

Indian

Libertarian

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

EDITOR: D. M. KULKARNI

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rs. 6.00

Vol. XI No. 21

February 1, 1964

Page

EDITORIAL:

Pakistan's Perfidy And India's Pusillanimity 2

Right, Left, And Centre At Bhuvaneshwar 5

By M. A. Venkata Rao -

Feudal Cart Before The Socialist Horse 7

By M. N. Tholal

International Chamber of Commerce 9

By Morarji J. Vaiyda

DELHI LETTER:

The Kamaraj Curse 10

Picture of Nehru As a Communist 12

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

Book Reveiw 13

The Mind of the Nation 14

News And Views 14

Dear Editor 15



EDITORIAL

Pakistan's Perfidy And India's Pusillanimity

IT was said of a certain Prime-Minister of England that he was a Conservative at home and a Liberal abroad. With equal force and justification, it could be said in the same strain that India Government on its own part, is strong and stern in dealing with its own nationals at home and weak and timid in its relations with its enemy countries like Pakistan and China abroad. Our Government, while adhering strictly to its creed of 'peace and non-violence' inherited from Gandhi, in face of violent aggression on its territories by these enemies, seems to have least compunction to throw it to the winds in domestic affairs. The orders 'to shoot to kill' and not merely 'to immobilise' the rioters in the city of Calcutta, issued some days back to the military and the police by the Government, almost in a panicky state of mind, resulting in the loss of 41 human lives, without the Government's taking any effective steps to stop murder, arson, rape and loot of innocent Hindu men and women in Khulna and Dacca in East Pakistan, are an apt illustration of this weak-kneed policy of our Government.

PAKISTAN'S PERFIDY

As for Pakistan Government, it is leaving no stone unturned to worsen this communal situation in the Indo-Pak region. Born and bred in an atmosphere of illwill and hatred for India, it appears that the Pak-rulers cannot but exploit even an incident like the theft of a 'Holy Hair' from a certain mosque in Shrinagar in Kashmir, for inciting Muslims against Hindus. In gross violation of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1950, the Pak Newspapers even went to the length of attributing the recent illness of Mr. Nehru to his 'abominable sin' of abetting the theft of the sacred hair from the Mosque. They have simply held up to ridicule the sincere appeal made by President Radhakrishnan to President Ayubkhan for issuing a joint appeal for communal harmony and peace both in India and Pakistan. Not to be out-done by the Pakistani press, President Ayubkhan also has thought it fit to slyly hint at the probability of the holy hair having been stolen by a Hindu. Not only that. He is now reported to have rejected unceremoniously the offer made by the Indian President of joint co-operation in bringing about communal understanding and peace. Over and above that, the Pakistan Government has now taken up the question of Kashmir with the U. N. Security Council, after stirring up communal frenzy in Kashmir over the hair through its agents. All these mean tactics of Pakistan are intended to create acute tension between Hindus and Muslims all over India and Pakistan, so that they might be in a position to blackmail India and press the Kashmir issue once again on the attention of the United Nations and the World. Pakistani statesmen have now openly admitted that these riots have their origin in political motives which include the Kashmir question and the Pak Muslim expansionism into West Bengal, Tripura and Assam.

GOVERNMENT'S SELF-COMPLACENCY

This is not to say that our Government is not in duty bound to act energetically and effectively to save the life and property of Indian nationals, be they Hindus, Christians or Muslims, from the incendiaryism of the trouble-makers. But what is most surprising and even exasperating in this matter, is that the Government should self-complacently think that its duty ends with its shooting down dead almost equal numbers belonging to both the warring communities and sometimes arresting them and raising punitive taxes on riot-affected areas and thus demonstrably proving its 'secular' impartiality. Time and again, it has been pointed out to the Central Government at Delhi through petitions and personal representations, that Pakistan Government has been systematically attempting to squeeze out the Hindu minority from both east and West Pakistan, by deliberately inflaming the communal passions of the Muslims against the Hindus. Besides, it is a fact now too well-known that the Pakistan Government is abetting mass infiltration of Muslims into West Bengal, Tripura and Assam. After Rajshahi disturbances last year, in East Pakistan, Mr. Nehru told the Parliament that the issue of Hindu minority in Pakistan would be taken up shortly along with this problem of illegal influx of Pakistani Muslims into Indian territory. Even now after the recent Calcutta disturbances, Mr. Nanda the Home Minister has repeated the same assurances. But these assurances as experience has shown, are never kept and are clean forgotten no sooner than peace and order is temporarily restored in the disturbed areas through police and military action and terrorisation.

DRASTIC SOLUTIONS NECESSARY

Obviously, therefore, these ever-recurring communal disturbances in Kashmir and Bengal have to be tackled at the very base and India Government will do well to go to the roots of these problems. On the Kashmir issue, the time has now come for our Government to make up its mind once for all. It should decide either to completely integrate the Kashmir State with India if it is very serious about its 'secularism' or to partition the State of Kashmir and Jammu between Pakistan and India on the same lines on which Bengal and Punjab were partitioned in 1947. As for the communal tangle in Bengal and the problem of illegal infiltration of Pak Muslims into the Indian territory of West Bengal, Tripura and Assam, the India Government should now take up a firm stand and in the first instance call upon the East Pakistan Government to stop this menace to

the Hindu population in Pakistan and the peace and security of West Bengal and Assam, within a definite period, by taking all the necessary steps suggested in the Nehru-Liyaquat Pact of 1950. If the Pakistan Government fails to do so, then it will have proved the utter futility of an isolated Muslim area functioning as a Pakistani pocket in the midst of the surrounding Indian territory. The India Government will then be justified even in helping and encouraging those democratic and progressive forces in East Pakistan that are clamouring for a separate statehood for East Pakistan. This bold stand of the Indian Government would be also a fitting rebuff to Ayubkhan and others who are instigating over all these years, the Kashmiris to rise in revolt against the Indian Government, in the name of self-determination and Islamic brotherhood. If a plebiscite is insisted upon in Kashmir by President Ayubkhan, then a similar demand for a plebiscite might be pressed by India in East Pakistan where a pretty large section of Bengali Muslims is known to be in favour of a separate statehood for East Bengal, if not in favour of complete re-integration of that area with India. The third alternative would be an exchange of Hindu and Muslim populations between East Bengal and West Bengal to be carried out in a definite number of years, as was successfully done between Greece and Bulgaria and between Turkey and Greece after the First World War.

The India Government must now no longer be allowed to sit tight over this communal tangle between India and Pakistan. It must be forced to face boldly and squarely issues of Kashmir and Bengal, either in a perfectly secular way which India professes to follow or in the manner in which the partition of India was effected in 1947. Any more tinkering with these problems by the India Government will surely spell utter ruination and disaster to the unfortunate Hindus who are treated as hostages in East Pakistan and will complicate still more the Kashmir problem and further involve both India and Pakistan in interminable communal conflicts and turmoils.

THE "WISEST FOOLS" OF CONGRESSDOM

Our warnings in these columns, to the Chief Minister of Bombay Mr. V. P. Naik against the combined attack on him that might be directed both by the Prohibition cranks and bootleggers have come out unhappily to be too true. Morarji, Nanda and a host of highly placed Sarvodaya fanatics have now come out with a down-right denunciation of Mr. Naik, for announcing a same and sound policy of his newly-constituted Government about relaxation of the prohibition-laws, in respect of issuing drink permits, quantum of liquor allowed on each permit and the sale of beverages with a 3.5 per cent alcoholic content such as Beer, Toddy and Wine. This new policy has been inspired by a desire to check the menace of boot-leggers to the law and order in the State and reduce to the minimum the manufacture and supply of illicit liquor which is extremely harmful to the health of the people who consume it in absence of a

better and more genuine stuff available in the market.

