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# Congress Badly Trounced In Goa

THE Congress Government at Delhi has always desired to have some 'pocket' and 'rotten' boroughs at its command during the general elections. It is even hinted in some knowledgeable quarters, that Goa and Pondicherry are sought to be kept permanently separated from the neighbouring regions, just to serve as handy constituencies from which discredited Congressmen like Menon and Malaviya who are so close to Nehru's heart, could get themselves easily elected. The people of Pondicherry have quietly acquiesced in this game of power politics played by Mr. Nehru. But it is heartening to note that the politically conscious Goans have stoutly refused to oblige Mr. Nehru in this matter. They appear to be most unwilling to play the role of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for their Over-Lords at Delhi, whose ultimate aim is to bring the political life of the whole country under their 'Democratic Centralism'. They refused to elect even one Congress candidate out of 29 seats to the Vidhan Sabha from Central Goa and send any representative to the Parliament on behalf of the Congress Party. The Solitary Congress candidate elected from Daman and Diu to the Goa Vidhan Sabha, is an honourable exception which proves the rule.

### GOA LIBERATED BY THE PEOPLE AND NOT BY THE CONGRESS

The debacle that the Congress has suffered in Goa elections, was the direct outcome of some illusions and delusions regarding Goa public opinion, under which the Central Congress leaders had been labouring. Their henchmen in Goa who had ingratiated themselves into their favour for their own selfish ends, had perhaps lulled them not excluding Mr. Nehru into the comforting but none the less false belief, that Goans looked upon Congressmen as their liberators. The truth was all to the contrary. The Goans fully knew how cold and indifferent the Congress Government was towards their struggle for freedom, first initiated in Goa by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in 1946. They had not also forgotten the cruel and heartless manner in which the Congress Government had cut off all communication lines in the rear, when the Satyagrahis, both Goan and Indian, had thronged in their thousands in 1955, on the Goa frontier, braving the bullets of the hated Portuguese soldiers and risking their very lives. They well remember how Maharashtra more than any other State in India had made Goa's cause their own and risen to a man against the Portuguese and helped the Goan fighters for freedom in men and money. At that critical moment, the Congress Government not only failed to come to their aid and succour, but on the other hand did everything to throttle and kill the movement, out of party-jealousy and ill-will. But Goan people fearless and undaunted, carried on their brave fight with the ful-

lest co-operation of their Maharashtrian brethren. They were arrested, imprisoned, brutally assaulted and even shot down by the Portuguese rulers. But the Indian Government stood unconcerned, mute and motionless, till it was shocked out of its indifference by the rising temper of the public opinion of India against the Government's pusillanimous policies and was compelled, under public pressure, to take military action against the Portuguese and once for all put an end to the Portuguese regime in 1961. This memory is still green in the minds of the Goans, who rightly think and feel that Goa's freedom was won not by the Congress but by the joint efforts of the people of Goa and India.

It was therefore no wonder that the electors who had witnessed with their own eyes how their Maharashtrian brethren, their kith and kin had particularly stood by them in the hour of their greatest peril and in their struggle for freedom, repaid their debt of gratitude to Maharashtra by voting overwhelmingly in favour of Goa's merger with Maharashtra, of which the former is an integral part, linguistically, culturally and geographically. The Congress Government which wanted to rule over Goa from the Centre in utter disregard of the express wishes of the majority of the people, has been soundly trounced and taught a good lesson which, it is hoped, it will never forget.

### ACCEPT THE DEMOCRATIC VERDICT OF THE PEOPLE

It is not true that the Goans voted, as Mr. Nehru has persuaded himself to believe, on religious and communal lines. The election of the Christian Gomantak candidate Mr. Peter Alvares from the Hindu constituency and of the Hindu Gomantak candidate Mr. Shinkre from the predominantly Christian constituency to the Parliament and the election of Mr. Sequeira, the leader of the United Goans from the Panjim constituency, a predominantly Hindu area, are all instances which bear an eloquent testimony to the fact that the upper classes of both the communities mainly voted for a separate State and the common people both Hindu and Christian mainly voted for Goa's merger with Maharashtra. The Parliamentary election results combined with Goa Vidhan Sabha election returns, indicate a clear verdict of the Goans in favour of Goa's merger with Maharashtra. It is thus clear that the question of merger or nonmerger with Maharashtra was treated by the electorate not as a communal issue but as a secular one. The Christians who mostly constituted the privileged and propertied classes, under the Portuguese rule, naturally thought that their special rights and privileges would be safe in a separate State, while the Hindus who were the

suppressed and oppressed classes during the former regime, thought it fit to vote for Goa's merger with Maharashtra, since according to the common people, their welfare would be better promoted in the progressive State of Maharashtra. These considerations were more economic and secular than religious and communal. Therefore the Central Government will be better advised to accept this democratic verdict of the people in a straightforward manner and declare that after a definite transitional period, Goa would be merged with Maharashtra and in the meantime, it would be governed as a Marathi State with Marathi as its main State-language and English would be accorded the status of an associate language, till the Christians are able to integrate themselves psychologically and culturally, with their Maharashtra brethren.

### DEMOCRATISE GOAN POLITICS

This is the only democratic solution of the problem regarding the future of Goa's political set-up. But it is sad to note that no party in Goa has placed before the people a clear-cut democratic programme. Both the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak party and United Goans are now busy, pleasing and humouring Mr. Nehru and vying with each other in professing their loyalty to him and the Congress. This lacuna in the political life of Goa could be filled up only by the emergence of a Swatantra wing in that territory, wedded to the democratic political ideology and programme based on Free Economy, Free Market and Individual Liberty, as opposed to the Congress programme of Collectivist Economy Government-controlled Market and Socialist Serfdom. Such a party alone will ensure to the people of Goa plenty and prosperity through Freedom. Otherwise the Congress which has been thoroughly beaten in the recent elections in Goa will rear up its head again and will commence its fearful dance of power politics on the Goan political stage, bringing in its train, untold miseries and hardships to the common people of Goa and complete extinction of their democratic freedom, as it has done in other parts of India.

### EIGHTYFIVE-YEAR-OLD RAJAJI

All Indians must feel greatly proud and immensely blessed to have still, in their midst, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, the great national leader who has just entered on the eightyfifth year of his life. Though frail-looking and a little bent with years, he is yet young in mind and spirit. We extend our warmest felicitations to him on this happy occasion and wish him a still longer life of useful and dedicated service to the country.

Rajaji's life is a saga of self-sacrifice undergone for serving righteous causes and fulfilling high purposes. India's freedom was for him the most important of them all and he knew neither rest nor peace till India became free in 1947. The one outstanding quality in him which is so rare among our leaders today, is his love of truth and nothing but

the truth. Even Gandhiji is said to have been terribly afraid of Rajaji's reactions to his political moves and tactics which very often bordered on the fantastic and the chimerical. It was Rajaji more than Gandhiji who had fought Nehru's socialistic antics from within the Congress, even when Gandhiji was treating Mr. Nehru like a spoilt child. This fact seems to have rankled in the mind of Mr. Nehru and must have induced him to make it too hot for Rajaji to continue in the Congress after Gandhiji's death. A man of forthright rectitude and canny understanding of the practical needs of the country, Rajaji was the first to range himself resolutely against Mr. Nehru's domestic and foreign policies which have landed the country into economic chaos and military discomfiture and disgrace and have endangered her very freedom and security.

