

SWATANTRA PARTY RECOGNISED IN SIX STATES

The Election Commission announced on September 22 that the Swatantra Party had been recognised in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madras and Uttar Pradesh. The symbol of the STAR has been allotted to our Party (excepting in Bihar where the Bicycle will be the symbol for the purposes of the next General Elections after which the Star will replace it in that State as well).

In the other States of India, candidates of the Swatantra Party will have the first option on the use of the Star. Hitherto when two or more candidates opted for the same symbol, there was a tossing of the coin to decide who should have it. Now, as a result of the new decision, our candidates will have the first choice.

Details of the notification of the Election Commission on this subject have been circulated to all the State units of our Party.

OUR MEMBERS IN PARLIAMENT

The small but highly vocal group of our Party in the Lok Sabha once again took up the cudgels of opposition in a number of debates during the last session of Parliament.

During the Debate on the Income-Tax Amendment Bill, Mr. M. R. Masani, the Party's General Secretary, contended that the amendment proposed in the Income-Tax law making company directors personally liable for payment of tax would put the joint stock companies in "complete jeopardy" and retard industrial production and expansion in the country. If the clause was accepted, said Mr. Masani it would discourage honest men from becoming directors of joint stock companies.

The debate on the Third Plan saw both Prof. Ranga, President of the Party and leader of the group in the Lok Sabha, and Mr. Masani expressing their disapproval of the kind of planning indulged in by the ruling Party. Prof. Ranga said it was too much to ask the Opposition to accept the Plan as a national Plan. In fact, he said, it was the Plan of the ruling Party, a Nehruite Plan and an eve-of-the-election Plan. Prof. Ranga added that like the ruling Party, the Swatantra Party was equally interested in sustained economic growth and the provision of greater employment opportunities but they were opposed to the means adopted by the planners—the importance given to the public sector and to State trading. What was lacking today was dynamism in the Government and lack of

foresight. There was a perversion of social values. He accused the Government of utilising the panchayats, village cooperatives and the community development administration for political purposes.

Mr. Masani also made a forceful and studied speech during the debate. The speech has been reproduced in Annexure "A".

Speaking during the discussion on the international situation, Mr. J. Mohammed Imam criticised government's weak kneed policy towards Communist Chinese aggression. As the speech is a forceful indictment of our foreign policy and its makers, we have reproduced this speech (Annexure "B").

BHARAT KISAN SAMMELAN ATTACKS THE THIRD PLAN

The Bharat Kisan Sammelan of which Prof. Ranga is the President had a meeting of its General Council in New Delhi on August 21, when it passed a resolution criticising the Third Plan. Among other things the resolution said:

"The vision of the Plan is close to the frontier of the new world of Sovietism and instead of achieving the development of the human being and the human personality that counts, it will result in the loss of whatever mead of the precious economic and social freedom is now vouchsafed by the self-employment, enjoyed now by every peasant proprietor or artisan who works on his own land or in his own cottage."

The resolution warned that if this and other successive plans are accepted "taxation and debt burdens will increase, wasteful expenditure will grow, bureaucracy will rule supreme, neither economic justice nor equality of opportunity will be achieved."

INDIA'S HERITAGE SOLD FOR A MESS OF POTTAGE AT BELGRADE — SAYS RAJAJI

In the course of a statement issued from Madras on September 13, Rajaji said that India could 'dodge about and look neutral and act wise', but dependence "is too obvious in every gesture. Even the moral influence of the Prime Minister on the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, had now been transformed into that which a 'favourite wife wields on a troublesome bully," he said.

He asked Mr. Nehru not to be swayed by the "praiseworthy and patriotic efforts in the Indian

Press to describe his Belgrade venture as a big success. 'An air of apology permeates the appraisal.

With loans and aid from both sides, Rajaji questioned the validity of Mr. Nehru's claim of moral power.

He added: 'One cannot wield moral power with so great a handicap of heavy obligations which one must guard against to avoid a fall into irrecoverable bankruptcy and ruin at once.'

NEWS FROM STATE PARTIES

ANDHRA

Public meetings were held all over the State by the Party unit to protest, against the arrest of Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke and condemn the arbitrary use of the Preventive Detention Act by the Kairon Ministry.

The Hyderabad unit of the Party sent a telegram to the Government of Punjab and Mr. Nehru protesting strongly against Sardar Nagoke's arrest without sufficient reason and interpreting the action as a move on the part of the Government of the Punjab to cripple Swatantra Party in the State and affect its progress in the coming General Elections. This move said the telegram 'is neither democratic nor socialistic.' It concluded by demanding his immediate release. An all Party meeting was presided over by Mr. G. Latchanna and was organised at Hyderabad for a similar purpose.

In Srikakulam district, at Baruva, in the by-elections to the sixth ward of the Panchayat, a Party member Mr. Dunna Janardanam defeated his Congress rival by a large majority of votes.

In the Visakhapatnam district a largely attended public meeting was addressed by Messrs Beesetti Apparao, M.L.A., District unit Secretary, K. Ramu Naidu and others and presided over by Shri Dabberu Seetharamamurthi. A former President of the Mandal Congress Committee, at Pamarru in Kakinada in the East Godavari district, Mr. Chodey Rangarao, has resigned from the Congress and joined the Swatantra Party. In the course of a statement he has mentioned that the Swatantra Party alone serves the ideals of Gandhiji.

Another prominent Congressman in the neighbouring district of West Godavari in the Narasapur taluq, Shri Balla Kondalarayudu, along with Shri Jakkampudi Veeraraju and others resigned from the Congress and joined the Swatantra Party.

A Narasapuram Constituency Committee has been formed in the East Godavari district with Shri Kamireddi Thathabbayi Naidu as President. Similarly at Palacole, a Constituency Committee was formed with Shri Mamidi Pattabhiramarao as President as also at Achanta with Shri Kosoori Janakirammaraju as President.

Shri S. Satyanarayana was unanimously elected President of the Krishna district unit of the Party and was authorised by the State office to nominate members of the Executive Committee. Shri T. Krishnamma, the State General Secretary, was present on the occasion.

Vuyyur has now a Constituency Committee headed by Shri K. Umamaheswararao. Mr. Krishnamma was present at this meeting and he addressed the workers

present stressing the need for strengthening the Party in this Constituency.

Later during the month a new President of the Krishna district, Shri S. Satyanarayana, toured the various villages in the Nandigama Constituency to build up the Party's organisation.

