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Editorial page



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EDITORIAL

The Kashmir Tangle Must Be Resolved

THE U.N. Security Council has adjourned *sine die*, without being able to pass either a resolution or ascertain the 'consensus' of the constituent member-nations on the Kashmir question. But the trend of opinion of the majority of the members could be fairly gauged from the speeches made at the meeting. The Anglo-American bloc appeared to side as usual more with Pakistan than with India over this issue, while the Russian camp took as expected its old stand which was broadly in accord with that of India. The one remarkable feature of the debate was that the U.S. and Great Britain this time, left India in no doubt about their being committed unequivocally to supporting the demand for the plebiscite being taken of the Kashmiri people on this issue. As for the U.S.R., though her representative assured India of Russia's fullest support to India, Russia for the first time in history of the Kashmir debate admitted that a dispute over Kashmir did exist and that it had better be settled through direct negotiations between the parties concerned. This suggestion is construed in well-informed political circles to be a mild hint to India that she could not indefinitely rely on the Russian veto for pulling her chestnuts out of the fire in this matter.

GAINS AND LOSSES

The Indian representative Mr. M. C. Chagla who did his mighty best for India, of a difficult and even a bad job, had every reason for being satisfied that Mr. Bhutto of Pakistan had to return to his country empty-handed without getting the Security Council to agree to pass a resolution or to adopt a 'consensus' which specifically recalled the previous resolutions of the Council regarding the principle of self-determination to be applied to Kashmir. Moreover the adjournment of the meeting for an indefinite period instead of postponement of the discussion to a later date as desired by Mr. Bhutto, did more than anything else to expose the hollowness of Pakistan's contention that the people of Kashmir had risen in revolt against the present political set-up and that the conditions there presented a serious threat to the peace and order in that area and therefore called for immediate intervention of the Council.

But Indians need not feel too much elated at this apparent success of their delegation at the U.N. which carries in its wombs, germs of greater mischief and even danger from Pakistan to India's stature in U. N. and world politics. The rather paternalistic attitude of African nations towards this question and particularly towards India, is a clear sign of a fair amount of success achieved by the anti-Indian propaganda carried on vigorously amongst them jointly by China and Pakistan. With the military humiliation of India at the hands of China on the NEFA Sector in 1962, India appears to have been

considerably lowered in the estimation of the newly emergent African nations. This fact should bring home to us that in international politics as in other worldly affairs, nothing succeeds like success and that the world respects might more than right. Mr. Chagla's eloquent defence of Kashmir's legal and constitutional accession to India almost fell on deaf ears and Pakistan's insistence on the plebiscite was upheld, not because of the justice of Pakistan's claim and demand for it but because of the enhanced power of Pakistan for mischief and endangering the peace of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent resulting from the military support promised to her by China. The pity of it is that India's case so ably argued and so demonstrably supported by facts, failed of its effect in the Council because it had no adequate sanction behind it in the shape of India's military strength to defend her own frontiers, or, in the alternative, her firm military alliance or understanding with powerful friendly nations, at least for the limited purpose of defending herself against wanton foreign aggression. Her isolation thus appears to be complete notwithstanding the much-advertised military aid from both the world blocs, which, in fact, consists of nothing more than pitiful doleouts from these countries of outmoded military weapons and other equipment. The Chinese aggression afforded the best opportunity for India to militarise herself with the assistance of Western powers who were then keen on aiding her. But Indian leadership lacking as it did, in a firm determination and a clear military strategy to hurl back the Chinese invader, failed to create the necessary confidence in such friendly nations about India's sincerely wanting to fight the Chinese aggression. On the other hand, she began suspecting the intentions of England and America that had come to her rescue in the hour of her need and followed dubious foreign policies which alienated their sympathies. The result has been disastrous for India and for all that she stands for. In the context of the world tension easing down considerably between the two world blocs, India's position in international politics is not now any different from that of the proverbial bat which posing to be a bird and a beast at one and the same time, was at last turned out by both from their joint feast.

WANTED A FIRM NATIONAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

Thus the prestige lost by us over the Kashmir question can still be rebuilt, if our leadership could do some hard rethinking on this question and rise to the occasion. The first step that India should take in this direction, is to recapture her faith in the principles of Indian republicanism and demonstrate by actual deeds and not mere words that she stands more for her safety and freedom than for ideological slogan-mongering and shibboleths both of the Right

or of the Left. Even as, to a communist, whatever serves the interests of communism is moral and just, to the Indian republican, whatever helps defend and promote national interests and freedom, should be right and proper. Our foreign policy must be hitched only to one star and that is of India's sovereignty and her territorial integrity. Whoever supports it must be deemed to be India's ally and friend and whoever challenges it, India's foe and enemy. In that event, even if we were a socialist country, we should not hesitate to fight China or Russia if they should violate India's territory; the same rule should hold good in the case of Britain or U.S.A. whenever in their own interests they try to harm India's interests. Secondly, India should not hesitate to take military aid from whatever source available to fight back Chinese and Pak aggression irrespective of her ideological inclinations. If we are firmly wedded to Freedom and Democracy, our hearts will be surely in the right places and our alliances political and military, will necessarily be made with the right countries and for right causes. But never for a moment should we forget as a nation that our real source of power and influence would always lie in our own military strength. So we should build up our military arm properly so that we might be ready for war even when we are sincerely working for peace.

This firm national foreign and military policy primarily based on national interests, will take us out of the woods of this Kashmir tangle too. As said above, while equipping ourselves militarily for a defensive and even offensive war, we should be prepared with our own peace proposals for being placed before Pakistan for her consideration regarding the Kashmir question. In view of the fact that Pakistan holds fast by the two-nation theory and we on our part, are equally firm on our secularism, Kashmir tangle could be solved only by dividing Kashmir on the basis of a compromise between the two theories and principles. Maintaining the status quo in Kashmir with slight boundary adjustments to be made either through mutual discussions or through an arbitrator appears to be the only ideal solution of this dispute under the present circumstances. As Lal Bahadur Shastri has put it, India can no longer allow this question as also the allied question of the protection of minorities in Pakistan to hang fire. With clear-cut national and foreign policies and a military strategy India must be in a position to tell in firm tones Pakistan and other nations of the world: 'thus far and no farther'.

Pakistan and her allies must be made to realize that India is no longer in a mood to put up with Pakistan's violations of our territories in the Kashmir region and any more intransigence on her part will be met by all the force and strength at India's command. It will be well for our leaders to learn the lesson from the U.N. Security Council debate that the world respects those who respect themselves.

HARMFUL TO BOTH CAPITAL AND LABOUR

The Bonus Commission's Report is motivated more by political and class considerations than by a

genuine concern for the welfare of the workers. The recommendations made by it do not take into account longrange interests of the workers which are inevitably linked up with the expansion of employment opportunities possible only in an expanding economy. It would have been more equitable and beneficial to both the worker and the employer, if the Commission had been able to suggest a Bonus system which could be related to the productivity of labour particularly in a developing country like India where productivity is a question of life and death.

The Commission defines the Bonus as 'a share by the workers in the prosperity of the concern in which they are employed' and goes on further to fix the share at 60% of the available surplus, leaving the balance of 40% to be used for gratuity and other necessary reserves, rehabilitation requirements and payment of super-profit tax. Under the scheme the employee will get necessarily the minimum of 4% of his total annual earnings including Dearness Allowance, the maximum limit being fixed at 20%, in the form of bonus.

