

(417)

"India - after two months' absence abroad."

(Text of a talk delivered by Mr. M.R.Masani
to the Lions Club of North Bombay on Monday
November 11, 1963)

Mr. Lion President, members of the Lions Club of North Bombay and friends - When I was asked to address your group this evening I readily agreed and thought that perhaps the best thing I could do would be to give my impressions of the countries I visited and some of the people I met and so on. But I was told that you would be more interested in my impressions of the Indian political scene today and so I agreed to talk about the kind of picture that India presents to someone who has been away for two months and comes back with a slightly fresh mind. I shall take about half an hour and then I hope to leave time for questions for about a few minutes before we conclude.

Now one thing that did not happen while I was away during the months of September and October was an attack by the Communist Chinese. Many people in India had been apprehensive when I left at the beginning of September that something of that nature might materialise. And I was very relieved that in my absence that nothing of this kind has happened. Personally speaking I do not expect any major development of that nature in the immediate future. But of course with the kind of people that are in Peking one never knows.

The main developments that I think took place in India during the last two months of September and October are as it happens of a political nature and fit in with the wish of those who suggested that that might be the theme of my talk.

Now when I left the Kamaraj Plan had just unfolded, and the resignations from the Union Cabinet and the six Chief Ministers had just been announced. It was at that point that I left the country. The new appointments at the Centre and in the States had not yet been made. And I learnt about them as I moved around the United States in odd announcements in the American press and the weekly journals that I kept following - I used to get the Hindu, the Hindustan Times and Statesman weekly supplements to keep myself a little abreast of what was happening at this end since I had speak on India at various societies and Universities over there.

One of the items of news that interested me was the appointment of the new Home Minister Mr. Nanda. And what interested me about that appointment was the remark made by one of the rather notorious communist weeklies in Delhi which said "For the first time since independence India can have a democratic Home Minister." Now this profound remark puzzled me a great deal. I know Mr. Nanda very well and respect him as an individual, a good gentleman. But why has he to be the first democratic Home Minister ?

And in what way Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri also ~~to~~ very good friends of mine had been undemocratic Home Ministers was a little elusive. You have to remember of course that the Communists use the word 'democratic' in a very particular sense. Which is exactly the reverse of what it means. And so what this paper meant was that he would left-handed compliment to Mr. Nanda which I am sure he did not appreciate very much. This contrasts him with the three very democratic and patriotic predecessors. Unfortunately one can't dismiss this as a remark in that place only. It is a deliberate assessment of the role that has been assigned to Mr. Nanda in the so called progressive circles with which he these days chooses to surround himself. If it was only the remark of this little paper in Delhi one should ignore it. But we also know that in recent months Mr. Nanda's colleagues of the INTUC have found it necessary to make very critical remarks about his attitude to the communists. They have accused him of deserting their own fellowship and of taking sides with the communists AITUC and boosting them and becoming a comrade of Mr. Dange. So that the communist compliment perhaps was not altogether underserved. Mr. Nanda had also allegedly issued instructions to the Chief Ministers of States to release as many communist detenus as possible, so that Mr. Khrushchev may be happy with him. So altogether I considered looking looking at this from a distance not a very happy development that the Home Ministry which is a very strategic Ministry which controls the Law and Order and the Intelligence of our country should be exposed to influences of this nature under a Minister who might be weak enough and confused enough and confusion is not unknown to Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda - it wasn't a very happy choice for the Home Ministry one wants a clear cut clear sighted man of the pattern that we have had before.

