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THE CAMOUFLAGE OF K'S 'FRESH WIND' MESSAGE

SOVIET Prime Minister Mr. Khrushchev has been engaged incessantly in a 'Peace Offensive' against the Free World. His 'Fresh Wind' speech, to speak frankly, does no-where depart materially from the fundamental foreign policy that has been followed by Soviet Russia, ever since Lenin's times, especially in the matter of relations between Communist countries and the Free countries. If at all, it confirms and strengthens the suspicions and fears that all such proposals for peace that are being dangled before the world by Mr. Khrushchev are designed only to serve one end, which is to get some breathing space for Russia to consolidate her illgotten gains in Eastern Europe, till such time when she could confidently launch again her post-sputnik offensive, which was brought to a halt by the late Mr. Kennedy by his firm and bold stand over the Cuban affair.

SOVIET ZIG-ZAGS

In this connection it will not be out of place to recall the tangled story of the zig-zags of Soviet Russia's foreign policy, that have absorbed so much of the talent, energy and resources of the Free Countries and that promise to do so for a considerable time to come. The post-war period witnessed the first offensive launched by Stalin who did not mince matters and loudly affirmed Russia's firm determination to expand her Communist Empire in Eastern Europe and if possible, in the East. It was Stalin who started what has come to be known as the 'cold war', after he had partly succeeded in implementing his 'hot' line of Communist expansionism. Then followed a period of 'uneasy truce' between the two blocs, till Mr. Khrushchev, carried away by the initial success of the Russian scientists in launching sputniks in 1957, thought of threatening the world with fearful consequences, if Western countries did not make concessions to him over the Berlin question. This was the second cold-war offensive that Russia launched, against the West in the sputnik year of 1957, after a brief lull that lasted from the conclusion of the Korean Treaty in 1951 to 1957. It was thought at that time, that the 'balance of terror' had turned in favour of the Red camp. It is an undisputed fact of recent history that it was Mr. Khrushchev the so-called 'Liberal Communist' who had unceremoniously broken all pledges mutually given and agreements solemnly made, in regard to Atomic Tests, between the parties at the Summit Conference in 1955 and gave almost a death-blow to the idea of effectively controlling Atomic Tests through an international machinery for on-spot inspection. Believing as Mr. Khrushchev did, in Russia's superiority in thermo-nuclear weapons, he thought he could conveniently turn the political situation to his advantage and began pressuring the West, to fall

in with his line of settling the major problems of the day. These blackmailing tactics of Mr. Khrushchev were already in evidence during the Suez crisis of 1955 and then in the arms deal with Egypt and the agreement to build the Asvan Dam. They were intended to impress upon the new nations of Asia and Africa emerging into freedom, that Russia and her communist system were a serious challenge to the U.S. and her military and industrial might. This was followed by the now famous communist ultimatum given to the NATO countries in 1958 over Berlin and the communist guerrilla warfare in South Vietnam. Then came the abortive attempt of Pathet Lao to seize Laos with the help of North Vietnam. It was at the end of this year only that Castro the crypto-communist took over in Cuba. This communist thrust went on gathering in strength and momentum till 1961, when Mr. Kennedy the new President devised effective ways of hurling it back. With cease-fire in Laos in 1961 and the rebuff to Mr. Khrushchev over Cuba in October 1962, Mr. Khrushchev's bluff and bluster were neatly called and thoroughly exposed. It was proved beyond any shadow of doubt, that the Free World was strong enough to guard its own interests and it would never surrender them to the communists, under the threat of a Nuclear War.

For the time being, Mr. Khrushchev has been cowed down. With this background of unscrupulous and unprincipled diplomacy followed by him over all these years, if Mr. Khrushchev thinks that he will be taken at his word by the democratic West, regarding his volubly expressed intention to renounce violence in settling inter-state boundary and territorial disputes, he is sadly mistaken. The Americans and Western Europeans have already shown a cold indifference to his 'fresh wind' message of the New Year despite the fact that it is couched in words of pious platitudes and high-sounding slogans.

SINISTER AND DISHONEST

Even this message of peace, is not without its sinister implications. There is nothing in the message which suggests that Mr. Khrushchev's political and ideological thinking has undergone any material change. It is clear that he is still thinking in terms of aggressive expansionism and pursuit of power as an end in itself which are the basic principles of communist foreign policy since Lenin's days and that he looks upon pledges and promises for peaceful collaboration and co-existence only as being fit to be broken and thrown into the dust bins at the opportune time. The experience over all these years has proved that such hollow pretensions to peace and abjuring violence in international relations, do not take the world any further to-

wards any genuine peace consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. What is needed in the present world crisis is a desire to apply one's mind to the solution of concrete problems as and when they arise. The reference by Mr. Khrushchev to Taiwan as the inalienable part of the main land of China and to the colonialism of the Western countries, without any corresponding undertaking given on his part to liquidate the Russian Empire in Eastern Europe or to bring about reunification of both Germanys according to the wishes of the people expressed through free and open referendum or elections or the unification of Vietnam and Korea, is thoroughly dishonest and inept. It only points out that Mr. Khrushchev wants to bide his time till he could again mount a more deadly and effective thrust on the Free World.

The 'fresh wind' message is therefore disappointing and deceptive in the extreme. It contains nothing fresh or constructive that will tend to clear the political climate of the world. It only faithfully reflects the communist way of double-talk, perfidy and narrow outlook, however, it may be camouflaged under the garb of 'peace' 'non-violence' and 'co-existence'.

INDONESIA'S INTRANSIGENCE

The late Mr. Kennedy demonstrated in the Cuban affair how dictators could be brought to their senses by exhibition of strength matching their own. President Sukarno has grown the more bellicose and aggressive, as the attitude of Malaysia towards his confrontation policy has been the more forbearing and conciliatory. Mr. Sukarno has come to believe in a special mission of his own in this part of South-East Asia even as Mao does in the case of the whole of Asia and Africa. He therefore cannot bear the sight of a democratic state rising and prospering in his neighbourhood and looks upon it as a challenge to his undisputed sway and position in this area. Despite the clear decision given by the President of the United Nations that the Borneo people wish to join the Malaysia Federation, this Asian dictator is threatening this New State with war and bloodshed, if the latter does not give up its claims to Borneo.

To forestall any possible decision by the U. N. that might go against his 'confrontation' policy, the Indonesian President has been encouraging the rebel movement in Borneo started by some communists who never let go any opportunity of fishing in troubled waters. The matter has now assumed dangerous proportions. The chief of the Indonesian Army has called upon his armymen to crush 'Neo-colonialism' in Malaysia. Students of political affairs of this region think that this tirade against colonialism is a sort of blackmail of the British and other Western nations who are openly committed to the defence of the freedom of this infant Federation. President Sukarno is reportedly willing to run the risk of a shooting war at this stage, in the naive belief that even if Indonesia were to be defeated by the combined strength of Malaysia and her Western allies, the Western nations' colonialism

would be exposed and they would have to withdraw quickly from this area under pressure from the communist countries and the so-called 'non-aligned' nations.

But Malaysia and her Western allies should not allow such blackmail tactics to prevail. They should teach this dictator a good lesson of his life in the only language which he understands and appreciates. The freedom of the Malaysian people is too precious and valuable to South-East Asian Democracy, to be bargained for a doubtful peace with blood-thirsty and fool-hardy dictator who does not hesitate to violate even the well-considered decision of the President of the United Nations.

WILL PRAJA-SOCIALISTS HELP POLARISATION OF POLITICAL FORCES?

The resolution passed by the Executive committee of the Praja Socialist Party calling upon Shri Ashok Mehta to resign from the party has created a veritable storm in its rank and file. It has attracted the widest attention of all the politically-minded people in the country. The reason is not far to seek. Ashok Mehta was one of the builders of the Congress Socialist Party which later on left the parent body, when it found that Gandhian Congress was not the proper field for its 'operation and functioning. The party-leaders, particularly Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia then invented the theory of 'equidistance' both from the Congress and the

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communist party. This party on the one hand, accepted the principle underlying Liberal Democracy, and on the other, was wedded to Marxian socialism which was inconsistent with the former. Thereafter, it fell to the lot of Mr. Ashok Mehta to propound the principle that in a developing and backward country, Marxian socialism will have to be revisited in the light of Utopian socialism of the early years of the 19th century and pleaded for Congress-Praja Socialist co-operation. Those who have followed the various phases of political thinking through which Mr. Ashok Mehta has passed, will not be surprised at his practically joining the Congress-fold, by accepting the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission. Our only regret is that he is joining hands with the Congress when it is about to start on a new career of a 'fellow-travelling' monolithic party in collaboration with the Reds within the country and without.

But the question is whether he has chosen the right moment in doing so. By accepting the post, he has aligned himself with the 'Leftists' like Mr. Nehru who value socialism more than democracy, however much they might pay lip sympathy to the latter. Many tears will therefore shed that for a mess of pottage of a sinecure, which Mr. Mehta has wrongly persuaded himself to believe, will be a potent instrument in his hands to work out a workable synthesis of socialism and democracy, he has abandoned his party-friends with whom he had so usefully worked for a number of years.