Public opinion which hailed this much needed modification of prohibition policy imposed on the Bombay State by Mr. Morarji Desai, has naturally being scandalised by the hasty retreat which the Bombay Chief Minister has beaten in the face of a barrage of violent criticism of Sarvodaya fanatics rained on this reform.

Mr. Morarji is the arch-leader of this anti-social gang of the so called Sarvodaya-vadis, who would not even mind the law and order of the land being undermined by the illicit liquor manufacturers and traders who are openly hand in glove with the corrupt police force, if only thereby their Sarvodaya egoism and fool-hardiness could be satisfied. The loss of 400 crores of revenue to the country coupled with colossal expenses incurred on the special prohibition police is nothing to these maniacs. One cannot but be amused at the sight of Mr. Morarjibhai showing himself off as an expert on Sarvodaya of Gandhiji. At Bhuvaneshwar he showed what an ignoramus he was in the subjects of both Socialism and Gandhism when he stupidly declared that Congress Socialism would in the end lead to Sarvodaya. Now he is begging of his countrymen to give him a last chance to make prohibition a complete success within one year as if the long years for which he had been the Chief Minister of Bombay state were not enough for this purpose. This expert on Sarvodayavada has been tried on many a front such as that of the Central Finance

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

Independent Journal Of Free Economy and Public Affairs

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

Published On the 1st and 15th Of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates :

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

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25
One-eighth Page Rs. 15; One full column of a Page Rs. 50

BACK COVER..... Rs. 150

SECOND COVER..... Rs. 125

THIRD COVER..... Rs. 125

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

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

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Minister, Chief Minister etc. And it was found that whatever he had touched had been invariably turned into nothing but mud and earth. All these facts prove only one thing and that is, intellectually Mr. Morarji is perverse; morally, a crank; socially, a misanthrope. And therefore it is no wonder that people have now come to look upon him as the 'wisest fool' of Congressdom. His latest statement on Prohibition doubly proves him to be so.

The only person who could vie with him in playing his role is Mr. Nanda the Home Minister, who may be aptly styled as the Gandhian Communist. Strangely enough he has now raised the Bombay Government's stand on Prohibition to the level of an All India Issue, perhaps believing that Mr. Nehru who stands for 'democratic centralism' would support him if he did so. We do not know whether Mr. Nanda thinks that the autonomous rights conferred on the States by the Indian Constitution in certain matters should now be withdrawn. If so, it is time people sent such Congress leaders into political wilderness as early as possible. The Congress under the leadership of such leaders is poisoning itself for assuming unconstitutional or rather super-constitutional powers to dictate its own will to the State Governments even in matters which fall exclusively within the list of provincial subjects. With the imposition of such Congress dictatorship over the State Governments, Democracy would be reduced to a farce and decentralisation of power which is the core of the idea of Federation composed of autonomous states, to a mere mockery.

Is it therefore too much to expect that Mr. V. P. Naik the Maharashtra Chief Minister will show his sturdy Maharashtrian commonsense and realism and save the people from the goonda raj of bootleggers and the fanaticism of the Sarvodaya maniacs and assert the right of the Bombay Government to adjust the prohibition policy to the needs of the situation obtaining in the Maharashtra State?

RELIGIOUS FANATICISM OF ARAB NATIONS

That Arab nationalism is founded on Muslim fanaticism and therefore is not a progressive force in world politics, is once again proved by the Summit Conference of Arab Nations held at Cairo. This meeting was specially called to devise ways and means of preventing Israel from diverting the Jordan river waters from lake Tiberias to the arid but potentially cultivable southern part of the country, the Negev, through the Negev irrigation projects. Israel has always extended her hand of co-operation to other States of the Jordan river valley like Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, in implementing what has come to be known as Johnston's Project of the division of the waters of the rivers. But the Arab Muslim countries have consistently shown extreme reluctance to accept this hand of co-operation, not because the Johnston project adversely affects their economic interests—in fact it allowed over 60 percent of the waters to Arab countries—but because "it would benefit Israel as well as the Arab countries." In thus vetoing the Johnston plan in 1955, the Arab League was inspired

more by its political and religious hatred of Israel than by considerations of equitable distribution of the Jordan river waters. The Arab nations are complaining of unilateral diversion of the waters of the lake Tiberias by Israel. But they have nothing to say against the previous unilateral diversion of the waters of the river Yarmuk by the kingdom of Jordan which has resulted in increasing the salinity of the waters of the Jordan river in its Southern-most reaches in Israel. This attempt of the Arabs to starve South Israel of its sweet waters which it badly requires for irrigating its lands and also for industrial purposes, is now sought to be offset by Israel by diverting southwards the waters of lake Teberias which wholly lies within its national boundaries. This will enable Israel to utilise not more than 32 per cent of the lake waters. It will thus be seen that this project fits in with the Johnston scheme.

But the Arabs are still hugging to their bosom the dream of bringing about complete extinction of the state of Israel. The Summit Conference has now decided to establish a Palestine Arab State as a rival to Israel and resolved upon a unified military command to deal with the 'Zionist menace' which they think, will be aggravated by the economic development of South Israel and its being gradually peopled by the Jewish immigrants from abroad. Why the development of Israeli land and its being inhabited by Jews should be considered to be a menace to the Arabs who are free to develop their own lands, is inexplicable except on the grounds of racial and religious animosity which are so revolting to modern political and social thinking. The Summit has gone further and has planned a costly project of diverting about 5/6 waters of Jordan river tributaries even at the risk of a war with Israel.

Perhaps Arab leaders like Nasser of Egypt bank upon exploiting this Jordan-waters-dispute with Israel, for forging Arab unity which has eluded the Arab nations so long, owing to the conflicts and civil wars raging between one state and another and within the states themselves. Unless and until Arab nationalism secularises itself and learns to look upon even the non-Muslim State of Israel as one of the Arab states in this Jordan Valley, this region will ever remain a festering sore in the politics of the Middle East and a stumbling block in the path of world peace and goodwill.

LET MR. NEHRU ENJOY HIS WELL-EARNED REST.

It is but natural that Mr. Nehru's present delicate state of health is causing the greatest anxiety to his countrymen as also to his friends and well-wishers abroad. Messages have been pouring in from far and near expressing prayerful wishes and hopes for Mr. Nehru's speedy recovery. The latest health bulletin about him is most assuring and we hope he will be restored to his former health within a short time. His illness necessarily has raised a host of poli-

(Contd. on page 8)

Right, Left, & Centre at Bhuvanewar

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

By refusing to nationalise Banks immediately and by raising the lower limit for free industrial enterprise to Rs. 25 lakhs capital, the Centrists have made concession to the Right. But the goal of the Socialist State, which the Congress has adopted is cent percent Leftism. When the Socialist End works for sometime, the means and road of Parliamentary Democracy will have exhausted all their utility. So Leftism is the last word.

WHATEVER analysis has been made by thinkers in India of the leading issues in current social thought connoted by Right, Left and Centre has remained in academic fields and publications. It has not percolated into current political controversy and thrown light on the meaning of the terms.

Communist jargon even among its adherents is full of these terms, of course within their world of reference in which they mean very different things.

The average reader of daily newspapers and even the writer of news analysis in the principal journals of opinion in various parts of the country do not seem to be fully aware of the precise implications of the terms *right*, *left* and *centre*.

Yet it is very important that the public in general should be apprised of the meanings (and drives) of the meanings carried by these terms.