It is amazing how within the short period of three years of its existence, the Swatantra Party which Rajaji leads, has been able to make such a powerful impact on the political thinking and doing of his countrymen and has even compelled the Congress to reconsider its policies. Amroha, Rajkot and Goa electoral defeats of the Congress indicate how Swatantra ideas are fast capturing the imagination of the people. This is no mean achievement for Rajaji especially when the country appears to be paralysed under the iron heels of one-party-rule. In fact, it is a tribute paid by the enlightened public opinion of India to the piercing intellect, the creative genius, the organising abilities and indefatigable energy that Rajaji has brought to bear on

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the Swatantra movement. May he be spared for many many years to come, for the good of us all, who so much need his wise and inspiring guidance. Even his living presence is enough to galvanise the country into right action and lead it along healthy political and social channels.

### NEHRU ON THE SOCIALIST WAR-PATH

Mr. Nehru is now on the war-path. He appears to have made up his mind on the issue of Democracy vis-a-vis Socialism. In his misplaced enthusiasm, for ushering full-blooded socialism in the country during his life-time, he is now ready to scuttle democracy itself. The ganging up of Nehruites in Uttar Pradesh against Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani and the majority Congress democratic group in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha, well illustrates this patent but none the less alarming fact.

The latest move on the part of Mr. Nehru in the direction of bolstering up 'a determined socialist minority group' as against the Congress democrats, was taken in the matter of the Companies Amendment Bill. The Bill was referred by the Lok Sabha to the Select Committee. The Select Committee sent back to the Parliament the Bill with some alterations, the chief of them being in respect of the conversion of Government Loans to the Companies into shares. The original Bill had contemplated conversions of such loans retrospectively. But the Select Committee arrived at a unanimous compromise on this issue and suggested that only future loans could be so converted and the principle should not be applied to old loans, except in cases of default of payment of loans on the part of Companies. This fair and just solution of the problem which sought to maintain the sanctity of contracts, as also the international prestige of the Indian Government in the financial world, was approved both by the Executive wing and by the majority of the General Body of the Congress Parliamentary Party. But to avoid a showdown between the majority that favoured this alteration made by the Select Committee and the minority of fellow-travellers who opposed it in the name of Jaipur resolution on Socialism, the General Body left the issue to be finally decided by Mr. Nehru who presided on the occasion, in the mistaken belief that Mr. Nehru as a democrat that he poses to be, would never fail to back-up the majority point of view.

But the 'Socialist' in Mr. Nehru as usual got the better of the 'Democrat' in him. He threw in his full weight on the side of the fellow-travellers, with the result that the Bill has now been passed into an Act in the Lok-Sabha, exactly as it originally stood.

It is significant that a Bombay Neo-Communist Weekly highly applauded the adroit manner in which this 'determined socialist minority' successfully challenged 'the entrenched majority' in the Central Parliamentary Congress Party, with the undemocratic support of Mr. Nehru. Will the democrats still left in the Congress, now at least gather themselves and

boldly face the fact that Nehru is out to bring socialism into the country peacefully with the help of the majority if possible, and even forcibly with the support of 'a determined minority' if necessary right after the Leninist fashion?

### U.S.A.'s NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

All democratic countries of South-East Asia whether aligned or non-aligned must welcome the proposed cruise of two or three U.S.A. Naval Units of the Seventh Fleet in the waters of the Indian ocean. Particularly, Indian and Malaysia need such a powerful deterrent to Chinese expansionism in this region. The furore created by the Reds in the Indian Parliament and in the country is understandable. But the excited comments by some newspapers in Bombay and Delhi are as amusing as they are inexplicable. The said Naval Units will be only exercising their legal right to operate in the high seas away from the territorial waters of any country in South Asia. The U.S.A. Naval and Military authorities could be depended upon to enter the territorial waters or call at the ports of these countries if need be, only after duly consulting the Governments of the countries concerned. It is inconceivable that a democratic country like U.S. with a clear and clean record of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, should extend the operation of a Naval Fleet in the high seas of South-East Asia except to warn the world communist aggressors against their evil designs on the free countries of this region.

As Mr. B. K. Nehru the Indian diplomat in Washington has so neatly put it, India should have no objection if 'the idea is to match Chinese presence in Himalayas' by the American Naval presence in the Southern seas. The recent statement of the Defence Minister Mr. Chavan and of Mr. Nehru regarding the increasing military activities of China in Tibet and the utter impossibility of the Chinese voluntarily vacating the Indian territory occupied by them, indicates the urgent necessity of democratic world including India preparing itself beforehand to ward off a second Chinese invasion of India.

We therefore welcome Nehru's categorical declaration in the Parliament that the operation of some Units of the Seventh Fleet of U.S.A. in the Indian ocean does not pose any danger or threat to the security or freedom of India; nor does it violate India Government's sovereignty rights in her territorial waters of the Indian ocean. In fact, the grievance of all democratic elements of India is that the Indian Government is unnecessarily nervous about the reactions of the Moscow Government and certain fellow-travelling non-aligned nations and is not going sufficiently farther in strengthening her defensive and offensive arm on the land air and the sea with the help of Western democratic nations.

—D. M. Kulkarni

# American Foreign Policy

M. A. Venkata Rao

The grim fact is that Indian leaders have yet to realise that the whole world is on neurotic tension charged with the possibility of Nuclear World War Three to be unleashed by Russia and China aiming at world subjugation and that the sole obstruction in their path is the might of the United States.

**E**DUCATED India can scarcely be said to have arrived, even yet after so many years of national independence (16 years), at a sound knowledge of the factors involved in foreign policy for a country situated as we are. After the occupation of Tibet, a distinctly more realistic tone made itself felt in public opinion in regard to the perilous nature of our position vis a vis China and Russia across the Himalayas. A group of publicists even attempted to arouse interest in the question by holding a Himalayan Convention, which characteristically enough got a cold douche from the Prime Minister, who has always posed as the sole and sufficient authority on foreign as on internal developmental affairs.

Even today, after the rude awakening administered to the country by the Chinese invasion of the border regions in Ladakh and NEFA in October last year, public opinion seems to be helplessly bogged, what between the official policy of non-alignment continued in spite of catastrophic failure and the inability of the intelligentsia in Parliament and elsewhere to formulate a valid and viable alternative to meet the critical situation to better purpose—to wit: national survival and security, throwing the Chinese invader out of national frontiers and deterring him from similar invasions in the future.

In such a situation, it would be useful to consider the main ingredients of American foreign policy vis a vis the world crisis. The foreign policy of the USA is a global one, since it is faced by the communist bloc led by Russia and China with one-third of the resources of the world behind them, every day and every hour, which exerts a terrific pressure to discover a weak spot to break through into the free world and attack America in the rear, if not frontally.

This is the meaning of the cold war.

The cold war began as soon as the Russia Communist State was born in 1917.

It was intensified in the inter-war years. Russian strategists hoped to by-pass Europe and subvert European nations and their imperial Power by attacking them through their Asiatic and African colonies. Lenin stated his objective in his dictum that London is to be reached by the armies of the international proletariat by way of Peking and Calcutta. Peking is now theirs. Calcutta remains as the last objective in Asia. Events in India in recent years and months are eloquent of the extent to which the international avant garde has already infiltrated into the public life of the country—official and non-official.

