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# The Two-Pronged Red Drive Towards Indo-Pak Sub-Continent

INDIA's attainment of freedom was no doubt accelerated by the partitioning of the country on the basis of Hindu and Muslim majority regions. But as expected by some far-sighted statesmen of those days, this Partition has now brought its own Nemesis on both Bharat and Pakistan. The chief argument in its favour was that the Hindu-Muslim feud would be, once and for all, buried many fathoms deep in both these countries and that would help them grow and prosper spiritually and materially in a peaceful atmosphere of mutual assistance and co-operation. But the course of events over all these years after independence, has belied these expectations. The Partition in fact, has not been able to solve any major problem affecting both the countries. The disputes between the two countries such as settlement of debts, river-water distribution, boundary disputes, railway and air communications, immigration and emigration of populations, are multiplying and some even baffle any peaceful solution as in the case of the Kashmir problem.

### INTO THE ARMS OF THE RED COUNTRIES

This tension between India and Pakistan is mounting to a crescendo and is driving Pakistan into the arms of China and making a common cause with the latter against India. It is significant that reports of heavy deployment of Pakistan soldiers on the Assam and Kashmir fronts are coming close on the heels of the previous reports of extensive massing of Chinese troops in NEFA and Ladakh. The dangerous portent of these events is unmistakable.

If Pakistan's conduct in the Kashmir affair is anything but fair and reasonable, India could not be said to have acquitted herself creditably either. India Government's Foreign Policy has been largely influenced and shaped by its keen desire to retain Kashmir in India, when, at the present juncture, its chief concern should have been with the problem of warding off Chinese aggression on India. It is curious that instead of agreeing to a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question through arbitration or mediation of the democratic powers, India Government is relying heavily on the support of Russia in this matter at the UNO and on the undemocratic exercise of her vetoing power in the Security Council. It is obvious that Russia is exhibiting such profuse sympathies for India on this issue out of ulterior motives. It is her intention to keep this area perpetually disturbed so that U.S.A. might not be enabled to further build up her anti-communist bases in Pakistan and so that India might not come closer to Western democracies and increase her military strength against the Chinese attack.

### THE GRAND STRATEGY OF WORLD COMMUNISM

Not only that. Mr. Khrushchev has even gone to the length of assuring India that the moment the word goes forth to him for aid to Kashmir against any foreign invasion he will come to her rescue. Which means he is not unwilling to spread Russian tentacles as far as Kashmir, across Pakistan and then retire from the field after leaving the whole territory to be administered by Nehru Government which, by that time, will have turned to the extreme 'Left' as dictated by Mr. Khrushchev.

China on her own part, has already committed herself to defend East Pakistan in the event of India's invasion of that territory, after over-running NEFA and Assam and if possible a major portion of Western Bengal and leave its administration to be carried on by a puppet Government composed of Peking patriots who will take orders from Peking.

This is the grand design well-planned years ago, by world communist movement, of a pincer-like movement of which India is to be the focal point. The rape of Tibet was the first step in this direction. The nibbling away of about 12,000 square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh by China was the next step. And the massive invasion of Ladakh and NEFA by China in October last, which added another 15,000 square miles to the Chinese Empire, was also undertaken in furtherance of the same design. And Indo-Pak conflict would afford both the Russians and the Chinese a golden opportunity to finally complete this encircling movement so skillfully directed against the Indo-Pak sub-continent.

While this gigantic two-pronged drive towards this sub-continent is being carried out according to plan by both Russia and China, these two countries are at the same time trying to create a false impression among the Leftist wishful thinkers like Nehru in India and passion-blind Muslim leaders of Pakistan, that Russia and China are opposed to each other and are even prepared to back opposite sides in the Indo-Pak conflict. These leaders refuse to take a hint from the latest pronouncements of Mao and Khrushchev—that Sino-Russian military pact stands, despite the ideological differences between the two countries, and Russia will not tolerate any foreign invasion of China. In the meantime, if a military conflict should break out between India and Pakistan, both China and Russia, true to their communist principles, would not hesitate to fish in the troubled waters and cut off bigger slices of Indo-Pak territories, under the pretext of defending them against the invaders. The only pre-con-

dition for the successful working of this grand strategy will be that Western democracies keep themselves out of this war, getting disgusted with the obstinate stand of both India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question and also with their wobbling and vacillating foreign policies.

### WAKE UP BETIMES TO THE RED MENACE

It is very tragic, therefore, that both Indian and Pakistan leaders easily fall for the sedulous propaganda carried on by both Moscow and Peking Governments and also their satellites both in India and Pakistan, that the Western democracies are imposing on these two countries a settlement of Kashmir question which will suit their imperialist designs and should refuse to come to terms with each other as advised by their democratic friends. On the other hand, they are increasingly looking either to China or Russia for support of their conflicting claims over Kashmir. The democratic elements of both Pakistan and India at least should now realise that Western colonialism is disappearing before their very eyes and America does not hold an inch of land on the Asian soil. In fact, the Asian nations are now faced with the great menace to their security and freedom from other quarters, i.e., expansionism of Russia and China. If the people both in Pakistan and in India do not wake up betimes to this Red danger and compel their leaders to compose their differences amicably and present a united front to Red imperialism with the aid and support of the democratic countries of the West, they will, before long, be doomed to live and die like cursed curs under the cruel whip of the Russian and Chinese Slave-drivers whom they had mistaken for Benefactors and Liberators.

