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EDITOR: D. M. KULKARNI

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EDITORIAL

MEND THE CONGRESS OR END IT

IN our last issue we pointed out how the Fascist forces are being mobilised under the leadership of Mr. Nehru within the Congress, and at the Government levels all over the country. Democrats will do well to always bear in mind that Hitler also rose to the pinnacle of his power in the name of National Socialism as Mr. Nehru is dong today in India. Under the Kamraj Plan, Mr. Nehru has assumed powers far beyond and above those that generally go with the post of the Prime Minister of a democratic country or that of the leader of a democratic party. For argument's sake it may even be conceded that in the capacity of the Union Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru was fully qualified to reconstitute his Cabinet with new incumbents of his own choice after sending out his old and tried colleagues like Morarji Desai, S. K. Patil and others. But it is beyond one's comprehension how his supreme will could prevail in the matter of forming State Ministries which enjoy a measure of autonomy in the conduct of State affairs without infringing the very democratic spirit underlying the Constitution. It will not do for Congressmen simply to say in defence of their leader that the State Ministers themselves have offered to resign, firstly because the Ministers will be resigning as and when Mr. Nehru, who is none of them, wishes them to do so and secondly because the Chief Minister of a State whose right it is to re-constitute his Ministry if and when necessary, might not bow down to the wishes of Mr. Nehru. For example it is reported that the Gujarat Chief Minister Dr. Jivraj Mehta is stoutly resisting the demand under the Kamraj Plan that he should quietly quit and make room for Mr. Balwantrai Mehta. The most dangerous implication of the Kamraj Plan is that under its impact any Congress legislator at the Centre or in the State may be shunted off and on, from party-work to ministerial office or vice versa under the dictates of the Congress Dictator Nehru. This practice, if it once comes into vogue and acquiesced in, meekly by the people, would have the effect of completely identifying the Congress party with the Government, with Mr. Nehru holding unchallenged sway over both. This will spell the doom of parliamentary system of Government, since under Nehru's dispensation the Ministers will cease to be responsible to the Parliament and the Parliamentary members espcially of the Congress party will be guided more by the whims and fancies of THE LEADER than by the wishes of the people who elected them.

NEHRUISM, PROVING TOO COSTLY TO INDIA

Thus it will be seen that the Nehru era of the last seventeen years has been the Dark Age of Indian political life. The old liberal-democratic traditions of the Congress, the premier political organisation, built up by the sacrifice of thousands of fighters for India's freedom, are no longer respected and observed by Mr. Nehru and his followers who have almost a death-like grip on this once democratic organisation. It is therefore to be hoped that at least in the light of the bitter experiences over the past several years, Mr. Nehru's euphemistic characterisation of his programme as 'Democratic Socialism' will no longer fool his countrymen who have a living faith in democratic freedom. The democratic elements still surviving precariously in the Congress will therefore do well to realise before the time is out, that Nehru's Socialism will carry the country slowly but surely, step by step straight to Marxian Socialist Heaven of the kind that has been vouchsafed to Russia and China by the Communist prophets Lenin, Stalin Khrushchev and Mao, with such devastating effects on the individual freedom and material welfare of all classes except perhaps that of the newly emerging 'Managerial Class'. They are having already a foretaste of 'Stalin's Purge' in the unceremonious and shabby way in which the Supreme Leader Mr. Nehru has dispensed with the services of his old and tried colleagues in the Cabinet particularly Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. S. K. Patil. To our mind, these Ministers in a way richly deserved this treatment since they had committed the unpardonable crime against Indian Democracy by going out of the way to salvage, against their better judgment, Nehru's immpracticable Five Year Plans foredoomed to failure, through their economic and financial juggleries, subterfuges and make-believe. And Mr. Nehru being what he is, an ego-centrist first and last, had no compunction whatsoever to let them down, when they were no longer in a position to help him in taking the country headlong towards socialist chaos and disaster. Mr. Nehru significantly enough, has now installed in their places his socialist friends. Mr. Nanda's promotion to the second position in the Cabinet as the Home Minister—an office adorned once by the late Vallabhbhai Patel the inveterate and formidable opponent of Nehru's Socialistic Pattern, and the restoration of T.T.K. of Mundra Scandal fame to his former position of the Finance Minister, reflect the none too happy metamorphosis that has come over the Congress under Nehru's leadership. Even highly placed Congress leaders are agreed that the Congress has fallen into deep degradation and colossal corruption. Economically, Nehruism has benefited only Mr. Nehru's close circle of friends and relations, Ministers and the license-permit holders; politically, it has alienated the sympathies of the Western countries who have time and again proved themselves to be sincere and genuine friends of India. What it has gained for India so far is the questionable 'Bhaism' of the Russians. Thus Nehruism is proving too costly to India.

ORGANISE A DEMOCRATIC WING WITHIN THE CONGRESS

To arrest this fast deteriorating political and economic situation in the country, the 'ginger' socialists led by Mr. Nehru must be fought to the bitter end by a well-organised Democratic Congress wing from within. The vicious Nehru-Kamraj-Menon combine of would-be dictators and ministry-makers must be smashed, if the Congress is still to retain its former liberal spirit and democratic dynamism. In this connection, one's memories go back to the thirties of this century when the Congress Socialists organised themselves into a powerful group in the Congress with the blessings of Mr. Nehru against Gandhian leadership. The time has come for the Congress Democrats among whom may be counted such stalwarts as Shri S. K. Patil, Tyagi, Mehtab, Hanumantaiya and a host of other sincere Congressmen to pay Mr. Nehru and his followers back in the same coin. As against Nehru's Socialist Pattern, the Democrats must pose a Liberal-Democratic Society; as against Mr. Nehru's foreign policy of 'Nonalignment' tilted in favour of the Communist Bloc, they must boldly sponsor the foreign policy of 'Neutrality' in favour of the Democratic Bloc, which has paid such good dividends to democratic countries like Switzerland and Norway. So also Nehru's planning for heavy industries at the cost of light consumers industries and expansion of public sector which is only another name for the expansion of people's slavery to the State, must be countered by a modest economic plan which ensures only minimum Government control over the economic life of the people and which lays special stress on a fruitful co-operation between an expanding Private Sector and the absolutely essential Public Sector built-up under the aegies of a Liberal Welfare State. As against the corrupt dictatorship of Mr. Nehru and the Congress High Command over the Government and the Congress, they should vigorously canvass for a clean and incorruptible democratic leadership which will offer to the country the 'light' of wise guidance rather than the oppressive 'heat' of ideological fireworks.

THE MOST APPROPRIATE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT

This is the most appropriate psychological moment in the life of the Congress when the Democrats could rally together their scattered forces within this organisation and direct a frontal attack programmatic and ideological, against Nehruites who, to borrow the phrase of Mao, the Bhai Bhai of Nehru, are no better than mere 'Paper Tigers'. In the face of the resurging tide of the traditional but none-the-less vigorous Liberal-Democratism, these 'Paper Tigers' with their faces painted in red colours, will slowly recede into the back-ground and melt away into thin air, lest they should be torn to pieces by the outraged feelings of the democratic masses of the country delivered from the hypnotic spell of Nehruism and its high sounding but discredited policies of 'Nonalignment' and 'Socialism' which have brought nothing but national humiliation and economic distress to the country.

And in this sacred mission of restoring the Congress to its pristine democractic purity and glory, the Congress democrats will certainly receive, if they so wish, every co-operation and support from all the democrats outside the Congress fold. For, all of them are now convinced more than ever, that the future of the country could be ensured only by mending the Congress in the democratic direction or ending it, as advised by Gandhiji just after India achieved independence.

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THE BOKARO DEBACLE

The much talked of, Bokaro Steel Plant Project has landed itself into a serious debacle. The United States, it appears, is having a hard look at its programme of 'Mutual Security Aid'. This aid extended over the last seventeen years to the undeveloped and developing countries of the world has run into a huge figure of $100 billion. It was therefore expected that some doubts and fears would be expressed by the Republicans about the advisability of U.S. helping these countries indefinitely, even when there is no mutual love, respect and understanding flowing from the latter as contemplated by the Mutual Aid Programme and what more, when the latter are almost led to believe that it is their birth-right to receive this aid from the U.S.A., whether they are democratic or pro-communist, aligned

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or nonaligned. In this changed political climate, it is no wonder that the India Government's 'Non-alignment' policy in favour of communist countries particularly Russia, should come in for a great deal of trenchant criticism in U.S.A., and should have almost exhausted the patience of the conservative Republicans and even a good many Democratic members of U.S. House of Representatives and that they should have now decided by a majority vote 'to bar U.S. assistance for the construction of any enterprise with respect to which the aggregate value of such assistance to be furnished by the U.S., will exceed $100 million, until the Foreign Aid Bill is passed again next year. Since the Bokaro Project is the only such project, involving as it does a sum of 450 crores which is more than the stipulated $100 million, it is bound to be directly affected in an adverse manner by this resolution.