In the international propaganda radiated by the Kremlin and retailed in various prescribed forms of

slogan and interpretative direction and masking distortion of truth, the USA is held up in every important event and situation in every part of the world—a Negro demonstration, a VOA negotiation in India, a Radar joint Air Force exercise in the defence of India, a 7th Fleet entry into the Indian Ocean to forestall Chinese penetration to the detriment of India, a Cuba arsenal, a Bokaro offer by the private sector of American steel magnates—in all such events and news, the earliest to comment in the national media of every Asian and African country with a Moscow-Peking slant are cold war communists. They interpret the move in terms of sinister intent on the part of the USA as part of its overall grand design of world domination!!

The Kremlin-Peking Axis poses before the world as the Peace Dove and paints the USA and her allies as ogres of war, hatching world war III.

The Kremliners with their Peking allies and rivals paint themselves as the champions of the under-dog, disinterested and compact of the pure milk of human brotherhood, with no ulterior motives of imperialism whatever. They paint America as an imperialist of the same dye as the older ones—British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish etc.

They draw a discrete veil over the fate and condition of the satellite countries under the heel of the Russian and Chinese new empires—The Baltic States, the South East European States, Tibet, Mongolia, Inner and Outer, Manchuria and so on.

It is very necessary for the Indian public to understand the truth about the cold war—the clash of world forces round the globe and the rights and wrongs of the matter as well as the prospects for human progress bound up with its issue one way or the other. What will be the fate of humanity if the communist world triumphs?

What will be the future of humanity if the free world led by the USA succeeds in removing the peril of communism from the world?

And first of all is there a peril at all?

American foreign policy is a reasoned and realistic answer to this global question. America has been obliged by reason of her supreme economic and military power—far transcending that of the old European Powers—Britain, France, Germany, Italy—to assume the role of world protector and world policeman as much in her own interests as in that of the rest of the world.

This is the way of history (and whatever providence there may be in history) in involving the Powerful inextricably in the destiny of the Weaker.

Carlyle said that the poor showed their blood relationship to the rich by infecting them with their typhoid. Hence public health became a matter of common organisation to which the rich had to contribute in their own interest.

The rich had to contribute to social security during the war (and after) to get the poor to fight for the nation in the form of war and old age pensions. Strikes had to be fended off by unemployment and sickness and accident insurance. So today, the richer nations have in their own interest to help developing nations to prevent them from going over to communism!

The present Congress is becoming more and more sceptical of the method of foreign aid, economic and military to win friends and influence backward nations as also European allies.

Anti-Americanism is widespread and global. It is rife in Britain and the Continent of Europe as much as in Asia and Africa and Latin America. The pouring out of American treasure in unprecedentedly vast amounts, unheard of in history, has not won friendship.

The unfortunate events in South Vietnam ending in the death of Diem and the end of his regime by a military Coup and the unexpected and surprising behaviour of the Cambodian Prince in refusing Aid from the USA and recalling his envoys from America is to be read in this light.

Are these strategy and tactics real and menacing or not? Or are they a mere figment of propaganda by the Western powers to paint a black picture of their opponents?

To believe our Prime Minister, the West is wrong in their fear of Russia and China.

To believe in him, we are as much in peril of domination if not more, from the West than from communism.

If the Prime Minister is right, how do we account for the attempted break-through of Stalin in Korea?

If he is right, how do we account for the infiltration of Chinese and Russian elements in Vietnam during the French struggle to retain control until the fall of Dien Bien Fue and thereafter in Laos, and the South Vietnam jungles?

Did the Americans enter first to meet an imaginary penetration of communist guerillas?

And are we to discount the Chinese invasion of our borders as part of a dream to be explained away and forgotten?

How is it that Russian and Chinese emissaries work in every newly freed African country and counter-act the West? And why did the new native rulers of Guinea become disillusioned and drive the Russian emissaries out?

And how do we account for the militarisation of Cuba under Castro by Russia necessitating Kennedy's drastic threats?

The grim fact is that Indian leaders (rather The Leader) have yet to realise that the whole world is held in a neurotic tension charged with the possibility of imminent world war III (unleashing nuclear weapons) by the unsleeping ambition and machinations of world communism led by Russia and China aiming at world subjugation.

The sole obstacle in their path is the power and determination of the United States. Hence their venom towards it. It is the part of all decent people in the free world and all those who wish well of humanity to stand by America in this world crisis and do their part in safeguarding the peace and freedom of all humanity.

During the last war, Russia was an ally against the Hitlerite, Fascist and Japanese Totalitarian empires and it required a titanic mobilisation of resources—mental, moral and material—to liquidate their peril to humanity.

Even in 1946-47, Russia showed her salt and mettle in the way she supported guerillas from Albania in infiltrating into Greece. The Truman Doctrine was promulgated to halt the Russian advance in Greece and Turkey, which it did effectively. Our panchsheel experts have to consider this thrust of their revolutionary Idol and its invading penchant and the means that stopped it here. It was not an imaginary peril that the Truman doctrine confronted and neutralised! And in 1949, Red China drove Marshal Chiang Kai Shek out and Mao Tsetung and his men obtained power over the mainland occupying the power vacuum and augmenting the Red Map up to Peking.

The very next year, Stalin decided to break through Korea—knowing that the American armies were demobilised and Americans mothers were reluctant to send their sons again to die in battle fields abroad! But as a dictator he had not demobilised a single Red soldier!

This military confrontation over the seas and continents continues to this day—day and night.

In this light, we ought to be able to appreciate the words of President Johnson when he said that America would maintain her military strength to the extent necessary.

A writer to *The Times of India* refers with derision to the so-called power vacuum in the Indian ocean in recommending the rejection of the American proposal to send their Seventh Fleet into its waters. This is typical fellow—traveller's sloganising interpretation—on behalf of the Kremlin! It is not conducive to Indian national interests.

We cannot police the Indian ocean. America proposes to do so as much in our behalf as her own. We should welcome it but our fellow-travellers take the que from communism and interpret the proposal from the anti-American slant!

# WHOM TO FOLLOW ?

By M. N. Tholal

*Rajaji is the only great leader who in his speeches and writings, does not forget the great truth that both Russia and China, swear by Leninism which believes that "the way to London lies through Peking and Calcutta" and therefore, both of these countries are a menace to the security and freedom of our country. The choice of a leader should not be difficult to make for an intelligent patriot for, the security of the country comes before everything else and those who do not subscribe to this doctrine, theoretically as well as practically, are traitors to this country.*

**M**ANY educated people, to say nothing of the uneducated, do not know whom to follow. They feel puzzled and perplexed when it comes to a question of making their choice of a leader for themselves. There are millions of such people and they would naturally like to know the method of choosing a good leader for themselves.

To begin with, every one who wants a leader wants an honest man. For, dishonesty at once disqualifies a leader for his followers, unless they are interested followers. For the latter the question at every step is: What do I gain? These latter may be ignored, for they, in the nature of things, cannot be many. Even the most dishonest man wants an honest leader, even as he wants honest men to deal with, if only as an indirect proclamation of his non-existent honesty. The problem then for the educated man, the average newspaper reader, is how to find an honest leader.

This is not very difficult if a man keeps his wits about him and is not absentminded. All that one has to do is to read a man's speeches or his writings carefully. It may be taken for granted that, if a man or woman neither writes nor speaks, he or she is unfit to be a leader. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai was, so far as I know, the only example of one who neither spoke nor wrote and yet became a leader. It may be said of him that leadership was thrust on him - by the Nehrus, father and son - not undeservedly perhaps, for he was one of the shrewdest men that ever lived, though, as it happened, he took a leading part in the formation of Pakistan.