The State Party informs us with a sense of deep regret of the passing away of Shri Gogineni Venkata Subbayya Naidu, a businessman who could not be intimidated by Congress pressures. Professor Ranga, Party President, was present on August 17 at Manikonda to convey his message of condolence to the bereaved family.

At Mangalagiri in the same district, Shri K. V. Subbayya presided over a workers meeting. The numerous speakers who addressed the workers were very critical of the Congress administration and the need for the Swatantra Party to work hard in the coming General Elections and ensure success. The meeting was followed by the formation of a Constituency Committee with Shri Anney Syryanarayana as President.

Commenting on a statement reported to have been made by Mr. D. Sanjiviah, Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, that the Pochampad Project would soon be sanctioned by the Planning Commission and the Union Government, Professor Ranga said "Let us trust that between them, the Union and the State Governments, would not turn this into another election-eve stunt and would proceed with it as a normal part of the Second Plan for which the people had already provided the sanction."

Shri Yadlapati Venkatarao, presided over the deliberations of the Tenali Taluq Committee of the Swatantra Party. The meeting thanked the various donors and others who had registered financial help to the Party and called upon the people in the taluq to rally to the cause of the Swatantra Party. The meeting requested Professor Ranga to stand from the Tenali Parliamentary Constituency.

At Burripalem in the same taluq a Party office was opened on Independence day.

Many district and State Party leaders addressed a largely attended meeting of Party workers on August 5 in Burripalem. The speakers generally devoted their attention to the consequences that would follow the Congress brand of Cooperative Farming and of the fact that it would reduce peasants to slaves at the mercy of the ruling powers that be.

The Guntur district Executive Committee met on the 20th of August with Shri J. Chandramowli in the Chair. The meeting discussed the reports presented by the various Constituency Committees and resolved to run a political school in September to train up workers and spread the message of Swatantra.

The Swarna Swatantra unit in Guntur district was the recipient of a donation of Rs. 116/- from Shri Gangavarapu Anjayya on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter.

Prominent persons like Shri Doddapaneni Lakshmayya, Doddapaneni Atchayya, Kanneganti Suryanarayana etc. announced their decision to join the Party at a specially got up function at Tenali. They praised the principles of the Party and hoped for its success.

While a workers' meeting was held on August 5 at Vetapalem in the district, a huge public meeting was held in Addanki in Ongole Taluq when leaders from other areas of the district also participated. Shri Guram Satyanarayana Swami President of the Ongole Town Party presided.

State President, Shri B. Ramachandra Reddi was present at a joint meeting of the district Party Executives and workers of the Constituencies and taluqs of Nellore which met under the Presidentship of Shri P. V. Krishna Reddi, MLC. The meeting discussed various election matters and methods to ensure success of Party candidates here. An Election Sub-committee was also formed on the occasion. Messrs N. Rangareddi and C. L. Narasimhareddi accompanied State President, Shri B. Ramachandra Reddi on a tour of the Cuddapah Parliamentary Constituency between 12th and 14th August. They visited Koduru, Pullampeta, Rajampeta, Chakralapeta, Penggalur and held public meetings wherever they went.

ASSAM

The Shillong unit of the Party celebrated the Second Anniversary of the Party on August 12. The delay was caused as a result of the agitation for a separate hill State which kept our Party members busy. The office of the Party was inaugurated on the occasion.

The Secretary of the Jowai District Committee toured the interior of Jaintia Hills enrolling many members.

There has been an increasing demand, reports our Shillong unit, from citizens of this area for public meetings organised by our Party.

Mr. O. S. Royce, organiser of the Dawki area is touring village by village, distributing Party literature and discussing with local men the potentials of Party organisation in their area.

Mr. John Deng, General Secretary of the Shillong unit, visited Nangpoh on August 30 where he met members of the Nongpoh Committee and discussed Party problems with them.

BOMBAY

A protest meeting was arranged at the Forbes Gujarati Hall, Opp. Congress House, on the 24th of August to protest against the arrest of Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke. The meeting was well-attended and the main speakers were Mr. Piloo Mody, Mr. R. V. Murthy, Mr. Mahinder Lall, Mr. Madhu Mehta and Mr. Yoganand.

During the Bandra Fair, the Party put up numerous banners and posters on the philosophy of the Swatantra Party, which were appreciated by the crowds. The Bandra unit of the Party has opened a library at East Bandra, a workers locality and a number of residents of the area are taking advantage of this and are enrolling as members of the Party. The Bandra unit is now concentrating on arranging area-wise meetings in various localities of Bandra.

On the 18th, Mr. Piloo Mody addressed a meeting under the auspices of the Bramhan Sabha when he spoke on the philosophy of the Swatantra Party.

MADRAS

Rajaji toured East Ramnad district between August 28 and September 5 in spite of his indifferent health. He covered all the constituencies in the district and was presented with a purse of Rs. 12,000 during his tour.

Replying to an address presented to him by the Muslim Valibar Sangam at Rameswaram, he appealed to members of the Muslim community to join the Swatantra Party and purify the country by overthrowing the Congress in the next elections.

Responding to an address presented to him by the Rameswaram Panchayat Board, Rajaji congratulated them for their 'fearless action' in presenting him with an address although such a phenomenon was increasingly lacking in the country since Independence, as the people had become meek and submissive to the Party in power after fifteen years of continuous rule.

He reminded the people that the Party in power was put by them with a 'Licence' to rule properly and that when that Party failed to discharge its responsibility, the 'Licence' could be revoked, and this, the people should do at the next elections.

He also addressed a public meeting at Rameswaram. Replying to a question put to him at Paramakudi as to why he should have taken so much trouble to form a Party at his age, Rajaji said that it was not a 'political game' that he had started, but a movement to protect the liberties of the individual against the dictatorial powers of the ruling Party.

At Sivaganga, Rajaji laid the foundation stone of an elementary school and delivered the inaugural address of the Bharathi Ilakya Manram. He also received an address from the local Panchayat Board and the Bar Association.

Activities in the various districts of Madras continued with unabated vigour. Public meetings were addressed by Rajaji at Cherian Nagar Washermanpet and Chintadripet where some constituency districts have opened their offices.

The Madras City Swatantra Youth Front has started functioning with their office at No. 241, Linghi Chetty Street, George Town, Madras with Shri M. V. Jagannath, Advocate as President.