### JUDICIARY MUST ASSERT ITSELF

Justice Gajendragadkar of the Supreme Court did well in entering a vehement protest in his address at the Centenary celebrations of the Bombay Advocates' Association against the scant respect shown by the Government for the findings judicially arrived at, by Judges appointed under the Commission of Enquiry Act. He complained against the growing tendency of the Government to go by the notes put up by executive officials on the judicial findings. More often than not, such official notes recommending or rejecting the Judicial Committee's findings tend to follow closely the ministerial views on the matter under enquiry and are, so to say, 'cooked' and pre-arranged. The brusque manner in which the Panshet Enquiry Committee's findings were rejected, has not only mocked such judicial enquiry but has shown a lamentable lack of faith in 'The Rule of Law' on the part of the rulers of the Bombay State. Some days back, it was reported that Judges had been therefore seriously considering whether in such circumstances, they should, at all in future undertake to conduct such probes only to find their findings rejected unceremoniously. Of late the tendency of the Highest in the Government circles, is to publicly criticise and even to condemn

the Judges who are bold enough to give findings against the Ministers and other governmental dignitaries. Mr. Nehru the Prime Minister, set the ball rolling by severely castigating Justice Bose for his conclusions in the Mundbra Enquiry. It is no wonder that lesser lights in the Government should faithfully follow their leader.

The Judges should not therefore take this affront to their dignity and position lying down. They should bring pressure to bear on the Government to observe the well-established convention that normally the judicial findings should be accepted by the Government. This pressure could be exerted in the way suggested by Justice Gajendragadkar in his speech. He cited his own experience of Bank Award Commission which undertook the onerous duty, only on the clear understanding that its findings should be accepted by the Government. If this should be made a precondition by all Judges in such enquiries, then Law would have some scope to discharge 'its dynamic function in a Democratic State' to which Justice Gajendragadkar referred and would act as a wholesome check on the abuse of authority by Ministers and bureaucratic officials to the detriment of the Rule of Law and Civil Liberties of the people.

### THE NEHRU RAJ PLAN

Poor Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani is having a hell

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of time in forming a workable team of Ministers in the Uttar Pradesh! Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, claims the fullest right to have a cabinet of his own choice at the Centre. But he denies the same privilege to this Chief Minister of a near-autonomous State. Under the Constitution and the Parliamentary Conventions followed in Western democratic countries, it is for the Head of a Ministry to choose his own Minister. Mrs. Kripalani was therefore perfectly justified in making a public grievance against the Congress High Command which today practically means Nehru alone, that there is too much interference from the top leaders in her work of choosing her own Ministers.

Not that Mr. Nehru does not know the implications of his interference in this matter. In the Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa, the Chief Ministers elected by the Congress Legislative Party were pro-Nehru and therefore the principle of homogeneity was put into force in forming the Ministries. But Mrs. Kripalani's case stands on a different footing. She unfortunately happens to be the wife of Acharya Kripalani, the formidable opponent of Mr. Nehru. Besides, she has been elected with the support of Mr. Gupta the Ex-Chief Minister on whom the 'Kamraj Operation' was forcibly performed by Mr. Nehru, whether Mr. Gupta willed it or not. Mr. Nehru therefore thought of nipping this growing revolt against him among Congressmen in the bud. But he was disappointed to see that in his own province he was successfully challenged by independent-minded Congressmen like Mr. Gupta. He is now furious and is employing even questionable means of harassing Mrs. Kripalani and her group. He is secretly instigating the Tripathi group to demand of Mrs. Kripalani adequate and effective representation in the Cabinet. Mr. Tripathi is not satisfied with mere representation being given to the dissidents. But the choice of persons to represent the group and the portfolios to be assigned to them must all be left to Mr. Tripathi. Even the Chief Minister's right to appoint the Secretaries to the Government is not being conceded. Mr. Tripathi claims that he is doing all this mischief to uphold the prestige of Mr. Nehru. And instead of sternly putting Mr. Tripathi's anti-democratic antics Mr. Nehru seems to be mightily enjoying the fun of it all.

'All Power to Nehruites' and 'Sacrifice and Hell to others' are the inspiring slogans with which the Nehru Raj is being ushered into this country.

#### THE CONGRESS 'STALIN'

The so-called 'progressive' press is pouring high encomiums on the qualities of the head and heart of Kamraj Nadar. Though not educated, he is described to be a man of keen insight and broad vision. Though not properly initiated and instructed into the principles of Liberty and Democracy, he is extolled as a born Democrat, because he is a man of

the 'masses'. We now know from the same Leftist press that the office of an administrator does not suit his special genius so much as the office of the Congress President. With 'this man of the masses' at the helm of Congress affairs, the Presidential 'gadi' is expected to come into its own as a rival to that of the Prime Minister. And when Mr. Nehru will be no more occupying his present office, the Prime Minister's post will dwindle in its importance as compared with the office of the President.

This will fit in with the spirit of Kamaraj Plan which is hailed as a great gift to the nation from this Leader. The Kamraj Plan has already reduced the parliamentary form of Government in India to a farce. Ministers are appointed, removed and re-appointed at the sweet will and pleasure of 'The Leader of Leaders'. We are fast approaching a stage when the President of the Congress, hard-headed, severe and stern, with a conscience not sufficiently cultivated so as to prick him in committing a political sin, will act ruthlessly like Stalin of Russia, in putting down all opposition first within the Congress and then within the country and also the Government. The cult of the worship of the leader of the masses is fast spreading its net over the body-politic of the country. Democracy will be first turned into Mobocracy under this new leadership before it gives way to the undisguised dictatorship of a party-caucus. The intelligent, the wise and the enlightened will no more be allowed to express their opinions freely. If Mr. Nehru's Socialism has already half killed democracy, Kamraj Plan's Peoples' Centralism will simply finish it. What a fall for the Congress, once presided over by such intellectual giants and political thinkers like Dadabhai, Mehta, Gokhale, Tilak, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Subhas Chandra Bose? What has come over our intelligentsia that it should also join in the chorus of praise and panegyric about this man who, till yesterday, was not known outside his province and whose only qualifications for the Congress Presidentship seem to be his demagoguery and agitatorial skill and ability?

