

THE

# Indian

# Libertarian

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

EDITOR: D. M. KULKARNI

MAKE ENGLISH THE LANGUAGE OF INDIA

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rs. 6.00

Vol. X No. 18

December 15, 1962

### IN THIS ISSUE

	PAGE
EDITORIAL .. ..	2
Rethinking Prohibition by M. A. Venkata Rao .. ..	5
Nehru's Noble Retreat by M. N. Thotal .. ..	8
ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT ..	I-IV
The 'Achievements' (?) Of The Communist Regime In China By Yang Ship-Chan .. ..	10
DELHI LETTERS:	
Jaya Prakash Narsin's Advice To Nehru .. ..	12
Book Review .. ..	13
Gleanings from the Press .. ..	14
News & Views .. ..	14



# EDITORIAL

## 'SEEK YE FIRST THE KINGDOM OF FREEDOM'

1962 will go down in history as a memorable year which, for the first time, witnessed the invasion of India by foreign hordes through the Himalayan passes. The impregnability and inviolability of India's Himalayan borders have now proved to be a myth. Beyond the Himalayas, stretches today not the sacred land of the Lamas, but the Tibetan colony of the Chinese Red bandits who drove The Dalai Lama and his patriotic followers out of their motherland in 1960 and are now busy rooting out the time-hallowed Tibetan culture and civilisation and implanting there in its stead their miserable and despicable communist faith and their crude values of terror, deceit and fraud. No longer does India enjoy the centuries old peaceful and happy neighbourly relations with Tibet. The Red enemy from China is now not only at India's Northern Gates but he has also forcibly broken them open and occupied a strategically important position within India's own precincts. Having accomplished this feat in one grand stride, he is now using all his communist wiles to lull India into a false sense of security so that he might be enabled to consolidate his position there.

This, in short, is what the 'Cease-Fire' proposals of China amount to. China will never willingly relinquish unless forced to do so, her control of all the passes in the Himalayas right up from the Karakorum Pass near-about Ladakh in the North West, to Tawang and Walong in the NEFA region in the North East and the adjoining areas. She still reserves to herself by her cease-fire proposals, the right of a conqueror to re-occupy the proposed 'No Man's Land' (which, in fact, belongs to India) in case Nehru's Government proves too intractable, pugnacious and defiant. She also wants some respite from her adventurist military operation in this region just to consolidate her ill-gotten gains and further tighten her grip of the Himalayan passes so as to be able to dominate and mould as suits her liking, India's internal life, political, social and economic, by ever pointing out a loaded gun at her from these northern heights.

To isolate India from her neighbours, China is cleverly wooing Pakistan which is reeking from its very birth, with intense communal and religious hatred for India. Communist intransigence of China and communal fanaticism of Pak may well come together as they have done. For they have one thing in common.

Both detest the secular democratic spirit of India. But Pakistan will do well to remember that the day is not far off when she will have to pay dearly for such ill-conceived romantic adventure with China as India has done at a heavy cost.

In this situation, India finds herself between the devil of China on the one hand and the deep sea of Pakistan on the other. Her leadership is at bay. It finds it hard to wriggle itself out of the ties and attachments for communist countries, fostered and strengthened over a number of years by its very 'non-alignment' policies. The leaders including Mr. Nehru are now sincerely wanting to hurl back the Chinese invaders from our soil and for that purpose, have even entered into military agreements with U.S.A. and Britain. But some mysterious force seems to hold them back from going ahead with the full implementation of these agreements. The probable reason is that the ardent desire so long entertained by our leaders to carve out a distinctive kingdom of socialist pattern in India has drawn them irresistibly closer to the Communist bloc than to the Democratic bloc, despite India's Neutrality. It seems that they are not yet able to out-live this past even when the logic of Sino-Indian war has made them realise the stern reality of a world-wide titanic struggle proceeding between the forces of Red slavery and those of democratic freedom. They are now casting, however, a wistful look towards the Western nations for military aid and financial help in this hour of peril. The tragedy of the situation is that in the absence of a clear assurance forthcoming from India that she, as a genuinely non-aligned but democratic country, would always stand against totalitarianism and colonialism, wherever found, either in the old colonies of Western nations or the new colonies held by Russia and China, U.S.A. and U.K. willy-nilly have to carry on with a dubious ally like Pakistan in this region of South Asia. If only India should prove her bona-fides in regard to her faith in democratic freedom, all her difficulties with China and Pakistan would vanish into thin air. India would then be in a position not only to fight successfully the Chinese invaders but also to effectively counter and neutralize Pakistan's capacity for mischief and trouble.

But all this would be impossible without a furious rethinking on the part of our leaders of India's foreign policy. Mr. Nehru would then be not justified in making a fine metaphysical

distinction after the manner of a Vedantin, between the 'Maya' (illusion) of Chinese chauvinism and the 'Parabrahma' (the Supreme Reality) of Communist Vedantism, as he did the other day. He would then have to rally the whole nation behind him not only to throw out the Chinese from the Indian soil, but also to fulfil the positive and inspiring ideal of preserving India's Free Way of Living now menaced by the twentieth century Red Napoleonism of China. He would have also to dispel from the minds of the Western nations, the fears and suspicions that India's Non-alignment is not a mere way of escape from shouldering the onerous responsibility devolving on her as a Democracy, to fight relentlessly for saving Freedom and Democracy from world communism. In that event, India would have to play the special role of the Defender of Freedom of all South-East Asia—a role assigned to her by the prophet of Indian nationalism, Shri Aurobindo Ghosh as far back as 1950, with a rare prophetic vision and political insight.

Thus if our leadership should free itself from the political and ideological cobwebs that have polluted its mind and follow the straight—and may be even narrow—path to a fuller and richer democratic life, Western countries which have proved themselves to be India's real friends in the hour of her need, will do everything in their power to replenish her military strength

and augment her economic resources and help her solve the knotty Kashmir problem.

Thus on a proper analysis of the relation of forces in the East and the West, it will be found that India finds herself in the present delicate situation as a result of her past misguided policies and ideological aberrations. It is, therefore, high time that India made a clear and unambiguous confession of her unflinching faith in Freedom and Democracy which went into the very framing of the Indian constitution. The spiritual crisis she is passing through is no less great than her military crisis. In fact, the former has aggravated the latter. Let India make a wise and deliberate choice here and now and "Seek First The Kingdom Of Freedom". And it is certain as anything that within a short time 'All Other Things Will be Added Unto Her' from within and from without and she will come triumphantly out of her present trials and travails.

#### PROSPECTS OF INDO-PAK AMITY

The Sino-Indian conflict naturally brought to the fore the question of Indo-Pak relations which have not been quite happy. The main dispute between the two countries relates to Kashmir. On more occasions than one, it has been pointed out in these columns that there is an urgent need now of both these countries, making a rational and practical approach to the problem rather than a legalistic one. A few facts will bear repetition at this moment when talks between the two Governments have been initiated, under the compulsions of China's invasion of India. Firstly, India was partitioned on the basis of contiguous territories having the majority population Hindu or Muslim. Secondly, Jammu and Ladakh are Hindu and Buddhist territories. Thirdly, Kashmir valley has a Muslim majority. Out of these three regions of Kashmir and Jammu State the Kashmir valley is clearly negotiable between the parties. This valley has now been split up into two parts namely, Azad Kashmir under the control of Pakistan and Indian Kashmir under the control of India. For the last twelve years or so these two portions of the Kashmir valley have had separate political systems and industrial and economic development. Ashok Mehta, the Praja Socialist leader, perhaps out of some such considerations, recently suggested that Azad Kashmir could be negotiated but not Indian Kashmir, though India had a legal right to the former.

It will be also pertinent to observe here that Mr. Nehru stated in the Parliament that he was not agreeable to any proposal that would tend to disrupt and disturb the present set-up in Kashmir. This could be interpreted to mean that the present cease-fire line could be freezed with modifications here and there.

It is to be hoped that political sanity and sagacity will triumph over religious passion and

### The Indian Libertarian

*Independent Journal Of Free Economy and Public Affairs*

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

*Published On the 1st and 15th Of Each Month*

*Single Copy 25 Naye Paise*

*Subscription Rates:*

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

#### ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

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

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

BACK COVER..... Rs. 150

SECOND COVER.....Rs. 125

THIRD COVER..... Rs. 125

- \* Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.
- \* Publication of article does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a FreeForum.
- \* Rejected articles will be returned to the writers if accompanied with stamped addressed envelope.