This should not come as a sudden surprise or shock to India. U.S.A's commitment to the system of 'free and private enterprise' and its allergy to socialism are well-nown. So also the political urge of saving the free world from the menace of communist aggression, that lies behind this foreign aid programme should never have been ignored by the leaders of our country. The Clay Commission Report of March 1963 has taken a very strong stand against helping foreign Governments in establishing state-owned and operated industries and enterprises competing with existing private ones and further has recommended 'selective aid' to Asian countries on terms and conditions clearly enunciated in it. A clue to the American viewpoint about the course India's industrialisation might usefully take, is to be found in President Kennedy's Foreign Aid Message to Congress of April 2. He declared, 'The effective participation of an enlightened United States businessman, especially in partnership with private interests in the developing country, brings not only his own investment but his technological and management skills into the process of development.'

But Nehru's ideological obsession and obstinancy would not allow India Government to alter its programme of including the Bokaro project in the Public Sector, so as to attract foreign capital and skills for the building-up of the plant in co-operation with Indian capital. On the other hand the India Government is reported to have even intimated to the President Kennedy of its desire to withdraw its request to U.S.A., for aid to this project and has declared, as if in a huff, its intention to tap alternative sources of financial aid.

It is to be seen where this Bokaro muddle will take India to—into the arms of communist Russia or into the Stalinist path of 'soaking' the so-called India's 'rich and affluent' people and also further emasculating and starving the already hard-pressed common man through run-away inflation and still heavier taxation.

American reluctance to underwrite the Bokaro project poses a straight question before India: What does India stand for, Democracy or Socialism; a Totalitarian Economic Planning or a Liberal-Democratic Economic Planning? Let Mr. Nehru Nadar & Co., make a choice here and now, between the two and give a straight answer. Let them realise that the Western Democratic world is fed up with Nehru's double-talk and tight rope-dancing.

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FASCIST TRENDS IN TRADE UNIONISM

The recent Bombay Municipal Workers' strike sponsored by the Socialist-led Mazdur Union has brought to light certain dangerous fascist trends in the Trade Union Movement. For nine days the whole city of Bombay was held to ransom by a numerically insignificant portion of the working class population which includes, in the accepted meaning of the term, not only menial workers but also those who render personal, administrative and professional services to the community. It is obvious that if this section of the workers is to be appeased every time it makes a demand with its loaded gun of strike aimed at the citizens of Bombay, the Bombay Corporation will have no other alternative but to increase the burden of Municipal taxation to the tune of over a crore of rupees on the whole population which is equally hit by the spirally rising prices of essential commodities. The token 'Bombay Bund' strike of August 20, was more than enough for the purpose of ventilating the grievances of the common people against the ill-advised governmental economic policies which alone could be held responsible for the increasing economic hardships of the people. The Bombay Corporation authorities have little to do with the framing of these policies.

The only conclusion one could therefore draw from the foolish strike which the Union leaders launched upon with such high gusto and great expectations but which they withdrew in such utter despair and confusion, is that the former Chief Minister Mr. Chavan's intervention in such previous strikes in favour of the strikers was misconstrued by the Union leaders as a policy of appeasement of this particular section of Municipal workers. That these workers and their leaders are Fascist-minded is seen from the violent way they reacted to energetic counter-measures taken against the strikers by the Bombay Government and the resourceful Municipal Commissioner Mr. Sukhtankar, with the full backing of the ruling party in the Corporation. The socialist leader Mr. Madhu Limaye's insolent and abusive words like 'kicking the Commissioner in the pant' and the exasperatingly superior airs put on by Mr. Rajnarayan Singh, the Socialist leader from the U.P. in his talks with the Bombay Ministers, only go to show that these annual strikes are sponsored by these leaders to make the political existence of the Socialist Party felt in the country since the Party commands a meagre following outside Bombay. When their Fascists tactics failed, the leaders forced on the city a purely political strike of the transport workers, hotel-workers and dock workers under their control, just to compel the public to bring pressure

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Democracy And Constitutional Amendments

M. A. VENKATA RAO

All the three Constitutional Amendments of 1951, 1955 and the 17th Amendment Bill indicate Government's determination to nullify the decisions of the Courts of Law regarding land reforms and are, therefore, a faud on the Constitution. Mr. Nehru is apparently observing the letter of democracy only to make use of it to subvert its spirit and make a mockery of it. He does not recognise the fact that the Constitution frames the frame-work of inviolable law and is the ultimate sovereign and the legislature must legislate within the limits set by the Constitution. Under Nehru's leadership, 'THE RULE OF THE LAW' is being slowly but surely replaced by "THE RULE OF MEN".

IT is a remarkable fact that all three amendments—the First of 1951 and the Fourth of 1955 and the present Bill of the 17th now on the anvil of the legislature relating to the fundamental right of property as originally enshrined in Article 31 have been motivated by the Government's determination to nullify the decision of courts of Law declaring some Acts of State Governments in regard to land reforms *ultra vires* and a fraud on the Constitution.

We have a written Constitution setting forth in *extenso* a full table of fundamental rights and guaranteeing them against violation either by individuals or governments or the Union itself. In all liberal governments dedicated to individual freedom, (especially when the preamble of its written Constitution sets forth justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and dignity of the individual as the supreme objectives of government and law and policy) all acts of law and administration in the course of daily transactions should proceed within the four corners of the supreme Constitution which is intended to be absolutely inviolable.

The fundamental rights like the *sadharana dharmas* of Indian tradition like non-injury and non-stealing are the conditions for the very existence of society as such. Without respect for the fundamental rights of life, liberty and property and their derivatives in the rest of fundamental rights of free assembly, association, trade, belief, thought and discussion and expression and publication, no civilised life is possible. In the famous words of Hobbes, life would then become "nasty, brutish and short." Life would become too *insecure* for any incentive for any activity. It would result in a war of each against all and of all against each—a condition of *matsya nyaya*, as the Indian law books say, a condition in which big fishes swallow the small and no one is safe for any calculable period.

Action is possible only if we can be sure of not being forcibly interfered with and the results of our effort taken away from us without compensation.

Law in the sense of *general rules common to all* should bind all members of society if the behaviour of men is to be reliable and calculable enough to become the basis of action and purposeful planning.

The action of the powerful, individuals or groups would be arbitrary and unpredictable. Government would then be the government of *men* and not that of *law*. Hundreds of years of struggle were necessary in Europe to achieve and consolidate the *rule of law* which is the framework of democracy today. Liberalism came to safeguard the liberty of the citizen against power-mad tyrants. Democracy came to buttress the will of the people in exerting pressure on the rulers. But the *two are different* in nature. Freedom may not always be guaranteed by majority rule. De Tocqueville observes again and again in his famous book *Democracy in America* that the tyranny of the majority is more dreadful than that of minorities and monarchs.

Today in India owing to a concatenation of circumstances stemming from the days of the national liberation movement and the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the paucity of independent thought on the part the intelligentsia etc., the Congress majority in legislatures is *in fact* returned by a minority of voters in the country at large, only 44 per cent of the voters having cast their votes for Congress. And forty-five percent of the voters did not vote at all.

Thus we have strictly a minority rule claiming to rule as a majority.

Further, since a large majority of Congressmen even in the legislatures do *not think* deeply about the trends and outcome, principles and implications of the policies that they are asked to approve by their supreme chief Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru (whom they support for purely selfish reasons), the real rulers of the country reduce themselves to a handful—in fact to Nehru alone as supreme policy-maker.

The ugly phenomenon we have noticed (namely, that of Government rushing incontinently to pass Amendments to the Constitution misusing its brute majority in the legislatures of the country, central and regional, in defiance of the spirit of democracy is entirely due to the Prime Minister. He is apparently more intent on having his way, willy nilly, by

hook or by crook than on fostering democracy in spirit.

To observe the *letter* of democracy and to make use of it to *subvert its spirit* is to make a mockery of it!

The essence of democracy is government by discussion. It is participation by the whole people in the work of government at different levels of the administration—panchayat, town council city corporation, State legislature and the Union legislature as well as in public and private discussion in the electorate, party, press and platform, radio, pampleteering, public meeting and demonstrations of various kinds, committee work of various kinds—that constitutes the *differentia* and *educative* function of democracy. Democratic governments should not merely do good but enable the people to participate in doing good to themselves.

Democratic leadership is qualitatively different from fascist or nazi or communist leadership where decisions taken by the elite are spread by mechanical propaganda to win assent from the people without intellectual collaboration from them. Decisions are imposed on them from outside. They are treated as *robots*. Democratic leaders, especially in the first generation after the winning of freedom, should pay as much, if not more, attention to educating the people in democratic standards and self-reliance and conventions of self-government i.e., opinion formation and public discussion and group thinking so that a wide *consensus* is achieved on matters of policy. In fact policies should not be shaped in their final form without eliciting popular participation on the widest front. Our leaders from Nehru downwards have failed in this high purpose of democratic statesmanship.

The key to Mr. Nehru's thinking in this context is revealed in a flash in the remarks he is reported to have made to an American correspondent that during the emergency, *democratic forms* may continue but that there is no foreseeable limit to the period for it in view of the inscrutability of the Chinese intentions towards the invasion of India! That is, he is coolly content with the prospect of spending the rest of his natural term of years and office as supreme ruler of India as the *head of a totalitarian regime* but thinly disguised by democratic forms! This is not the voice of a leader whose soul is compact of freedom and the supreme passion for fostering the love of freedom on the part of all his fellow-countrymen!