The discussions at Bhuvanewar (The Congress Session for 1964) were carried on with unusual heat (for that body) by reason of the determined effort put forth by Messrs. V. K. Menon and Malaviya to get the plenary session to accept their Leftist stand. They wanted the Congress to make a "*great Leap forward*" in the direction of communism, nationalise banking, the wholesale trade in food grains and sweep a large number of the consumer goods industries into the public sector, level down higher incomes still further by the imposition of ceilings in addition to present high levels of income and super and wealth taxes and co-operatise all retail trade and agricultural operations as in communist countries and so on.

The new companies bills already have brought a great part of the operations of banks and other joint-stock concerns under the grip of the government.

These recommendations are all *Leftist* in their character.

The terms *right* and *left* derive from the attitude they imply towards the institution of private property.

Karl Marx laid down the dictum that no mere reforms such as improvements in wages, welfare measures such as social security and charity of various kinds could solve the problem of equality.

He distinguished his brand of socialism from those of St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon and Robert Owen as being *Scientific* while the others were Utopian and sentimental.

His communism was scientific, he held, because it was based on a scientific analysis of history which he called by the name of *historical materialism* or *dialectical materialism*.

By means of an adaptation of Hegel's dialectic, he thought that he had proved scientifically that history moves or evolves dialectically, that is, from one extreme to another by a necessary process. The process is governed, according to him, by a law of evolution.

Hegel applied his dialectical method to the whole of the universe and its structure and its evolution of categories.

For Hegel was a metaphysician and was interested in arriving at a synthesis of the ultimate explanations of nature, man and God or the Absolute.

But Marx, though a pupil of Hegel, dropped the Absolute and the wider aim of synthesising all aspects of experience into a coherent philosophy and concentrated on the task of defining a *social goal* for ensuring progress.

He was a materialist and so dropped the idea of spirit and jettisoned also the rest of Hegel's ideas concerning art, science, religion and philosophy.

Hegel applied his dialectic to all experience—to the Subject as Spirit, to Objective Mind or Spirit and to Art, Philosophy and Religion.

Hegel gave his social philosophy as part of his philosophy of Objective Mind—giving an explanation of the institutions of the family, of bourgeois or civil society or economic relations and the State and added a philosophy of history as a pendant.

Marx made the philosophy of history his principal theme and filled it with his historical, materialistic dialectic. This dialectic was applied only to social evolution and that too, to the evolution of *economic classes*—the possessing and non-possessing classes.

Primitive communism in which at the early pastoral and agricultural stage property was largely held in common soon passed into feudalism in which the land-holders became also political chiefs who reduced their peasants to the position of slaves and serfs.

The bourgeois stage next ousted the feudal stage and introduced the reign of the capital-owning industrial and commercial classes who developed empires for the expansion of markets.

Then as the ranks of Labour multiplied and capital could no longer afford to give ever-rising rates of wages, the *proletariat* would organise themselves and oust the capitalist class. This would be the next stage of the dialectic which is inevitable for the salvation of the toiling masses. Then the masses will become the sole owners and destroy the capitalist class and enjoy the full fruits of their labour.

This is the final goal of the dialectic according to Marx. There is no further step after that stage.

But according to Hegel the dialectic is end-less and never stops. New experience will always throw up new ways of life and new ideas and new social relations.

Marx is committed to science and technology. He advocated full socialism and communism in the sense of the complete take-over by the State and government of all economic functions under the impression that it would *maximise production*. He was impressed by the analogy of the single factory which achieves maximum production and economy under the direction of a single manager or plan avoiding the wastes of competition and duplication.

Maximum production would be possible if the workers gave up claims of initiative and followed implicitly the directions of the manager. This would enable them to have lesser hours of work while securing the same or higher production and share in goods as reward for their work. These were the assumptions of Marx.

Marx committed himself to a historical prophecy and his prophecy failed him. History disproved his prophecy. He predicted on the basis of his "scientific" vision of the dialectic that the capitalist rich would grow richer and richer while the poor labourers would grow poorer and poorer. This self-contradiction would drive the proletariat into desperation and make them admirably suitable vehicles for revolution, because their resentment would be insatiable and they would have nothing to hope for under the present order.

For no rise or acceleration in the expansion of production due to scientific invention and rationalised management would benefit labour, for a rise in population would soon increase their rivalry for the new jobs and so lower their wages again. This is his famous *iron law of wages* which has an inevitable tendency to reduce any rise in wages back again to the *subsistence* level.

Scientific progress bringing economic progress or increased production should carry with it a change in the relations of production namely a change in property rights from private to public ownership. It is *only then* that the benefits of new technology will accrue in full to labour, for it will eliminate the exploiting, parasitic class namely, the capitalist class!

In Marxism therefore, progress means progress in the double sense of improvement in technology and revolution in property-holding. This is the goal of social evolution—the next stage of the classless state towards which the historical, materialistic dialectic is inevitably and inexorably moving.

Whoever believes in this view of the social goal of the classless society brought about by the abolition of private ownership of the means of production is a *Leftist*. He is a *progressivist*, for this alone is progress, according to Karl Marx.

This basis of doctrine is the foundation of communism and socialism. Sentimentalists who believe that it can be realised without violence may call themselves the sole heirs of Karl Marx's heritage. The full-blooded communists who regard violence to

be a means, necessary or not according to circumstances, have to accept this view of progress—an amalgam of science, technology, maximum production, public ownership on a monopoly basis and better distribution of the goods and services produced.

From this point of view, the Rightists are those who resist this inevitable change towards the Marxist goal of a classless society of public ownership where the capitalist class is liquidated with as much violence as may be needed, if they will not disappear or co-operate in self-elimination peacefully.

Rightists are thus those who believe in the private ownership of property; the right of private enterprise for industry and commerce and transport, who believe in the rule of law to protect owners to use their property for creating new wealth at their own risk.

As an implication and aura of Marxism, we have a disbelief in liberal democracy with its notion of limited government. Marxism thinks that liberal democracy is only concerned to defend property rights and not the rights of labour or of man as man. The man without property has very little chance of having his *human rights* protected in a liberal democratic state. For one thing, the procedure of law even for the defence of life and honour (or dignity or good name) is very costly and beyond the reach of the poor man.

The press is also at the service of the plutocracy. All things are possible for the rich. The fundamental rights are only scraps of paper adorning the Constitution so far as the poor man is concerned.

Rightists are only the defenders of the *status quo*—this is the charge of the Leftists.

This charge only holds good if all progress is equivalent to movement towards Socialism.

As against these positions, the Centrists are those who make some practical concessions towards socialism.

Some observers have hailed the Congress Resolution as finally passed at Bhubaneswar as a triumph for the Centrists. They say that the Resolution conceded in *theory* that a further step can be taken towards the narrowing of the gulf between rich and poor by the imposition of ceilings on urban income as well and by the nationalisation of rice mills, while holding that full state trading in food grains was too premature.

These were concessions to the Left.

But it made a concession to the Right by *refusing to nationalise Banks immediately* and by raising the lower limit for free industrial enterprise to Rs. 25 lakhs capital. But the resolution makes full acceptance of the goal of the socialist State *part of the central creed* of Congress. This is Leftism by a hundred per cent. But the *means* are to be by *parliamentary democracy*: this is *Rightism*. But when the socialist End works for some time, the Means and Road will have exhausted their term of utility. *So Leftism is the last Word.*

Feudal Cart Before the Socialist Horse

By M. N. THOLAL

THE Bhubaneswar Congress session unanimously passed a resolution on international affairs moved by Mr. P. Chengalvarayan. Since he was entrusted with moving the resolution, one is entitled to assume that he knew something about international affairs. But that does not seem to be the case. For, he warned both China and Pakistan that while India would seek the solution of all problems through peaceful negotiations, it would do everything possible to "contain, prevent and foil aggression" and take back every inch of the territory lost to the aggressors, whatever the sacrifice.