*Write to the Manager for Sample Copy and gifts to new Subscribers.*

**Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.**

narrow regional chauvinism particularly in these times when the shadow of Chinese imperialism is ominously hanging over the whole of Indo-Pak sub-continent.

### RUSSO-CHINESE CONFLICT

The rift between Russia and China that was so long smouldering has now come out in the open. Sharp attacks were made by the French and Italian delegates at the Italian Communist Party Congress recently held at Rome, on the Peking brand of 'dogmatic' and 'militant' communism. Hitherto Russia used to attack China by referring to Albania and China attacked Russia under the cover of exposing Tito's Revisionism. This camouflage was torn by Mr. Togliatti, the Italian Communist Leader at the Congress. In his opening address, he roundly condemned the attitude of China in regard to the Cuba episode and her conflict with India and her championship of Albania. Mr. Kazlov, the top-ranking Russian delegate followed suit. Thereafter the Chinese delegate Chaoye Ming in a hard-hitting speech made in reply, described as a "traitor" the Yugoslav President who at that very moment was receiving a warm welcome from Mr. Khrushchev at Moscow.

What shape and form this conflict will take it is too early to prognosticate at this stage. Indians should not set much store by it. They should remember that even at this Congress, all unanimously described Indian patriots wanting to fight the Chinese as "reactionaries" and praised Indian Fifth Columnists as 'Progressives'. Indians had therefore better wait and see. In the meanwhile they should address themselves to the task of directing a fierce ideological and military blow against the Red Imperialism of China and help the extension of the process of liberalisation of communism initiated by Mr. Khrushchev, to China also. It may also be, as the late Mr. M. N. Roy said, that Russian Revolution has established a status-quo and diletics of history requires this status-quo to be replaced by a liberal democratic revolution repeated on a higher plane. And India if wisely led might be privileged to usher in, such a revolution.

### TOTALITARIAN TRENDS IN THE CONGRESS.

It has long been suspected that a powerful section of Crypto-Communists has been functioning in the Congress organisation. This section is exploiting Nehru's socialist leanings to infect into the body-politic of India through the Congress totalitarian ideas such as 'One Nation, One Party, One Leader!' A circular sent round all Congress Committees in the country, contained instructions to them to propagate the idea among the public that criticism of Mr. Nehru and his leadership was anti-national and unpatriotic. This very section has captured some

important positions in the Congress just to boost up Mr. Menon as the Leader of the Nation next to or after Mr. Nehru. But China's aggression on India completely exposed Mr. Menon and he had to get out of the Cabinet. So out of a sense of revenge, the Menonites in the Congress are up to punish and penalise those persons and parties which persistently demanded Menon's resignation. They pretend to support Mr. Nehru but their real aim is to bring about a cleavage in the United National Front which is now fighting the Chinese aggression. This is exactly what the Indian Communists wish for and want to do. The Congress therefore should try to purge itself of these fifth columnist rats.

In this connection it must be acknowledged that Prof. Ranga has done great services to the country by obtaining from Mr. Nehru a strong disapproval of the above-mentioned amazing and scandalous circular.

### FOOD FOR THOUGHT:

"The general truths concerning the contemporary world hold no less in New Delhi or Peking or Karachi or Bangkok than in New York or Paris. If an Indian writer tells us that Communism is consistent with Freedom, then his statement is just as false as when it issues from a Western columnist. If an Indian political leader believes that India has come to peaceful terms with Moscow or with Peking, then his belief is no less an illusion than the analogous belief when it was held by a Benes and Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia".

— James Burnham

"The real enemy remains, not the dead Stalin, not live 'Neo-Stalinists', not Peking, but communism which Lenin first brought to power fortyfive years ago with the slogan 'Away with Democracy. All power to the Soviets'.

—Time November 16, 1962

"Militarily China is almost ten times as strong as we are, but India as spear-head of an American Defence of Democracy can easily halt Mao's mechanised millions. And the hour is upon us of constituting ourselves such a spear-head and saving not only our dear country but also of South-East Asia whose bulwark we are."

—Shri Aurobindo Ghosh: Nov. 11, 1950.

"THE NATION WHICH CAN BE SAVED BY ONE MAN AND WANTS TO BE SAVED THAT WAY DESERVES A WHIPPING."

— Seume quoted in 'Nationalism and Culture' by Rudolf Rocker.

# Rethinking Prohibition

M. A. Venkata Rao

The author pleads for revising the basis of Law of drinking since it is an infringement of personal liberty and since financial implications of war with China also demand a rethinking of Prohibition policies.

The law prohibiting the consumption of intoxicating drinks in any form or quantity except for medicinal and research purposes was passed as part of the reformist new Gandhian life of free India after the advent of national independence in August 1947.

It was part of the Gandhian ideology like khadi and nonviolence to which the Congress was committed without much thought about the practical aspects of carrying out the spirit of the reform through legislation. Congress leaders had before them the example of the United States of America that had to abolish the Prohibition Law after years of futile attempts to enforce it through special police. It was passed in a moment of exalted idealism during the war of 1914-18 at the instance of temperance propagandists, cleric and lay, and reformers, educational and penal. They had collected impressive statistics of the amount of man-hours wasted by the ill-effects wrought by drink and of the demoralisation it worked in the domestic life of all classes from labour to the intellectual elite.

But actual experience of the enforcement of the law showed that the bulk of the people did not agree that the right of the individual citizen to drink in moderation for pleasure and social enjoyment should be abrogated by the compulsive force of the state. It was felt that state action in this sphere of life was an intolerable infringement of personal liberty and should not be allowed in a free country.

Since the bulk of citizens did not regard drinking as a crime, they had no respect for the prohibition laws and did not cooperate with the police and vigilance associations to enforce them. There was widespread defiance of the unwanted laws. Illicit manufacture and sale of liquor became widespread and made a mockery of the laws. Law was brought into contempt and legal offences increased.

We have been having similar experiences in India since 1947. People are beginning to doubt the wisdom of legislation of this kind to make men moral by law and governmental force.

A number of auxiliary repercussions unfavourable to decency in social life and purity

in administration have made themselves felt in India as in America before the cancellation of prohibition.

There has been much illicit distillation of country liquor throughout the countryside (and even in towns and cities) by classes and groups thrown out of employment by the abolition of legitimate toddy tapping and the manufacture and sale of liquor under licence. It is said that the only cottage industry that is flourishing in the countryside is that of illicit distillation and sale of toddy! The big traders (some of them) have taken to smuggling foreign liquor and secret sale in the black market. It has become a lucrative trade for them. Habitual addicts succeed in obtaining permits on grounds of health for limited quantities but they manage to exceed the limitation by collusion with the licensed traders.

Foreigners and army men are permitted to have drinks under permit which is obtainable liberally by them.

Before the prohibition laws came into force, the women of the working classes were largely free from the drinking habit. They censured their menfolk for indulging in the costly habit which cut into household finance.

The higher castes were largely free from the habit on the whole, though it was only the Jains and Brahmans who observed the rule against drink strictly, barring exceptions. The other high castes indulged in drink in moderation and mostly on festive occasions.

This example had a great social effect in keeping the drink evil within limits.

Alcoholism in India never rose to the dangerous limits that it did in Europe and America, where it has become a serious economic and social evil.

The quantity of wine consumed by the average farmer in France and Italy is enormous and has had deleterious effects on the efficiency of the population.

But the question is whether this social and moral evil, (which drinking becomes when it passes wholesome limits) is a suitable subject for governmental legislation. Government has

to act by force and by automatism and uniformity which can only be worked satisfactorily by a paid whole-time staff. The administrative machine is not likely to have any genuine interest in temperance or any of the moral fads that may be taken up by governments at the pressure of propagandists. Pacifists, for example, urge unilateral disarmament. If this is applied to the police and the police force reduced to any extent, it is not hard to anticipate the devastating effects it will have on law and order and security of life and property.

Prohibition has been introduced without widespread discussion on the different aspects of the question out of a deference to the opinions or feelings of Mahatma Gandhi.

Law has a chance of success only where it can secure the willing consent and support of the bulk of the citizen body. A minority of recalcitrants can then be dealt with by force successfully.

The sphere of law is the sphere of force. The sphere of moral action on the other hand is the realm of freedom and self-determination.

Religion and morality derive their quality and essence from a free motivation and response of the inmost self of man to the mysterious element in the universe and to the sense of values operating in motives and intentions issuing in plans of life and fulfilment.