Another appointment that intrigued me in America was that of my old friend Asoka Mehta to the Indian delegation in New York the U.N. and

also to the Planning Commission in Delhi. When I left India Mr. Asoka Mehta had been one of the leaders of the Opposition as a former Chairman or a recent Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~in Bhopal~~ And you will remember that the Praja Socialist Party at its last conference in Bhopal had declared that the Nehru Government must be ousted and had joined with me and my party and many others in a motion of no-confidence to throw out the Cabinet on August 19 onwards. So this appointment also puzzled and intrigued me. Frankly I received this with rather mixed feelings when I read about this in New York. I have great regard for Asoka Mehta. He is a good democrat. He is not a 'democratic' Home Minister in that sense, he is a very good democrat he is also a studious person, he reads a lot, he studies his economics and many other things and a person like this in the National Planning Commission undoubtedly strengthens and a value to the country. We in our Party believe that the National Planning Commission should be liquidated. We feel its a 5th wheel to the coach; that it adds to beaucracy and delay, that it is made up of politicians and Ministers and has no expertise about it. The only expert in the planning Commission being a communist Prof. Mahalanobis.. All the rest are politicians without any expertise in economic. So we believe that the National Planning Commission should be abandoned. Its a nuisance. But if it has got to exist then certainly a good man like Asoka Mehta on it is an acquisition, and from that point of view I would have felt rather happy, that he would have some job to do that he would be engaged in constructive endeavour. On the other hand I could not help worrying about him. Has he done a right thing. When his own party was Opposition now would this fit in his joining the Government as it were ~~in~~ without joining the Congress Party. I knew that his feelings were that way inclined for a long time. And I would even understand his joining the Congress Party if he felt like it. Its everyone's right to do the right thing by their own light. I don't belive in Party loyalty to be the extent of subordinating one's own principles or policies. But I wondered how he is going to fit ^{really} into this group to which he has now added himself. Will it be possible for him to function as an independent non-party or or opposition man.

Will it not compromise his Party without getting anything in return. that's what the Party seems to feel judging by its vote of censure on him. Won't Mr. Nehru be able to say 'What's the use of blaming me

your own man is there.' The Praja Socialist Party can't open its mouth any more, about planning and the whole economic sphere of life. How is it going to work. I must say I see difficulties for the Praja Socialist Party and for my old friend there. Perhaps it does not really matter because the Praja Socialist Party looks, in any event, as if it is on its way out. Its a Party of very fine people, but a Party without a clear mind, without a clear platform and at least not a platform that is distinguishable from the platform of the ruling party. That is its tragedy. And this development which could do good to the country in some ways is certainly going to make the job of the Party even harder. If this is the beginning of making the National Planning Commission a real non-Party forum of different kinds of people then I think its an advantage. If that is the intention and more people like Asoka Mehta from different walks of life say an honest critic like Mr. Gorwala is added to the planning Commission then I would begin to think perhaps its a good thing, that such people should be there, and not just people who say 'yes', to everything that comes from the Cabinet. I was asked all that in America, what was the significance of the Kamaraj Plan and what was the Prime Minister's decision amount to in accepting the resignation of various people and so on. And I tried to be as vague as possible because at that distance I found it very difficult to give cut and dried answers. Since my return a few days ago I notice there has been a great deal of speculation about the meaning of the Jaipur session of the AICC. Particularly who won, that seems to be the guessing game that is going on just now. The left wing or the right wing, as they are called. To me it seems that whoever won the Congress lost. Prof. Laski once said talking of another Party like the Congress Party. "Too much preoccupation with the wings is likely to impede the flight of the bird". And as an observer I was a member of the Congress ~~Party~~ Party for 25 years I can't help feeling that this preoccupation with the left wing and the right wing whatever those silly phrases mean, they don't mean anything anymore to me, certainly is not going to do the Congress Party any good. There was once chance at Jaipur for the Congress Party really to save itself and to become of use to the Indian people. That chance they have missed. In my humble opinion that chance if it only had been taken up, if they had decided to abandon the discredited policies of socialism and non-alignment and decided to save the country independent of these two fatal dogmas. But as long