It is clear from these recommendations that the Commission has not given any thought to providing specifically for the rehabilitation allowance, which in these days of rapidly changing technology, must be a prior charge on the profits even in preference to the bonus payable to the workers. In the absence of such provision for this allowance, employers will be compelled to carry on with old and outdated machinery and equipment which will retard industrial pro-

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gress and production and reduce employment potential of the particular unit of industry. Another evil effect of this profit-based bonus system will be, that the workers will be deprived of their basic right to demand directly a steady and dependable rise in wages, proportionate to the prosperity of the industrial unit, as also other social security benefits, since nothing will be left for such benefits to be granted after the 60% of the profits are exhausted in the process of paying the bonus alone.

The bonus formula which seeks to measure both capital-intensive industries and labour-intensive industries with the same rod, will adversely affect the level of earnings of workers in these industries with such different characteristics, though they may happen to be doing by and large the same kind of job. This would imply a split in the labour ranks and create conflict among workers.

The overall result of these recommendations will be crippling of the private sector particularly which runs most of the consumers industries that make fair profits and afford new employment opportunities. This is rather unfortunate, since it is admitted by the planners themselves that with the growing public sector under the plans, there is little hope of creating correspondingly more opportunities for employment. Moreover the capital in private sector will become shy in consequence of only taxable 7% return allowed by the Commission Report on the invested capital and 4% return on reserves also subject to taxation, particularly when the rates of interest charged for the borrowers in the market are much higher. The bonus formula if accepted by the Government, will also directly lead to inflationary prices and make it difficult for the government to hold the price line as promised by them. Under this scheme, the victory of the workers will be therefore only pyrrhic. The Government and the workers as apart from the employers who are sought to be penalised by this report, will have also to repent at leisure, though they might be persuaded, from sectional and political motives, to accept the Commission's Report in haste in the immediate present.

* * * *

ASHOK MEHTA'S MIDDLE-ROAD SOCIALISM

The Praja Socialist Party, ever since its inception has always distinguished itself by its sophisticated leadership pulling in different ways and directions and taking up contradictory and inconsistent political postures. In the beginning of its career, under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan the author of 'Why Socialism', the party bade fair to outdistance even the official communist party in socialist tub-thumping and leftist slogan-mongering. In the Thirties, it created a united socialist front along with the communists and took a long time to learn the bitter lesson that such fronts with the 'reds' invariably meant the P.S.P.'s self-stultification and self-destruction. After having broken away from the communists, they began indulging in a fantastic talk of evolving an Indian brand of socialism, combining

the best aspects of both Gandhism and Marxism, under the guidance of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. This queer socialist admixture foundered on rocks of Thanu Pillai's socialist police firing on the people in Kerala and so Dr. Lohia in protest had to quit the party. The arch-Marxist Jayaprakash had already, by this time, been metamorphosed into a Sarvodaya leader. He is now sponsoring Bhoodan Socialism.

Nevertheless the party dragged on its weary way somehow under the ill-assorted collective leadership of Ashok Mehta and others. But under the impact of the socialist reorientation of the Congress under Nehru's leadership, all the socialist thunder of the P.S.P. vanished into a distant faint murmur, with the result that the P.S.P. suffered a severe set-back in the General Elections of 1952 in which it had expected to come out successful at least in a few States and form Ministries. This disappointing performance of the P.S.P. perhaps made Ashok Mehta somewhat wiser. He lighted upon his famous thesis of collaborating with the Congress 'under the compulsions of a backward economy' as that of India. This thesis earned for him and his close followers the name of the 'Congress lobby' in the P.S.P. among its militant sections who were opposed to any co-operation with the Congress. For some years past, the inner-party struggle between the leftist wing and the Ashok wing had been raging fiercely within the party. It is not therefore surprising that the acceptance of the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission should have created a deep crisis in the P.S.P. The recent resolution of the P.S.P. National Executive terminating Ashok Mehta's membership of the party only marks the triumph of anti-Congress section over the pro-Congress group.

Mr. Ashok Mehta's future career will in the meantime be watched by the public with keen interest. The present neo-communist Congress leadership is reported to be not very anxious to accept the Ashokan socialists within their fold for fear, that these new entrants might strengthen the centrist group led by Lal Bahadur Shastri. Particularly there has been a flutter in the ginger-socialist group of Menon-Malviya-Indira Gandhi, which still hopes to occupy, in the near future, the centre of the stage in the Central Government with the full blessings of Mr. Nehru. The neo-communist press is already shrieking and crying hoarse over what it describes as the sneaking infiltration in the Congress of the Ashok stooges of 'American big business', which might even turn back the rising tide of the influence and power of fellow-travellers in the inner circles of the Congress High Command.

Ashok Mehta's entry into the Congress will have performed a veritable miracle and rendered great services to Indian democracy, if it should only succeed in neutralising the 'Mowcow Lobby' in the Congress, by strengthening the hands of the centrist leadership of the Congress which is yet a force to be counted with in the Congress organisation.

—D. M. Kulkarni

Swatantra Challenges Congress

BY M. A. VENKATA RAO

The speeches made, folders and pamphlets issued at the Swatantra Convention at Bangalore, fill out the outline of the ideology of Freedom and mobilise a great deal of data in support of the thesis of Freedom. The Convention raises the hope that Swatantra will forge a satisfactory opposition capable of taking over the reins of Government.

Careful and impartial observer attending the session of the Third National Session of the Swatantra Party could see a marked progress in the career of the new party (only just over three years old) towards the rank of the principal rival to the reigning Congress party. It has left other competitors behind and raised hopes not only among its own adherents but also among the general public, anxious for a two party democracy that it would fulfil the country's prayers.

From the standpoint of impact on the general public through open shows, exhibitions, a cinema and dramatic amusements to attract vast crowds like the *tamasha* of the Congress Annuals as at Bhuvaneswar in January, the Bangalore session of the new party was nowhere at all. It had only one mass meeting at the end on Sunday evening at Subashnagar maidan, when Sri Rajagopalachari and Maharani Gayatri Devi were the principal speakers. The crowd was one of the biggest for a political meeting in Bangalore.

For the rest, some 550 delegates assembled on 1 and 2 February in two sittings each day, forenoon and afternoon and disposed of the business of discussing and passing resolutions.

From the standpoint of clarifying party ideology, its application to the burning issues of the day, the education of the delegates (who are the principal disseminators of the party message and mobilisers of public support for the party programmes), of public education in the party attitudes, criticisms and alternative programmes, it must be said that the third session was a success. It achieved these goals with clarity and comprehensiveness and organising ability. Over a thousand active workers were in attendance at the Town Hall and in the principal hotels where the delegates were accommodated, to help them. Party literature-folders, pamphlets, souvenir, speeches etc. were on sale, men of talent and experience-industrialists, bankers, ex-civil service persons, landowners, men of commerce from all parts of the country, some members of the old ruling families and some Sikhs from the Punjab, Pattidars and Reddys Kammas and Oriyas were also present along with Keralites, Kanarese, Coorgi and Madras people.

Bangalore answered the challenge of Bhuvaneswar. It picked up the gage thrown down by Congress about Democratic Socialism. Its stand was that socialism was logically destructive of democracy, as evidenced already by the procedure of the socialist Congress Government, who are passing amendment after amendment to the Democratic Constitu-

tion of 1950, each one restricting the scope and efficacy of the fundamental rights! In the USA amendments were passed to extend the scope of fundamental rights but in Congress India, they are being passed to curtail them.