Heavy rains resulted in Rajaji making the shortest speech he had ever made, at a public meeting in Pallavaram in Chingleput district on Independence day. He asked the people to vote for the Swatantra

Party and warned that if the Congress came back to power, taxes would increase.

The President, Secretary and three other members of the Chingleput district Committee have been busily touring various areas of the district in connection with the forthcoming General Elections.

Coimbatore district also was busy with public meetings between August 4 and 21 at Varadarajapuram, Coimbatore city, Tirupur, Madukarai where a Constituency Committee was formed, Kallimadai etc.

Tirunelveli was the venue of a Seminar for Swatantra Party workers under the Presidentship of Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy. Prof. Irudayaswamy of St. Joseph's College, Trichy, Messrs Ramaswamy Konar, A. S. Narayanaswamy, G. K. Sundaram and others participated.

Valliyur Gandhi Maidan was the venue of a public meeting on 1st August under the Presidentship of Shri Krishna Jothy.

Mr. M. C. Veerabahu, a very old Congressman, appealed to Rajaji to form a National Democratic Front as he felt that the country was in a state of national emergency.

In Salem district the President and Secretary toured the district contacting numerous public men and on August 6 addressed a public meeting in Salem town under the Presidentship of Shri N. K. Rajaram was held. Among others who addressed the meeting were Messrs P. Dhandapani, P. V. Rangayya, and Dr. S. Krishnamurthy Rao.

MAHARASHTRA

Mr. Ramrao Vaval, Convenor of the Poona District unit of the Party, toured Aurangabad district between August 19 and 23 when he held discussions with prominent people of the district. He also visited Jalna, an important business centre in Marathwada. Also touring various districts of Marathwada, like Parbhani, Nanded, Aurangabad and Bhir was Mr. Yogiraj Balwantsing.

Public meetings were held at Alandi and Chakan in Poona district on 23rd August.

At Koregaon in Satara district, a workers' rally was organised by the district Convenor, Shri K. R. Deshmukh. It was attended by a hundred prominent persons of the district. Mr. Ramrao Vaval, Mr. Walvekar and Shri Panditrao Kulkarni were also among those who participated.

Koregaon was also the venue of a public meeting that same day under the Presidentship of Shri Deshmukh, a pleader of Koregaon. Among those who addressed this gathering were Shri Ramrao Vaval, Shri Babusaheb Shinde, a former Congress MLA, Shri K. R. Deshmukh and others.

PUNJAB

The field work of the Party in the Punjabi speaking areas of the State was seriously hampered by the imposition of Section 144. This compelled our field workers to hold indoor meetings and discussions.

On the occasion of a fair at Garhi in Patiala, the Harijans in the State Party organised a rural congregation and propagated the Party's policies and aims. Similarly they also arranged another Party meeting in the Khanna district of Ludhiana on Independence Day which was addressed by Sardar Gurdial Singh, retd. P.C.S. and Shri Gurdev Singh Sandhu, a Harijan leader of Patiala district.

State President Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke is still in jail. Steps are being taken to have the matter brought before the Judiciary, although attempts to see him by Professor Ranga were unsuccessful. Professor Ranga lodged a strong protest with the Central Home Minister in regard to the attitude of the Punjab Government and referred to it in Parliament. We have already reported in our last Newsletter a statement issued by Professor Ranga and Mr. Masani protesting against the arbitrary arrest and detention of Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke.

The Amritsar District unit of the Party also passed a resolution condemning the provocative action of the Punjab Government in arresting its State President. It considered this arrest as a challenge to all those who valued individual freedom guaranteed by the Constitution.

On August 26 on the occasion of Raksha Bandhan Day a large conference was organised by the Party at Baba Bakala in Amritsar district. Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman, M.P., presided on the occasion which was dominated by the rural population.

An emergent meeting of the State Executive which met at Patiala on 29th August, passed a resolution placing on record its deep concern and abhorrence for the calculated abuse of the Preventive Detention Act and the arrest of Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke by the corrupt, arbitrary Congress Ministry of Pratap Singh Kairon. The meeting felt that such naked high handedness on the part of the ruling Party deserved thorough condemnation in unequivocal terms from all sections of the society believing in civil liberties and the sanctity of individual freedom. Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman, who is the acting President of the Swatantra unit in Punjab, presided.

Meanwhile Haryana reports that continuous rain has prevented its usual field work. However, workers meetings were held in the villages of Khotpura, Begumpur, Dadulana, Gagsina and Gharaunda in Karnal District which were attended by Ch. Dharam Singh Rathi, State General Secretary and Ch. Vijay Singh, the district unit President.

Shri Krishan Lal Chander, organiser of the Hissar district, also held meetings at Bhiwani, Mahindergarh, Narnaul and Dadri while Shri Subha Singh Parcharak of the Party addressed public meetings at Dahar, Bursham, Gualara, Naraina, Nimbri, Ujaha, Sanoli, Garhi Siwah and Diwana.

UTTAR PRADESH

Farukhabad was the venue of a district Convention on 13th August. State President, Shri S. K. D. Paliwal was in the Chair. Mrs. Manmohini Sehgal of

Delhi, Maulana Qadri, Srimati Indu Trivedi of Meerut and other local luminaries of the district participated. Resolutions praying for Rajaji's long life, opposing State Trading, criticising the Congress brand of co-operative farming, on inflation etc, were passed on the occasion. Another resolution condemning the detention of Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke was also passed.

The State Executive met on the 21st and reviewed the progress of the preparations for the National

Convention at Agra. This Executive also passed a resolution condemning Jathedar Nagoke's arrest.

Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. Masani, Vice-President and General Secretary of the Party respectively visited Lucknow and met likely candidates of the Party for the forthcoming General Elections, in the State.

Tilak Jayanti and the anniversary of the Party were observed with great eclat in many important towns and villages of Uttar Pradesh. Party workers took pledges on the occasion to redouble their efforts in the service of Swatantra.

ANNEXURE "A"

MR. M. R. MASANI'S SPEECH IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION ON THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN IN THE LOK SABHA ON 23RD AUGUST 1961

Mr. M. R. Masani: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the substitute motion disapproving the Plan moved by my hon. friend, Professor Ranga.