Mr. Chengalvarayan should know that his threat "to take back every inch of the territory lost to the aggressors, whatever the sacrifice" is much more than cold war, for it implies war, whereas the declaration that India would do everything possible to "contain, prevent and foil aggression" is a beautiful description of cold war itself. The Western Powers, through the cold war, are only trying to "contain, prevent and foil aggression" and have not so far threatened Russia that they will "take back every inch of the territory lost to the aggressors" in Eastern Europe, "whatever the sacrifice". After this it was rather brazen on his part to refer to the world blocs as "each poised against and suspicious and fearful of the other and perpetuating the climate of cold war as between them and the world".

The resolution also welcomed the initiative taken by the Soviet Premier, M. Khrushchev, in proposing the adherence of nations to a "no-war" agreement, thereby renouncing the use of force for settling international disputes. But the official organ of the Chinese Government, the Peking daily, told us only the other day that, before launching the attack on India, the Chinese Government had obtained the consent of the Russian Government. This piece of very significant information has not so far been contradicted by any authoritative sources in Moscow. In welcoming the initiative of the Soviet Premier, is the Congress suggesting to its Government that it should enter into a no-war pact with China and renounce the use of force to "take back the territory lost to the aggressors", as Mr. Chengalvarayan put it?

The resolution would have more appropriately asked the Soviet Premier to renounce the use of force in Eastern Europe and let, for example, the two Germanys unite, if their people so desire. Perhaps its own self-contradictory attitude prevents the Congress from condemning the self-contradictory attitude of Soviet Russia.

The resolution gave full support to "full and complete disarmament and the outlawing of war which our Government has held as its own firm position and advocated in the UN and the world generally" and also supported the country's extra defence preparations "forced on us by the continuing aggres-

sion by China", and said it was in no way inconsistent with the country's dedication to the cause of world peace and co-operation. It obviously is. But if the resolution, instead of referring to "the country's dedication to the cause of world peace and co-operation" had referred to the 'country's dedication to the cause of world peace and freedom', there would have been no inconsistency in the resolution and it could have logically proceeded to proclaim "its full support to the firm resolve of the nation to resist Chinese aggression with all its strength, military, political and diplomatic..."

But the substitution of the word "co-operation" by the word "freedom" would have brought us very near the Western stand and placed us almost against the Eastern bloc. So freedom was sacrificed by anti-colonialists even when it was obviously needed to obviate the charge of dishonesty and hypocrisy and double standards against the Congress and the nation. This is of course non-alignment with a vengeance. (Mrs. Gandhi said India's policy of non-alignment was now universally acknowledged as a sound one. That may well be. What is in doubt is India's non-alignment. For, who would believe in it after the recent Indo-Anglo-Australia-American joint air exercises, to say nothing of the very highly reassuring presence in the Indian Ocean of 2.4 (two point four) per cent of the Seventh American Fleet, to which reference was not allowed in the resolution?

Minds brought up on slogans and platitudes and claptraps cannot think either coherently or honestly on national or international affairs and the result is self-contradiction at every step. What does it matter so long as leaders cannot or dare not point it out, particularly when they are given to understand that the resolution has been drafted by the holy hand of Prime Minister Nehru?

Mr. Kamraj in his presidential address said non-alignment was no insurance against aggression, even as treaties, covenants and pacts had not prevented aggression in the past. But they have prevented aggression since the NATO and SEATO were formed. Why should Mr. Kamaraj take comfort for the pursuit of a foolish policy from the past when that past has been radically altered by the formation of big military pacts which have succeeded eminently in the face of two of the mightiest aggressors the world has ever known? The truth of the matter is that there may be some sense in non-alignment for countries far away from Russia and China, none for those bordering it, like India. After all, it is not in the pursuit of non-alignment that the joint air exercises were held, or the advent of a few ships of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean has proved to be such a heart-warming event for the country.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Regarding the resolution on Socialism and

Democracy it would perhaps be better to quote the observations of the Congress leaders themselves, with the introductory observation that in no other country or party could two discredited ministers have been allowed to play so prominent a role as Messrs Menon and Malaviya did at the annual session of the Congress, at Bhubaneswar and its allied gatherings.

In a strongly-worded address to the Congress Forum for Socialist Action, Union Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda said the resolution on socialism and democracy had been kept deliberately vague, because the Government did not possess the necessary machinery to implement it and because no previous preparations had been made. Mr. Biju Patnaik, one of the new shining lights of the Congress, who recently donated a lakh of rupees to Mrs. Indira Gandhi for research, and got the certificate from her father that he is a man of ideas, said almost in disgust that the present society was thoroughly rotten, feudal and capitalist and the Congress should be determined to change this society to establish a socialist society. That being the case, the Congress must be said to be putting the cart before the horse. As if to illustrate what Mr. Patnaik said, even before he said it, a clash occurred between two groups of Seva Dal Volunteers on the night of January 6 and police had to intervene to restore order. A few volunteers and a girl were injured as result of stone-throwing.

Let us see what the Father of Socialism in India, Mr. Nehru, said at Gopabandhunagar on January 6. Few people seem to realise, he said, that the caste system is entirely opposed to both democracy and socialism and that if we want a socialist structure of society, we have to put an end to the caste system, as we know it. "Only then," he observed, "can the beginning of democratic socialism come into our society." Mr. B. K. Kaul, Rajasthan's Finance Minister, said that the resolution might not be able to create even a semblance of a socialist society. His apprehensions were based on the fact that by traditional upbringing, education, social habits, fatalistic beliefs and other environmental factors, the people were wedded to notions and ideas which were the antithesis of everything that socialism connoted.

The greatest and the final argument against nationalisation is that state control means more and more corruption. We have seen how corrupt the Congress is with its bogus membership and it is this organisation that is going to control the nationalised industries. The bus service in the capital has been a glaring example of the inefficiency and corruption following state control, showing how the public has to suffer, day after day, month after month, year after year, and all it gets is promises for the future, every month, almost every week.

The only consolation is that Congressmen do not mean what they say, that hardly one percent of them believe in socialism. How can they, with their beliefs? Yet they have to say what they do because to say something contrary to what Mr. Nehru says is just out of the question.

THE SENSE OF PROPERTY

The sense of property is graciously bestowed on mankind for the purpose of rousing them from sloth and stimulating them to action; and so long as the right of acquisition is exercised in conformity to the social relations and the moral obligations which spring from them, it ought to be sacredly protested. The natural and active sense of property pervades the foundations of social improvement. It leads to the cultivation of the earth, the institution of government, the establishment of justice, the acquisition of the comforts of life, the growth of the useful arts, the spirit of commerce, the productions of taste, the erections of charity and the display of the benevolent affections.

—JAMES KENT

(Contd. from page 4)

tical problems in the country. His countrymen fail to understand why the official bulletins do not give out in plain medical terms what Mr. Nehru is exactly suffering from, so that people could discuss freely among themselves about the possible effects of his illness on the country's administrative and political setup. If his illness is serious and chronic, then people would be certainly justified in demanding, as Dr. Lohia has already done, that Mr. Nehru should be relieved of his onerous official duties and responsibilities. It does no credit either to Nehru's leadership or to the party-organisation of the Congress that there is no second line of leadership in the Congress to take up the task. One therefore suspects that the Congress Government at the Centre is pitifully nervous that all would not be well with it, if Mr. Nehru should retire from the field, as is very often the case in countries under dictatorial regimes, when the strong hand of the dictator happens to be removed from the administration.