So all that seems necessary to find a leader is to read a man's writings and speeches carefully, to see if he is consistent and does not contradict himself in his speeches and writings. A man, however, can honestly change his views as a result of altering circumstances or a fuller understanding of the situation. That is what made someone say that consistency is the virtue of an ass. This is really development and not inconsistency. Many, for example, changed their views, although it now seems only for a short time, after the Chinese invasion of India of October, 1962. That invasion was not an ordinary event and should weigh heavily in the scales against non-alignment, unless we are unmindful of the security of our country.

A man who contradicts himself as a witness before a court of law is rightly adjudged unreliable. Every individual, every newspaper reader, should consider himself a judge when going

through a speech or piece of writing, to see if it contains mutually contradictory statements. Any one who is guilty of self-contradiction should be adjudged unreliable and blackballed for leadership. It is only in India that speakers can go on day after day contradicting themselves in the same speech and still remain leaders.

My favourite method of criticism as a writer during the last forty years has been to put before the readers the mutually contradictory statements by the person I chose to criticise, without a word of abuse. That, at the very start of my career, won encomiums from such renowned and discriminating leaders as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, when I was on the staffs of the Independent and the Hindustan Times respectively. Incidentally, they were among the great leaders who never contradicted themselves in their speeches or statements. Jinnah was another, and it was India's misfortune that we Hindus did not appreciate or admire that great man. Unfortunately Mahatma Gandhi was not in that class, but he knew—and none knew better—how to play to the gallery and we all cheered him to the echo. We re-tell victims to claptrap. Was not his loin cloth the greatest claptrap ever devised by political ingenuity? Was it fair?

Even Jinnah's insistence on separate electorate—which he set aside in the Madras Agreement of 1927 which the Congress failed to honour—was not something to be condemned. For, after all, how many Hindus would vote for a Muslim—or Muslims for a Hindu—on merits? I remember trying to persuade a fellow Kashmiri Pandit—and Kashmiri Pandits are by many regarded as half Muslims—to vote for Asaf Ali in the general election of 1927, and how he gave me the slip at the polling booth where I had accompanied him. Do we not find Congress leaders even today condemning the part caste plays in elections? How much greater then must be the part played by religion!

In the 1942 "Quit India" movement we witnessed two different postures by two great leaders, Jawaharlal Nehru and C. Rajagopalachari, both of whom were, before the movement was decided upon by the Mahatma, anti-fascist. Indeed, Nehru had gone much farther in his condemnation of fascism than Rajaji. He had been reported as saying: "I'll be damned for ever if I do anything to help the Axis Powers" and "I'll fight Japan sword in hand". And yet we all know that he came out

as a supporter of the "Quit India" movement, which was a stab in the back of the Allies. Rajaji was the only leader who stuck to his guns, and refused to join the movement, knowing, as he must have done, that he will thus incur a great deal of unpopularity among Congressmen and the younger (unthinking) generation. He shot up skyhigh in my estimation for refusing to join the movement. For, after all, what is a man worth if he does not or cannot follow his convictions?

Mahatma Gandhi himself never intended to launch any big movement in 1942. His threats were mere bluff, but the Government took him seriously and arrested him, rightly concluding that, anyway, that was no time for taking chances. That was what Gandhi did not realise. This is evident from his remark to Pyarelal, "After this speech (on August 8, 1942) Government will never arrest me". And the bluff had its origin in his own mistake in rejecting the Cripps' Offer off-hand, an offer which he wanted made again with some face-saving device: hence his talk of negotiations with the Viceroy before any movement could be started. That was, as we all know, a sad miscalculation on his part, a miscalculation which would have proved very costly but for the advent of the Labour Government in 1945 which brought us Swaraj as a gift from it. This miscalculation was really due to a misunderstanding of British character. I remember telling Congress leaders, when they were leaving for Bombay to attend the meeting of the AICC which was to pass the "Quit India" resolution: "You are not coming back from Bombay." And they laughed at me saying, "You do not know there are going to be negotiations with the Viceroy." I only repeated more confidently what I had already told them, saying to myself "what fools these Congressmen are!" The soundness of one man's judgment, in the formation of which not one of the nearly million Congressmen had taken any part, was taken for granted. Why? Because he was a magician!

#### LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI'S RECORD

I have, from time to time, been pointing out in these columns the mutually contradictory statements of Mr. Nehru as well as others in the course of their speeches in Parliament and elsewhere. Leaders like them would be laughed at in the advanced democratic countries, but here in India they are worshipped. Why? Because we have not developed the faculty of criticism and thus of discrimination, or we are cowards and afraid of criticising our leaders. In his speech at the Jaipur session of the AICC, which had the unique distinction of passing two mutually contradictory resolutions—one on the Kamaraj Plan promoting fascism and the other on democratic socialism promoting democracy—one of our great Congressmen today, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, excelled himself as well as all others in making a self-contradictory speech. Speaking on November 3 he said that the Kamaraj Plan had once again revived the spirit of sacrifice

among Congressmen. Proceeding he observed, perhaps to illustrate the spirit of sacrifice, that in some of the states the talk of dislodging the new leader started from the very next day after his election. Forgetting the admission he asserted the very next minute that the Chief Ministers were today in a position to carry the whole party with them. I am again illustrating the kind of people on whom Mr. Nehru's favours fall.

If the reader were to read his daily paper with his critical faculty on the alert, he should not find it difficult to make a wise choice of his leader by a process of elimination of those who indulge in self-contradiction. For that purpose he has got to train himself to beware of claptrap and bravado and bear in mind facts, for the honest mind facts are sacred, not opinions, howsoever great the man voicing them. If we do not hold facts sacred and remember them, we cannot be realists. And if we are not realists we are wishful thinkers, full of illusions, leading our country down the slippery road to disaster.

Mr. Nehru said on October 20 last that on that day the previous year "all our illusions were shattered." Unconsciously he admitted having illusions and in this admission he proclaimed himself a wishful thinker, one far from a realist, who can never be a statesman, and therefore can only bring misfortune to his country. Unconsciously, of course, and unwittingly. (But is that any consolation to patriots?) That is because he is highly emotional, far removed from a seeker after truth who bases his convictions on hard facts and the realities of the situation and not on the flattery of foes in the guise of friends.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain who laid down his office recently owing to illness, Mr. McMillan, uttered a great truth when he said: "Once the (Russian) Bear's hug has got you, it is apt to be for keeps." That holds true of the Chinese dragon too. All of us who are interested in maintaining the freedom of the country should remember this great truth with the prophetic statement of Lenin that "The way to London lies through Peking and Calcutta". And remember, too, that both Russia and China, despite their wordy warfare and ideological differences, believe in and swear by Leninism.

Rajaji today is the only great leader who does not forget these two great truths while writing or speaking. Who else remembers them, apart from some of his lieutenants and followers? And who else therefore can be said to cherish the freedom of his country? The choice of a leader, therefore, should not be difficult to make for a patriot, for the security of the country comes before everything else, and those who do not subscribe to this doctrine, theoretically as well as practically, are traitors to their country.

# Nehru And Chamberlain

A. G. NOORANI

NEHRU IS A CHAMBERLAIN, minus the umbrella, plus the rose. So the sally went. Things said in jest are not to be taken in earnest. The sally remained a sally and one took for granted that the resemblance between two persons apparently so dissimilar was but superficial.