But what are the Praja Socialists going to do about it now? They will not be able to arrest the process of political and social regimentation started by the Congress by loudly shouting against Mr. Mehta their 'lost' leader. They will have to do a little rethinking about their own ideology and programme. The Congress has stolen their thunder by describing dishonestly of course, its goal as 'Democratic Socialism'. The Praja Socialists therefore can survive this political crisis only by clearly redefining and re-enunciating their goal and programme of 'social democracy' which sub-ordinates even socialism to the higher goal of freedom. British Labourites, the German socialists and their Scandinavian counterparts have already done so. Will India's Praja Socialists do it in our country and help the process of the polarisation of political forces between Total Planners and State Socialists on the one hand, and Liberal and Social Democrats on the other?

ANOTHER CONGRESS ROUT

Obviously the Congress is fallen on evil days mainly by its own sins of omission and commission. The electorates of different areas and regions in the country, far removed from one another not only in distance but also in culture, language and social and political set-up, are heaping on this once great organisation, one defeat after another in their just

and righteous indignation at the socialistic and therefore inevitably corrupt and inefficient administration of the Congress Government. These Congress reverses embrace a wide field, extending from elections to the Parliament to the civic and panchayat elections. The latest in this series is the complete rout of the Congress in Jaipur civic elections at the hands of the three-year-old Swatantra Party. Coming as this Congress defeat does after those of Amroha, Rajkot, Andhra and Goa, it highlights the new and fresh line of political thinking on the part of the common people. The people appear to be determined to expose the wide gap that is to be found between the theory and practice of the Congress Party. For the time being, they seem to be intent, in their disgust and desperation, on only one thing and that is to send, if possible, the Congress into political wilderness, whatever might happen to them. They would prefer Jana Sangh, Socialists, Swatantrites and in the last resort, even the communists to the present rulers.

It is now clear that the Congress mantrams of 'socialism', 'secularism', and 'national integration', cut no ice with the common man who sees before his very eyes the grinding poverty and fearful unemployment growing apace under the Congress rule over the last fifteen years. It is a happy sign of the times that the initial negative anger of the people against the Congress is being slowly canalised in a healthy direction. The recent electoral results show that a pretty large section of the people has now come to look upon the Swatantra way as the better and healthier alternative to the now exploded and discredited path of State Socialism which is being widely advertised by the Congress, with the usual fanfare of trumpets from Bhuvaneshwar.

If by persistent and vigorous propaganda the Swatantra leaders should be able to bring home to the people the truth that State Socialism is nothing but people's serfdom to the ruling clique and people's welfare figures but little in the thoughts and calculations of such rulers, as has been amply proved from more than forty years' experimentation with nationalised industries and collectivised agriculture in Russia, the people will surely turn their attention to the Swatantra programme of prosperity through Freedom, which has, by contrast, succeeded wonderfully in West Germany, Japan and Formosa—countries which had been all ravaged and devastated in the Second World War. India could do the same if she wisely chose.

Another fact which the Jaipur civic elections have brought to the fore is that people have now begun to think that under the banner of Swatantra Party, India could steer clear of both socialist regimentation as contemplated by the Congress programme, and also the revivalist obscurantism of the Jan Sangha and safely reach the goal of a Secular Republican State as visualised by the Indian Constitution.

—D. M. Kulkarni

Prospects for 1964

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

THE violent removal of President Kennedy will no doubt introduce a pause in the cold war and world politics generally. But the main trend will not be affected as the US policies are determined in the main more by the realities of the world situation as interpreted by American political thinkers and intelligentsia than by individuals.

President Johnson is continuing the Kennedy policies and personnel and will introduce any nuance and personal emphasis of his own, only if he is elected in the coming Presidential elections.

On present indications, it may be reasonably surmised that the cold war will be continued though at a lower key than before. Khrushchev has announced his hope for the new year that the new atmosphere released by the agreement to ban nuclear surface tests will continue and that peace will be maintained between the Great Powers.

The controversy between China and Russia about the right strategy for achieving world communism i.e. whether war is inevitable for the purpose or not is at bottom a form of the rivalry for first place between the two for the leadership of the communist movement. Also, for the approval of the international communist community including Russia for any Chinese local adventures in Southeast and North Chinese frontiers for extension of territory. China has staked her claim for the whole of Southeast Asia—the area formerly referred to by imperial Japan by the term: "Co-prosperity sphere". She wants Russia to support her adventures in this sphere (India, Burma, South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, even Formosa) if not by military means, at least by nuclear diplomacy, as she attempted to do in Cuba (though she failed there owing to the exceptional firmness of Kennedy) and as she did in Egypt on the occasion of the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez canal. But Khrushchev had enough of the brinkmanship and refused. He was also doubtful of the wisdom of allowing China to become too powerful. China had already shown unmistakable signs of her ambitions to oust Russia from her pedestal as world leader of communism and to become the sole Mecca of world communism, herself. China was trying to become an independent communist rival in all spheres to Russia in North Africa, to Central Africa, in South Africa, in South Asia and even in Latin America!

The new year will see further developments in this rivalry. China is trying to become a nuclear power. Her scientific efforts may reach further steps nearer her goal. She may explode a device. America is already considering whether it is not wiser to revise her policy of ostracising China. American statesmen are hinting that under certain conditions, America may start trade with China

and so normalise relations with that intransigent Power—to bring her into the circle of international influence.

France under De Gaulle had declared a couple of years ago that the Yellow man with his traditional cruelty and barbarism may once more threaten Western Europe, in which case, Russia will be induced to turn to Western Europe for closer alliances! This will end the cold war between East and West. This is a possibility that has been indicated by De Gaulle and which is weighing with him in his calculations.

The new year will thus see new forces and trends in the world balance of power

As Walter Lippman puts it, the era of the aftermath of the world war II will be over and normalcy will be attained with Europe settling down more or less on her own. Of course, in matters of defence against Russia, Europe is not self-sufficient and has to depend on America. This dependence on America is built into the NATO arrangements. But French nuclear deterrents together with what remains of the British nuclear weapon power, according to De Gaulle is sufficient to keep off Russia's imprudence, for Russia will have to reckon on the support of Europe by America by long range nuclear weapons, even if in the meanwhile, she has withdrawn her troops from Europe under the present Nato Plan.

Germans under Adenauer and Erhard are yet too timorous of facing the Russians without American troops. But De Gaulle is planning a European defence system, relatively independent of America in the first instance that assumes a neutralised Russia, or at least a Russia whose offensive towards the West is weakened by fear of the Chinese hordes on her East! This is classical balance of power 'diplomacy'!

The new year will see more aspects of this development.

The problem of Berlin will remain unsolved. It is futile to think that the Germans, whether of West or East German will forget their common consciousness of nationality and lose all desire even subconsciously for an *anschluss* or reunion of the Fatherland.

The way in which East Germans escape to West Germany, day after day and the mortal risks they run in this adventure is enough proof of their common nationalism and passionate desire to become *one* again.

The analogy with Pakistan is false. In the case of Pakistan, the seceding people want to remain separate, while in the case of East Germany, no section of the people want to remain separate.

And there is no difference of religion and culture either to separate them.

The hope and policy of the Russians to keep East Germany for ever separate from the German Fatherland and as a satellite of their own is an *unnatural policy* foredoomed to failure. It is a perpetual source of tension. Our P. M. speaks endlessly of removing tension without once putting his finger on the real source of the tension and the tension-making error and the guilty party. There can be no permanent solution of national problems anywhere *without justice* and the fulfilment of the deepest national aspirations. This is a lesson that the wars of the last two centuries should have taught our P. M. but they have not. If Khrushchev seeks to test President Johnson's loyalty to his allies and seeks to detach East Germany and East Berlin from the world of freedom, tension will mount to breaking point.

So in Cuba—if Khrushchev renews his military support of Castro to the extent of making the island a *base* for Soviet rocket missiles against the USA.

So too if China takes the place of Russia and develops a base in Cuba or Albania. She is reported to be anxious to have a base in the latter area which will give her an entry into the Mediterranean sea.

The Southeast Asian area of tension will continue its potency to attract its share of the world's attention since in South Vietnam, Laos and in Malaysia and Cambodia the shadow of the Chinese Power is causing uneasiness.

The Vietcong communist guerilla chiefs have just announced their programme of intensified activity after the removal of the Diem regime. They have begun to extend the area of their hold. But the revolution or *coup* in charge in Saigon is a military group and will no doubt take effective steps to deal with the threat. It remains to be seen to what extent the Chinese will intervene through the North Vietnamese and whether they will do so *directly* with Chinese troops as in Tibet! Since American troops are already on the spot, the arrival of Chinese troops will mean a direct Great Power confrontation, which will introduce not only greater tension but also further complications into the world crisis. Russia may intervene — in what form cannot be predicted. Russia has always been complaining of American intervention while being discretely silent about the intervention of North-vietnamese and Chinese (and of their own) intervention in so far as planes are concerned. Chinese personnel will be indistinguishable from the local population. Russian planes have been seen in Laos.

The Congo is still a smouldering cauldron, though great power confrontation has been avoided, thanks to the military assistance given by India and other Asian and African States as well as Ireland and Sweden.

The Arab world is also a seething cauldron of ambitious States under ambitious leaders. President Nasser has the fixed ambition of amalgamating all Arab Muslim peoples under his Flag from Morocco to Indonesia — it is a long range vision. He is proceeding cautiously and Bismarck-like, using all means open to men of Blood and Iron. At present he is concentrating on *Arabistan* including Syria and Iraq and Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The new year will see further moves in his chess play in which the first objective is the elimination of Israel.

To what extent India should seem to countenance this objective is a serious question — even for Arab support for us against Pakistan in the matter of Kashmir.