Socialism of the Marxist variety and Planning of the Stalinist variety that forces the pace of industrialisation by centralisation of all economic activities in the hands of the government—agricultural, industrial, financial (commercial), transport, communications and all tertiary services, it converts itself into a single supreme monopoly and makes itself the sole employer and income distributor of all the people. The people have only the role of labour.

The keynote of the criticism was therefore appropriately set by Rajaji by the searing statement that Congress by its socialism is introducing a system of indentured labour for all the people. To speak of democracy in this context of totalitarian is therefore a mindless mockery.

The fundamental rights were inscribed in the Constitution to set limits to the activities and encroachments of the legislature which may be tempted to curry the favour of the people and pass discriminatory and exploitative laws robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Congress in pursuance of its socialist enthusiasm is traversing this wisdom built into the Constitution and removing the Constitutional checks in its path and concentrating absolute power in its own hands. This is democratic in form since confiscatory laws are passed in Parliament. But in substance it is tyrannical. Hence Rajagopalachari extended his de-glamourisation of Congress/ Socialism (Bhuvaneswar brand) by the epithet-democratic tyranny. He meant the Congress practice of hoarding power in its own hands, freeing itself from Constitutional checks by means of lawless amendments passed by a brute majority inherited by history and illegitimately appropriated for emasculating freedom! It is like the tiger with tremendous power stored in its body by nature, waiting behind a bush silently to seize its prey when it likes, meanwhile allowing its victim to graze contentedly in false security'. This is aided by the habit of the victims to refuse to go to the aid of other victims and waiting till the enemy comes to tackle them individually. Rajaji warned the people not to be divided in this way every but to regard an attack on one of them as an attack on all the others. The attack on the goldsmiths or ryots should be resisted by all property-owners and self-employed artisans and professional men.

This view of democratic tyranny as the hoarding and keeping of power in reserve for use autocratically against sections of the populations is a new one and a distinct contribution to international critical literature on socialism of the nonviolent democratic variety.

The resolutions passed cover the most important issues agitating the public mind today in regard to national policies—foreign and domestic.

With regard to foreign policy, the Convention adopted a resolution to the effect that the present foreign policy of nonalignment had failed and should be changed so as better to secure national defence. It did not specify that any particular alliances with the democracies should be entered into. This was left over for a later occasion. The resolution only served to clear the decks for a better policy. Foreign nations might also be moved then to adopt a more positive attitude of assistance.

Mr. Masani created a sensation by producing the copy of a letter (from a Hongkong newspaper) said to have been written by Mrs. Bandaranaike of Ceylon to Mr. Chou Enlai assuring him on Mr. Nehru's behalf that India would not re-occupy the areas vacated by Chinese troops on the border, though formally he retained her right to them. She wrote that Mr. Nehru had given her this assurance in the presence of Mr. Ali Sabri of the UAR and Ofori of Ghana.

A spokesman of the External Affairs' Ministry denied the existence of such a letter the next day on seeing press reports of this disclosure by Mr. Masani in Bangalore.

But the denial has to be made by Mrs. Bandaranaike who is the alleged author. The point of the letter is that the Government seem to have again taken to their old habit of keeping the public in the dark about vital moves in diplomacy in relation to defence, while denying facts. The question concerns the behaviour of Government in relation to the sovereign people and its security.

The session demanded the termination of the Emergency Regulations as the situation vis a vis China has become a permanent stalemate and its continuation is only serving the aggrandisement of the ruling party.

The session passed a resolution opposing the idea of nationalising banking, which is being urged on Government by communist circles. To nationalise banking is to take over the nerve centre of the economy and break the backbone of the private sector and pass into total communism i.e. total centralisation of the economy which at the present stage would bring about a disastrous breakdown or crisis and stop foreign aid altogether, freeze the capital market and throw the entire burden of saving and investment on government finances which it cannot bear.

To nationalise banking would equal in socialist status the collectivisation of farming, which is to be facilitated by the whole sale damage to ryotwari property rights announced in the 17th Amendment Bill.

The party therefore opposed this Amendment Bill strenuously. Mr. Jinaraja Hegde did not hesitate to call Mr. Nehru a communist in this connection. But Mr. Nehru had made no secret of his convictions from before independence. Only Congress and the country did not believe him or realise the full implications of the term for policy and economic change.

Another important resolution passed at the Convention was moved by Shri C. R. himself. He had already in *Swarajya* published the proposal of a Statutory Board with independent powers, responsible only to Parliament like the Auditor General, liable only to Parliament like the Auditor-General. It should be entrusted with the function of scrutinising applications for licences, permits and other commercial or industrial patronage and deciding upon the best business men or companies to have them in the public interest, free from all political or party pressures and nepotism of all kinds.

This procedure if carried out would free the Governmental process from a vast load and miasma of corruption which at present is incapacitating it to function in a straight and efficient manner. It will remove much of the evil or sting inevitably arising from the vast extension of powers inherent in socialism.

As Rajaji added, it would aid any Government, even the Swatantra if it came to power, to keep free from the miasma of corruption by removing temptation from its vitals.

The Swatantra party men have devoted some thought to the real role of government in promoting growth and stimulating the economy (and achieving the other goals involved in abolishing poverty and extending welfare promised by socialism) without incurring the evils of over-government and freezing initiative and starting inflationary finance.

Hence an alternative Plan with eight points was proposed to form the nucleus of an economic policy and was passed as a Resolution.

The State was envisaged as fully stretched in finance and manysided activities in providing social overheads and infra-structure, so necessary to support modern industry and commerce, growing at a rapid pace. Roads, main and rural, connecting villages *inter se* and with towns, rail stations and markets, posts, telegraphs and teleprinters, framework of law and order, supporting the fundamental rights of life and liberty, property and contract, adding trade union legislation and negotiation and reconciliation machinery between employers and labour, social security assistance to private insurance, supplementing but not supplanting individual self insurance, education, (primary, technical, research, ours and technical,) defence research, defence industries where necessary and urgent etc.)—would all belong to the State and would occupy its energies of the state and its genius for impartial administration. It will leave private persons free to supply economic needs individually and in voluntary associations, partnerships, joint-stock companies, co-operatives etc. This division of functions has been proved to be the most creative form of co-operation

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Mr. Nehru And His Decisions

By M. N. Tholai

One would have thought that educated people in our country are aware that most of Mr. Nehru's major decisions have proved to be wrong and therefore it is unwise to rely on his judgment. But that does not appear to be the case. This unfortunate refusal to think and deliberate on their part has its basis in the belief that Nehru is a phenomenon even as Gandhiji was a magician.

One would have thought that educated people in the country are aware that most of the major decisions of Mr. Nehru, since he became Prime Minister, have proved to be wrong and that therefore it is unwise to rely on his judgment. But that does not appear to be the case despite all that has happened. Indeed, the contrary view happens to prevail in quarters which should know much better. For instance, *The Hindustan Times*, concludes a short leading article on the Prime Minister in the following words: "But he will not want, nor should, remain Prime Minister if he has to withdraw from the making of the major decisions of the Government. It is in the nation's interest that he should be preserved as long as he can be for this all-important role." Since the writer is obviously an admirer of Mr. Nehru's decisions, one begins to wonder which one of his major decisions he has in mind, for they have—almost all of them—proved disastrous.

