

# The Indian Libertarian

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## Editorial

### BENGAL CENSURES NEHRU

WEST BENGAL has repudiated Mr. Nehru's agreement to surrender half of the Berubari Union in Jalpaiguri district as part of his Pact with Mr. Noon of Pakistan. Both the Legislative Assembly and Council condemned the sell-out by a unanimous vote of all parties (including Congress and Communist). The Chief Minister Dr. Roy had to save himself from the storm of passionate indignation that burst forth against the disgraceful proposal of the Prime Minister by avowing that he and his Government were at no time consulted before the Pact was arrived at!

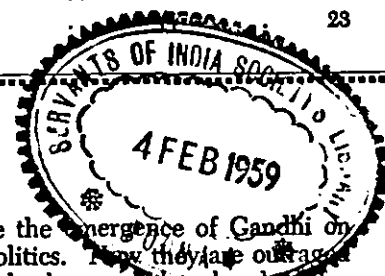
This repudiation by a State by unanimous vote of all its elected representatives irrespective of party divisions is unprecedented in India after freedom and is a critical landmark in the waning of the influence of the national idol. The Prime Minister suffered similar set-backs in the course of implementing the States Reorganisation Schemes beginning with Potti Sriramalu's death by fasting in protest against Nehru's refusal to grant a State to the Andhras. The defection of the bulk of the Maharashtrians and Gujeratis from his leadership in the matter (of Bombay and) separate States for them was another landslide in Nehru's popularity. But in these cases, he could succeed in holding a *facade* of party unity by extraneous factors such as the personal ambition of party leaders. But in this case, the offence is too great an affront to national sentiment and involves a further and more dangerous measure of appeasement of our determined enemy. The Bengalis were by and large mostly tepid followers of Gandhi. They attained national consciousness earlier than other States and had their leaders

of the first rank before the emergence of Gandhi on the stage of national politics. Now they are outraged beyond measure by Nehru's proposal to hand over a sizable chunk of Bengali territory with a population of about 12,000, mostly refugees from the desolation of Pakistan to their tormentors!

The question would have borne a different aspect if the neighbour State were friendly and the exchange was mutual and more or less balanced. But the history of the border areas from the day of Partition has been, as is well-known to all, one of continual attacks on our people. The history of Hindus left behind has also been one of continual torture inflicted on them by the Muslims of Pakistan—supposed to be their fellow citizens. More than 50 lakhs of East Bengal Hindus have come away over the years and are rotting, most of them, in refugee camps and the streets of Bengal's cities and towns.

To hand these miserable countrymen of ours back to Pakistan in these circumstances after they had settled in India and escaped from their agonies and tormentors is a species of inhumanity that staggers the imagination and stabs the conscience of every decent Indian. No wonder that every Bengali has condemned this transaction in unmistakable terms.

The mischief wrought by this shameful agreement does not concern only Bengal and the refugees. It is a national or all-India matter. If the Prime Minister can get away with such a gift of territory and population to a hostile neighbour threatening war every moment, the separatists of Madras, the Punjab and of Nagaland will naturally have their hope strengthened that the "generous" Prime Minister of ours could be



prevailed upon by sufficient obstreperousness to concede their demand for Dravidastan, Sikhistan or Nagastan!

The Prime Minister speaks frequently of national unity but his deeds of surrender to separatists and enemies do more to damage national unity than can be repaired by his exhortations for unity. It is the duty of persons in official power to execute their ideas and policies by appropriate *action* and not be content with preachings and rhetoric.

The agreement to surrender raises a number of grave constitutional questions. Has the Prime Minister the constitutional power to sign away chunks of national territory to foreigners without sanctions of Parliament? Should we not have a clause added to the Constitution stipulating, as in that of the USA, that all treaties negotiated by the executive with foreign powers should be subject to the ratification of Parliament? In the USA, such treaties entered into by the President are subject to ratification by the Senate. President Wilson's signature to the Treaty of Versailles, particularly the clauses founding the League of Nations, was repudiated by the Senate and he died a forlorn and heart-broken man. That is a story of mature nations matched by the failure of the victorious war leader Churchill in England to get re-elected at the end of the war.

But in India the class of intelligentsia that has come to power is so immature and so lacking in independent thought and democratic consciousness that the national liberation leader has come to have virtual supremacy irrespective of the disastrous consequences of his policies.

The legislature of West Bengal has given a lead to the whole country. It is to be hoped that Parliament will repudiate this surrender or that the Congress legislators will assert themselves in private so that it will not be brought before Parliament at all, allowing the Nehru-Noon Pact to become a scrap of paper. The leader who committed the country to it should

swallow the humiliation. He should, strictly speaking, resign but as things are, he should at least give up his precious Pact.

## CANAL WATERS DISPUTE

There are disturbing rumours again that India may accept enormous claims for payment to Pakistan for building her canals to recoup the loss of water from the old canals whose headworks are located in India.

From the very beginning of this long-drawn out negotiation with the World Bank as the mediator, our Government has not taken the public into confidence. The public have a right to know, why India should undertake to pay *any part* of the cost of building canals in Pakistan to replace the waters she was getting before partition. The boundary has been determined on communal lines and it was impossible to take into account economic investments in fixing the frontier. If Pakistan has one kind of loss, India has had other kinds. The Partition lost us food grains surplus areas in the Punjab and jute areas in Bengal. If Pakistan is to be re-imbursed for the loss of water from Indian rivers, India should on the same basis be re-imbursed for the loss of wheat and jute areas. The cost that India was put to in making good the loss of wheat and jute should, by the same token, be demanded by India. If we make a concession against justice in this matter, Pakistan is sure to bring up scores of such cases from the Partition accidents for payment!

The public should demand the application of international law and usage on such matters of dispute about rivers. We have the famous Danube and St. Lawrence International Agreements in Europe and America to guide us. Why is it that this precedent is not made use of by Indian negotiators? Are they ignorant? If so, they are unworthy of their job. But the fact seems to be that the negotiations are shaped by the notorious propensity of our generous Prime Minister to grant unjustified favours to Pakistan at the cost of India and her people. Hence the mystery shrouding this mediation by the World Bank.

It appears that Pakistan's latest demand is for Rs. 350 crores! India, it seems, has to pay for the building of *all* canals in her territory even from rivers' flowing exclusively in her part of the country! Even the World Bank, guides, friends and philosophers (and wholesale supporters in all matters, civil and military) of Pakistan are daunted by such enormous and unjust claims. They seem to be trying to make Pakistan agree to smaller sums such as Rs. 160! In the early years we heard of Rs. 60 and once India seemed agreeable to the ransom, Pakistan's greed was whetted, naturally. She raised her claims forthwith to Rs. 190 crores! It appears as though India has indicated readiness to pay Rs. 100 crores!

It is high time that members of Parliament, particularly those of opposition parties like Jana Sangh raised the whole question and demanded full information and discussion. Otherwise the question may be settled in secret and the country confronted with a *fait accompli*, when it will become a question of prestige for the Prime Minister, before which our legislators are helpless.

As usual with Pakistan, the issue is raised to a political plane. "India's objection is mainly economic;

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to the amount of re-imbusement. Pakistan's stand is mainly political: She says that she cannot trust India and therefore she cannot content herself with tapping Chenab lower down in her territory."

This is another question like the border issue where the Indian public and legislators should take interest and secure full publicity to what is going on and create public opinion in favour of international usage and strict justice.

The sensible produce suggested at one time by India would be to calculate the amount of water collected in the catchment areas of the river flowing through both countries and to apportion the withdrawal accordingly. But Pakistan's trump card against such commonsense is that she cannot trust India! The only way out on such an assumption is that of the World Bank namely to apportion rivers between the two States—three to Pakistan and three to India to use in full without vexatious bickerings year in and year out. But Pakistan has tacked the demand for compensation to the proposal.

Let the public demand and let the legislators press it in Parliament for a full white Paper setting out the facts of the case before policy is crystallised in secret by our "generous" Prime Minister, generous to hostile neighbours at the cost of his own people.

#### CONTINUED PAKISTANI INTRANSIGENCE ON THE BORDER

It is now more than eleven months since Pakistani nationals, civil, police and military, started to make trouble on our Eastern Borders in Assam and West Bengal and Tripura. There is method in their madness. Congress President Mr. Dhebar has referred to this mildly in his presidential speech at the Congress session at Nagpur on 9 January. He could only say that Pakistanis wanted to focus our attention on the eastern border!

But he had no constructive suggestion to make as to how after eleven months of attention, the problem of protecting the border is to be solved. Characteristically, he thinks it necessary and sound policy to reiterate the Congress ideology towards Pakistan. "India bore the friendliest feelings for Pakistan. India is distressed that there is so much of bitterness and a feeling of conflict and struggle!"

He attributes the trouble to the communalism of the Pakistanis contrasting it with the nationalism of the Indians. But there is more to this problem than this "communalism." The motive of Pakistanis is Pan-Islam. They desire to revive the days of their domination in India as a Muslim people with affinities with all other Muslims in the world. That is why they refused to merge in Indian nationalism. They have a Pan-nationalism of their own flourishing on the ancient Islamic territories of Africa, and Asia from Morocco to Indonesia.

The Congress President shows no awareness of the inadequacy of the official attitude to Pakistan but contents himself with the sentimental assertion of our one-sided softness and readiness to take infinite offence and injury to our people at their hands without thought of defence.

This is surely a kind of collective *neurosis* on the part of the Congress Party leadership which needs closer analysis than it has received so far, in the interest of the health of the nation.

We continue to hear of Pakistani incursions and bad behaviour along our borders.

From Cooch Bihar in West Bengal comes a message with the date-line of 9 January, of Pakistani violation of the border. Their armed forces trespassed into Shahbaganj enclave and forcibly carried away paddy harvested by Indian cultivators from their fields. Pakistani police trespassed into Indian territory and took down the names of Indian cultivators the previous day. Next day they forced them to carry their harvest into Pakistan! Not content with this robbery, they had the comic spirit to force Indians to make a road to Pakistani village so as to facilitate conveyance of the harvest and other booty!

What was the reaction of our brave defenders at the border guard stations? The Deputy Commissioner, we read, sent a strong protest to his Pakistani opposite number!

#### PAKISTANI AGENTS IN SAURASHTRA

According to police reports, over 2,000 Pakistanis have been living in Saurashtra and Kutch after expiry of their permits. Recently a sub-inspector was murdered by a Pakistani national! There seems to be anti-Indian activities going on in this area but there is no sign of police action against them! This is another instance of the woodenness of Indian authorities in regard to defence matters.

On the day of writing (10th January) comes further news of Pakistani firing on an Indian post and a gross violation of the Nehru-Noon Pact in Patharia in Cachar on the Assam border.

We read the usual rider that Indian forces did not open fire in spite of provocation. Surely, they will lay up sufficient dharma in heaven! But in this life, neither they nor their superiors that ordered such inaction can be excused. It is only a roused public opinion and conscience that can change the attitude of the holders of power and make them alive to their responsibility in this matter of national defence.

This is the rationale of our mentioning these instances of Pakistani intransigence frequently. The nation should never be allowed to forget the gravity of these offences against our national integrity on the border. We may allow sleeping dogs to lie but it is foolish to allow raging mad dogs to come unchecked into our midst.

#### A CRORE FOR A GANDHI STUDY CENTRE

At a time when Pakistan is armed to the teeth and is threatening to march into Indian territory and bomb her cities any moment, it is ironical and upsetting to read of the resolve of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi authorities, the devout chelas of Gandhist hypocrisy, to set up a Centre for the study of Gandhian non-violence and Gandhian "truth" (which is a special brand of the species) at the cost of a crore of rupees! Have they no other more urgent means of spending money? It looks like a case of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning!

This is typical of the imperviousness of our Congress leaders to the urgencies of defence. But how can they realise the utter urgency and importance of defence against Pakistan, when their top leaders like Nehru and Dhebar continue to refer to Pakistan in terms of the friendliest sentiments? Pakistan may be prepared

(Continued on page 14)

### **Non-Violent Socialism**

**M**R. RAJAGOPALACHARI has been at pains to furnish ideas on which to base an all-India Opposition to Congress, but without either offering to lead it himself or crystallising it round such personalities as would rally the country behind them. As an elder statesman, his sitting on the fence is least singular. He has to all intents and purposes broken with the Congress, but has not yet unfurled an anti-Congress banner in any irrevocable fashion. The plea that he is too old to enter the fray actively again is inconsistent with the combativeness of his views on the current problems of the country. This is a phenomenon which should interest the psychologist and philosopher more than the average citizen perplexed and wrought in the extreme by many deceptive doxies.

His latest plea is for a courageous withdrawal of the ruling party from untenable positions, reorganise national potential on less spectacular but more stable foundations and march forward to what he is pleased to call an ideal of non-violent socialism. For a man of usually clear thinking and incisive writing, this betrays a confusion of thought which needs to be exposed alike in the interests of means and ends.

To speak of non-violent socialism is at least as paradoxical as to plead for communist individualism. Once you concede that socialism is valid, inevitable and desirable, you have surrendered the gate, and there is nothing more to be said or done. This is the basic issue, and it is sought to be hidden in the cotton-wool of non-violence. The politician gives place either to the moralist and prophet or to the legalist, the moment non-violence is thought of in isolation. It is a piece of self-deception to suppose that a completely non-violent society has ever flourished or can ever be set up in the future. Coercion of some kind or other is necessarily implicit in any organised functioning of individuals. The most civilised communities have hidden the reality and operation of violence behind the scenes; in some cases, they have even effected a psychological change in the minds of men which has pre-disposed them to a voluntary submission to 'force' enthroned in the abstract as part of the machinery of government. We speak of the conscience of the community, public opinion, and the active manifestation in all of us of the categorical imperatives. But even these exert their sway on us subconsciously only on the coercive plane.

It is of course the exclusive province of the moralist to exhort us to eschew violence from our hearts; but that has nothing to do with the orderly conduct of politics on the secular plane. It is therefore to hug a delusion to our bosom to claim that the progress of non-violence since the death of the Mahatma has received a set-back. The manifestation of non-violence during the life-time of Gandhiji was essentially an illusion; for the leader had to confess the failure of it on every occasion that he employed his 'technique.' Indeed, it is even possible to sustain the thesis that Gandhiji drove normal human instincts under-ground, and made violence fester in our bosoms while outwardly he and we intoned the mantra of non-violence to

gull ourselves and the rest of the world. Now that we are free, what is coming to the surface is our natural, uninhibited individual and national egos, and they do not present themselves or us in a pleasing light.