as the present leader remains, I do not see any hope, for the Congress Party to drop these two myths which they have carried over from the past. So I have come to the conclusion after Jaipur that the hopes that were entertained about the Kamraj Plan when I left India have been blasted, are not going to be satisfied. And I said when I spoke in Parliament on 19th August, I read my speech this afternoon, I said that while the Kamraj Plan was bad for the country because the administration would get weaker it might do the Congress Party some good and I said I wish them luck, because they need it very badly, poor chaps. But I find that even that hope that I had expressed that it might do their party some good has not been justified. On the contrary the Kamraj Plan in the way the Prime Minister has distorted it by misusing it for other purposes has made things much worse in the Congress Party. There has never been so much hostility among Congress people, never so much mistrust, never so much bitterness, never so much faction fighting, within the ranks of the Central Government, the Union and the State Governments as you see today. You have only got to read what is happening in Kerala and U.P. for a moment to realise that even going to Jaipur and passing resolutions unanimously has'nt done them any good. And so the Kamraj Plan in a way had become the cause of more disruption within the Congress Party. All it has done is, which is a good thing, it has brought all the disruptive forces which were burrowing underground right out into the the open. I think this is good. Because whatever is to happen, let the Indian people watch let the Indian people see what the ruling Party is upto and let them know a little more of the light it sheds. As Gandhiji used to say, 'turn the searchlight inwards.' Now the Congress Party has the searchlight of the Indian public turned on itself. The picture may not be pretty but at least it is educative. Now you think perhaps I may be harsh in saying that Kamraj Plan was distorted, by the person to whom the authority was given to use it. But how else is one understand Mr. Gopala Reddy and Dr. Shrimali being included among the six Cabinet Ministers who resigned so that the Congress Party could be revitalised. Now both of them are very nice people. I happen to like both of them. But neither of them is a Congress organiser, whatever else they are. As somebody put it rather well they are not even distant cousins of the Congress organisation and they are the first to recognise it. That is why they were so horrified when they were given this task of revitalising the Congress.

When nobody had ever suspected they could anything of the kind. Obviously they were dropped because they were not approved of. And that was not what the Kamraj Plan was there for to drop anyone whom the Prime Minister did not like. Similarly Mr. Patil and Mr. Murarji Desai. The fact remains that their removal was demanded on the floor of Parliament in my hearing by the spokesmen of the Communist Party of India. And the Soviet news paper Pravda had endorsed that demand. Now when a foreign Government asks for the removal of two of our Ministers, is this the right time to drop them. Mr. Nehru says that of course his dropping them nothing to do with the Communist demand it was in spite of it. Now if it was all by itself, I would say yes, it is quite possible that you do something in spite of the fact that somebody else whom you don't like asks you to do it. But then this coincidence would be too strong in the background in which it happened. This is not the act of appeasing Khrushchev that has happened in the last few months. There was the going back on the Voice of America agreement solemnly signed with the full approval of the Prime Minister. There was the nomination of Mr. G.M. Sadiq a Communist Party member of many years standing whom the Prime Minister wanted to make the Prime Minister of Kashmir, that very delicate, sensitive strategic spot. Then there is the deletion of the criticism of Marxism that had found its place in the first draft of the resolution on democracy and socialism at Jaipur. This was dropped according to the Times of India because certain governments meaning the Soviet Union who practice or profess Marxism would be annoyed at the criticism of Marxism in the Congress Party's resolution. Now the Communist paper New Age which I received today luckily gives the text of this offending ~~para~~ paragraph which it rejoices was dropped. Let us just see what it contains that was so horrible that it had to be dropped to save the feelings of Khrushchev. It says and this was drafted evidently by Mr. C. Subramanian Minister for Industries in our Government. It said "Democratic Socialism is the objective of the Congress. In achieving this goal of Socialism, the Congress categorically repudiates the philosophy of action based on Marxian philosophy of class war, establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the complete socialisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange." and it goes on to say that in the light of these later developments the Marxism philosophy is out of date and invalid in many respects. If the Congress

Party can't make this theoretical statement about what Karl Marx said a hundred years ago without offending the mighty Khrushchev and the Soviet Government then we begin wonder are we a free country or are we becoming a Soviet Satellite, under our present leadership. What has happened that we worry so much about what Mr. Khrushchev thinks about the resolution of the AICC. This is not even an act of the Indian Government. This is an act of a democratic Indian Party. And they are so scared of the shadow of Khrushchev that they do not want to say a word against Marx because he happens to be Khrushchev's prophet. Now this tends to show that perhaps the removal of Mr. Patil and Mr. Desai is not really unconnected with the demand made by Pravda and the Indian Communist Party in spite of the Prime Minister's denials. If it was so then we must consider the implications of that step. That the composition of the Indian Government is now being decided by somebody sitting in Moscow. If that is so it is a very serious fact which every Indian who wants his country to remain free has to take notice from now on.