The ruling party would be proving its sheer incompetence to govern the country and guard its interests, if it could not afford to give Nehru the rest that he so badly requires and so richly deserves after having spent a life-time of selfless service and devotion in the country's cause. That would highlight the necessity of the Congress abdicating its throne in favour of another competent political party or if necessary, a National Government composed of the best talents of the country.

The Congress has had more than enough of the great benefit of Mr. Nehru's services. Will Mr. Nehru, at least now, ripe with the wisdom of old age, give up party-politics and play the more useful role of the guide, philosopher and friend of the Nation as a whole, after divesting himself of all Governmental position and power?

—D. M. Kulkarni

INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

By MURARJI J. VAIDYA
President, Indian Council of Foreign Trade

IN the minds of Business Organisations in the free world, the International Chamber of Commerce occupies a position very similar to what the United Nations does in the minds of the politicians. It is a federation of all the Chambers of Commerce and business organisations throughout the free world. It was established in 1919 soon after the end of the First World War. Its main object is to represent and promote private enterprise throughout the world with the basic aim of increasing world trade.

It has been carrying on various activities over the last 44 years and as the years go by, its membership goes on increasing. Its membership is drawn from over 60 countries. The International Chamber of Commerce functions from its headquarters in Paris through various specialised Commissions which meet from time to time to formulate world business policies and lay down guiding lines, not only for the Chambers of Commerce and the businessmen who form its membership, but also for the Governments of the free countries of the world. The International Chamber of Commerce has established a working relationship with the United Nations Economic and Social Council and with other Inter-Governmental Organisations such as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (G.A.T.T.), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Labour Organisation and the Customs Co-operation Council. It has permanent Delegates to the United Nations, in New York, Geneva and Bangkok.

At the national level, the I.C.C. has National Committees which act as the connecting links between I.C.C. Headquarters and its Commissions and the various commercial organisations in different countries. A great deal of literature containing information about the work which the I.C.C. does as also its statement of policies are published from time to time. In this manner, the I.C.C. aims at helping various Governments, as well as the commercial and industrial organisations in different countries to forge a common policy in relation to matters affecting trade and industry, banking, insurance, transport, customs, procedures, arbitration, etc.

The basic idea is to help in the expansion of world trade through private enterprise and free exchange of men, materials and money between the free nations of the world to enable all the countries of the world developed and under-developed to attain higher standards of living.

The I.C.C. performs its function through various commissions; among them are:

- a) The Commission on Primary Products and Raw Materials,

- b) the Commission on Restrictive Practices affecting Competition,
- c) The Commission on Trade Distribution,
- d) The Commission on Advertising,
- e) The Commission on Users of International Exhibitions and Fairs etc.,
- f) The National Information Bureau of Chambers of Commerce,
- g) The Commissions on Transport and Transport Users including air, sea and rail transports, inland navigation, postal and telecommunications.
- h) The Commissions on International Commercial Arbitration, Protection of Industrial Property, International Practices, etc.

Further, I.C.C. has set up two more specialised Commissions namely; (i) the Commission on European Affairs (C.E.A.), which keeps in close touch with the European Economic Community, the European Free Trade Organisations (E.F.T.A.) and the Organisation for the Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.); and (ii) the Commission on Asia and Far East Affairs with its Head-quarters at New Delhi. The I.C.C. also maintains a court of International Commercial Arbitration which is an independent organisation to deal with the commercial disputes between businessmen and between business organisations of member countries. There is also an International Council of Advertising Practices to prevent unfair advertising practices. The I.C.C. is associated with the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production, the International Organisation of Employers and the International Container Bureau.

It has 41 National Committees in the different Democratic countries of the world. Recently even Yugoslavia has set up a National Committee. There are 26 countries as associated members. The Secretary-General is responsible for the day-to-day administration and is assisted by departmental secretaries dealing with technical services, external relations, administrative services, and arbitration and by liaison Officers.

Every two years the International Chamber of Commerce organises the I.C.C. Annual Congress. After the Second World War, these congresses have been held in Tokyo, Naples, Washington, and Copenhagen. The last congress was held in April last year in Mexico.

The discussions in the Congress at Mexico City related to many important subjects, affecting international commerce such as reduction in customs and shipping formalities as also in the number of documents required for these formalities by adopting
(Contd. on page 10)

THE KAMARAJ CURSE

(From Our Correspondent)

Congress President Kamaraj said in Madras on January 13 that when he saw off Prime Minister Nehru at Bhubaneswar he looked much improved in health but, even at that, he said the Prime Minister needed absolute rest both physically and mentally for a month. The President and the Vice-President each saw the Prime Minister on January 14 for ten minutes separately. That was the time allowed them by the doctors. A helicopter was used at Bhubaneswar to carry the Prime Minister from the Raj Bhawan to the air port. On his arrival

in New Delhi even photographers were not allowed to approach him. On the other hand, there have been authoritative reports of the Prime Minister finishing several books in a couple of days at Bhubaneswar and that, taking advantage of the absence of his daughter at the Congress session, he had, contrary to doctor's instructions, taken a bath. Was there, people ask, no nurse to attend on him when he fell ill and when as many as four eminent doctors were attending on him, sent for from all over the country, or had she also gone to attend the Congress session?

(Contd. from page 9)

standard forms, development of international marketing, advertising and tourism, and harmonisation of the law relating to Arbitration.

At the closing Plenary Session, a statement of conclusions was adopted. This statement has been designated as the "Declaration of Mexico." It would be interesting to quote a few sentences from this Declaration on the subject of economic growth through interdependence. It said: "there is everywhere growing awareness that no nation or group of nations can 'go it alone' without drifting into a backwater away from the mainstream of human progress. But this awareness needs to be translated into everyday realities of economic life. Men must learn to think more internationally, to see the world as a whole and in their actions recognise the need for constant give and take in every field of endeavour."

The statement further stated: "the Congress is firmly convinced that the most effective instrument of growth through interdependence is private enterprise. Valuable as public investment may be to the growth of industrialised countries as well as to the forward surge of countries in process of development, nothing can take the place of the decisive impulse that private enterprise gives to economic expansion."

"In this age of vast and rapid technological progress, it is clear in terms of human needs and of the resources to meet them that no effort to better man's lot can be wholly successful unless it can reach over and beyond political frontiers. International co-operation is today a condition of national prosperity."

In conclusion the Congress urged "all men, both in Government and in private enterprise, in all their dealings, personal, national and international, to accept and act upon the reality of interdependence. Only thus it will be possible to achieve balanced economic growth throughout the world."

There is an obvious contradiction between the Congress President's statement that the Prime Minister "needs absolute rest both physically and mentally for a month" and the seemingly inspired reports about his finishing several books in a few days, as if the latter made for absolute rest. Every one wishes the Prime Minister speedy recovery, but many rightly criticise the brazen attempt to bamboozle the people, as if they would readily swallow everything that is given them. India is a democracy and the people have a right to know what has happened to their Prime Minister and how exactly he is progressing—if for no other reason than to disable interested parties from exploiting their nearness to him and conveying as his, decisions which may not be his.

If the Prime Minister has been ordered absolute mental and physical rest for a month, the country should have an acting Prime Minister for a month. In a democratic country the people have a right to know what the Prime Minister's illness is, for it may have a bearing on his capacity to act as Prime Minister even after a month. Since there is no Deputy Premier now, no one can even take his place. There is thus a vacuum which Mr. Nehru did not anticipate—so sure was he of his health—when he left the office of his deputy vacant. The Congress Party will do well to fill it up as soon as possible. Apart from incidental disabilities arising from ill-health, Mr. Nehru's prolonged absence from the country when he is on tours abroad also demands a deputy premier.