A leader's birthday conveniently provides the occasion for an appraisal of his policies. Mr. Nehru will be 75 next Thursday. Departing from the customary appraisals, may one not stop to consider whether Mr. Nehru is not, indeed, a Chamberlain?

Before independence, Mr. Nehru had projected himself as the only leader of rank who knew anything about foreign affairs. The personality cult being so widespread in our country, few bothered to ask if the author of the glib judgments pronounced about the twenties and the thirties in *Glimpses of World History* could ever be the architect of a sound foreign policy. Suffice it to say that he professed interest and knowledge and radiated confidence all around.

The policies of the two experts are as comparable as their confidence. "The Prime Minister wished to get on good terms with the two European dictators, and believed that conciliation and the avoidance of anything likely to offend them was the best method."

It is needless to spell out the consequences. To the one Czechoslovakia was a far off country about which he knew little; the other was ignorant of Hungary. Spain was allowed to be taken over, the invasion of Austria went unchallenged. Mr. Nehru's reaction to the rape of Tibet was to forge the Panchsheel. Chamberlain never cared to offer France the support she need or have a mutually acceptable alliance with Russia. Mr. Nehru spurned acceptable alliance with Russia. Mr. Nehru spurned Ayub's offer of joint defence.

Both slighted the U.S. President Roosevelt sent a message to Chamberlain in which he suggested inviting certain Governments to discuss the threatening situation in Europe. In the isolationist climate of the U.S. this was a bold expression of American concern. Chamberlain rebuffed it. We are much too close to the events to be given all the significant facts about Indo-U.S. relations prior to the Chinese invasion but here is a news story by a reliable Washington correspondent, Mr. H. R. Vera of *The Times of India* in the issue of May 18, 1962:

"The United States administration is willing to assist India's military build-up now that she faces a fight with China, enquires made by this correspondent show. What does puzzle the Ameri-

can Administration is whether it can come to the aid of India uninvited and without being misunderstood. It does not want to be a gate-crasher in India's defence affairs." This was as clear a hint as could be. That it was rejected is understandable for the Prime Minister believed that "taking military help meant practically getting aligned" and "a few crores that we may save if we get those equipment (military equipment) as gift would be far out-weighted by the tremendous loss in prestige and position, and even in sympathy which we have had from other countries."

Not only the policies but the methods too are similar. Both relied on their personal relationships with dictators and their aides. Chamberlain carried on secret negotiations unknown to his colleagues. Mr. Nehru sent the infamous note of July 26, 1962 (suggesting Indian recognition of the old Chinese line of 1956 as a preliminary for negotiation) without consulting the Cabinet or its Foreign Affairs Committee. One had his Horace Wilson, the other his Krishna Menon, to short circuit Cabinet procedures and for much else.

Finally, both Chamberlain and Nehru reflected an amazing degree of arrogance and incivility to parliamentary opponents of their foreign policy. These parallels are much too striking to be mere coincidences. They are all the inevitable hallmarks of the appeaser.

It is fine thing to recognise a threat and calculatedly to buy it off, another not to recognise it all and lie supine. These two eminent gentlemen belong to the latter category. Precisely because they are unrealistic and confident, they are compelled to be less than candid to their colleagues who are less blind, and be discourteous to critics lest they succeed in breaking the walls of their own delusions. Obsessed with his own ideas, the appeaser is an inept negotiator. This passage about Chamberlain is fairly applicable to our local representative, "His all-pervading hope was to go down to history as the great Peacemaker; and for this he was prepared to strive continually in the teeth of facts, and face great risks for himself and his country." The result in each case was identical. "He ran into tides the force of which he could not measure." Such a policy has to be a one-man effort buttressed by vanity, exhibited in arrogance, and executed by manipulation of public opinion. These are the inseparable traits of an appeaser. The fact that the two men are from places as far apart as Allahabad and Birmingham proves the point. In such a blind pursuit, national interest is an inevitable casualty.

— Opinion

# Gloom Over The Red Camp

(From Our Correspondent)

The thin end of the wedge of alignment is getting thicker and thicker, because necessity knows no law, not even that of non-alignment. Prime Minister Nehru told the Rajya Sabha on December 17 that the Indian Government need not be consulted by any foreign power for conducting operations on the high seas, that Gen. Taylor had casually told him that the matter regarding the US Seventh Fleet extending the area of its operations to the Indian Ocean was under consideration of the US Government and that two or three ships of the Seventh Fleet might come into the Indian Ocean to get acquainted with the waters.

Since the Indian Government need not be consulted in the matter and "this does not apply to us"—as the Prime Minister put it—the whole of the Seventh Fleet has the right which, let all Indian patriots hope it will exercise, of coming to stay put in the Indian Ocean, just in case the Chinese change their peaceful mind, as, by their preparations, they appear to be on the verge of doing.

Also, why should the Indian Government refuse to extend to the American Navy the co-operation it extended to the American Air Force in the recent joint exercises called "Shiksha"? Why should not the Indian Navy try to help the American Navy learn something about the Indian Ocean, even as the Indian Air Force helped the American Air Force learn something about our northern mountainous borders? In any case, since it is only a matter of getting acquainted, our Navy Chief can in all conscience proceed to the spot and, without showing any overt signs of 'welcome,' shake hands with the American in command, with just a formal "How d'you do?" These are questions on the lips of wise patriots in New Delhi these days.

The news of the possibility of some ships of the American Seventh Fleet paying a casual visit to the Indian Ocean to get acquainted with its waters has cast gloom over the Indian Communist Camp here, which its leaders will find hard to dispel—and this so soon after the undisguised jubilation over the exit, at their insistence, from the Central Cabinet of Messrs Desai and Patil. Mr. Nehru, it should be known, is a specialist in shock treatment. It is thus that he treated jubilation among patriots over the exit of Messrs Menon and Malaviya—by expelling Messrs Desai and Patil.

The latest issue of peace (!) freedom (!) and Socialism, formerly known as World Marxist Review, the chief joint theoretical organ of world communism led by Moscow, described Messrs Menon and Malaviya as patriotic and anti-imperialist victims of vicious attacks by Right Reaction, but observed

that Messrs Desai and Patil and their western lobbyist colleagues in the States were dropped from the Government, thanks to the popular pressure canalised by the Communist Party of India. The paper also divulged that the Communist Party of India plans to establish a broad national democratic front "to paralyse reactionary forces inside and outside the Congress and the Government"—before paralyzing, doubtless, the latter themselves!

The gloom over the Communist Camp is not unrelated to the information given by Defence Minister Chavan on December 12 to Parliament's Informal Consultative Committee attached to his Ministry. Answering questions on the latest border-situation, Mr. Chavan is reported to have said that China had been building for some time now permanent installations, constructing new roads and air fields and supply dumps, adding that all this posed a threat to the country.

Many here however insist that in fairness to themselves and non-alignment the Reds should demand of Mr. Nehru to make assurance doubly sure by getting a public guarantee from the Government of the United States that the air arm of the Seventh Fleet will not come to India's aid in case of another massive invasion by the Chinese supported by their air force, to make sure of the emergence of their "broad national democratic front." But the recent joint exercises and the Prime Minister's request to US for an air umbrella at the time of the Chinese invasion of October, 1962, would appear to suggest that Mr. Nehru would do nothing of the kind, but would nevertheless go on calling his alignment non-alignment—and straining at gnats while swallowing camels—to fool the world like his Master, Gandhi. Whether the world is easily fooled as illiterate, uneducated and even educated Indians is another matter.