As for the second term in his ideal, namely socialism, it is the supreme issue which we have to fight against. Once you concede that socialism is desirable, there can be no question of withdrawal; on the other hand, it implies and demands a relentless, purposeful and continuous advance all along the line, precisely as all those clamouring for progress want us to. Mr. Rajagopalachari singles out our acceptance of industrialisation as inimical to the growth of non-violence. This is not necessarily so; for many of the western countries—outside Russia—have demonstrated the feasibility of profiting by industrialisation without becoming slaves of government or dictators. But if he believes industrialisation to be wholly evil, not only must he call for a retracing of our steps, but even more courageously teach us to turn our backs on modern progress, lock, stock and barrel. Gandhiji denounced the age of science and all its works, but had no compunctions in making use of them for his own purposes. Harsh critics said that he was a hypocrite, but even his most devoted followers had to admit that he was inconsistent. The question therefore for us now to consider is whether we can effect such a withdrawal into the medieval past as Gandhism would logically demand of us. This is neither possible nor desirable.

Finally, Mr. Rajagopalachari speaks of trusteeship as a solvent of current economic and other ills of the body politic. *But who is to keep the trustee in check?* It is the old problem of the physician being called upon to heal himself! Hopes have been raised in the masses of an Utopia lurking round the corner, and likely to overtake us any moment. Disillusion awaits all of us, and these misguided people more than others. In other words, things must become worse before they can get better; and neither socialism nor non-violence can offer an alternative platform of sufficient strength and durability to save us from present or prospective ills.

### **The Pact In The Melting Pot**

The current meetings of the 'Baghdad' pact powers at Karachi furnish an interesting example of the possibility of playing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Ever since Iraq dropped out of the arch of the Islamic tier of anti-communist countries of the Middle-East, the Baghdad pact has been an obsolescent misnomer. The present explorations are however inspired by mutually incompatible motives operating from opposite ends. America's obsession with the build-up of an anti-communist front all over the world is something of a pathological state which is deplorable to a degree. That this support to an admittedly weak area has taken the shape of military aid ensures the collapse of it at the first brush with the rude realities of power-politics. The rise of Nasser which had been equated with the spread of communism in the Arab world has since been happily

clarified; for today we at least know that Nasser is as anti-communist as anti-American or Western. The same truth has been demonstrated in the case of Iraq as well. It has shown itself, for a change, to be both anti-communist and anti-Nasser! If only American diplomacy could learn to leave well alone, but keep itself discreetly in reserve, these welcome signs of normalcy in the Middle East might be given a chance to strengthen themselves in course of time.

Instead of making the most of these trends, it is unfortunate that the Dullesian diplomacy should be whipping up regional animosities out of which to build up a bastion for safeguarding the West against a contingent deluge in the East. In this connection, it was a courageous and forthright speech which our ambassador Mr. Chagla recently delivered in America. His accusation that America was not acting in character by supporting a dictatorship in Pakistan or elsewhere was a home-thrust which lost none of its point in the telling. In a sense, it is true, we have no right to interfere in the affairs of other countries; but the ambivalence of America in her dealings with us on the one hand and with Pakistan on the other is too blatant to be ignored by us. America has sufficient strength and prestige to use them disinterestedly to promote a *modus vivendi* between India and Pakistan which would help us to live at peace, and divert the bulk of our resources to the peaceful progress of the people at large. Why then, instead of acting as a peacemaker, should America sow the dragon's teeth in our midst to our ultimate destruction?

Obsession with the spread of communism and the desire to dam its further advances in uncommitted areas have often been trotted out as the ostensible motives. But there are ways and ways of doing things. If the aim is to make a colony of Pakistan, it is bound to recoil on America sooner than later precisely as it has done in Iraq. If the aim on the other hand is to save us from ourselves, it is the surest way of giving a filip to communism even in the minds of those who, next to being anti-communist, are unfortunately and naturally anti-western. The virus of nationalism is still in ferment, and very much more beneath the surface. The communists are exploiting it in the last resort and much more unsidiously than is realised at the moment. America's anti-dexterous policies are estranging her in the minds of considerable sections of Indians who have no doctrinal fixations and who, when given proper scope, would pull their weight as vigorous anti-communists.

Can it be that these simple considerations are discounted by the too clever associates and subordinates of Mr. Dulles? If not, there is only one other possible alternative. It is a very sinister one, but we must refer to it specially, as an ominous hint has been thrown by Pakistani spokesmen of 'subversion' being attempted by 'Indian sources' among the people of East Bengal. This is to give a dog a bad name with prior intent to hang him. That martial law in Pakistan has driven parties and personalities under-ground there is a truism; that some of them are trying to work against odds may also be inferred from this reference to fears of subversion which is a tendentious attempt to implicate us as trouble-makers in Pakistan. To be sure, the mischief at this incipient stages is attributed to the machinations of Indian 'communists;' but the inward-

ness of preparing such an *alibi* from now on should not be lost sight of by our leaders. Thanks to the vacillations and confusions of Pandit Nehru, we are caught on the horns of a dilemma. Leaving major cruxes unsolved, he hopes through appeasement to stave off the evil day of a final reckoning. The result of this is that we stand to lose both currently and ultimately. Against this major tragedy that looms in front of us, all our pretentious claims about our planning are a futile and puerile irrelevance. It is a fool's paradise we are building; would that Pandit Nehru alone lived in it!

There seems to be a fatality dogging the policies of America. It sought blunderingly to save China from communism, but lost it irrevocably. She is now trying the same tactics with us and Pakistan. Unless she mends her ways, the result is a foregone conclusion. It would be a tragic irony indeed if America should do the dirty work of Russia, and succeed in converting our country into another communist shambles.

### The Gandhi Peace Foundation

The split personality with which Pandit Nehru has been credited by many observant critics—both native and foreign—threatens to permeate the people as well. For a major contradiction in the ideological sphere is being embalmed into a new doctrine. It was recently announced that out of the collections made under the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, a sum of one crore of rupees has been ear-marked for the establishment of a research institute with branches at important centres in the land to pursue further studies into the etiology, technique and future evolution of the Gandhian cult of Non-violence. Membership of the new fraternity is to be of three classes in the future classless state of our society:—Foundation members, Associates and students and research workers. Pandit Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Kriplani and some of the relics (or derelicts) of the Gandhian ministry belong to the first category, the rest will find their level. An explanatory note or memorandum prepared by Pandit Nehru has also been published explaining the aims and objects of this trust within a trust. In a summary view of the whole proceeding, we are constrained to dismiss it as a piece of sanctimonious hypocrisy.

In the prevailing climate of feeling in the land, it may seem presumptuous to ask whether 'Gandhism' is not a figment of the imagination. For wherever it claims to have covered new ground, it has proved a failure according to the apostolic founder of the creed; and whatever of traditional ideas or discipline has gone into it cannot owe anything to Gandhiji. Gandhiji's own experiments with truth, as he called his satyagrahic essays, do not conform to any coherent or evolutionary or rational group of ideas. The subjective and mystical elements played havoc with him, until he condemned most of his explorations and achievements as tainted by *duragraha*. A classic instance of this may be studied in the Rajkot Satyagraha which culminated in the award of Sir Maurice Gwyer of a judgment or decision in his favour. But what did the Mahatma do? He disclaimed the award as having been vitiated by violence at the centre of his own heart! In other words, the appeal has invariably been from Philip drunk to Philip sober, and vice versa!

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# CONGRESS SESSION AT NAGPUR

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE Prime Minister was right when he claimed that the resolutions passed at Abhyankarnagar session of the Congress register a large step into socialism. He thought that it was *ipso facto* a large and decisive measure of progress. If socialism were truly such a means of progress all round for a people, the Abhyankarnagar session has given a lead promising such progress and committing the country more deeply and decisively to central direction of the economy. The claim that progress can be achieved only through socialism of the Marxist variety in successive Five Year Plans controlling every sector of the people's life is already built into authorised policy and received further sanction at Abhyankarnagar. The net result of the deliberations there during the week 5 to 11 January is therefore a blue-print of policy to be followed by Government in the next seven years, completing the second plan and sketching the outlines of a bigger plan of the same kind during the Third Five Year Plan period 1961-68.

If socialism brings happiness and progress, the realisation of the policy adopted at Abhyankarnagar should bring a substantial measure of such elusive goods to the people. But if, as all experience and instructed opinion indicate, the inevitable consequences of such policy should be not happiness but its opposite of widespread misery, loss of freedom and frustration, loosening the foundations of society still further, the responsibility rests squarely and inescapably with the Congress High Command dominated by Pandit Nehru, the members of the AICC and the Ministers in power at the Centre and the States. The rest of the country's intelligentsia will also share the grave responsibility for not making themselves effectively heard by the makers of policy. This applies specially to the writing fraternity, journalistic and other, who have by and large succumbed to the prevailing socialist or leftist illusions. These illusions were crystallised in the emphatic statement of Pandit Nehru during the session that socialism was the only way by which progress can be achieved and that there was no other. The bulk of the intelligentsia official and non-official have adopted this view.

The most important resolution making a distinct venture into socialism in agriculture was that on land "reforms". It dominated the discussions and issued into an impressive demonstration of the cult of personality (to use the term popularised by Khrushchev in his remarkable anti-Stalin speech in the 20th Congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union in 1956) in respect of Jawaharlal Nehru that has overwhelmed the Congress party. The way in which Ministers and others who were sceptical of the pattern of "reforms" laid down in the Planning Commission reports succumbed to it in the end and passed it un-animously is an indication of the combination of formal democracy and substantial dictatorship that has crystallised in the country under Congress leadership. In the end, this is the most fateful and significant end-

result of the Congress spectacle staged at Nagpur with the usual eclat and expense.

Before commenting on the shape of the Third Plan determined at Nagpur, we may dispose of the foreign policy resolution. As usual resolutions are essays running into 1500 words offering a running commentary on world events and assessments of the domestic situation whose substance and often the very language are those of Pandit Nehru himself. He is the champion drafter of Congress resolutions which gives him an opportunity of shaping the mind of the session and the thinking of the Congress hordes which is faithfully followed with a minimum of thought and understanding by the rest of the intelligentsia to the chorus of "No substitute to Nehru". So the Nehru cult goes on plunging the country deeper and deeper into chaos.

The resolution reiterates the old policy of non-alignment and friendship with all nations with the rider of anti-colonialism. It is nothing to Congress and its supreme leader that this policy has antagonised the free world for no benefit to India. It is no concern of Congressmen that this policy has involved our country more and more deeply into a defence of Soviet policies to the chagrin of great friendly Powers who are actually rescuing us from the ruinous consequences of our hare-brained economic adventures. The resolution omits reference to the USSR and the USA and UK this time but explicitly mentions our concern with Algeria, Cyprus and the Commonwealth! It also omits reference to our hostile neighbour Pakistan! It explicitly mentions our friendship with African and Asian peoples struggling for independence and development. It does not say a word about Indians overseas whom independent India has so shamefully betrayed.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon defended the continuance of our Commonwealth association which he pointed out is becoming more and more Asian and African in membership. In this he is following Nehru and setting his Soviet sympathies aside for the time being. We agree that our Commonwealth link should be maintained.

But we cannot agree that India need antagonise France and Britain by expressing our sympathies to Algeria and Cyprus and opposing French and British policies there and committing generally ourselves to all Asian and African peoples emerging into nationhood and freedom. It is unhistorical and unwise to suppose that all of them will have the *same* external policies and will reciprocate our profuse sympathies and championship in the future. It is unwise to proclaim identity with all Arab and Islamic countries in their ambitions. It is conceivable that they will come into loggerheads with each other and involve us needlessly into alignment with particular groups thus drawing the ire of rival groups. Solidarity with Nasser will antagonise Turkey and the other Baghdad countries and so on. It is the part of wisdom to confine the expression of our point of view on all international



questions to the floor of the UNO through our accredited delegates. Pandit Nehru is combining in himself the roles of ambassadors, delegates and foreign minister and prime minister with the result that all official spokesmen are cribbed, cabined and confined to the Prime Minister's dicta and cannot express their own personality in independent development of official principles.

About Pakistan, official utterances repeated *ad nauseam* the old formula—"though Pakistan's leaders breathe fire and brimstone and are continually inciting their people to *jihad* and warlike frenzy against India, we maintain steadfast friendship for them and hope that some day they will see reason and develop goodwill to us"! There was not a word about preparedness to meet the Pakistani aggression which is bound to come some day. There was not a word about the continuous aggression of the Pakistanis on our borders! No uneasiness was expressed about the continuous penetration of Pakistani nationals into Assam and Rajasthan border areas all these years! No inkling of the gravity of the Pakistani threat to Indian security came out in any quarter in the confabulations of the power-holders led by their semi-divine chief who can do no wrong in their eyes! In Lahore the other day air-raid and other exercises were put through to teach civilians morale and organised self-help during war! But the eyes and minds of the Indian people are bemused with grandiose gestures on the international plane purporting to save the world from war and advising the Great Powers how to conduct themselves in the nuclear age! The irony of our incapacity to deal with our own militant and aggressive neighbour and the long drawn cold war between us (while we advise all the world) does not strike our Congress leaders! The verdict is inescapable that in foreign policy Abhyankarnagar revealed no improvement in the matter of realism nor practical effectiveness in the matter of containing Pakistan.

Apart from the writers to this journal, the only other group in the country with an adequate sense of realisation of the danger from Pakistan based on history and psychology and national sentiment seems to be the Jana Sangh Party. The resolution it passed in its Bangalore Session in December brings out the urgency and gravity of the Pakistani menace. It is to be hoped that such groups will increase in number and waken the country to the mortal peril in which it stands today—a peril for which the makers of Partition and pursuers of pacifism since independence are clearly and inescapably responsible.

Let us now turn to the economic policies adumbrated at Abhyankarnagar, policies proclaimed to be the only ones calculated to lead the country to that "earthly paradise"—the roads to which seem to be known only to the children of Marx.

The pretence that the socialistic pattern of society adopted at Avadi as the supreme goal of public policy was our own variety of socialism (not committed to the Marxist blue-print being realised in Russia and China) was given up in the Amritsar Congress the next year. The Planning Commission Reports say clearly and unambiguously that all the economic proposals contained in them are calculated to realise socialism in economic structure and social justice. Commercial and industrial as also agricultural circles

have only themselves to blame for not realising the implications of the socialistic pattern and for neglecting to offer organised opposition to the new gospel.

The Abhyankarnagar resolution regarding the Third Plan carries the country deeper into the inextricable tangle of state capitalism and state aggrandisement.

The Congress President stated in his speech that the present structure of Planning is to continue and even to assume bigger volume in targets and investments. If the second plan aimed at Rs. 4800 crores of investment, the third plan will aim at Rs. 9,500 crores and *more*—nearly double that of the second! The second plan itself ran into difficulties. The principal creditors—USA, Britain, Germany and the international institution of the World Bank had to pool their financial charity to save India from the consequences of her own recklessness—like good creditors more anxious to save the solvency of the debt than to foreclose and bankrupt him. And the plan had to drop certain parts in order to salvage the "core". But the experience has had *no lesson* to our plan-intoxicated leaders (rather Leader *par excellence*). So the third plan will seek to invest nearly Rs. 10,000 crores!