In considering this Plan, it is useful in the beginning to cast an eye at the situation or the picture that faces us at the end of the Second Five Year Plan. What are the main facts of life with which we are faced today? From these we must start. I suggest that these main facts are three. Firstly, there is the phenomenon of rising prices. That does not need to be established by me because the Reserve Bank's report on currency and finance for the year 1960-61 and the Economic Adviser's general index of wholesale prices show a net rise of 7.2 per cent during the past year on top of a rise of 5.8 per cent in 1959-60. The Governor of the Reserve Bank himself in a recent speech has complained that there has been a steady rise, a continuous rise, in prices at the rate of 6 per cent per year during the Second Plan period without any reduction at any point of time. The Plan itself at page 121 concedes that wholesale prices have risen by about 30 per cent.

The second important fact with which we must start is the stagnant income of the large mass of our people. In so far as the landless labourer is concerned, the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Report laid on the Table of this House on 21st December, 1960, shows a material decline in wages and an increase in unemployment and indebtedness on the part of our agricultural labourers between 1950-51 and 1956-57. That process, to those who observe, has been further accentuated during the past four or five years. In so far as the industrial worker is concerned, my hon. friend the Minister of Planning and labour said in the House on 11th April 1960:

"Between 1939 and 1947, the standard of living of the workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they had just covered the lost ground. By 1955, the real wages had increased by 13 per cent. But, since 1956, when again prices started rising, their gains have been to an extent wiped out."

So far as the lower middle classes are concerned, I would say that their standard of life has gone down during the past five years. It is not only a matter of

stagnating; there has been a cut back in their standard of life.

Who then was benefited by these Plans? The answer would appear to be that it is the new ruling class who are in power and in office on the one side and their satellites, a few privileged businessmen who have been given private monopolies of a limited kind on the other. It is these classes that are the only beneficiaries of the first two Plans.

The third main fact of life is the bankruptcy of this country. Our foreign exchange reserves have gone down below the safety point. The total credits so far obtained as a result of all the agreements signed by this country are, I understand, of the order of Rs. 1750 crores. That is the best figure I have been able to ascertain from official quarters. That is the present measure of the credits that we have agreed to take or which have been vouchsafed to us in the aggregate as a result of all the agreements signed with various countries. To this sum of Rs. 1750 crores, we now propose to add further foreign indebtedness of Rs. 2200 crores. These are figures that make one shiver. Because, it really means that in the effort to repay these amounts and to pay interest and service charges on these loans, the future of this country for many many years is mortgaged. On the other hand, exports, through which alone we can possibly pay back our foreign intake of loans, are stagnant. I shall say a little about this later. But, while we go on increasing our loans from the rest of the world, we have shown our inability to repay them. This is the Rake's Progress from which we must now desist. This is the picture.

What are the prime needs of the Third Five Year Plan? The Third Plan itself sets out these needs admirably in certain parts of that long and verbose document. These needs are set out as three: (i) more saving and investment; (ii) greater production and greater productivity — that is, efficient production at low cost; (iii) export. That is an excellent summary of the primary needs of the country which the Third Plan must carry out. I do not think any one can improve on the Plan itself in setting out its needs: more investment, more efficient production at low cost, and export.

How does the Third Plan set about carrying out

these three purposes? If my hon. friend the Minister will not mind my saying so, it sets about the purposes by frustrating or denying every one of these three objectives, by sabotaging each of them, if I may use a strong word. I was going back to Bombay on a short visit on Monday. In the plane, I read a book — and it chanced to be on the eve of this debate — ‘Indian Economic Policy and Development’ by Prof. P. T. Bauer, Professor of Economics and in particular of Under-developed economies and Economic Development at London University, published by George Allen and Unwin. It gladdened my heart to read this book, because I found in it a complete vindication of those of us who have rejected the Second and Third Plans as being disastrous to the interests of the country. Let me read just one passage from this book to illustrate the point I am making that the Plan in its effect, in the measures that it suggests, defeats all the purposes which it itself sets out. I am quoting from this book at pages 97 and 98:

“There is the massive expenditure on heavy industry, when the economic demand for its products is highly problematical; at the same time, there is the neglect of education where the needs are evident and pressing and can only be met by Government. There is the comparatively small expenditure on agriculture, and also the restrictions on movement of agricultural products in the face of the manifest, urgent and desperate need to increase agricultural productivity and to extend production for the market. There are the severe restrictions, or complete prohibitions, on the supply of certain categories of both imported and even locally produced consumer goods, in the face of the urgent need both to raise living standards and to provide incentives to agricultural production for the market. There are restrictions on the extension of efficient industrial capacity in the face of a manifest need to economise resources and satisfy wants at low costs. There is the exclusion of private Indian and foreign enterprise and investment from a wide range of industrial and commercial activity, in the face of the urgent need to encourage viable economic activity.”

So he goes on. Here, in a paragraph, he was stated the paradoxes of the Third Plan. On the one hand, it tries to do something; with the other hand, it completely defeats all its purposes by the actual detailed functioning and measures of the Plan.

What are those aspects of the Plan which, in fact, defeat its purpose? I would list them under five heads.

First, persistence in increasing direct and indirect taxation which is already excessive. By that insistence, certain effects are produced. Secondly, persistence with deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 550 crores. Thirdly, insistence on or obsession with forced industrialisation irrespective of cost, a kind of recklessness — let us produce; it does not matter at what cost; so long as industrialisation takes place, it is legitimate in itself. Industrialisation for itself without the justification of efficiency; this is the third major aspect.

I would like to document this a little. There is priority for low and slow return heavy industries, the particular high water mark of that being the needless, premature setting up of a fourth steel plant. On each of the three steel plants that have been set up already,

we have spent — on each of them — twice the entire expenditure on elementary education in our country. Just think of this. Similarly, the cost of the heavy industrial programme in the public sector exceeds the entire outlay on agriculture. In a country where 70 per cent of our people live on the land and work on the land, we are spending more than half of the total outlay on industrial enterprises in the public sector. That particular State sector of our industrial enterprises takes half of the entire cake, while 70 per cent of our people live in the villages and work on the land. This is the lopsided, top-heavy, unbalanced nature of our Plan.

It finds particular expression in the tendency to gigantism, to talk of big things, striking things. No where is this waste of public resources better embodied than in our fad for Atomic Energy.

Even in the United States, which leads the world in this race for atomic energy, is cutting back. It is realising that so far as industrial purposes are concerned, it is a chimera and a distant prospect. Six years ago, the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States predicted a capacity of 2 million kw. of atomic generated electricity by 1960. That year has passed. Last month, the Commission admitted that the United States would be lucky to have 750,000 kw. of atomic generated power capacity at the end of the year. Similarly, it has now been announced that the cost of nuclear power is prohibitively high and will remain so for a long time.