Almost all the major decisions made by Jawaharlal Nehru whether before independence, since he stepped into his father's shoes, or after it as Prime Minister have been blunders of the first magnitude. There was the decision to form a purely Congress cabinet in U.P. in 1937 after the general election, although the Congress was in honour bound to have a Congress-League coalition there. This led to the unfurling of the Pakistan flag by Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman, a lieutenant of Motilal Nehru. After independence the decision to send troops to Kashmir, which saved it for India in the nick of time, was taken at the insistence of Sardar Patel who overruled the British Commander-in-Chief, who was of the opinion that it was too late in the day to think of it.

Then came the ill-advised appeal to the United Nations. What is the use of saying the appeal had the support of Mahatma Gandhi? Mr. Nehru, by virtue of being the most travelled man in the Congress, was regarded as its foreign expert. The appeal showed how ignorant he was of the forces working in the Security Council. Efforts should have been made to find out; before the appeal was made, what the reactions to the appeal were likely to be among the members of the Security Council at the time, particularly when our international ambitions, which often found expression in the speeches of Mr. Nehru, were by no means a closely-guarded secret. Consolidation at home should have preceded proclamations which could only annoy our friends, proclamations which we ourselves had no intention whatsoever of translating into practice. Mahatma Gandhi also often

sacrificed the country's interest at the alter of the interests of his world leadership.

Then came the cease-fire in Kashmir when the Pakistani forces were on the run. That was Mr. Nehru's decision. Had the state been cleared of the invaders, cession of much less than was under Pak occupation at the time would have brought about peace between the two countries and deprived Pakistan of the face for asking for more. If Kashmir was ours by right, where was the sense in leaving two-fifths of it in the hands of Pakistan, which had invaded our territory without even declaring war on us, for the sake of a cease-fire when the Pak forces were on the run? Even if they were not all on the run, they could and should have been made to run. Our Government has always been subject to contrary emotions under the Prime Ministership of Mr. Nehru. Emotions by their very nature are transient and cannot be made to last or kept under control always. But in our country they are glorified because the Prime Minister is an emotional man and often talks of emotional integration. He prefers emotion to intellect just as Gandhi preferred brawn to brain, when those who could court jail often went up on the ladder of national leadership.

Then came the wonderful offer of plebiscite to settle the destiny of Kashmir. If the accession of Kashmir to India was final and complete and irrevocable, where was the sense in offering or accepting plebiscite? When he was Prime Minister of Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah was once asked why he wanted a plebiscite. He replied, "I never wanted a plebiscite. Ask your Panditji." So the plebiscite demand was accepted without even consulting Sheikh Abdullah. There is this thing about our wonderful Panditji that he is always cocksure about the correctness of his decisions when he takes them; otherwise of course he would not take them. Was Mr. Nehru under the impression that the religious issue or a religious cry would not be raised during the plebiscite? All this shows the working of a mind subject to changing views and varying estimates of a particular situation to which there is no corrective in the shape of collective leadership or realistic conclusions reached by experts in charge of a particular problem. In fact there are no such experts in India. In India Mr. Nehru is our expert on everything, for woe betide the man who dare say he has blundered. Why should one, when one can always blame everything on the British?

In the matter of China again our policy proved to be wholly a wrong one. When Mr. Nehru visited

China, there were unofficial reports that the leader, Mao, treated him with scant courtesy. Some even went so far as to say he was insulted. A photograph which was published in some Indian papers showed Mr. Nehru sitting across a bare large rectangular table, facing Mao and Chou en-Lai. It almost gave the impression of a headmaster questioning a school boy. In any case it gave no impression of cordiality and equality. Quite the reverse. On the other hand, when the Chinese Premier visited India Mr. Nehru was all courtesy and encouraged the slogan of "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai". At the Bandung Conference he was, if anything, sponsoring the leadership of China in Afro-Asian matters. Our Prime Minister's role there was one of flattering Chou en-Lai, as if flattery could change the Chinese dragon's aggressive intentions.

Where flattery is the answer to a bully's rudeness or stiffness it can only encourage the bully. It does not need a psychologist to tell or know that well-known fact. And that exactly has been the result. What was considered the right psychological approach was and should have been known to be the wrong one. Mr. Nehru even went so far as to denounce the American attitude in the matter of Quemoy and Matsu and earn the displeasure of the Anglo-Americans. Even a cursory knowledge of the political designs of the USA and Britain, on the one hand, and Russia and China, on the other, should have told Mr. Nehru clearly on which side to lean in the dispute between the two blocs — political morality and our own dedication to democracy apart.

What is at fault is trust in the immediate emotional response at the spur of the moment. That was Gandhi's bane and that is Nehru's bane and our country's bane. It was this bane that enabled Jinnah to floor all Congress leaders single-handed. It is no use blaming the British. They were against the partition of India because partition would not provide for "defence in depth" against Russia and Russia has always been the British bogey. In the last resort it is refusal to think and deliberate that has been our misfortunate and that refusal has its basis in our belief that Nehru is a phenomenon even as Gandhi was a magician.

In contrast to the emotional responses of the Congress leaders, often contradictory, the Muslim League, under the guidance of Jinnah, had always one mind. Whenever a proposition was presented to him, he would say he would put it before the League Council, although about the League he was even reported to have blurted out once: "Gentlemen, me and my stenographer, we two constitute the All-India Muslim League." By saying he would put the proposition before the League he only wanted time to think the matter out and to discuss it with the brainier among his lieutenants. But magicians and phenomons do not have to do that. That only shows an utter lack of the sense of responsibility which has been the leading characteristic of Indian leaders. It is to that trait that we have to point for the derision of brain power in our politics and trust in loyalty

as the most desirable of all accomplishments. Mr. Nehru's leftism has been another bane. It drew him towards Maulana Mohammad Ali and away from Jinnah. Leftism is only another name for emotionalism and emotionalism for that of folly. Under the strain of this double bane what can the country expect?

SOCIALIST ROAD TO TYRANNY

BY GEORGE N. CROCKER

Elbert Hubbard was a kindly man who searched for the good in socialism 60 years ago. He eventually defined it as "a sincere, sentimental, benevolent theory, which has but one objection, and that is, it will not work."

He was almost correct, but not completely. Socialism can be made to work—albeit badly—by the imposition of sheer coercion. The dream passes; the tyranny endures, an encrusting slag that seals out the air of freedom. In our times many important people have been slow to learn this. One of them was Ferhat Abbas.

When Algeria became independent in July, 1962, its new leaders proclaimed "a socialistic democracy." Jubilant was Ferhat Abbas, an elder statesman of the freedom movement, who became speaker of the National Assembly. He had read the same books which have misled many a visionary at the Sorbonne, or at Harvard or Stanford; so when the opportunity came, he worked hard for his ideal, which was a democratic government erected on an economic base of socialism.

He is a wiser man today. As nationalization proceeded, he became the last influential voice speaking for parliamentary and popular freedom in Algeria.

Ferhat Abbas has now resigned and will live abroad. Freedom, he learned, has to be sought elsewhere. To find it, he must go to a capitalist country with a relatively free economic system and a respect for private property. This is not what those books had told him.

Algeria's brand new Constitution explicitly adopts socialism, for that is the most expedient device to centralize all economic and political power in the ruling regime. This suits the designs of President Ahmed Ben Bella. Algeria is and will remain a one-party dictatorship.