India in 1964

Turning to Indian defence matters, we learn that the manufacture of defence material is going on satisfactorily. But there is no psychological mobilisation of the people against the Chinese aggressors. The Americans and British cannot therefore assess the strength of our determination to pursue the defence of the country to the logical conclusion of the development of a nation-at-war, since the enemy has much vaster manpower and vaster material and armament.

We have abandoned Tibet to its fate. We show no trace of any inclination of championing its cause for the recovery of its liberty and the return of the Dalai Lama to Lhasa. The Emperor of Abyssinia was an exile in England during the Italian aggression but after the defeat of Italy, he was enabled to return to Addis baba. Have we less interest in the national independence of Tibet as a buffer state than the Great Powers of Europe had in Abyssinia?

We are cold to Tibet's freedom and honour.

We are still maintaining diplomatic relations with China and our envoys in Peking attend Tea parties there! Chinese officials fly over Indian territory! India shows unending interest in Afro-Asian mediation of the aggression in spite of the declared resolve of our parliament to throw the invader out! There is no trace of any endeavour to throw the invader out. To all intents and purposes, the government is allowing the aggressor to digest the fruits of his invasion in peace. This is an intolerable state of affairs but the government is banking on the impossibility for the representatives of the people, unorganised as they are, to keep up the agitation and the pressure for long. They will shout for a day or two and then subside and shout "Nehru Ki Jai" as usual!

There is not much room left for any adequate consideration of the new AICC draft as passed by the Congress Working Committee on democracy and socialism. No doubt it will be passed in the open session of the Congress at Bhuvanewara before this is in print. Any detailed consideration may wait for the next issue.

(Continued on page 8)

Thought, Word, And Deed

BY M. N. THOLAL

IN his letter to me, which I quoted in part in these columns sometime ago, Mr. Pothan Joseph referred to a quotation in one of my articles and wrote, "Since you quote Mathew Arnold, let me cull a page out of Lord Wavell's 'Other Men's Flowers.'" In that page below the title "The East 'From Obermann Once More' by Mathew Arnold are the lines I had quoted:

The East bowed low before the blast
in patient deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past
plunged in thought again.

The note appended by Lord Wavel is: "If Mr. Gandhi knows these lines he probably quotes them in support of his doctrine of non-violence, which really is traditional in the Hindu caste system, by which the warrior class was small and privileged, and the mass of the people had no part in war."

These are good lines to remember, particularly as they tickle our patriotic pride. But is there any truth in them? Our patient deep disdain could hardly have been born of nonviolence, for there always was enough of internecine warfare in the country. And what was the "thought" into which we plunged? Had it any relation to truth? What did it produce? The caste system with its inequity? What else, except for a few hair-splitting metaphysicians who could not even see the manifest inequity of the caste system, or, seeing it, did not have the courage to condemn it as unjust and unfair?

Perhaps it is unfair to suggest that they could not see it. They must have, otherwise they were not philosophers. The alternative, therefore, stands: that, seeing it, they did not have the courage to condemn it out-right, as it deserved to be condemned. Even Mahatma Gandhi, almost all his life, stood foursquare in favour of the caste system. It was only a year or two before his death that he declared himself in favour of a casteless society. Surely, it should not have required fifty years of ratiocination and deliberation in the twentieth century to come to the conclusion that caste was a monument of inequity. The Mahatma was a political leader and perhaps thought discretion to be the better part of valour. But what of countless other leaders of Hindu thought, who could tolerate this system with equanimity?

Lord Wavell truly says, the warrior class was small and privileged and the mass of the people had no part in war. And members of the warrior class often preferred to fight among themselves. What else then could the people do, except bow low before the blast? In fact their internecine warfare invited the blast. Obviously, they did not bow low in patient, deep disdain. 'Terror stricken' would be a better description. Our

caste system has, therefore, to be held responsible for our millennium-long slavery, in which we Indians hold the world's record. And what else could be the result of this prolonged slavery, if not cowardice among the people? Mahatma Gandhi made us fearless vis-a-vis the British, insofar as he taught us to defy the British and take consequences by going to jail. Perhaps it would be truer to say that the men who did so were Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das, whom the Government arrested during the visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1921, and the people of U.P. and Bengal responded by saying, "If Motilal and C. R. Das can go to jail, why can't we?" And they jumped into trucks carrying satyagrahis to prison to be with them there.

But did the Mahatma teach his followers to be fearless vis-a-vis himself? Did he teach them to be really frank with him? Did he honour those who, like Subhas Bose, had the courage to differ from him? No. He had Subhas Bose expelled from the Congress and even resorted to the stratagem of a fast at Rajkot to drive Bose out of the Congress. That was not a solitary example. There were others to make the people, particularly Congressmen, realise that to differ from the Mahatma was to court political doom. In other words, the Mahatma encouraged cowardice and hypocrisy while preaching fearlessness. (His true disciple, Nehru, is obviously doing the same now.)

Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das defied him and, realising what he was up against, he stooped to conquer. In the matter of spinning he knew very well, because he had found it out by cross-examining Congressmen, that almost no one spun and almost every one pretended that he did. (This is recorded in Pattabhi Sitaramayya's second volume of "History of the Indian National Congress.") And yet, did his discovery lead to his renouncing his insistence on the use of the spinning wheel? No. He preferred the hypocrisy, because it was a sign of homage to him. Likewise, no one believed in non-violence, but woe betide the Congressman who made light of it!

The "Times of India" once wrote a leading article saying that Pandit Motilal Nehru had "made an ass of himself" by going out to sell khaddar. He had the issue of the paper in hand when I happened to see him. He read out the offending sentence to me and asked; "Is it not defamation?" I am thinking of filing a suit against this paper." I replied that it was not defamation: "Made an ass of yourself only means that you have made a fool of yourself." "What do you think about it?" he then asked. After a moment's pause I said, "If a piece of cloth requires a Motilal Nehru to sell it, there must be something radically wrong with it." He greeted my observation

with a roar of laughter which must have echoed throughout Anand Bhawan. Almost forty years later I feel amazed at my impudence and even more at the fact that, while I was in my twenties, leaders like Motilal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malaviya should have seriously consulted me when they were in doubt and happened to meet me.

I remember having written a leading article in the National Herald when I was acting as its Editor in the late thirties. Mahatma Gandhi had asked the Secretary of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee to ask Gujarat Congressmen, who did not believe in nonviolence in thought, word and deed, to write to the Secretary to that effect. In my article I said, if Mahatma Gandhi really wanted to know how many believed in nonviolence in thought, word and deed, he should have asked those who thus believe to write to him. That would not entirely eliminate hypocrites, but it would give him a truer estimate of the proportion in the Congress of believers in nonviolence in thought, word and deed. The way he suggested might give him a truer estimate of the cowardice of Congressmen, but not of belief in nonviolence in thought word and deed. In matter like this, knowing the fear in which he was held, silence should not be taken as proclamation of faith in nonviolence in thought, word and deed. That proclamation had to be much more positive to be of any value.

Knowing that the Herald was a Congress paper I was not so blunt as I have been here in summarising my article from memory. But the sequel was amazing. Mahatma Gandhi at once sent for Raghunandan Saran of Delhi, the only director who was outside prison at the time, and, showing him the article, asked, "Is this your paper?" As in duty bound the director shamefacedly read the article and told the Mahatma he would go to Lucknow and rebuke the editor. So to Lucknow he came and entering my room said: "I am just coming from Wardha where Mahatmaji had summoned me to show me your article on him." "Is there anything wrong with it?" I asked. "I have read it again and again on my way to Lucknow and I must say there is nothing wrong with it," he admitted, adding, "But you can't criticise Mahatmaji." "You mean not even once in a way, not even in the interest of truth?" I asked, and he started cajoling me. Gandhiji could have easily asked Mahadev Desai to send us a rejoinder and we would have gladly published it. But he did nothing of the kind, and employed secret methods to browbeat us, and yet he used to say, "I abhor secrecy," for "secrecy is a sin".

In the Congress Working Committee there was no one except Maulana Azad—after Motilal Nehru's death—to tell Gandhiji, "No one believes in nonviolence in thought, word and deed; keep it to yourself, Mahatmaji." Maulana Azad told me as much himself. And Motilal Nehru aside, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was the only other man I knew who

was frank in his political discussions and ready with his opinions. I have often wondered why the Hindus could not be equally frank except in private with most intimate friends. Is that "patient, deep disdain" to plunge in thought again? What is thought worth if it cannot find public expression and thus invite criticism and even ridicule? How else can truth be found? By wearing a loin cloth? Early in the twenties Motilal Nehru told me Hindus were cowards. I resented the statement then, but since then almost every day I have found proof of the truth of that great man's dictum.

"It is humbug to argue that a nationalised concern is necessarily more efficient than either an old-time East End sweet-shop or a great modern combine such as Unilever." (Co-operative News" 23rd Oct. 1959)

Mr. F. Beswick, M. P. (Uxbridge)

(Continued from page 6)

Meanwhile we may note its salient point. The draft is a further indication of the *advance* that the Leftist Ginger Group in Congress, rather the Nehru group of fellow travellers, Sri Krishna Menon, Malaviya and others have made into the inner citadels of power with the blessings of Nehru.

