

potent manner, only as a go-between, to bring the two camps together to carry on their endless and meaningless discussions.

The whole atmosphere of the Conference is therefore bound to remain unrealistic and uncertain throughout and charged with mutual fear and illwill, unless and until Russia is made to realise convincingly that the Free World is determined to call her bluff of Atomic superiority. President Kennedy was in a way justified in expressing America's firm determination to resume Atomic Tests in the atmosphere in April next for sound military and scientific reasons, if by that time Russia does not see her way to sign a reasonable Disarmament Treaty with proper international inspection and control. This one bold act on the part of U.S. fully supported by Britain more than these conferences will surely tend to act as an effective deterrent on the aggressive designs of Russia and her satellites and to create a healthy world climate for total Disarmament and world peace and also safeguard the interests of the Free and Democratic World.

THE CHINESE PUZZLE

With the intriguing and mysterious policies followed by the Government of India in regard to Chinese aggression on India, this question has almost become a Chinese puzzle. For years together, the public was kept in the dark about the invasion of our territory by China till the news was given publicity by some adventurous and

courageous newspapers and compelling pressure was brought to bear on the Government by some members of the opposition party in the Parliament. At first the facts were haltingly admitted but the magnitude of the invasion of our territory was sought to be minimised. The Government has always appeared in this regard to be suffering from a guilty conscience. Otherwise one could not explain Government's conduct in giving out the news of fresh Chinese incursions into our territory only after the recent general elections were over, though the events had occurred much earlier.

'Panchashila Agreement' between China and India has thus become a dead letter. But Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon the chief architects of our policies towards China would not own this plain fact. "Invasions" came to be described as "incursions", large chunks of territory occupied by China turned out to be, in the eyes of Mr. Menon, "unadministered territories". An atmosphere for "negotiate, negotiate, negotiate", which as Mr. Nehru emphasised was the basic principle underlying his policies towards China, was in this manner steadily created and assiduously kept up. Then came the Elections. Goa mock heroics were staged and an impression was created on the voters' minds that the next turn for military action on the part of the Indian Government would be that of China. These deceptive utterances together with the Goa affair, brought Mr. Menon overwhelming victory in Bombay North Elections. Thereafter at once the tone of the Government of India changed. Mr. Menon began, immediately after the elections, expressing his confidence in being able to settle the border question with China by peaceful negotiations. The U.S.A. journal "Washington Post" in the meantime made an astounding revelation that Mr. Nehru would agree to lease out that part of 1200 kilometre Askai Chin Road built by the Chinese from Yecheng in South Western Sinkiang to Gartog in south Western Tibet which passes through Indian territory, provided India's sovereignty over the Chinese occupied Indian area was acknowledged by the Chinese. Mr. Nehru has denied this statement attributed to him. But one cannot get away from the impression that some such proposal from our side has been in the air. The Prime Minister has not categorically declared that the Government would never contemplate yielding to the Chinese claim to use the Askai Chin Road. Anyhow, this kite-flying on the part of Mr. Nehru or his illustrious Defence Minister on such a vital issue as the security and integrity of India's Northern border, is disgraceful in the extreme and cannot be too strongly condemned.

GOA'S INTEGRATION WITH INDIA

Goa's integration with India under the Constitution Amendment Bill adopted with acclama-

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tion from all parties in the Lok Sabha on March 14, 1962, opens a new chapter in the life of Goa and her people after her long and tortuous foreign subjection of about four centuries. Goa with Daman and Diu islands are now full-pledged political components of the Indian Union and for the time being, will constitute a centrally administered area. The pro-Portuguese denationalised elements in the Goa's body-politic who are in a hopeless minority, at first agitated for an independent status for Goa, but on finding that by making this demand they might be suspect in the eyes of the Goan patriots and the Government of India, they are now emphasising the separateness of Goa from the neighbouring regions of the Indian Union in almost everything, language, culture, etc. so that in the fullness of time they might stir up trouble in that territory with the help of foreigners as in Nagaland.

The Union Government should be therefore wary and watchful about these mischievous and dangerous moves of a small section of the people. They must not fall a prey to the anti-Indian propaganda carried on by these anti-national elements in Goan society, in the name of Konkani language, culture and religion. The majority of the Goans whether Hindus, Christians or Moslems, it cannot be emphasised too strongly, have the same manners, customs and forms of worship as the rest of their brethren spread all over the Konkani sea-coast, stretching from Daman-Ganga river in the Thana district to the North Bombay up to the Gangavali river to the south of Goa and Karwar. The people inhabiting this area are called Konkani and they speak different Konkani dialects. The Goan Konkani is only one such dialect and all of them are all inter-related and closely allied to Marathi which is the only cultural language of Konkani region.

It will thus be seen that it is only these few persons taught to speak even at home Portuguese from their childhood and lost to this common Indian heritage in respect of language and culture who are now loudly clamouring for Goa's independent status or if this is not feasible, at least for the status for a separate State within the limits of the Indian Constitution. This section needs to be re-educated into the common pattern of life of the Konkani people spread over the whole Konkani littoral.

As for the political future of Goa, it is inseparably linked up with the Konkani coastal region which consists of Thana, Alibaug, Kolaba, and Ratnagiri districts and Goa and Karwar Konkani regions. We therefore welcome Goa's integration with India as the first step in this direction. The next step would have to be taken, that is of complete merger of Goa with Konkani when, administratively and politically, she is ripe for being incorporated with this neighbouring region.

HERE AND THERE

Dr. Lohia describes Nehruism as the combination of capitalism and communism which inevitably combines the evils of both the systems. That is why the Swatantra Party has posed the problem before the country in the form of Democratic Capitalism versus Communist Capitalism.

A correspondent asks why the film stars so innocent of politics played such a significant role in North Bombay Electoral contest on behalf of Krishna Menon. To our mind there are many probable answers. Promise of such titles as Padma Bhushan and Padma Shri from the Government and other kinds of governmental patronage may be one of them. But the most convincing answer seems to be that the film actors wanted to pay their heart-felt tribute to Krishna Menon's God Father Mr. Nehru, who on his own admission, is "the greatest actor on the world stage".

Addressing a public meeting at Delhi Lal Bahadur Shastri referred to the Swatantra's success in Rajasthan and Bihar and said, if some former Rulers organised themselves into a political party and tried to advocate programmes which stood in the country's progress, it became a concern for all. But Mr. Shastri failed to enlighten the audience when the Indian Constitution deprived these Rulers of the Freedom of Association and Combination even for political purposes. Does it mean that the former Rulers have only the right to join one political organisation, that is, the Congress, which is the present ruling party and no other?

Replying to the Rajya Sabha debate on the President's Address, Prime Minister Nehru brushed aside the charge that the present Planned development of the country was making the poor poorer, but he accepted as partly true the allegation that the rich were getting richer. The phenomenon was, he explained, one of the results of planning. Which means that the poor are so poor that they cannot become poorer than what they are, under the present Planning. Then at whose cost are the rich getting richer? At the cost of Nehru-forsaken and God-forsaken middle class — petty shopkeepers, small businessmen, Government employees, clerks, small landholders, intelligentsia and technicians?