—D. M. Kulkarni.

#### FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"I disagree with the view that nationalisation or even public ownership is the be-all and end-all, the ultimate first principle and aim of Socialism."

Late Mr. Gaitskell, M. P.

"It is no good just bashing away at nationalisation like a dinosaur. We all know what happened to him. He had a large body. I am sure a large heart, but he had a pin head, and he is extinct." (Scarborough, 6th October 1960)

Mrs. Eirene White, M. P. (East Flint)

# The Danger of a Vacuum in Social Thought

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

*When the Socialists are criticised, they challenge us with the query — Will you surrender to capital? This is the vacuum. We should be able to reply on the basis of a social philosophy of our own based on Liberty and Progress that to criticise communism is not to accept capitalism.*

NATURE, it is said, abhors a vacuum. So in social affairs. Social life too abhors a vacuum. If leaders do not have a well-thought out policy to meet a particular need of the times, other elements in society will rush in and occupy the vacant area with their own nostrums and assume the direction of affairs.

Bloodshed cannot reconstruct society. It can destroy and if it limits itself and subordinates itself to leaders with ideas and capacity, it can help to initiate an era of new life.

The Russian Revolution would not have assumed the lineaments of a New Society with its own ideology and principles of reconstruction if communist ideology had not been crystallised and propagated by Russian communists for generations before.

The late venerable Babu Bhagwan Das, for many years professor of Indian philosophy in *The Benares Hindu College and University*, often tried to elicit from Mahatma Gandhi the need to educate the people in the fundamentals of democratic government, fundamental rights, the conventions of democracy, qualifications of ministers and so on. The Mahatma was unresponsive and was absorbed in his constructive programme of khadi and abolition of the drink evil, withdrawal of lawyers from courts and of students from schools and colleges, cottage industries and so on.

The result was that the Indian intelligentsia became a helpless prey to foreign ideas (mainly Leftist and communist) which occupied the empty space in their minds. This was the origin of the Congress Socialist Party and of the birth and growth of the Communist Party of India.

The gravity of the outcome for Indian progress after independence is indicated by the automatic way in which socialist and communist ideas were embodied in legislation from the very inception of free government like the Zamindari Abolition Acts.

The Congress party appointed a committee on agrarian reforms but it formulated its recommendations in the image of socialist and communist land reforms, without any attempt to study local conditions. There was no attempt at an independent assessment of the situation and of any search for an alternative way of solving the problem.

For, this way of transferring land to the tiller by simple confiscation of property destroyed the fundamental rights of the democratic constitution even before it was promulgated in 1950. Socialism queered the pitch for democracy from the very beginning and played into the hands of international communism.

What M. N. Roy and his colleagues could not accomplish (and what Gandhi wished to accomplish in a more constructive voluntary way consistent with democracy) was *rushed into law* under terms that put communism under the effective drives of the new Constitution. The Karachi Resolution came alive without scrutiny by thinkers of alternative and more constructive ways.

When the 17th Constitution Amendment Bill was introduced in the May session, (1963), the Law Member of the Cabinet had no better defence of the proposal than to repeat parrot-like the communist slogan of "land to the tiller."

There is ample evidence of the better way in nineteenth century Europe for the possibility of giving land to the tiller without liquidating the land-owners in such a whole-sale way. Denmark, Holland, Germany and Belgium are all countries in which the landless labourers have been given land (on long term credit of thirty and forty years) unoccupied government land at first. Later, lands from owners of thousands of acres have been purchased for small peasants as and when they wanted them. So that today we find *no landless labourers* in these countries and *class legislation has been avoided*.

Also, co-operative ways have been introduced for purposes of joint purchase and sale, credit and investment to secure the advantages of large scale operations without depriving the individual peasant of his individual ownership. These examples and successes were *not* studied and marshalled by Congress leaders or by the intelligentsia in and out of parliament. The handful of thinkers who ventured to mention this line of thought were ignored.

The challenging report of the Co-operative Institute in Delhi was silenced by officialisation.

The demurrer of official co-operative Registrars could not be asserted against official policy hand-capped by their official position as salaried persons.

The Big Press was, too complacent to Official Policy on account of its Big Business ownership that could not afford to antagonise Government and Congress and on account of the easy gong socialism of the editorial staff. Socialism became and still in large part remains, the fashionable stunt of the newspaper elite.

Hence the simple assertion of the Law Member that the 17th Amendment is necessary for giving land to the tiller assumes the colour and force of an *axiom*! The end is desirable. This is the *only* means. *Therefore*, so goes the ignorant and fateful syllogism, *the amendment is right* — though it may destroy the fundamental right of property!

Even granting that land should be taken from the owners, (most of whom are more or less in the same position as the tenants, often worse, for they have to pay taxes and to invest moneys), no one asks why the Government should *not* pay full market rate compensation? If this delays operations, the delay is necessary. Also, the *present proposal too delays* final reforms till the tenant can pay government i.e., *twenty years or more*! Till then, the government will be the sole landlord, as it has become the sole zamindar, in U.P. and Bihar and Bengal! The Government takes the zamindar's levy as well as the land revenue paid by the tenant and has its land income trebled. But we have not heard of any benefit that the peasant or agriculture has derived from all these precious land reforms, unless it be the vast access of patronage it has brought to the ruling party!

Still, there is nobody of alternative opinion in the country sketching effectively before the people and parliament and intelligentsia generally, better in every respect as reform and as social justice and as agricultural progress!

There is thus a vacuum in regard to agricultural reform including land tenure laws. The result is that communist proposals accepted uncritically by Shri Nehru before Swaraj days have occupied the vacuum.