The fact is of course that the fight for the succession has started. The night of long knives has started, as a Minister once put it to a friend of mine who told me about a month ago, two months ago before I left. The fight for the succession is between those who want to take over from Mr. Nehru. Among those who want to take over is a small group of Communist fellow travellers led by Mr. Krishna Menon and Mr. K.D. Malaviya., two Ministers who were removed for their misbehaviour while in office, one for neglecting the defence of the country and the other for corrupt practices. Others also are in the field. It reminds me of the state of our history which goes back to the days of the Emperor Shahjahan. You will remember that when the Emperor Shahjahan was getting old and rather feeble a similar fight for the succession started, and the man who was later to be the Emperor Aurangzeb anticipated the event by going and murdering Dara the crown prince or the Shahzada who was going to succeed Shahjahan in due course by constitutional methods. If I may say so, something rather similar is happening today. The Aurangzebs of today are already using the long knives on the Daras of today. Now who are the Aurangzebs and who are the Daras. I would say that the Daras are the legitimate successors to whom in normal course by democratic practice the succession would go. People like Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, people like Mr. Morarji Desai, people like Mr. S.K. Patil and many others. I am only mentioning three names, but

any authentic Congressman who accepts the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, who is a good Indian patriot, and to whom by election this choice would have gone. And who are the Aurangzebs. The Aurangzebs are the Krishna Menons who are around Mr. Nehru and who are trying to behead the normal successors, so that when the time comes the thing might fall into their lap. The only difference between Shahjehan and the present situation is that while Shahjehan loved Dara and mourned his death at the hands of Aurangzeb who made him a prisoner in due course our present Shahjehan seems to be helping the Aurangzebs to destroy the Daras. That is the only difference in this picture. And so we had this pathetic spectacle at Jaipur of a lot of mice and only one man and that one man was Mahavir Tyagi. If there was one member of the AICC who thought and said exactly what was in his mind and what everyone was thinking it was my old friend Mahavir Tyagi. Except for that there was either guilty silence or there was servile talk. If any businessman here, and there are many businessmen here no doubt think that they should rely on these broken reeds of what is called the Congress right wing to fight the taking over of the Congress by Communists and the taking of our country by Communists I hope they have now realised they are wasting their time. These are good friends of mine, they are good people, but let us be quite clear. None of them have the guts to stand up to the Prime Minister. They are all waiting for him to go. Now that is all right in the times of a Moghul emperor or a Czar to wait for the Czar to go but if I may say so that is not democracy. People in Germany did not wait for Adeneaur to go, people in England did'nt wait for Macmillan to die. They removed them. When they found that they were not desirable leaders of the country they displaced them and put other people whom they thought were better. ~~But~~ And the democratic, the homest way is not to wait for people to go but to say 'you are not good for the country' we want a change. And they do it by democratic methods by the Ruling Party or by an election where the people of the country change the Party in power. As it may happen in England next year or in other countries later. So it seems to me that if the leaders of our business community still like to go on sitting on the fence and wait for the non-Marxists in the Congress to assert themselves I would plead with them being practical people to consider whether the record so far shows if these gentlemen are going to deliver the goods. The Prime Minister alleges that the issue between him and on one side and his domestic opponents or critics on

the other is that of socialism. And you will remember that while a month ago when I was in America I read his statement made after Mr. Patil's Calcutta speech that those who don't believe in socialism should leave the Congress. Now it seems to me that the Prime Minister very deliberately is trailing a red herring across the trail, to divert attention from the real issue. Socialism is not an issue as an economic issue at all. If socialism is the issue and Mr. Morarji Desai is to be asked to leave because he does'nt believe in socialism then I must recall that Mr. Morarji Desai never showed any reluctance to agree to socialist measures. His Super Profits Tax, his Gold Control Order, his compulsory savings scheme and many other measures for which unfortunately he made himself responsible were as much socialism as anyone asked for, including the so-called Marxists in the Congress and the Prime Minister. Then why did he have to go. Why could'nt he survive. Because that was not the issue. The issue as I said was the issue of succession. Are the Daras to succeed or the Aurangzebs. And he happened to be a Dara and not an Aurangzeb. That was the real issue.