Force will only produce outer conformity, if it is efficiently applied with punishment that cannot be easily escaped.

And enforced religion and morality are no religion and, morality at all. "Compulsory religion is better than no religion" said a religious leader. "I fail to see the difference", answered a lay citizen.

The first thing to consider in this controversy is that drinking an intoxicating stuff is not a crime by itself. It is true that drinking to intoxication leads to loss of self-control temporarily until the effects disappear after sleep and rest in a few hours. But the damage if any, is confined to the individual, if he does not go in for drunken and disorderly conduct in public, producing disgust in and inconvenience to others.

Generally speaking, law should come into operation only where an individual impinges on others disadvantageously through the unwise exercise of his freedom. It is truly said that a man's freedom to swing his stick or umbrella stops at the tip of the nose of another in his vicinity!

In extreme cases, we may admit that an exercise of freedom that damages only the

agent is also contrary to civilised law. The well-known instance is suicide.

Even in suicide, the agent may try to evade his moral obligations to his family or dependents. It is a question whether the law against suicide should apply in cases where the ill effects concern only the individual. In such cases, it may be that the law against attempted suicide needs reconsideration. From this point of view, euthanasia or the attempt to commit suicide by slow poison without painful effects is defended as permissible by some social thinkers.

We know that in India Jain saints are respected for the act of courting death by fasting when undertaken at the end of life to quit life voluntarily instead of being subject to the vicissitudes of the bodily condition.

A parallel case where similar problems arise is vice-sexual or other. Rape definitely is a crime because it violates the freedom and dignity of the woman. But if the woman consents and she is adult and free from contractual obligations by marriage to a different person namely her legally wedded husband, the sexual relation between that man and that woman would concern only themselves alone. Law will have no ground to enter and interfere with them. But if a child appears, they will assume legally enforceable obligations to the child in respect of maintenance and upbringing.

Thus if an individual drinks in moderation in a manner that does not affect his normal conduct, law should have no ground to interfere. Many people can take a certain amount of drink without any visible effects on their efficiency in work or decency of behaviour in society. Law has no business to punish such persons for the mere act of drinking. This is where the prohibition law errs against freedom and personality. It empowers the police to book any man or woman for merely drinking and containing liquor, if only the smell thereof is detectable!

This is liable to abuse of powers by the petty minions of the law and innumerable complaints are heard from every part of the country in this regard.

Complaints have been made and cases have appeared before courts of law in all States regarding the high-handed action of excise officials. They have violated in some cases the persons of women as well, trying to smell their mouths for drink!

The excise staff is permitted by law to enter any building or premises on suspicion of illicit distillation or illicit sale of the prohibited drink. They have done so often without war-

rant by a magistrate required by the ordinary law in such cases to justify entry and search.

When there was public criticism in such cases recently in Mysore State, where an over-enthusiastic Minister led search parties in person, the aspect of the laws thus treated with contempt by law enforcers became a scandal. But the poor sufferers would not give any formal complaint nor agree to give evidence be- victimisation by the police on flimsy put-up ex- fore a court of law. For they were afraid of cuses. The Constitution guarantees the defence of the dignity of the individual but prohibition as it exists today and as it is enforced is an affront to the dignity of the individual!

Another aspect of the question is the dele- rious load of corruption in the administration it has given rise to. It is widely asserted and believed that the administrative staff, at lower levels, derives a regular income for ignoring offences and turning a Nelson Eye to them in 99 cases out of 100! It is only to have some statis- tics for the record that some cases are regis- tered every year!

And big business has become, by and large, a patron of the smugglers of foreign wines. They have become a pressure group. They run newspapers advocating freedom and patronise party politicians to work for the abolition of the obnoxious law.

The laws have become ineffective. Those who want to drink can obtain their require- ments in the black market. And illicit distillers and traders are minting money. Since distill- ing is done at home, village women have become drunkards like their menfolk. And they have become supporters of the evil, since it brings extra earnings to the household. Women will excuse any corruption in their menfolk, if only it brings money home. Demoralisation has spread to wide sections of society.

Today, the dire need for vast sums of money for the war with China has added its quota of influence to the stream of criticism. Governments are not only losing excise revenue but are incurring vast sums of extra expendi- ture to maintain its enforcement staff. It is a double loss. We learn that the U.P. Govern- ment have abolished prohibition in 11 districts and expect to make some two crores therefrom. Mysore expects to make Rs. 10 crores if the law could be abolished! But regulation will have to be continued and some part of the earnings should be set apart for grants to voluntary agencies working for temperance through per- suasion and distribution of literature.

Hence the basis of law in regard to drink should be revised. Government should punish disorderly conduct or any damage done to third parties by anyone under the influence of drink.

But for the rest, it should not interfere with the act of drinking as such.

## REFLECTIONS ON SINO-INDIAN WAR

Mr. S. R. Narayana Ayyar, the author of "Grave Danger to the Hindus" (1940), "Will India become the Europe of Asia?" (1953) etc, has addressed a letter to The President of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi on the present situation arising out of Sino-Indian War. The following are extracts from his letter:—

"I find that many politicians are asking people to contribute to the war fund, to tighten their belts etc. May I suggest to your partymen—I am not a member of any party—who hold elective posts such as those of Ministers and Secretaries that they should forego their monthly salaries as their Battas and T.A.S. are enough to defray their expenses?

Let all Ministers immediately cut down their pay to half of the present pay. But they should not make it up by travels!

If they want to discuss matters let it be just like in a Committee. For instance, for six days our Parliament were discussing two simple resolutions, which ought to have been passed without practically any discussion. What was the amount spent on these able representa- tives of ours for those six days? Our Jawans were dying at that very moment when they were all discussing so ably! Surely this could have been avoided.

After independence the most prosper- ous people are the politicians, their kith and kin and the merchants, who have been supplying essential articles. Hence these classes of people ought to pay to the war fund more than common people.

Just as we are suffering for trusting the Communists of China, we are going to suffer for trusting the Indian Communists, who are fellow-travellers with China. Though we are at present unable to cope with the foreign Commu- nists, surely we have powers to cope with the internal enemies. Why are not our Govern- ments—central and State—taking action against them? Once we convince the common people, that they are traitors to our Sacred Motherland, the people will themselves throw the Communist leaders over-board. In fact after independence we have failed to take proper action to rouse the patriotism of our people as in the days of the partition agitation.

Now that the free world has come to our assistance let not our P.M. come to terms with China, without its moral support."

# Nehru's Noble Retreat

(By M. N. Tholal)

The author congratulates Nehru on his decision to maintain unity in his party by discouraging Congress 'purges'. He hopes Nehru will also realise the need for unity in the country. He thinks that thanks are due to Nehru, Ranga and Hanumantayya for upholding the cause of democracy against 'Personality Cult' at this opportune moment.

The Executive Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party is reported to have dropped the idea of taking action against some Congressmen for open criticism of the Government and the Prime Minister, after an impassioned plea by the latter to close the Party ranks. The story of this affair began with the Jana Sangh demand for a "war-time" leader and Prof. Ranga's observation in Parliament that "there is such a thing as a peacetime leader and a war-time leader". It was countered by a resolution of the National Development Council declaring that the country was fighting for the democratic way of life and asking the people to stand solidly behind the leader. As the Development Council is composed of leading Congressmen, it obviously did not lie in their mouth, after that, to advise other parties not to make political capital out of the present situation, since they were doing so themselves by asking the people to stand solidly behind their leader.

What the Congress leaders—Home Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri in particular—have been practically suggesting is that the other parties should not try to benefit from the failures of the Congress Government, implicit in the Prime Minister's own confessions, particularly as their tide of popularity was ebbing away. There is, indeed, no reason why the Congress leaders should not suggest the course for their own good, particularly as their suggestions against raising the border issue during the general elections were approved by all other parties, to the latter's own detriment. But human nature would appear to dictate the exploitation of the situation (by way of criticism) by other parties, though the national interest demands circumspection in this regard in the situation obtaining in the country to-day.

## THE PROPOSITION

But the exploitation of the situation by the Congress leadership itself, to gather dictatorial powers in its hands, proved too much for some Congress leaders themselves, who have come out in open criticism of the Government and the cult of personality advocated by the resolution of the National Development Council and a circular letter issued by the All-India Con-

gress Committee. In other words, in trying to browbeat the other parties into submission, the Congress Party found that it would have first to purge the Congress itself and "crush the little cliques" inside it, before crushing the little cliques outside it. The desire to crush the little cliques proved a little dangerous, inasmuch as it had the potentiality of producing more cliques. Suppressing freedom in the name of freedom is not always successful. So, although Mr. Nehru had a hand in drafting the NDC resolution—at any rate he must have approved of it—he wisely saw the folly of enforcing it by purges.