In such circumstances, educated people have the inescapable duty and responsibility of studying the social and political consequences of the 17th Amendment in particular and the land reforms policies and socialist measures as a whole that are being pursued with dogmatism by the present Government leadership backed by a pliant Congress majority.

In particular, we have to scrutinise afresh the meaning and conventions of democratic procedures and the *limitations of majority rule.*

To claim that a mere majority in the legislature confers absolute power and full justification to pass *any law* (in despite of the supreme constitution) is to claim that a chimpanzee is also a man since its resemblance to man is closer than that of all other animals!

"..federal government is based on the principle that *government by a bare majority of the people* is *not* the only way in which to govern well and in some cases is *equivalent to bad government.*" (K. C. Wheare, *Federal Government P.* 228)

The majority of votes in the legislatures is valid for government decision only if in addition to quantity, as Sir Ernest Barker points out in his *Social and Political Theory* (P.) it reflects quality as well by giving an opportunity to opposed views to express themselves freely and incorporates elements of truth in all points of view for the common good. Agreement to differ, hospitality to opponent's truth and compromise should modify the supremacy of majority rule if it is to rise to the *spirit of democracy.* The process of policy making should follow the movement of scientific method which does not take conclusions for granted as theology does,—. Today's Marxist Socialism (Communism) commits the crime of reasoning *for a conclusion already arrived at,* which is the ultimate error of dogmatism. The clash of doctrines should not be treated as a disaster but as an *opportunity*—advises the philosopher Dr. A. N. Whitehead.

The Constitution forms the framework of inviolable law and is the *ultimate sovereign.* The legislature is the *immediate sovereign* which must legislate within the limits set by the Constitution.

But we may concede, as all constitutions do concede, that as *social thought* moves forward, ideas change and it may be necessary to modify the Constitution. But the aim should be—*not* as with Indian leaders today, to abridge liberties and destroy fundamental rights but *to enlarge them* and make them applicable to new spheres if it cannot be done by judicial interpretation or changed usage or new conventions.

The USA had an Amendment (the Fourteenth of 1868) for this purpose which contrasts strangely with the spirit of the Nehru Amendments First Fourth and now the Seventeenth which practically abolishes the government of *laws* and introduces that of *men,* in the words of Mr. M. K. Nambiar, the eminent advocate:

It said "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within

its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws'.' And Congress shall have power to enforce these laws.

To secure full *deliberation* by popular assemblies so that a temporary fashion or fad or ill-considered opinion borne on the flood of popular passion or class hatred or even short-sighted humanitarianism (ultimately destructive of security and stable conditions essential for progress itself) special procedures are laid down in most federal constitutions for amending the Constitutions. Mr. H. V. Kamath is seeking by his private Bill to secure a large majority for passing amendments than the present two-third majority of those present and voting, by demanding the presence of a *three-fourth membership.* But even this secures only fifty per cent of the votes of the total membership for passing an amendment which is not enough. The best thing is to demand that an *amendment should be re-passed after a general election.* This is the procedure in Denmark. This gives an opportunity for the electorate to give full deliberation and for earnest thinkers to put their views before the people and for parties to conduct fuller educative propaganda. The majority so secured after a general election *in a new legislature* will approach democratic quality of expressing the *general will* more closely than the present system of simple majority.

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to bear on the authorities to concede the peremptory demands of the Union. But it must be said to the credit of the Bombay public that this time it refused to oblige these swollen headed leaders. The citizens willingly suffered all inconveniences and discomforts just to bring home to these Union leaders that they are disgusted with their despicable tactics.

The leaders on their part, were sandwiched between the folly of their adventurist strike and dogged determination of the government and the people to fight back the strikers' Fascism. When the leaders found the Municipal and Transport workers had realised their folly and had decided to go back to work on August 21 defying the wishes of the leadership, they took cover under the supposed assurances of Mr. Chavan, the Defence Minister of India, and beat a hasty retreat and called off the strike which had already come to an end.

It is to be hoped that the Municipal workers will at least now realise that they are being misguided by their leaders who are out to exploit them for political ends and that the only way of getting their grievances redressed is that of Conciliation, Arbitration and Adjudication provided by labour laws and any resort to illegal strike or criminal intimidation of loyal workers will not pay. The authorities are to be congratulated for bringing home to the Municipal workers that their so-called 'indispensability' would never help them to dominate other sections of population of the city.

—D. M. Kulkarni.

KAMRAJ STUNT

The stunt has failed. There was great noise of men and beat of drum over the proposed withdrawal from offices. But the withdrawal has been too slow in shaping itself to make any impression. Every minister who in haste agreed to the proposal is looking out for an excuse or for a useful stooge who will function as a marionette. Some of the ministers who are asked to resign are as sad and unwilling as modern wives would be if the legendary custom of *sati* were to be now enforced by public opinion.

The stunt has proved a farce. Nothing else could be expected when Sri Nehru was unanimously asked to remain as PM and given power and discretion to order people to the funeral pyre. Dismissal has taken the place of resignation; murder, so to say, has taken the place of the proposed *sati.*

Where acceptable substitutes could be got, some chief ministers are ready to go out and enjoy power from outside. The people and I fear officials too, will have, in those instances, two commands over them—the new officially recognised C.M. and the old C.M. who is pretending to be a mere worker. The whole business is a move for more power, not a gesture of repentance or purification. Party committees will begin to look upon themselves as official government machinery and try to function as such.

—C. R. in 'Swarajya'

FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL

'Civilization is not a mechanism, but a vital principle; or rather an embodiment of many varied principles of life, which have their roots in diverse soils and their expression in diverse cultures. It cannot flourish, it cannot even survive, if those in the seats of power deny it the fundamental freedoms of life itself. Therefore, tyranny, which denies these freedoms, is not so much a method of government as a crime against society..... As tyranny is the worst school for freedom, freedom is itself the best. The test of its maturity is the way in which the safeguarding of fundamental freedoms has been carried out. For the significance and unique contribution of a true democracy is the use it makes of minority opposition. The bi-partisan system organizes this opposition to take part in the play and counterplay of politics much better than the more logical multi-party system which tends to block action by wrangling stalemates. But, however the opposition take shape, it must be accepted and recognised as a legitimate organ of democratic government.....Democracy will succeed only where opposition to the government is permitted.'

—James T. Shotwell, Bryce Professor, Columbia, U.S.A.

Bolstering Non-Alignment

By M. N. THOLAL

The result of the policy of non-alignment has been that the country is at loggerheads with both the Eastern and Western blocs. The fact that the Westerners are helping us to prevent India being swallowed by Communism does not mean they are not angry with us. Well might they say Sutto Voce "Served the beggars right" with regard to China's aggression.

REPLYING to the four-day debate on the motion of no-confidence in his Government—which elicited brilliant speeches from Messrs Kripalani, Masani and Lohia—Prime Minister Nehru deplored that the debate had generally proceeded on "personal grounds" and "abuse", instead of on matters of high state policy. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who, he said did him the honour of referring to him repeatedly, brought down the debate to "a singularly low level —of that of the market place." On this there were dutiful cries of "shame, shame" from Congress benches. But the Press of the country and newspaper readers are full of praise for Dr. Lohia, who easily carried away the palm in the debate.

There would indeed be more of personal criticism of Mr. Nehru, if the leaders of the various parties understood the mind of Mr. Nehru and the way it works, particularly if they understood that what Mr. Nehru wants above all—all the 24 hours--is flattery and that his pseudo-non-alignment has for its basis the desire to be the cock of the international talk. This desire has been intensified and was partially fulfilled for a short time by the suggestion of Mr. Khrushchev that Mr. Nehru should be on the Summit meet. They day Mr. Khrushchev publicly suggested Mr. Nehru's name for the Summit—doubtless with his tongue in his cheek—I told some of my journalist friends: "We are finished". Such was their lack of knowledge of their Prime Minister's mind that they looked blankly at me, without understanding what I was hinting at. It is true they have not had the opportunities of close contact with Mr. Nehru that I have had, but there is such a thing as the difference between word and deed, with the latter demanding the right to be the sole criterion of character. The man on the street apart, what are we to think of journalists and leaders who forget a man's deeds and remember only his high-sounding words with which he regales us everyday? Yet that is exactly what they have been doing since 1919 in respect, first, of Mahatma Gandhi and, later, in respect of his great disciple, Mr. Nehru. Small wonder that the country comes to grief.

What else can the country come to, when our leaders do not think in terms of the country but think in terms of self alone, albeit they talk, necessarily, of "the absence of the larger vision," of lack of "reference to any large vision" and of how "the larger vision escapes us." The greater his failure the higher he will soar. "I am convinced," said Mr. Nehru, "that India does possess something that it can give to other countries of the world." Surely, Mr. Nehru's conviction cannot be so vague as to preclude the possibility of his telling us what that something is which India can give to other countries of the world. If he cannot be definite about that something, how can he be convinced about it? India's history is a history of slavery, of invasions and of complete disregard of the country's security, which made invasions and the resulting slavery possible. That disregard is there still and in no one else in such great measure as in our Prime Minister, and, if a country's history is any guide, we can have only such treachery to our country to teach other countries. The poet has well said—it must have been with reference to India:

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain,
> And let the legions thunder past
> And plunged in thought again.