The central core under Nehru have accommodated the clamour of the communist doctrinaires to a large extent in theory. They have conceded the need for further levelling down by taxation of capital gains, by progressive taxes, by Capital levy etc. They have conceded the entry of socialism in the distributive lines of commerce—retail trade through the screen of state-managed cooperatives, direct state trading in food grains and minerals, export and import trade etc. Transport is already nationalised. The public sector is to be expanded. The private sector is allowed to exist—*charitable in theory*. The only comfort that the free individual can take is that the take-over of banking is *not explicitly announced*. The time is not yet, it seems! After all deductions annexed for the governmental sector is made, what is left? What is left of the Onion after all the skins are peeled off? We are *at the door of communism*. Those who have imagination and understanding enough should wake up and inform the people of the critical situation and of its disastrous consequences as widely as possible. *Every intellectual Indian should do his duty*—this is another war of liberation: from the ignorance, cupidity and power-lust of our own countrymen!

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Will Democratic Socialism Help India ?

BY A. D. SHROFF

Democratic socialism has been offered as a solution. A scientific study of democratic socialism is, therefore, necessary. Fortunately for us, the experience of countries which have experimented with it is available.

Socialism has no commonly accepted definition. There are so many definitions that C.E.M. Joad observed that socialism was like a hat which had lost its shape because too many people had worn it. But, for a scientific economic analysis, socialism can be divided into two parts: its objective, and methods employed to achieve that objective. The objective: "a society of the free and the equal". The methodology: *state ownership* of the means of production, distribution and exchange, by nationalisation of existing enterprises, and through the establishment of a Public Sector (or state enterprise); and centralised comprehensive planning of all economic activities under the auspices of the state. Democratic socialism uses this methodology through parliamentary means and relies on evolutionary changes. Communism, also described as "scientific socialism", relies on the dictatorship of one party and revolutionary changes.

Several European countries like Great Britain and Sweden have experimented with democratic socialism, while Soviet Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Communist China, etc. have experimented with Communism or "scientific socialism". Their experience is worth close study because the universally acceptable objective of human welfare itself is considerably affected by the socialist methodology.

The swing today is away from both state ownership and centralised comprehensive planning in socialist and Communist countries. A well-known British economist, Graham Hutton, has commented: "Private property, private enterprise and private enterprisers provide a democracy's dynamic. Take these away and you take away both democracy and its dynamic, as we have long seen in communist countries. This is a dilemma in which Europe's Social-Democrats called by Communist 'reformist socialists' today, but formerly termed 'capitalist lackeys' have been landed with what used to be called "socialism." The changing ideas of European socialists are expressed in a remarkable book entitled "Socialism in the New Society". The author is Mr. Douglas Jay, a leading member of the British Labour Party and a close associate of the former party leader, the late Mr. Hugh Gaitskell. Having observed the

effects of socialist methods, Mr. Jay concludes that "absence of private property is also a denial of freedom." Dismissing the socialist concept of "perfect equality" as impractical, he pleads for "not equal shares, but fair shares; not equality, but social justice".

While on the one hand state ownership and nationalisation thus stand discredited among socialists, on the other, communist countries, notably Soviet Russia, are progressively finding that the socialist method of centralised, comprehensive planning does not lead to rapid economic growth. To appreciate this changed thinking, one must understand what is meant by centralised comprehensive planning. Essentially it means (a) mobilisation of all resources by the state and their use on the basis of a comprehensive plan drawn up by a planning board or commission according to its ideas of priority; (b) the strategy of concentrating on heavy industries at the cost of agriculture and consumer goods industries; (c) management of industries through state enterprises and of farming through state farms or collectives, also known as joint co-operative farms; (d) and, finally, administration of all economic activities by the Government through a framework of extensive and intricate controls at every stage of production, distribution and exchange. This form of economic activity ignores some basic laws of economics such as incentives as a means of greater production, consumer preference as a source of investment decision and rational allocation of resources in the economy, and the cost factor in production. But these factors are slowly finding their entry into the Soviet economic system.

Just as the economic waste of centralised planning and the price of ignoring incentives are being realised, the failure on the agricultural front and in the production of consumer goods is also making a dent on doctrinaire thinking in the Soviet Union. The emphasis has shifted from heavy industries to agriculture. Having been put to the necessity of importing foodgrains from free enterprise countries like Canada, "the Central Committee of the Party is presently planning to carry out such measures which will make it possible to lay a stable foundation for our country to obtain big guaranteed harvests, especially of grain". Years of experimentation with joint co-operative or collective farming has had disastrous results on production of foodgrains. Once again, principles of free enterprise have been vindicated even in this sphere. A survey by the U. N.

Food and Agricultural Organisation, in October 1962, revealed that private small holdings accounted for about a third of Soviet agricultural output. It said that the family plot of farmers of every collective or state farm represented not only a "compromise between the persistent individualism of the peasant and the communist doctrine" but also met current Soviet economic needs.

With growing realisation of such inadequacies under centralised planning, Russians are introducing free enterprise features in their economy. For instance, trade marks and advertising have been introduced. One Soviet economist says: "The Trade-mark makes it possible for the consumer to select the goods which he likes. This forces other firms to improve the quality of their own product in harmony with the demands of the consumer. Thus the trade-mark promotes the drive for raising the quality of production." Dr. Marshall Goldman, of Harvard's Russian Centre, has disclosed that in 1963 Soviet enterprises would spend about 40 million dollars (about Rs. 20 crores) on advertising. There were already over 30 advertising agencies as a link between the producer and the consumer.

Thus free enterprise features are not only changing socialist economic institutions in Russia, but also finding vigorous proponents there. It is amusing to read the advice offered by Soviet economists to Communist China. Recent Soviet Press articles have chided Chinese leaders for ignoring "objective economic laws" A Soviet economist is quoted as saying that Chinese leaders had ignored "all laws of economic development" and had sought to re-place "planning and cost accounting" by "volitional decisions." These policies and the setting up of communes, he declared, had led to an "abrupt drop in the living standard" of the Chinese people.

SOCIALIST PLANNING IN INDIA

Nationalisation, state - ownership and socialist planning are thus on the retreat elsewhere in the world. Against such a background, an objective review of nationalisation, state ownership (the Public Sector) and socialist planning in our country is essential.

The Controller and Auditor-General of India has rendered a distinct service to the country by making available to the public, for the first time, a consolidated picture of state enterprises. The "Audit Report (Commercial) 1963" analysing the financial results of 46 Government companies (with two subsidiary companies) as on March 31, 1962, says that on an employed capital of Rs. 1,090.75 crores, "the net result of operation of all these companies shows a loss of Rs. 10.60 crores during this year, as compared to the profit of Rs. 6.34 crores during 1960-61." Then, on the consideration that "it takes time to set up factories and get them on full production," the Report analyses only 25 companies which have been in operation for more than

five years. It adds: "Out of 25 companies, 23 companies showed a profit of Rs. 11.48 crores before providing for taxation and 2 companies incurred a loss of Rs. 0.08 crores during 1961-62. After making provision for taxation and adjusting the profits and losses etc. of the previous year of some companies, the total net amount available for appropriation was Rs. 8.8 crores. Out of this amount, a sum of Rs. 6.55 crores was appropriated towards various Reserves. The total dividend declared by these companies was Rs. 1.32. crores, which works out to less than one per cent of the paid-up capital of Rs. 156 crores."

A major objective of planning is the employment of scarce resources to yield maximum returns. The yield on the Public Sector is, therefore, a matter of concern since the resources employed there would have yielded better results elsewhere had the money remained with the people. But what is more alarming is the carefree way in which the Public Sector enterprises are set up and operated. The same report, for instance, points out the estimates and actual expenditure on the Hindustan Steel Plant as follows:

Estimates	Bhilai, Durgapur & Rourkela Plants	Township & Ancillaries
Original	Rs. 353 crores	Rs. 119.36 crores
Revised in 1957	Rs. 439 "	
Revised in 1961	Rs. 478.35 crores	Rs. 129.07 "
Revised in 1963	Rs. 479.19 "	Rs. 136.76 "
Actual till March 31, 1962	Rs. 474.74 "	Rs. 118.48 "

Barring a few exceptions, the same story of what Union Minister C. Subramaniam has described as "guestimates", delays, wastages and losses is repeated in other enterprises. For instance, it was recently reported that the Rourkela fertiliser plant, built at a cost of Rs. 26 crores (original estimates Rs. 16 crores), "is standing practically idle". Another report says that "as a result of the closure of the kerosene unit of the state-owned Gauhati Oil Refinery the loss in production is likely to be as high as Rs. 30 lakhs. What is more, the country may have to increase the imports of kerosene, which costs valuable foreign exchange." In the National Coal Development Corporation, another major Public Sector concern, while sales went up from Rs. 282.30 lakhs to Rs. 1,317.65 lakhs between 1956-57 and 1961-62, profits in the same period declined from Rs. 25.92 lakhs to Rs. 11.89 lakhs, i.e., 9.1 to 0.9 per cent of profit to sales. A machine imported at a cost of Rs. 22.88 lakhs had not been assembled fully and commissioned even ten years after receipt. Delay in paying bills worth Rs. 38 lakhs resulted in a loss of rebate of Rs. 97,000.