An Hon. Member: It is not so.

Mr. M. R. Masani: The lowest cost of that power is 15 mills per kw-h. Even the most expensive form of present day conventionally produced electricity costs only 9 mills per kw-h. This is a big gulf. The Prime Minister said in this House on the 19th that India should proceed with atomic power “irrespective of the cost factor.” He went on to say: “...even if it is not economical, we have to do it for tomorrow and the day after.” If I may say, we are living in one world and one part of the world can benefit from technological advances in another country. Every country does not have to go through the same thing on an autarchic basis. This is a fallacy.

Mahatma Gandhi was able to see this flaw in the hon. Prime Minister's economic thinking a long time ago. On 29th June 1939, Gandhiji wrote a letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on the subject of Pandit Nehru's planning. This was what he said. This is the whole letter; it is a three-sentence letter dated 29th June 1939.

Mr. Speaker: Is it published anywhere?

Mr. M. R. Masani: It is published in a Collection of Gandhiji's letters published by the Navjivan Press. It is letter No. 184 in the series.

Shri Ranga: On the eve of the war.

Mr. M. R. Masani: It was written when the National Planning Committee was just being set up by Pandit Nehru.

Shri Ranga: It was being wound up then.

Mr. M. R. Masani: This was what Gandhiji wrote:

“I have advised you about Jawaharlal's invitation. In my opinion, the whole of his planning is a waste

of effort. But he cannot be satisfied with anything that is not big."

Sir, I would hesitate to make such a crushing comment as Mahatma Gandhi has done.

The fourth factor of this Third Plan is the domination of the State sector. We know that the Third Plan tried to force savings or investments away from the people's enterprise into State monopolies. At page 14 of the Plan, it is said:

"As compared to 1950-51, by the end of the Third Plan, the contribution of the public sector will increase from less than 2 per cent to nearly a fourth in organised manufacturing industries and from less than a tenth to over a third in mineral production."

The Governor of the Reserve Bank has given comparable figures. He says that the percentage of total investment in the State sector was 21 per cent in the First Plan, 53 per cent in the Second Plan, and it will now be 58 per cent in the Third Plan.

Today, the people of India, outside the State sector, produce 90 per cent of the gross national product, but the Third Plan wants to cut this down to 40 per cent, and this in spite of the fact that, while private enterprise has achieved nearly more than 40 per cent of the target set for it in the Second Plan, the public sector or the State sector fell down on its job by a ten per cent shortfall. That part of the economy that functioned better than expected in the Second Plan is to be punished, but that part of the economy that failed to deliver the goods is to be boosted — in spite of the preference of the people.

Finally, there is the persistence with the collectivisation of land mentioned on pages 209 to 211 of the Plan. If hon. Members think that particular fad has been laid to rest by the Opposition that was voiced in this Parliament and outside, they will be making a mistake. I want to warn the House and the country against any complacency. Let this present Government win the next elections, and the peasants of India will find that a very dangerous attempt will be made to snatch their lands away from them under the deceptive slogan of "joint co-operative farming." This is necessary, because every State Capitalist plan has to collectivise the land, since there is no other known method of squeezing what is called surplus value, what Marx called "surplus value", out of the earnings of the peasantry.

If these are the four main aspects of the Plan, the results are inevitable. If this Plan is passed, I would forecast that the following things are bound to happen. One is that there will be further inflation. The Plan itself concedes further inflation. On page 127, it says: "...it is essential to be prepared for a moderate rise in the price level..." How moderate it will be is still to be seen. At another place, on page 132, it says, in trying to justify this calamity which it is inviting on the country, that: "Price rigidity is incompatible with development and some prices cannot but rise." It all depends on what you do. If you carry out these misguided policies, the prices will rise; there is no good blaming the prices; you must blame yourselves alone.

Secondly, what will follow will be increased unemployment. The Plan concedes that also. It admits at one place that on top of the 9 million unemployed

today, there will be another half a million unemployed added as a result of the Third Plan.

Thirdly, what will happen will be increasing misery for our people through the denial of the necessities of life. The Plan is full of repetition about the need to cut down the consumption of the people. This is very comparable to Mr. Khrushchev's new programme recently published, where it is said that, at the end of another twenty years, the Soviet people are going to enjoy consumer goods. 1980 is the time when taxes will disappear, and water, electricity and so many other things would be free in the Soviet Union! Pie in the sky when you die. Jam tomorrow, jam the day after, but never jam today. That is the slogan, and that is the model. And what is the result? The mighty Soviet regime can fly their rockets to all parts of space, but they cannot make the simple things of life that the people want for their daily needs.

This was illustrated very well the other day, when Mr. Khrushchev was at a dinner party at Moscow only last week. At that dinner party, Mr. Khrushchev boasted that the Soviet Union would be able to make hydrogen bombs equal to 100 millions of TNT, with which no doubt West Berlin and other places of the world could be blown up. At the end of the same dinner, a menu was passed to the Soviet dictator, and he was asked for his autograph; along with the menu, a Soviet ball-pen was handed over to him. But the wretched thing did not work. So, Mr. Khrushchev took out his own pen from his own pocket and signed his name, and then said — I am quoting Mr. Khrushchev's words — "Mine writes. It is American. You have to recognise when a thing is well made." This is Mr. Khrushchev's own comment on the state of consumer goods production in Soviet Russia!

Finally, what we shall get is high cost economy. Mr. Speaker: What about the food?

Mr. M. R. Masani: Food is good, food at Soviet dinners is always good for the ruling class, and for visitors of the ruling classes.

Then again, the effect of this Plan will be a high-cost economy. Today, State and private monopolies are extorting what a professor has called "near ransom prices" from the consumer. Just to give an idea of the gap between the price in the world market and the price in India, let us take penicillin. The import price of penicillin is 10 nP per million units. The cost of production at Pimpri, or the price of the Pimpri penicillin, is Rs. 1.25 per million units. So, when we can get penicillin at 10 nP, we have to pay Pimpri penicillin at Rs. 1.25 per million units. This is the gap. This is the price that the consumer has to pay for this kind of planning or misapplication of planning.

The result is that large-scale smuggling is going on into this country, because when you create a big gap like this between the import price and the local price, smuggling is inevitable in any part of the world. So we have a high-priced economy.