Indeed, he seems to have seen it to such an extent that he did not think it proper even to ask his Congress critics to apologise for their conduct, although their criticism had been made publicly, in Parliament and in public meetings. This is a great victory for Messrs. Hanumanthayya, Arya and Company, though, what they said in public, the have-not Congressmen have been saying in private. The Prime Minister seems to have realised that the time when his reputation was at a low ebb was not exactly the time to ride the high horse and that expulsion of the critical leaders from the Party would make matters worse for the Party, as well as for himself. Whatever the reason, Mr. Nehru deserves to be congratulated on his decision to plead for unity in the Party. The same need for unity in the country, it is to be hoped, will dominate Mr. Nehru's thinking and, if it does, his loyal lieutenants like Chief Minister Kairon would not take long to take the hint from their Master—as they are always prepared to do.

Without threatening action against those guilty of acts of indiscipline, Mr. Nehru is reported to have quoted Gandhiji to bring home the point that the Party must follow the leader. Gandhiji, it is true, was always for the people following their leader whenever the leader happened to be himself, but Mr. Nehru is known to have gone on record in his Autobiography to observe that Gandhiji reduced others to mental pulp, and he might have as well quoted himself. The proposition Mr. Nehru put forward is: Once



ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Defence Or Economic Growth

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

In the post independence era our national government has paid a greater attention to the economic development of our country in order to raise the per capita income of the people and to raise the standard of living of the teeming millions but the recent invasion of Chinese has created a unprecedented situation for an underdeveloped country like ours which is in the early stages of the process of economic development. During the First and Second Plans we have laid the foundation of economic progress and it was expected that we would try to achieve the "take off" stage leading to self sustained growth in Third Plan. But the Chinese it seems did not like the peaceful progress that we are making and they are very "anxious to establish their superiority as the dominant nation in Asia in both the military and economic fields. They wish to establish a position that the communist way of life is the best and are anxious to impress upon the less developed countries of Asia a sense of fear on one hand, and a feeling of respect for their greatness on the other. Under the guise of friendship they went on preparing for aggression. Our failure to understand their intentions in time has put us to a great disadvantage and is likely to prove costly in men and material; it may create serious difficulties in the process of economic development." In other words, the Chinese aggression has opened the eyes of our Prime Minister who was groping in the dark in the name of Panchashila. Now the problem before our Government is whether we should pay more attention to defence or development. Our resources even for the economic development are not adequate and our plans are at present greatly financed by foreign countries and International Organisations. Our Government has taken the view that our economic development should proceed along with defence because both are equally important at the present moment. In order to defend our country from the naked aggression of the enemy we have to take the stock of our resources and make the necessary changes in the priorities as laid down in the Third Five Year Plan. The Central Government has asked the State Governments to make necessary reduction in the ex-

penditure on the Plan. A cut of Rs. 50 crores has been made in the Central contribution to the States in the current year. It is the duty of everyone of us to rise to the occasion and cooperate with the Government to achieve the twin needs of defence and economic growth. It is not possible to know in advance the defence requirements because they depend upon the length of the conflict with the Chinese. Some of the friendly countries have come to our help in time. America and England supplied arms and ammunitions and these resources will help us greatly to fill the gap, but we should endeavour to mobilise our domestic resources so that we may not entirely rely upon our friends. Secondly the conflict with China may last for a very long time. We should not slacken our efforts. Our Government has succeeded in obtaining voluntarily a large amount of resources in cash and gold but that will not suffice for a long period. The Government in order to attract gold has issue Gold Bonds on attractive terms but in the words of Union Finance Minister the response is not satisfactory. Along with this, steps should be taken to divert our resources for the purposes of war. It has been suggested that people should resort to austerity methods by reducing their consumption but these methods can be easily adopted by the upper classes of people who indulge in festivities and wasteful expenditure. The other classes of society cannot practise austerly because they live on the margin and to ask them to reduce their consumption is to add salt to their injury. A reduction in consumption in their case will reduce their efficiency which will increase the cost of production and aggravate the inflationary spiral. Prof. Vakil is of the opinion that compulsory reduction in consumption is to be resorted to, in the form of additional taxes and deficit financing if voluntary reduction will not be sufficient. This argument does not hold much water because the existing rates of taxation are already heavy and the private section is groaning under heavy doses of taxation. Taxation can be imposed up to a particular limit and if that limit is exceeded then it will be a policy of killing the goose that was

laying the golden eggs. During the last ten years in the name of economic development under the socialist pattern of society government has imposed a number of taxation without taking into consideration the simple fact whether they are productive or unproductive. The "nuisance taxes" like wealth tax and Gift Tax have to be given up which were imposed by our former Finance Ministers under the recommendations of Prof. Kaldor. Deficit financing will place artificial purchasing power in the hands of the people but Prof. Vakil says that "with the help of this it will be able to obtain the goods and services for war effort". But it must be noted here that when the resources are diverted for the war efforts there will be scarcity of essential goods for civil consumption. This will lead to a rise in price level. No doubt Government has taken steps to prevent the rise in prices but it is problematical whether these steps will stabilise the price level in order to achieve stable economic development of our country. During the last ten years we have seen Government has miserably failed in adopting a stable price policy. For a stable economic growth we wish that our price level should be stabilised at a particular level. Rising price level is inimical to the economic growth and an additional dose of deficit financing as suggested by Prof. Vakil will aggravate the situation that will endanger our economic growth. Prof. Shenoy is of the opinion that deficit financing is detrimental to the rapid economic development of the country and his solution is that a rise in prices can be prevented by increasing the supply of the consumer goods which are scarce in supply. Deficit financing is not an Alladin's Lamp nor "Open Sesame" of All Baba and his forty thieves. It quickly leads to a rise in prices in the absence of productivity, monetary discipline, supply of consumer goods, and readiness to postpone consumption in favour of investment. It raises prices and imposes hidden and often inequitous taxation on the people and further it produces economic and financial instability. It must be taken as a medicine in small doses and not as a food. So deficit financing under the present circumstances will aggravate the situation and will come in the way of economic growth. Planning Commission has rightly laid down that it should not exceed Rs. 550 crores during the Third Plan. To secure additional revenues the State Governments should scrape off the policy of prohibition. In Andhra, Assam and U.P. the Governments have reversed the policy of prohibition and it is estimated that a large amount of reve-

nues will be secured. To enforce the policy of prohibition a large amount of money has to be spent. It is widely believed that illicit production of liquor goes on, on a large scale and that this has led to many evils both among certain classes of people as well as the police. Under the present conditions it would be in the fitness of things to scrap this policy and obtain the revenue from the excise on liquor and at the same time to release the police utilised in prohibition duties to more urgent needs connected with defence. To achieve the twin needs of defence and development it is necessary to mobilise our domestic resources and this can be achieved by reversing the present policy of socialist pattern of society which has increased the scope of the public sector at the cost of private sector. We should adopt the same policy that was adopted by Dr. Erhard in West Germany in the post war period. By giving free scope to the private sector it will be possible for the Government to impose additional taxation. Free enterprise economy is able to deliver the goods in times of emergency. What is needed is a proper environment for the private sector and if this atmosphere is created by removing the bottlenecks in the path of private sector Government can be assured of additional revenues for defence and development. By adopting free economy we can increase the supply of consumer goods which will bring down the prices of essential commodities and that alone will ensure stable economic growth of our economy and we will be able to achieve the take off stage leading to self sustained growth.

At present first priority should be given to defence, but at the same time development programme as laid down in the Third plan should not be given up. We have to accelerate the rapid growth of our economy to raise the standard of living of the people. Additional revenues can be raised by adopting the proper monetary, banking and fiscal policy. The present policy will not be able to meet the emergency and sooner we realise this better it is for our Government to achieve both defence and development. Once the Western powers are convinced that our policy is reversed we will not be in difficulty in obtaining additional funds to drive the aggressor. In the past we were living in the artificial atmosphere. Let us defend our country as realists with one will and at the same time develop our economy with the help of Western countries.