Now I read on the placards here that on the 14th of November there is going to be a meeting where the main and the only speaker is going to be Mr. Krishna Menon. I called him a crypto-Communist in Parliament and he objected saying 'why call me a crypto-Communist'. Well then if he prefers it I will call him a Communist. Which is what he really is. I was only being a little polite. That man, this guilty man who has led India to disaster and defeat who if the NEFA Enquiry Committee report was published would be banished from public life of any decent kind. He is not only going to speak on that day but its a crying shame that the Chief Minister of this State is going to preside at a meeting addressed by this man. All humility I say this I am surprised that any patriotic person should want to appear on the same platform with that man, who has done this to our country. This is all part of the campaign to rehabilitate this man so that some day he can be smuggled back into the Cabinet. However inspite of these dangers which I am putting before you so that you might be aware of them I think that what has happened in the last two months and what is happening is to be welcomed., on balance. Because, as I said, it is highly educative of public opinion. People are having their eyes opened. People are learning things. Let me give some hopeful signs, why I say that inspite of this very serious threat to the security of the State and the freedom of our country there are hopeful signs. There is a sign for

instance that many Congressmen are realising that this Congress Party as at present constituted is never going to be cured or purified. Mr. Patil said that sometime ago and I see that in Jaipur Mr. Morarji Desai also conceded that perhaps the Congress Party cannot be purified or cured without an electoral defeat. If I may say so, Rajaji and some of us had come to that conclusion exactly four years ago. And that is why we formed the Swatantra Party. If we could have found as old Congressmen that the Congress Party could be saved inspite of itself we would not have taken that step. But we had come to the bitter conclusion that there was just no hope on this Party unless it was brought out of office first. I am quite prepared to believe that the people who make up the Congress Party will be a good Party, provided they have been in the wilderness for five years. I am perfectly happy if they come back after five years of purification. But I think these two gentlemen have put their finger on the spot. That unless they are thrown out of office first by the people of India there is no hope for them. The disease has gone beyond repair. And the fact that these people are coming to the same conclusion is a very interesting and a very helpful thought. Then again the fact remains that what has been happening in the various States. The Congress Party in various States shows that for the first time there is a free flow of different elements. The dictats of the High Command is no longer accepted without question. Let me report to you that in Gujarat the Government has changed to the obvious distaste of the Prime Minister; in U.P. the Prime Minister's nominee was soundly thrashed and a person who was not at all acceptable to him was made Chief Minister. The same thing happened in Bihar and above all it happened in Kashmir, where his Communist nominee ignominiously had to retire from the field and an honest-to-God National Congerence man was elected Prime Minister though nobody had heard his name till then. Now these are interesting things. They never happened befor in the Cingress Party in the last fifteen years. Another thing that's interesting is the Kairon case. Now the case of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon was the result of a Spreme Court Judgement indicting the Chief Minister of the Punjab of gross misuse of his position forced the Prime Minister into agreeing to a judicial enquiry into his conduct. As we saw from the statement issued by the Prime Minister it brome his heart to do so and even while referring the case to the Judge he went out of his way to pay gracious compliments to this great gentleman. One of the things that Mr. Nehru has said about Kairon is that he should'nt be judged