So too in the matter of industrial and commercial policy-making. The policy in this regard pursued by the Nehru government is simple. Follow Soviet Russia! Follow Stalin's Five Year Plans one after another without basing the next on the results of the previous one!

Prof. Mahalanobis was in Bangalore on the eve of the introduction of the Second Five Year Plan. At a gathering of distinguished administrators and big business men, including former Dewans, he explained his Plan Frame ideas.

An ex-Dewan (who had made a name for sound and progressive administration even in wartime, leaving a surplus in spite of rapid industrialisation), asked the professor what were the results of the

First Plan and how he proposed to remedy any shortcomings revealed in its working.

The Professor replied that he knew nothing of the First Plan and cared less! He was only concerned with the Second Plan.

In this spirit, we are already being regaled in the daily press with proposals for the *Fourth* and even *the Fifth Plan*! It appears that each Plan is self-contained and does not propose to incorporate the lessons of earlier Plan-implementations! Can anything be more happy-go-lucky, carefree, Olympian and unrelated to hard facts and sound experience than all this hectic imitation policy-making?

In spite of this, there is as yet no alternative body of thought with concrete proposals before the public!

The Swatantra party is laying the foundations for such an alternative body of thought.

The R. L. Foundation with its journal *Indian Libertarian* and related publications have been exceptional in devoting themselves to developing an alternative stream of thought and policy. Some day it will draw attention and be useful for policy-making.

Professor Morton White in his book *Social Thought in America* points out how even Dewey, Holmes, Beard, Robinson and Thorstein Veblen did not develop concrete proposals as an alternative to communist or other extreme theories of radicals. The result was, as he points out, that American liberals fell a prey to communist thought and surrendered democratic liberties for the sake of planning and reform and progress.

*Fu Mu-Feng* in his substantial book *the Wilting of the Hundred Flowers* also points to a similar result in China. He says that the intelligentsia before the advent of Mao did not develop a scheme of progress and a picture of society and policy constructive and law abiding, to form the basis of administration under Chiang Kai Shek. The outcome was their surrender to communism when it came as the only movement with a clear and distinct message, finished and ready for application in all aspects of life!

When the socialists are criticised, they challenge us with the query — will you *surrender to capital*? *This is the vacuum*. We should be able to reply on the basis of a social philosophy of our own based on liberty and progress that *to criticise communism* is not to accept capitalism.

# The March Of Fascism In India

By M. N. Tholal

The unquestioned supremacy of Mr. Nehru's leadership, already brought about in the centre through the implementation of the Kamaraj Plan, is being made to spread all over the country, and we shall doubtless see Fascism condemned more and more severely, by no other than Mr. Nehru himself, as it spreads its tentacles throughout the land.

AT a Press Conference on October 9 Mr. Nehru emphasised that cabinets in the states had to be representatives of the entire party and not just of any particular group, that there was no question of ruling out the minority group from the ministry as this would encourage the formation of disgruntled groups, that he wanted the cabinets to work as good teams and not as separate groups, and that, in the final analysis, it is the Congress High Command that decides. This is an unexceptionable attitude. The most important part of this statement refers to the desirability of cabinets working as good teams and it is this point of view that seems to have been lost sight of in the formation of the U.P. Cabinet. This is borne out by the statement of the leader of the U.P. dissidents: "there is no question of agreement with Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani".

The implications of this observation are obvious and the wisdom of the inclusion of such a dissident in the Cabinet is very questionable, having regard to the desirability of cabinets working as good teams. The responsibility for team work devolves on every member of the cabinet and not on the chief minister alone, for, with all the goodwill in the world, a chief minister cannot have team work if one or more of his cabinet colleagues publicly give expression to such sentiments as "there is no question of agreement with Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani," the Chief Minister!

There appears to have been a tussle for leadership in the U.P. between the Prime Minister, who constitutes the Congress High Command, and the ex-Chief Minister, Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta, who had one of his devout followers elected as leader of the U.P. Congress Legislature Party who on her election declared that she would be guided by Mr. Gupta. This appears to have been too much for the Congress High Command, which therefore felt called upon to encourage the dissidents almost to the point of working against solidarity in the U.P. cabinet. For, it is being argued, the statement that the leader of the U.P. dissidents made, derogatory as it was to the position of the Chief Minister could not have been made without consciousness of support from higher quarters. Indeed, it is being freely asserted, and rightly, that the statement alone should have disqualified him for inclusion in the cabinet. Mr. Nehru appears to be following the policy of his Master, Gandhi, of reducing others to zero and seems to have succeeded at least in the first round in U.P. after the installation of the new Chief Minister.

Mr. Nehru is right when he says there is no question of ruling out the minority group from the ministry as this would encourage the formation of disgruntled groups. But, obviously, in the interest of team work, it should have been left to the Chief Minister to pick and choose from the minority group such persons as she thought would be able to co-operate with her whole-heartedly. To thrust on her persons who publicly declare "there is no question of agreement" with her is to promote dissidence and encourage the formation of disgruntled groups both in the majority and the minority groups. After all, dissidence is natural among the have-nots and to promote it, howsoever indirectly, is to try to fish in troubled waters.

It is true that, in the final analysis, it is the Congress High Command that decides. But is it part of the job of the Congress High Command to thrust on a Chief Minister men whose reluctance to co-operate with her is publicly declared? That is the question. Instead of allowing the leader of the majority group to split the minority group, if necessary, to enlarge the majority group—that was clearly her right — what has been done amounts to an attempt to reduce the majority group and increase the minority group by throwing the weight of the Congress High Command on the side of the minority group. This cannot be considered impartial conduct by any means and Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani was right when she complained that the Congress High Command was interfering with her choice of the cabinet.