Our home-grown socialist will smile and demur: "Ah, that is different; the socialism we advocate is the democratic kind." That was the kind poor Ferhat Abbas advocated. He learned too late what Elbert Hubbard told us long ago. It has to do with the nature of the human animal. That kind "will not work."

But, as our century is proving, it is a road to tyranny. Like the road to Hell, it is sometimes paved with good intentions.

—Freeman

U. P. Accreditation Rules And The Free-dom Of The Press

BY SETH W. HOWARD

RATHER adopt a simple procedure to grant accreditation to bona fide correspondents and working journalists of recognized and registered newspapers and News agencies, the U. P. Government has framed rules for this purpose. This is done with no motive other than to bring them under the jurisdiction of the District Officer indirectly. In other words, while attending press conference, a correspondent will all the time have to be careful that he does not act in any manner which might be considered as undignified in the eye of the District Officer and he may forfeit his accreditation.

Let me quote here a few extracts from the Rules for accreditation of Correspondents to substantiate my point of view.

"An application for accreditation should be submitted by or through the Editor of the newspaper, News agencies etc., to the District Officer, who will forward the same immediately to the Director of Information with his comments."

Observe the sentence "with his comments." This suggests that he may recommend the applications of "yes men" correspondents. This also suggests subordination to the District Officer indirectly.

"A correspondent will be liable to disaccreditation if he in the course of his duties as correspondent, behaves in an undignified or unprofessional manner etc."

This is like the hanging of sword of Democles on the head of a correspondent in a free and democratic country... India that is *Bharat*. Any of his action which may displease the District Officer is likely to result in the forfeiture of his accreditation, for vindictiveness is the second nature of people in this country.

The British Government even under most trying and embarrassing circumstances never imposed such humiliating and communistic rules but the Congress Government which on the top of its voice proclaims to be the guardian of freedom of speech, of the press and of the individual independence has done so. Is it democracy or mockery?

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

Those were the old good days when we from the entire district used to attend press conference. We used to discuss the local problems, inefficiency in administration and corrupt practices without fear or intimidation. There were no rules. There were no accreditations. There were no reports of undignified behaviour against any correspondent to his Editor or to the Director of Information. The District Magistrate even used to arrange for our conveyance

both ways. But what now! Since the introduction of the scourgeous system of accreditation, the Government has chosen a few "yes men" correspondents to attend Press Conference exclusively and to obtain publicity materials from the office of the District Information Officer. This has considerably jeopardized and undermined a full-fledged and exhaustive discussion on the district level.

Mr. Nehru in his inaugural speech of the AIWFJ Conference, Madras in the recent past stressed on two points simplification of Hindi language for Hindi Papers and extensive coverage of news from rural areas. Are the few correspondents at the district headquarters in a position to do so? Any fool will tell you that it is physically impossible. But the U. P. Government thinks otherwise.

VERY SURPRISING

It is very surprising indeed and beyond common sense how the Editors, the U.P. Press Committee and the U.P. Working Journalists' Union have accepted the accreditation of correspondents under such humiliating rules for, no journalist, to my mind, who has self-respect and love for individual freedom of action would accept them. He would rather maintain his dignity and prestige and independence of action than be lured to accept small mercies from a Government which is trying to crush him.

Would something be done to retrieve our lost importance, respect, individual independence of speech and action?

(Continued from Page 6)

between citizen and government in post-war Europe—France, Italy, West Germany and Japan in strong contrast to communist States where growth is now lagging in spite of coercion. Communist States including Russia are now trying to introduce some of the incentives of free economy! It is a pity that Indian Planners refuse to learn from recent experience and insist on applying obsolete methods that are being discarded in the West.

The speeches, folders, pamphlets and the Souvenir issued in connection with the Convention fill out the outline of the ideology or philosophy of freedom crystallised in the resolutions and mobilise a great deal of data in support of the thesis of freedom, mostly official documents of Plan appraisals and the like.

The convention raises the hope that the Swatantra will forge a satisfactory opposition capable of taking over the reins of Government.

POLITICAL PRANKS

(From Our Correspondent)

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri has been receiving tributes on his decision to have the genuineness of the holy relic confirmed by the Muslim religious leaders of Kashmir before its exposure to public view but, it is being argued here in knowledgeable circles, in reality he had no choice in the matter. Of the two alternatives he sensibly rejected the one which was far more dangerous and risky. In the alternative he adopted there undoubtedly was an element of risk, inasmuch as the Muslim divines could have played the Pakistani game and told a lie, but even that, regarding the Prophet's hair, had to be ruled out. How could they, being what they were?

The names of the alleged culprits have been given out in Parliament and the case will soon be subjudice, the trying magistrate being one from India. There is a good deal of room for speculation which can serve little purpose. There are those who associate some National Conference leaders with the crime, but that will be for the trying judge to determine. In the meantime one is left wondering at the reasons for the highly exaggerated statement made by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad regarding the cries raised in Kashmir which, he must have known, will be exploited by Pakistani leaders, if indeed it was not meant to bolster the Pakistan case in the Security Council and the eyes of the world. Surely he is not such a fool as not to have realised the implications of his statement, almost utterly devoid of truth as it was. Surely the burning of the Bakhshi family property cannot be equated with pro-Abdullah slogans or with a demand for a plebiscite.

In this connection the Press and the manner in which it is run in the country has come in for a good deal of criticism here among those who claim to know better. Is it the function of the Press dutifully to report any and every statement made by a deposed and disgruntled chief minister of a state, regardless of its effect on public opinion in the world and regardless also of its veracity? The newspapers had already published accounts of the disturbances in Kashmir from their own correspondents on the spot, and high-class newspapers the world over generally disregard statements made to contradict their correspondents' versions, particularly when they are regarded as detrimental to the country's interests. The fault really lies with the news editors and sub-editors who have a tendency to regard press telegrams and cables and news reports as sacrosanct. The *Times of India* when it started its Delhi edition here on that account lost a glorious opportunity of beating the *Hindustan Times* in circulation, because the former's news editor and sub-editors failed it. For want of space the

Times of India then had to defer publishing some news items to a day later. Chancing to meet one of its senior sub-editors I asked him the reason for it. He said, "We have too many advertisements and they shut out news." I asked him, "Is there any news item which you cannot cut down to half its size without the item losing anything in the process?" He stared blankly at me. Obviously the news and sub-editors did not know their job. I remember how in the *Pioneer* of Allahabad in the twenties, when it was edited mostly by Englishmen, we used to throw heaps of telegrams in the wastepaper basket and hardly ever published anything without drastic pruning. But in Indian newspaper offices, as in the country, inferiority complex reigns supreme, and in no other profession can it work such havoc as in that of journalism. "Cut it down mercilessly," the Chief Sub used to say, but this mercilessness requires talent as well as hard work.

SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE

India's case in the Security Council has been presented as it should have been presented, and that for the first time during the last 15 years. That shows that the choice of India's representatives for the purpose had so far been faulty. Mr. Aiyangar was first chosen presumably because he had been Prime Minister of Kashmir during the Maharajah's rule—surely a minor consideration. Then Mr. Menon was chosen presumably because he was a friend of the Prime Minister with absolute freedom to go about antagonising all whom he disliked and all those whom he made the Prime Minister dislike, which is by no means a difficult achievement. Mr. Menon's disastrous missions abroad have proved more fruitful for Pakistan than for India and it is not a little curious that, despite the utter failure of the political angle with which Mr. Menon approached his task, he remains a favourite with the Prime Minister. What does it mean? Let the reader answer.