If you have a high-cost economy, how do you propose to export? Shri Somani, who spoke before me has made, and the Plan itself makes, constant reference to the need for export. But how can you export when your cost of production is so high? Look

at the price of sugar. The price of Indian sugar is Rs. 700 per ton. The world price of sugar is Rs. 400 per ton. Not even the ablest Minister can persuade people to buy our sugar when it is selling at so much above world prices. Therefore, the export effort, which is so important, will fail.

I am not speaking on the issue of the public sector or the private sector. I am pointing out that, as a result of the priorities of this Plan, we are producing at high cost. We are producing certain things that we need not produce, and not producing other things that we should produce. I am not trying to judge between the private sector and the public sector. I said earlier that private limited monopolies are holding the consumer up to ransom by charging very high prices. If Pimpri could have been in the private sector, it might have been just as expensive as it is now, because we insist on producing things which should be imported, while not producing food, raw materials and other consumer goods at which we are good.

Now, the question may be asked: Why has the Third Plan on the one hand got such good objectives, and why, on the other, does it by its measures defeat its own purposes? Why this perversity, which Professor Bauer has so well defined? There are two possible reasons. One is that it may be ignorance of the economic science, a lack of understanding of the problem. I have too much regard for the hon. Minister and the gentlemen who sit on the other side to think that they are doing something that is so self-defeating with their eyes open.

Therefore, one has to look at some other factor which must make them behave in this manner, and I cannot help saying that that factor is the factor of doctrine or dogma. I make bold to say that this Third Five Year Plan is not a plan of economic development at all because its primary interest is not in the development of the economy but in certain political and social objectives which are frankly stated in other parts of the Plan. I go so far as to say that this is not even a Socialist plan of economic development because Socialism implies two things, a rising standard of living for the common people and greater equality. I have shown earlier that far from trying to raise the standard of living of the people, the Second Plan has either depressed it or is making it stagnate and that the Third Plan gives us ample warning that, if one thing has to be cut down, it is the consumption of goods by the people.

Now, at page 26 of this document, this is what is said:

"As it proceeds, economic development may widen disparities between rural and urban areas, increase differences in levels of development in different parts of the country, and accentuate the problems of economic inequality".

Therefore, I say this is not even a socialist plan of development. Then what kind of plan is it? I would say it is a plan to foist on the people of this country the Soviet pattern of State Capitalism.

Mr. Andrew Schonfield, who is a Liberal and a great friend of this Government — he has visited this country, I think, twice by now, as the guest of our Government to study our institutions — has said about the Second Plan, not the Third, after going back to

London after a visit to India: "It is a Soviet type plan ... and it is a Soviet type plan which errs towards Khrushchev rather than Malenkov" —

This is from the London *Observer*, and this is very interesting. Mr. Schonfield refers to two types of Soviet plans. As is well known, Malenkov believed in giving the people a little more to eat, more to wear and a little more of a consumption goods and comfort, while Khrushchev stood for tightening the belt in the interest of heavy industry and militarisation. Mr. Schonfield says: "It is a Soviet type plan which errs towards Khrushchev rather than Malenkov; the consumer gets a very small look-in".

I do not want to suggest that my hon. friend, the Minister of Planning, is consciously trying to impose a Communist economy on this country, but I do suggest to him that he is being made a party to that attempt, without his understanding where he is being taken. He may yet open his eyes even now and watch the direction in which the Mahalanobises are taking him, with their undisguised admiration for the Soviet and Chinese dictatorships. After all, Prof. Mahalanobis, who is a communist fellow-traveller, is a member of the Planning Commission, of which our Minister is the Deputy Chairman.

Now, why do I say this? Why does Mr. Schonfield say this? It is because this Plan is obsessed with autarchy. Autarchy is a desire to attain self-sufficiency. If my hon. socialist and communist friends would care to listen, they would learn a little.

Why are we obsessed with autarchy? I tried to count in this document the number of places at which this obsession with autarchy finds its way under the phrases "self-reliant" and "self-generating" economy which is to be attained at some places in ten years and at other places in fifteen years. The Plan is a little inconsistent on that point. But over and over again, it is said that this Plan will make India completely self-dependent and independent of the rest of the world within 10 to 15 years. For reference, I might mention that this claim is made at pages 24, 26, 29, 48, 50, 107, 116 and 138. If somebody goes into it more carefully, I am sure he will find double the number of references I have given.

Now, why this idea of self-sufficiency? Where does it come from? I suggest it comes from the Soviet Union. You will remember that the Soviet Union started its planning at a time when Soviet Russia's hand was turned against the rest of the world and the hand of the rest of the world against Soviet Russia. There are three differences between us and Soviet Russia.

One is that in Russia, there were not enough people, and a great deal of land; in our case, we have too many people and not enough of land. The second big difference was that Soviet Russia started with the zeal of converting the world by force to its own doctrine, while we have no such pretensions or professions. The third is that the rest of the world was hostile to Soviet Russia while, in our case, there is an Aid to India Club which is pouring out its wealth for our benefit. Therefore, there is nothing in common between our position and the position of the Soviet Union in 1919 and 1920. Yet we are blindly copying this obsession with heavy industrialisation which came from the

desire in Soviet Russia to strengthen the nation militarily and materially against an onslaught which was expected from the rest of the world. In other words, being a peace-loving power, being the country of Gandhi, without knowing it we are following a track which may make sense for a military power out to conquer the rest of the world but which makes no sense for a power which is not able to defend even its own frontier. The idea of self-sufficiency is at the very root of this Plan.

Mr. Speaker: Does the hon. Member mean to say that without industrialisation the standard of living can be increased? Does he mean to suggest that we should have only an agriculture economy?

Mr. M. R. Masani: No, Sir. We believe in all-sided industrialisation. I used the word 'obsession', because there is concentration on a certain type of heavy industry like steel and not on consumer goods.

I have said before in this House, and I repeat, that the threat to this country's economy today comes not only from Government; it comes from a very unfortunate combination of elements in Government and elements in what you have called the "private sector". I have said earlier that today the vested interests in India of which the Indian people ought to beware are those in office and their satellites in business who are working hand and in glove to exploit the masses of our people. This is a combine, this is a cartel, organised by those in office and those in private business for whom certain monopolies are created, certain protected fields of consumer goods are created, where no competition is allowed.