The state of affairs in enterprises run by state governments are equally alarming. For instance, the Orissa Audit Report for 1961-62 said that by the end of September 1962, the accounts of one state enterprise for 1959-60, of 11 for 1960-61 and 27

for 1961-62 were not made available for audit. The West Bengal Audit Report noted delay in preparation of working results of state enterprises. While private enterprises are penalised for even minor delays, observations like the following one on the Durgapur Projects Ltd. were found in the audit report placed before West Bengal Assembly in March 1963: "Share certificates for the entire capital Durgapur Projects Ltd., amounted to Rs. 15. crores, have not yet been issued. Further, the sanction of the Controller of Capital Issues for such issue was not obtained. The shares were apparently issued in consideration of the transfer on the understanding through the agreement for such transfer of the understanding though the agreement for such transfer was not executed. The situation, therefore, remains anomalous and no return under Section 75 was filed with the Registrar of Companies. The matter should be regularised immediately." Another project in the same state incurred a loss of Rs. 58 lakhs. The Minister for Forests and Fisheries admitted that the loss on Deep Sea Fishing project was "horrible". Two vessels bought for Rs. 5.91 lakhs, after consuming Rs. 10 lakhs on repairs, were finally auctioned off for Rs. 25,000! In Mysore State, of 34 departmentally managed undertakings, the audit report for 1961-62 and account only for 24 concerns. Of these, 13 showed a profit of Rs. 141.64 lakhs, working out to 5.5% on Government capital, while 11 incurred a loss of Rs. 29.04 working out to 12.8% on Government capital employed.

Of special interest is the story of nationalised enterprises where comparison with previous ownership is available. The nationalised Bangalore Transport Service incurred a loss of Rs. 13 lakhs in 1961-62. The Minister for Transport admitted that whereas under *private management* the concern had shown a *profit* margin of 14.2 nP per mile during 1956-57, after *nationalisation* the loss had gone up to 16 nP per mile in 1961-62. In Maharashtra, it was reported that municipalised BEST was spending 25% more on printing its tickets after it transferred the work from a private press to its own new unit. Moreover, a breakdown of a "vital part" of the new plant had resulted in the printing of only 5,000 tickets per day, which is 2.5% of the daily requirements.

The nationalised air transport industry is also showing poor results in terms of efficiency. In the last four years, the Indian Airlines Corporation has raised fares three times. Delays in departure and arrival of planes are common, and last minute flight cancellations not infrequent. The deteriorating service and efficiency was highlighted by a recent press report to the effect that the last-minute cancellation of the winter schedule had upset plans of hundreds of tourists. The report added: "An irate travel agent remarked, IAC has perhaps created a new world record—of being the last to announce its winter schedule and the first to change it. Besides, IAC is one the few airlines in the world

which makes air-minded people travel by trains." The operation of the State Trading Corporation, which is extending its sphere and operates as a monopoly in the export or import and distribution of some of the commodities is doing incalculable damage to India's foreign trade. A news item in February 1963 disclosed that STC and Atomic Energy Commission had created a muddle trying to outbid each other in Japan over the export of ilmenite. The result was a loss of one crore of rupees worth of foreign exchange every year, and prospect of unemployment for 3,000 workers in Kerala. It is worthwhile noting that "while India, which once held the monopoly in ilmenite, has almost lost all its traditional buyers, countries like Brazil, Canada and Ceylon are stepping up their exports." The harm to the economy and small people in trade, through the monopolistic dealings and bureaucratic ways of the State Trading Corporation, are seldom realised.

GOVERNMENT NOT MODEL EMPLOYER

Hopes of the Public Sector enterprises proving themselves as model employers have also not been realised so far. In November 1963 it came to light that production at the Rourkela steel plant had suffered a serious set-back. The management attributed this to "deliberate slow-down, disregard of orders and refusal to act in higher capacities" by some workers. According to a report of the Orissa State Labour Laws Implementation and Evaluation Officer, 46 instances of violation of labour laws, tripartite agreements and settlements by the management at Rourkela had come to his notice. Some instances of breach of law were so serious, according to the report, that if they had occurred in any private industry "it will have meant the closure of the industry." A veteran trade union leader, Mr. Khandubhai Desai, has castigated the Public Sector for possessing a "feudal mind" and for being "deficient in human values." He said at a meeting in April 1963 that Public Sector enterprises were now in that stage of development out of which the Private Sector had emerged three generation ago.

The Consumer fares no better at the hands of many Public Sector enterprises. A national daily reported in July 1963 that the Railway catering establishments in the South had put up prices of all edible articles. "While the increases are sharp in the case of certain items like coffee and meals, no item appears to have escaped this upward revision." At one prominent station, whereas in former days the people of the city used to visit the railway restaurant, now even railway officials were avoiding railway catering in favour of hotels in the city! The Public Accounts Committee of Parliament has mentioned an interesting case. It condemned the pricing policy of state-owned Hindustan Antibiotics. On an essential life-saving drug, the company was profiting to the extent of 32 nP on production cost of 18 nP per mega unit. A state monopoly, the Life Insurance Corporation, has not taken account

of increase in longevity to reduce premia rates. In the meantime, malpractices of which the Private Sector is constantly accused, are coming to light in the Public Sector. The Vice-President of the Association of LIC Agents has complained that since nationalisation of life insurance, the "evil of rebating" had been on the increase.

Thus, our experience of Public Sector and nationalised industries confirms the pattern in other countries. The lesson is that while the Public Sector has an important role to play, it should not be set up merely on ideological grounds. Only where people by themselves cannot set up an enterprise, or national interests dictate the setting up of a state enterprise as in the case of armaments, the Public Sector should step in. Similarly, nationalisation should not lead to state monopolies, nor even mere transfer of ownership from private hands to the Government. There is need for an independent Nationalisation Commission, which should give an opportunity for all affected interests to be heard before making a recommendation to the Government for final decision whenever nationalisation of any industry is proposed.

Rethinking needs to be done on the allied field of cooperatives also. In principles, cooperation is to be welcomed. The finest example of cooperation in modern economic life is provided by joint-stock companies. But when under ideological compulsion cooperatives are started in agriculture, trade and industry, under state auspices and patronage, they not merely go against the very rationale of cooperation, but also seem to result in loss of production and waste of public funds, according to the performance so far. A recent report of the National Cooperative Union of India, surveying cooperation between 1956 and 1962, concluded that while the number of cooperatives had considerably gone up, the movement had neither made a direct impact on agricultural production, nor had been able to check the exploitation of cultivators by moneylenders. Mr. S. K. Dey, as the Union Minister for Community Development, admitted recently that "the strategic programme of cooperative farming still not caught the fancy of the people". The Chief Minister of Mysore, Mr. Nijalingappa, in August 1962, expressed his anger at the sight of "dust-ridden, bandicoot-infested" cooperatives. He said that many of them had been working for years without any audited accounts or general body meetings. Mr. Dey himself criticised the cooperative department which, he said, existed more on signboards than in reality. Speaking in Shillong in April 1963, he said: "All assistance from Government including money is wasted on these cooperatives." Reports of misuse of public funds in cooperatives are a matter for serious concern. For instance, in one cooperative society in Nagpur, of the share capital of Rs. 12 lakhs, Rs. 11½ lakhs were contributed by the Government, and repeated reminders from the Government to increase share capital of member primary societies and individuals had no effect. In the meantime, losses had

accumulated, and half the directorate had become disqualified. In another society, although it had received Rs. 1,66,000 as loan, not a single house had been constructed.

The moral is that, whether it is farming or trade or manufacture, cooperatives cannot be set up artificially on state patronage without running the risk of serious mismanagement and waste of scarce resources raised from the general public. Ultimately, this state of affairs may lead to even genuine cooperatives being distrusted by the public.

(To be continued)

STATE PLANNING AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

"Persistence of inflationary policies is evidence of the state of our monetary enlightenment. The prime factor at work is that the bigger the plan the larger the patronage of permits, licences, contracts, concessions and executive positions. Inflation resulting from too big a plan has not proved a deterrent as inflation adds to the unmerited gains.

"In such a context foreign aid is a disservice in disguise as it patches up the ill-effects of wrong-headed policies, while leaving the policies unchecked, in India and of the simultaneous pursuit of economic structure. Though foreign aid may defer the inevitable economic breakdown for some time, there is no lasting remedy to the situation other than a basic re-orientation of our economic and social policies, on the lines outlined in this and the preceding chapters.

"The experience of the past decade of planning in India and of the simultaneous pursuit of economic liberalism elsewhere shows conclusively that the choice before us is between, on the one hand, policies of maximum possible economic freedom—Gandhian ethical socialism—and maximum economic growth and, on the other, policies of statist planning and economic and social chaos. The former policies make for the largest public good and have little room for parasitical private gain; the latter policies offer abundant scope for illicit and unmerited private gain and have a habit of producing or perpetuating an economic bedlam of mounting investments, increasing state activity, inflation, poverty, unemployment, tensions and conflict. The most dangerous factor in the situation, which is self-generating and self-sustaining, is that statist planning, once adopted, tends to grow and strengthen its hold on the economy. The plan barons are apt to use their publicity resources for making the community 'plan minded' rather than abandon planning. To do the latter would be to dismantle the storehouse of limitless power, patronage and easy income. And yet, neither economic nor social salvation is possible without dislodging the plan barons and abandoning statist planning."