—\*—\*—

# Foreign Aid—The Problem Of Utilisation

By M. A. Master

The amount of Foreign aid obtained, spent and remaining unspent is attracting public attention at present. On its full utilisation depends to a considerable extent the fulfilment of our Plans. In this small article an attempt is made to state the actual facts with regard to foreign aid.

From the time the first instalment of foreign aid was obtained to September 30, 1961, it has amounted to Rs. 2,071 crores. From that amount, Rs. 1,207 crores were spent and the balance of Rs. 864 crores remained. In other words, a little more than 41 per cent of the foreign aid received remained unutilised in implementing the Plans. The public has a right to know the reasons why this happened and it is also the duty of the Government to inform the public about it.

The amount of foreign aid mentioned above does not include Rs. 1,113 crores utilised by the country for importing grain from U.S.A. under five different agreements under P.L. 480.

This problem needs to be probed. In the table, the amount spent and the balance remaining unspent are given in greater detail. It shows that Rs. 27 crores obtained prior to the commencement of Planning were spent quite some time ago. For the First Plan, foreign aid to the extent of Rs. 350 crores was received. From that amount, there remained a balance of Rs. 95 lakhs only. Almost the entire amount was spent by March 31, 1956, in implementing the Plan.

For the Second Five-Year Plan, Rs. 1,074 crores were obtained as foreign aid. By September 30, 1961, Rs. 779 crores were spent in implementing Plan projects. The balance unspent amounted to Rs. 294 crores. In short, about 28 per cent of foreign aid obtained for implementing Plan projects remained unutilised. Reasons for such large shortfall in expenditure should have been explained to the public.

It is not possible to put the entire blame on the Government for failure to utilise foreign aid. Aid to India of a particular amount is announced by a country. After that announcement, negotiations for reaching an agreement take a long time. It is essential that this period be reduced to the minimum. India is not free to use foreign aid as it likes. It is largely project-tied. Often the Government takes a very long time in preparing the projects.

For example, Russia promised aid for establishing the pharmaceutical industry and an oil refinery at Barauni in May and Sept. 1959 at

a cost of Rs. 21.43 crores. These projects were not implemented even by September, 1961 and so the amount remained unspent. If preparation of projects and the amount of foreign aid necessary could be worked out simultaneously, the present unfortunate situation could largely be avoided.

Some nations give aid on condition that it is spent in the aid giving nation. For example, the Export-Import Bank of USA announced a loan of Rs. 71 crores in 1958-59. On 1st October 1961, Rs. 26.71 crores remained unutilised. But it is not quite proper to blame the Government on this account because it was difficult to obtain certain goods at prices which the country could afford in the American market. The Government should take the public into confidence and think out ways and means by which aid granted could be quickly utilised. "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink." Such a helpless condition should not be tolerated henceforth. With aid available, targets should not remain unattained.

It is not possible to go into greater detail in this short article. It is enough to point out the fact that the unutilised amount of 28 per cent of the aid received for the Second Plan is a reflection of Government's vision as well as ability and policy to executive planned projects. So long as people's willing co-operation with intelligent understanding is not there, it is difficult to sing the songs of success of the Plans and beat the drums of a Welfare State.

For the Third Plan, foreign aid of Rs. 620 crores became available by September 30, 1961. Out of this, only Rs. 51 crores have been spent and Rs. 569 crores remain unutilised. That means 39 per cent of the aid for Third Plan remains unutilised. Including foreign aid received for Third Plan, the total amount unspent is 50 per cent.

IBRD (the World Bank) has sanctioned Rs. 26.67 crores for developing the port of Calcutta and modernising private collieries. IDA has sanctioned Rs. 31 crores for constructing roads and bridges. Russia has promised Rs. 238 crores for establishing certain industries and East European Countries have given Rs. 88 crores for certain specific projects.

Thus a large amount has been promised for specific projects. It is the responsibility of the Government to see that the projects are expeditiously prepared and executed so that the aid received is quickly utilised. In this lies the pro-

spects of a bright future for the country.

For the Third Plan, 89 per cent of the aid is unutilised. But it is hardly proper to blame the Government at present. But if large amounts remain unutilised at the end of the Third Plan period because the Government could not prepare the specific projects for which aid was granted and execute the same, then certainly we shall hold the Government responsible for its failure.

It is necessary to bear in mind that so long as we lack technical know-how and technical personnel in sufficient number to prepare designs, finalise the projects, to execute the plans and man the new industries, it is not possible to utilise the aid available cent per cent. It is not possible to raise such man-power without the fullest co-operation between the Government and the people.

The need for technical know-how and technical and managerial personnel with vision and constructive abilities for building an industrial and prosperous India is even greater than the need for money.

To enable India to import lakhs of tons of foodgrains, USA has sanctioned under various agreements under P.L. 480 a total amount of Rs. 1,113 crores. This aid is not for industrialising India. It is granted to prevent food prices from sky-rocketing and to see that millions do not fall a prey to famine and hunger. This sum of Rs. 1,113 crores will enable the country to import in all 280 lakh tons of foodgrains.

It is difficult to conceive the dire position of the country, and particularly of foreign exchange, in the absence of U.S. Aid under P.L. 480. Under this scheme, the U.S.A. gives dollars for the purchase of grains, which India im-

ports. India, however, makes payments for the cost of these imports in Rupees. These Rupees are credited to the account of the Government of the U.S.A. in India. Neither can the Government of the U.S.A. purchase Indian goods for exports with these Rupees, nor can it physically transmit these Rupees to America. On the contrary, a very substantial amount of these Rupees is given by that Government as gifts or loans for mutually agreeable projects. The balance is utilised by the U.S.A. for its own purposes in the country. As mentioned in the publication called "EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE" issued by the Ministry of Finance, the Government of the U.S.A. will give to India Rs. 375.33 crores as Grants and Rs. 517.14 crores as Loans from these Funds. American Aid is thus playing a very important part for meeting our Rupee needs for the successful implementation of our Plan.

The Government publishes a lot of information regarding foreign aid in "Economic Survey" and "External Assistance". But the two publications do not give all the information that one would like to have. For example, a foreign exchange budget, causes of failure to utilise the budgeted amount, interest on foreign loans, provision of annual instalment towards repayment of foreign loans and such other information should be included as a separate Chapter in the annual "Economic Survey". And the Finance Minister also should refer to these matters in his budget speech.

The true greatness of Democracy lies in the Government not only giving a full account of its achievements, but also in placing before the people a clear and comprehensive picture of its disabilities, shortcomings and failures. There lies the real test of its power and ability to endure and exist for all time to come.

#### Foreign Aid (Rs. in Crores)

	Sanctioned	Spent	Balance on 31-3-61	Spent between 31-3-61 to 30-9-61	Balance on 30-9-61
Prior to 1st Plan	27.01	27.01	—	—	—
I Plan	350.28	348.84	1.44	0.49	0.95
II Plan	1,074.02	703.25	377.77	76.53	294.24
III Plan	620.16	—	—	51.39	568.77
	<u>2,071.47</u>	<u>1,079.10</u>	<u>379.21</u>	<u>128.41</u>	<u>863.96</u>

the party has expressed confidence in its leader, criticism by individual members of his actions and policies only undermined the party's unity. This proposition seems to concede unlimited wisdom to the leader, which is not to be found in any individual. It also denies the need of free debate within the party, enabling every one to contribute to its wisdom according to his intelligence. Insofar as it does so, the proposition supports the cult of personality.

But Mr. Nehru is certainly right when he says members cannot afford to indulge in loose talk in public at a time when the country is at war. Also, when a Congress leader dares criticise him or Congress policies in public, it should be taken for granted that he is prepared for expulsion. Perhaps the cult of personality enunciated in the NDC resolution provoked Messrs Hanumanthaiya and his friends to open revolt, and they risked expulsion by criticising it at a public meeting. Mr. Nehru would have been well-advised to decry public criticism by individual members of his actions and policies while welcoming the same criticism at party meetings. If critical speeches at Party meetings reflect adversely on the party's unity and create demoralisation among the rank and file, there is something wrong with the rank and file and the conception of party unity, and the same should be rectified.

Sometimes views come to be aired in public meetings because criticism at party meetings is not welcome. What is lacking in the Congress Party is the realisation of the need of collective wisdom in pursuit of national aims—with the result that it was not foreseen that the country should prepare for war and it was realised that the demands of security should take precedence over the demands of the five-year plans. Indeed, wisdom is not the monopoly of the Congress Party, or of any other party, and nothing would be lost and much gained by recognising the wisdom inherent in the utterances of such stalwarts as Rajaji, Acharya Kripalani, Jaya Prakash Narain and others. In particular, when the wisdom of a party consists in the wisdom of one man, that party may well be said to be discounting wisdom and putting a premium on living in a world of its own creation.