A more sensitive person in the place of Mrs. Kripalani would have resigned. She must have been prepared for it when she publicly complained against the Congress High Command, but the latter appears to have mixed cajolery with firmness to bring about the desired result of direct supremacy of the Congress High Command. This is the kind of fascism which has been rearing its head in India. The unquestioned supremacy of Mr. Nehru's leadership, already brought about in the Centre through the tortuous implementation of the Kamaraj Plan, is being made to spread all over the country, and we shall doubtless see fascism condemned more and more severely by no other than Mr. Nehru himself, as it spreads its tentacles throughout the land.

Mr. Nehru repeated at the Press Conference that the manner in which Dr. Jivraj Mehta was sent away was unfortunate. In the interest of de-

mocracy and to educate the people in the processes of democracy, Mr. Nehru might have amplified his cryptic statement. How was it unfortunate? The resignation of Dr. Mehta came about in the only democratic manner known to the world. When a chief minister loses his hold over the majority of his party in the legislature, he should of his own accord resign and not wait for the majority against him to display its animosity. What made Dr. Mehta disregard the feelings of the majority of the Congress legislators in Gujarat was perhaps his hope of support from the Centre which he thought, would help him tide over the crisis. But the leaders of Gujarat at the Centre were too democratically minded to try to suppress the majority and were unwilling to come to his help. There was in any case nothing unfortunate, from the democratic point of view, in the manner of Dr. Mehta's exit. Apparently Dr. Mehta is a favourite of the Prime Minister. The latter therefore did not like his departure. In democratic institutions there is all the difference in the world between majority and minority, and the wishes of the minority cannot and should not be made to prevail over those of the majority. It is always for the minority within a party to accommodate its views to those of the majority and to try to convert the majority to its point of view.

#### KING KAIRON

By the time this appears in print Prime Minister Nehru would have given his verdict on Chief Minister Kairon. In reply to questions on the Supreme Court strictures on Mr. Kairon in a recent case, Mr. Nehru said he could not at the moment discuss in detail all the constitutional and legal aspects of the judgment, but he maintained that the Supreme Court's views about law were supreme and that law had to be obeyed. He added he did attach a great deal of value to the moral and ethical aspect of anything that may be done in public affairs. That is a heartening statement. But when he was asked why he was not instituting a judicial inquiry into the charges against Mr. Kairon, especially when Opposition leaders were prepared to face full consequences for making the charges, Mr. Nehru said he was not quite sure of these leaders taking all the consequences of their action. It is not, however, a question merely of "these leaders taking all the consequences of their action". For, as every one knows, they can be made to take all the consequences of their action. So Mr. Nehru's doubts about their *bona fides* in the matter have no bearing on the issue.

Mr. Nehru went on to say that the whole case unfortunately was decided on one side and the other side did not appear, adding "maybe they are at fault". He should have more properly said that the other side did not choose to appear. If the other side did not appear knowing the case was on, the only conclusion to draw is that they knew they had no case. Asked why the Prime Minister should praise Mr. Kairon, Mr. Nehru said, "I propose to go on praising him because I hold a high opinion

about him.....whether it prejudices in any matter or not I cannot help it." A correspondent reminded him; "Judges keep mum when they hold inquiries". Not only that. When judges have such strong feelings for one of the parties to a dispute they refuse to try the case. Will not Mr. Nehru's high opinion of Mr. Kairon, which he cannot even keep to himself during an inquiry against him, prejudice his verdict? That is the question being asked. It is only human that it should. His verdict will give the answer. One thing is clear. Mr. Nehru has made out a very strong case against himself as a judge in the matter and for instituting a judicial inquiry into the charges against Mr. Kairon. Whether he realises it or not is a different matter.

## Millions In Misery In China

MOSCOW: Peking policy of "leap forward" and communes had disorganised the already weak Chinese economy to such an extent that millions of people "are faced with the problem of starvation."

This question has been made in the strongest criticism yet of the Chinese leaders' "dangerous" experiments by the Soviet economist, Mr. V. Maslennikov, in an article in "Sovietskaya Torgovlya"

#### "Principle Discarded"

Analysing the reverses of the economy since 1958, the article said the Chinese leaders disregarded the principle of material incentives, of payments according to work done, and changed over to wage-levelling in their people's committees.

"Our party realised that this was a road of dangerous and harmful experiments, a road of disregarding economic laws and experience gained by other socialist countries."

The article said that the Chinese leaders turned a deaf ear to the Soviet leaders against embarking on isolated economic development and bypassing the whole stages of construction of a new society.

"Time and facts have left nothing of the breath-taking plans of the Chinese leadership. Crude blast furnaces, the construction of which cost tremendous sums of money, produced steel unusable for industry. All these furnaces were abandoned in a year. The output level of basic industrial items has destroyed one-third compared with the 1957-59 figure."

"Similar failures awaited the Chinese leaders in agriculture. In 1961-62, the gross grain crop constituted 150 to 160 million tons which was fewer than the 1957 figure."

The Soviet press has lately been publishing highly critical articles on the failure of the Chinese leaders' "peasant socialism" and ascribing their adventurism to "deep-rooted petty bourgeois prejudices of national egoism and national narrow-mindedness of agrarian communities in the backward countries."



# DEMOCRACY OR JUNGLE LAW?

by Seth W. Howard.

When Mr. K. Rama Rao (deceased) and editor of "National Herald" accused Mr. Ledley, Jailor of Lucknow Jail in an editorial captioned "Jungle Law," for maladministration in the Lucknow Jail, Mr. Ledley hauled him in the court. This happened before independence. But now when our high officials, administrators and ministers are accused of maladministration and corrupt practices, seldom any one of them has the courage to challenge his accusers in the court for defamation. Why? The reason is obvious.