Plunged in "thought" again! Even after solemnly resolving in Parliament to throw the Chinese out of the sacred soil of India, Mr. Nehru says, "India will always keep the door open for a peaceful settlement of the dispute." Does it not mean that there will be no throwing out of the Chinese from the sacred soil of India? If it does not mean that, what does it mean?

The fact of the matter is that there is no throwing out the Chinese from the sacred soil of the country, so long as we pursue the unpatriotic and treacherous policy of non-alignment, for the simple reason that it cannot be done. Mr. Nehru once ordered the Indian Army to throw out the Chinese and the Chinese invasion was the result. While China has got her arm—modern arms—gratis from Soviet Russia and has thus become a great military power—a hundred times more powerful than India, according to one of our greatest generals--India has only just started modernizing her army. Let me describe the handicaps under non-alignment in Mr. Nehru's own words uttered in the course of the reply to the debate on the No-confidence motion. Referring to the Army Mr. Nehru said:

"It is a good army from the point of view of the soldier, but it was not a modern army. It was all very well for it to go as a part of the British Army during the Great War. It did well. All our efforts have been concentrated on gradually modernizing it. The modernizing process is so expensive.

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

The Problem Of Unemployment

by

Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

One of the serious problems that our country shares today with other underdeveloped countries is the problem of unemployment and underemployment. Though this problem was existing even in the preindependence era, yet it has assumed a serious importance in recent years because of its increasing proportions and secondly because of the change in the state policy in the post-independence era which aims to create a welfare state with the moral obligation to provide employment to every able-bodied person and this objective has been made clear in every five year plan. Full employment is accepted as the goal of policy in economic planning. A development plan must create conditions for full employment. But in India the problem of unemployment is baffling solution inspite of the implementations of Five Year Plans. Unemployment leads to a waste of productive resources which leads to a fall in national income but what is more distressing is its psychological effect on the army of the unemployed persons. Continued employment creates a sense of despair and frustrations making the people lose not only their ability to work but also their willingness to work. The unemployed person in order to find succour join the anti-social camps and create lawlessness and disorder, chaos and confusion and make the orderly life impossible. Thus unemployment shakes the very foundation of orderly and peaceful society. For this reason it demands and deserves high priority and immediate attention. But our planners are of the opinion that the problem of unemployment is based on the problem of development.

The problem of unemployment is not same in all countries because it takes different shapes in different countries. For proper understanding of the problem a distinction should be made between the nature of unemployment in advanced industrial countries and underdveloped countries. In advanced countries unemployment is caused by the deficiency of effective demand as a result of which the available capital and natural resources remain unutilised. This kind of unemployment is cyclical in nature, but in underdeveloped countries cyclical unemployment forms a minor problem. In advanced countries the problem is of reinstating labour and making the fullest use of equipment and the materials of production back in the employment, but in underdevloped countries the problem is that of growth from stagnation. In advanced countries the problem is that of utilisation of available resources while in the case of underdeveloped countries the problem is that of creating such resources which is rather a more difficult task in the short period. Thus in advanced countries the problem of unemployment is cyclical and short term while in the uuderdeveloped countries it is structural and chronic.

According to Planning Commission the problem of unemployment has been aggravated in recent years by the rapid growth of population, the disappearnce of rural industries, inadequate development of the non-agricultural sector and large displacement of population as a result of partition. But the cause of the rising unemployment is the state policy of our Government and the unrealistic taxation policy which are determental to the expansion of employment opportunities. In order to expand the scope of the public sector to establish socialistic pattern of society our government wedded to socialism has adopted a policy which does not give a proper scope to the private-sector to expand employment opportunities. In the pre-independence era the British Government had adopted a policy of lasissez faire but everything changed in the post-independence era and at present no individual can start his own business without state interference and this is the main cause of unemployment in our country. Secondly the taxation policy is also responsible to aggravate the problem. Unless private enterprise is given proper scope to play its role in the economic growth of our country, the problem of unemployment cannot be solved in the immediate future. As a result of heavy taxation in the name of economic development the incentive of entrepreneurs to save and invest has been killed with the result that unemployment has assumed a very great importance.

Though we have completed Two Five Year Plans yet they have failed to tackle this problem satisfactorily. The First Plan did not attempt any estimate of the magnitude of unemployment in our country. Though various measures were enumerated to alleviate the problem, yet the average increase was insufficient to asorb the annual increase in working population which was estimated to be 2 millions at that time. This proves that the targets of the Plan on employment front were modest. In the second plan attempts were made to create more jobs by diversification of industrial pattern, a suitable policy of location of industries, maintenance of economic activity continuously at high levels, provision of adequate training facilities, measures to promote

geographical and occupational mobility of labour. In other words Government has emphasised the study of the various aspects of the unemployment problem but the basic assumption of all these measures was that the problem of unemployment could be tackled by the intensive development over a long period. It is now estimated that additional employment opportunities created during the Second Plan period amounted to only 8 millions of which 6.5 were outside agriculture. As the increase in labour force was greater than the new jobs created, the Third Plan started with a backlog of 9 million. One of the objects of Third Plan is "the utilisation of man power resources of the country to the fullest possible extent and substantial expansion of employment opportunities". To 9 million we have to add 17 million new entrants one third of which being in urban areas. The total number of jobs needed is placed at 26 million. The Third Plan promises to provide only 14 million jobs i.e. 3.5 million in agriculture and 10.5 million in non-agriculture leaving behind a backlog of 12 million for the Fourth Plan. From this one will not be wrong if he comes to the conclusion that our plans have not solved the problem of unemployment but on the contrary they have aggravated it.

The problem of unemployment and underemployment in rural areas can be solved to a large extent by the development and expansion of small scale and cottage industries. In a country like ours where the labour force is plentiful the cottage and small-scale industries can go a long way to liquidate the problem of unemployment and underemployment in rural areas. In our Plan preference should be given to these industries as they are labour intensive. At present there is a heavy pressure on agriculture which must be reduced and this can be achieved by the development of these industries. What is required is the expanding and diversified economy which is the best guarantee for all employment. As regards middle class unemployment persons should be persuaded to rid themselves of the prejudices against manual employment. The problem of the educated unemployed can be solved by evolving the system of education sufficiently related to our needs of economic development. According to Planning Commission "there should be a systematic examination of openings for educated and trained persons in different categories and the necessary information should be widely disseminated through a programme of vocational and educational counselling, university employment bureau etc. Development of the co-operative sector in rural areas and of small scale and medium industries will offer growing opportunities for absorbing educated persons in gainful and productive work". But this scheme will not touch the fringe of the problem. The present educational system should be completely overhauled so that there may be appropriate mixture of general education with the much required technical education,. The existence of unemployment and underemployment is inconsistent with the national objective of socialist pattern of society. Hence from economic as well as from social point of view the expansion of employment opportunities should be given high priority and the steps should be taken to liquidate the problem of unemployment in the immediate future. It must be borne in mind that a lasting solution of the problem can be found in an integrated programme of inter-related development of all sectors of our economy with the definite accent on industrialisation. The rate of investment in the economy of the country should be immediately expanded in order to create more opportunities for employment. At the same time the pattern of employment should not be lost sight of. The large scale unemployment is the potential source of capital formation. In our country we have not been successful in mobilising the unemployed and underemployed labour force. The Community Development Programme has not achieved large success in mobilising local man power. We have to implement the schemes and programmes with urgency and then alone the existing unemployed and underemployed manpower can be a source of accelerating the pace of development of our economy. But to achieve this objective what is necessary is that instead of controlled economy we have to adopt the free market economy. Our controlled economy has failed to achieve substantial degree of success in the field of unemployment. We can certainly accelerate our economic growth by creating proper atmosphre for the private sector so that it can also play an important part in the development of our country. The Gold Control Rules have thrown a number of artisans out of jobs. It is the duty of our Government to absorb them otherwise the idea of welfare state will remain only in theory but not in practice.

MASANI ASSAILS STATE MONOPOLIES

New Delhi.—Swatantra leader M. R. Masani said here that the Government had accepted in part the pattern of a "command economy."

Speaking at a reception held in his honour by the Swatantra Club, Mr. Masani said the consumer had a limited say in what should be produced.

He said the Swatantra Party opposed any controls that killed individual initiative. The party was opposed to monopolistic trends.

The speaker summed up the party's economic philosophy this way. Private monopolies are bad; State monopolies are worse. He called for anti-trust laws to smash private monopolies.

The Railways, a State monopoly, shamelessly exploited third-class passengers, Mr. Masani said. The State profiteered in the manufacture of penicillin.

He favoured competitive economy where people were free to produce what they liked.

In such a system the consumer would be king. His demand would dictate what should be produced.