HEARD IN TOWN

Mr. Menon says the Congress never allowed its election campaign to descend to the level of "dog fight".

Oh, yes, there never was a dirty Congress leaflet on the Maharani of Jaipur.

Nor any business firm's pro-Menon advertisement for preventing India's re-enslavement by the West.

— Thought

The Crucial Years Ahead

(Post-Election problems)

M. A. Venkata Rao

The Prime Minister is right in expressing satisfaction with the results of the general elections. The post-election scene is indeed satisfactory for the Congress party and has continued lease of power to its supreme leader. Though the Congress party has failed to secure a clear majority only in two states viz: Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, it has won clear majorities in all other states. And in the Lok Sabha it has been returned with only a slightly reduced strength which yet leaves it with its command of a two-thirds majority. This will enable it to continue to look upon the Constitution as "expedient" and to make a dead letter of the rule of law if the Constitution stands in its way of realising socialism.

It was hoped in many quarters that the Congress would have been deprived of the power of amending the Constitution on its sole strength without the assent and co-operation of opposition parties in the Lok Sabha. This hope has been dashed to the ground by the results of the poll.

That means that the country has to live with the present pattern of policies and drives dominating the administration and that the present discontent cannot find relief in the next five years.

Indeed the cumulative effect of current policies (by way of Soviet type Five Year Plans, unscrupulous extravagance in expenditure, wastes in public sector undertakings, confusion of party and government, the trend towards the expansion of the public sector, reliance on "road-roller" majorities to ignore and thwart public opinion, the utter intolerance of alternative suggestions and so on) is bound to worsen the position of the common man all round and intensify popular discontent.

The only redeeming feature in the post-election scene is the entry of the Swatantra party in significant numbers, if not in decisive strength, into the Lok Sabha and several state assemblies like Gujarat, Bihar, Orissa (through coalescence with the Ganatantra Parishad), and Rajasthan, Andhra and Mysore.

It is the leading opposition party in several states.

It is a pity that the leading personalities of the party — Messrs. Masani, Ranga, Hegde and Lobo Prabhu who took a big part in evolving a viable alternative pattern of principles and policies will not be in the legislatures.

Discussion will have to be led by second rank personalities, which is an opportunity for them to distinguish themselves but a loss to debate and the opposition cause.

The Jana Sangh has strengthened its position in the North. It is the leading opposition in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh and has some influence in Rajasthan and the Punjab.

It had taken a sizable part in focussing public opinion in regard to the catastrophic failure of the Government vis-a-vis Chinese and Pakistanese aggression. It had also taken a notable part in arousing public opinion in regard to the disintegrating policies of the administration in the matter of admission of students to schools and colleges and of the reservation of places in the administrative services in accord with communities whose numbers swelled into hundreds! Groupism among Congress ministers (and would be ministers) and the administration's "divide and rule policy" to secure the hegemony of the ruling party had also worked havoc with the tone of public life and the morale of the services.

The role of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon as defence minister as the principal aide of the Prime Minister in foreign affairs, as delegate in the UNO International conferences and negotiations had also roused widespread suspicion and anxiety among informed sections of the people.

But the bulk of the electorate is ignorant and illiterate to whom the vital issues that make or mar the fortunes of the nation in domestic and foreign affairs are unintelligible. They are "as music to the buffalo" to the minds of the vast masses of the country!

Nehru and his trusted lieutenants live and move and have their being in a vast no-man's land (between the masses and the small upper strata of informed citizens) against a canvass of Gandhian legend and myth that gives them a gigantic stature (like epic heroes) in the imagination of the people.

Public criticism moves between two worlds — one unborn and the other ineffective. Mass public opinion is unborn and minority criticism is as ineffective as the beating of angels' wings in the void!

Sound ideas fail to have an impact on the rulers as they do not clothe themselves with the force of the people's intelligent consent.

During the recent elections, the present writer found that the bulk of the ignorant workers and peasants had only a fixed idea of Congress. The existence of other parties and the possibility of other groups of leaders taking power to displace the Congress of Gandhi and Nehru had not entered their heads at all!

They were satisfied with the explanation of Congress that present high prices and other upsetting factors were due to natural causes and that Congress was mitigating them by offering higher wages to sufferers!

New ideas do not find an entry into uneducated minds. The propaganda of rival parties

was dismissed as the uncooperative ambition of new men seeking power for themselves and a share in the loot!

What then should we do?

And what can we expect from the opposition which now has been augmented by the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties in many States in the North and in the Lok Sabha?

What can be done and be expected of the opposition leaders in the legislatures and outside depends on their estimate of the issues that demand urgent attention, issues that (if not controlled by opposition forces) may well prove crucial to the fortunes of the country.

The Prime Minister is right in saying that the next five years will be crucial for the destiny of the country but in a sense the opposite of what he had in mind!

They will be crucial in the sense that the country's fate may be determined as a satellite of Soviet Russia (though we hate to utter the thought) if the prime minister's infatuation with socialism and communism is given free scope without let or hindrance.

So far as parliamentary dispositions are concerned, they will have free and decisive scope as the Congress has secured two-thirds majority to enable them to twist and (mis) shape the Constitution to favour their socialism and other commitments in ideology.

In addition to the leaders of the parliamentary opposition (Swatantra and Jana Sangh) vigilantly mustering their forces of argument and persuasive eloquence to check the disastrous policies of government, they and their followers should aid and support critical forces in the country. They should be the spearhead of an organised effort throughout the vast country to educate the general public in the dangerous consequences of present policies, both internal and external.

They should use the press and platform to the fullest extent. Pamphleteering should be stepped up. The Swatantra party has made a good beginning with their informative folders and booklets.

Mass demonstrations expressing genuine grievances should also be occasionally organised to mobilise public opinion in an effective way. They appeal to the imagination and stir the feelings which favour the grasp of ideas. A condition of interest is essential for ideas to be received with alacrity by the public.

The stark fact may be noted that the entire case of opposition against government monopolies in industry and commerce, against suppression of private enterprise in chosen occupations, against the need for free economy to preserve democracy, against the encroachment of the government into fundamental rights in pursuance of state economy, against the present type of expropriatory land reforms, against interference with the judi-

ciary and against the intimidation of the press and so on—has failed to make any impression on the mass electorate!

The failure of valid criticism to defeat Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in the North Bombay constituency in spite of the valiant efforts of Mr. J. B. Kripalani assisted as he was by a combine of the PSP, Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties and (even by a bold group of Congressmen led by Mr. Ramakrishna Bajaji who resigned from Congress for the purpose of opposing Menon) is a decisive symbol of the gulf between the electorate and middle and upper class opinion and organisations.