— From "Indian Planning & Economic Development"
by Prof. B. R. Shenoy

ZERO HOUR FOR DEMOCRACY

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

FEW REALIZE THAT within the next few days the direction our democracy will have to take will be determined at the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress. The climate is already being prepared to see that democracy does not survive socialism. Through five Bills introduced by the Finance Minister, the Government will have a stranglehold on industry, insurance, banking, gold and industrial securities. The Gold Control Bill creates the power for officials to first check that only 14-carat gold is used and, second, that a correct declaration of the possession of gold is made. No man's house will be the castle of his liberties, and easy excuse will be available to raid it. The Banking Laws Bill gives the Reserve Bank power to remove directors and to limit individual management to five years. The power of the Reserve Bank is extended to all companies which accept deposits and carry on business similar to banking. The Reserve Bank may interfere in the loans given to companies and enterprises. In other words, there is the sword of Damocles hanging over banking, which will make it, and the private enterprise it finances, subservient to Government. The Companies Amendment Bill allows the Government the power to hand over, on such grounds as it may choose, to investigation by a tribunal. It allows for the appointment of additional directors and for compulsory conversion of government loans into shares. In other words, the Government can completely discipline private investment, without formal nationalization. The Unit Trust Bill gives a dominant role to Government whose purchases of shares can rule their values. The entry of the LIC in general insurance will leave private companies at the mercy of an overwhelming rival.

Secondly, the climate has been prepared by a leakage of the Mahalanobis Report, on the distribution of income and wealth, to communist papers. They are emphasizing only parts of the report that a small number of companies hold a considerable part of the investment, that they receive the largest part of Government loans, that they are controlling a god part of the press. The context is ignored that the share capital involved is only Rs. 352 crores in the total assets of the country which exceed Rs. 1,00,000 crores. In any case, attack on wealth is an attack on investment, on which the development of the country depends.

Thirdly, the Prime Minister has declared that the private sector was only relevant in so far as it supported the public sector. Fourthly, Mr. K. D. Malaviya who queered the definition of 'democratic socialism' at Jaipur has attempted to spell it at Nagpur as nationalization of banks, ending of individual ownership of land required for housing, strengthening of the basis of heavy industries in the public sector, and increase of loans to cultivators. He seems to have forgotten 'land reform' and co-ope-

ration which were also the programme of his socialism at Jaipur. Fifthly, Mr. Dange has come out with the threat of a general strike if the Bonus Commission does not agree with his views.

How can this climate be restricted to save the Congress from a definition of 'democratic socialism', which will reverse the respect for property which even centuries of foreign rule did not destroy? The socialist lobby in the Congress is small with Messrs Nehru, Nanda, Menon, Malaviya, T. T. K. (to the extent that he can lend his ingenuity to the powers that can advance his own ambitions). Mr. Nehru's bias for communism has been reinforced recently by his desire to acquire economic power in place of political power, which has begun to ebb. This ebb of political power may become more pronounced first, as economic distress increases, second, because the Kamaraj plan has left no one in the Cabinet who can seriously restrain the Prime Minister, third, because Mr. Menon has become closer to the PM than his creatures in the Cabinet.

The question therefore is what resistances there are to a great leap to socialism at Bhubaneswar. The Congress Party has become benumbed after the Kamaraj plan as it realizes that only the Prime Minister can advance any one. In any case, it is without a leader and a policy which is more attractive than the socialism of the Prime Minister. One can hope that such members of the Congress as can see the evils of socialism will find that Mr. M. R. Masani has already given them a policy in the test which Mahatmaji laid down, that every measure must be judged by its effect on the poorest man. By this touchstone most of the socialist measures will show that they have contributed only to increase the poverty of the people, while the power vests in the Government.

The other resistance can come from the people if they are made to understand that what is designated as 'socialism' has only resulted in the sacrifice of their legitimate improvement while the few favoured prosper by the Planning of Government.

Lastly, the resistance may come from the cold compulsion of facts. The economy is running down rapidly, because not only is internal investment frozen but external assistance has lost the impulse it had from the cold war. The US has reduced its foreign aid and European contributions geared to it will follow suit. Without foreign exchange, the economy will miss the injection which has so far sustained it against its own debility. There may be reduction in food loans, which may not only intensify the food shortage but the credit the Government received, which so far has accumulated to Rs. 1,500 crores (half our money supply). This must give socialism its pause, because the communists cannot give food, as they themselves are short of it. The only question is whether the Prime Minister will ever realize this predicament that awaits the country under his socialist planning.

Three Cheers For Sucheta And Gupta !

(From our Correspondent)

As a result of the manner in which the Kamaraj Plan is being implemented in U. P., a row is developing there over the presence of Chief Minister Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani—the redoubtable wife of a redoubtable husband — at a reception given in her honour by the newly constituted zila parishad of Fyzabad. The District Congress Committee of Fyzabad had objected to it. Acting UPCC President Algurai Shastri had asked her not to attend it. "Asked" is the word used in this connection, not "requested". Since a row is developing, the public is entitled to know why the DCC of Fyzabad objected to the Chief Minister's presence at the reception. As the reception was in her honour, it was natural for Mrs. Kripalani, having agreed to it, to attend it.

The public is also entitled to know why Acting President Shastri asked her not to attend it and how his order to the Chief Minister got published in the papers. What does the UPCC President think he is? A Super Chief Minister? That seems to be his idea. Says President Jain, "Chief Ministers are creations of the organisation. No wise Chief Minister can afford to reject the organisation." Why this emphasis on the obvious? Is he not himself a creation of the organisation? Does he think he is the organisation? It may well be that he thinks he is a creation of some one far superior to the organisation and therefore higher than the organisation. Or does the DCC of Fyzabad think it is the organisation of the state?

Obviously, it is for neither of them to lord it over the Chief Minister. Doesn't the Congress want its Chief Minister to be respected or does it want to make a laughing stock of the Chief Minister? The answer to these questions would appear to be in the negative and positive respectively and, therefore, those who are working to that end are undermining the prestige of the Congress. There can be no two opinions about it. Yet that is how the Kamaraj Plan is being worked in U.P. The question naturally arises, why? The answer is: A. P. Jain and Company have the knowledge of the backing of Jawaharlal Nehru. They seem to say—this is their unspoken question to the Chief Minister: "We are the favourites of Nehru and who the dickens are you?"

Mr. Jain said at Lucknow on December 26 he had not come "to ignite fire". But that is what he has been doing and he is not such a fool as to be absolutely unaware of it. The implications of his statement at this moment—that chief ministers are creations of the organisation—are wide enough to reveal the state of his mind and what he is aiming at. The trouble in U.P. can be traced to the selec-

tion of Mr. Jain as UPCC President by Jawaharlal Nehru—Mr. Jain had earlier reported on happenings in Assam just as Mr. Nehru desired him to do—and his subsequent election as such. In the interest of peace among U.P. Congressmen Mr. Nehru should have suggested a much more respectable name, commanding the confidence of both groups, rather than a stooge. A few men of that type are not lacking in U.P. and Mr. Nehru cannot plead ignorance of this fact. But his politics is personal and it almost always leads him to paths dictated by personal ambition, which has no limits. This is obvious from the fact that the dissidents in Madhya Pradesh were not consulted at all in the formation of the Cabinet while the dissidents in U.P. were told that the High Command would regard their refusal to join the Cabinet as breach of discipline! What is sauce for the U.P. goose is not sauce for the M.P. Gander, and the principle of the cabinet being representative of the party as a whole does not apply to Madhya Pradesh!

In an interview to a news agency, after her failure to attend the meeting of the liaison committee convened by the UPCC President, Mrs. Kripalani posed the very legitimate question about who was to convene the liaison committee's meeting and what subjects it would discuss. She said that the way it was going about its business showed that its purpose was to harass the Government. Mr. Gautam, on behalf of the dissenters, revealed that he had himself raised the question with the AICC about who was to convene the liaison committee and what its terms of reference were, but had received no reply from it so far. Why then did the UPCC President convene the meeting without consulting the Chief Minister? To grab power for himself? Or to show the spirit of sacrifice generated by the Kamaraj Plan?

Mr. Gautam also said the defectors held a reception which Mrs. Kripalani attended. The reception was held by the zila parishad and surely the Chief Minister is entitled to attend a reception by a non-Congress body, even by anti-Congressmen, if only with a view to ultimately win them over to the Congress cause. Or should she be on non-speaking terms with non-Congressmen or anti-Congressmen, including her great husband? The objection shows the narrowmindedness of Congressmen, which brought about the division of the country and the holocaust of 1947.

I remember the Acting Editor of the National Herald, a southerner, complaining to me when the paper was started, about Congress "volunteers" walking into his office with the air of governors. I asked the chaprasi not to let any one in without per-

mission. Later, I asked one of the reporters incidentally who these Congress "volunteers" were. He said he knew only one of them and, much to my amusement, he identified him as A. P. Jain.

In an interview with a news agency Mr. C. B. Gupta is reported to have said he had with him the support of not less than 48 out of the state's 54 zila parishads and that the ministerialist group commanded the following of an overwhelming percentage of the Congress rank and file in the state. Mr. Gupta said—and many who know him will corroborate the statement—never of his own had he sought party or ministerial posts. Important leaders like Prime Minister Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mrs. Indira Gandhi—if they do not take care they may soon be known as the mischievous trio—hail from his state and, said Mr. Gupta, naturally they wanted to play a role in the affairs of the party in U.P. Therefore, he added, "the perspective of handicaps despite which I have risen to enjoy the popular backing is a significant factor to be noted". This is a true summing up of the situation, although Mr. Gupta has denied having given any "interview" on U.P. Congress affairs. Perhaps the talk was off the record.