He said the Club should organize a consumers' league to ensure consumers were not cheated. The league should appointed private inspectors to report cases of suspected adulteration to the authorities and recommend honest retailers to consumers.

A NEW TAX STRUCTURE

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

A Non-Official resolution on the Tax Structure will come up for discussion in the Rajya Sabha on 30th August. It .will excite interst because never have taxes been more oppressive and their benefit less impressive than Now. But Tax Structure is a very complicated subject which a legislature can only consider in the broadest outline. Taxes can be considered broadly in respect of their volume and their variety.

The volume of our taxes has undoutedly increased, that of the Central taxes alone by 100% since 1961. The volume can be reduced first by decrease of expenditure, second by enlarging the field of taxation, third by substituting loans, fourth by creating money. The legislatures have missed the opportunity to reduce expenditure by their failure to examine more precisely, first the Five Year Plan and next the Demands for Grants in the annual budg ets. In view of the commitment, the most that Parliament can do now is, first to insist that Government relieves itself of its enterprises and services to the extent the people are willing to take them over. This denationalisation will draw out the savings of the people and make them available to government in relief of its debt. It will cut down the losses which are a feature of State Enterprise and the wastage which is a feature of State services like education. Secondly, Parliament may insist that Government should judge its officials on a cost-benefit-ratio of the services for which they are responsible. The present indifference of the Services to their work cannot be ended without a more precise tally of the results, to be recognised and recorded. In this connection Parliament may also underscore the necessity for expeditious disposal which the Prime Minister recently declared was the only measure against corruption. It is also a measure of economy because it may be noted that a surplus staff has been declared only by the Central Secretariat, which alone is following my system of visually spotlighting delays.

The field of taxes can be enlarged first by extension of private enterprise. The vast investment of 1,000 crores on State Enterprises earns no income and on which no tax is collected. To the extent that contracts with it are subject to corruption, there is a further loss of income tax. At the same time, new industrialisation in the public sector must stop, because its capitalisation, related to our prices atleast 50% above the world level, will never allow its production to be competitive in price. This simple economic equation has been missed both by government and its economists and it burdens the future with uneconomic enterprises. Secondly, the steep increases in corporate and income taxes are in the first place regressive and in the second place, subject of heavy evasion. The regression is not recognised because the accompanying inflation masks the fall in the real returns. Secondly, heavy taxes limit investment, which is all too obvious from what has happened since the last budget. Keynes laid it down that "Short of communism, there is no possible means of curing unemployment except by restoring to the employers a proper margin of profit". It is considered that the profit should be double the prevailing rate of interest to balance the risks and delays in the returns. Our axes which subject to super profits, returns above 6% are therefore fatal to the extension of the field of investment and consequently of employment and taxation. The least that Parliament can do is to exempt reinvestment of profits by placing no limits on the development rebate.

Public loans can substitute for taxes on the Capital programme of the Government. Actually they are turning out to be a banking device because an analysis made by the Reserve Bank showed that all but 3% of the loans are held by banks and institutions, and to that extent fail to draw the savings of the people. If private savings are to be drawn out for productive purposes, the German system of Tax certificates in which Government loans its securities for approved classes of enterprises, is much better. While such loans increase the credit, it is the people with their assets and not the Government with only its power, which is the debtor. Though I have been pressing the German system for years, not for once has the Government considered it even though it was the basis of the German Miracle. It is for Parliament to compel consideration.

Created Money is a subject on which there is much confusion. It is equated with Deficit Financing and consequently with inflation. It is forgotten that inflation can arise in the same and in a stronger way from taxes, loans and the increase of bank credit. Created money has the advantage that Government pays no interest on it and to the extent that currency is hoarded, as it is in villages, serves as a natural check on inflation. In any case created money is not immediately added to the prices like taxes or used to create bank credit like government loans. The subject is complicated, but Parliament can insist that experts should examine the relative inflationary effects of taxes, loans and created money.

It is difficult to expect Parliament to understand even the elements of economics. It would therefore be enough to hope that on the broad outlines the Parliament compels the Government to consult independent expert opinion, so that the country does not continue to be subject of the mistakes of the government and of subservient economists.

How To Pick a Pocket or Two

TO A Small-Town Fellow come to the big city it was bound to happen sooner or later, and finally it did. On the way to Wall Street, that den of iniquity, our pocket was picked in the subway, that haunt of the huddled masses.

Along with a couple of credit cards, an unfilled prescription for the drugstore, and a shopping list from the lady of the house, this skilful disciple of Fagin made off with $100, which for years we've kept secreted in the back of our wallet against such grave emergencies as running out of expense-account money in San Antonio or St. Paul.

Now being imbued with a Puritan ethic, we do not approve of pickpockets, especially those who pick our own. But in all honesty we must confess that purely from the standpoint of the nation's economic balance sheet there was no net loss to the country. Indeed, if some of the economic theories bruited about today are correct, it could be argued that the nation's economy had been helped thereby.

For our loss of $100 was somebody else's gain of $100, the one cancelling out the other insofar as economic statistics are concerned. Futhermore, since there was a transfer of funds from one party to another there was a gain in the Gross National Product as well as the National Income. The fact that we paid an exorbitant price for the service received—namely, a lesson in personal finance management—is no concern in abstract economics.

Finally, we suspect the unknown artist of the subway is less well-endowed with worldly goods than we are, less likely to keep the money out of circulation as idle savings for a rainy day. So this transfer of our funds to his pocket probably resulted in an increase in the nation's consumer spending.

Whatever our personal feelings, then, the result represents a consummation devoutly to be wished by the influential thinkers of the day. The whole object of current economic policy is to increase the transfer of funds, raising the statistics of national income and the GNP, and especially such transfers of funds as may increase consumer spending. The sociological objective is called the "redistribution of income."

Hence, the great emphasis on government spending, which has gotten to be a large part of the GNP. There's no surer and more efficient way to transfer huge sums than to take taxes from citizens of, say, New York and spend them in New Mexico or Mississippi. According to this thinking, it's a further help if the dollars can be transferred from corporations and rich folk, who might have a proclivity toward savings, to the hands of those who will inject it more quickly into the spending stream.

We are told that the good effects of all this are enhanced if the government, unlike our friend on the subway, can spend more than it takes or at least seem to. Big deficits, especially those arising from tax cuts, allow more dollars to be put in some people's pockets without appearing to take quite so much out of other people's pockets.

True, this is illusory; what the government spends it must take away from somebody in some form. Nonetheless there's no denying it's less painful to steal a bit from everybody's dollars by inflation than to take the money away from them in immediate taxes.

On the subway we had a blissful ignorance of being plucked until, much later in the day, we found ourselves less well off than we thought. And even now we think there must be many a helpful pickpocket who wishes that policemen understood the ethics of the new economics.

—The Wall Street Journal
(New York)

A STUDY OF A STATE MONOPOLY ENTERPRISE IN OPERATION

Although it was not "with a feeling of complacency and satisfaction" that the chairman of the LIC announced the "happy news" that "the Corporation has added Rs. 137 crores of new business" during the 15 months from January 1962 to March 1963, a tinge of complacency was implicit in his statement. A careful analysis of the figures for the period from 1957 up-to-date shows, however, that complacency apart, one should be rather seriously concerned at the fact that for the first time since its inception six years ago, LIC's business this year shows a decline.

The position is summarised in the table on the other side. During the period 1957-61, the amount of new business put through by the Corporation has not only been increasing but, except for one year in 1959, it has been increasing at a faster rate. With the adoption of the official financial year for its annual accounting purposes from 1963 onwards, the amount of new business shown for the year 1962-63 relates to a period of 15 months.

Thus, though the concluded new business at Rs. 745 crores during 1962-63 shows a net increase of Rs. 136.18 crores, i.e., about 22.9 per cent over the figure of Rs. 608.82 crores for the calendar year 1961, this increase is more apparent than real, because when we reduce the figure of Rs. 745 crores proportionately to a period of 12 months there appears an actual fall in the amount of new business. The proportionate figure for 12 months working out to Rs. 596 crores, the fall will be of the order of Rs. 12.82 crores or about 2.2 per cent over the 1961 figure.

In terms of monthly averages, new business which stood at Rs. 28.7 crores in 1958 and which spurted in 1961 fell to Rs. 49.8 crores per month during the 15 months from January 1962 to March 1963.

If you take the whole army it will take Rs. 1,000 crores for the Army even as it was.....My own colleague, the Finance Minister knows how repeatedly demands were made from the Defence Ministry and the Army Headquarters for more expenditure and we discouraged that, because they have been such fantastic, geometrical and astronomical figures. When suddenly somebody asks us for Rs. 500 crores it is always difficult to meet, except when you are faced with a war suddenly when the country and Parliament think differently."

"Fantastic, geometrical, astronomical figures": And where is the money to come from? China got these figures free from Soviet Russia in the shape of modern arms, from Soviet Russia which, according to Mr. Nehru, believes in peaceful co-existence! Could any one have made out a stronger case for alignment and against non-alignment? And yet nobody seems to have been aware in the House that that was what Mr. Nehru was doing. At least no one said so by way of retort.