## Some Instances

A mali of the State hospital, Balrampur has not received his arrears of pay and Dearness Allowance for more than five years. And notwithstanding the lapse of more than eleven months, his appeal to the Director of Medical and Health Services, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow against his premature retirement by the Civil Surgeon, Gonda has to this day been not acknowledged, what to say about disposal! The poor man's reminders, numbering half a dozen in this connection, have totally been ignored by the said Barra Sahib! Payment of a contractor for work done by him is held up, and he is harassed for obvious reason, which is no secret. His representations to the District Engineer, P.W.D., Gonda have proved futile.

The case of a Headmistress of a Municipal Girl's School, Balrampur is lingering in the office of the Secretary to Education (B) Department, U.P. Government for about two years without any decision. Such delaying tactics are apparently used to wreck the victims morally and physically. These are three cases out of many. To expect justice or fair dealings from these officers is like asking for the moon. And when such cases of high-handedness and injustices are brought to the notice of the ministers concerned, they too take no action. This encourages the corrupt officers.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain once observed—"There is no democracy today. The Congress Government have established a reign of terror in the country by promulgating acts and ordinances blacker than the black acts of the British Regime."

These black acts have increased sufferings and miseries of the poor prodigiously.

Soon after Independence Mr. Nehru assured us to hang a blackmarketeer and a corrupt officer by the next pole. He also assured us justice to individuals and groups in a democratic country like India. Has he done so? Whither is the democracy of which he spoke so proudly? On the contrary he sees all kinds of evils in the members of other political parties, but none in his own. Talking about the misdeeds of his party, he seems to bury his head in the sand, like an ostrich. He hears nothing, he sees nothing wrong and he finds nothing wrong with them.

## Victimization of Innocents

Mr. H. V. Iyenger, Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the British Regime affirmed....."The British forged a remarkable administrative machinery in the country. The services of the country were well organised and well disciplined and did their job within the limits set by political policy, conscientiously and competently. Political changes took place since 1919, but irrespective of these the British saw that integrity of the service was well maintained. One could speak frankly through official files and except in rare cases, there was no victimization.

Can Mr. Nehru boast of or call for a similar administrative machinery? In fact, the Congress since independence has reversed the entire structure for the worst. Victimization of innocent employees has become the order of the day. An officer who wishes to bring in his own favourite starts finding fault with one of his subordinates, and when he gets an opportunity, he dismisses him on flimsy excuses and appoints his own man. Even the Employment Exchange Officers are not free from corrupt practices.

I can go on multiplying examples to show how administrative machinery under the Congress regime stinks with corruption, vindictiveness and injustices of the worst types. And unless Mr. Nehru sees the facts in their true perspective, the tottering structure of Congress administration would collapse sooner or later. The harping on past glories that Congress can alone deliver the goods would not sustain it. To be more precise, the prophecy—"Thou was weighed in a balance and was found wanting," should come true.

## THE PATH TO COMMUNISM

According to *The Economist*, "Public housing programmes and some big housing contracts were the main cause of the unusually high level of new orders obtained by contractors in the third quarter of 1962. These totalled £526m. The increase in public investment, which made up nearly half the total, easily offset the continued decline in orders from private developers for industrial building."

The government has learnt the lesson that Keynes taught so assiduously, namely, that when private investment falters, employment should be maintained by public works. Thus we are faced with the spectacle of a government which deliberately causes a depression because of gold scarcity, and then screws taxes out of us to finance public works in order to provide employment. The funds thus taxed from private industry further depress those industries that have survived the credit squeeze. It is lamentable, and benefits only the Communist propagandists.

— The Individualist  
(England)

## Mr. Nehru And The Rule Of Law

(From Our Correspondent)

THE Kamaraj Plan has proved a blessing in disguise not only for Prime Minister Nehru but also for Mr. Shamsuddin of Kashmir. An unknown man till yesterday, today he is Prime Minister of Kashmir, in many respects the most important state in the country. Kashmir has so far provided the most amusing example of the implementation of the Kamaraj-as-amended-by-Nehru Plan. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's first and natural inclination was to keep the premiership in the family and Bakhshi Abdul Rashid was tipped for the premiership, while opposition to Education Minister Sadiq was engineered by his loyal supporters. It appears there was some opposition in New Delhi to such a blatant attempt to keep all power in the family and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad gave in, only to instal a puppet in his place.

This faith in puppets, it should perhaps be conceded in all fairness, he has imbibed from his gurus — Gandhi and Nehru — although there are some students of psychology who maintain that it is part of the instinct of self-preservation and does not need any imbibing from any guru, howsoever great. It is something like annexing neighbouring countries — as is done by Soviet Russia — just to feel secure, without any colonial ambitions such as those which beset imperialist countries like the USA, who, just to deceive the world, religiously refrain from annexing any country, despite the fact that they could have done so easily, there being no one to prevent it.

The belief in puppetry is world-wide. In India it often goes by the name of groupism, the most scandalous example of which was provided by Mahatma Gandhi when he conferred the triple crown on J. M. Sengupta. "Who was Sengupta?" the reader will be inclined to ask, "and what was the triple crown?" Sen gupta was a Bengali leader of the loyal type so dear to the heart of the Mahatma, and the triple crown consisted of the leadership of the Bengal Congress Legislature Party, the presidency of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Mayoralty of the Calcutta Corporation. The object was to dethrone Subhas Bose from the hearts of the people by providing them with another idol, and the triple crown was a device to raise the stature to that of a god—as against Subhas Bose — of a man who was unable to surpass him through his own efforts. This was at once a reward for loyalty and a warning to those who, like Subhas Bose, dared to think for themselves. The tradition continues. If it can be respected by Jawaharlal Nehru, why not by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad?