#### WHERE IS THE MONEY TO COME FROM?

The resolution says that in the Third Plan period Government will earn funds through the profits of state enterprises and state trading! So far, state enterprises have earned only *losses*. What miracle will be achieved by the Government's administrators and the political leaders so as to enable them to earn *profits* and avoid losses through inefficiency and corruption, it is impossible to guess. Mr. Dhebar proposed in his presidential address that tribunals with summary powers of disposal should be appointed to try cases of corruption among officials. This assumes that the principal source of corruption is officialdom. But as the Chairman of the Jana Sangh Reception Committee to its seventh session at Bangalore pointed out (he was a former Minister of Hyderabad and Prime Minister of Orissa States before their merger with India) the main source of corruption is the greed and unscrupulousness of the politician, the new middleman in the administration! Mr. Kodanda Rao had suggested in the public press that Ministers and all politicians and officials should make a statement of their assets before Government every year. They have anyhow to make such declarations to the income tax officials. They might as well send such statements to the press year by year as a check on illegal accumulations. Mr. Dhebar was asked by journalists to give his reaction to this proposal but he evaded the issue and now talks only of checking corruption in officialdom! This is the major source of debility and demoralisation in the Congress Party. They have reached dimensions rivalling those of the Chiang Kai Shek regime before its defeat to the communists in 1949.

So the hope of earning profits to step up the scale of the Third Plan is chimerical.

The twin idea of making money through extension of State trading is truly alarming. State trading will extend over the whole area of trade—foreign and domestic, wholesale and retail. The sphere of self-employment and economic freedom to producer, trader and consumer will suffer catastrophic abridgement

in the next period. And we shall approach a totalitarian society with seven league boots! As for the amount of profit that will survive top-heavy bureaucratisation and corruption sufficiently to make a difference to the amount of resources available otherwise, it is anybody's guess! It is bound to be strikingly *smaller* than could be realised through taxation of free enterprise.

Further, the present top-heavy pattern of large outlay on heavy industries like steel and "machinery to make machinery" and starvation of consumer industries is to be continued into the third plan, the major accent still continuing to be on rapid industrialisation at an artificially forced pace (spreading abnormal conditions into every part of social and economic life and subverting the social order in actual effect). Incentives will suffer progressive attrition and production will fall. Strong extra-economic measures will have to be taken even to keep the economy going—viz., governmental force and coercion!

Another disturbing suggestion in the resolution is the idea of controlling the profits of industrial concerns. We are already having heavy taxation beyond the capacity of the economy to bear—taxes direct and indirect and those on wealth and expenditure. What shape this further notion of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs will take remains to be seen in future budgets.

There is another clause in the resolution in which wages and salaries are recommended to be correlated to production. So far, the powers that be, have encouraged organised labour with tribunal awards of increases on salary and a dearness allowance beyond what industry can bear. The inevitable consequence has been a rise in the cost of living by inflating the wage fund and raising the prices of industrial raw materials. That the Government actuated as it is by motives of vote-cultivation will be able to reverse this policy and will succeed in co-relating wages and salaries to productive efficiency is too good a story to believe!

Of course in addition to taxation and profits, we have the department of public loans, major and minor. It is well-known that free India's rulers have damaged the money market grievously and that they have been rarely able to obtain their requirements in public loan issues. If we deduct the contribution of the Reserve Bank, the resulting picture of the paucity of unforced individual response to Government loan issues will be seen to be shockingly meagre.

We can forecast therefore an era of forced public investment, big and small. Banks will come under pressure. The Ginger group of socialist economists will suggest inevitably the nationalisation of banks under the illusion that the level of private deposits and bank earnings could remain high under government auspices. Government servants and all who have fixed wages and salaries disbursed by offices, firms and industrial employees will have deductions from their salaries and wages forced on them, probably by legislation. There are persistent complaints that such persons are even now obliged by official pressure to purchase small savings certificates. Such pressure will increase spreading misery all round and accumulating resentment in all ranks of the people,

high and low. High prices have already narrowed the margin of savings in the middle classes shrinking the quantum of the funds that used to go into industrial investment. The private sector will have even more difficulty in raising development finance through the offer of equity shares on the share markets.

The major change in policy registered at Nagpur (as already stated) concerns what was christened as *agricultural organisational pattern*. It corresponds to the blueprint of the third plan and even exceeds it in the matter of ushering socialism into our life.

The vital change in the pattern of "land reforms" as laid down in the Commission Reports concerns "land to the tiller" cry. It was proclaimed that the land reform should impose ceilings, take surplus lands and distribute them among tenants and landless labourers. In communist countries, this policy was adopted to win the alliance of the peasants during the first stage of securing bourgeois revolution and freedom from feudal master classes. For this purpose, first landlords and zamindars and then rich peasants were named as *class enemies* and the *main* blow was aimed at them mobilising the greed and fury of the poorer peasants and landless workers. They were expropriated. Next the middle peasants were deprived of ownership and together with landless agricultural labourers were herded into so-called cooperative farming societies. Their final stage was *collective* farms in which the assimilation between farmer and labourer was complete. All individual holdings were pooled and managed by a committee of the former owners and labourers guided by communist party cadres and experts in agriculture. Thus the peasant ultimately lost his individual holding and opportunity for free self-planned work on his own farm.

This was the pattern laid down in the Reports of the Planning Commission. They laid down the ultimate goal of agricultural policy to consist of *village* panchayat cooperatives that were to manage all the lands of the village as a single collective farm. The idea was to enable agricultural operations to have the fullest benefits of large scale farming, technological advances and large scale purchase and sale.

But the first stage was the grant of lands to landless and small farmers. The achievement of the Abhyankarnagar resolution is that this middle stage of actually giving land to the tiller and landless labourer *is to be bypassed!* As soon as surplus lands are taken from large owners, they will *not* as now decided be given to them but the tillers will be used for the formation of cooperative farming units under village panchayat management! At first, service or Rochdale cooperative societies are to be formed to acclimatise the farmer to cooperative habits. Then cooperative joint farms are to be formed in which peasants will formally (i.e. in the books) retain their individual holdings but will ignore them in actual working. They will work with others on all the lands of the farm irrespective of individual farm boundaries. They will pool all their resources of cattle, farm implements, manure, etc. They will receive in addition to wages some *dividends* in proportion to their holdings. In the next stage this ownership will cease and the farmers will become

(Continued on Page 9)



# WORDS vs DEEDS

By M. N. Tholal

CRORES of rupees are to be spent on spreading Gandhian ideology while his great disciple Nehru remains determined to pursue the path opposite to that pointed out by his Master. Under the circumstances it would perhaps be much more profitable if a fraction of the amount were spent on publicising the deeds of the Mahatma which have landed the country in a quandary out of which it seems almost impossible to extricate it. Deeds should speak louder than words, but here in India the contrary has been the case with the result that the deeds which produced the greatest tragedy of the Indian history continue to be copied by the Mahatma's great disciple and, what is more, continue to be hailed by a population used to taking leaders on their word.

It seems difficult even for intelligent men to take a bird's eye-view of the situation, and yet that is what matters most. Only those who can grasp the essentials and forget the confusing details can really understand a situation. This of course involves separating the grain from the chaff. It is difficult because the chaff is often more interesting and entertaining and the grain painful to behold because propaganda makes us love the evil-doer. No man in India was ever so loved by the people as Mahatma Gandhi, and yet what is his true record, to mention which is to court unpopularity, if not enmity? Let us throw a glance at it.

Circumstances combined in 1921 to make the non-cooperation movement a national upheaval, the like of which few countries have ever seen. The reason was the sacrifice and imprisonment of two princes among men, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das. The Viceroy publicly admitted he was puzzled and perplexed. Gandhi could have issued any order, including one for indefinite general strike everywhere, and his order would have been carried out. People would have seen to it. But what did he do? Some one in USA compared him to Jesus and he forthwith decided to work for world leadership and called off the movement because in an unknown village a few policemen had been murdered! He told a French philosopher visiting India, "I do not work for freedom, I work for nonviolence." (Vide Young India February 23, 1922) The French philosopher passed on this interesting

*(Continued from Page 8)*

labourers, pure and simple. This is the true communist dispensation and it is *accepted* as the model for India! This is supposed to avoid uneconomic holdings and increase production!

This is a radically unsound idea and is bound to disorganise agriculture and bring red revolution nearer. This is playing into the hands of the Communist Party of India and it was passed with not a single member opposing it in the final vote! The Abhyankarnagar Session marks culmination of Nehru's power over Congress and introduces communism definitely to rural India.

news item to Tilakites at Poona and they published it. Gandhi had said this after promising freedom every day after the Nagpur (1920) Congress "within a year" "within six months" and so on and so forth. What was this? Double-crossing, pure and simple.

Earlier in South Africa he had given an indication of his true self. After leading a campaign against compulsory registration of Indians, he agreed on their behalf that the latter will register of their own accord. A Pathan stabbed him for it and he refused to help the police in prosecuting him. The grain was the betrayal of the cause, the chaff lay in the refusal to prosecute, but the chaff brought round everybody to his side, ignoring the grain.

And what was this loin cloth which he donned in 1921? He had donned it for a while but found the effect so tremendous and electric that he kept to it. What was its significance? He had not given up the world. He knew as a Hindu that it was the garb of Sadhus and sanyasis to contradict whom was awful bad manners. His daily life was no approach to theirs. "I must say Mahatmaji is a bit of a dandy." This jibe of Motilal Nehru on the eve of discussions on the Swaraj Party deserves to go down in history. He remained all his life the dandy that he became on arrival in England for studies. Why then the loin cloth? Not surely to illustrate his "purity of the means?" The answer is obvious. To extract obedience from Indians, to become India's Dictator and a world leader.

Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das defined him successfully and even made him weep bitter tears in an open session of the All-India Congress Committee. But to defy him equally successfully Jinnah had to turn communalist—that man who used to say "I am an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards and my ambition is to be a Muslim Gokhale"—and Subhas Chandra Bose had to leave the country to blaze an immortal trail of patriotic glory in far-off lands. What of lesser men. "Get out Nariman!" "Get out Khare!" Even a Bose had to go out of the Congress.

What does a subject country need above all against foreign oppressors. Just one thing: a united front. Did Gandhi ever try for one. Never. Even Motilal Nehru had to walk out but his walk-out frightened Gandhi and he retracted his steps. "He who is not with me is against me" was his one and only motto. It is the motto of all self-seekers, all megalomaniacs. He wanted "Yes-sir men" and he got them. For Khare he got Shukla and we all know the good fellow, who had been a teacher, left a crore of rupees for his progeny.

## DEMORALISATION

With Gandhi's ascendancy began the demoralisation of political life in India. While people began saying what they liked after the 1921 upheaval, no one in the Congress could dare say a word against the Mahatma without at the same time losing for ever all prospects of being anybody in the Congress. No one could even call him Mr. Gandhi without falling from

grace. What was the result? Rapid spread of hypocrisy in the Congress rank and file. Congressmen began having two sets of opinions, one set as individuals and the other as Congressmen. In their individual capacity they generally gave expression (guardedly of course) to their honest convictions; as Congressmen they naturally cried Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai in multitudinous ways, knowing as they did the consequences of not doing so. That was all that Gandhi wanted. Opinions privately voiced reach a few but those voiced at public meeting and published reached thousands. This hypocrisy was essential for Gandhi's dictatorship and he was quite content.

It was indeed a great achievement, rendering it impossible as it did for any honest man to belong to the Congress. Even Jawaharlal Nehru, after giving expression to his own opinions, always cried Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai and voted for whatever he wanted done. He had the courage to vote against himself to guard himself against the fate that overtook Nariman, Khare and Bose.

And what of Gandhi himself? We have seen how after pretending to be fighting for Swaraj he declared—when the enemy had almost admitted defeat—he was not interested in India's freedom. But for the nobility of the Frenchman who passed on the secret declaration to Tilakites at Poona—who at once published it—Indians would have never known their leader's hypocrisy and duplicity. But did it matter; this confession of not working for Indian freedom by Gandhi? Not at all. Why? He was wearing the loin cloth and had the people's applause wherever he went—in short because Indians are cowards.

This loin loth was the most effective piece of chicanery ever adopted by any political leader. It was far more effective than Sec. 124-A of the Indian Penal Code relating to sedition. The paraphernalia of saintliness was in fact the beginning of the camouflage that his savings and writings increasingly became after the Chauri Chaura incident—camouflage to prevent the truth about himself being seen by any one, even by his opponents.

Let us take the components of Gandhism one by one and compare them with his actions.

"I abhor secrecy" he used to say while in practice he was an exemplar of secret diplomacy. Was he not secretly leading the Congress after resigning from it in 1934? "I am not even a four-anna member of the Congress," he used to say. If it meant anything it meant he had nothing to do with the Congress. Why then was he continually receiving deputations of Congressmen? Why did he send a secret message to the Convention Congress Legislators at Delhi in 1937 after the Congress success in 1936 elections, asking them to pass a resolution in favour of homogeneous cabinets, which meant double-crossing the Muslim League in U.P. with which the Congress had before the elections reached a Gentlemen's Agreement to form a coalition cabinet in the event of victory at the polls? Why did he secretly reject Nehru's pleas to exempt U.P. from the operation of the resolution? Was it to illustrate his "purity of the means?"

The truth is that assumption of dictatorship is a declaration of war on one's countrymen. It is calculated to make cowards of men. That is what Gandhi

did. Those who have guts take up the cudgels and civil war and division is the result. Bose could have incited Bengal against Gandhi but he was too much of a patriot to do so. Jinnah's hatred and contempt for Gandhi—he used to call him a "damned hypocrite"—led him to resolve to teach him a lesson, and our struggle for freedom became a struggle between Gandhi and Jinnah.

A foreigner who became friendly with me once asked me for a definition of Gandhism. I gave it to him in three words: Egoism plus egotism. Thinking I was joking he asked for another and I said: Goody-goody hypocrisy. Let us illustrate. "I want to reduce myself to zero," he used to say. "I had no political ambition," he wrote to Lord Wavell from prison. Is that why this not-even-four-anna-member of the Congress explained on Bose's election to Congress Presidentship: "Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat"? Is that why earlier he had had himself nominated as sole representative of the Congress for the London Round Table Conference? Is that why he started the "Open Rebellion" in 1942 which was nothing short of a stab in the back of the Allies in the most critical period of Britain's history. Nothing wrong if freedom could thus be gained but highly improper for a man who had been boasting of his "non-embarrassment" policy.

The dominant emotion being sordid and selfish, its transformation into action can only result in selfish deeds. He suspended the movement in 1934 accusing Congressmen of not being true Satyagrahis for they were reading and writing in jails. What was he claiming for himself? The right to conduct a movement from inside prison!

In '47 he made Nehru Prime Minister and gave a majority in the Cabinet to Patel. Was that fair to either? Perhaps it was fair only to himself as he wanted to remain the final arbiter.

And he wanted Rs. 55 crores to be given to Pakistan at a time when Pakistan was invading India. Surely a record in world history: And his noble successor is about to give a few hundred crores to Pakistan to help her build canals although she is openly threatening war on India everyday!