No wonder there is no talk from the Treasury benches of throwing out the Chinese. There is talk, instead, of the wisdom of keeping diplomatic relations with China. Breaking off of diplomatic relations might be a brave gesture, he said, but it would not help India in any way; on the other hand, it might "hinder us in many ways." Has any one ever heard of a Government refusing to break off diplomatic relations with a country which has committed a "massive invasion" of the Government's country? How can foreigners take Mr. Nehru seriously when he talks of "massive invasion"', on the one hand, and refuses to break off diplomatic relations with the Government which orders the "massive invasion"? Can cowardice go further? And yet can any one say that this humiliating cowardice is unjustified? This is the fruit of non-alignment.

Mr. Nehru could not help concluding: "There is a very hard task before us, not only internally but I am talking about the menace on the border. It is a very difficult task and we must stand up to it and face it and strengthen ourselves." Of course we must strengthen ourselves, and the best way of strengthening ourselves is by strengthening Mr. Nehru's hands, not by criticising him, which only encourages the Chinese and the Pakistanis. It would seem that all we need to do in India is to cry in unison: "Jawaharlal Nehru ki Jai" and the Chinese and the Pakistanis will run away from the territories they claim as theirs.

Opening a debate on the international situation in the Rajya Sabha Mr. Nehru waxed eloquent on his policy of non-alignment, saying, "Though the country has got into difficulties in its relations with Pakistan and China, the foreign policy we have pursued is broadly the correct one." Apparently the result of a policy has no bearing on its correctness or wrongness. The result of the policy of non-alignment pursued in India has been that the country is at loggerheads with both the Western and the Eastern blocs. The fact that the Westerners are helping us to prevent India from being swallowed by Communism does not mean that they are not angry with us. I have been intimate with Englishmen all my life and I am certain they are saying *sutto voce,* if not openly: "Served the beggars right"—with reference to the Chinese invasion.

Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee disclosed during the debate that the training in the operation of MIG aircraft that Indian airmen were receiving in Russia was suspended during the Chinese invasion of India last year and even the notes made by Indian airmen had been taken away from them. Regarding the notes Mr. Nehru, in his reply to the debate, said he had not heard of that but, but it might be because the Russians were anxious as many other countries that their secret papers or instructions should not be conveyed to any one else. But Mr. Nehru said nothing regarding the suspension of the training during the Chinese invasion. Surely he must be aware of it. Is he trying to suppress facts to bolster up his non-alignment?

"HOME" TRUTHS ON POLITICS

Extracts from speech made by Lord Home at a Dinner of the Pilgrims of the United States:

'In the face of the possibility of nuclear warfare, Communist doctrine has begun to change. The change has not yet gone far enough to make possible the kind of peaceful co-existence which we would regard as durable. But some change there has been, and in the right direction. It would be in our interest to help it to go further in the direction of a co-existence which we in the West could welcome as genuine.

Russian society is changing faster than its doctrine. The Russians are growing richer and as they grow richer their revolutionary zeal will flag.. Nor is the political pattern of Eastern Europe the uniform red it was. There are many shades and interpretations of Communism. They will tend to diverge. Even now it is doubtful if they would stand up under strain.

Those who claim to value liberty above life say, "Better dead than Red." Those who value life above liberty say, "Better Red than dead." The sensible man, I suggest, is the one who values both life and liberty and so orders his actions as to avoid the need to choose between them. The "unfanatical approach", is "Neither Red nor dead."

Against this background, Britain's object at home is to produce a self-disciplined and self-reliant society with opportunity for the strong and resourceful, and help for the weak and under-privileged. We are quite unfanatical about free enterprises; about State control. We have a bit of both. The next phase for an educated democracy is to work out a sensible partnership between State and people.'

Sri Masani's Devastating Attack On Governmental Controls And Planning

FROM all accounts Sri Masani made a most impressive speech in the course of the recent No-confidence debate in Lok Sabha, at the end of which the Prime Minister has had to speak for as long as an hour and a half in defence of himself and his regime.

Dealing with votes polled and seats secured, Sri M. R. Masani observed:

"As Acharya Kripalani pointed out a year ago, only 44.72 per cent of the electorate voted for the Congress Party. It got 361 seats. I have calculated, as accurately as I could, in respect of the 72 members who stood up in support of this motion the other day, that the parties, groups and elements they represent polled in all 45 million votes—39 per cent of the electorate in this country. If we had a system of proportional representation, such as is common in many democracies in the world, it would be not 72 but 316 as opposed to your 361. Let us realize that nearly 40 per cent of the country is behind this vote of no-confidence, and that the position has changed further in the last twelve months. The Chinese attack and our disastrous defeat, the Gold Control Order, the last Budget and rising prices have further shifted public opinion as recent by-elections have shown."

About controls, the fountain-spring of corruption, this is what Sri Masani had to say:

"Human nature being what it is, is it a matter for surprise that our public life is now riddled with corruption? I am not putting on any cloak of moral superiority. We are all the same under the skin, whatever party we may belong to. But the danger is that, when you combine economic and political power in the same hands, you are creating opportunities for corruption that should not be created. I would not entrust anybody, including my own party, with the unlimited power that you give to the bureaucracy and politicians to exercise controls. I would recognize that human nature being what it is, there must be checks and balances, a division of power. Why do we have a division of power between the judiciary, executive and the legislature? Similarly, we must have a division of authority, political and economic. The day on which you give economic power to those with police power, you have surrendered the liberties of the people, and that is what State Capitalism as practised by the present Government means. Every control breeds a new vested interest. Vested interests on the business and official side creep up, which resist the abolition of the control, and it needs a very stout heart and great guts, like the late Sri Kidwai's, to scrap the whole lot and go back from control to decontrol as Mahatma Gandhi advised."

And about the decreasing value of the rupee, which is the sum-up symptom of India's economic difficulties, Sri Masani said:

"So long as your rupee is debased, so long as the rupee note in your pocket is worth only 20 nP. you cannot stop people boarding gold, or anything else which has got real and intrinsic value. It is your inflationary policies, your debasing the money of this country that makes gold sell at a premium. It has nothing to do with social habits and being reactionary. In any part of the world, destroy the currency and you will get people hoarding gold or anything else which they think to be a better standard of value."

About planning, Sri Masani said:

"The Prime Minister once told a group of visiting experts: 'Our planning is good but it is only implementation that is not so good'. It sounds very good. But let us consider. A brilliant general in a battle makes a scheme to surprise an enemy for which he will have to make his artillery climb a steep cliff. Ultimately, he finds that his troops were unable to carry the guns to the top and so they are massacred. But he says: 'My policy was very good, my planning was excellent, but the troops did not implement my policy'. An objective observer would say: "The planning was rotten. Planning should not ask people to do what they cannot possibly do or what they are not made to do.'

"That is why the targets of our Plans are hardly ever fulfilled. Now the country has come down from planning in cloud cuckoo land with a big thud to firm earth, and people are swearing at those who have been responsible for it."

—Swarajya

All Is Grist That Comes To The Dictator's Mill

(From Our Correspondent)

Whoever knows Mr. Nehru would have easily forecast that the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and Madya Pradesh, Messrs. Gupta and Mandaloi, who successfully defied the wishes of Mr. Nehru recently, would be among those selected to do organisational work in the Congress. All is grist that comes to the Dictator's mill. The selection of Messrs. Desai and Patil is being regarded here as a sequel to the concentrated attack on them by the Communist members of the Lok Sabha, who had even accused them of fascist tendencies during the debate on the no-confidence motion. Some even go so far as to describe it as a gesture to the Kremlin. Others regard it as a necessary sequel to the elimination of Messrs. Menon and Malaviya, the well-known Leftists, from the Cabinet, to restore the balance between the Right and Left.

All those who go from the Cabinet had been mentioned as successors to Nehru in reply to the question "After Nehru, who"—which was a kind of indirect affront to the Great Nehru, howsoever unintended on their part. The demotion of those who could be regarded as his successors indirectly raises Mr. Nehru's stature. The discussion in the Cabinet now would, more than ever, be monologues, with the Prime Minister speaking and the others whole-heartedly assenting. It is being asked here: "Is one to assume that those who incur the wrath of the Communists will not be allowed to remain in the Cabinet?" This has its own lesson for the Western Powers and it has evidently not been lost upon them. As for those who go, they have been best described by American correspondents as "hopping mad". "What a fall was there, my countrymen!"—by the stroke of a pen of the Almighty Nehru! The need for Mr. Nehru of accusing others of fascist tendencies will now be greater than ever.

KASHMIR

Referring to Pakistan the Prime Minister observed in the course of his reply to the no-confidence debate that very little had been said on the Government's policy towards Pakistan, except for some reference to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's "kind offer" about Kashmir to Pakistan. He might also have refered to his own kind offers of plebiscite for Kashmir, made repeatedly by him in the early years of the last decade. As he said, it is not a question of Kashmir or some other problem but a settlement which removes our bitterness against each other and creates co-operation between the two countries. But, surely, the Prime Minister knows that settlement on Kashmir would be a major part of that settlement. "Settlement," he said, "does not mean our doing something completely wrong from our point of view or from the point of view of the Kashmir people." Nor, obviously, does it mean anything completely wrong from the point of view of the Pakistanis or the Kashmiris.