### KAIRON'S FUTURE

The most absorbing topic of interest in the Capital, despite Mr. Shamsuddin, remains the future of Chief Minister Kairon and the nature of the Prime Minister's verdict on his case. Mr. Nehru said at a Press Conference recently that the whole case (in the Supreme Court) was unfortunately decided on one side and the other side did not appear. This as well as his habit of praising Sardar Kairon, from which he cannot refrain, can only make out a case for a judicial inquiry in which the Punjab Chief Minister will of course have the right to be heard. That the Prime Minister's utterances on the subject have been anything but dispassionate is proved by correspondence appearing in the dailies. Mr. Asif Ansari of Allahabad for example, writes:

"The remarks made by the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha in connection with the observations of the Supreme Court in the recent case of Dr. Pratap Singh versus the State of Punjab are amazing. The Prime Minister has alleged that the comments of the judges of the Supreme Court about the conduct of the Chief Minister of Punjab were 'obiter dicta' and that they were made without giving him a chance; in other words, the Supreme Court has violated the 'Rule of Law'. He also said that may be the Chief Minister was not at all aware of what was happening to the proceedings in question in court."

"There were two issues before the Supreme Court: (1) Whether the relevant Service Rules could authorise the Government to pass the orders recalling the appellant from leave and starting an inquiry against him, and (2) if the power is vested in the Government, was it exercised mala fide at the instance of the Chief Minister? The Supreme Court decided the first issue in favour of the State. On the second matter the decision of the Supreme Court upheld the contention of the appellant. A question, which is at issue for decision on which evidence is led, and arguments advanced by the parties' counsel, can be anything but 'obiter dicta'.

"The Prime Minister's comment on the Rule of Law is also curious. The State of Punjab was a party to the proceedings. The Chief Minister happened to be the head of the Health Department as Minister in charge. Apart from this general aspect, specific allegations were made about the Chief Minister. Their Lordships, after having held that the allegations were not irrelevant to the question in issue and were supported by affidavit on oath

and documentary evidence, observed that the only way they could be disproved was by the Chief Minister himself. It is pertinent to quote the observations of their Lordships:

"In the present case there were serious allegations made against the Chief Minister and there were several matters of which he alone could have personal knowledge and therefore which he alone could deny, but what was, however, placed before the Court in answer to the charges made against the Chief Minister was an affidavit by the Secretary to the Government in the Medical Department who could only speak from official records and obviously not from personal knowledge about the several matters which were alleged against the Chief Minister ..... We have in mind the Chief Minister as well as Mrs. Kairon against whom allegations have been made but who have not chosen to state on oath the true facts according to them."

Proceeding Mr. Ansari Observes:

"The State of Punjab had the legal assistance of very able lawyers, including the present Attorney-General. It will be ridiculous to imagine that they were not informed of the legal position. That the Chief Minister had decided not to file any counter-affidavit may be due to other reasons. He might have been advised that in case his version is not accepted by the courts, legal consequences may follow. Whatever the cause, it is unfair and uncharitable to blame the Supreme Court for the omissions of the Chief Minister. The Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to force him to file a counter-affidavit about the allegations made personally against him. There were various tape-records to support the allegations of what passed between the appellant on the one hand and the Chief Minister and members of the latter's family, on the other. These tape-records were, on the application of the State, allowed to be played in the office of the counsel for the State and the State was allowed to re-tape-record them. The counter-affidavits by the State were filed afterwards, in which there was no denial by the State of the genuineness of the tape records."

Regarding the contention that Sardar Kairon was no party to the case, another correspondent points out as follows: "In fact, the civil surgeon, Dr. Pratap Singh, had at an early stage of the proceedings submitted before the Punjab High Court that Mr. Kairon be made a party to the case. The submission was opposed by the Government and the High Court turned it down. Later an appeal against this decision was preferred by the civil surgeon and a Division Bench of the High Court again refused to make Mr. Kairon a party to the case. So when the case came before the Supreme Court, Mr. Kairon himself did not file an affidavit to counter the one filed by the civil surgeon, on the ground that he was not a party to the case.

But his son, who also was not a party to it in the formal sense, did file such an affidavit. It was found to be false by the Supreme Court which accordingly accepted the civil surgeon's version as uncontroverted. This raises an important question. The younger Kairon's affidavit, which was a statement on oath, having been dismissed as false by the court, he should by now have been hauled up on a charge of perjury. The initiative in the matter lies with the State Government and since nothing has happened in this regard so far, nor is it likely to happen, the conclusion seems inescapable, that there is someone in Punjab who is above law enforceable in case of ordinary citizens. This fact alone makes the Chief Minister's position look, even from a purely legal point of view, anomalous.

"Again, to dismiss the direct findings of the highest court in the land as 'obiter dicta' or to keep harping upon the lack of unanimity among the judges is not to give very strong proof of necessary deference being shown to the judiciary. Already, by instituting new departmental inquiries against officials excoriated by the Supreme Court itself in the previous cases, the Chief Minister had been treating the Court with considerable lack of respect. And the very number of petitions, seeking transfer of cases to courts outside Punjab, which were allowed by the Court on the ground that the Chief Minister was hostile to the petitioners, indicates to some extent the way Mr. Kairon functions."

"But by declaiming that "judges and magistrates cannot and will not" be allowed to adversely affect the fortunes of a politician, did not Mr. Kairon's "trusted lieutenant", Punjab's Home Minister, Mr. Mchanlal, reach the limits of irreverence and irrelevance? For, where in the judgment had the Court wanted or even hinted that the Chief Minister should resign? It had only asserted, which it had a perfect right to do, that a particular order of the Punjab Government, having been vitiated by mala fides, stood quashed."

