Ayub Khan took Mao Tse tung and Chou-En-lai in his embrace and foreign Minister Mr. Z. A. Bhutto said that Asia's largest country would help Pakistan if it is attacked by India, political feelings have become highly perturbed.

Seeing through the propoganda, that U. S. and the Western bloc will goad India to a clash with Pakistan and hence people of Pakistan should rise to prepare themselves to face an Indian Aggression, there is great nervousness among the capitalists and bourgoise class that China may succeed to induce President Ayub Khan to make a last bid to free Kashmir and annex Tripura and a portion of Assam. Meanwhile it is said that anti-Ayub feeling is growing in the younger section of the military which could lead them to stage a coup on the same lines as that which drove Abdul Kassem, the dictator of Iraq, out of power.

### CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, SOURCE OF DANGE'S STATEMENT?

NEW DELHI: Congress circles are reported to be questioning the source of Mr. Dange's recent statement that the idea of an eight-power conference to solve the deadlock in Sino-Indian border dispute originated with "Friends in the Congress Party". The Congress President is making inquiries as to who these "friends" are. He says the proposal is contrary to the Congress Party's stand in the matter.

The "Economic Review" of the AICC in its latest issue suspects that the proposal originated from the Communist Party of China. It says the idea of an eight-power conference is contrary to the stand of the Indian Government which insists that China should first accept the Colombo Proposals with their clarifications.

The "Review" goes on to say that this was the stand even of the CPI. The latest proposal of Mr. Dange goes back even on the Communist Party's stand.

At one time it was thought that the proposal was mooted by the Communist Party of Ceylon. But this has been denied by the party.

The "Economic Review" concludes by saying that the CP. would be doing a service to the country by disclosing if the proposal has any connection, even remotely or obliquely, with the Chinese Communist Party.

### NATIONALISATION OF BANKS OR THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

Mr. G. D. Ambekar, general secretary of the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh, drew loud cheers at a meeting held under the auspices of Intuc in Bombay when he referred to the "suggested new role of the Communist Party of India."

He told the gathering that at a recent conference at Delhi, the Communists had harped on their usual theme of "nationalising" banks and other trades and industries.

A senior Intuc official present at the talks was understood to have delivered a devastating retort: "Instead of bothering about nationalising banks, how about the nation-

alisation of the Communist Party of India for a start? That seems to be the first priority."

According to Mr. Ambekar, the Communist leader, Mr. S. A. Dange was "very annoyed."

### 'PAUPERS HAVE NOW BECOME CONGRESS MILLIONAIRES'

INDORE: The Congress president, Mr. D. Sanjivayya, said here that the organisation had lost its prestige because Congressmen who were paupers before independence had become millionaires.

Some own several cinema houses, huge property, a fleet of cars and many transport lines," he added.

"From where did they get all this?" This question remained unanswered. Only a few Congress M.L.A.s, M.P.s and Ministers had sent in their annual returns giving the details of property owned or acquired.

The Congress president was inaugurating the four-day training camp-cum-seminar of Madhya Pradesh Congressmen Mr. Rameshwar Dayal Totala, chairman of the M.P. Congress Ad Hoc Committee, presided.

He attributed the waning of the party's influence to the neglect of the intelligentsia, including doctors, lawyers and students.

## Dear Editor . . . .

### EXPOSING THE POLITICIANS

It is dangerous for any country to leave politicians alone. Most of the educated middle classes of our country have not realised this, and the results we all witness at present. People are forgetting the lesson of fearlessness taught by Gandhiji, as the ruling party seems to feel that to organise against it is treason to the State and hence it is ready to use the Emergency powers against those who oppose it. To escape this situation, I suggest to all those citizens who have absolutely no desire to get into power either for public prestige or private profit, to organise themselves in every locality, eliminating the evils of party feelings and basing their action on selflessness. Let them all collect correct information on the following aspects and publish them, with malice to none, whenever an opportunity occurs. Those who do not want to rouse the unjustifiable anger of politicians can help others confidentially, who are willing to face the politicians.

(1) The amount of taxes spent on our representatives upto now from the time when the Emergency was declared by our Government.

(2) The amount in each State, which our representatives and the other prominent politicians have contributed to the Defence Funds:

(3) The names of all politicians, whose children and other close relatives are studying in English-medium schools while talking about language medium for others.

If a few determined groups of persons will do this in every locality, they will act as a forceful corrective to all our politicians. Space forbids me from detailing such an "organisation"

Coonoor

S. R. Narayana Iyer

## ANNOUNCEMENT

We have a few back issues of "Freeman" a monthly journal published by the Foundation for Economic Education, U.S.A. They are available free on request to us. Requests for copies should be accompanied with 15 nP. stamps.

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