The short-sighted implementation of the Kamaraj Plan has removed from the Centre men who could easily have stepped into his shoes. It may not be long before the country comes to the conclusion that the Kamaraj Plan, which was expected to be a boon, has proved to be a curse to the country. It is indeed an irony that at the very moment when Mr. Nehru had succeeded in strengthening his hands as never before through the Kamaraj strategem as modified by him, the gods should have decided to weaken them.

A question that persists here among the knowledgeable is: In whose interests have the possible successors to Nehru been removed at a stroke from their offices? Every one knows that his daughter has been growing more and more powerful as Mr. Nehru became more and more unapproachable. Where a man's word is law, the conveyer of the word assumes to a great extent the majesty of law. When Mr. Nehru's devotees cannot hang upon his words, they are apt to hang upon the words of those who are near and dear to him. That is the unwritten law of courtiers all over the world. And every one knows that the only person near and dear to him is his only daughter whom, in his natural fondness for her, he has consciously or unconsciously been grooming as his successor.

People are not wanting who uncharitably suggest that the removal, with a stroke of the pen of such administrators as Messrs Desai, Patil, Jagjivan Ram and Shastri, was deliberately intended to drive out all those who came even speculatively in answer to the question, "After Nehru, who?" and that in any case Mr. Nehru could not have been unaware of the fact that their dethronement was a continuation, however indirect, of the process of grooming his daughter for succession. Those who want to be in his good books have already started suggesting Mrs. Indira Gandhi's name for the foreign ministership, and they include editors of well-known dailies.

Mr. Nehru's illness is due to his taking too much upon himself. That is only a corollary of having all the power in one's hands. Men in the most robust health cannot stand for long, the strain of such strenuous work, as he has been undertaking, because of his habit of choosing foolish flatterers for colleagues and then lamenting the paucity of the human material available in the country. However self-satisfying this might have been to his vanity, it is now obvious that it has proved very costly. Whether he will be able to change his age-old habit after recovery may well be doubted, and the time would appear to have come for him to retire in the interest of his own health as well as the political health of the nation.

The quarrels among Congressmen following the Kamaraj Plan implementation have, it has been authoritatively stated by one so close to the Prime Minister as Mr. Menon, to a large extent been responsible for the Prime Minister's illness. If that is so, and it does seem to be the case at least partly, it is now obvious that it was a great mistake, from the narrow point of view of the Prime Minister himself, to have modified the voluntary resignation of Mr. Kamaraj, and perhaps of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, into a trap for eliciting resignation from all Congress ministers in the country and forcing the disliked to resign. Stratagems can only be answered by stratagems. Mr. Nehru should have learnt this much from the Gandhi-Jinnah wrangles of the pre-independence era. And Mr. Nehru's stratagem was answered by the appointment of their stooges by the resigning chief ministers and not, as he would have wished, by the appointment of those who happened to be in his good books at the moment. So who is to blame? Mr. Nehru who

wanted to subdue everybody, or those who defied him? Let the reader answer. One thing is certain. In a true democracy such questions never arise. For a majority is not forced to work with a dissident minority as colleagues; nor a lamb forced to live with a lion. But we have to set an example in non-alignment to the world and Mr. Nehru is only introducing non-alignment in the states.

CONGRESS DEFEATS IN U.P.

The Congress has suffered a crushing defeat in the two by-elections to the U. P. Assembly whose results were declared on January 13, one of the Congress candidates losing his deposit. Mr. Govind Sahai, one of the general secretaries of the UPCC, found the defeat "particularly saddening", coming as it did in the wake of the tremendous prestige earned for the Congress by the (farcical) Bhubaneswar resolution on democratic socialism. He is not against an objective appraisal of the whole situation, but he pointed out (subjectively) that the defeats could not be attributed to "group wranglings" in the Party. For more than a month preceding the by-elections the UP dissidents, including the UPCC president and Acting president, had been trying to insult the Congress Chief Minister by asking for explanations and telling her where to go and not to go. Can any one believe that they do not realise that by thus belittling the office she occupies they are making a laughing stock of their Chief Minister as well as of the Congress?

Mr. Sahai says the propaganda technique and organisation of the opponents were superior. Who made them superior? Did they need any propaganda against the Congress candidates after what they had been providing them with gratis? The dissidents who thought they were stabbing their chief minister in the back have now found they were stabbing their own organisation, the Congress, in the back. Therefore the denial. In no democratic country in the world could a minority in the organisation have been allowed to behave as the UP Congress minority have been doing. But where jealousy, hatred and vindictiveness rule supreme—as they do in the Congress High Command — what else can one expect? Again and again, as I have watched the happenings in my home state, have the words of Jinnah resounded in my ears—and never more approvingly—"The Congress High Command should be taught a lesson". It is being earnestly hoped here that that great gentleman, Mr. C. B. Gupta, will be able to teach a lesson to the Congress High Command. Much will depend on the forthcoming elections to the UPCC executive. Not that the dissidents in their defeat will be able to curb their animosity, but the public will at least know their place. Meanwhile the Congress High Command, in the person of Lal Bahadur Shastri, has insisted that the resigning opponent of the Chief Minister (who resigned because the AICC wanted him to choose between his office in the UPCC and the Ministry, according to the rules) should remain in the Cabinet.

The most striking example of the implementation of the Kamaraj Plan comes from Kashmir. As every one knows, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's
(Contd. on page 13)

Picture of Nehru as a Communist

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

SITARAM GOEL has just released a book "*In Defence of Comrade Krishna Menon* (Publishers Bharati Sahitya Sadan, New Delhi, Price Rs. 16, Pages 272) which establishes that Nehru is the leading Communist in India and Menon only his mouth-piece. From detailed references to Nehru's own books, his public and private statements, the turns and twists of his policy for 35 years, he creates the picture that Nehru has steadfastly served Soviet Russia, even when he was not thanked for doing so. The Book is well written and all those who read it will be disposed to agree with almost every line of it. In a Court, the evidence would instantly convict Nehru of Communism. It is adroitly timed when Nehru is about to get the Bhubaneswar Congress to endorse his Democratic Socialism. Nehru cannot ignore the challenge of the book and his supporters will doubtless write in reply.

In spite of the book, it is difficult to conceive Nehru as the arch-Communist. He cannot be convicted by his words, because he cannot live without recklessly expressing himself. If he has been enthusiastic about the communist way, he has also stood for the democratic way. His direction for the foreign policy of the Congress may have been consistently in favour of the communists but this can be part of his strategy for blackmailing democratic countries. His policy of Non-Alignment, which other countries have since followed, was essentially one of taking advantage of the tensions of the two power blocks. If he played the Communist line more, it is because he took the democratic countries for granted. We can condemn the duplicity unless everything is considered fair in diplomacy. In internal affairs, he might have copied Communist patterns to destroy the promise of the Communist party. It is also possible, that in his impatience for change, he thought only communist methods could force the people to modern ways of living and working. Similarly, like the Communists, he has tolerated abuse of office, including corruption, to assure the power of the Congress including his own, without which he has come to believe, India will collapse.

Even if the benefit of doubt is given to Nehru, the question really is whether such double standards can be to the ultimate benefit of the country. The policy of Non-alignment might have got us foreign aid from both power blocs, but under such conditions of ill-will that its benefits were aborted. In any case, other countries like Philippines, Taiwan, Pakistan got more aid and better results with reliance only on one power bloc. The greatest price we have paid to Non-alignment is emboldenment of China, Pakistan, and even other neighbours think that we are isolated and therefore without the capacity to maintain our rights. At no period in our history has there been less respect for our territory or for our nationals. Our defence depends on the simple fear of Democratic countries that without their help we shall be an easy conquest for Communism.