#### RANGA'S GREAT CONTRIBUTION

In a letter to the Prime Minister Mr. N. G. Ranga, leader of the Swatantra Party, drew his attention to an AICC circular which identified Mr. Nehru with the country, saying "It must be emphasised that those who criticise him are traitors". Mr. Ranga said this was an attempt on the part of the AICC "to develop its own version of the personality cult by exploiting your

intimate association with it and to make your personality convertible with that of Mother India and then to castigate our Party and the Jana Sangh as traitors because we are performing our legitimate and responsible function of criticising, in the interest of the country, some of your policies as you happen to be the Prime Minister".

Mr. Nehru replied saying he was unaware of the AICC circular and observed: "I quite agree with you that it was improper to describe members of the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party as traitors, or indeed any one who criticises me." He maintained, however, that "some members of the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh have made very irresponsible statements," to which Mr. Ranga retorted that the observation unfortunately applied to all parties in their relations to each other. By his letters to the Prime Minister, eliciting the reply they did, Mr. Ranga has rendered a public service of the highest order to the cause of democracy and the Prime Minister has raised his stature at a time when his lieutenants had begun threatening all kinds of actions against those who criticised their leader or their Government. Newspaper readers had begun fearing that advantage will be taken of the emergency by the ruling party to convert itself into a fascist organisation. The credit for dispelling that fear goes to Messrs Ranga and Nehru, to the latter much more than to the former, for he is the man who, as Prime Minister, has in his hands today, as a result of the emergency, the reins not only of government but the power to crush whomsoever he likes as a result of the (unanimous) passage in Parliament of the Defence of India Bill. Thanks are also due to Mr. Hanumanthaiya for raising the warning signal at a most opportune moment.

#### INDIA NEVER ABJURED WAR

When did the people of India abjure wars? When did they reject war as an instrument of resistance to what they thought was evil?

In the post-Partition period, there was no non-violence evident anywhere. Hyderabad was not integrated without an appeal to arms. Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir was not arrested without the help of the army. And Goa was not taken over by non-violent means.

In a sense, therefore, China has saved us from self-hypnotising ourselves into imbecility. The vigour, the enthusiasm, the spirit of sacrifice and the will to resist which we see during these past few days, have been a gratifying sight.

India has been saved.

— K. M. Munshi

# The 'Achievements' (?) Of The Communist Regime In China

By Yang Shih-Chan,

In the spring of 1957 the Communist Party in China embarked upon a campaign designed to correct its own shortcomings and to rekindle the flagging support of the people of China. Day after day the Government-controlled press and radio encouraged people to speak freely, to bring error to light and assist in the "rectification" of the administration of China.

The avalanche of criticism that followed revealed such opposition that the Communists were obliged to switch the "rectification campaign" into a "campaign for the suppression of rightists". Before it did so, however, there were some remarkable admissions of guilt. One of these, reprinted here, is an open letter to Mao Tse-tung from Yang Shih-chan, a veteran Communist Party member himself, and currently Professor of Accountancy at the Central-South Institute of Finance and Economics. This is reproduced from 'The Hankow Chang Chiang Daily'.

—\*—\*—

The ancients said, "He who wins people prospers",

Since our Party obtained political power, we have become masters of the country on the one hand, and ideologically we have no longer paid attention to winning people on the other. As a result, the Party has unavoidably become the object of animosity in regard to certain problems, great and small. Hence, I feel that we are now not so popular as in the past. The people are gradually becoming dissatisfied with us.

How can our Party win support and become more popular?

In view of our Party's work after liberation and of China's historical peculiarities, it seems to me that the crux of the matter lies in two words:

Clemency, and benevolence.

Clemency restrains severity, and benevolence checks cruelty.

If this viewpoint is tenable, then I hold that our Party should reconsider the following problems:

1. Human Rights, Rule of Law and Democracy  
Our Constitution provides that citizens shall "enjoy freedom of residence and freedom to change residence". In fact, we have not given any of the 500-million peasants the freedom to change their residence to a city.

My neighbour has employed a peasant woman as child nurse. In order to be able to live in Wuhan, she first divorced her husband (this was opposed by her children) whom she loved and then married a man of Wuchang, for whom she had no love. Finally, on the strength of the fact that her "husband" resides in Wuchang, she has changed her residence to Wuhan where she is now working.

That is to say, for the purpose of changing residence, a citizen must suffer the breaking-up of a family. This is a tragedy.

Again, our Constitution provides that "freedom of the person of citizens is inviolable". During the campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries in 1955, an untold number of citizens throughout the country were detained by the units where they were working (this did not happen to myself). A great many of them died because they could not endure the struggle. No matter how strong the "reasons" were for detaining these citizens to conduct struggles against them, this was, after all, a serious violation of human rights. In everyday life, according to press reports, there were many cases in which freedom of the person of individual citizens was suddenly violated and in which some even died from persecution. These acts aroused great indignation among the people, but our Party remained calm and unmoved. We can only say that the reason why such cruel acts were not stopped a long time ago is that they have been supported by our Party.

**This is tyranny! This is malevolence!**

Possibly, these acts were considered "necessary" at a certain time and in a certain place, but just because of this alleged "necessity", the articles of the Constitution on human rights have become a sort of window-dressing to deceive the people.....

Some people say that our general elections resemble the carrying of sedan-chairs. When some workers are ordered to carry a sedan-chair, they just carry it to the destination. I do not agree to this analogy. No matter how ignorant the sedan carriers may be, they still can look at the person they are carrying. Today, we do not even know the height or size of a person we elect, not to mention his character or ability. We have simply become ballot-casting machines.

## **2. The Problem of Co-ordinating Present Interests with Long-term Interests and Personal Interests with Collective Interests.**

The eight-hour working system was one of the objectives of the workers' movement before liberation. However, it has ceased to be a topic of discussion since this movement scored a complete victory in China. This is really a great disappointment. Of course, we have our reasons: "The present cannot be compared with the past as the situation is different." However, more important is the contention of the people: "When the present is compared with the past, our hardships remain the same!" This goes to show how difficult it is to play the role of masters of the country.

From the viewpoint of the people, theoretically they have to understand that they are masters of their own families. From the viewpoint of the Party, however, the majority of the non-Party people are expected to work day and night and at the same time to act as masters of their own families, but without any time to enjoy family life and without family happiness; they must voice no complaint. This is not realistic. If we say that the internal contradictions among the people are due to the fact that the leaders have over-emphasized the collective and long-term interests while the masses of people have over-stressed their personal and present

interests, then the method of resolving them seems to lie in the leaders giving more attention to the people's personal and present interests and also in educating the people to lay more emphasis on the collective and long-term interests. If the leaders entirely ignore the people's burden simply on the pretext of the collective and long-term interests or even deny the people what is due to them, it will undoubtedly cause universal disappointment.

The ancients said, "The way of right is based on nothing but human sentiment." It is this sentiment that is worthy of our attention today. Any policy and any course of action should conform to sentiment and reason. We should not lack sympathy and ignore reason. We need the way of right rather than the way of might; we should be kind and should not be severe.

The eight-hour working system also reminds me of the question of "political sincerity".

There is this current comment: "The Communist Party believes in dialectics. Therefore, it ignores the question of sincerity. Its different attitudes to the eight-hour working system are but an example of a dialectical nature during different periods of time". This is, of course, our misunderstanding. However, it is a fact that our Party has allowed too great a degree of flexibility in carrying out certain policies. This idea of flexibility is not a bad thing. But if it is applied to the extreme, then an order given in the morning may be altered in the evening, decisions may be changed at will, and control may be slackened at one time and tightened at another. When a regulation is relaxed or strengthened, we have to explain the reasons in terms of some great principles. This conforms to dialectics from our viewpoint, but from the viewpoint of the people it is a lack of sincerity. Today, intellectuals have great apprehensions about us just because they think we are too dialectical. Let me talk about the question of intellectuals in the following paragraphs.