In the course of a speech in the UN Assembly on the desirability of the two heads of the Governments of the US the USSR meeting to solve world problems, Mr. Nehru had said that the UN Assembly was the sovereign body and the final arbiter and had the right to direct the two to meet, even when one of the two—the US in that case—thought the moment inopportune. Is the UN's sovereignty confined to matters concerning the US? Does it not extend to India? When there is a dispute between two countries and a determination to solve it peacefully without any success in that direction, reference to a third party is the obvious solution, particularly if that third party has been recognised as sovereign.

The need of a solution of our quarrel with Pakistan is greater for us today that for Pakistan. Obviously we cannot fight both Pakistan and China and it is being increasingly felt here among the far-seeing and thinking people that it is time for us to make up our mind about who our enemy really is and whom we should fight or prepare to fight. A solution of our dispute with Pakistan will open the floodgates of military aid from the West—from whom alone we can expect any amount of aid in our war with China, which might be said to be on, on howsoever limited a scale it may be. Indeed, it was their knowledge of our differences with the West that provoked the Chinese to launch their "massive invasion" of October last, which suddenly came to an end on the speed with which Western Powers came to our assistance despite their differences with us.

Our attitude towards Pakistan should not, in our own interest, be one of Jingoism, howsoever popular it may be in the country among the ignorant. It stands to the everlasting credit of Rajaji that he has the courage to suggest or oppose measures, knowing that his suggestion or opposition can only bring him unpopularity and even ridicule, but which is in the largest interest of the country. This is statesmanship. This is patriotism of the highest order. Our Prime Minister seeks the "larger vision" but, when he finds some one with that larger vision, he ridicules him. There is no one in the country today who has the vision of Rajaji and Mr. Nehru must be aware of it, howsoever he may deny it for personal and party reasons. Every time the Prime Minister speaks he

makes it obvious that his thinking stops short somewhere in the middle long before it reaches its logical conclusion. It is not as if Mr. Nehru is incapable of carrying a process of thought to its logical conclusion, but SELF intervenes and says "Thus far and no farther," because the following steps are against his basic policy of serving the cause of Jawaharlal Nehru rather than of India and Democracy.

CORRUPTION

The Prime Minister said in the course of his reply to the No-confidence debate that the main thing about corruption was what process could be devised to deal with it and he hoped it would be possible to devise some process soon. This problem, he said was a "tremendous headache for all of us". Surely, our Prime Minister knows something about the processes devised by other countries to deal with corruption. He talks as if corruption is something novel in India and no Government has had to deal with it yet! Many of the complaints about Ministers came to him, he said, adding that the procedure followed was that, first they were thoroughly examined by getting some explanation from the minister concerned. If there was a *prima facie* case, there was a private inquiry, after which a decision was taken whether any other inquiry was necessary. "As a matter of fact," he said, "most of these complaints which have come and which are talked about in the newspapers have provided no ground at all after examination. They are exaggerated." On this Mr. Kamath asked, "Was an impartial examination made?" And Mr. Nehru replied, "Of course it was done impartially by the man who inquired." The reader will notice the obvious contradiction in the Prime Minister's observation that "most of the complaints which have come..have provided no ground at all after examination" and the statement following that "they are exaggerated". Even our Prime Minister, who is used to contradicting himself within a few seconds, should know that both of his statements cannot be true.

The essence of a genuine inquiry lies in the impartiality of the inquirer. His name is kept secret, apparently because the public would not be satisfied with the selection of the judge by Mr. Nehru. In effect the first as well as the second inquiry is private. Mr. Nehru's admission that the complaints are exaggerated implies that there is substance in them. After that there is no sense in another private inquiry entrusted to a man whose name is kept secret. The judge must command the confidence of the public and of the Opposition in Parliament, otherwise the inquiry can only be considered a white-washing one, of the sort we were familiar with during British rule. Surely, the Prime Minister knows that these methods can be legitimately classed under "hanky-panky".

There has been a good deal of talk during the last decade by those in authority about high-power commissions to inquire into allegations of corruption, but nothing has come out of it. For a very good reason. The Congress Government naturally does not want to defame itself by exposing the misdeeds of its ministers. Mr. Nehru is an interested party and the Congress has a vested interest in corruption. They want reward for the creation of Pakistan, which they call winning Swaraj. Even when the inquiry is by a Supreme Court Judge, the judgment is not published for reasons which, in Mr. Nehru's favourite words, can only be described as "fantastic" and "most extraordinary".

Book Review

WHY WE BEHAVE LIKE AMERICANS: by Bradford Smith. Popular Library Inc. New York. 1958 Special Student Edition Paperback. 15 cents.

This is an account of American character and culture from the inside by an American educator. Mr. Bradford Smith comes from the line of Governor Bradford Smith of the original Mayflower which landed in New England and founded its first colony in Elizabethan times.

With the legitimate pride of that ancestry he joins the creative spirit of the civilisation of the New World formed from the Melting Pot all European races thrown on a vast virgin land of "God's own gift."

They left the feuds of the old world behind them and conquered the primeval forest and hammered out a new fellowship in their townships and voluntary associations instinct with respect for equality and appreciation for success and adventure.

They built a constitutional structure to safeguard the open way to effort and the road to individual career from the "log cabin to the white house—" *the career open to talent.* They rejected class and caste, birth and rank and recognised merit shown in actul capacity as measured by success against nature.

This new society stood its ground and came out purified through the ordeal of world war twice in the present century and has made of America the hope of free humanity and the guardian of the free civilisation of the world as against totalitarian darkness and tyranny.

Today as we are engaged in recovering freshness of vision and inspiration and vitality for a new career of civilisation based on a fresh experience of the vital springs of human values—of freedom, of equality, of science, of fellowship, of unity, of co-operation, of creative agriculture and industry and commerce (and all economy) under the aegis of national independence, it behoves us to learn the secret of Amrican power and inspiration with *sympathetic imagination.* We should shun the cheap jibes and

machanic slogans and hate propaganda of the communists with their *stereotypes* of imperialism and "exploitations and class war" and study the American dream and achievement at *first-hand ourselves.*

De Tocqueville's great book *Democracy in America,* Lord Bryce's *The American Commonwealth* and today Harold Laski's *American Democracy* are classical landmarks that should be studied in this context. But after all, these are studies of foreigners.

The present book by Mr. Bradford Smith is by an American himself aware of the criticisms of foreigners and able to give the right answers to them from the American point of view.

It is a rich and stimulating book, highly informative and rewarding. The student's edition at 15 cents is a marvel of book production bringing it within the reach of even the common man in India.

M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

IF NEFA REPORT IS RELEASED NEHRU WILL HAVE TO RESIGN

Mr. Nehru has been shirking releasing to Parliament the report on our NEFA reverses. The Prime Minister makes out as if this report is withheld from Parliament for "security reason", although he does not expressly commit himself to this reason.

This excuse of a Prime Minister is regrettable, since it is only to cover up the most damaging aspects of this report, which have no connection whatsoever with "security", that Mr. Nehru is withholding publication of the report.

This report on the NEFA reverses is in two parts. The first report emphatically pin-points the blame for the NEFA debacle on the then Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, and on his attempt to run the war from Delhi on a direct private telephone line with General Kaul, whom Mr. Menon made the NEFA Corps Commander.

The report states in no uncertain terms that Army Command was completely by-passed both by the Defence Minister and by the Corps Commander. The report refers to the fact that this General deserted his command and flew to Delhi, without even informing higher Army Command.

Therefore, if this report is published, Mr. Nehru, who paid such glowing compliments to Mr. Krishna Menon's stewardship of the Defence Ministry, would face such a barrage of public wrath that however "indispensable" Mr. Nehru may be deemed to be by the A.I.C.C. (All India Congress Committee), he would have no other alternative but to resign as the Prime Minister who shielded Krishna Menon.

—The Current

News & Views

CHINA MUST BE MADE TO REALISE THAT AGGRESSION DOES NOT PAY

The Globe and Mail (August 9) in an editorial "The Threat of China" commenting on Chinese build-up on India's borders expressed the view "If there is a serious threat to India developing we shall have to go to her aid not only for India's sake but to show China that aggression does not pay. It may be necessary to demonstrate in Asia as we have demonstrated in Europe that we have the will and resources to resist forcible export of communism until Peking learns that there are other and more fruitful ways of resolving differences."

"There are signs that the Peking regime may now be fitting actions to its words to demonstrate that it means exactly what it says and show Moscow that there is no intention of coexisting peacefully with the noncommunist world. There have been a series of incidents in Korea and there are reports from India that major new aggression may be taking shape there.

No one can say at this date if the policy of conciliation toward China in the early years of her revolution would have diverted her from the path of foreign adventure. It may be communists can be taught fallacies of their doctrines only in the schlool of harsh experience and that reason would have been mistaken in Peking for appeasement."

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FRIENDS OF CHINA ORGANISE PARALLEL GOVERNMENT?