As you know, Sir, I stand for a point of view which believes in competitive enterprise, which believes that there should be no controls, no restrictions, that any one wanting to produce anything should be able to do so without going to the Government for a licence. It is the issue of licences, giving licences to some and denying it to others, that creates monopolies where the private sector is able to exploit the consumer in the manner you have depicted. And I say that the speech that you heard just before mine from the Congress benches, welcoming the Plan in a fulsome manner, gave expression to that alliance between those in office and in private business making the best of the good time provided by this "socialist pattern". I do not stand for that *private* sector. I think the bulk of the private sector does not deserve a pat on the back for its behaviour any more than the Government does. Therefore, it is an unholy alliance between the State capitalists and some private capitalists against which we have to fight on behalf of the interests of the middle class and the peasantry of this country.

Mr. Tyagi: He repeats "State Capitalists". I cannot understand what he means.

Mr. M. R. Masani: The State Capitalist system has been described extremely well by the Yugoslav Communist leader, Mr. Djilas, in his book *The New Class*, of which I shall be glad to present my hon. friend with a copy. The whole book is on the phenomenon of State Capitalism. That phenomenon, if I may explain, is that people who talk of "communism" or "socialism", masquerading in those colours, are really creating a society where they and their children and

their friends and their clients are able to exploit the common people for the benefit of the new ruling class of the State Capitalists. I will not go further into that. I leave it to Shri Tyagi to study that book. The answer comes from Communist sources. State Capitalism is what the Yugoslav Communists describe as the prevailing state of affairs in the Soviet Union, which we are trying to copy.

I was saying that this obsession with autarchy is completely unintelligent, because we are not in the position of the Soviet Union, because we are not opposed to the world, because every one wants to help us, and we do not want in the next ten years to turn our back on the world. Here is what Shri G. L. Mehta, our former Ambassador to the United States, said at the beginning of this year. He said: "It is now recognised that the need of foreign exchange is not an occasional rescue operation, but a continuing phenomenon necessary to enable emergent countries to have development with stability." This continuing development may well take us half a century. There is nothing to be ashamed about it. Even today in the United States there is more foreign and European capital invested than there is American capital in Western Europe. The Americans do not mind it. It is not a sign of backwardness. We are short of capital. That is not a position that is going to change in the next ten or fifteen years with all our efforts, and I support them, to control our population. That imbalance will remain for many generations to come and, while it remains, we shall want more capital per man, and that capital not being available, we should be able to get it from abroad. Therefore this whole Plan is vitiated by this position that it desires us to become independent of the world in the next ten or fifteen years.

I want to ask the Minister: if we proclaim our desire to become independent of the world, why should they buy our exports? Surely, the corollary of selling our exports is that, when we have balanced our own economy, we shall buy their imports, we shall allow their goods to come into this country. But if we are obsessed with this idea of autarchy, how will the rest of the world be reconciled to it? If we try to dump our goods below cost to the sacrifice of our own people, it is not going to be countenanced by the rest of the world. That is the difficulty.

I therefore feel that this Plan, instead of developing our economy, places it in a strait jacket, ties it hand and foot, and then asks the Indian people to deliver the goods. No people, not even the Indian people, can deliver the goods if their hands and feet are tied in this manner. The danger is this, that by over-centralisation, the States will lose their rights, will become mere glorified municipalities and district and local boards if they do not look out. Secondly, there will be a concentration of political and economic power in a few hands. This will mean that the Fundamental Rights under the Constitution will be endangered. I do not want to say to my friends on the right who are interested in trade unions, that if they think that while other rights will be destroyed, their right to strike and the right of collective bargaining will remain sacred, they are making a mistake. One of the

first curbs and blinkers will be on the working class, not to ask for higher wages and not to go on strike in pursuit of their demands.

Therefore, I say this Plan is a threat and a danger to the working class, to the peasantry whose land it

wants to take away, and to the middle class who make up the bulk of the nation. The job of those who believe in the real economic development of this country is to educate the bulk of the people to this threat not only to their standard of life, but also to their way of life.

ANNEXURE "B"

AN ABRIDGED VERSION OF MR. MOHOMMED IMAM'S SPEECH IN THE LOK SABHA ON 16TH AUGUST 1961 IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Mr. Mohommed Imam: Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of speaking on the Foreign Affairs debate last time, when I said that the communist blocs are practising and they have adopted a new form of imperialism. In pursuance of this policy, the Russian bloc has built a big empire, call it a communist empire in Eastern Europe wherein more than a dozen countries have become its satellites. East Germany is the latest victim. Similarly, another communist country, China, has been making an attempt to build another empire of its own in South East Asia. I said last time how India's northern borders have become vulnerable after the Chinese aggression. Secondly, China has been trying to build up a communist fort wall around India and also to create a hostile atmosphere. Its latest intervention in the affairs of Laos is very significant. Laos was a neutral country. One day, we find communist intervention which led to civil war and which practically threatened a minor world war. Of course, negotiations have been going on. Why I am referring to this is, China, as a mighty communist power, wants to have a hand and wants to get communist domination in every country in the east and South East Asia. It is in pursuance of that policy that China illegally and unjustifiably has encroached on the northern borders of India, which encroachment has made the northern borders very vulnerable.

This House and the Government of India and the people of India have shown a good deal of concern over this, and they have asked the Prime Minister and the Government to be very firm. It is true, the Government and the Prime Minister were firm. But, of late, they have begun to show signs of appeasement. Formerly, it was stated by the Prime Minister that he would not have negotiations with the Prime Minister of China unless the aggression was vacated. Suddenly, he agreed to meet the Chinese Prime Minister in India in disregard of his own previous announcement. This invitation to the Prime Minister of China was resented by a good number of persons in this House. Especially, I remember my hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani protesting that he ought not to have been invited and stating that he would refuse to shake hands with a man whose hands are smeared with blood. Anyhow, all the efforts made, the setting up of the official teams and the various approaches have failed to bring in accord and achievement. All our efforts have resulted in a deadlock and I do not see any tangible evidence of this deadlock being resolved. There is a feeling among us that the Government, especially the Prime Minister has been adopting an

appeasement policy. It is a policy of appeasing the Chinese. I may give two or three instances.

For example, the President in his last Address to Parliament stated that India would have only a peaceful approach to this problem. Again, he stated that we should wait till China persuaded herself to come to an agreement. That means to say that the initiative should lie with China to come to a peaceful agreement. Again, today, we heard the Prime Minister stating that the Secretary-General without any invitation or anything of that sort approached the Chinese authorities; many people have pointed out that this was a humiliating affair and that the Prime Minister ought not to have sent his Secretary-General who is practically an envoy, because that means that we are begging the question, and we are showing our humility and our weakness.