The reports of Mr. Aiyangar's speeches in the Security Council were so hard to understand that Indian journalists here were almost led to believe that they were being tampered with in transmission. Mr. Menon's sentences were often unintelligible. He seemed to prefer quantity to quality. In the choice of Mr. Chagla also, the fact that he is a Muslim seems to have carried greater weight than his undoubtedly ability to put forward a convincing case. The Anglo-American attitude is largely the aftermath of Mr. Menon's great work for India abroad and of our foreign policy directed as it was with a personal angle to glorify the Prime Minister. If the aim of

Mr. Menon and our foreign policy, almost dictated by him, was to create enemies for India, it could not have succeeded better. That is proved by the strength of our case on Kashmir and the fact that it does not seem to carry the weight that it obviously should.

VICE-PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The Vice-President's address was notable for the absence in it of any reference to our determination to drive the Chinese out of the sacred soil of India, to which the Government and Parliament alike are solemnly pledged. Mr. Nehru has also been treating the unanimous resolve of Parliament in this regard almost as a forgotten chapter. Indeed, he said once that he attached greater importance to the food situation in the country than to the Chinese threat. The continued infiltration of Muslims from East Pakistan into India has also not attracted as much attention as it deserved. Whether the infiltration is the result of a conspiracy on the part of Pakistan or is simply due to better living conditions in India—which infiltration will certainly make worse—is immaterial, for the consequences of infiltration are not likely to change in accordance with its cause. This shows how our Government pursues a policy of drift, instead of taking the bull by the horns and showing it its proper place. Mr. Nehru is easily nonplussed when faced with a problem whose solution can be dubbed communal. In this matter also we are faced with an adversary who knows his mind while we do not know our own. This is a great handicap. Indeed, it becomes greater when one realises that the initiative in the matter has to come from a very busy, a very tired and now a very sick man.

It is obvious that we cannot leave the Hindu minority in Pakistan to the tender mercies of the fanatics of that land. Wars have been started for much less and it is not war-mongering to say that. If we continue our present attitude of indifference towards the Hindus of East Pakistan, there can be no doubt that they will be wiped out in course of time. One cannot help feeling at this juncture the lack of leadership in the Hindu fold. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lajpat Rai in the twenties routed the Congress under the leadership of Motilal Nehru in the elections over a much lesser cause. The Hindu Sabha of today is almost a moribund organisation and the Jana Sangh, one cannot help feeling here, is losing a wonderful opportunity. If it cannot sense a national and even a humanitarian cause in that of the Hindus of East Pakistan, it might as well cease to exist. Here also they do not seem to realise that first things must come first. The complacency with which we are regarding the fate of the Hindus of East Pakistan should shame any community. But where does the question of shame arise when the organ that feels and decides is itself lacking, as seems to be the case in the councils of the Hindu Sabha and the Jana Sangh. You take any problem in India to discuss and you find cowardice is at the bottom of it. It will continue to be the main prop of Mr. Nehru, irrespective of whether he is ill or well.

PAK ATROCITIES ON MINORITIES: MPS APPEAL TO WORLD CONSCIENCE

Thirtyeight Members of Parliament belonging to various political parties in a joint statement appealed to the world community to bring to bear pressure on Pakistan to give protection to its minorities on which atrocities were being committed.

The MPs said: "It is high time that the world community took serious notice of this outrage on humanity. It is a tragedy that while the United Nations have pledged themselves to the observance of the human rights enshrined in the Charter, such atrocities are being committed and that there is no protection against the maltreatment of minorities and incitement to such maltreatment."

They also appealed to the intelligentsia of Pakistan "to wake up to a realization of the necessity of establishing a democratic Government in Pakistan, where legislative bodies may function, adhering to the principles of democratic representation on the basis of adult franchise."

The statement said: "Until such time arrives and the Government of Pakistan reverses its policies and establishes the rule of law, there does not appear to be any hope for the minorities in Pakistan to live in peace and harmony and for us the refugee problem will be an ever-recurring one."

"The recent massacres and atrocities committed on the minorities in Khulna and other places in Pakistan make a heartrending story. So long as the Government-controlled Press of Pakistan continues to preach hatred and the Pakistan Government practises intolerance and discrimination against the minorities, such periodic outbursts of communal frenzy cannot cease. This is a grave human problem which affects not only India but the entire civilized world."

"It is distressing," the statement said, "that in spite of the knowledge of the happenings in Pakistan resulting from continuous preaching of hatred against the minorities, Pakistan has received support, for political reasons, in the Security Council from the spokesman of a friendly country, who, in his zeal, abandoned all regard for truth and put India on par with Pakistan on the question of the treatment of minorities."

GUJARAT POLICY ON ENGLISH

A passionate plea for breaking the "dictatorship which guides the educational policy in Gujarat" was made by Mr. T. S. Thakore while presiding over the conference of Gujarat State Secondary Teachers' Conference here.

The conference was earlier inaugurated by Prof. Purushottam Ganesh Mavlankar, member of Gujarat University Senate and Director of Harold Laski Institute of Political Science.

Mr. T. S. Thakore, a veteran Congressman who has been spearheading the crusade against the anti-English policy of Gujarat Government alleged that this anti-English policy of Gujarat was arbitrarily imposed by a small group of the GPCC which was led by Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Thakorebhai Desai.

ANGLO-PHOBES

BY P. KUPPU RAO

THE proximate cause for English being a red rag to some Indians is due to their ill-will against British *Raj*, and their administration of India in the past. Indians rebelled against the British *Raj* under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhiji, and pressurised the Britishers to quit India. The Britishers marched out of India with their bag and baggage sixteen years ago, honourably and gracefully handing over the administration of India to Indians themselves. Though they have left India, yet their puissant bureaucratic, and plutocratic system of Government has not departed with them. The Anglo-phobes, who shout from house tops against English have not a word to say about the continuation of this system of Indian administration. The allegation that the Britishers had created a mania in the minds of Indians for English education is undoubtedly true. But there is nothing unnatural about it, since every conqueror does employ his own language as a medium of administration and thus establish his own rule over the conquered. Indians not only studied English to eke out their livelihood, but also imitated the Britishers in all their fashions, customs and manners which facts seem to prick the Anglo-phobists. The Anglo-phobists instead of instigating Indians against the use of English medium in the administration of India, should first list down, all such anti-national trends in our body-politic, which militate against the principle of 'Government of the People, by the people and for the people' for which India stands to day and which were left over by the Britishers behind them and try to remove them. In the absence of such a move, their movement against mere English medium will be only pulling wires for provincialism and parochialism.

English, though alien to the Indians, has already rooted itself firmly in the Indian soil, without arresting in the least, the growth of regional languages. The British system of education in India was methodical and uncumbersome to school-going youngsters. Subjects like Science, History, Geography etc., which are ever-growing in the fast changing world were taught step by step first in the regional languages in the lower classes and in English in advanced classes and colleges. In high Schools the regional languages were prescribed as special study for Indian students to specialise themselves in and master their respective regional literature. Some of the British polyglots translated the Indian literary works into English and brought world-wide fame and name to the Indian literature and culture, while British publishing Houses published important English books like the Bible, in all the regional languages and added to the treasury of the Indian literature. They even printed all the Indian currency coins etc. in all regional languages. In short the Britishers during their rule in India, encouraged the

growth of all regional languages side by side with English and so the allegation that the Britishers rule in India was the cause for the ruination of the Indian regional languages is utterly baseless and unfounded in factual realities and results.