READ

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# Public Services In Democracy

By Vivek

**F**EW things are of greater importance for the proper functioning of a democratic State than the behaviour of the Government towards its servants. Since the Communists came into power in Kerala, there have been 854 transfers of Police officers. So says Nambodripad himself, blandly ascribing them to the exigencies of service. For some this cause may be correct; but for many it obviously is not. They were probably the result of the anger of Government at the action of officers who would not behave in the manner that would be most convenient from the point of the Party or of individual Ministers, but used their own judgment and initiative.

What has been happening in Kerala is unfortunately not altogether unknown in other parts of India. Senior officers have been sent away from some States at short notice because they would not fall in with the wishes of their Ministers, based on considerations other than those of public interest. Also, occasionally pliant junior officers have been promoted over their seniors because of their greater usefulness from the Minister's or Party's, rather than the public, point of view.

## SERIOUS AFFAIRS

This is undoubtedly an extremely serious state of affairs. It may well become even more serious if the Congress loses control of some more States at the next general election, a not unlikely contingency in view of its record and the obstinacy that is driving even such strong former supporters, as Maharashtra and Gujerat to despair.

Shall the public servant be independent and impartial or shall his actions be determined by his estimate of what the party in power or influential individuals therein desire, and shall his attitude change when he feels that another party is likely to come to power? Inevitably the latter must happen once his professional loyalty is disturbed. Not the merits of the case, not the interest of the public, but his own advantage will then become the guiding principle.

A quick glance at the map of India and at the daily press is enough to reveal conditions that should shake the complacency in this respect of even the most obtuse. The Junjab, Rajasthan, Orisa, Bihar, Andhra, Bengal, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, not to mention Kerala—none of these is free from serious trouble to encounter which the first requisite is a set of Government servants, with confidence in themselves and in those above them.

## GAIN CONFIDENCE

Only if the services can rest assured that so long as they do no ill, they will receive every security and protection and will in no circumstances be victimised for some political intrigue, can such confidence be ensured. Without such confidence, the fruits of political independence may well be lost. Even the integrity of the country ultimately depends upon it. Failure to ensure it must lead to bad administration, the rock on which many an empire has founded.

Forms of government political doctrines, party victories, all these are important but none of them is as

basic as administration. The best policy cannot redeem bad administration but good administration can correct to some extent the disadvantages of even the worst policy. Congressmen should have no difficulty in reading this vividly, when they look back upon the period before independence, in which good administration, based upon the confidence of government servants in those above them, made it possible for foreign rule to continue for several decades against the wish of very large sections of the people.

## EXPERIENCE

The wise learn from the experience of their predecessors. They survive. The unwise neither forget their own follies nor learn from the wisdom of the past. Like the beasts of the field, unknowing and unthinking, they perish.

In this matter of ensuring the confidence of the services, the principal responsibility is that of the Home Ministry of the Government of India. It is the real guardian of the rights and interests of the services just as it is their main disciplinarian. Its attitude and acts can well be the determining factor for a contented and responsive administration. Sympathetic and just, it can build up morale and give that satisfaction in work that is beyond the power of even high emolument. That the Home Ministry has been well aware of this is clear from the fine part it played immediately after independence, bringing into being the New India with the aid of the instruments of the old India, and obtaining as a result of its treatment of them, their highest cooperation. It thus served both the national interest and the Congress party.

In this high tradition of the Home Ministry, there has unfortunately been a recent lapse. At a time when two senior servicemen have been called upon to show cause why they should not be removed from service, when their explanations have still to be submitted to the Government which is bound if not convinced by them to consult the Public Service Commission, when the report of the Board of Enquiry into the matter and the evidence laid before it is still unpublished, the Home Minister goes out of his way to declare, while unveiling the portrait of the ex-Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari, who is intimately concerned with the subject-matter of the enquiry, that "he is neither directly, nor indirectly to blame in any way for the Mundra affair."

What expectation after this can there be that the officers' replies to the show-cause notice will receive fair consideration from Government? Is not the judgment of the Public Service Commission being sought to be affected? Has not the Home Minister departed from the wise practice which precludes the passing of opinion on matters sub-judice, not to mention the established convention which makes it improper for the person who has to judge to express opinions before the judgment? Finally, has the Home Minister realised the effect on India's nascent democracy of establishing the principle of ministerial irresponsibility?

—Nagpur Times



## PEDLAR'S PACK

The quiet, almost casual manner in which the name of Srimati Indira Gandhi has been proposed for the presidentship of the Indian national Congress is a reminder of the shape of things to come. Only one paper had the courage to denounce the alleged apathy of congressmen in not finding a more outstanding and virile personage to fill the bill. It is not the apathy of the rank and file but the moral insolvency of the concerned that has led to the precipitate flight of the rest from the field. None but the obtuse or blind can fail to see how a dynastic succession is taking shape. Had Indira Gandhi been born a boy, he might have been dubbed Motilal Nehru II, and acclaimed as Prince Regent with the plaudits of the crowd. For it is a universal foible of egalitarians to have a sneaking fondness for the hereditary principle. There is little doubt that Mrs. Gandhi would be elected unopposed. This ensures that the congress leadership continues to be with her at her pleasure, which is until such time as the reins of government fall inertly from the hands that now hold them. The sister has an empire in London of which readers of this paper were given a summary account in a recent issue. The daughter now emerges to prepare herself for the main succession. The question that had long been vexing foreign quidnuncs: After Nehru,—Who? has at last found a natural answer!

It was Carlyle who said that the main thing is to find or choose your leader. Once you have spotted the winner, you leave the rest to him. He or she becomes a sort of magnified equal to any emergency, and rids us of all our burdens. After Indira Gandhi—though that is still much farther ahead—I foresee a division of the patrimony between the two young hopefuls now incubating in the nursery for their future greatness. If I may make a seasonable suggestion for the bosses of Congress, or rather to the next Congress President, it is that these youngsters may be made associate members of the Working committee from now on.

Even those cynically inclined ought to welcome the promised succession of a woman at the head of our Rashtra. Should anything go wrong anywhere, they may have the satisfaction of growling: 'cherchez la femme!'

These visitations from foreign notabilities are assuming the dimensions of an epidemic. Processions, conducted tours, prepared speeches, dinners and parties succeed one another with monotonous sameness and are manifest strain on the patience and good humour of our police forces. They are then said to go into conference for hours together and an 'agreed and joint' communique is issued at the end the gist of which is that everything is for the best in the best

of all possible worlds. I have sometimes tried to visualise to myself one or other of these private palavers with all the frills cut out. Here are some samples of the result:

*Pandit Nehru:* My dear Marshal, I hope you like my country.

*M. Tito:* Indeed, yes; why, I envy you your far-flung empire. Mine is after all a small patch compared to yours.

*Pandit Nehru:* Pardon me, but if I may make a comment on your affairs.

*M. Tito:* (stiffening) yes? . . .

*Pandit Nehru:* Your break with the Soviets need not have been so complete. . . .

*M. Tito:* You can afford to say that. Russia is a thousand miles from you.

*Pandit Nehru:* And another thing—About Djilas I mean; was it necessary to keep him in jail? Here you see my communist opponents are pretty free—I don't touch them at all.

*M. Tito:* But what about Sheik Abdulla and a host of others kept under detention. How many of them are there altogether?

*Pandit Nehru:* (crossly) well, we shant discuss politics. Let us agree to differ.

*M. Tito:* My dear friend, you are as charming as ever. Now we can sign a joint communique. Is it ready?

### Scene ii

Herr Grotewohl of East Germany holding a *tete a tete* with Pandit Nehru.

*Herr Grotewohl:* My dear Pandit. (he pronounces the title to make it rhyme with bandit). We in East Germany have been deeply impressed with your of peace.

*Pandit Nehru:* As the heir to Buddha and Gandhi I can hardly do less.

*Herr Grotewohl:* I have come to seek your support for the recognition of East Germany as a sovereign independent state. . . .

*Pandit Nehru:* I am afraid it is not so easy as all that  
*Herr Grotewohl:* But you agreed to the partitioning of your own country. Why then object to the principle of it?

*Pandit Nehru:* India was a special case. . . .

*Herr Grotewohl:* You mean it was the only way of your becoming the Prime Minister? Same with me, I can assure you.

*Pandit Nehru:* (colouring) It's not wholly that; it was the only way to get rid of the British, and so. . . .

*Herr Grotewohl:* But have you got rid of them really? I see more and more of them now than in the past. I think you are at heart pro-American. I shall certainly tell Khrushchev so next time I meet him.

*Pandit Nehru:* It won't be news to him, but he and you will be wrong. I am basically and simply pro-Nehru and nothing else. That's why I keep both sides guessing.

*Herr Grotewohl:* (duly impressed) Alas, we Germans are too clumsy and matter-of-fact for that sort of thing. At least on the Berlin issue you might support us in return for our support to you over Kashmir. (Continued on page 16)

# FAMILY PLANNING AND PLAN

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

## POPULATION GROWTH

**A**FTER Independence our national government has undertaken an arduous task of the economic development of the country with an object of raising the standard of life of the people. With that end in view it has introduced Five Year Plans, but success of the Plans is greatly dependent upon a population growth, which does not grow unduly. It is now increasing at the rate of 1.5 millions per annum. As a result of this devastating torrent of new comers, it is doubtful whether our Plans can succeed in raising the standard of life of the people. Already the average standard of life is far below the desirable minimum for health and productivity. An average Indian gets only 1600 calories as against the 2200 accepted by the FAO in the Second World Food Survey of 1952 as the daily minimum standard. This shows that the majority of India's millions are undernourished, and hence they are incapable of achieving full growth. As a result of this undernourishment, the efficiency or productivity of the Indian worker is far below that of the Western workers. So an increase in its population is not only disastrous, but it will still deteriorate the standard of life.

## TRAGIC PICTURE

What we find today is a tragic picture. Throughout the country every year there are born more mouths to feed than there is scope for more hands to produce. A heavy percentage of dependents as a result of indiscriminate multiplication acts as a drag on production and improvement in the standard of living. In India for every 100 earners there are 250 dependents. An increase in population would have been an asset, but as it is, it has become a liability. If every man and woman had enjoyed the bare minimum requirements of decent human existence in terms of food, shelter, clothing, health, education and employment then alone the increase in population would have been an asset. It is therefore not possible to increase the quality of the people unless the quantity is controlled. In order to avoid the great disparity between the increase in population and increase in resources, experts in various walks of life have tried to find a solution to this serious problem in order to avoid the catastrophe. The Government of India has realised the seriousness of the problem and has introduced family planning during the First Five Year Plan.

## MESSAGE OF FAMILY PLANNING

The message of family planning should be carried to the doors of the illiterate masses who live on the subsistence level and yet believe that a birth of a baby is a blessing from God. The real problem in India is not only connected with the huge existing popula-

tion, but it is also greatly concerned with the net addition to the existing population every decade. It is believed that the population will increase to 41 crores by 1961 and 52 crores by 1981. This huge absolute increase on the top of the present high population has all the potentialities for aggravating the Indian population problem. This will affect adversely the economic development of the country and the success of the Plan will be problematical.

## FAMILY PLANNING IN FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN

It was in the First Five Year Plan that for the first time family planning was inaugurated at the government level. Before that no attempt was made to control the population. The First Five Year Plan provided 65 lakhs for family planning, but this amount was inadequate in relation to the magnitude of the problem. When we wish to spread the message of family planning over a wide area, this amount appear to be very small. It is a misfortune to say that only 18 lakhs were spent on family planning work and research. However, a Committee was appointed during the First Five Year Plan to study the problem in all its aspects and some centres were opened to popularise the idea of family planning, but nothing tangible was achieved. At the end of the Plan Government also made an interesting film to popularise family planning. This film and other propoganda helped greatly to spread the idea of family planning among the illiterate masses

## FAMILY PLANNING IN THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

The Second Five Year Plan continues the emphasis on family planning in a more distinct manner. It has provided a sum of nearly 5 crores for setting up 2500 Planning Clinics;—500 in urban areas and 2000 in rural areas on the basis of one clinic for 50000 population. The main object of these clinics is to create general awareness of the problem and to provide advice and service. The Plan has aims to establish and maintain a large number of centres for the training of personnel and to develop a broad based programme of education in family living which would include within its scope sex education, marriage, counselling and civil guidance. It also aims to do research into the biological and medical aspects of reproduction and of population problem. Although family planning work is done enthusiastically in many places all over the country, yet the path is not so smooth as anticipated, and many hurdles have to be overcome. A large number of our people in rural areas are illiterate, ignorant and superstitious and the birth of babies is regarded as the will of God and the stoppage or restriction of birth of babies is regarded as a sin or crime against God. In spite of

this superstitious idea, it is not proper to leave them untouched, because it is they who need family planning most for the sake of their health and as members of society.

### IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY PLANNING

Family Planning is important to married people because they owe a duty to their children. Every child born must be born by a choice and not by the will of God. Every married couple who beget a child undertake a serious responsibility. The married couple must be sure that they can provide all facilities to their offspring and they must be confident that they can take care of them, clothe them properly and feed them properly. God will not come down from Heaven to provide all these things to their offspring and this important fact must be impressed upon them by the authorities in charge of family planning centres. There should be an interval of at least 5 years between the end of one pregnancy and the beginning of another in order to safeguard the health and strength of the mother. The cradle must not be allowed to swing in the house the whole year round. So family planning is necessary so that the husband may discharge his duty towards his wife and safeguard her health and strength. If every married couple refrain from having more than three children "improvident maternity" in India would be greatly reduced and this will enable us to raise the standard of the people. So the importance of family planning is very great in India at the present moment. What we require a democratic positive population policy in order to stop the devastating torrent of new comers, so that our country can achieve the economic progress at a rapid rate. If the new comers are not stopped at the proper time, the rate of economic growth would be retarded and the fruits of the economic progress would be swallowed by these new comers with the result that it would be impossible to raise the standard of the existing population which is the main objective of our Economic Planning. So population planning should precede economic planning. We should not only know the number of the existing population, but we should pay more attention to the rate at which the new additions are made to the present population. "The rate of economic development and the speed at which resources utilization take place in course of an economic plan should be properly synchronised with the rate of growth of population. A well-coordinated system of development planning should not only be concerned with the effective utilisation of the existing population in productive employment, but should also deal with the problem of surging torrents of new comers."

### EXPLOSIVE ISSUE

It is assumed that every year 100 lakhs of people die of all ages and out of these 40 lakhs are infants and young children under the age of 5. But due to better public health measures as envisaged in our Five Year Plans, the death rate will be reduced without corresponding reduction in the birth rate. The authors of the Second Five Year Plan, especially Planning Commission had not realised this simple truth and

there is every possibility of a growing population becoming an explosive issue during the period of the Plan. So population planning should be undertaken not only for the future population but also for the existing one, so that the economic development of the country may be accelerated and the fruits of the economic progress may be shared and enjoyed by all within a very short period. So far, the plan has emphasised the reduction in the death rate but what we need most is the effective method for the quantitative control of population growth. Mere reduction in death rate will not solve the problem.