It is a decisive indication that Nehru and Menon will now feel free to go on with reinforced conviction and dogmatism and indifference to public opinion with their pro-communist policies.

It is not without meaning that the communist party journal *The New Age* wrote during the Menon-Kripalani contest that the communist march is necessary to guide the Congress elephant!

This simile gives us in a nutshell the communist policy of infiltration into Congress which will no doubt be more resolutely spear-headed by Menon (and supported by Nehru).

This was the dream of the communist party ever since it was founded through the efforts of Mr. M. N. Roy and others with the financial and ideological assistance of Moscow.

The opposition has to make a special point of exposing this game of the communists in all its ruthless intent.

Communist policies of further liquidation of property like the nationalisation of banks, of the plantations (whether owned by foreigners or Indians) will no doubt be adopted by Congress and should be resisted with grim thoroughness.

The caution about land reforms and co-operation of holdings expressed in the Congress manifesto will now be thrown to the winds. The opposition should resist this communist plot with knowledge and determination, using the occasion for a sound programme of widespread information about the loss of freedom to the peasant involved in collectivisation.

Meanwhile a special study must be made of the erosion into the liberties of the press that has taken place so far. The "murder" of civil liberties by the Punjab government in suppressing the Akali agitation and by the Assam government in regard to the Bengali-Assamese conflict should be thoroughly investigated by independent constitutional jurists and the results made known on the widest scale.

The failure of opposition opinion to make an impression on the electorate sets the problem to their leaders and independent citizens to devise new and more effective measures to save the nation.

Information Vs Ignorance

By M. N. THOLAL

Addressing the concluding session of the UN Seminar on Freedom of Information Mr. Nehru declared himself once again in favour of freedom of expression, saying that the more of it there was in the world, the better it would be for it. He was all for the so-called right and the so-called wrong coming out together in the open. He might have added that the refusal to the so-called wrong to come in the open is an indication of a guilty conscience and an indirect admission that it is not so-called wrong that is in the wrong, but the so-called right.

The Prime Minister was of course right when he said freedom could not operate in the same way in advanced and under-developed countries. He might have gone farther and said that freedom cannot operate satisfactorily at all in under-developed countries, in some of which even today the craving for the freedom to partake of fellow being's flesh may be said to persist. The craving for freedom to murder fellowmen, without the desire to eat them, can hardly be considered far superior to the former. To prevent both these types of freedom operating, it is obviously necessary, as Mr. Nehru emphasised, to develop the quality of tolerance, which is a sign of culture and civilisation.

But the question which arises from Mr. Nehru's observations and which Mr. Nehru did not answer, is whether tolerance is to be promoted to such an extent as to make people tolerate the intolerant. Perhaps he was referring to this question when he said, before one could be tolerant, it was necessary to know what others' views and opinions were. Perhaps he meant to say that there should be no toleration of cannibalism and other forms of genocide, irrespective of the destination of the bodies of the victims. To advocate the toleration of the intolerant is to be the latter's fellow-traveller. For, the moment the intolerant come into power, that moment the light of tolerance goes out for ever, if the intolerant can help it. The advocacy of tolerance has, therefore, to go side by side with the determination not to extend it to intolerance, in the interest of the cause of tolerance itself. For, tolerance is not an end but a means to the free life.

Take, for example, Cuba. People blame the USA for trying to interfere in the affairs of Cuba. They ask, has it not the right to go Communist? But, in the first instance, who has gone Communist? Not certainly the people of Cuba who are denied elections. So the coterie who is interfer-

ing in the affairs of Cuba is not the ruling circle of the USA but Castro and his friends. A democrat would, indeed, be inclined to go farther and say that even if the people of Cuba were to go Red in a moment of madness, their neighbours have a right to prevent it, on the principle of not tolerating the intolerant. When Soviet Russia marched her tanks into Hungary in 1956 to impose a particular type of Government on the people of Hungary, the Western Powers did not interfere, because according to the agreements reached at Teheran and Potsdam, Hungary came into the sphere of Soviet Russia. But in respect of Cuba the USSR apparently wants her sphere of influence extended right upto the shores of the USA. In every sphere Russia has been pursuing the policy of "Heads I win; tails you lose". But does it behove those who consider themselves neutral and non-aligned to line up with Russia against the USA in respect of Cuba on the plea of non-interference with other people's affairs? Who is the primary offender in the matter of interfering with other people's affairs in Cuba? If the government of Cuba is an affair of a majority of the people of Cuba, and of nobody else, obviously Castro and his clique, who are imposing their rule on the people, are primary offenders. The very fact that elections have been set aside for ever in Cuba proves it.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Mr. Nehru also said it was possible for freedom of information to be misused if the media of mass communication were monopolised by a wealthy section of the people to distort information. This may be, or at least can be taken to be, a reference to newspaper proprietors. Communists and Socialists are constantly referring to this disadvantage to their cause arising from the newspapers being almost a monopoly of industrial magnates. But they forget, and so do their listeners and dupes, that, although the newspaper proprietors are generally conservative, members of the editorial staff are generally Leftists, particularly the sub-editors who give the headlines and make up the pages. Every one knows that these headlines exercise a far greater influence on readers than leading articles and editorial notes, which are not ever read by the vast majority of readers.

It is worthwhile adding here that some of these sub-editors are among the most ignorant people on earth, so far as facts are concerned, and the Leftist slant they give to the news they sub-edit (through their headlines) has no relation to major facts which they do not even care to re-

member, though it is certainly part of their duty to do so. This holds true of India today, even as it was true of undivided India, and there is no reason to suppose that things in Burma and Ceylon are any different. So even when a media of mass communication is monopolized by a wealthy section of the people, that monopoly is shared to a very considerable extent by representatives of the Left who often distort information to the advantage of those for whose benefit the paper could not have been started.

This is a kind of sabotage the newspaper proprietors are unable to prevent, mainly because they do not understand the intricacies of journalism, and, being themselves ignorant of the major facts of international importance, are unable to pinpoint where and how the sub-editors err. In fact, it would be true to say that the newspaper proprietors in India do not understand their jobs. If they did, they would not allow their minor employees to play ducks and drakes with the policy they want their editors to follow, and remain content with the fact that in the editorial columns, read hardly by one percent of the readers, their views are being faithfully reflected supposing of course that they insist on that much, which is not always the case. The net result is that while the wealthy section foots the bill, the benefit often accrues to their opposite numbers. That would not be anything to cavil at, if the latter were not also misled in the process by Leftist slogans finding their way surreptitiously in newspaper headlines.

I once found myself leader-writer on international affairs on a daily owned by a multi-millionaire, where some of my fellow-assistants were Leftists. They represented to the Editor that by giving expression to my views I was practically laying down the policy of the paper, which no single member of the editorial staff had the right to do, and it would be much better if the subject were discussed by the editorial staff before I wrote on it. The Editor asked me if I had any objection, and I replied, "None at all". So the very next day there was a meeting to discuss what the editorial opinion should be on some major event of international importance which had been front-paged in that morning's issue.