## GOOD NEWS FROM U.P.

It has been good news to unofficial New Delhi that U.P. Finance Minister Kamlapati Tripathi, leader of the dissident group in the State, has tendered his resignation from the U.P. Ministry, following a letter from AICC General Secretary J. R. Chandrikar, asking Mr. Tripathi to indicate his choice whether he wanted to remain Finance Minister or Vice-President of the UPCC, as an objection had been raised to holding both the posts by former UPCC General Secretary Darbarilal Sharma. (He cannot hold both the posts under a Congress Working Committee resolution).

At the same time U.P.C.C. President A. P. Jain has expressed a desire to be relieved of his office as

he continues to be in ill-health and as the relations between the Government and the organisation are not harmonious. The excuse of ill-health would appear to be rather belated as, at the meeting of the UPCC executive, where he put it forward, Co-operation Minister Banarasi Das said he was happy that Mr. Jain had improved in health. The real reason for the resignation threat of Mr. Jain would appear to be the deteriorating relations between the Government and the organisation, to which his own policies may be said to have contributed not a little.

Also, the AICC Office must have been aware of the Working Committee resolution and hardly stood in need of a reminder from UPCC General Secretary Darbarilal Sharma. So the latter's objection may be said to have come in handy for taking a step dictated by the firmness displayed by Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani, for the Congress High Command has for some time been trying to see how far it can go in its desire to force her into absolute submission with the help of the U.P. dissidents, among whom must be counted Mr. A. P. Jain himself.

Some months ago Mr. Tripathi was reported to have made the most remarkable statement that there was no question of agreement with Sucheta Kripalani and still the High Command insisted on his inclusion in the Cabinet. That must have been on the advice of or with the connivance of Mr. Jain. For, it can hardly be that the High Command's insistence on the inclusion of Mr. Tripathi in the Cabinet was against both the Chief Minister's opinion and that of Mr. Jain, the UPCC Chief. Mr. Tripathi has done well to publicise the fact, as he has done in his letter to Mr. Chandriki by way of reminder, that he had accepted governmental office on the advice of the Central Parliamentary Board, thus showing the way the Kamaraj Plan is being worked in U.P. Also, the letter of the AICC Secretary, Mr. Chandriki, to Mr. Tripathi, far from improving Mr. Jain's health, might, it may readily be admitted, have contributed to its deterioration and Mr. Banarsi Das was not quite up-to-date in his assessment of the condition of Mr. Jain's health.

### GOA MERGTR

At Jaipur on December 14, soon after the Goa election results were out, Prime Minister Nehru declared that the merger of Goa with any neighbouring state was not desirable "at present" and should not take place yet. He said it did not matter which party won the majority and formed the Government but the original pledge given to the people that the territory would enjoy a separate status for sometime should be honoured. The pledge was obviously given under the impression that the people of Goa would like to have a separate status. Surely, it was not given to offend them and with the knowledge that they wanted merger with some Indian state. That being the case, and the elections having proved the reverse, the argument here runs, the pledge would be honoured more in its breach than in its ob-

servance. In any case Mr. Nehru will not be acceding to the wishes of the people by honouring a pledge given by him to them under an impression which has proved wrong—like so many of his impressions.

The Goa Congress President, who has been meeting Mr. Nehru's lieutenants here, has been at pains to prove that an analysis of the votes cast in the Goa elections show that a majority of the people were against merger with Maharashtra and that Mysore was out of the question. In support he cited the fact that Maharashtra Gomantak, which stands for immediate merger with Maharashtra, secured 1,07,000 votes, while the other parties secured 1,40,000 votes. It was apparent to him, by a mysterious process of ratiocination, that all those who favoured the merger voted for the Gomantak while those against for the other parties. But the resounding victory of both the Gomantak candidates for the Lok Sabha clearly contradicts the Goa President's assumption. Likewise does the support promised to the Gomantak by two independent candidates. It seems he has directly or indirectly been taking his cue from Mr. Nehru, like other Congress leaders.

Mr. Nehru was naturally "surprised and pained" at the Congress debacle in Goa, but his analysis of the election contests—that they were fought on communal lines—which has been proved utterly wrong by PSP spokesmen, is the usual Congress trick of giving a dog a bad name to hang him. Goa, Mr. Nehru said, was made a Union territory, so that it could enjoy full freedom in its own affairs. But my information is—and it is based on a fairly sound knowledge of the Prime Minister's mind—that Goa was made a Union territory to ensure Mr. Menon's election to the Lok Sabha. That is how emotional people react. Principles, unlike personalities, leave them cold. The Prime Minister's desire to hold fast to his pledge against all democratic traditions is only another instance of his undue favouritism towards Christians and Christian Missionaries, who are allowed to import huge funds to convert Hindus and Muslims to their religion. Why should they need so much money if the conversions are bona fide?

According to reports here Mr. Menon still continues to exercise his baneful influence on the Prime Minister. That shows the extent of his hold on him and the truth of my saying on him "Ham bhaktan ke, bhakt hamare". ("I am the devotees' and the devotees are mine".)

### THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

Pro. M. A. Venkata Rao addressed a meeting on 'The Present Crisis in Social Philosophy' on 18th Decembr, 1963.

M. S. Rangarao Presided.

# The Congress and the Kamaraj Plan

By PROF. M. S. PRASAD, M. A., Nalanda College.

THERE can hardly be any fallacy in the contention that the present structure of the Congress needs reorganization. The rifts, dissensions, group rivalries and mutual accusations and counter-accusations have become a notorious and permanent feature of the congress organization in almost every state. These features of the congress have been confirmed by the congress president when he said in a public statement that "Congress has lost its prestige because congressmen who were paupers before independence have become millionaires. The congress after having captured the power started scuttling the Gandhian Ideology which forms the basis of the Congress Party. And in view of these ills and evils in the Congress some such reforms are urgently required which may prove reparative to the nerves and organs of the Congress.

The Kamaraj plan adopted by the A.I.C.C. is designed to impress upon the members of the congress that something needs to be done to arrest the rapid decline in the fortunes of the Congress. From the day congress has been thrown to power, it is developing a power—drunk skinfit who never likes to part with any of his belongings to anybody. Doubtless, this attribute of the congress largely owes to the lack of a well-organised political opposition in the country. Democracy, in order to be a success, inevitably requires a well-organised opposition both inside and outside the legislature. The opposition constitutes a focus for the discontent of the people. It scrutinizes the functioning of the Government, checks its vagaries, extra-vagances and delinquencies. The opposition forms an effective antidote to absolute power corrupting the Government of the country. In one of his statements, Shri C. Rajagopalchari made a suggestion for an effective opposition party. To him, "the absence of a strong opposition party, was one of the elements which contributed to the deterioration of the moral quality of the congress party."

But that is not the only aspect of the sad tale of the congress. There are other aspects too. There has been a considerable deterioration in the fibre and connotation of the membership of the congress. And unless this be improved, the maladies rooted deep into the layers of the organization cannot be rectified.