So, I beg to submit that the Government and the Prime Minister give us the feeling that their latest policy towards China seems to be a policy of appeasement and not a definite and determined policy. The Prime Minister today stated, let us wait and if it is a question of war, let there be war; that is how I understand it. He said that he would not hesitate to take up arms against China.

It has been pointed out by many speakers that China is not an ordinary country. It has been building up arms, and it may even manufacture atom bombs. And what is more, it has a strategic position. It has been trying to convert all the countries around India into a communist bloc. So, I do not know what the situation will be after some time, especially when India is wedded to the non-alignment policy. I submit that at least India should take over the leadership of South Asia and other Asian countries.

Yesterday, I met some friends who had toured in the Philippines, who had visited Laos, Saigon, Malaya and other places, whose representatives said: 'We are helpless; there is nobody to guide us; there is nobody to lead us. We are thrown asunder, and it looks as if we are at the mercy of the Chinese, and there is nobody who can bring us together; that is our fate; we look to India as the biggest country in Asia, and we look to the Prime Minister as the most interested person in peace to rally us around him, to guide us, to shelter us and to lead us, but this leadership is wanting.' You know, Sir, that the Prime Minister has not shown much interest in the affairs of the countries of South East Asia, whereas he has shown a good deal of interest in the Western countries.

The Prime Minister has even shown his concern regarding Cuba and he had his own remarks to pass

whether they were invited or not, in respect of Cuba which was threatened by communists, Cuba which is nearly 50 miles from America; and perhaps, unasked, he gave his opinion, and he showed his concern, which created a good deal of resentment in America and which brought a good deal of criticism. But the Prime Minister has not shown any concern or any interest or any anxiety about maintaining the peace and integrity of the countries in the East and round about India, especially the South East Asian countries, except for the fact that he has sent the Defence Minister to take part in the Geneva Conference on Laos. That is the unfortunate position. That is the feeling in all the countries in South East Asia, that India is not properly leading those countries which are looking forward to be led. That is why I said that if there is going to be a war in three or four years, I do not know what the position will be. India's position will be very vulnerable. Action must be swift and immediate. If you are interested in taking back all these territories, please do it at once, as soon as possible. But if the policy is one of reconciliation and if we are afraid and do not think of it but continue a wavering policy, the consequences will be very dangerous to the future of India and the safety of India.

That was why last time I suggested that our non-alignment policy would not be impaired if India led all other South East Asian countries and formed a compact and India should lead all those countries which are democratically-minded; all the democratic countries must come together for their own safety and for their own future.

Now I come to the most important question that has been troubling the world. All the attention of the world is rivetted on Berlin and West Germany. I crave your indulgence for a few minutes because it

is an important subject and I was in West Germany recently when I had occasion to study the situation in West Berlin and in West Germany. Mr. Khrushchev, the Russian Prime Minister, talks of peace; he talks of disarmament and of *panchsheel*. But I must submit that his attitude is far from conducive to attaining peace. His attitude is far from establishing peace in this world. There was the break-up of the Summit Conference on some flimsy ground; various other summit conferences also broke up. Again his attitude in the UN General Assembly, his undemocratic expression and 'famous' gestures on that occasion, widened the gulf between East and West. Again, he has been displaying his might through nuclear weapons and space ships. He has said that he is in a position to make a bomb which can generate the power of 100 million tons of TNT. All these factors have not contributed to peace.

I might just mention that Russia was once an ally of the West. America, France, Britain and Russia together subjugated Germany. Germany had to atone for it. She has suffered. The Occupation Powers divided Germany into four parts. West Germany came to the western bloc and East Germany went to the eastern bloc. The unfortunate part of it is that the City of Berlin, which is an island in the midst of East Germany, was also divided. The Allies took care to see that they had the right of access to West Berlin. But at that time, I think it was far from the intention of the Western Powers to settle there permanently or to absorb it permanently in their zones or countries. It must be said to the credit of the American and western people that though they were responsible bombing and ruination, they rendered financial aid and helped to rebuild the whole of West Germany and West Berlin so much so that now the prosperity, people's happiness and rate of production are much more than what they were before the war.

As against a prosperous West Germany, we find a dismal East Germany where the people are not happy. East Berlin has to be restored. While the western allies were busy rebuilding West Germany, Russia was busy building an iron curtain all round East Germany and depriving them of their freedom and liberty. The result is—and I have seen it with my own eyes—daily there is an influx of refugees from 500 to 1000 into West Berlin. These refugees are given all help in West Berlin. Till now, nearly three million people have migrated from East Germany. It is said that the only country which has declined in population in this census is East Germany and East Berlin, and the population had gone down by more than four or five million after the occupation by Russia.

Now, it is claimed by the communists they are quite happy. If all the inhabitants are happy in East Germany and East Berlin, if there is milk and honey ever flowing and if it is a heaven for them, I cannot understand why there should be this wholesale and huge migration into West Berlin and West Germany. It is quite obvious they are not happy, and what is more, they are anxious for a reunion among themselves.

As I said, Germany was divided as a temporary measure, just to bring down the military might of old

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Germany. After that purpose had been achieved, it was the duty of the Powers concerned to work for the reunion of entire Germany. Germany was once a great nation. It lost a portion of its territory during the First World War. Now it is losing East Germany which was originally called Central Germany. Their ambition is that they should be united again. It is the ambition of every one who has lived under one umbrella and one administration to come together. So Right-thinking persons should try to create conditions for these people to come together, not to keep them under pressure and subject them to coercion. So, this should be the endeavour of the neutral nations. After all, the Prime Minister is also very anxious about it.

I know the Prime Minister condemns colonialism. He does not want the domination of one country over another. I wish in the same way he condemns Communist colonialism. East Germany is nothing but a

colony of Russia. The domination of one country over another always prolongs the agony and unhappiness of its people. This must be realised by all. I want the Prime Minister to condemn this Communist colonialism or imperialism as much as he condemns Western colonialism. After all, Western colonialism is of minor importance when compared to Communist colonialism. Many of their colonies have been released and liberated but here once a country becomes a satellite, it remains so always. So, let all the occupying forces be withdrawn. Let it be left to East and West Germany to settle their problem. Let a plebiscite be held, let them be given the right of self-determination. If they want to re-unite, let them join; if they want to remain separate, let them remain separate States. Let them adopt such form of Government as they deem fit. That is the right attitude, and that is the attitude that should be adopted by the Prime Minister when he attends this neutral nations conference.

(For Private Circulation)