My Leftist colleagues had evidently come prepared with their pro-Leftist views and they gave full expression to them. When they had finished, the Editor looked at me, saying, "Yes, Mr. Tholal, do you agree with your colleagues?" I said my colleagues might not be aware of it, but they are evidently for scrapping the Teheran and the Potsdam agreements in which it was agreed that Before I could finish the sentence my colleagues shamefacedly turned their faces away from the Editor and slunk away. In the pindrop silence of astonishment that followed I did not

finish my statement of the case. The first (and last) meeting of the editorial board had adjourned sine die.

DANGEROUS FRANCHISE

So we see that the misuse of the media of mass communication by the wealthy has its deterrents—very effective deterrents—but there are no deterrents where the people are uneducated and can be easily misled. The only deterrent is education, but that for years to come is beyond the reach of the multitude, as things are in India and other undeveloped countries, and access to sources of information cannot be profitably provided to the uneducated. The recent general elections have proved how easily the ignorant can be misled.

Mr. Nehru said, exercise of the people's franchise would be "limited" if they do not have access to all sources of information, or if they were not educated enough and did not know how to make use of the media of information. There is no question of "if" in India at least, for both the factors are there for all to see—i. e., lack of access to all sources of information, due to a large extent to lack of education resulting in the inability to make use of the media of information. It is not quite clear what Mr. Nehru meant by saying that exercise of the franchise under the circumstances would be "limited". If people can be driven like herds of cattle or flock to the polling booth, without understanding the issue at stake, their exercise of the franchise would not be limited—as has not been—but positively dangerous. Indeed, under the circumstances prevailing in the country, the more limited the exercise of the franchise by the ignorant is, the better for her. The point is that the negative aspects referred to by Mr. Nehru do not make for limited exercise of the franchise by the people. They only render it dangerous. But since the dangerous has proved profitable to the Congress and Mr. Nehru, he is loth to condemn it. One cannot possibly expect Mr. Nehru to agree with President Ayub in his reference to our people being driven like herds of cattle to the polling booths, particularly when they are heard shouting "Jawaharlal Nehru-ki-Jai". The time for condemnation will come when they shout somebody else's "Jai"!

It is exhilarating to find Mr. Nehru, who kept the Chinese invasion of the country a closely-guarded secret for five years, lecturing on the necessity of the people having access to all-sources of information. It may well be that Mr. Nehru has not been able to forget the deliberate lapse, and is finding the guilt complex irrepressible. Hence the need of lecturing on the same to others!

Watchman, What Of The Night?

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu I.C.S. (Retd)

The results announced so far indicate an overwhelming majority of the Congress, at least 75% in Parliament and 60% in the State Assemblies. What is more distressing is first that the Communists will be the leaders of the Opposition in Parliament and second that other parties have all lost their leaders. Without Kripalani, Ranga and Masani (who did not contest) the little that intelligent opposition was able to achieve will be missed. On the other hand, as the leading opposition, the Communists alone will be able to obtain concessions from the ruling party. Broadly, the result will be One Party Rule, with a definite inclination to Communism, not only from the existing commitments of the Congress for which the election results will be regarded as a mandate, but also from the greater pressure the Communists will be able to exert from their leadership of the opposition and support from comrade Menon.

The consequences are difficult to foresee. The optimists may like to predict that from its very strength the Congress will develop internal tensions by the law of life that every organism contains elements of balance. A split may develop among those returned but how quickly will depend largely on Nehru. His is a split personality, one half with a consciousness of the values of freedom, which he sees flourishing in Western countries, the other half with a compulsion to register quick improvement of the masses, which he is led to believe can only be by communist methods. If only he could get time to see the results of these methods to the extent they have been introduced, for instance in State Enterprises on one hand and Cooperative experiments on the other, he may swing round to Competitive methods, atleast as between rich producers, which would be to the benefit of the masses, a distinction which he has so far failed to see. The question however is whether Nehru, with all his power, is a free agent because of his own needs and loyalties. Krishna Menon with his known communist affiliations has won a victory, of which the moral effect on Nehru even more than on the Congress Party may lead even to a greater increase in the power of a brother near the throne. Krishna Menon must think of succeeding and may even think of supplanting Nehru atleast by taking a greater part in the direction of the affairs of the country. A very important task therefore is to educate Nehru about himself so that what he once held dear, does not turn out to be ashes before his eyes.

Democracy will be the first casualty because a brute majority will make the government con-

temptuous of criticism in the legislatures and outside. This tendency already present will be accentuated to the point that on one hand, the opposition and on the other, the public will lose interest in parliamentary debates, Parliament becoming at best an organ for declaration of official policies and at worst a debating society flogging a foregone conclusion.

The second casualty will be the Constitution. With more than the two third majority prescribed, the Constitution will become subject to constant amendments. For instance, the recent decision of the Supreme Court that Land Revenue legislation is void in ryotwari areas will be almost immediately frustrated by amending Article 31 to apply to ryotwari holdings. What other Fundamental Rights will be left in the Constitution will depend on the exigencies of the Government and the personal orientations of those in power.

The third casualty will be the Press. Though Jefferson declared that a Free Press was more vital than democracy, for reasons even of survival, most papers cannot be free when the power of the government is absolute. Menon has already declared his contempt for the freedom of the "jute press" and the Prime Minister has expressed his resentment of papers which do not focus him and Violet has incited violence against certain national Newspapers. It may be assumed that, whatever muscle the press has so far shown will soon be lost, and on politics most papers will have no opinions except those of the government.

The fourth casualty will be the Services, including the Judiciary, which will come to realise that the constitutional safeguards for their independence will not cover their promotions which will depend on services to the Party in unfettered power. In effect, public servants will be compelled to recognise party bosses as more important than official bosses, a tendency which will grow on what it feeds, till the public get disposed to approach party officers for their grievances.

The fifth and greatest casualty will be the masses. Despotism depends on several subordinate despots because even in the elections which have taken place, the Congress themselves have used those in power in villages and wards to drive the masses for their votes, as everyone knows. It is historically established that in every society that is building or breaking itself, it is the adventurer who fattens on the helpless. If they have leadership, even those whom Congress may deprive of land, property and occupation, will be able to get

more from those they can dominate. Cooperative Farming, which seems now inevitable will give village leaders much more than they could derive from their land. Similarly State Enterprises will find those deprived of their own enterprises in equal if not better positions to exploit others. Communism creates an aristocracy of adventurers which lives unrestrained by any traditions, on its helpless supporters. The tragedy of the present elections is that the masses have themselves supported those who will alter their conditions for the worse, without any efficient defenders.

Is there any hope? Rajaji has indicated that all parties opposed to totalitarian rule could come together, atleast after the election, the Swatantra Party offering them enough independence outside its few prescribed principles. It may however be that there are interests and loyalties which these parties will be reluctant to surrender. In that case, the consolidation may be under a new formation entitled "Democratic Front", which may have office bearers related to the strengths of the amalgamating parties. The title of the party will emphasise that its opponents are against democracy.