In order to appreciate the urgent necessity of family planning the spread of education in rural areas is absolutely essential. Illiteracy is the main obstacle in the path of successful family planning. In this connection Indian Libertarian Social Institute of Bombay is rendering a very great service to the country. As a result of education, the horizons of the people will be broadened and it will enable the people to realise the necessity of limiting their families during the process of economic development. People will then realise that family planning serves as a pillar of planned economy. For the welfare of the nation both birth and death rates should be reduced and "brought in appropriate balance so that the size of the nation will become stabilised and every individual can hope to get at least the bare necessities and minimum requirements of life in terms of food, clothing, shelter, health, education and employment. Therefore it is the duty of every Indian married couple to help the nation to achieve this end by adopting the family planning for their own and nation's interest". They should practise the following mantra "I shall space pregnancy properly and refrain from having any child after the birth of third child."

### STATE TRADING IN FOOD-GRAINS

By M. H. Hasham Premji

For many years India has been importer of food-grains. Since 1942 various efforts have been made to solve the food situation as large scale of imports of foodgrains were not possible during the war and especially after the fall of Burma. Various committees were appointed but no continuity of policy was maintained. Prices were allowed to fluctuate. During 1951 the Food Administration cost the country Rs. 10 crores. The bold experiment of late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai brought forward an era of comfortable existence to the people, but the measures taken to combat the food problem were not of a long term nature. Now after 16 years of all sorts of experimentation from one extreme to the other, we are faced with statements from Ministers saying in turn and out of turn, from abuse to persuasion, from threats to complete State Trading in foodgrains. This year production will exceed 70 to 71 million tons, and there is no need for State trading or application of controls. The profits of grain dealers estimated at 60 to 80% by Government are fantastic. At the most they may be rarely over 20%. State Trading will not benefit the people except by "adding to the cost of administration and creating

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# PLANNING AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By Observer

## OUR PLANNING

ONE of the objectives of the Second Plan was to provide more and more employment to the people but if the number of persons who register themselves in the Employment Exchanges is an indication of the state of unemployment in the country, then one will not be wrong to say that Planning in our country has not solved the main problem; on the contrary it has aggravated it, and this is mainly due to the wrong policy followed by our administrators. The Congress leaders announce from time to time that they would wipe off unemployment from the country in the course of next ten years. Eight years have passed since we introduced our plans, but in spite of our planning and various other measures adopted by the Government, the number of the unemployed is increasing with the growth of population.

## WRONG APPROACH

It has been estimated in the Second Five Year Plan that 15.3 million jobs have to be created during the Plan period if unemployment is to be eradicated from our country. Prof. Mahalanabis had conceived a technique of development of heavy industries along with cottage industries. In order to achieve a rapid industrialisation and liquidation of unemployment he proposed "to increase purchasing power through investment in heavy industries in the public sector and through expenditure on health, education and social services and to meet the increasing demand for consumer goods by a planned supply of such goods." It was soon discovered that heavy industries would use up the available capital but would not provide adequate employment. It is a well-known fact that capital is scarce in underdeveloped countries and little capital that would remain after the development of heavy industries would not be adequate to expand the organised consumer goods industries. For this reason main reliance was placed on the development of cottage industries at the cost of the organised sector for solving the unemployment problem. But the cottage industries with outdated techniques were unable to compete freely with the organised sector of the consumer goods industries. Thus it can be seen that the problem unemployment cannot be solved by the development of cottage industries which are uneconomic from the long range point of view. Better techniques always pay in the long run because they increase productive capacity and reduce the cost of production.

## INVESTMENT EMPLOYMENT

None can refute the point that there is a definite relation between employment and investment. But in our country the problem of investment is a great hurdle to overcome. Due to confiscatory pattern of taxation adopted by our leaders on the Kaldorian innovations, the private sector has no initiative to save and invest. As a consequence of this, capital formation is much below the requirements. An improvement in the employment situation depends upon the rates of invest-

ment and of the increase in population. In a country like our with a large back-log of unemployment and limited rate of investment due to low productivity and low incomes of the majority of population, it is essential that the growth of population should be reduced and the rate of investment should be increased. It is only by simultaneous action in both these directions that the country can look forward to providing enough employment to the people. Since employment is contingent on investment and production, it is necessary that the rate of investment and production should increase. This clearly proves that the choice of techniques which yield a larger output per worker and a surplus that can be invested should be preferred to those in which the productivity of the worker is hardly sufficient to meet his own needs and which prove to be a burden on the society in the form of subsidies paid to the worker to enable him to maintain himself and for his products to be sold at a price lower than the one warranted by the cost of production. It may be possible to provide employment to a large number of persons through the use of labour intensive techniques but such employment will be only at a very low level of wages. It will not only not generate surpluses for increasing the rate of investment but will prove to be a drag on the economy, for a part of the investment that could be used for the development of the economy will have to be devoted for subsidising such sectors of the economy. This will affect adversely the rate of development and employment. This is also true of the restrictions placed on the installation of automatic looms in the textile industry and the process of rationalisation in other industries. "Those who place employment before growth will assuredly live to find that they have achieved neither employment nor growth."

## SOLUTION

It is regrettable to note that the Planning Commission has not considered the problem of unemployment in its proper perspective. It would have been much better if at the time of the formulation of the Second Plan the volume of investment in the heavy industries was reduced and the capital thus released used for the expansion of the organised consumer goods industries. This would have checked inflation by producing a large supply of consumer goods and would have created productive and economic employment opportunities to the unemployed. If only a small part of investable funds were diverted from the development of heavy industries to organised sector of consumer goods industries immense benefits would have resulted from such a policy. The volume of employment would have increased, modernisation of plants and introduction of better techniques would have increased the productive capacity of consumer goods industries and as a consequence of this, supply of consumer goods would have increased and this would have reduced the inflationary forces in the economy.

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## The Implications and Economic Effects of Taxation in India

By Prof. Russi J. Taraporewala

During the last three years there has been striking changes in the structure of taxation in India. The burden of taxation has been greatly increased, but the indirect effects of these taxes on the economic development of the country and the livelihood of millions have been ignored. Attention has not been paid to the adverse effects likely to follow from the levy of these taxes. There are no less than six different taxes directly levied on individuals and Hindu Undivided Families. The aggregate burden of these six taxes is far heavier than prevailing in any other country of the world. In the realm of direct taxation we have reached a tragic situation. "If a man earns income, most of it is taken away by the income tax and supertax. If a man accumulates savings of his hard earned income, they are particularly confiscated every year by the wealth tax. If a man spends or tries to enjoy the money he has earned or saved he has to pay a further expenditure tax on his spendings. If after all this is the rare case in which a man reaps some capital appreciation, such gains are heavily taxed by the government through the capital gains tax. If a man is unselfish and shares his wealth by giving gifts to his friends and relatives he has to pay the gift tax—such oddly enough, is the reward for applying socialistic principles and for being generous in our country today! And finally when a man is fortunate enough to die, the only consolation

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The above analysis shows that the problem of unemployment will not be liquidated during the Second Plan period, and the situation will remain as it was before the commencement of the Second Plan. It should be borne in mind that a lasting solution of the problem can be found in an integrated programme of interrelated development of all sectors of our economy with the definite accent on industrialisation. This does not mean that agriculture should be neglected. It is a basic industry and unless agriculture is properly reorganised economic development of the country would be greatly retarded. The rate of investment in the country's economy should be speeded up in order to create more opportunities for employment. The pattern of investment is equally important. Without the fullest cooperation of the private sector and a reduction in the tax system the problem of unemployment cannot be solved. A broad-based plan for the rapid industrial development of the country with a proper population policy is the real answer to the problem of unemployment. "Diversification of the industrial pattern, a suitable policy of location of industries, maintenance of economic activity continuously at high levels, provision of adequate training facilities, measures to promote geographical and occupational mobility of labour—all these must be considered as elements in the programme of creating new employment on the requisite scale". Will the party in power which had pledged itself to end unemployment in ten years honour its pledge by its fulfilment?

given by the government to his relatives and heirs is through the immediate confiscation of a large part of his fortune by way of death duties." All these taxes impose an unbearable burden on the resources of companies in India. When all taxes are taken into account, it is found that the companies have to part with between 65% to 90% of their gross profits by way of taxation to the Government.

In addition to these direct taxes, there are indirect taxes on articles which are consumed on large scale by the poor people. Excise duties have crippled the textile industry. Indirect taxes have been levied not only on the established industries but also on the new industries. Such a policy is bound to retard the industrial growth and the establishment of new industries.

As a result of these taxes, capital formation has been retarded. Incentive to save and invest has been reduced and the law of diminishing returns has already started operating in the field of taxation. The capital market is drying up fast. Our present tax structure is the obstacle preventing the flow of foreign capital into India. Domestic capital formation, that is internal saving and investment and the flow of foreign capital and technical and managerial "know-how" are the key factors governing the rate of economic development of the country. An increase in the rate of domestic capital formation and foreign investment will lead to increasing employment and that is what the patriotic Indian wants. It can be achieved efficiently and quickly by reforming the tax structure and the economic policy of the Government. The total number of taxes should be reduced, tax laws should be simplified, vast discretionary powers vested in the hands of the tax officers should be reduced to avoid the harassment. Abolition of prohibition and reform of land revenue would yield many more crores of rupees than what the "nuisance taxes" yield at present. Not only this, but there should be a change in the economic policy in order to regain the confidence of the investors and the public. If all this is done, then alone the country will have less unemployment, higher income, better standard of living, greater happiness and our country will soon become one of the richest and industrialised nations of the world within a few years.

—G. N. L.

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employment for the educated at the cost of the poor, semi-educated people who are employed in the grain trade and at tremendous cost to the Exchequer and the consumer in the shape of losses, incompetence and administrative charges." This ill-conceived and hastily projected scheme will throw out of employment millions of small traders. The poor consumer will be no better off. "If the Government drops or modifies the present zonal system, builds up buffer stocks for lean seasons gives up the idea of state trading and utilises Rs. 300 crores approximately required for the scheme for minor and medium scale projects, better seeds and fertiliser distribution and production, the real problem before the country i.e. increased food production can easily be solved in the next few years".

—G. N. L.

# West Bengal—Problems and Prospects

by K. K. Sinha

THE General Elections concluded in early 1957 indicated that the Congress has consolidated its position in the rural areas, and even in areas where the leftists expected to return their candidates the Congress won some seats.

But in the city of Calcutta, suburban towns and refugee areas the leftists secured a swing in their favour and the Congress was badly mauled—rather seriously weakened. The Leftists increased their total strength in the State from 94 before 1957 to 100 in a house of 252 after the elections, the Communists' increase being more substantial, both politically and numerically (from 28 to 46).

This pattern generally remains, although attempts by each side are being made to encroach upon the influence of the other.

In West Bengal we have the category "Leftists" as against the Congress. Before 1957 it was an alliance of several parties more or less on equal footing. The elections indicated that the CPI has become the dominating party managing the alliance, the other parties tending to become satellites round the CPI as it were.

This was the position at the end of the elections.

All the parties have to operate on the background of some major problems of the people. The refugee problem is one of the difficult headaches. Food and high cost of living is another. Unemployment is a serious menace. The general drift towards Calcutta and suburban towns is aggravating the already acute sanitation and housing problems. There is a growing sense of the Bengalees being cornered and pushed out by the rest of India and has a cumulative effect on the political and social scene, sensitive as the Bengalee is. The outlook is becoming more and more provincial, embittered and aggressively explosive and destructive.

The Congress stability in the districts is based on the nationalist record and its far-flung organisational apparatus, on the inadequacy of political workers belonging to opposition groups and due to a lassitude among the rural folks regarding general political issues. The Congress is also helped by its being in office and thus being able to control strategic points of vantage such as representation on the regional road transport agency, issuing of permits for various commodities and distribution of relief funds. The Congress administration and the Party organisation had systematically laid stress on welfare and educational activities in the districts in order to consolidate its hold, and in doing so it neglected the other areas.

The elections indicated the weakness of the Congress in catching the eye of Calcutta's middle-class and the industrial working-class. Its labour wing had not developed any character and integrity in the eyes of the industrial workers. Its ideological work was severely neglected. It was on the whole on the defensive and even conspicuous by absence in the political life of the city. Within the Party, factious attitude rather than the political atmosphere prevails. Congress membership has no particular significance. It has become a managerial organisation.

The Leftists are united by a tradition of anti-Con-

gressism, anti-authority attitude, a craving for mass agitation inviting police repression, a peculiar sense of satisfaction by the creation of civic disorganisation. Members of various political groups which may be competing with each other are drawn towards an unconscious alliance by this tradition without coolly calculating the future that such an alliance may imply in terms of the strength of the relation of forces between the various groups and parties. This confused state of political flux in the leftist movement is a peculiarity which challenges a clear grasp or definition. The Communist Party has by now come to fully comprehend its role in this leftist movement. It would be a part of this movement in the beginning without creating any suspicion of guiding the latter. Later it would work out a significant place for itself on an equal footing with other groups. Rivalry and friction would appear at this stage. After further working upon the movement by its intensive organisational efficiency, the CPI would in actual fact exercise a political influence dominating the alliance. Later it would begin cautiously dictating the policy of the alliance and even building its unofficial nests in the other component groups. It will play one group against another. When its own position is strong enough, it would not mind if any rival group threatens dissociation. It would build up its own leaders as the leading personalities of the movement. A situation may arise when the CPI will not, for all practical purposes, distinguish between itself and the movement. This will force the other groups to choose to be a complete political satellite (as in China) or be damned as an agent of the reactionaries.

Viewed in the above setting, the Communists came into a politically dominant position in West Bengal after the general election. But the events of the Hungarian Revolution, Nagy's execution, break with Yugoslavia, Kerala discomfitures, Pasternak episode, etc. are having a cumulative effect on the minds of the leftist political workers. They are very slowly realising the implications of *pure leftism*. As a consequence, an ideological, and now an organisational schism are appearing in the movement.

Several movements have been launched since 1957 such as:

- (i) Struggle against Price Increase and Food Crisis (4,000 persons courted arrest)
- (ii) Direct action by the Refugees in regard to rehabilitation of refugees in West Bengal
- (iii) Student's agitation against fee increase (about 1200 students were arrested)
- (iv) Movement by the State Government Employees, and
- (v) Tram strike.

The idea behind the launching of these movements which require careful organisational preparations was to consolidate anti-Congress Leftism. But as later agitations indicated, at least the PSP is beginning to realise that in becoming part and parcel of such movements, without simultaneously distinguishing itself from the CPI, it will be lost in the broad stream and

the initiative will be completely left to the CPI and even its own following will be difficult to control.