Now, let us analyse if the Kamaraj plan really restores energy and vigour to the dwindling limbs of the congress: or it is mere a visual thunderbolt to be used as a garnished propaganda in order to divert the irritating attention of the public caused as a result of lapses and reverses during the Chinese attack upon the country? In actual content, the Kamaraj plan is neither very original nor very precise

in its conception. On numerous previous occasions it has been pointed out that the Congress pre-occupation with the exercise of political powers and privileges has caused the perversion of all values concerning moral quality and public duty. The Kamaraj plan does not constitute a code of conduct for the members of the congress, and as such it has very little to do with the ills of the structure and the membership of the party. It has been said that this plan is more or less a shock-treatment to them who are indulging in power politics.

The crisis that has arisen in the Congress is neither sudden nor shallow. It is the result of a steady decline of the congress which once was the instrumentality of national solidarity and patriotism. The same Congress has now turned into a bad soil for good harvesting. The Kamaraj Plan does not put any positive theory for the maintenance of a minimum standard of conduct by the members of the party - whether in the organization or in the Government. Mere switching over prominent congress leaders from the ministerial to the organizational wing will not necessarily solve the real problem with which the party is confronted. The thesis of the Kamaraj Plan is that the administration has drawn off the best talents at the disposal of the party to the detriment of the organizational wing. But to me, this is not the proper angle of assessing things. The question is not the proper angle of assessing the things. The question is not of talents, but of honesty, discipline and integrity. The members of the party involved in the Government miserably lack these virtues for want of which no plan or no thesis can succeed in its mission. If the members of the congress engaged in the ministerial wing go back to the rostrum of the organization with the same outlook and same morale as they have in the present role they may try to boss over the new recruits taken in the Government and thus becoming the super-ministers. And this would naturally create new complications both in the party and in the Government. The transfer of the ministers to the organizational wing will have no desired effect unless a proper balance is maintained in the delicate relationship between the organizational boss and the Governmental boss. In certain respects the organization should have the power to supervise and scrutinize the activities of the ministers particularly when their actions constitute a deviation from the normal standard of conduct prescribed by the party for its members. As for example the organizational boss should have power to look in to the mal-practices and corrupt means alleged to have been adopted by a minister or a member of the legislature. But here too it should be posted that the organizational bosses are not swayed by the biases and prejudices and that they act like an impartial auditor of a concern.

The Kamaraj plan, in effect, overlooks the real reasons why the Congress as an organization and the Congress as a ruling party have failed to establish the right type of traditions congenial to the growth and success of democracy in the country. Is it not equally correct to state that Congress as the ruling party has failed in its primary duty to give the country a clean and efficient administration? In other words, the Congress has been exposed to the corrupt influences of some undignified members of the party. The day by day increasing practice of pairvi by the Congress members in every aspect of administration resulting virtually in the spoil system in the country has a damaging effect on the methods and processes of administration. I can quote without prejudice, members of the Congress within and without the government saying that the particular officer of the government did not extend any favour to the party in the election, hence liable to punishment. Kamaraj plan does not envisage any such action or theory which may curb the attitude and outlook of the members of the party going the wrong way. The authorisation to the leader or a committee of the leaders of the party to adopt a method of pick and choose is not congenial to the growth of healthy democratic traditions in the party. Of course, I don't mean any reflection on any leader of the party but I would say that the trend is not very healthy. A separate resolution regarding the resignation of certain ministers both at the centre and at the states should have been brought and discussed with all pros and cons implied therein.

A great rudimentary defect found in the leadership of the party is that it hardly thinks of accommodating the element of opposition within or without the organization. Critics of the governmental policies whether within the organization or without the organization are ridiculed as conspirators conniving against the progress and prosperity of the country.

## Book Review

"THE WILL TO DOUBT," by Bertrand Russell, 126 Pages Cloth Cover, \$1.25.

Undoubtedly there have been few writers and philosophers in modern times who have had the courage to defend as many unpopular opinions in controversial issues as Bertrand Russell. Many intellectuals of our day and age, in order to maintain their prestige and reputations, have faltered when the courage of their convictions was sorely needed in order to carry on the good fight for social and intellectual progress before hosts of intolerance, belligerent conservatism, and defenders of the status quo, when the status quo in a particular avenue of thought was inconsistent with progress. This cannot be said in any instance of Bertrand Russell, who used both his pen and voice to champion unpopular opinions at times when others thought it better to be "discrete" than "valorous," and that it was fool-

hardy to swim against the tide of the times. However, the verdict of an enlightened future day and age will unquestionably rule that Bertrand Russell more than had the courage of his convictions; in his mild and modest manner of persuasion and by his active participation in controversial and paramount issues, he helped to promise causes which desperately needed promoters.

"The Will To Doubt," by Bertrand Russell, is collection of skeptical essays which should prove a source of satisfaction to the critical and curious reader, who is eager for intellectual stimulation and critical analysis at its best. Without any will to doubt or question, prevailing erroneous opinions become crystallized and the intellectual life stagnates. But given the will to doubt, and also the courage to express our doubts, one sacred cow after another will topple from its pedestal, and Bertrand Russell has done more than his fair share to expose the hollowness of many sacred cows, which were worshipped uncritically by the intellectual babbitts of our time.

— Liberal

## The Mind of the Nation

### HINDI MORE FOREIGN THAN ENGLISH

I have no objection to Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam being loyal, and even ultra-loyal, to the, organizational authority of his party and to be vociferous in his conformity and obedience. But I had hoped he had imagination and good sense to avoid doing one wrong to defend another. All other reasons and justifications failing, the Hindi fanatic seeks to foster and depend on pride and immature opposition to things foreign because they are foreign, however good they may be otherwise. To emphasize with emotional hydraulic pressure the foreign character of English, and to rouse feelings of aversion on that basis, is to forget two very important things. That the world is getting nearer and nearer to one family—and we want it to do so—should not be forgotten, even in our anxiety to say ditto to our party. The stress on the foreign character of English with all the foreign foundations and foreign buttresses supporting and sustaining our political, economic, cultural and educational progress is absurd in the extreme. Secondly, emotion cannot be divided into parts. It is one and indivisible. If you rouse it against English on a chauvinistic basis, you simultaneously and automatically rouse chauvinism in the non-Hindi mind against Hindi for any purpose whatsoever, because Hindi is also foreign. 'Foreign' is a handy word and unfortunately a very comprehensive word. Hindi is more foreign to the men, women and children of South India than English. Let this be remembered by those who wish to base argument and propaganda on hatred. 'Foreign' and 'non-foreign' depend not only on origins but on present enduring facts. You cannot win by calling English foreign, when Hindi is more foreign than English in

South India, owing to what has happened these last two hundred years.'

—C. R. in Swarajya

## News & Views

### JOHNSON'S PLEDGE

NEW DELHI, The U.S. President, Mr. Lyndon Johnson, has in a message to the Lok Sabha, said that his administration was pledged to attain those high goals to which President Kennedy was dedicated and finally gave his life.

The U.S. President's message was in a reply to a message from the House. Mr. Johnson said: "Your message of sympathy and the tribute paid by the Indian Parliament to the last President Kennedy is deeply appreciated by all of us. Such an understanding and response to our tragic loss is a source of strength to Mrs. Kennedy and myself during these trying days.

"My administration is pledged to the attainment of those high goals to which President Kennedy dedicated and finally gave his life. In this endeavour I am sure I can count on the support and co-operation of India."