Secondly, the Independents and others, who appear to outnumber the total of other opposition parties may be disposed to join the Democratic Front. Some of them are dissident members of the Congress while others believe in the Swatantra Party but did not join it for fear of being dubbed as rich and reactionary. In their decision lies the only chance of an officially recognised opposition party which must number fifty.

Immediately the task of such an opposition party is to select members for the Rajya Sabha, which roughly requires 50 votes of state legislators for every seat. It would be in the nation's interests if experienced leaders including those defeated in the elections are selected so that in the Rajya Sabha atleast the Congress faces the best opposition. Since the nominations have to be made by the fourteenth of this month, there is no time to be lost.

Secondly, the opposition parties should without delay prepare an alternative Five Year Plan for atleast two reasons, first to remove the misconception that only the Congress has plans for the people and second to anticipate the economic collapse which is inevitable from the policies of the Congress Government. Such a plan, based on the needs and means of the common people would also indicate the potentials of a government alternative to the Congress and to that extent save the country from the danger of military rule.

Thirdly, the political consciousness generated by the elections deserves to be preserved in units for Civil liberties in every ward and village. They would correct and even complement the village panchayats which are working inefficiently and irresponsibly. They would acquire from knowledge and service of the voters, a hold which money and power will not be able to overcome at the next elections.

The banner of Freedom though torn is still flying high. The elections, particularly the one in North Bombay, have shown how the people can be misled even into accepting Communism. Those who would like to call anything their own have therefore to unite before it is too late. One battle is over but the war against Communism is still not lost.

LIBERTY AND TYRANNY

The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty, but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different but incompatible things, called by the same name — liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names — liberty and tyranny.

— ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Anarchism—a definition

ANARCHISM, from Greek *anarchia* (non-rule), a political doctrine standing for the abolition of every organised authority and State machinery, and the creation of a Stateless society instead. The anarchists hold that every form of government, whether a monarchy, a republic, or even a socialist republic, is equally evil and tantamount to tyranny. They want to substitute for it a free association of individuals and groups without any coercive organisation, without armed forces, courts prisons or written law, merely based on voluntarily respected mutual treaties. Anarchism covers a great variety of currents which may be divided into the individualist and socialist schools as to their ends, and into the peaceful and revolutionary schools as to their means. There is, however no anarchism advocating anarchy in the sense of dissolution of every social order.

— The Penguin Political Dictionary

Our Pettifogging Prime Minister

(From Our Correspondent)

Replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha on the President's Address, Mr. Nehru made some observations which can only add to his reputation for lacking the sense of responsibility. The others do not seem to matter so much, but surely the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister should sit down together and make up their minds as to what their attitude should be towards the Chinese incursions, unless the Prime Minister wants the people to believe that Mr. Krishna Menon is, with his permission, law unto himself. In the course of his election campaign the Defence Minister had clearly said that India would not resort to arms to regain the territory annexed by the Chinese. And within a month the Prime Minister has said something entirely different. Speaking in the Rajya Sabha on March 15 Mr. Nehru said:

"It shall be our endeavour all the time to settle peacefully such problems as we have with Pakistan or such grave frontier problems that have arisen because of Chinese incursions into Indian territory.If we cannot settle them peacefully, we shall have to consider what we should do."

If his endeavour to settle the problem peacefully is to extend to "all the time", as he put it, reaching the decision that it cannot be settled peacefully is ruled out altogether, and so is the question of considering what is to be done on that decision being reached. This is a kind of quibbling unworthy of the prime minister of a great country and it is much to be regretted that Mr. Nehru has been specialising in this kind of pettifogging argument. His Defence Minister has already declared that there is no question of resorting to arms to regain territory lost to China and his declaration has not been contradicted by his Prime Minister, although both of them some years ago were in Parliament dwelling on the need of industrial development to meet the Chinese menace, suggesting that without that, which they had undertaken, the question of regaining the areas annexed by China did not arise. It is now apparent that all those arguments emphasizing the necessity of industrial development vis-a-vis the Chinese incursions were part of a great hoax that the Nehru Government decided to play on the people.

COLD WAR APPROACH

It is difficult to believe that the Prime Minister does not know what "cold war" means, but

he is again and again referring to it in a sense in which it is not generally understood. He seems to have given it a meaning of his own. Nobody is entitled to play ducks and drakes with words and phrases in common use, and Mr. Nehru is certainly not adding to his reputation for sincerity or even commonsense when he says that the cold war is worse than a hot war, or that, as he said in the Rajya Sabha on March 15, the worst possible approach to the solution of any question was the cold war approach. Mr. Nehru should know that his approach to the problem created by the Chinese incursions was a cold war approach, if ever there was one. It was a cold war approach when he said "Not an inch more" in respect of Chinese annexations. That is exactly what the western powers said to Soviet Russia's expansion in Eastern Europe. "Not an inch more" was all they said and they meant it, and Russia very understandably started condemning this cold war declaration. One would like to know what is Mr. Nehru's objection to the western declaration summed up in the phrase "not an inch more". But our Prime Minister pretends not to understand the meaning of the phrase and goes on doing propaganada for Soviet Russia, sure in the knowledge that his ignorant countrymen will not even understand that he is condemning something which he should in all conscience support. Indeed, all they will be able to understand is that if war is bad, as it admittedly is, cold war must also be bad, because, on the face of it, it is a kind of war, otherwise the word "war" will not be there in the phrase, "cold war". Is this jugglery, which passes for statesmanship in the minds of his ignorant countrymen, worthy of a prime minister of a great country?

FLING AT NATO

Even in the case of Goa, the Prime Minister said, the whole trouble had arisen because Portugal was part of the NATO alliance and had provided some important bases to the NATO Powers in the Atlantic Ocean. This fact, according to Mr. Nehru, no doubt governed the thinking of these powers and they could not take any steps against Portugal for fear they might lose their bases. Why should the NATO powers have taken any steps against Portugal, unless Mr. Nehru thinks the world is morally bound to help him annex territory to his country, irrespective of the wishes of the people inhabiting that territory? Our Prime Minister had not even said he would be agreeable to the people of Goa deciding their

fate and voting on the desirability or otherwise of Portuguese rule in Goa, Daman and Diu. He could not possibly suggest plebiscite after ruling it out in the case of Kashmir. After that nothing remains except Mr. Nehru's personal whims and wishes, since principles he has none. That reminds one of the suggestion made regarding Bombay before it was decided to make it part of Maharashtra. The suggestion was for a plebiscite and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad said, with Kashmir in mind, "Plebiscite ka naam na lo". (Do not utter the word "plebiscite"!)

So it comes to this that the greatest democrat in the world has to follow the late Maulana's advice and the word "plebiscite" is to him like a red rag to a bull.