The Communists took a systematic stock of their position after the General Election. They spotted their weakness in the peasantry. They, therefore, set about working in that field. Many of the movements and agitations were launched with the aim of extending their influence and organisation in the rural sector. They have substantially succeeded in this respect at least in opening out new areas and in increasing their membership in the districts. Today their membership stands at about 80,000 compared to about 10,000 in January 1956. In 24 Parganas their membership has increased from 2,000 to 5,000, in Midnapore from 1,000 to 3,000, in Burdwan from 400 to 1500, in Dinajpur from 400 to 1400, in Darjeeling from 600 to 1500, in Calcutta from 2500 to 4000, in Hooghly from 600 to 1500.

The progress in the rural areas has been so spectacular that the Communists are today facing a demand for a greater recognition of the rural leadership in the provincial Party. This suggests that the CPI in Bengal is undergowing an internal transformation. It may be mentioned here that the rural poor agricultural labour, based also on caste and religious considerations, constitutes a very important factor of rural Bengal.

Lately two new tendencies are noticeable in the PSP. One is regarding organisation. Its leadership, although divided in itself, seems to have become aware of the need to stand on its own legs. It has, at least temporarily, decided to keep a distance from the Communists in public movements and it is taking active steps to activate and consolidate its membership in the district units. The leaders are touring and local study camps are being held.

The other tendency is its becoming more politically aware of the Communist danger. The execution of Imre Nagy provoked some of its units to organise public demonstrations against it. The relation between the CPI and the developments in Kerala is having its impact also. The fascination for leftism is slowly fading.

How far these tendencies will be strengthened within the Party is difficult to assess at present. One thing, however, is worth noting, namely, that these tendencies have grown from within and were not initiated from the Centre.

There are several other leftist groups in Bengal which are not unimportant in their own way, such as the RSP, Forward Bloc, Forward Bloc (Marxist), the Socialist Unity Centre etc. They are so 'revolution' conscious that it is difficult to anticipate whether they will seriously make a reappraisal of their ideologies. But it is conceivable that in order to preserve their organisational ego they may tend to go against the Communists on specific issues. However, in general, they help creation of the leftist environment for the Communists to exploit and consolidate.

In summarising the political situation in West Bengal, it may be said that while Congress holds the organisational control over the province now, its political position is steadily weakening. A climate of instability is slowly emerging as the erosion of the Congress takes place and as the CPI's organisational network extends itself throughout the region. Although the CPI has to face major problems relating to its political alliances in the coming years preceding the

next election, it may be in a position to create a generally confused political climate for making the intelligentsia indecisive. If it succeeds in doing this, it should consider its task successful. On the other hand, if the democratically minded political groups and movements generally veer round emphasising the democratic and libertarian aspects of our political life in contrast to the totalitarian pattern, thus isolating the Communists *politically* and *ideologically*, the danger of creating the pre-conditions for Communists taking over in West Bengal might be averted.

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ing to attack and conquer and enslave us but our leaders will think of them as *Bhai, Bhai's!*

It is curious how they seemed to be armed with the armour of innocence and high morality in this softness to the enemy. In sober common sense, it is nothing but treachery and betrayal of the trust reposed in them by the masses of the people in all innocence and faith in their capacity to safeguard their lives.

#### UNITED FRONT AGAINST CONGRESS

There is a move in PSP circles to forge a united front of opposition parties. It may be remembered that during the last elections, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan started a fierce controversy within his party by his advice to his colleagues to form a united electoral front with the Communists against the Congress. He felt that the organisational strength of the CP could be used to help the PSP to set up an effective opposition to Congress candidates without compromising their principles. He urged that there need be no common programme but only an understanding not to split the votes of the opposition which would only facilitate the return of the Congress candidate.

Carried out cautiously, it is a sound proposal. But it is inapplicable to the CPI, for the CPI is not a democratic party as all the world knows. It is a conspiracy tied to foreign forces. It is the sworn enemy of democracy. Once in the saddle, it will abolish democratic parties and set up a totalitarian tyranny.

But such an electoral alliance without surrender of principles and merger of programmes can be fruitfully tried as between the PSP and Jana Sangh parties. Neither has any extra-territorial loyalties or leanings. In fact the PSP might be open to foreign ideological influence via Socialist parties abroad. But the Jana Sangh is entirely indigenous and stresses national patriotism and unity above all other ideals.

The understanding may stipulate that wherever a PSP candidate is likely to win, the Jana Sangh should refrain from competing with him. It might even assist him in electoral organisation and campaigning. Similarly the PSP should assist the Jana Sangh candidate where he has a greater chance judged by the work put in by the party in the area and the balance of sentiment amongst the electorate.

In ideology, the PSP does not differ from Congress but in the coming election, it is not likely to displace Congress. The aim of the electoral alliance is to increase the number of opposition members in Parliament. If the continued opposition is about 45 per cent, the ruling party will have to be less dictatorial. That is all the aim of the electoral alliance. And it will be a great gain, if such a result can be achieved in the next election.

# LIFE IN EAST GERMANY

The Congress for Cultural Freedom has organised since September last a Centre in West Berlin for the use of refugee intellectuals who are required to run away from East Germany. The following report on the life in East Germany is based on the stories told by the refugee intellectuals who took advantage of the Centre.

THEIR stories, though varied in detail, show a clear pattern of political engulfment of all areas of life in East Germany. It should be emphasized at the outset that none of the refugees who found shelter in the Congress house had left their homes in the East for material reasons. As intellectuals and professional people, they had received high salaries and had generally enjoyed a preferred status. Some had lived in virtual opulence: for example, a professor of music at the Dresden Conservatory, who had his own suburban home, three concert pianos in his house and a library of valuable books and manuscripts.

One of the major reasons for the decision to leave home and material comfort was the pressure exerted upon the children. Starting at a very early age, the children in East Germany are required to join the "pioneers," the R.D.J. ("Free German Youth") or some other "brigade." Refusal to join such organisations means discrimination and prejudice against the children at school.

The refugees at the Congress house said that, in general, school teachers take an objective attitude toward their pupils and judge them by their performance. The teachers, however, are forced by higher authorities to give passing, or even honour, grades to the official youth leaders in their classes even when they neglect their studies. But it was noted that the old-group of competent and objective teachers is slowly disappearing from the schools, and young and professionally unqualified, but politically reliable teachers are taking their place.

Many of the refugees at the Congress house have also told of political pressures which, in different ways, made it impossible or intolerable for them to continue their professional careers.

A veterinarian fled to the West, leaving his wife and daughter behind, when he was threatened with punishment because of his remarks about injustices perpetrated against the remaining peasant proprietor class. The veterinarian had found that these peasants were placed at a serious disadvantage, as against members of the collective farms, with respect to gas and electricity rates and the cost of the necessities of life and of fodder for the animals; his remarks on these discriminatory practices had been reported to the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party. When his wife tried to send his typewriter to him in West Germany, she was arrested for smuggling and sentenced to six months in jail. The doctor, informed that his wife would be freed upon his return to East Germany, went back to the Soviet zone; his wife was released, and this time the entire family escaped to West Berlin.

One pattern which has emerged from the stories told by guests at the house is the attempt to embarrass the politically unaffiliated by imposing upon them duties which they feel they cannot accept. A lawyer was asked to organise his city block for forthcoming elections. Another lawyer was told that his office would

be used as a secret police headquarters, but that he would not be personally involved in police activities. Since his experience with Nazi practice had taught him that police use of his office would soon involve him actively in police activities, he left East Germany and abandoned a flourishing law practice.

The head of a hospital dermatology department had irritated the authorities by declaring that materialism could not furnish an answer to the mystery of life. For half a year, this physician was assailed at all hours, nearly daily, with telephone calls which were never answered. He was forced to share the evening courses which he taught with a Party appointee who was unqualified in the subject. The dermatologist finally decided to leave East Germany when he was ordered to head a communist party electoral propaganda committee.

A protestant clergyman suffered a severe conflict of conscience; not because of the discrimination and vituperation to which he was exposed in his community, but because those who stood by him, or even had any contact with him, were publicly vilified and denounced. Before the parson left East Germany, he resigned from his ministry to return to his former profession as a high-school teacher; and this is the career he hopes to pursue in West Germany.

A university professor of gynaecology was told that his Catholic faith disqualified him from being a good professor and that he was to be transferred to the military College at Greifswald. He chose to leave his home and a medical practice which, in any case, he was in danger of losing.

The director of an important art museum was accused of neglecting the teachings of dialectical materialism in his writings. As proof of the charge, the authorities cited a passage in his biography of Tilman-Riemenschneider, a German sculptor of the late Middle Ages: "During the peasant war, Riemenschneider sided with the rebellious peasants." The museum director was told that the use of the word "rebellious" placed the peasants in an unfavourable light and that he should have described them as "revolutionary". On another occasion, he was criticised for failing to praise, in a publication designed for Western consumption, the generosity of the Soviet Union for returning art treasures which they "had saved during the war from certain destruction". Since he knew, as everyone else did, that the Soviets had carried off the art treasures a year after the end of the war, he did not insert the laudatory passage in his text. As in similar cases recounted at the Congress house, the museum director was caught in a net of increasingly tight controls; he remained nominally the head of his museum but he gradually lost effective control over it as he was surrounded by party officials who impeded his work. In cases of this kind, the refugees said, department heads were usually given

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# SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

By Sidney Hook

ACCORDING to the Marxist conception, socialism is a state of society in which private ownership of the chief means of production, distribution and exchange no longer exists. But it does not follow that exploitation is impossible in a socialist society. It may simply take another form. Exploitation may arise as much from the decisions made by the bureaucrat or manager or Party cell representing the state on the conditions, wages and tempo of work as from the decisions of an individual owner. Indeed where the worker is protected by a free trade union and has the right to strike, he may be far less exploited in a mixed welfare economy or a democratic capitalist economy than in a socialist economy if he does not enjoy the rights of a free trade unionist. The state, because of its monopoly of all economic power under socialism, can by the use of the bread-card and work-book as instruments of coercion, crush the worker far more completely than in a democratic welfare economy in which he can profit from the competition among capitalists, the protection of his trade union and the guarantees of a manifold social insurance. The mode of political decision is at least as important and may sometimes be even more important than the mode of economic production.

The crucial question is not so much the legal form of ownership but the operational realities of power and responsibility. If the rulers of a socialist economy are not responsible to the workers, if they are not removable through processes which register freely given consent or disapproval after genuine legally recognized opposition parties have been heard, in effect, these political rulers "own" the instruments of production. Since power over things is power over men, especially if the use of these things, the instruments of production, is necessary for life, it follows that socialism without democracy is slavery. This has always been recognized by humanistic socialists from Marx to the present. Rosa Luxemburg in her critique of the Russian Revolution wrote:

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*Pandit Nehru:* Well we shall see, but meanwhile please wait for something or other to turn up. You don't want to meet Marshal Tito by any chance? No, I thought not! He is due here shortly. Shall we issue our agreed communique to the press?

Distance lends enchantment to the view, and Lord Altrincham is the latest victim of an optical delusion. He wants the Archbishop of Canterbury to go about in loin cloth and bare feet. Mahatma Gandhi himself would have fallen a victim to meningitis or pneumonia if he had tried the experiment in England. By Indian standards, the Mahatma was over-clothed, though he earned the title of the 'half-naked faqir.' It is not the imitation of externals but sincerity of heart that is very much to seek today whether in England or in India. Whited sepulchres are very much in fashion in both countries!

—Libra

"Socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economist economy are created; it does not come as some sort of Christmas present for the worthy people who in the interim have loyally supported a handful of socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and of the construction of socialism."

It is obvious that socialist democracy, or any other kind of democracy, cannot be present where the dictatorship of a political party, particularly of a minority political party, exists. As long ago as 1884, the father of Russian Marxism, George Plekhanov, wrote that, if socialism is imposed by force on an economically back-ward country, it would lead "to a political deformity after the image of the Chinese and Peruvian Empire, a renewed Tsarist despotism with a Communist lining." A people cannot decide freely to establish a socialist or any other kind of order unless there exists freedom of speech, assembly and press not only for the partisans of the group in power but for those who are in opposition. Obviously, the indispensable conditions of freely-given consent were totally absent in the countries of the Soviet bloc, as they were in the Fascist countries.

In an attempt to justify the Communist system, the Soviet ideologist Mark Mitin, in a paper presented to the International Congress of Philosophy in Vienna last September, asserts as matters of fact what is clearly is not the case, and makes statements which are incompatible with acknowledged fact. I shall consider briefly three illustrations of Mr. Mitin's conception of evidence;

1. "History," he writes, "has also proved that capitalism is always and inevitably accompanied by wars." The significance of this observation to some extent depends upon whether other social systems—slavery, feudalism and socialism are also always accompanied by wars. As it stands the statement is false. For capitalist countries are not always at war. England and France did not defend Poland against Hitler's attack merely because they were capitalist countries. Nor when, together with the United States, they came to the aid of the territory did they do so because they were capitalist: even Stalin conceded this. Further, if capitalism is inevitably accompanied by war, how can Communists plead at the same time that peaceful co-existence between "countries with differing social systems" is a "a matter of pressing historical necessity"? Both of these statements cannot possibly be true.

2. In criticizing the neo-Malthusian claim that in some countries it is necessary to control the growth of human welfare, Mitin writes: "Actually life on earth could be interesting and full for an unlimited number of people." This assertion is demonstrably false. Given the rate of progress in scientific medicine, in the absence of birth control, a condition would be reached in which in a calculable future there would be no standing room on earth. Life would neither be



interesting nor full, only full of woe. Not only capitalist countries like Japan but socialist countries like India and Communist countries like China must control population in order to make a economical and just use of their resources. In the long run "the population bomb," unless controlled, may prove a greater threat to mankind than the hydrogen bomb. Mitin ignores the fact that relatively humane laws which permitted voluntary control of the size of families existed in the Soviet Union until the mid-Thirties, when they were abolished by Government decree. Those whom he denounces as neo-Malthusians believe that these laws made good sense. They hold that where they rest on a popular mandate, they should not be abrogated by dictatorial resolution in order to introduce a system of "Mother-heroes" which converts women into breeding machines to supply recruits for large armies.

3. Mitin asserts that since the Soviet scientists were the first to launch an artificial satellite, this establishes "the advantage of the new socialist system." The fallacy here is the obvious one of *post hoc propter hoc*. Would the fact that German scientists were the first to develop the V-2 bombs whose principles were used, together with German technicians, in launching the Soviet satellite prove the advantages of Fascism? Would the fact that the Einstein theory which together with the work of Planck and Bohr is the basis of all recent work in atomic physics, prove the advantages of capitalist democracy? Would the fact that the Soviet Union was the first country to introduce a gigantic system of concentration and forced labor camps indicate the disadvantages of "the new socialist system?" By Mitin's logic it should. One could argue with great plausibility that there is a more authentic causal connection between the "new socialist system" and the network of forced labor camps, between "the new socialist system" and the setting up of political satellites on earth, than there is between "the new socialist system" and the launching of an artificial satellite of the earth. For the latter is the result of funded international scientific knowledge in which there are no national, racial or class truths.