because he never had the chance to appear before a Court. and to defend himself. Now as it happens, the Supreme Court has something to say about it. The Supreme Court does not seem to share the Prime Minister's view. It says in the first part of the judgement, the three judges who passed the majority judgement say certain things when making this observation "We had in mind the fact that the Chief Minister as well as Mrs. Kairon against whom allegations have been made have not chosen to state on oath the true facts according to them." In other words they deliberately shirked going into the witness box and defending their characterers. This is what the Supreme Court says. Therefore this alibi that the poor man had no chance to defend himself obviously is not based on facts even on the judgement of the Supreme Court. The fact that the Prime Minister of India has to go out of his way in this matter to protect a wrong-door which he did also in the case of K.D. Malaviya. Which he also did in the case of Krishna Menon by suppressing the report of the NEFA Enquiry Committee. I believe that if that report were to be published what I am saying here would be this that Mr. Kannammawar would not dare to go on the platform on the 14th November. That report has been suppressed from the Indian people and parliament because it will be enough to blast the character of this man for the rest of his life. So, why are these guilty men being ~~xxx~~ shielded by our Prime Minister. And if this is so then it raises the question Can this country hope for clean and efficient government so long as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remains the Prime Minister of India. Each one of you I ask you to consider this question and give your own answer. As far as I can see Mr. Nehru represents the dead hand of the past which will prevent the Congress from purifying itself.

This morning we saw a despatch from the Times of India correspondent in Hong Kong, a very honest journalist called Sudhakar Bhat whose articles and despatches you must have been reading over the last few years or months. He has revealed that Mr. Nehru behind the back of the Indian people and parliament secretly made a promise or commitment to Chou-en-Lai through Mrs. Bandarnaike as far back as January that the Indian troops would not advance to the NEFA line from which they had been thrown back provided Chou-en-Lai saved his face by public saying that the Chinese Government had no objection. In other words as the despatch says, he gave up the so that
there

The Prime Minister has in Parliament said more than once that is a decision for the military to take. Mr. Sudhakar Bhat's despatch makes perfectly clear that the military had nothing to do with it. That the real reason was that our troops could not advance inspite of Mr. Chou-en-Lai's gracious permission given in public is that that the Prime Minister had kindly agreed not to do so. So the old pattern of hiding things from the Indian people which practised in Aksai chin for four years, hiding the facts of Chinese communist aggression from the Indian people and parliament are being repeated again. The whole pattern of appeasement of Communist China of the guilty appeasement of Communist China persists. There is a side of developments in the last few months which is more encouraging and that is the recent statements made by Government spokesmen on economic policy. While I was away the Gold Control Order was liberalised and the Compulsory savings scheme was dropped. Certainly two things that all of us could welcome. And there is no denying that the new note of realism has crept into government's economic announcements in the last few two months. Take for instance the fact the Finance Minister. Those of you who heard his broadcast on the AIR which I read outside India on paper must admit that its a very sensible practical pragmatic statement. And if that policy statement is carried out I think there is hope for the economic development of our country. Similarly the Prime Minister also has made several very sensible and reasonable statements in the last two months. He went out of his way to criticise the National Planning Commission, for being a parallel government, for being a beaurocracy for acting as a dilatory machinery. All the criticisms Rajaji, Ranga and I have been making for four years now the Prime Minister has started repeating. As if this was something that he had discovered for himself. But who was responsible for that. Mr. Nehru is presiding over the National Planning Commission.

He commits these faults for four years, ten years and there he says yes this is all wrong and somebody else is doing this. Similarly is the case for an Ombudsman. This Swedish Ombudsman was discovered by Rajaji and ourselves in the Swatantra Party and put it in our programme in 1959. Four years later we are happy to find that Mr. Nehru also wants an Ombudsman to go into these malpractices. Very good. He also made a correct, a very fundamental choice, that agriculture must take priority over large scale industry. I said that on the