Friends of China in India, according to a Calcutta report, have formed a parallel Government and raised an unauthorised army consisting of 50,000 men so as to be able to play effectively fifth columnist role and stab in the back of Indian Army when a new attack is launched by China. The report says that Indian communists in Tripura have built up an army called "Lal Sena."

Hindusthan Standerd, a Calcutta daily, complains that in the face of such dangerous reports, the authorities in New Delhi are in slumber and have still to wake up to the serious threat the Communists pose. Sources who have intimate knowledge of the affairs there say that about two-thirds of the State of Tripura is under the domination of Communists, nearly all of whom are pro-Chinese.

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PAKISTAN GUERRILLAS AWAITING STRIKE ORDER

U. S. Government Hoodwinked

Is President Ayub Khan trying to raise a column of bigoted mullahs, moulvies and fanatics to spy and spread disention, demoralisation and fear among the masses in the country, simultaneously with preparing thousands of guerrillas to strike at India?

The report to the above effect, from a reliable source, says the U. S. Government has been completely hoodwinked in this matter by President Ayub who has reportedly informed

the U. S. Ambassador in Pakistan that the guerrilla brigades have been raised in order to narrow down the disparity with India's armed strength.

Reports reaching Delhi indicate that the Pakistan Armed Forces have late been adopting an hostile and contemptuous attitude towards the U. S. Armed Forces personnel stationed in Karachi and other strategic areas. The fact that Pakistanis are not allowed to go anywhere near Gilgit and other strategic areas appears to be rankling in the minds of Pakistani armed personnel.

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COMMUNIST COUNTRIES RESELL TO U.S.A.

NEW DELHI : The Government of India are reported to be quite upset over the business ethics of some Communist countries.

A large number of Communist countries have been purchasing traditional items, like jute, cashew-nut, tea, etc. on rupee payment and re-selling them to U. S. A. for dollars. In some cases the purchases from India are transferred to American ships in mid-sea without the Government of India knowing anything about it. It is generally believed that the payment in rupee is made. The Government loses in more than one way when the Communist countries resell Indian traditional items to America for dollars.

Some time ago a Communist country is reported to have made bulk purchase of sewing machines from India and resold them in the Middle East and made 24% profit. Even in the case of tea, the Communist countries blend it with poor quality from Ceylon and other places and sell it as Indian tea at higher prices.

The destination clause which is contained in ever contract is thus violated with impunity and the Government of India does not appear to have taken any action in the matter.

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PRO-CHINA REDS' INCREASED ACTIVITY IN DARJEELING

New Delhi,—The Lok Sabha was startled during question-hour by Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's remark that he did not want to "frighten" the House by disclosing the number of pro-Chinese Communists in the country.

Mr. Shastri, however, assured the House that Communists indulging in pro-Chinese activities in the border areas were being firmly dealt with. A number of them had been detained for preaching views helpful to China.

Members belonging to the Congress and non-Communist opposition groups, who expressed grave concren over the activities of the CPI's pro-Chinese group, closely questioned the Home Minister on the measures taken by the Government to counteract the pro-Chinese group's anti-Indian propaganda in the border areas of West Bengal and other States.

To the embarrassment of the Communist members Mr Hem Barua (PSP) asked whether the Government's attention had been drawn to a recent statement in the West Bengal Assembly by the State Minister for Jails that CPI chairman S. A. Dange had reveived Rs 2.58 lakhs from Peking and whether the Government had any information that the bulk of this amount had been utilized for pro-Peking activities.

The Speaker disallowed the question.

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FLIGHT FROM COMMUNISM

Fred Kammerer, the 32-year-old wrestling champion in the Soviet Zone of Germany, has fled the Zone

A party of athletes from the Federal Republic of Germany, who were returning from a display of gymnastics held in Leipzing in the Zone recently, helped him, his wife and their seven-year old son in the flight.

The latest report of the fight of people from the Soviet Zone show that on August 19, a 26-year-old German engineer smuggled a technician, from his homes in Meissen in the Soviet Zone in the luggage boot of his car out of Comminist-controlled territory to Austria.

Also, four members of the border guard units deserted their posts and escaped to freedom.

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'VOA AGREEMENT NOTHING UNUSUAL'

HYDERABAD, the man who signed the Voice of America pact for India defended the agreement here today.

Mr. Nawab Singh, Secretary of the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, told newsmen that there was nothing "unusual" in the agreement.

The exchange of radio programmes and film news-reels with different countries was a "normal feature." Indian news-reels, for instance, used foreign shots. He denied that VOA used AIR transmitters.

He made it clear that the transmitter would be a relay or a "pick-up" station. The question of its being used for VOA, broadcasts originating in India did not, therefore, arise.

PURPOSE

The transmitter would beam broadcasts from Washington eastwards in the language of the South-East Asian countries and not in English.

India could broadcast in all directions, but not in Urdu or Bengali. Obviously, VOA was very "sentitive" about broadcasts being beamed towards Pakistan.

Mr. Nawab Singh said existing transmitters at Calcutta, Gauhati, Srinagar, Simla and Delhi could bombard Pakistan. "Where then is the need for us to make use of the VOA transmitter?"

Regarding the refusal of Thailand to allow a VOA transmitter and India plumping for it, he said: "You have got all wrong. This is not a fact."

The point was the transmitter belonged to some one else. Nothing had been paid for it. An agreement has

been signed. But it had not come into force and it was now being "re-negotiated." The External Affairs Ministry did not process the agreement either. It was concerned only with policy.

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ENGLISH REPLACES RUSSIAN IN CHINESE SCHOOLS!

"Up to now, no other action has been taken in the Sino-Soviet dipute which could not be remedied within a short time. However, the switch-over from Russian to English will create a situation which cannot be changed in a few months, or even in a few years"—writes. The Tarantel Press International representative from Hong Kong on August 16. He adds:

Quietly and without fan-fare, Russian is being replaced by English in the schools of Communist China. This fundamental change in the Chinese school curriculum marks a new low in the Sino-Soviet conflict. English classes on the Chinese mainland were discontinued when Mao Tse-tung came to power in 1949. The use of English, which had linked China with the rest of the world for more than a century, was called a "kowtow to Western colonialism". Russian was made compulsory in all advanced schools. At that time Sino-Russian relations were becoming steadily closer, even though Stalin showed great reserve toward the Chinese Communist "brother party."

On instructions from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the curricula of the school and universities have again been changed. There are three reasons behind this change from Russian to English. First, it is a way for Mao to emphasize that he no longer recognizes Kremlin's claim to lead the world Communist movement. Secondly, it reduces the number of Chinese who will be able to understand Russian radio broadcasts or read Soviet propoganda. Lastly, it will help Chinese scientific and technical development. Many of the world's most important scientific publications are available in English, but not in Russian.

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SRI PRAKASA SAYS, KAMRAJ PLAN IS NO CURE FOR CONGRESS DISEASE

DEHRA DUN,

Mr. Shri Prakash, former Governor of Maharashtra, has expressed his reluctance to accept the chief ministership of Uttar Pradesh.

Kamaraj plan

Commeting on the Kamaraj plan Mr. Prakash said if those who gave up their posts under the plan were able to stop misconduct of party officials and improve the morals of the nation, they would have done a great deal of good.

"Their mere coming out is no cure for the disease. When we are evolving a welfare state and socialist society the Government naturally comes into the picture all the time. Thus there is little to do for non-official publicmen with the best of will and intentions. This is what I have come to feel after a year and quarter out of Office."—PTI.

NATIONALISATION THREAT HARMFUL: GIRI

Mr. V. V. Giri, Governor of Kerala, condemned in Bombay the tendency to arouse uncertainly among private industrialists through threats of nationalisation.

Addresing the students of Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Chembur, Mr. Giri said public and private sectors should co-exist in the industrialisation of the country.

Even when the Government decided to take over any Industry, the best course would be to specify the time-limit after which the take-over would be effected.

Unless this was done, it would not only hamper industrial growth, but also would affect the industrial efficiency.

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NEHRU BECOMES DICTATOR, SAYS N. V. GADGIL

Poona, August 26—Shri N. V. Gadgil, former Governor of Punjab said with the top Ministers going out of the Cabinet Mr. Nehru would be "automatically cested with dictatorial powers and the country had to look forward to a complete dictatorial regime."

Dear Editor .....

"BARBER'S GOLD"

The parable, THE BARBER'S GOLD published in your journal dated 1st August breathes a fine and appropriate moral for our congress ministers. It is a truth much in evidence that once they are out of office they become critical of policies of which they were either proponents or active supporters.

A recent case in point was that of an ex-agricultural minister of Govt. of India who said (or rather Condemned) that land reforms pursued by the Govt. are neither helpful to the landless and peasant labour nor productive of any increased agricultural production. This belated wisdom (or ex-mnisterial airing of pre-ministership views) of our ex-ministers is certainly not unreasonable. For, this attitude clearly shows that the present policies of our Govt. are influenced by party ideology (and that is the penalty the individual power seekers have to pay when they enter the party) and that they do not have their roots in objective reality.

Visakhapatnam —K. SHRINIVASAN

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