Mr. Nehru said he has been asked to be specific as to what he proposed to do in regard to their policies with China and Pakistan. "It would be the height of folly," he said, "for any person, more so a person in authority, to be exceedingly rigid about the approach to these difficult international problems." But what can be more rigid than his declaration that "it shall be our endeavour all the time to settle peacefully such problems as we have with Pakistan or such grave frontier problems that have arisen because of Chinese incursions into Indian territory?" That is a very precise and punctilious statement and therefore the approach is obviously exceedingly rigid. Mr. Nehru obviously forgot what he had said a few minutes earlier about his approach.

PUNJAB CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

The Punjab Chief Minister's excuse for his broadbased ministry of more than thirty is that there is much to be done speedily, while the cynics assert that the difference of 28 between the Congress Government's 96 and the Opposition's 62 can be easily reduced to nil if the ambitions of Congress MLAs are not satisfied. But the greater the number of ministers and deputy ministers, the greater is the room for jealousy among the have-nots. A broadbased ministry, therefore, has its advantages as well as disadvantages.

Human nature being what it is, the awards to the lucky thirtyone are likely to add to the number of clamouring mouths. "Something for all the clamouring mouths ensures some peace for some time," says the Statesman, but "small morsels whet the appetite instead of soothing it and because portfolios have to be fragmented some morsels are indeed very small." Minister's selection and share of power have been "determined more by his relations with Mr. Kairon than merit," the paper adds. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the broadbased ministry leads to a race for favours from the hands of the Chief Minister, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, who, despite the many lapses of his Administration, has emerged as the Strong Man of Punjab, thanks to Master Tara Singh's agitation for Punjabi Suba.

In the result, it is being pointed out here, Master Tara Singh has so far achieved just the opposite of what he desired.

Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon's election victory by a margin of 34 votes remains the joke of the season, after the testimony vouchsafed by the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly who happened to be on the spot, regarding the conduct of the Returning Officer. It remains a mystery why a recount was refused when it had been conceded in cases where the margin was much larger. The Punjab Speaker's testimony cannot be lightly set aside, particularly as he belonged to the Chief Minister's own party. If even cases like these cannot be taken to the courts, there would appear to be something wrong with our election procedures, and a biased returning officer can turn the scale in favour of the defeated candidate where the voting is close.

The Statesman has really done a public service by publishing its special correspondent's despatches—which appear factual in all respects on the many illicit ways in which the ruling party in Punjab had been winning over voters to its side, not the least among them being the pressure exercised by Government officers at the persuasion of ministers and candidates. If it is too much to ask that there should be President's Rule a month before the elections to ensure fair elections, it should not be difficult to ensure that ministers do not tour as ministers a couple of months before the elections and are not attended upon by Government officers and officials during their tours for at least that period.

U. P. IMBROGLIO

The refusal of the UP dissidents, led by Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi, to take the oath of office will come as a shock to Congressmen all over the country. As the PCC President, Mr. A.P. Jain, put it, all his efforts during the past year had come to naught. It is difficult to blame the dissident leader inasmuch as the proportion of seats offered to dissidents in the 43-member Ministry was, to put it bluntly, shocking. The Chief Minister, Mr. C. B. Gupta, declared himself "very unhappy" about this development, which he characterised as "most unfortunate", but surely any one with a grain of sense in his head could have anticipated it. It is noteworthy that he did not say he was surprised.

The proportion of seats offered to dissidents shows that the Chief Minister had their liquidation in mind. Inasmuch as four dissidents, out of the seven offered jobs, have stayed out and three have accepted, the process of liquidation may be said to have commenced. Power shrewdly exercised can do a lot in liquidating opponents and a breach in the ranks is surest way of bringing about the desired liquidation. Mr. Gupta seems to have adopted a "take it or leave it" attitude, and Mr. Jain would appear to have outlived his period of usefulness. He was at best only an emis-

sary of Prime Minister Nehru—who is naturally better-known in U.P. than elsewhere — and his authority must have suffered as a result of his defeat in the recent elections.

Another factor diminishing Mr. Jain's stature is that, during the year that has passed since his efforts began to bring about integration in the Congress ranks, M. Gupta has been able to consolidate his position and now feels strong enough to ride roughshod over dissidents as well as those who might put in a word on their behalf. The hero of the sordid drama that is being played in UP is Dr. Sampurnanand, for whom the Chief Ministership apparently held no charms and who finds in his studies a source of enjoyment far superior to that found in portfolios. In that sense the UP Congressmen may be said to be staging Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

What needs to be remembered is that the game of power politics that is on in U.P. is being played by champions of national integration. Its greatest champion, Prime Minister Nehru, in the late thirties laid the foundations of Pakistan in this pursuit of groupism. The greatest groupist in the land, it is only natural that he should condemn groupism more often than any one else. His colleagues are doubtless following in his footsteps, without of course being able to say so openly.

Some of these dissidents, it is being said here, should have the courage of their convictions and expose the rottenness of the organisation to which they belong, in the wider interests of the country. After all, their loyalty is to the country, first and last, and not to any organisation, howsoever old their attachment to it may be. Mahatma Gandhi evidently foresaw all this when he, a few days before his assassination, advised the dissolution of the Congress. And none knew Congressmen better than he did!

Book Review

Communism in India by Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller.

(Copyright) Perennial Press Bombay 1960. With a Foreword by Professor Richard L. Park, California. Pages 603 including Index. Price Rs. 30:

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This is a major contribution to the study of the origin and growth of Communism in India from the days of the aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1917 through the united front period in the Hitlerite interval and the post-war Stalinism that directed international communism in colonial areas, to the present day when it has become a respectable party vying with other parties for the suffrage of the people through democratic processes.

The present situation so hopeful for communism (and so sinister for freedom and national independence!) was symbolised by the North Bombay electoral contest between Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon and Mr. J. B. Kripalani. The rivalry was characterised by the New Age, the communist journal of New Delhi under the figure of the mahout and the elephant, the mahout being the Congress or the nation itself.

This massive book traces elaborately the way to which the first mahout namely Lenin of Moscow used Mr. M.N. Roy and other Indians to instigate a red revolution in India after the first world war. Roy ran a school in Tashkent for Asian revolutionaries and sent them to India with Russian money to start a regular communist party on the Russian model. The Russian Communist International took up M.N. Roy as a member and gave him the position of guide, philosopher and friend of the Indian communist-to-be.

From the very beginning, there were two views as to the best way of nursing a full communist party in India between which the authorities of the Comintern vacillated. One was to start *de novo* on their own and approach the peasants and industrial workers directly. The second was to infiltrate into the Indian National Congress of Gandhi and Nehru with a view to its ultimate capture.

During the Hitlerite period, the policy of the United Front and infiltration into Congress was in force. After the war ended with Allied and Russian victory, the Zhadnov line shifted to open rebellion and guerilla war. Financed and prompted by the Russian masters, Ranadive and others started a guerilla war in Telengana. It took two years and ten thousand armed men for Nehru's Government to crush this bloody rebellion.