### AMERICA REJECTS PAKISTAN'S THESIS

WASHINGTON, The Baltimore Sun declared that the US proposal to deploy elements of the Seventh Fleet from Pacific into the Indian Ocean is meant to demonstrate to Pakistan that the "United States base rights in Pakistan are not essential to American operations in Indian sub-continent."

The decision has been taken, the newspaper stated, because it has been unable to make any dent on President Ayub Khan.

General Taylor according to the Sun will convey to President Ayub, the American rejection of Pakistan's thesis that India is endangering Pakistan.

Meanwhile it is confirmed that the United States for the moment has no intention of meeting Pakistan's request for two more squadrons of F104s.

As regards India's military needs, it is stated that some items requested by New Delhi last year are no longer desired but other needs not foreseen then, have been established.

General Taylor may be accompanied by General Adams during his visit to India and Pakistan.

### STALIN EXPORTED GRAIN AND ALLOWED PEOPLE TO DIE OF HUNGER, SAYS KHRUSHCHEV

MOSCOW, Mr. Khrushchev told party leaders that Russia is willing to buy from capitalist countries "a whole complex of chemical plants" but warned the "imperialists"—"do not try to dictate political terms."

He declared: "As the saying goes, you don't know whom you are dealing with."

Making his first major speech since the death of President Kennedy, Mr. Khrushchev reported to 6,000 party leaders, packed in the Kremlin Hall of Congresses, on the economic situation.

In his four-and-a-half hour report, he defended the buying of wheat abroad and outlined plans to expand the chemical industry and apply its products to raise Russia's farm output.

Explaining why he had decided to buy grain abroad, he said that in Stalin's days they had exported grain, but people had been allowed to die of hunger.

### CHAVAN, TAYLOR DISCUSS INDIA'S DEFENCE NEEDS

NEW DELHI, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chief of Staff, who arrived here met Defence Minister Y.B. Chavan and India's Chief of Army, Air Force and Navy Staff.

The talks are believed to have broadly covered the entire range of India's defence needs in meeting the Chinese threat. The talks, according to informed

Gen. Taylor's programme will enable him to have a businesslike exchange of views on India's plans for speedy expansion and modernization of its army, air force and defence production. Increasing India's production of light arms and ammunition for its mountain army is said to have been high on the agenda for these talks.

### THE BOWLES TEST FOR AID — PERFORMANCE

NEW DELHI, Mr. Chester Bowles said that in only those countries which were willing and able to mobilise internal resources could foreign capital meaningfully contribute to national development.

The U.S. Ambassador was delivering the first lecture of a series of four on "The economic and social problems of national-building" at the Delhi School of Economics.

In an outspoken assessment of the role of foreign aid, Mr. Bowles stressed that, while this element was vitally important for economic progress in a democratic environment, it had certain concomitants which must be kept in clear perspective.

He pointed out that many countries which had received loans and grants from the U.S. had remained in economic doldrums because they had failed to carry their share of their own burden.

In most such cases the local tax structure had been inefficient and inequitable, capital funds badly needed at home had been allowed to go abroad and luxury imports had eaten up foreign exchange.

There had been corruption in Government and lack of interest in the welfare of the people.

The Ambassador listed five requisites for development: Adequate capital from domestic and foreign sources; enough goods and services to persuade

the people to contribute; adequate skill for management, administration, production and citizenship; a willingness in overcrowded nations to curb a rapid population increase; and a unifying sense of national purpose with effective communication between the people and their leaders.

### **MENON-CELLS CAUSE A HEADACHE TO CHAVAN** 'Flame' of Delhi reports:

The Union Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, is reportedly up against the undesirable activities of some members of the "Ex-Ministers Association" who have started once again dining and wining with a few up-and-coming officers of the Armed Forces.

After the Chinese assault last year these ex-Ministers kept severely aloof from the Armed Forces and dared not go anywhere near them. The high-ranking military officers who died in the helicopter accident near Poonch had given a commendable lead to their colleagues by standing up boldly to the blandishments of these politicians and refusing to hobnob with them.

Now riding on the shoulders of Democratic Socialism and the demoralising spirit created by the Kamaraj Plan these former Ministers have been encroaching on Mr. Chavan's administrative jurisdiction and creating quite a problem for him in the matter of discipline and authority.

Mr. Chavan, it is stated, has to face interference from more than one quarter in his day-to-day work and there is feeling in high political circles that his position is being systematically undermined by a powerful lobby which swears by the former Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon. The fact that Mr. Chavan has yet to acquire a firm grip over his difficult portfolio has made the task of his detractors easier.

The consensus of opinion in political and parliamentary circles is that Mr. Chavan would do well to see that ex-Ministers and Armed Forces personnel maintain a healthy distance between them.

Mr. Menon who has powerful cells in the Defence Ministry is obviously becoming a big headache once gain. With Biju Patnaik on the prowl and Mr. Menon on the rampage, Mr. Chavan's main problem at the moment appears to be taming his officers and keeping them away from mischief-makers.

Meanwhile there is great curiosity in official and parliamentary circles over Mr. Patnaik's association with Defence matters. The general feeling in high circles is that Mr. Chavan is allowing too many poachers in his Defence sanctuary and that he is allowing outsiders to undermine his authority and the devotion of his officers.

### **CHINA MUST BE MADE TO QUIT — NEHRU**

AGRA—Prime Minister Nehru said here today that India would have to keep herself prepared in every way to face China.

He told a public meeting that all efforts were being made to strengthen the armed forces.

"China is a big powerful country. We have to be quite strong and prepared to face her."

"Today, there are differences between China and the Soviet Union. No one can say what turn the situation will take and how China will behave."

"We have to be ready in every way to face her and recover the territories she has illegally occupied," he declared.

When some one in the audience asked when China "will quit," Mr. Nehru replied: "When she is made to. She will not quit of her own. It is obvious."

Mr. Nehru, who arrived here this morning from Jaipur, asked the people to pull together in the real spirit of nationalism and help build the country strong and prosperous.

## **Dear Editor.....**

### **THE DANGER OF VACUUM IN SOCIAL THOUGHT**

Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao's article under the above caption published in your Journal of 1st November is timely and thought-provoking. The paragraph in which he has elucidated how Denmark, Holland, Germany and Belgium, have solved their agrarian problems made me think further on the following lines.

The Tillers in India, who have no land of their own, have to work for landlords either as tenants or as agricultural labourers, to keep themselves employed for earning their livelihood. If the Tillers are granted Government waste lands and given agricultural loans at initial stage to meet all the requirements that are essential for cultivating the land allotted to them, they will be having neither the time nor the inclination to work for others. The landlords who own vast acres of lands, have to cultivate personally at least one or two acres of land for their families to keep their bodies and souls together and the rest of the land will be left uncultivated for want of labourers. The landlords may keep their surplus uncultivated lands for four or five years and finally they will be driven by circumstances to dispose of them voluntarily to get rid of taxation and other commitments. The market rate of the land will automatically come down and the Government can purchase such land for allotting them to landless Tillers who were not fortunate in getting the allotment of Government waste lands. It is also an important point which needs deep consideration, that if the yielding lands are kept idle, there will be shortage in food production. The Government can import food supplies to meet such deficiency, until the lands in the country are equitably distributed and food production is increased. The Government can afford to forego the loss in foreign exchange for a noble cause for which they stand so firmly. This will be a peaceful way of distributing the land to landless tillers without least annoying the landlords and destroying their fundamental right of ownership of land by agrarian reform legislation.

Madras

—P. Kuppu Rao

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