Indians who worked with Britishers in the administrative and the business circles will tell how the Britishers liked the friendly acts of Indians and admired their arguements in refined English. English men however efficient they might be, were always willing to put two and two together for ascertaining the truth. An English gentleman who had an occassion to converse with an Indian youth in English, appreciating his fluency in English enquired of him, how he had picked up the English language, to which the Indian youth politely retorted him with a wit, that he had not picked up the English language, but studied the English language from his school going age at the expense of his parents' hard earned money. The English gentleman studying the reply between the lines expressed his regret for his slang. The Britishers even admitted that the Indians are on par with them in intellect and efficiency in all the fields. Such were the sense of fairness and goodness instilled in their minds by their English education.

The Anglo-phobists' attempt to put back the progress of English education in India will place the Indians in an embarrassing position in international affairs, and trade, which will make India deviate from the path of progress and lag behind the progressive world. English is spoken and understood in each and every quarter of the globe by all ranks of people and classes both in the business and external affairs. Indians doing foreign trade will confirm the fact that enquiries in English will fetch a response in the same English language from all quarters of the globe.

Book Review

SOUVENIR OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY, 1 and 2 February, 1964 BANGALORE :

Demi Size. 55 Pages exclusive of advertisements.
Price Rupees Two.

This Souvenir was distributed at the session at Bangalore and does not therefore contain the ideas mooted and the resolutions passed at the Convention. It contains fourteen essays on various problems of national economy and politics (that are vexing the minds of the public today) written by competent persons with experience garnered in several walks of life—teaching, party politics, business, civil service,

educational administration, banking, journalism, medical practice, law etc. It is a fair sample of the men of talent and experience (from the learned professions, and upper ranks of business) that the Swatantra Party has induced to join active politics by way of contributing to public opinion.

The classes had fought for democracy, realised it, built its institutions and furnished its political practitioners as well as its "friends, philosophers and guides like Mill and Morley, are just such people as are represented in the list of contributors to this souvenir and figure so meaningfully in the leading circles of the Swatantra Party. This group is clear evidence that the Party has the personnel to take up the burden of office from Congress and make a better job of it — at least in the first innings. The people should in their own interest give the Party the earliest chance of doing so.

Themes of planning and practical economics dominate the volume. Together, they offer a critique of present failures and the directions of an alternative Plan. They re-inforce their arguments with a plethora of armour drawn from official statistics and other data of unimpeachable value.

Mr. Massani's Lok Sabha speech in which he made the startling demand (armed with piercing facts regarding average incomes, the slow growth of the economy and the failures of the Five Year Plans) for the scrapping of the Plans is reproduced for the benefit of the reader, who will have the facts (recorded in summary form in this souvenir) handy for everyday debate and conversation.

Mr. Masani gives the outlines of the positive role that the State can legitimately play in the *better kind of Plan* favoured by the Swatantra Party. It will consist in providing the social overheads or infra-structure of the economy that are necessary to stimulate and facilitate economic growth at a rapid rate. It will supplement and not supplant private enterprise. This function can stretch the resources of the Government to its utmost in the foreseeable future, while leaving private individuals free to fulfil their creative role of initiative and investment in production in old and new lines, in light and heavy industries, in commerce and transport, in consumer goods and services of many kinds, in finance and industrial research.

This Souvenir has no single paper on the very important subject of foreign policy. But it figured prominently at the Convention at Bangalore when a strongly-worded, critical Resolution was passed declaring that the present policy of non-alignment had failed and calling upon Authority to abandon it.

Mr. Masani startled the Delegates by showing them the copy of a letter supposed to be written by Mrs. Bandaranaike to Mr. Chou Enlai giving him the assurance on behalf of Mr. Nehru that India would not reoccupy NEFA area vacated by China after her aggressive invasion and occupation last October. The letter was reproduced in a Hongkong

newspaper. The Government has now to clear themselves about the position as to why, they have again misled the Indian public to believe that they had not conceded any such acceptance of defeat.

Messrs. Lobo Prabhu, M. R. Pai, Morarji Vaidya, N. K. Ganapiah and Phiroze J. Shroff write on different aspects of the economic scene. Mr. Prabhu gives a succinct critical account of the failure of the Plans in terms of the essentials of food, clothing, shelter, health and education. Mr. Pai gives further details of the role of the State in maintaining the legal framework of order, a stable currency and so on. Mr. Shroff has gallant article calling unequivocably for the *denationalisation* of the public sector, on the perfectly valid ground of unconscionable waste and inefficiency and quotes staggering figures in support 1.9% profit on a capital of Rs. 1200 crores! Indeed the cost of present misgovernment in all spheres of social life mounts to Himalayan Peaks!

Mr. Ganaphia, a coffee Planter from Passan in Mysore State, contrasts the brilliant affluence of private planter's efforts (an increase of 300%) with the paralysis of government controlled agriculture.

A distinguished retired civil servant Mr. C. R. Venkatachar discourses delightfully on the role of retired civil servants in politics.

Prof. M. Ratnaswamy, a former Vice Chancellor of a University, gives a plain tale of revised priorities with the right emphasis on primary education so that the country will not have to wait for 75 years for full literacy as on present Plans! In fact, in every sphere of national reconstruction, the Swatantra Administration would be one of consolidation and stock-taking, basing new Plans on realistic data and realisable goals, with the right liaison between State and Individual (and voluntary group activities in co-operatives, partnerships, jointstock companies etc) with the State stimulating, pooling information, regulating and reconciling rather than repressing and assuming *monopolies* in every department of life, as it is at present doing.

The Souvenir needs to be re-issued with the proceedings of the Convention added. It will serve to educate the public and the party workers of all opposition parties.

— M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

THE SPIRITUAL TRAGEDY OF OUR TIMES

The Congress has adopted a pseudo-socialist policy, with the ostensible purpose of raising the standard of life in India through centralized Planning for long periods, overruling the annual budgetary system. In effect it is a form of Statist total control over all the economic activities of the people. It helps the party to keep citizens in *terrorem* under

the dictation of the State, that is, under the dictation of the bosses of the party in office. It effectively helps that party to perpetuate itself in office complying with the external forms of democracy and to maintain a general illusion that the party is itself the State. Not only this, it has succeeded in making the younger generation ignorant of a free way of life altogether. The overall restraints arising out of international trade must of course be directed by the Government, but what has happened is that the younger generation in India now knows no such free way of life and business as people above 45 can remember. They imagine that Statist control and regulation which now prevails is the only possible and orderly way of life, because they have not seen what older people have seen. This bringing up of our youth in complete ignorance of an alternative healthy way of life is the biggest spiritual tragedy of our times.

The Swatantra Party is resolved to restore the free way of life that prevailed before World War II and to remove the hypnosis that has been created by the Congress Party in imitation of the Communist dictatorship. The way of life for which the Swatantra Party works is not an impossible laissez faire but to leave the economy relatively free so that citizens may carry on their occupations and live without fear of being deprived of the means to a free life.

-C. R. in SWARAJYA

News & Views

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL VOTED IN US

WASHINGTON

THE House of Representatives voted 290 to 130 to pass a strong Civil Rights Bill that cut across segregation barriers to give Negroes better public accommodations and employment opportunities.

