

72965 30th March 1972

Dear Dr. Cooper,

Thank you for the copy of your letter to Shri H.M. Patel which you sent me and which has just reached me. My views are contained in the galley proofs of my front page article and 'Dear Reader' paragraphs to be printed in Swarajya of April 8. I send the galleys to you in advance so that you can see how my mind runs.

I suggest that you thoroughly discuss all matters in your meetings of the General Council and National Executive on April 8 and 9 in Bombay, but put off final decision for the next meeting thereafter so that nothing may be done in haste.

Yours sincerely,

encl:

Copy
C. Rajagopalachari

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SOCIAL JUSTICE VS. SOCIALISM

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE SWATANTRA PARTY stands for social justice as much as it firmly opposes statism. Social justice is a great and proper aim for all good governments to work for and it is included in the aims of the 1950 Constitution of India. But socialism is a wrongly conceived means to attain social justice. *Socialism* is the name given to a complex of policies and measures which curb the growth of national production without helping the cause of social justice. *Socialism* is statism which accelerates the acquisition by the State of total control over citizens and extinguishes the free way of life. *Socialism* is the word for policies and measures which lead to dictatorship and do not, in the least help social justice. In fact what is called *socialism* postpones social justice for which increased production is the first essential. Expropriation, 'ceilings' on wealth, heavy taxes, etc., are all of them disincentives for work and greater production, without which social justice measures become impossible. Gandhian ethics forbade immoral or violent means even to achieve good ends. Plain common sense forbids erroneous means to attain good ends. And *socialism*, which consists of pulling down capitalists, and other measures born out of sheer hatred and envy, is a wholly erroneous way to attain or help social justice. Measures and policies that curb investment and greater production are enemies of social justice. Disincentives for investment and increased production are not the road to achieve social justice. The worse of the errors is heavy taxation which makes increased production not worthwhile for the persons concerned. No Gandhian ethical doctrine is involved here, just simple arithmetic and practice in the application of it to life and realities unaffected by likes and dislikes are what are required.

We learnt the rule of law and fair judicial trials from the British. We have to learn the rule of arithmetic also from them as ABU points out in his cartoon (reprinted in last week's SWARAJYA from the *Indian Express*). He rightly asks us in his cartoon to learn a lesson from the cuts in taxation in Britain. When the limit of prudence in taxation is crossed we have to face diminishing returns and great reduction of incentives to work and produce.

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When I met Sri Dandekar in Madras last Monday (March 27) he suggested a change in the name of the Swatantra Party as a step to cope with the lie propagated about the party that it was founded and kept up for the advantage of capitalists and princes and other rich people. I was inclined in favour of his suggestion and wrote about it in last week's SWARAJYA. But on further reflection I realized that a change in name will not help. Those who were interested in spreading the lie about the Swatantra Party did not depend for their distortion of the aims and objects of the Swatantra Party on its name. A change in the name of the party will be of no use to meet their interested campaign. They will call it a trick to deceive people and ridicule the attempt. We must, therefore, depend on our efforts to explain the truth and tell the people what the party stands for as clearly as we can in our speeches and writings. We should persist in doing our duty, to warn the people against allowing or assisting the Prime Minister and her party to wreck the Constitution, to extinguish democracy and the free way of life and put the people of India under the total power of the State and suffer serfdom as the people do in communist countries.

Every day now we hear about Bills and measures initiated by the State Governments which are all founded on the plan to treat the 1950 Constitution as a mere scrap of paper which is no longer to be respected.

The danger is great of India falling a victim of Communist China's imperialism. The present drift leads to this culmination and even the Indo-Soviet Treaty will then not save us.

Dear Reader —

IT IS INDEED remarkable that State Governments and Legislatures keep up their attacks on property, putting 'ceilings' on the extent of the holding allowable as lawful, although it is well-known that as soon as a person dies, whether he be Hindu or Muslim, the property gets distributed among the children and members of the family making each person a small landholder without the assistance of any ceiling law.

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THE ASSESSMENT of press observers and commentators in New Delhi seems to be that the Indira Government will concentrate on its socialist objective giving it priority over measures to increase production. This means, the Indira Government is more intent on establishing dictatorship than on social justice. The Congress (O) leaders should realize the grave suicidal error they have been guilty of in supporting the wrecking of the Constitution which was the only guarantee for the freedom of the citizens. The Congress (O) leaders should, if they do not wish to abet the ruin of democracy, reverse their attitude and get back to defending the Constitution of 1950. Then they can and should join hands with all others who stoutly stand for defending the Constitution of 1950 and all of them can work sincerely and strenuously for social justice and keep off the statism which calls itself socialism.

I READ WITH GREAT INTEREST a news item which appeared on March 30 that the public sector might start manufacturing Renault cars. There is absolutely no chance of improving our export position through such manufacture. It will only add to our many disappointments. The resources which India can put at the disposal of the public sector should be used for totally different purposes.

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I GREATLY appreciated Sri Dandekar's idea, which he discussed with me when we met recently that while the Swatantra Party's programme and policy should be to revive the respect for moral values (a difficult task), which has so sadly disappeared, the party should, meanwhile, stand guard on at least the external behaviour of the wealthy and support the use of effective penalties to that end.

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