The story threads its way through the discussions of the Cabinet Mission, the Transfer of Power and Partition. Throughout we see Indian communists toeing the Russian lines and receiving money and advice from London and Moscow.

The way in which natural patriotism perished in the hearts of these agents is astonishing and disturbing. They are truly devoted to Russian hegemony and Indian subordination to it. The book is indispensable reading to all national patriots and politicians.

— M. A. Venkatrac

Gleanings from the Press

MR. PATNAIK'S LOGIC AND CONGRESS TOTALITARIANISM

Crissa's Chief Minister, Mr. Bijoyananda Patnaik, apparently prides himself on being an unmitigated socialist. But in his new-found enthusiasm for his socialist credo, he seems to forget that he is the head of a party government in a

parliamentary democracy and that there are obligations which go with this office which he has to respect. One such is the obligation as an essential constituent of the parliamentary system. Mr. Patnaik, for reasons which he has not concealed, does not like the Swatantra Party.

Mr. Patnaik seemed to think that because the Swatantra Party could not be expected to cooperate with the Congress brand of planning, he had no use either for its criticisms or its co-operation. He declared that he would not reply to any of the points raised by it. Mr. R. N. Singh Deo rightly took exception to this attitude and appealed to the Speaker to call upon the Chief Minister to withdraw his remarks. As this proved unavailing, the Opposition resorted at the earliest opportunity to the tactic of thumping the tables in chorus whenever the Chief Minister was on his legs, thus making it impossible for him to be heard in the House.

After all the hubbub, this seems to have had some effect and it looks as if Mr. Patnaik recognises that he cannot dismiss the Swatantra Party by a wave of the hand. But he has yet to learn that you do not improve your case against an opponent by misrepresenting his stand or threatening to knock him down when arguments fail. Last week he made the astounding statement that "the administrative machinery should be used ruthlessly against those opposed to the social objectives". On Thursday he announced his profound discovery that a "mixed economy was an unmixed evil" and that it was the Congress's laxity in permitting a mixed economy in this country that had enabled the Swatantra Party to raise its head! Mr. Patnaik asserted that the Congress Party had decided to go in for "undiluted socialism", though there is little warrant for such a statement in the totalitarian way of thinking of men like Mr. Patnaik that provides the best justification for the emergence of the Swatantra Party. More than ever India's nascent parliamentary democracy calls for the vigilance of a lively and vigorous Opposition. — The Hindu

News & Views

FICCI CONCERNED OVER EXPENDITURE UNDER CIVIC HEADS

NEW DELHI

WHILE lobby opinion was unanimous about the inevitability of fresh taxation for the coming financial year, the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry expressed concern over the sizeable increase in expenditure under civil heads and said only a "masterful husbanding of the resources" would save the situation.

Lala Karam Chand Thapar, president, Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, giving his reactions on the Interim Budget said, "As was expected, the Budget presented by the Finance

Minister is a caretaker Budget.

"While there are reasons for deriving satisfaction from the fact that the tax revenues have shown increases, this was forecast by the Federation last year, it is a matter of concern that borrowings have fallen short, thus increasing the overall deficit.

"It is disquietening that in the coming year expenditure under civil heads will reach the figure of Rs. 1,028.86 crores as against the revised estimate of Rs. 743.22 crores for the current year. Even accounting for the fact that of this huge increase, nearly Rs. 161.13 crores, will be on account of reclassification, the increase is sizable.

ECONOMY INEVITABLE

"The concern of the Finance Minister for the current year's deficit and the ways and means position of the next year will be shared by every thinking person in the country.

"With the paucity of funds in the hands of the public and with the rates of taxation having reached their limits, economy in expenditure and an extraordinary husbanding of the resources are the only instruments which the Finance Minister will have to rely upon."

PEKING YET TO REPLY TO PROTESTS

SARDAR Surjit Singh Majithia, Union Deputy Minister for Defence, told Lok Sabha that the Chinese had violated Indian air space four times since November 23, 1961.

Answering a question by Mr. P. C. Deb, he said protests had been lodged with the Chinese Government. One violation took place on January 6, 1962 and a second on January 11. Chinese planes flew near Spiti on January 11 and 12 for the third and fourth time.

When Mr. Deb asked what was being done to prevent such occurrence, the Minister said amidst laughter that India was a civilised country and could not shoot such planes.

Mr. Mahavir Tyagi (Cong.) asked what the reaction of the Chinese was to the protests. Sardar Majithia said the Government of India was awaiting its reply.

SWATANTRA

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD ESTABLISHED

THE setting of an 11-member Parliamentary Board of the Swatantra Party "to supervise, guide and co-ordinate the work of the Party in State and Central legislature" was announced in Bombay.

Mr. Masani, General Secretary of the Party, told a news conference that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. N. G. Ranga, Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Raja of Ramgarh, Mr. Laxman Singh, Mr. Homi Mody, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal and he were among the members of the Board.

The Central Organising committee of the Party, which concluded its deliberations in the city, also he said, had decided to set up a five-man Parliamentary Bureau in Delhi for aiding the work of the Party by collecting information

through research on legislation and other Parliamentary processes.

The members of this body will be Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Masani, Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. Ranga and Mr. Joseph Lobo Prabhu.

RAJAJI'S BITTER ALLEGATION OF CONGRESS POLL MACHINATIONS

MR. C. Rajagopalachari, founder-leader of the Swatantra Party, declared in Bombay that the "most depressing and the most outstanding" fact that emerged after the recent General Elections was the "unabashed purchase of votes" by the ruling party.

"There is no hope for democracy unless we discover a way to put an end to this system of buying votes," he asserted at a public meeting which wound up the first business session of the Swatantra Party after the General Elections.

Accusing the Congress Party of indulging in "unabashed corruption," of misusing official machinery and Government developmental, social and welfare agencies and exploiting the "power of office", the Swatantra leader declared that "there can be no free and fair elections if the party in power does not vacate office for some time before and during the elections."

Bribing the electorate, he warned, had far greater significance than it first appeared. "It is a question of morality, a question concerning the culture of our country."

ALL ROUND CONFUSION

Mr. Rajagopalachari asserted that the Congress Party had now "no business to call itself the Gandhi Party or Congress Party."

"The new Congress Party should call itself the Socialist Party and not by the historic name of Congress which won freedom for India. Fairness demands that the Party should change its name as the real Congress belongs to all."

He charged the ruling party with confusing the people with all its ambiguities and exercising compulsion.

"There is ambiguity between the State and the Congress Party; between the State flag and the Party flag, between democracy and dictatorship."

AHMEDABAD CITIZENS' MOVE FOR ENGLISH

AHMEDABAD: A CITIZENS' committee has been formed here to raise a fund to fight the Gujarat University's appeal pending before the Supreme Court in what has come to be known as the medium of instruction case.