Commenting on the House action, President Johnson said he hoped that the "same spirit of non-partisanship will prevail (in the Senate) to assure passage of this Bill guaranteeing the fundamental rights of all Americans."

But the measure, hailed the strongest civil rights legislation to come before Congress in nearly a century, will face a certain "filibuster"—an attempt by Southern opponents to talk the Bill to death—during the Senate debate, which is not likely to begin before the end of February.

The Bill's job section would create an Equal Employment Commission empowered to investigate complaints of discrimination in employment practices because of race, religion, national origin or sex.

Political observers said the most important feature of the Bill was a prohibition against discrimination in public accommodation and State-operated public facilities.

When enacted into law, this would give Negroes much more freedom in choosing places to eat and sleep when travelling in States still observing racial restrictions.

The Bill also has provisions guaranteeing Negro voting rights and providing the President with power to withhold federal funds from State or local projects that discriminate against Negroes.

Another section gives the Attorney-General power to initiate or intervene in legal proceedings to enforce many of these provisions.

UN TO SOON OUTLAW ALL INTOLERANCE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations will take further steps towards outlawing all forms of racial discrimination and religious intolerance at a meeting beginning here.

The Commission on Human Rights is faced with the task of preparing a draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination at its annual session which opened on Feb. 17 (at 21.30 IST) and lasts until March 13.

A sub-commission of experts meeting here last month drew up a draft convention which will form the basis for the discussions of the 21-member human rights body.

A convention would be legally binding on all signatories as opposed to the purely moral force of an assembly declaration.

Under the draft convention, signatories would undertake not to engage in racial discrimination, condemn in particular racial segregation and apartheid, and make punishable incitement to racial discrimination, resulting in or likely to lead to violence.

AFRICAN NATIONS SNUB CHOU

— New Bandung

LONDON

THE emergent African countries have resoundingly snubbed Chinese Premier Chow En-lai by turning down his suggestion for holding a fresh "Bandung-type" Afro-Asian conference.

The opposition to the proposal was led by President Nasser who has gained the support of most African countries. These Afro-Asian countries have, instead, commended the Nasser-Tito proposal to hold another Belgrade-style conference of non-aligned nations from which both China and Pakistan will be excluded.

Pakistan has forfeited its claim to a seat in any non-aligned nations' conference by keeping its feet in both camps. Not a single Afro-Asian country is prepared to trust Pakistan.

The Sunday "Citizen" points out that much more important is clear proof that key neutrals are becoming increasingly worried by the attempted spread of Chinese influence in Africa and Asia and have taken courage in both hands to beat Mr. Chou En-lai to the punch.

A Nasser-Tito meeting is being arranged in Belgrade to finalise arrangements on a much bigger scale than the Belgrade conference of 1961.

Much progress has already been made in getting together ambassadors for a preparatory meeting to be held in Cairo within the next four weeks.

CHINA BANK MONEY FOR INDIAN REDS? NEW DELHI

THERE was a mild breeze during question-hour in the Rajya Sabha on the issue whether large sums of money had been paid to some Indian communists through the Bank of China in Calcutta.

The affairs of the bank are now under investigation by the Government.

While Mr. Dayabhai Patel (Swatantra) cited a reported statement by a Minister in the West Bengal Assembly (that such sums have been paid), the communist leader, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, strongly repudiated the suggestion.

Mr. Gupta said that he had himself got in touch with the West Bengal Assembly secretariat and the State Chief Minister and found that no such statements had been made.

The Minister of State for Finance, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, told the House that the Government could not say anything till the investigations were over.

Asked by Mr. A. D. Mani whether the investigation into this bank was being conducted only by the Reserve Bank, Mr. Bhagat said that recently, a senior intelligence officer had also been deputed for this task. An officer of the income tax department was also assisting.

Mr. Bhagat explained the delay in completing the investigations by pointing out that important documents in this bank had been maintained in the Chinese language. The investigating officers had to get these translated and then study the various entries.

* * *

PLEA FOR DY. PREMIER

— Mrs. PANDIT

The creation of the post of a Deputy Prime Minister by amending the Constitution was demanded in the Rajya Sabha.

An independent member, Mr. A. D. Mani, who started speaking at the fag end of the second day's debate on the motion of thanks on the Vice-President's Address, said the existing "Troika" system of three leaders deputising for the Prime Minister did not provide effective leadership.

* * *

PROHIBITION WILL BE REMODELLED

—Mrs. PANDIT

The Maharashtra Government will redirect its Prohibition policy to make it more realistic and effective. This is to save the younger generation from alcoholism, declared Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit while inaugurating the Budget session of the State Legislature.

The Governor said Prohibition as it existed now "can give rise to serious danger to the common welfare and

these dangers can be aggravated if an unrealistic and wishful approach is adopted to the goal towards which the Constitution directs us."

The Government was also determined to put down effectively the manufacture and sale of illicit liquor, so as to prevent anti-social elements from preying with impunity on the weaknesses of fellow citizens.

* * *

PARTY SUPPORTS NAIK ON PROHIBITION ISSUE

Only two members of the Congress Legislature Party were believed to have differed with the view expressed by Mr. V. P. Naik, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, on the liberalisation of Prohibition in the State at the party meeting.

Most of the 255 members attended the meeting.

The Chief Minister was said to have told the meeting at the Council Hall that liberalisation of Prohibition would be implemented and that the Government would not go back on its decision on the subject.

Mr. Naik was also believed to have said that he did not want to make Maharashtra a State of convicts on account of the present Prohibition policy. Prohibition offences were on the increase.

Since Prohibition was introduced in the State, nine lakhs of persons were arrested out of which four lakhs were convicted.

GIFT OF THE MONTH

If you are a subscriber enlisting during March you are entitled to receive FREE OF COST 3 books from the following list:

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Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspapers (The Indian Libertarian).

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

- | | | |
|--|------|---|
| 1. Place of Publication .. . | .. . | 1st Floor, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay-4. |
| 2. Periodicity of its Publication .. . | .. . | Fortnightly. |
| 3. Printer's Name .. . | .. . | Govind Narayan Lawande. |
| Nationality .. . | .. . | Indian. |
| Address .. . | .. . | 449, King's Circle, Bombay 19. |
| 4. Publisher's Name .. . | .. . | Govind Narayan Lawande. |
| Nationality .. . | .. . | Indian. |
| Address .. . | .. . | 449, King's Circle, Bombay 19. |
| 5. Editor's Name .. . | .. . | Digambar Mahableshwar Kulkarni. |
| Nationality .. . | .. . | Indian. |
| Address .. . | .. . | 55, Girgaum Road, Bombay 4. |
| 6. Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspapers and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital. | | 1. Seth R. B. Lotwala, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Ram Baug, Lam Road, Deolali.
2. Mr. K. B. Rao, Director, 2/21, Bhuta Nivas, Vincent Road, Bombay 19.
3. Mr. T. Balraj, Director, Ram Baug, Lam Road, Deolali.
4. Miss Kusum R. Lotwala, Managing Director, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
5. Mr. H. K. Shah, Director, 55, Girgaum Road, Bombay 4.
6. Mr. N. T. Mehta (Shareholder), 22, Dr. Wilson Street, Bombay 4.
7. Mr. R. N. Bhate (Shareholder), 29, Bhavani Peth, Poona. |

I, Govind Narayan Lawande, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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