As a rule we can attribute only economic consequences to the operation of an economic system, only social consequences to the operation of social institutions. The work of genius cannot be simply read off as a causal consequence of the economic or social milieu in which it was nurtured. Otherwise Communists would have to give capitalism causal credit for producing Marx! There are some who make invidious comparisons between the work of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Turgenev and others giants of literature, art and music, produced under Tsarism, and the mediocre works of the socialist realists produced under Communism. Although their conclusions are different, they argue like Mitin: Both go beyond the evidence.

Scientific knowledge by its very nature is international and objective. Yet Mitin assumes that political conclusions can be drawn from scientific truth and that, since political conclusions express class truths, their alleged scientific premises have also a class content. In 1949 a writer in the Soviet magazine, *Voprosy Filosofii*, declared: "Marxism-Leninism shatters into bits the cosmopolitan fictions concerning supra-class, non-national, 'universal, science, and definitely proves that science, like all culture in modern society, is

national in form and class in content." This sentiment explains why the Politburo of the communist party believes it has justification for laying down a Party line in all fields from astronomy (against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism in astronomy" in 1938) to zoology (against "the decadent school of Mendal and Morgan" in 1948).

But if the laws of science do not change with national boundaries, or racial boundaries, why and how is their content affected by class interest or allegiance? Is there any scientific law which is valid for one class and not another? The most serious consequence of the Soviet belief in national, class, and indeed, Party truth is that it makes the quest for objectivity at the outset altogether impossible. Worse, still differences in class struggle, it brings the class struggle into science and makes politics the arbiter of truth.

Does not the attack on the possibility of objective truth strike a fatal blow at the prospects of international peace and understanding? For unless we can agree roughly upon the facts in any situation, unless we can make some objective estimate of the consequences of a proposed policy, unless we regard statistics not as a class science but as a science valid for all classes, no intelligent resolution of problems can be won. Attempts to get working solutions are hard enough; but if the whole idea of objective truth is scrapped, then the danger is increased that what cannot be solved by reasoning together will be decided by class struggle and war.

With one point in Mitin's paper I agree completely. He says that genuine harmony between Man and Nature ultimately "means that there should be no privileged group in society." This seems to me to be profoundly true. A privileged group may be defined as any group whose exercise of political and economic power is independent of the control by those who are affected by the true group's decisions. It follows that a privileged group exists in a society wherever genuine political and economic democracy is lacking. The first task of those who believe with Mitin in the desirability of establishing harmonious relations between man and man, and men and nature, is to introduce genuine political and economic democracy.

—The New Leader

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contractual guarantees of the right to appoint their own assistants, but these guarantees were increasingly being disregarded.

The guests at the Congress house, once they begin to move about in West Berlin, have been struck by the fact that the people in shops, restaurants and even in the transit camps, where the staff is burdened by an enormous work load, are still in the habit of saying 'please' and thank you,' words that have disappeared from the vocabulary of Communist officialdom. On the other hand, the refugee intellectuals have not been particularly eager to go out in the evening to the theater or cinema. They are generally content to stay home reading, looking at the television and getting over the shock of emigration.

Although some of the guests still seem a bit dazed by their good fortune, the community at the Congress house is a happy one.

—Freedom First

# Think Or Be Damned

By C. H. Prahlada Rao

**T**HINK or be damned, said Prof. Sidney Hook, who took part in the celebrated debate with Bertrand Russell over the A-Bomb, at the conclusion of a talk on science and civilization at the Kannada Sahitya Parishat (Bangalore) last week.

Whether you have coffee or tea may be a matter of taste, but the choice between peace and freedom is by no means a matter of taste; it is a question of values. Hook referred to the controversy with Russell and explained why he preferred annihilation to surrender to communism.

Hook maintained that the possibility of a nuclear war and the total annihilation of mankind was speculative; he did not believe that even in the case of a nuclear war, there would be destruction of the human race as a whole. If the choice were between survival and surrender to communism on the one hand, and struggle to live freely even at the price of self-destruction on the other hand, Hook would prefer the latter.

## WHEN IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?

Russell thought that the survival of the human race was more important even though it might mean the triumph of communism; he hoped that at the end of a few centuries of communism, mankind would again find freedom. Hook did not think that life would be worth living if it meant submission to all the horrors of communism. The price of living under communism for a few centuries in the hope that mankind would somehow regain freedom thereafter was not worth it; he thought the price was too much even for one generation.

Values for which one lives and is prepared to die give meanings to life; life without those values becomes meaningless. Human dignity and individual liberty are among such values that make life worth living. There is a range of values, and sometimes conflict arises between them. The choice between peace and freedom poses one such conflict. Peace is a value good in itself, but without freedom it becomes meaningless.

Hook illustrated the horror that follows the surrender of values by a fable. A tyrant king who was angry with his court jester wanted to punish him, and gave him three alternatives. He had to eat a bowl of stinking fish, or receive one thousand lashes, or surrender all his property. The court jester debated within himself, and finally decided that he would eat the bowl of stinking fish. He ate half the bowl, found it difficult to go on with, but made a valiant effort to eat the other half. He couldn't and out of disgust gave it up. He thought he would rather receive the thousand lashes. He suffered nine hundred lashes, and found it unbearable. With another fifty he thought he might die, and said he would rather give up his property. He gave up his property and died too.

## A PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY

Hook, who teaches philosophy in New York University and is now touring Asian countries on a Ford Foundation scholarship to study their philosophy, spoke on philosophy. A student and colleague of John Dewey, Hook considers philosophy highly practical; it is no longer the pastime of armchair professors.

Dewey's philosophy is imbued with the scientific spirit of enquiry and creation. The calling of philosophy is still the quest for wisdom. The pragmatic philosophy of Dewey applies the scientific method to philosophy in judging possible alternatives in the light of the consequences that flow from them.

Hook took the position that he did in his controversy with Russell on the basis of the possible consequences of the two alternatives. The Russellian position of proposing unilateral disarmament by the free world if Russia should not agree to reasonable terms of disarmament is more likely to weaken the will of the free world to resist, to encourage communism to become more aggressive, and to endanger world peace. A declaration by the free world that it was ready to fight and die for freedom is more likely to preserve peace.

Hook pointed out that unlike traditional philosophy, which deals in maxims and sets up utopias, Dewey's philosophy looks upon the world as full of real problems and encourages a search for their solution at the practical level on the basis of evidence. Take for instance the Russellian argument of peace at any price: it echoes a fine sentiment. There are a good many men in the world who preach peace. Hook was calling attention to the need to examine the implications of preaching peace. While the scientific method of assessing the merits of the possible alternatives would only aid a wise choice, the actual exercise of the choice depends on values.

## OUR PROBLEMS

What Hook said may sound rather academic to an Indian audience; the choice between survival and communism may lack immediacy. But the way of looking at problems which he adopted may prove extremely useful for us, beset as we are by problems of various kinds.

For instance the question of language. Patriotic sentiment says, away with English. Rational counsel pleads, don't act in haste. We have to bring to bear on the question a scientific outlook, weigh the consequences of the two courses of action, and then decide on the basis of the larger good.

It may satisfy the patriotic sentiment to dethrone English, but what will be its repercussions on our education, scientific research, industrial and technological progress, not to speak of administrative unity? Compared with the adverse consequences that the rejection of English is bound to set in motion, the

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What dependable or objective rule or rules of conduct can be deduced or evolved from experiments which were chaotic in impulse, capricious in progress and stultifying in the sequel? Is it not a mockery to establish an institute for studying these aberrations and deviations as if they were infallible revelations of occult truth from a modern Mount Sinai?

And what are we to think of the head of a government who is morally and legally responsible for the orgy of shootings, killings and forcible dispersals of people agitating peacefully for various kinds of reforms and demands sponsoring this new research foundation? Is there no obligation on the part of the government to practise the Gandhian approach to the solution of its problems in relation to the government of its own people? Would these chronic manifestations of brute force—leonine force—said Gandhiji on a memorable occasion when the British used to fire against demonstrating mobs—be absolved if they came from the government which takes the name of Gandhi—in vain, in season and out of it? Would the new Institute evolve a code of conduct which would be approved by the government, and which would give constitutional and legal sanction for the use of Satyagraha as a weapon in the armoury of the civil rights of the individual? These are some of the questions that are troubling us as we contemplate another impressive edifice reared by cant to sanctify humbug!

And then think of the one crore. Gandhi the unfed attorney of *Daridra Narayana*—the embodiment of the poor—to become the biggest box-office draw with his death! Here is another ironic situation fit for the gods to laugh over. The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi is another racket, one of whose leading lights was found after his death to have left a fortune of nearly a crore. The fund was swelled by plutocrats, administered by plutocrats and bids fair to sustain the creatures of plutocrats. All these are symptoms of a disease which is eating into the very vitals of our body politic and corrupting our souls as well. Beyond providing a number of fat sinecures for the handpicked minions of the Panjandrums at the centre, nothing good can come of such foundations.

Above all, the government's association with and tacit encouragement of such establishments makes a hash of the individuality of Law and Order. Gandhi was an anarchist and conducted his experiments at the

cost of the state. Is it the intention of the government of which Pandit Nehru is the head to provide for the play of satyagraha as a legitimate and normal factor in the regulation of the relations between the state and the individual. If it does, it would promote its own suicide by the shortest cut. But as that cannot be the aim or intention, we are thrown back on the earlier theory that we intend to promote hypocrisy on a national scale to match with its practice by most of our leading lights on the individual plane!

## A READER'S MISCELLANY

When Charles V, Emperor of Austria abdicated voluntarily and retired into a monastery to spend his time in quiet and contemplation, he decided to take to watch-repairing as a hobby. There were two clocks that became his special pets, and he delighted to tinker with them to pass the time. But he discovered one peculiarity about them; they would not keep the same time. He tried for weeks to regulate them, but at last gave up in humorous despair saying: 'To think that I attempted to force the reason and conscience of thousands into one mould—and I can't even make two clocks agree!'

All the progress we have made since the appearance of intelligent mankind in this world has been associated with the accomplishment of the individual. There is no reason to think that anything now taking place will change this.

J.G. Pleasants.

I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon if I can. I seek opportunity—not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen humbled, dulled by having the state look after me.....

Anonymous

## A PAST PROPHET OF THE PRESENT

"There are at the present time two great nations of the world which seem to tend towards the same end, although they started from different points. I allude to the Russians and Americans. The Anglo-Americans rely upon personal interest to accomplish his ends. The Russians centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is Freedom; of the latter, servitude..... Each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies half the globe."

"Alex de Tocqueville in *Of Democracy in America*"

All history is a record of the power of minorities, even of minorities of one. — Emerson.

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retention of English, paradoxically enough, becomes a patriotic act. Judged in the light of evidence, we are likely to do greater good to the country by strengthening the position of English than by weakening and dislodging it. Our English teachers who met recently have come to the same conclusion.

Hook's warning, think or be damned, may prove prophetic in our own case. We do not need panaceas or utopias; we are not in need of quacks or prophets. We just need the light of intelligence and the wisdom to make the right use of it. For that we have to stop functioning within closed minds; we have to keep our eyes and ears alert.

—Mysindia

# NEWS DIGEST

## POPULATION AND THE PLAN

Will the proverbial stork beat India's battle against poverty and social backwardness? To this question, which the Prime Minister once described as a nightmare for this country's planners, Dr. S. Chandrashekar has in a recent article lent edge. The facts he marshals are not wholly unknown but are usually brushed aside in a hurry or out of reluctance to face squarely the conclusions they warrant. Not that there has been any dearth of talk—in official as well as non-official circles—of the urgent need for this country to take to family planning on a national scale. But by and large, there has been unpreparedness to adopt the follow-up measures that become logically incumbent once the urgent need is recognized.

Apart from the problem which the size of the country and rooted traditions and inhibitions present—and the cost of the where-withals for making family planning practicable; especially in rural areas—the question is whether conventional thinking on controlled population can offer the required solution. Correlation of Plan policies and thinking to the facts of population growth would appear to be more imperative in the circumstances. For, whether one likes it or not, the most important question, as Dr. Chandrashekar points out is: How can India raise her standard of living and yet overcome the concomitants of increasing population? It is no use ignoring that this country's population is bound to increase further still when death-rate decreases and natural Malthusian "correctives" disappear with extension of sanitation, medical facilities etc.

Some of the facts cited by Dr. Chandrashekar are instructive in this context. On an average, despite a high death-rate, approximately 5710 babies are born and survive every hour in this country. Making allowance for regional variations, the population thus increase at 40 per thousand every year, giving a net annual addition of five million to this country's population. By 1961, the total population may rise to the neighbourhood of 550 (if not 600) million—a big Five Year Plan. Two collateral facts are equally significant. First, the death-rate, which in 1901 stood at 232 per thousand, has been halved, now standing at 116; and death registration is more regular in this country today than earlier. Secondly, the principal components of the death-rate, namely infant mortality (and its sub-groupings such as pre-natal, neo-natal and post-natal mortality), childhood mortality and maternal mortality, are likely (and need) to be brought down, as this country's Plans materialize.

The last two are by themselves welcome developments and devoutly to be wished; because, even at 116 per thousand, India's death-rate is among the highest, and no responsible Government can fail to take measures to bring it down: there could be no kow-towing to traditional Malthusian correctives-epidemics, for instance—even if the country were to seek to build herself up as a liberal if not as a "Socialistic" society, as proposed. But these very welcome developments shape a major problem. Leave apart other things; in regard to foodgrain, alone, this country is already, with her population approximately 120 million below the total expected to be reached by 1961, short of sup-

plies by 300 to 350 million tons per year. More revealing still: this shortage, colossal though it is, is estimated on the basis of per capita calorie intake of barely 1590 (against 2700 calorie intake of 22 per cent of the world and 2,200 to 2,700 calorie intake to 12 per cent and 2300 calorie intake of the remaining 66 per cent.) Add to this the lack of literacy (now barely 15 per cent), housing and supply of textiles at 16.6 yards per capita consumption of textiles, this country stands far behind 44 yards of the USA, for instance, which is a big gap even if allowance is made for climatic variations to mention only a few of some of the essentials. And this measure of what needs to be done is, it may be repeated, in reference to the total population as it is, and not as it is likely to be.

That these facts spell a threat to the fulfilment of the targets of the Plan needs no emphasis. What deserves to be emphasized is that in view of those facts its attractive targets have precious little relevance to reality. The demographer's facts emphasize, if anything, the supreme urgency of so constructing the Plans for this country's development that high priority is given *ab initio* to reducing the backlog; already the backlog is becoming heavier at a rate faster than that of development in essential spheres. Agriculture, education, sanitation and medical facilities, housing and production of essential commodities of primary consumption must accordingly have precedence over basic industries, big projects etc. In simpler terms, this implies that the incidence of population growth needs to be faced unblinkingly and development planned in that context primarily. Family planning drives are valuable—even necessary—but it would be fantastic to count upon them to resolve the compulsions of high rate of population growth, which is bound to go higher still, unless this country is to be made to preserve the preconditions for the operation of the Malthusian law.