**(To be continued)**

## Jaya Prakash Narain's Advice To Nehru

(From our Correspondent)

Addressing a public meeting in Delhi on December 1, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain had some very sound advice to offer to the Prime Minister. This is no time for one-man Government, and Mr. Narain suggested that Mr. Nehru should take the counsel of veteran leaders like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who might differ from him politically but were equal patriots. He also wanted Mr. Nehru to encourage his Cabinet colleagues to speak out boldly if they differed with the Prime Minister, the present position being, as he observed, that his Cabinet colleagues do not dare differ with him for fear of losing their places in the Cabinet. Side by side he was of the opinion that the ineffective members of the Cabinet should make room for talented people from outside the Party, particularly as some of them were aged and sick and could not stand the strain of an emergency. He informed the audience that, for fear of Mr. Nehru, none in the Cabinet Defence Committee pointed out that Indian troops had to fight with outdated weapons while the Chinese possessed automatic arms. It is obvious that no committee or cabinet can perform its function properly and satisfactorily if its members are unable to contribute their wisdom to its discussions.

Even the Prime Minister cannot deny the soundness of the advice after his own confession that they had been living in a world of their own creation. Acceptance of Mr. Narain's advice will not take away an iota from the Prime Minister's over-ruling powers, particularly as he has a thumping majority behind him in Parliament. As Mr. Narain said, Mr. Nehru was today, in spite of his mistakes, the fittest man to lead the country. It is true, as Mr. Ranga says, there is such a thing as a peace-time leader and a war-time leader. But where on the horizon is the suggested war-time leader? And, in spite of Himalayan blunders by the Prime Minister, it must be said in the national interest that this is no time for bickering and pettifogging politics. But, surely, Himalayan blunders have to be guarded against in the future, and the only way for Mr. Nehru to guard against them is to accept the advice of Mr. Narain, offered obviously in the national interest. Promoting the war effort must begin at the top. Efficiency is needed a thousand times more in wartime than in peace time.

There is obviously a limit to what one man can do and think, particularly when almost

every major problem has to be considered and decided by that one man. Mr. Narain's advice, indeed, stems from the democratic way of life for which, according to the National Development Council, we are supposed to be fighting. It is high time that this democratic way of life was enforced in the Cabinet, with all its potentialities for good. It is no use raking up the past. Mr. Narain's advice regarding Kashmir and possible Cabinet as a result of his advice for the Tibet can be thrashed out when we have the best reformation of the Cabinet.

The continuation of a team of "yes, sir" men is inconsistent with Mr. Nehru's own advice to his countrymen regarding the ways and means of meeting the Chinese menace. In sporting parlance we should all play for the side, i.e., the country, and not for self, not even for a group in the side. If his critics are not traitors, as he admitted in his recent reply to Mr. Ranga, the eminent among them should be there by his side to offer their criticism. The right to accept or reject their advice will always be Mr. Nehru's so long as he is the Prime Minister of India. Sometimes a phrase, a sentence, contains more wisdom than hours of discussion, and what we need today in the Cabinet are men who can boldly sum up the situation in a sentence, as the Prime Minister's father used to do, and as Rajaji often does today.

### OUR LEADERS

At a Convention organised by the Delhi Citizen's Council, the Union Deputy Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Mr. Sham Nath, defending the Government's foreign and defence policies in relation to China, said it was true that the Government was not militarily prepared to meet the Chinese challenge, but that was because, if resources had been diverted for military purposes, the development plans would have been seriously upset. Also, he added, India sincerely trusted the Chinese friendship. It was not quite clear, perhaps even to himself, what exactly he was defending: India's trust because it was sincere or placing India's security below—far below—the development plans in order of priority? What is to be done with people who cannot understand that a country's security comes first, that it comes second, it comes third, and all other things put together come far below it, in order of priority? Is one to understand that there was no one in the Cabinet to point out this simple truth?



Another speaker at the Convention, Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia, said it was wrong to say that India was caught unawares by the Chinese aggression because the series of notes exchanged between India and China over several years had clearly exposed the aggressive designs of the Chinese. Mr. Lohia's own retort to the aggressive designs of the Chinese seems to have been; "Angrezi Hatao" i.e., "Remove English". Or was it perpetual civil disobedience? He did not devote even a few minutes out of the hundreds of hours of public speaking during these years to the need of military alliance. As a supporter of non-alignment he was indeed opposed to it. Yet he must have been aware of the military might of China and of the Sino-Soviet Military Alliance supplying thousands of bombers and fighters to China, even rockets to bring down American U-2s. In what terms, one wonders, do our leaders think? In terms of slogans, perhaps, like our journalists? "Afro-Asia solidarity" demanded solidarity with China even in the minds of those who condemned regionalism in India. What the Chinese believed in did not matter. Flogging the dead horse of British imperialism was so much easier and did not require any thinking.

At the same convention Mr. Hem Barua, M. P., while admitting that the edifice of non-alignment had crumbled, said he was not opposed to the policy of non-alignment. According to him, non-alignment should be "real and positive" without any emotional bias. The fact is that the emotional bias in our policy of non-alignment constituted the only ray of hope in this otherwise ridiculous policy for a country bordering a Communist giant. It might have worked with a government composed of less ruthless and more emotional people. This emotional bias against the Western powers has not prevented them from coming to our rescue as promptly as they could. Perhaps Mr. Barua wanted to take away that ray of hope also from that stark and dismal policy, depriving India even of the "friendship" of Soviet Russia for what it was worth. In an optimistic mood even a realist would have conceded that was just a chance—one in a million—that our non-alignment policy would work just because of its emotional bias. Without it, it was unmitigated nonsense.

India's blind faith in the Chinese, Mr. Barua said, had landed the country into a calamity. But blind faith in a more powerful neighbour is the foundation of non-alignment, otherwise non-alignment would be sheer treachery to the country. Mr. Barua is apparently one of those numerous devotees of non-alignment who believe in it without believing in its basis or its concomitants. Perhaps like the lady in the first World War to whom the word 'Mesopotamia' spelt bliss, non-alignment gives

them a feeling of contentment and of self-righteousness. Some believed in the first self-righteousness. Some believed in it because it was the latest fad, full of independence—just the thing for those who have been slaves for decades or centuries—without realising that it provided the surest road to slavery again.

It is difficult to understand what makes us Indians so unrealistic. It may well be that we over-estimate our military strength because of our huge population—which too is small compared to that of China. Our leaders do not seem to be able to estimate our strength correctly. It is difficult, on any other assumption, to understand what makes us so unconcerned about the country's security. The nation-wide support to non-alignment can only be described as unanimous unconcern regarding the country's security.

With the Chinese designs as clear as they can possibly be, Dr. Lanka Sundaram at the same convention said India should not be allowed to become a member of any military bloc, come what may. All that is necessary to match the Chinese strength, according to him, is reorganisation of defence production. It is all as simple as that. Only it does not take into account the source of supply of the fighters and bombers to China. And why should it?

## Book Review

*The Foundations of British Patriotism* by Esme Wingfield Stratford.

This is a Right Book Club Publication of London that was first issued in 1940 early in the last war. It was finished in August before the actual declarations of war by Britain and France against Hitler's Germany. But the wind of war was already astir and the author assumes the forthcoming all-out conflict with the totalitarian regimes of the Nazis and Fascists.

The war crisis makes this well-informed and patriotic Englishman inquire into the permanent values for which the British people may be said, (on the whole barring deviations due to human frailty and bad leadership sometimes), to have stood steadfastly through the centuries of their great history. When crisis demands the sacrifice of life itself, it is natural for thinking men to inquire into the values that make life worth living and in the destruction of which life loses all its meaning. Today when we are confronted with an all-out war of vast dimensions with Red China which has developed a tremendous military machine, dragooning its 600 million population by a ruthless communist dictatorship, the question rises upper-

most in our mind as regards the values of national patriotism and of free life and culture.

In this situation, this work of Mr. Stratford offers welcome guidance to the thoughtful patriot. He traces the history of Britain from before Roman days and the process whereby Celt, Saxon, Jute, Angle, Norman and Dane fused into one people. He traces the development of the British love of liberty and of the institutions through which it expresses itself from time to time. It is the story of freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent and from battle to battle from the days of King John and the Magna Carta.

He is frank and open-eyed enough to record the class conflicts occurring from time to time but he shows how in the end constitutionalism triumphed after the Civil War led by Cromwell. He notes the growth of empire and its conflict with the ideals of liberty. He shows how in the Commonwealth empire gave place to liberty. He forecasts the freeing of India and the colonies in time. According to him, it is this precious heritage of freedom for herself and for mankind that Britain cherishes as the soul of her civilisation.