If the approaching election of the executive of the UPCC results in a victory for his group, it would make for harmony between the ministerial and the organisational group. At present reckoning that seems to be against the spirit of the Kamaraj Plan, the latest manifestation of which is the publication by UPCC General Secretary Mohanlal Gautam of reports the PCC office has received regarding former Chief Minister C.B. Gupta financing some Opposition candidates to defeat their Congress counterparts belonging to the rival group during the last general election. Any one who has not even an anna to spare can send a post card (bearing) full of such reports sure in the knowledge that it will not be returned by the UPCC! That is what the Congress High Command, or rather the tricky trio has done in U.P.

PSP LOSES TROJAN HORSE

This correspondent has been saying for years that Mr. Asoka Mehta was as good as Mr. Nehru's Trojan horse in the PSP. Confirmation of this now comes from the Chairman of the PSP himself. "Ever since the Party was formed," he says, "Mr. Nehru has been electing leaders of the Party to use them as instruments of disruption on ideological issues." No one can blame Mr. Nehru for what he has been doing. It is part of his job. But why, it is being asked here, has the PSP been permitting it? The PSP's connivance at Mr. Nehru's selection of its leaders to use them as instruments of its disruption provides the greatest possible justification for Dr. Lohia's breaking away from it. Having admitted the charge which Dr. Lohia has been hurling at the PSP, it is now for the latter to make amends in the direction of merger of the two socia-

list parties by conceding a point or two Dr. Lohia. Mr. Nehru's blandishments are hard to resist, like those of the Mahatma, and generate emotional integration; and Opposition leaders have to be wary of the same. Of none among them can it be said that they have not even partially succumbed to those blandishments.

Mr. Joshi also made the amazing disclosure that Mr. Mehta's rejection of the National Executive's request to him to resign from the Party was contrary to Mr. Mehta's promise made some weeks ago. Why should a man out to disrupt the Party keep his promise to the Party? Where is the sense, people ask, in siding with a man who cannot even keep his promise?

DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM BOTH RIGHT AND EXPEDIENT

"One of the things which bind India and Britain is that we are both of us of the opinion that the immensely radical and even revolutionary things that have to be done in the second half of the 20th century should be done, if humanly possible, by consent. We believe, or at the very least we try to believe, that there is enough good sense and intelligence in the ordinary citizen to enable him to instruct his representatives to carry on the government and the development of the country along lines which will promote as rapidly as possible increase of production and welfare.

"We believe that this way of progressing is the way which recognizes most fully and worthily the mission of mankind and the nature of the individual man and woman. We do not believe in systems which silence opposition and call this action progress.

"But the path which we have chosen is full of snags and problems. Individual people are not always the best judges of their own interests, and large number of individual people, however politically experienced, can go very badly wrong. But it is precisely the ability and opportunity to oppose which enables the people to rectify course when the community may see to have strayed from it.

"And so we in Britain are determined to cling to this way of managing things, both because we think it is right and because we think it expedient. And because the way that one governs oneself as a community is basic to the life of free people, we know that this argument is important and cannot be brushed on one side as though it either had no significance or did not exist at all."

—Sir Paul Gore-Booth.

A Philosophical Journey to the west

By

S. S. Chawla, Assistant Editor 'The Tribune', Ambala, India

People generally go East to acquire wisdom, but I had to come West for it. And all because of God's geographical blunder! A great mentor of mankind whose philosophy has an Oriental appeal was born in the U.S.A. instead of in the more congenial East. Or perhaps it was no blunder of God. Perhaps He wished to reverse the wrong trend of living in the West through a great son of the Occident, Ralph Borsodi.

My discovery of him was by accident. In August 1958 Mr. Borsodi was invited to India because of his ideological affinity with Eastern thought. In the course of his tour he came to Ambala, Punjab, the publishing center of a leading English daily, *The Tribune*. My Editor assigned me to interview him. Here was born the spark that has transformed my whole being during the past five years.

For the first time I heard a scientific exposition and validation of India's traditional wisdom and philosophy. As a keen student of Gandhian thought and one who for some time had been involved in Vinoba Bhave's landgift movement, I suddenly "discovered" the intellectual basis for what, until then, had emotionally permeated my being. Borsodi's book, *The Challenge of Asia*, a copy of which he gave me, showed me how Asia could modernise its culture without accepting Western urbanism, industrialism and centralism.

It was at Ambala that Mr. Borsodi produced his shortest but most moving book, *The Pan-Humanist Manifesto*. It was widely acclaimed by book-reviewers in India. One called it "a stirring idea—perhaps the greatest since the launching of the Russian Sputnik." Another said: "*The Manifesto* is the outpouring of a lacerated heart of a man who earlier had written *This Ugly Civilization*. Despite its small size, *The Manifesto* easily ranks among the great revolutionary pieces of the world—a magnificent dream by man!" A third paper reported: "Needless to say Mr. Borsodi's ideas are not fully in accord with the trend of the times, yet no prophet is needed to tell us that these are the ideas that will ultimately fill the ideological vacuum yawning all over the world today."

Though a cul-de-sac is often recognized by the intellectuals of the West, and though a sizeable dissatisfied element is yearning for a way out, *The Pan-Humanist Manifesto*, unfortunately, attracted very little attention in the U.S.A. Erich Fromm in his *Sane Society*, David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd*, William Whyte in *The Organization Man*, Vance Packard in *Hidden Persuaders* and *Waste-makers*, and a host of other concerned men have pointed to the same maladies to which Ralph Borsodi has been calling attention since the early 20s

—almost simultaneously with Mahatma Gandhi who stepped on India's political stage in 1922.

There are important differences but some fascinating similarities between Gandhi's and Borsodi's philosophy, particularly in Gandhian "home economics" as perfected by Vinoba Bhave's Sarvodaya ideology and Ralph Borsodi's movement for a Green Revolution.

Borsodi was invited by Vidyanagar University (Gujarat) to develop a course in general education. When later Mr. Borsodi gave the university a manuscript of his magnum opus, *Education of the Whole man*, many educators in India were much impressed by it. Published there in April 1963, it has a foreword by India's President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, a great philosopher and educator of repute. He said: "Ralph Borsodi asks us to take a fresh look at the problems of education . . . The sickness of our society can be traced to a onesided development of education . . . In the name of science and rationalism many of our societies have broken off their connection with past tradition. Lives have become rootless. We have to grow our roots again . . . We are grateful for the publication of this important book."

If no less a person than Dr. Radhakrishnan called a book "important" it surely deserved a perusal by educators, including journalists. My quick study of it re-emphasized the urgency of what I had felt for five years—the need for a pilgrimage to this fountain head of wisdom. Fortunately for me, members of the School of Living (founded by Borsodi in 1936) made my journey possible. The three weeks I have spent in Exeter, New Hampshire, trying to learn from Borsodi the essence of his conclusions of a lifetime's study of problems of men and of society, have been the most rewarding ones of my life.

I have no doubt about Borsodi's view that the crisis of our times developed out of the eclipse of religious and moral values, and the failure of modern science to be concerned with values. I also share his conviction that this crisis can be resolved only by integrating all knowledge around the basic problems of man and of society. Not by political action, not by economic reform, not even by religious revival, but only through right education can we correct the trend of wrong living which is called the American Way of Life, but is really the Western Way of life. Despite its glitter and the envy it arouses in the whole world, this way of life produces such frustration that every 32 minutes an American commits suicide! The need to arrest these wrong trends in the Western way of life is pressing, and Borsodi's remedy, I believe, is one that the world needs.

The newly independent nations of the world, including India, are lavishly aping the Western way of life. The voice of Borsodi, now a man of 75, beckons all those who wish to concern themselves with a saner way of living. It is in response to this beckoning I felt in his book on education that I am here to help complete other volumes on basic problems from his lifetime of notes. I am happy to join Mrs. Mildred Loomis, Educational Director of the School of Living at its headquarters, Lane's End Homestead, Brookville, Ohio, and work under Ralph Borsodi's supervision on these volumes. All likeminded friends are welcome to join this mentally rewarding venture.

Book Review

The Souvenir of The Swatantra Party (Bangalore City Convention) 1-12-1964.): Pages 125 exclusively of advts. Price Rs. Two. Available at Party Office Jayachamaraja Road, Bangalore City.

This volume published by the Bangalore City Swatantra Party organisation is an indication of the great progress that the Party publicity is making in the City and State, particularly among the educated sections of the people. It comprises in student notebook size over 125 pages of solid reading matter on some of the most important issues of current politics and economic problems.

It may be that elections are but little determined by theory and principle in the short period but in the long haul, nothing else has more effect on the shape of policy and the destiny of nations.

The policies of today have been determined, however little the politicians and election managers may be aware of it, by the theories of yesterday. Mr. Nehru often disowns Marx but his socialism is nothing but Marxism incarnated (in all the essential features of its structure with Soviet Stalinist Planning added.) For it adds the priorities of investment among heavy and light industries and agriculture to the complete annexation of economic power by the Government that Marx predicted to eliminate the capitalist class.

There is no use pleading with Nehru and his ideological henchmen to go slow, to eschew doctrinairism, to proceed by practical criteria in nationalisation etc, for they are fanatical visionaries with their eyes fixed on the Marxist dream of the socialist Heaven of the classless State and society with no private ownership and no private property in the means of production. They think that such a state of affairs is the indispensable condition for unselfishness and the ideal efflorescence of human perfection. Even as Plato thought that the Guardians should have no individuals family, no individual property in order to be free from the temptation of selfishness!