At a public meeting held here, Mr. Himatlal P. Shukla, Mr. P. D. Patwari, Mr. Indravadan Nanavati and Mr. C. T. Daru were appointed to form a committee for raising and administering the fund.

The meeting attended by educationists, mill-owners, doctors, lawyers, engineers and mer-

chants and organised by the Parents Association, Ahmedabad, expressed itself whole-heartedly in favour of restoring English language to its "right-place."

The University's decision to impose Gujarati as the medium of instruction was held null and void by the High Court in a test case filed by the parent of a student whose mother-tongue was not Gujarati.

Among the other purpose of the fund are: mobilising public support for the restoration of English in education, holding public meetings, organising seminars, making representations to the authorities and any other steps considered necessary. The committee will have powers to co-opt members if necessary.

The speakers referred to the defeat of Mr. Thakorebhai Desai in the general elections as symbolic of the defeat of anti-English forces and exhorted the new Cabinet to muster enough courage to reverse the present suicidal policy of banishing English.

DALAI LAMA'S CALL FOR MEDIATION NEW DELHI

The Dalai Lama appealed to the Chinese people to "cease immediately the persecution and oppression" of his followers in Tibet.

The appeal was made in a statement issued to mark the third anniversary of the revolt of the people of Lhasa against the Chinese.

The Dalai Lama recalled last year's U.N. resolution on Tibet, reaffirmation of the fundamental principles of the U.N. Charter by the Afro-Asian Powers (which included China), at Bandung in 1955 and the Chinese Government's affirmation that alien domination and exploitation constituted denial of human rights, and said, "if these declarations have any meaning at all, the Chinese Government must also realise that the measures which have been adopted by its representatives in Tibet constitute total negation of these principles."

The only solution, the Dalai Lama said, was peaceful settlement consistent with fundamental rights and freedom of Tibetan people.

The Dalai Lama hoped that even if the appeal to the Government of India was ignored, the leading peace-loving nations of the world would not hesitate to mediate on behalf of the poor and unfortunate people of Tibet.

TAMPERING OF BALLOT BOXES

Prof. Balraj Madhok, President, Delhi State Jana Sangha, assured the people of Delhi that the Jana Sangh would continue to serve them inside and outside the Corporation and Parliament as before. The ruling party, he said, had smothered democracy in the capital of India by taking recourse to glaring malpractices, besides making lavish use of wine, money and official pressure and intimidation.

Sri Madhok said that some very alarming evidence about tampering and even complete re-

placement of ballot boxes had been brought to the party's notice. The Committee appointed by the Pradesh Working Committee would sift that evidence and place its findings before the public shortly.

—Organiser.

NEHRU'S "DICTATED DEMOCRACY"

The highlight of the present General Elections has been amply provided by the Premier and his Deputy Home Minister. The Premier intent on securing a victory for Congress, especially for MR. KRISHNA MENON, at any cost, lashed out at all opposition parties, except, of course, the Communists.

It is also on record that he used his official position to intimidate the voters in East U.P. (Gonda constituency) not to vote for the Swatantra candidates, and threatened to take action against the officials for their so-called inaction to put down the imaginary feudal reign of terror there.

A telegraphic complaint was lodged against Mr. Nehru by Mr. N. Dandekar, a retired I.C.S. member, and Swatantra candidate, with the Election Commissioner in this connection:

According to the Sanskrit saying "YATHA RAJA TATHA PRAJA" (as is the king so are the people). Mr. Nehru's Deputy Home Minister, MRS. VIOLET ALVA, allegedly incited a bonfire of copies of the "INDIAN EXPRESS" and the "LOK SATTA" for their anti-Menon opinions, and to launch a protest march to their offices.

Such is democracy under the aegis of Mr. Nehru who prides in calling himself a "Great Democrat."

V. C. S. IYER,

Secunderabad

Mrs. Alva had since denied, though belatedly, having suggested any move to make a bonfire of the newspapers mentioned above or launching a march to their offices.

—The Current STRENGTHEN TERRITORIAL ARMIES TO SAVE DEMOCRACY FROM THE REGULAR ARMY

A seventeen-member Revolutionary Council, headed by himself, was announced by the Commander-in-Chief who reserved for himself Defence, Finance, Revenue and Judiciary portfolios, and distributed the rest among a number of brigadiers, colonels and commanders. So democracy came to a full stop in Rangoon.

Standing armies hold democracy at their mercy. For a long time, the British people insisted on the King keeping no standing army. But as, in course of time, national life developed from a simple to a complex pattern, permanent professional armies became necessary everywhere in the world. So we have now all over the world democracies as well as standing armies (maintained by those democracies), hanging like Democles' swords over them all.

An eminent modern historian Dr. Cary has, after analysing and examining all probable contributory causes for the downfall of the Roman Empire, given the highest place to the absence of a good citizen army to balance the power of the professional armies serving the Roman Empire. The lesson should be taken for granted in India without argument, and greater attention bestowed on our territorial army. It should not be a mere tail of the regular army but be good enough to function by itself.

—C. Rajagopalachari in "Swarajya"

ULBRIGHT'S BORDER CLOSING

Thirty intellectual leaders, representing 19 nations, have succinctly condemned as a violation of human rights the Communist closure of the border dividing East and West Berlin.

The signers included such notables as Eduardo Santos, former president of Colombia, new publisher of the newspaper El Tiempo; Jorge Lois Borges, prominent Argentine writer; Erice Verissime of Brazil; Victor Raul Haya de la Torre and Luis-Alberto Sanchez, both of Peru; author Stephen Spender and historian Hugh Seton-Watson of Britain; Ignazio Silone of Italy; Dennis de Rougemont of Switzerland; Prof. Raymond Aron and Manes Sperber of France; Sidney Hook and J. Robert Oppenheimer of the United States.

Dr. Davidson Nicol of Sierra Leone; essayist Ezekiel Mphahlele of Nigeria; A. K. Brohl of Pakistan; Asoka Mehta, M. R. Masani, and Jayaprakash Narayan, all of India; Prof. Maung Maung of Burma; Michio Takeyama and Yoshihiko Seki of Japan; and Raul Manglapus of the Philippines.

Following are extracts from their statement:

"Even in a world which has become hardened to the spectacle of inhumanity, the news and pictures from Berlin have shocked men and women everywhere. Oppression and discontent exist on many continents, and the tragedy of exile is a fate suffered by many people and races. Yet the events on the frontiers of your city profoundly trouble the conscience of the world. It is one thing for a social order to force its citizens, by the millions, to seek asylum elsewhere. It is still more reprehensible to cut off their escape by means of walls and barbed wire across city streets, to threaten them at the point of bayonets, to shoot at them in flight as if they were runaway slaves.

"This is not a matter of politics or ideology or of social philosophy. It is matter of the most elementary respect for a human right — and one which all the nations of the civilized world are on record as having recognized. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, states this right unequivocally (Clause 13, para.2):

"Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own...."

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