Internally too, the double standards have frustrated each other. Planning has conflicted with production; people have been sacrificed for projects and instead of socialism, there has been parasitism. The failure is being covered up with words redefining Socialism. It may even be covered by making scapegoats of private enterprises which have succeeded.

If Nehru does not wish to defend himself of the charge of being a Communist, he must show that he believes in democracy not only political but economic. Planning must increase the power of the people to produce, sell, buy in conditions of freedom, limited only by their own competition. There may be as much socialism as possible but it must flow from, and not against democracy. Every measure of government should be examined to see that it does not reduce the freedom of the people to develop themselves.

The question is whether Nehru will learn from his failures. This has not been necessary so far, because foreign aid has been boosting the economy while the continual inflation has been providing unearned increments to influential sections of the people. The end of the cold war will reduce the incentives for foreign aid of which there are already signs. The Americans have begun to inquire if the P.L. loan of food which has been extended for a year should be continued when the stocks given have not been used to create buffer stocks, as was intended. The truth is that U.S. which has now Communist countries paying for their surplus grain are no longer interested in our relieving their storage problems without any payments. In respect of inflation, the limit seems to have been reached as investors in industries and constructions are realising that what they spend at the boom will be a liability as our prices go back to the world level, as they must, sooner or later.

Economics can dictate even to dictators. They may be more compelling with Nehru, the more his failure becomes identified with the Communism ascribed to him.

FLIGHT FROM COMMUNISM

Attempts made by people in the Soviet Zone of Germany between August 13, 1961 and June 10, 1963, to leave East Berlin and reach West Berlin have involved the loss of at least 54 lives. According to a police report recently published by the Press Service of the Berlin Senate, the actual number may well be much higher, because no precise estimates are possible from West Berlin owing to the political difficulties in the divided city.

Since August 13, 1961, when the Communists raised the Berlin Wall, more than 100 sailors have left fishing and cargo vessels in the Soviet Zone and sought refuge at ports in the Federal Republic of Germany.

(Contd. from page 11)

spirit of renunciation dictated the imposition of a stooge on the state. Bakshi's own utterances left no room for doubt about it. In a way he was only following the example of Prime Minister Nehru, believing in the maxim: imitation is the best form of flattery. Mr. Nehru got rid of every one who had been mentioned as his successor, every one who could think independently and even sometimes give expression to his mind. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad similarly got rid of his best known ministers.

While the story of the theft of the Prophet's hair has yet to be revealed, there is no doubt that advantage was taken by the conspirators to whip up popular feeling against the Government. Within an hour of the theft processions started shouting slogans and the wrath of the agitators was concentrated on the property of the Bakshi family, their hotels and their cinemas. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, feeling his own position insecure, as well as that of the National Conference, retaliated by making our flesh creep with his now notorious statement which has been called a lie by other leaders. He said only three slogans were shouted in Kashmir. One demanded an inquiry into the arrest ten years ago of Sheikh Abdullah, another his release and the third acceptance of the plebiscite demand. This was his retort to reports of the Kashmir Government being replaced by President's rule. Since his statement makes no reference to the holy hair, it is an obvious lie. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's propaganda for Pakistan and alliance with Sheikh Abdullah—that is what it comes to—can only be justified by the saying "Marta kya na karta". (What does a dying man not do?) To such straits has the Kamaraj Plan led the rulers and ex-rulers of Kashmir. Sacrifice and service of the country which it ushered is here for all to witness in all their glory.

WE AND OUR READERS

Patrons of "The Indian Libertarian" who have been long on the complimentary list, are requested to communicate to us saying that they wish to continue receiving our journal free of cost. That will ensure a regular supply of future copies of our journal. However a remittance of Rs. 6.00 towards the annual subscription is a better guarantee.

Book Review

THE SICKNESS OF SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

By John Chamberlain

If you are against state-inflicted public health insurance, financed by a compulsory levy, it is enough in many quarters to mark you down as a moral monster. By implication it is assumed that your "negativism" means that you want poor people to suffer. But does a compulsory national health program, "free" to everybody out of taxes, actually result in a healthier society?

Since many foreign nations, from England and Germany in Europe to New Zealand in the Anti-

podes, have had ten, twenty, and even thirty years of experience with their own versions of compulsory "medicare," there should be a definitive answer to this question. Helmut Schoeck, a professor of sociology at Emory University in Georgia, has pinned down a vast number of pertinent facts in his symposium, *Financing Medical Care: An Appraisal of Foreign Programs* (Caxton, 348 pages, \$5.50). The testimony of Dr. Schoeck's many experts is that it is the general tendency of "government medicine" to inflate the cost of medical service without adding anything of value to the general level of health. It may seem like the humanitarian thing to do to make medical service a "free good," like parks or streets or the water from the public drinking fountain at the corner. But actually everybody loses under most public health programs.

The reason, if we look at the experience of England, France, Germany, Sweden, Austria, and New Zealand, is that people do not value what they presume they are getting for nothing. What results from public medicine is a big over-consumption of trivialities, with doctors at their wits' end to find time to spend on serious matters.

Speaking of compulsory medical "insurance" in Germany, Werner Schollgen remarks that personally "costless" access to doctors and medical supplies "encourages the waste of huge amounts of money and medical resources on minute and imaginary ailments. Consequently, it cannot really, in the long run, help individuals with prolonged and catastrophic illnesses."

Looking at the British experience, Colm Brogan discovers that the National Health Service which came out of the Beveridge plan "celebrated its tenth birthday without having built one single hospital throughout the length and breadth of Britain." English girls, says surgeon Reginald S. Murley, decline to take up nursing because of the inadequacy of the hospitals under the compulsory health program. The deficiency is "somewhat concealed by the number of girls from Ireland and the Continent who come to Britain to nurse."

In America, there is a tired feeling in many quarters that compulsory "medicare" is part of the inevitable "wave of the future." But "it ain't necessarily so." In both Switzerland and Australia, the voters have firmly rejected the demands of the socialists that medicine be made a compulsory "free good" financed by taxes or social security levies. The Swiss, in 1958, had 1,109 separate voluntary insurance plans recognized by the federal government, with a membership totalling 4,011,925. "Between 80 and 90 per cent of the Swiss people are members of such associations," says Marcel Grossmann. The federal government in Switzerland does give some subsidy help to voluntary plans which meet formal requirements as non-profit mutual companies, but that is all. The insured have free choice of physicians, and the doctors set their own price on their services. The Swiss are certainly as healthy as the Swedes or the English, and they are not afflicted with sky-rocketing medical costs. Moreover, the traveller in Switzerland notes practically none of the social ills that afflict welfarist Sweden.

Libertarians who would prefer to leave the promotion of any and all medical benefits to private hands will not fail to note that the coercive "wave of the future" has swept over "voluntary" Switzerland and Australia to some extent: both countries tax their citizens to provide relatively small amounts of subsidy money for bestowal on selected private medical insurance societies. But if one must choose between types of public health coercion, the Swiss and Australian systems are certainly greatly to be preferred to the British, German, Austrian, or Swedish variety. At least, the patient and the doctor are left free to find each other in Switzerland and Australia, on terms that are mutually agreeable. At least there is a competition between societies to serve their members. As for the U.S., it has the grand opportunity to remain with the Swiss and the Australians on the side of the relative medical voluntarism. Dr. Schoeck's book illuminates a score of pitfalls and outlines at least one or two ways to relative sanity. One can hope for it a wide reading before the country makes its final choice between common sense and going off the deep end.