Of course it is a false dream and contrary to human psychology.

The only way to counter this false doctrine and its forest of related ideas and consequences is to think things through. It requires a veritable renaissance of social thought, new and creative, using all the available experience and thought, East and West, ancient and modern. This is research of the first order.

In addition, we need research of the second order whereby the creative findings of the first order are broadcast among the intelligent sections of the people. Essays in magazines, broadcasts in radio, pamphlets, short stories, expositions in longer works like those of H. C. Wells (*Work, Wealth, Welfare and Happiness of Mankind*)—in fact like the works of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau of the pre-French Revolutionary period, using the more recent sociological and historical materials available should pour forth into the public channels of information. Enterprising publishers and printers should cooperate with political parties and industrial and commercial advertisers should cooperate with writers to fill this public need to produce *alternative ideas* from which better policies for the good governance of the people can be forged.

From this point of view, Swatantra Party is doing more than the other older Parties to spread sound ideas among the intelligentsia. As thoughtful people are recognising, the entry of Rajaji into the public forum on behalf of the opposing Party (Swatantra) as its friend, philosopher and guide has given a creative shape to this function of intellectual and moral leadership.

The souvenir leads off with an article by Rajaji in which he points out that the only cure for the malaise of the Congress Party is to be fairly defeated at the polls when it will have a motive to win a position of normalcy as a political party and lose its illusions of grandeur as the sole saviour of the people as sole heir of Mahatma Gandhi.

The publication includes a number of articles by non-party writers for the sake of securing authoritative expositions. For instance, it includes a succinct but learned disquisition on the fundamental rights of life, liberty and property. It was read at the Madras Bar Association's Conference on the *Rule of Law* by Mr. Nambiar who had also pleaded before the Kerala High Court and Supreme Court with success in obtaining decrees against the old Kerala Land Reform Law. This and his speech on the 17th Amendment Bill need to be broadcast in lakhs throughout the country as a measure of *citizenship education* in the fundamental rights. Mr. Nambiar comes to the dread conclusion that *the fundamental rights have been nullified* by the acts and policies of the Nehru Government!

Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, Ex-Minister of Mysore and Chief Minister of Gwalior makes the point with his usual elegance and wit that today Rajaji has been obliged to lead India's Second Struggle

for Freedom—the freedom of the individual, even as the Gandhian Struggle was for national independence.

General Cariappa has two articles — (most moving) in the present emergency—compact of the loftiest patriotism and the most down-to-earth realism. He rings the tocsin and says that *all should come out* now and commit themselves and be counted.

The souvenir does well in including Mr. She-
noy's economic criticism of the Plans which make it crystal clear that their design has *prevented more rapid progress* by its dogmatic flouting of economic laws and experience!

The writers are completely free of the glamour of the popular slogan of socialism. Kaundinya for example (obviously a pseudonym) points out trenchantly that socialism with its centralisation of economic power and *patronage* in the hands of the State makes corruption and socialism *synonymous!*

There is a Kannada section. Mr. Ramaraja Urs who has intimate experience of rural life writers of the havoc that the endowment of the panchayats with power is causing. They are becoming *lawless* like the poleygars of old a change from whose regime to that of the British was such an inestimable blessing!

As Kaundinya says, the only remedy is to make the people *think*. In this endeavour, the Party is well set on its way.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

K'S ORTHODOXY

In the majority of the liberated countries, we are told by dear Nikita, the "imperialist monopolies" not only retain their dominant position in the economy extracting "fabulous profits" by brutal exploitation of the working class, but also seek to fool them with their aid in the name of economic development! According to him, therefore, a country receiving aid from what he would like to call a non-Socialist country is not really independent and must stand up to this "imperialist onslaught." If it wants to have "national rebirth," it must develop along non-Capitalist red Communist lines. He calls for what to him would be a national liberation struggle to prevent non-Communist development of a newly liberated country because in his logic that would only mean extension of imperialism and colonialism. In short, Mr Khrushchev incites the Communists in his characteristic semantics to prepare for a civil war in every country that refuses to fall for his advice and prescription. Does this sound the abjuring of war and violence by him in his pursuit of Communism?

It may be, Mr Khrushchev is crawling back to Communist orthodoxy in his bid to retain the leadership of World Communism vis-a-vis Peking. Being the worst orthodoxy the world has ever known, Communism would indeed permit no other course for him. But while this may be a valid explanation for his incitement to violence in non-Communist countries, this could be no extenuation of the crime implicit in it. An Oswald who murders a Kennedy may in childhood really have a victim of his parents' neglect or harshness as some of the busy-bodies among the psychologists may try to prove. But psychology may be an explanation, it can never be a plea for condoning, much less justifying, the dastardly crime. Mr. Khrushchev's psycho-political actions too merit a healthier response than star-gazing.

—Thought

News & Views

U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES SUFFICIENT TO RUIN THE WORLD!

The U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr. Robert S. McNamara in his address to the Economic Club of New York revealed to the Soviet Union that U.S.A. had 400 million tons of nuclear force available in Europe ready to be used in whatever quantity needed. This was actuated by the latest incident on the Berlin Autobahn when Mr. Khrushchev uttered menacingly about nuclear readiness.

* * * *

PEKING FIRM ON HARD LINE

HONG KONG, The Peking People's Daily, reiterating China's "hard line" policy, declared that armed struggle was the most important means in winning victory in a revolution.

This was shown by the Cuban Revolution, the Communist Party paper said in editorial marking the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Castro Government in Cuba.

"Oppressed people can only win genuine liberation by crushing the counter-revolutionaries with revolutionary armed forces and by destroying the old regime.

"The Cuban Revolution has set a brilliant example for the oppressed people of Latin America and the whole world and will produce ever-wider and far-reaching influences," it declared.

The paper renewed China's pledge of resolute support for Cuba and said "the two fraternal peoples will remain united forever in the struggle to oppose our common enemy, U.S. imperialism."

CHIANG CALLS FOR ANTI-RED LEAGUE

TAIPEH, President Chiang Kai-shek, in a New Year message, repeated his call for an "anti-Communist league for national reconstruction" of China.

The call was contained in a message to be re-broadcast to the Chinese mainland. It made a proposal made by the Kuomintang leader before the recent National Kuomintang Congress.

Gen. Chiang said the league would group "and unite all our right-thinking individuals and talented youths, including freedom fighters operating, in the enemy's rear and such Communist members and cadres are assisting in mainland uprisings."

* * * *

K WARNS AFRICAN STUDENTS AGAINST HOLDING RALLY

MOSCOW, In a toast at the New Year reception at the Palace of Congress here a jovial Khrushchev called last month's Red Square demonstration by African students "not very polite."

He disclosed he had been asked what should be done about the students' demonstration, in which about 700 Africans fought their way to Red Square over police barricades, demanding an inquiry into the death of a Ghanaian student.

He added: "I said, 'Let them march into Red Square' although I thought it was not very polite.

'Great restraint'

At home they can do anything they like, even dance on their heads, but they came here as guests and we just cannot allow them to demonstrate. If their Government allows them to do so, that is all right, but here we do not do such things.

"We showed great restraint, but we shall not let it happen again. If they do not like it here, they can have their passports and we can give them a good send-off."

* * * *

MASANI WELCOMES GPCC STAND

RAJKOT, Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., general secretary of the Swatantra Party welcomed the stand of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee against the "haste to usher in socialism" as an encouraging sign of realism.

Mr. Masani was referring to the memorandum of the G.P.C.C. on the Jaipur resolution of the A.I.C.C.

Mr. Masani, who was speaking at a press conference here today, added that Gujarat had always been ahead of the rest of the country in its understanding of economic affairs.

"The danger to which the G.P.C.C. refers to — a small number of leftists in the Congress running away — is a genuine one. All political parties have a lunatic fringe. But in the case of the Congress Party today, the fringe, led by Mr. Nehru, Mr.

Krishna Menon and Mr. Malaviya, is actually dominating the party."

* * * *

BANKS: 'CONGRESS FOLLOWING REDS'

NEW DELHI, The demand for the nationalisation of banks is an evidence of the identification of the Congress with the Communist Party, Mr. S. R. Pasricha, president of the Delhi Swatantra Party said.

The Congress had now taken up Communist leader S. A. Dange's demand at the Indian Labour Conference session here last year. "The sound and fury has increased both in pitch and volume," he added.

Mr. Pasricha felt nationalisation of banks would be a big step towards a one-party dictatorship, which he considered as the chief aim of the Congress.

* * * *

PEKING'S WAY OF BIRTH CONTROL

NEW DELHI, The Peking regime has its own way of enforcing birth control in China—denying ration cards to surplus children.

An order has been issued by the Government saying that no couple will receive rations for more than three children.

In other words, a family must evolve its own rationing system within the household if there are more than three children.

* * * *

CM HITS BACK AT DRY LAW CHANGE CRITICS

POONA, MR. Vasantrao Naik today made a vigorous defence of his Prohibition policy changes, asserting that he could not allow people to be victims of illicitly-distilled poison brew "which even pigs will not drink."

Illicit liquor was made "in lavatories and drainage manholes," the Chief Minister said, adding that it was inhuman to allow farmers to be victims of "blood-sucking."

WHERE ARE YOU GOING?

January SOCIALIST STANDARD contains articles on Education, Leisure, Health, Wages and Crime.

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