floor of Parliament on 19th August and about four days Mr. Nehru said "I cannot imagine how any intelligent man can say that agriculture must take priority over steel." I am very glad that in two months Mr. Nehru has also forfeited his intelligence along with me and joined the ranks of these stupid people who talk such nonsense. I am delighted. At the same time the question arises how seriously can we take all this talk. There are two ways of looking at it. I would like to look at it this way that our policies were sound our propaganda has told the pressure of the Swatantra Party has brought some economic realism into the thinking of government. That is what I would like to believe. Because it is very flattering ... But being in politics for thirty years I am also a little cautious. I would like to see how serious this talk is. And I think the only way of testing it is to judge by action. Let us watch. Let us give them twelve months to show how much of all this talk is to be taken seriously. Let the people judge by actions not by professions. And I would suggest that the acid test by which you can judge the sincerity of all this talk. Let the present Government withdraw the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, which threatens the small farm of the small Khedut the ryot, in Gujarat, Maharashtra Mysore and some others in the South. Not the zamindar but the small farm the ½ acre, 2 acre farm of the small Khedut. The threat to take it away without compensation which is what the law says. If they withdraw this atrocious bill and give the peasant some sense of security to let him produce more. They say agriculture must be helped. To prove that they want agriculture to be helped is to remove this law, this Damocles Sword that they are threatening with the Bill. And all talk of Joint Farming or Collective must go. The peasant must be made to feel that the land is his and will remain his, for hundreds of years to come as it has remained with his forefathers for thousands. Secondly this mad ambition of putting up four more steel plants in the State sector in the next two years must be abandoned. I don't mind six plants or ten plants of steel. Let us realise our resources are limited. We can't have the ^{also} given to us free. If we could do it I would ^{also} like to have sixteen plants in addition to all the plants in the country. But we got limited resources. We have got to cut our coat according to our cloth. We simply cannot rehabilitate our agriculture and at the same time put four steel plants. That is exactly our point. If we say that agriculture must take priority over big favorites which Mr. Nehru has been repeatedly saying for the last

one month now. Then the first thing to say is no more steel plants till agriculture is put on its feet. Otherwise frankly all this talk will amount to very little. And finally let the Super Profits Tax be withdrawn in the next budget and let the excessive taxation both direct and indirect which is freezing incentives to production be removed. If this is done, I would say good. Then our government is on the right track of economic policy. But if this is not done then I am afraid all this talk will prove to be a move to soothe public indignation, the ruffled feeling of the public which found their reflection in the results of the by-elections in Rajkot, Farrukhabad, Amroha and Dohad. And if it means nothing more than that then to soothe people and lull them into a false sense of complacency and security. I am keeping an open mind and I think you should all keep an open mind. It is always good to put a positive interpretation of what is happening. And I am very happy to read these statements of the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister. And in view of the record of Mr. Nehru we will all have to watch. And so I come to my conclusion that in the absence of adequate character and courage among the members of the Congress Party to change their own leadership as they themselves want to do the burden of leading the people unfortunately falls on the shoulders of the Opposition parties. It is they who will have to give the lead and set the pace. And if they do it jointly, if they do it together, if the democratic opposition parties maintain their unity of action that they achieved during the Rajkot, Amroha, Farrukhabad and Dohad elections and the motion of no-confidence in parliament last session then I think they can do it and the country will follow.

I was in Rajkot on Saturday and Sunday and I asked everyone I can across "How do you people here feel about the change of people in Delhi and the change of the regime in Ahmedabad. And I was very interested to find that that they all said "No change the same old fellows again, the same gang". There is no change. And I said to myself I am very proud to be a member of such a mature constituency that I did not expect it. I thought that half the people would say yes Balwantrao is not good and the other half to say we love Rasiklal and we are heart broken that he is gone, of course no one says, that, in Rajkot. But the fact was that nobody was at all responsive to the change of personnel either in Delhi or in Ahmedabad. ~~But~~ They just said nothing had happened. It is the same as before. As the French had. The more it changes, the more it is the same thing. And this is exactly what every one from Rajkot from Newspaper editors to small m

in the streets said to me when I asked them what they made of these changes. That was a mature reaction. And that is a kind of reaction that cheered me, These are days of confusion and troubled times And I think what is required of our own is a clear mind and clarity of thought. Dr. Ludwig Erhard, the new Chancellor of Germany a kind of intellectual uncle of the Swatantra Party because when we framed our programme in 1959 we drew very heavily on Dr. Erhard's philosophy and his practice which is responsible for the German miracle he quoted Goethe the great German thinker poet and philisopher when he took office as Chancellor a few week ago. And I would like to quote to you, this appeared in Time magazine of October 25 if you want to get hold of it, he quoted this words from Goethe he said: "For in these unsettled times the man whose mind is unsettled
liking".