—Condensed from "The Freeman"

The Mind of the Nation

CHANGING HISTORY OF SOCIALISM

Mr. Kamaraj thinks it possible that socialism can be attained in India without class-war. The whole history of socialism culminating in Russian communism shows that this is not possible. And can a struggle between an overwhelmingly strong political party against a helpless business or industry, with no strong political party behind it, be called a movement without conflict or war? It is as if Hitler's proceedings against Poland were to be called a peaceful incorporation of Poland in Germany or as if the present status of East Germany under Russian protectorate were called the peaceful establishment of a new independent State in Europe. In Moliere's play, the doctor despite himself places the heart on the right side of the body, and when one of the other characters in the play protested that the heart was till then said to be on the left side, he replied "that was so till the other day but now we have changed all that". Mr. Kamaraj's hope about the achievement of socialism without a conflict or struggle seems to indicate that he has changed the whole history of socialism.

—M. Rathnaswamy in
"Swarajya"

News & Views

END SUBVERSION, JOHNSON TELLS

KHRUSHCHEV

WASHINGTON: President Johnson this week-end called on Mr. Nikita Khrushchev to renounce subversion and infiltration, as well as armed force, for settling territorial and border disputes.

The President, according to authoritative sources, outlined what officials called "general guidelines" for peaceful settlements in a reply to the Soviet leader's New Year proposal, made to Heads of Governments throughout the world.

Mr. Johnson's message was handed to Mr. Anatoly Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador, by Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State. It pointed out that armed force was not the only means employed to take over territory, to change existing borders and to upset regimes.

U. N. MACHINERY

The sources said the President also told Mr. Khrushchev that one way of promoting peaceful settlement of territorial disputes was to provide the United Nations with better peace-keeping machinery.

His reply to Mr. Khrushchev was drawn up in very general terms. But the President was reported to have had in mind the refusal of the Communist members of the United Nations to pay their share of the peace operation in the Middle East and the Congo.

Mr. Johnson's message, sources said, suggested that the problem of ways to settle territorial disputes could be discussed at the East-West disarmament negotiations resuming in Geneva next Tuesday and in other forums.

It also pledged that the United States would continue to oppose the use of force, but in effect called on Communist nations to renounce so-called "wars of liberation" and subversion against legally-established governments.

NEW SOVIET BASE IN CUBA FOUND

MIAMI: Air photos of the northeast coast of Cuba taken by two "Miami News" correspondents during cyclone "Flora" showed the existence of a new and important Soviet base in Cuba, a document sent to Central Intelligence Agency head Mr. John McConne by the anti-Castrist Cuba Revolutionary Council claimed here.

Manuel Antonio de Varona who signed the document, said that the base was located in the Cape Lucrecia region in the north of the Oriente province and included special installations for submarines and guided missiles.

De Varona, who said his statements were based on information from clandestine anti-Castrist groups in Cuba, said the base also consisted of Army barracks, depots for missile fuel and tunnel several kilometres long which hid railways for transporting missiles and heavy weapons as well as canals enabling submarines to enter the complex.

7TH FLEET CRUISE IS 'NO THREAT'

SINGAPORE: The Commander-in-Chief of the United States Pacific Forces, Admiral Harry D. Felt, said here that the proposed extension of the Seventh Fleet operations to the Indian Ocean was not a threat to any country.

Admiral Felt was commenting on the Indonesian claim that the extension was a threat to Indonesia and an attempt to force it to drop its "confrontation policy" against Malaysia.

He told reporters on his arrival here that "the Seventh Fleet is a friendly force and I do not think that it can be a threat to any country."

FOOD PRODUCTION STILL AT 2ND PLAN LEVEL : MINISTER

Lucknow: Union Food and Agriculture Minister Swaran Singh admitted that food production in the country had not advanced very much beyond the level reached towards the end of the second Plan.

Pointing out that this was a serious matter, Mr. Singh warned that any failure in the agricultural sector would have wide repercussions and jeopardise the success of the third Plan itself.

Mr. Swaran Singh was speaking on the occasion of the presentation of Rashtra Kalash to Uttar Pradesh for achieving the highest increase of 23 per cent in food grain production during the rabi crop of 1960-61.

ENGLISH MUST STAY SAYS CHAGLA

Calcutta: Mr. M. C. Chagla, Union Education Minister, warned against any sudden change-over from English to the regional languages by universities and asked politicians to "leave education alone."

The Education Minister's new approach to the controversial language issue was outlined by the Minister, while delivering the convocation address of Jadavpur University.

Twenty of 55 universities in the country have either switched over to regional languages or are contemplating doing so.

Apart from lowering the standard of education, particularly in science, such a change-over, he said, would make communication between graduates of different universities difficult.

The Minister was pained to visualise that a day should come when Indians would need interpreters to communicate with each other.

RADICALISM 'NO AID TO ECONOMY'

NEW DELHI: Mr. Asoka Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, said here that the economies of some of the countries in South-East Asia which had adopted radical policies, had not moved forward.

"If anything, their economies have sagged," Mr. Mehta said addressing the Planning Commission Club.

Mr. Mehta said Burma had nationalised many industries,—the result so far had not been that the economy had moved forward. Indonesia also believed in adopting many radical policies but there too the economy has sagged.

He emphasised that adoption of radical policies did not automatically bring about certain results. What was important was to choose the right kind of instruments for them.

Mr. Mehta said India had been trying to answer these problems in a particular way and a big debate was going on today on whether the path the country had chosen was the right path and whether there should be more of socialism.

Dear Editor.....

HEAVY INDUSTRIES AND STATE ENTERPRISE

I doubt the accuracy of Professor Lawande's assertion (Economic Section of your issue of Dec. 15) that heavy industries like steel, railways, etc. are properly the sphere of State enterprise because the huge capital outlay is beyond the existing resources of private investment.

For many years past, private capitalists in the West have been either lending capital for, or establishing themselves, precisely such industries in under-developed countries all over the world. All they ask is reasonable security that they shall reap their legitimate profit from such industry. Unfortunately, such is human nature, the borrowers gradually forget the benefits they derive from such industry and begin to grudge the promoters their profit. It is this uncertainty that is the chief obstacle to the overseas spread of private enterprise.

London.

Faithfully yours,

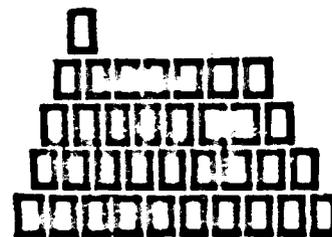
Henry Meulen

Editor of "The Individualist."

FIRST IN THE FIELD THEN AND NOW !

Why back in 1929 Indian Readers gave a warm reception to the first Indian Humorous Journal.

AND NOW, IN ITS
35th YEAR
OF PUBLICATION



MY MAGAZINE
OF INDIA

IS EVEN MORE EAGERLY READ.

Sold in more than 1000 Centres comprising of every major Cities and Towns in all the States including important Railway Book-Stalls throughout India and Ready by 1,00,000 Readers. If you have not seen a Copy yet write for a FREE SPECIMEN COPY.

MY MAGAZINE
OF INDIA
MADRAS - 34.

ANNOUNCEMENT

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

Write: Desk K. R.
1st floor Arya Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road West,
Bombay-4.

GIFT OF THE MONTH

If you are a new subscriber to "THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" enlisting during January and February you can have four books FREE OF COST from among the following:

- India's Population Problem. S. Chandrasekhar.
- Netaji and the C. P. I. Sitaram Goel.
- Mainspring of Progress. Henry Weaver.
- Free Enterprise or Socialism. W. Grabill.
- Shri Aurobindo's Views.
- The Poet of Hindustan.
- The People's Charter.

Write Desk : S. N. 1st Floor, Arya Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4.

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

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



Write to:

THE MANAGER

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

B O M B A Y 4.

Telephone: 332105

Telegram: LOTEWALA