The book is written with warmth of feeling (a living patriotism) balanced by a sane insight into human values. His treatment is a wonderful example of the synthesis of nationalism and universality, conservatism and progress which is of special interest to Indians today in the hour of crisis vis a vis totalitarian, aggressive China.

— M. A. Venkata Rao

## Gleanings from the Press

### FIRST THINGS FIRST, FELLOW CITIZENS!

Some good men in India are more disturbed by the thought that the Sino-Indian conflict may spark off a global war than by the invasion of India by the Chinese. The latter they naturally regret but the former fills them with a deep foreboding. And so they may be inclined to urge that however unfavourable to this country the Chinese proposals, since their acceptance would reduce the likelihood of the beginning of a world conflagration, objection should not be taken to them. While appreciating the motives of such men, we cannot accept their conclusion. The first duty of every citizen of India is to his country. He must defend it and he cannot permit the integrity of its territory to be violated because his defence of it may lead to grave consequences outside. If the world fears a conflag-

ration from this origin, let the world deal with it and right our wrongs. Moreover, the recent Cuban episode gives room for hope that the Soviet Union has by now appreciated sufficiently the serious danger to itself from a nuclear war not to rush into it because the Western democracies are providing help and comfort to us. First things first, good fellow-citizens, however world-conscious and globally — philanthropic you may be. Let us do our duty and defend our country with all the energy and devotion we can, and it will may be that thereby Providence will cause us also to serve, and not to set aflame, the world.

—The Opinion

## News & Views

### NO 'NON-ALIGNMENT' OR 'PANCH SHEEL' VIS-A-VIS CHINA: NEHRU

New York:

Prime Minister Nehru has declared in a television interview: "There is no non-alignment vis-a-vis China."

The filmed interview, recorded earlier in New Delhi, was broadcast by N. B. C. over its national network last night.

Mr. Nehru said he still thought non-alignment a good policy for India but it was true that the Chinese aggression had weakened the idea in the minds of some countries. Non-alignment or Panch Sheel could not stand in the air.

"There is no non-alignment vis-a-vis China; here is no Panch Sheel vis-a-vis China. In spite of their loud talk they broke it up," he observed.

Even if the Chinese withdrew to the positions as existed prior to September 8, 1962, and negotiations began, India's military preparations would continue, asserted Mr. Nehru.

### FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVE IN WEST BENGAL Calcutta:

Mounting activities of Fifth Columnists not only in NEFA and Assam but also in North Bengal Districts have considerably disturbed the State Government.

Although the Government has taken stern measures to deal with such anti-national elements and a number of arrests have been made in the recent past, disquieting news of pro-China propaganda especially among the kisans is reported daily.

The Chinese invaders, according to informed sources are being helped by Fifth Columnists inside the Indian territory in the front. But for the help of these informers the invaders could not have grabbed such a large portion of NEFA, so easily.

**RUSSIA SENDING MIGS TO INDIA ONLY  
FOR TRAINING PURPOSES THIS MONTH OR  
A LITTLE LATER**

New Delhi:

The Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, told the Lok Sabha to-day that the Soviet Government had informed the Indian Ambassador in Moscow that MIGs (Soviet fighter planes) would be supplied to India during the current month "or a little later."

Mr. Chavan, who was replying to a short notice question, said that the Soviet Government had earlier agreed to supply some MIGs, during the current month, some next year and some later.

Mr. Nehru said that while the Russians had stated that there might be some delay in supplying MIGs, he was making an "authoritative" statement now about Moscow's assurance to stick to its undertaking to India to supply the MIGs and build a factory.

Mr. Nehru said the main thing was the starting of an aircraft factory in India. The rest related to training of Indian personnel and the few MIGs that were to come in 1962, some next year and some in 1964.

**'BE VIGILANT ALWAYS' GEN. KELLY'S  
ADVICE TO ARMY**

General Kelly who had lengthy discussions with the Indian military commanders warned them "to be prepared for the Chinese in any area and at any time." He added, "I am sure that the Chinese adopted the same tactics here as in Korea. In Korea they did the same out-flanking movements moved over rugged mountains and valley and came over." So he would repeat his advice to the Indian army to be ever vigilant. Gen. Kelly pointed out that the Indian army should not think that any obstacle was too big for the enemy to cross over and be complacent.

**NEW YORK TIMES SAYS:  
'CHINESE THREAT CAN BE CHECKED BY  
RESOLUTE DEFENCE'**

The New York Times (November 13) in an editorial entitled "Strain On Red China," observed, "The Chinese have previously sent armies into Tibet and the Himalayas. The Manchu troops in a thrust across the present day Mc-Emperor Chien Lung once even despatched Mahon Line in the dead of winter. But no sustained campaign from China by a mass army has ever been waged in the Himalayas. The Chinese threat in short is one that could be checked by a tough and resolute Indian defence. The main sufferer if such a defence is mar-

shalled could well be Communist China rather than India. The Peking regime is notoriously fallible both as a planner and as executant. The Shambles of the 'Great Leap Forward' with its wild misconceptions and grossly bad performance, stands as a horrible testimony."

**"INDIA WILL NEVER BE THE SAME AGAIN"  
SAYS B. K. NEHRU**

Washington,

Indian Ambassador B. K. Nehru said in a television interview last evening that there was no possibility of negotiations with China so long as the Chinese did not withdraw their troops behind the line of Sept. 8, 1962.

The Ambassador was being interviewed on the BBC national network programme "Issues and Answers."

Mr. Nehru said that while he could not predict what would be the ultimate effect of the Chinese invasion on Indian foreign policy and non-alignment "I do not think India will ever be the same again."

He said two factors which were in the people's minds would influence their thoughts and ultimately decide what the policy was — "we were attacked by a Communist country and we were supported by Western democracies"

**ANNOUNCEMENT !!!**

**The Challenge of Asia**

by

**Ralph Borsodi**

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

Write to:

**The Indian Libertarian**

**Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,**

**Bombay-4.**

**Popular American Magazines**

(Subscription Rates for India)

<b>TIME :</b>	<b>LIFE :</b>
1 Yr. Rs. 48	1 Yr. Rs. 28
3 Yr. Rs. 96	3 Yr. Rs. 62
5 Yr. Rs. 144	19 Issues Rs. 12
40 Wk. Rs. 30	30 Issues Rs. 18.75
78 Wk. Rs. 55	39 Issues Rs. 24.50

<b>FORTUNE :</b>	<b>US \$</b>	1 Yr. 15.00	2 Yr. 25.00	3 Yr. 35.00
------------------	--------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

<b>Architectural Forum :</b>	12.00	20.00	25.00
------------------------------	-------	-------	-------

<b>House And Home :</b>	9.50	15.00	.....
-------------------------	------	-------	-------

<b>Sports Illustrated :</b>	8.00	15.00	20.00
-----------------------------	------	-------	-------

**NEWSWEEK :** U.S.A.'s Popular Weekly

(delivered by airmail) - **LINN'S WEEKLY**

1 Yr. Rs. 48.00 **STAMP NEWS**

2 Yr. Rs. 77.00 52 Issues Rs. 21.

3 Yr. Rs. 96.00 **American Ladies' Monthly**

40 Wk. Rs. 30.00 **LADIES' HOME JOURNAL:**

78 Wk. Rs. 58.50 Annual Subscription Rs. 24.

Send your subscriptions by M. O. or D/D to the Authorised Subscription Representative :

**Mr. Y. B. SHINDE,**

1958 Laxmipuri, KOLHAPUR-2.

**THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY**

By

*Stephen Pearl Andrews*

In this profound book on sociology Stephen Andrews makes a serious investigation into the nature, the wants the adaptations and the requisite moral and social habitat of Man and outlines a solution for the various problems confronting Society. Being an elaborate discussion on the price structure in a socialistic society, it will be read with interest by all those interested in political economy.

Price Rs. 5.00

Mailed post paid by :

**The Libertarian Publishers, Ltd.,**

1st floor, Arya Bhavan,

Sandhurst Road West, Bombay-4.

**THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS**

Have you tried the Cow Brand flour manufactured by the Duncan Road Flour Mills? Prices are economical and only the best grains are ground. The whole production process is automatic, untouched by hand and hence our produce is the cleanest and the most sanitary.



Write to :

**THE MANAGER**

**THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS**

**BOMBAY 4.**

Telephone : 70205

Telegram : **LOTEWALA**