—Thought

## FIJO WAS IN PAKISTAN

Prime Minister Nehru recently said that he had enough materials which prove that until recently the rebel Naga leader Mr. Fijo was in Pakistan. He spent his time in different parts of Pakistan especially Dacca.

## TRANSFER OF TERRITORY TO PAKISTAN

Dr. Roy, the West Bengal Chief Minister recently said in the Bidhan Sabha that neither Pandit Nehru nor any other Central Minister ever consulted him on the question of settling disputes with Pakistan by transferring certain territory to that State.

## PAKISTANIS IN SAURASHTRA

According to a recent survey carried out by the Police department in Rajkot, over 2000 nationals are living in Saurashtra and Kutch in spite of the expiry of their valid permit, says a Blitz report.

Recently a sub Inspector of Saurashtra Police was murdered by a Pakistani national. Besides this, other signs of anti-Indian activities on a planned manner is going on in different parts of Saurashtra for a few months past. But neither the State Government nor

the Central Government have taken any steps against them so far.

### AMBASSADOR BUNKER PLEDGES U.S. SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

American Ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker, pledged that the United States supports and will continue to support democracy throughout the world. Speaking at a symposium on "problems and prospect of democracy in Asian countries" sponsored by the India Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, Mr. Bunker declared,

"One thing I would like to make clear: that is, my country stands for and will stand by democracy. With our firmly held beliefs hallowed by countless heroes who have fought and died in its defence and the benefits which we have obtained from it, it is unthinkable that the United States would condone, connive at or support the subversion of democracy anywhere."

Mr. Bunker noted that democracy has not succeeded in all places. He said: "When its roots have been shallow it has withered under the pressure of adversity. Its losses have been tragedies for all who love democracy. The losses cannot be rested. Let there be no doubt that this is the feeling of the United States."

### FORMOSA FOR THE FORMOSANS

With reference to the appeal published elsewhere in these columns, for United Nations support of Formosan independence by a group of native-born Formosans in the United States, the *Christian Science Monitor* comments:

It is the 8,000,000 native-born islands on Formosa and the Pescadores, the group says, that have the largest stake in keeping their homeland out of Communist hands.

What the islanders want, the group says, is an independent Republic of Formosa under UN guarantee, rather than the present Chinese Nationalist Government which claims sovereignty over all China. The islanders consider the Nationalists an alien regime and they look upon the 1,500,000 mainlanders who have sought refuge on Formosa as intruders.

This feeling, although heatedly denied by the Chinese Nationalists, has been supported by many visitors to Formosa, who have remarked on the cleavage that seems to exist between mainlanders and islanders today. That Formosans are also said to be embittered by memories of the February, 1947, uprising against a Nationalist governor. The Formosans claim the Nationalists killed 50,000 in the aftermath of these uprisings while independent observers have said there were at least 10,000 fatalities.

The Formosans group in that United States calls itself the Formosan Independence Democratic Movement and claims a membership of about 300—mostly students and professional people resident in the United States. Because the members are here on Chinese Nationalist passports and have families on Formosa, they have been reluctant to identify themselves individually.

But their aims are similar to those of the "Provisional Government of the Republic of Formosa" under Thomas Bunge Liao, which was proclaimed in Tokyo on February 28, 1956, and which has since sent several appeals to the UN.

—Radical Humanist

### SLOWING DOWN DRIVE TOWARDS COMMUNES IN CHINA?

#### "Mistakes in People's Communes"

Reuter reports from Peking that there are signs that China is easing on the brakes in her rapid drive towards communal living.

Chinese newspapers have recently reported mistakes in running some of the 26,000 people's communes set up last summer through amalgamating co-operatives farms.

Dissatisfaction and even opposition to some aspects of these new basic units in which millions of Chinese are being organized for communal life on military lines have been reported.

Inspection teams are touring the communes throughout the country to "reorganize, consolidate and improve them."

According to Press reports, the team paid a lot of attention to seeing that the peasants got better food and service in the public mass halls where they eat communally instead of at home.

Reports also said some commune leaders overdid the "military" aspect of communes' organization.

Recent speeches by Chinese leaders were aimed at allaying fears that family life would break up under the communes, system.

Observers here felt although the tempo might have slackened slightly, official enthusiasm and determination to carry through the communes drive seemed at great as ever.

—Radical Humanist

### DR. M. C. STOPES

Last month 78-Year old Marie Stopes, one of the most controversial figures of modern times, breathed her last in her home, Norbury Park, Leatherhead.

Stopes once bitterly criticised the Government of India's choice in appointing Dr. Abraham Stone as the Population Problem expert. She had even made an offer to Nehru's Government to have her books translated into Indian languages, but apparently her offer was not accepted. "If you had a Prime Minister of intelligence, he would use every vehicle of communication at the command of the Government to plug the idea of birth control until it is understood by everybody in the country," she once said. But she was being unfair to Nehru. It was not he but the Catholic Christian conscience of Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur that did not like the methods advocated by Dr. Stopes and so had recourse to the patently impracticable "rhythmic method" sponsored by Dr. Abraham Stone and incidentally spent a few lakhs of the Indian tax-payers' money over a futile project.

Forty years ago she (a palaeobotanist by training) took a vow to devote her life to public service. During these years when she was dominating the field of family planning and birth control she had been most strongly criticised and her books were banned; but with perseverance and ignoring the opposition of the Church and orthodoxy she succeeded in bringing about a rational outlook and approach to the problem of sex in England.

Her books were banned. The London Times would not even accept an advertisement of her books. Her spirit dominated the Lambeth conference of Bishops and the conclusion arrived at by that conference was what Mary Carmichael Stopes had advocated 40 years ago.

# Book Reviews

## LIN YUTANG ON COMMUNISM

By W. H. Chamberlin

Lin Yutang's *The Secret Name* (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, \$3.95) is the best piece of informed, witty, hard-hitting anti-Communist pamphleteering since Arthur Koestler left this field. The author, who combines the classical Confucian traditions of reasonableness and moderation with an eager grasp of Western political and economic ideas, knows Communist methods at first hand. For some time, he was president of a Chinese university in Singapore, where his work was continually harassed and finally frustrated by Communist groups among the students. His observations in the Far East generally give added realism to his criticism, both humorous and serious, of Western tactics in the cold war.

These criticisms are no less effective for being put in quizzical parable form: "In contrast to the Communist call for heroism and sacrifice, the American call, an appeal to prosperity, is a call to lie in Simmons beds with Simmons box-spring mattresses." "The spectacle of either Dulles or Macmillan having a tilt with Khrushchev always gives me the hilarious feeling of watching a gentleman wearing a bowler hat and striped pants and carrying a cane, having a bad time of it at the market square against a crowd of village drunks and

broads. He does not talk their dialect, he uses the wrong words and has a wrong accent."

He notes as the outstanding features of world politics that (1) there does not exist a united free-world international policy, and (2) the democracies have been constantly on the defensive. As the main points in a united policy he urges a firm stand for the liberation of nations subjected to Soviet imperialism, both in Europe and Asia; exposure of the oppression of the masses under Soviet tyranny; education of the people about Soviet subversive tactics; and finally, emphasis on the point that Soviet rule is "decadent, reactionary, anti-Marx and anti-labor."

Dr. Lin writes as he talks, with a sparkling, crackling succession of aphorisms that almost suggest the rattle of a machine-gun. The flavour of the book can best be conveyed through a few characteristic citations:

"The greatest discovery of the Communist rulers in the word 'people,' in whose name anything can be done. It then becomes possible to shoot the working class in the name of the people, or shoot the people in the name of the working class."

"There are two languages in Soviet Russia, the language of double-think and the language of no-think, and one can, with some practice, hop from the one to the other."

A glossary of Communist phrases and their real meanings is as full of fun as old Samuel Johnson's Dictionary which defined patriotism as the last refuge of the scoundrel and referred to oats as a grain used for human food in Scotland, fed to horses in other countries. Some of Lin Yutang's more caustic definitions are:

Soviet Ambassador: "People who lie abroad and die at home."

Trial: "Optional legal procedure, chiefly interesting as exhibiting the identity of police, investigator, prosecution, defense, judge and executioner."

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Counter-revolution: "Just about everything you do not agree with."

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The book is by no means a mere collection of wisecracks. Dr. Lin Yutang is well up on his homework. He cites chapter and verse for 15 Soviet broken treaties. There is a neat, unimpeachable list of 20 deadly parallels between Stalin's record and Hitler's. There is an excellent abstract of the ideas of Milovan Djilas, of all prominent former Communists, the one who has seen and testified most clearly the nature and the dimensions of his error in accepting Communist doctrine.

This book is an indictment for the prosecution rather than a judicious balanced verdict on the Soviet regime. Some of the harsher laws and industrial practices which are cited on the authority of books published many years ago have repealed or are applied with considerable laxity. There is little, if any allowance for progress in science and education, for the enlarged opportunities to rise in the new social hierarchy that make life in Russia—cruel for many, desperately drab for most—somewhat more bearable for what would be called in America ambitious young men. But as an indictment of Communist dreams turned into nightmares, it is an impressive piece of work. And it is fairly bursting with ideas for the more vigorous conduct of the psychological side of the cold war.

—The New Leader

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# Letter To The Editor

Dear Madam,

Three Cheers for our Prime Minister Nehru for his Government acquiring a New Business: "TRADING IN FOOD GRAINS;" but they will also have to GROW IT. Why not? If they are going to sell the Produce of Steel Plants-Heavy Machinery and Tool Plants-Electronics & Fertilizer-Electricity & Water from the Dams, so why not GROW FOOD GRAINS ALSO & SELL IT.

There are Millions of Acres of Good and Fair Agriculture Lands of the Government which are lying IDLE & FALLOW and also the lands of about 75% of the Regular Farmers who are unable to cultivate on an Extensive & Organised Scale and which land they will willingly hand over to Government to do so.

I say that "if the Government wants to Trade then first, let them Grow & Produce and of all the above mentioned goods produced and handled by the Government; FOOD IS THE MOST ESSENTIAL and this production MUST BE TAKEN IN HAND IMMEDIATELY & CARRIED OUT SUCCESSFULLY—it should when handled by our Prime Minister—the whole of India will be FREE FROM WANT and their Gratitude & Blessings are ample Reward.

1. humbly suggest that the URGENCY of this matter demands:—

1. A three-year Urgent Subsidiary Plan for Agriculture Development.

2. The cost could not be more than Rupees Three Hundred Crores spread over the period of three years and in stages.

3. Recruit & employ as much Non-skilled and Semi-skilled Labour as possible and which is readily available and Most of whom will volunteer to become permanent farmers after the three years.

4. Build temporary Barracks or Villages near Government Farms and this will REDUCE THE CONGESTIONS in Cities & Towns.

5. The first years phase of Plan

must be carried out in Fertile and semi-fertile Districts of various States who should be COMPELLED TO CO-OPERATE and subsidised according to their capacity.

6. The Land-Labour-Mechanised Implements-Fertilizer & Seed are all available & READY along with all the Staff of Agricultural Depts.

What more does the Government want to START IMMEDIATELY ON THIS PROJECT which is "Cut & Dried & Available any TIME, & DAY?"

I am Certain that by implementing this Plan the present INDOLENT & PAMPERED FARMERS WILL BE MADE TO COMPETE and the World knows that COMPETITION IS HEALTHY FOR GOOD BUSINESS.

The present day Farmers—since the past few years—are Concentrating & busy growing only Sugar-Cane. CANE FOR THE SUGAR FACTORIES AND THE MOONSHINER & ILLICIT DISTILLER because this crop is MORE THAN 500% PROFITABLE THAN FOOD-GRAIN CROPS. They find that ONE ACRE OF SUGARCANE IS WORTH MORE THAN ABOUT TEN ACRES OF FOOD GRAINS.

The Government SHOULD COMPELL all Sugar Factories to have & cultivate their own farms of FIVE HUNDRED OR MORE ACRES and also compel all small & big Farmers growing Cane "TO GROW TEN ACRES OF FOOD GRAINS TO ONE ACRE OF SUGARCANE OR TAX THEM ACCORDINGLY.

Poona.

Homi N. Driver

## R. L. TRUST LIBRARY

The following new books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Richard M. Titmuss: *Essays on 'The Welfare State'*

Ian Thomson: *The Rise of Modern Asia*

E. Strauss: *Common Sense about the Common Market. Germany and Britain in Post-War Europe.*

H. R. C. Greaves: *The Foundations of Political Theory*

Horace Belshaw: *Population Growth and Levels of Consumption. With Special Reference to Countries in Asia.*

Derek J. R. Scott: *Russian Political Institutions*

Taya Zinkin: *India Changes!*

Harold M. Vinacke: *Far Eastern Politics in the Postwar Period*

Bowles: *Ideas, people and Peace*

K. Ziliacus: *A New Birth of Freedom? World Communism since Stalin*

John Lawrence: *Russian in the Making*

William Ernest Hocking: *The Coming World Civilization*

Rene Dumont: *Types of Rural Economy, Studies in World Agriculture*

Allen H. Center: *Public Relations Ideas in Action*

B. R. Misra: *Economic Aspects of the Indian Constitution*

Gurumukh Nihal Singh: *The Changing Concept of Citizenship*

Chester (ed): *The Organization of British Central Govt. 1914-1956*

Norman Wilding & Philip Laundry: *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*

Leonard A. Doyle: *Economics of Business Enterprise*

Walter W. Bigg: *Cost Accounts*

Harold M. Vinacke: *A History of The Far East in Modern Times*

Rup Ram Gupta: *Advanced Accountancy*

J. B. Trend: *Bolivar and the Independence of Spanish America*

A. H. M. Jones: *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*

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A. C. Ewing: *Ethics*

B. H. Summer: *Peter the Great & the Emergence of Russia*

Eric Dominy: *Self-Defence*

Donald Cousins: *Costing*

S. Graham Brade-Birks: *Concise Encyclopedia of General Knowledge*

Asok Chanda: *Indian Administration*

Nehru: *A Bunch of Old Letters*

M. M. Bober: *Intermediate Price and Income Theory*

Robert Jungk: *Brighter Than A Thousand Suns*

Emile Bustani: *Doubts And Dynamite*

Don Patinkin: *Money, Interest, And Prices*

Edward S. Shaw: *Money, Income And Monetary Policy*

Delbert A. Snider: *Introduction To International Economics*

Francis Steegmuller: *Flaubert And Madame Bovary*

Horace Kink: *Parliament and Freedom*

Tibor Scitovsky: *Economic Theory and Western European Integration*

Milton Gilbert & Richard Stone (ed): *Income And Wealth Series IV*

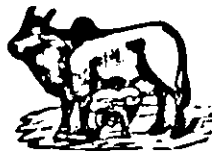
Simon Kuznets (ed): *Income And Wealth Series V*

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