"The main point at issue in connection with the Supreme Court's strictures against Mr. Kairon is not that his retention as Chief Minister would be unconstitutional, but that it would be unconscionable. If, on the basis of its findings, the Court came to the conclusion that the order in question, which the Government was perfectly competent to pass, had in fact been vitiated by mala fides, it is now for the Chief Minister and his party to decide whether on purely moral grounds he should or should not continue in office."

All these points are with reference to the civil surgeon's case judgment alone. There are many other charges against Mr. Kairon in the memorandum submitted to the President some time ago.

# LIBERTÉ

by Lilian Hardern, M.I.P.R.

(Written for "Liberté, Fraternité", the magazine for the 1963 Conference of the Federation of Liberal and Progressive Jewish Youth Groups, and now reproduced here from 'Freedom first,' London).

Liberty is my subject, and my terms of reference Individual Freedom. This is not absolute, for with rights come duties. The prevailing tendency is to demand more of the former, and fulfil less of the latter. In an era where Parliaments have become little more than a rubber stamp to speed through legislation, it is vital for individuals to assert themselves to safeguard their liberties, and to take their own responsibilities. Laws may be immoral, and yet be constitutional: watchdogs are needed, and watchdogs that bark.

Freedom must be earned. It is not a right. It is an aspiration. History has shown that even men in bondage may feel free 'Iron bars do not a prison make.' Moses aspired to freedom, and inspired the love of freedom in its greatest sense. He led the captive Israelites out of Egypt to build a new life in a promised land. On the other hand, some who live in a self-styled free democracies feel enslaved. Writing as I am to a young readership, I must tell you what conditions should prevail for freedom to flourish.

Independence does not necessarily bring freedom in its train. Service to others may bring freedom. Foremost is the need for good and fearless leadership; the ability to say what you believe to be true, and the courage to do so, irrespective of popularity. Given this leadership, good followership is necessary. Great harm has been done in the cause of individual enterprise and initiative by Party Politics, a love of patronage, and a lack of courage. Much play is made on the word 'independence' in the twentieth century, but only in civilised countries, and where good leaders are at the helm, can a wide degree of liberty be acceptable. To say, to think, to write whatever one pleases, to hold whatever political opinions one chooses, to act as one desires always provided it is compatible with the interests of the community as a whole. In countries where religion has tempered man's baser instincts, it can work. I would go so far as to say that the Commandments which Moses gave to the children of Israel, if kept, would form a real basis for Individual Freedom. This was brought home to me when I saw Cecil B. de Mille's Epic film *The Ten Commandments*. "To love thy neighbour as thyself" ..... Think what this means.....

Tolerance, and a sense of responsibility must go hand in hand with freedom. If your neighbour suffers, you must feel indignant for him. The degree of responsibility you have is measured by the amounts you are prepared to sacrifice for the good of others. Every single act which results in injustice or loss of individual is the responsibility of the whole community. We are responsible for our

leaders. Power corrupts. We must see that our leaders are not given too much power. Look what happened in Germany when Hitler was given such absolute power. He was corrupted, and his country with him! And, worse still, millions suffered.

Young people should take an active interest in the affairs of the nation, and make their voices heard. They should watch for signs of diminishing individual freedom and responsibility.

The Society, to which I have devoted a great part of my life, is seeking the appointment of an Ombudsman, or similar system, in order to ensure that acts of injustice by the administration do not go unchecked or unremedied. His name means 'Grievance Man', and he is Scandinavian in origin. Denmark and Sweden, and now New Zealand, all have such an office in their Constitution. We need such an appointment here, for some way must be found to break through the Iron Curtain of Righteousness and Perfection in which the Establishment is encased. Composed as it is of human beings, one supposes that they may sometimes err.

The Society sponsored the writing of a book *Occasion for Ombudsman* by T. E. Utley. Anyone reading this book will realise that we need a system such as this as much for the sake of the individual as for the M.P. Official and Civil Servant. There is a feeling of frustration abroad at present. A little bad feeling can spread a long way.

In order to attain and preserve individual freedom, we must say not "THEY must do something about it" but "What can WE do about it?"

## TEST OF AN ECONOMIC POLICY

This brings us to the central test of any policy. We must test every course of action by whether it promises to improve the position of the average person. And we must look with the gravest concern on anything which promises to be damaging. This is a simple test but a valid one. A few moments ago I expressed doubts about the accepted tests of the economist—the rate of investment and of economic growth. An undue emphasis on the rate of growth can, and in important cases has led to undue emphasis on current saving and on increase of these savings through taxation. As a result, in the name of increasing output in the long run there has been reduction in the well-being of the average person in the short run. This, it will be evident, can be dangerous policy. The average person may know of the hopes for the future. But he knows even more acutely that he is now poorer than before. This can rarely be accepted with grace and contentment when living standards are close to the margin.

—From Ambassador Galbraith's Address  
Before Bombay University.

## Book Review

### SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA by Morton G.

White. First Edition in 1947. Reprint from Second Edition in 1947. Viking Press, New York. Pages 260. Price \$3.50.

The sub-title **Revolt against Formalism** gives the lay reader but little information regarding the nature and scope of the book under review by Professor Morton White.

Though not couched in technical language, the work is philosophical in inspiration in a broad sense as dealing with general ideas and outlook. In the long run, the culture and civilisation of a people is determined by their outlook, their interpretation of nature and human values in the widest sense. Movements in opinion in this sphere lie at the back of all reform and revolutions occurring among a people.

Technical philosophy is only the innermost shrine and arena of such movements and counter-movements in the inner life of a nation, which ultimately take shape in outward events, historical upheavals, wars and new settlements. They figure in art and literature, sculpture and architecture, painting and music, law and social institutions—economic, political, religious and social—extending to manners and fashions, costumes and personal ideals.

Professor White offers in this work a preliminary sketch, as he says, of the movements of social thought in the first half of the twentieth century, taken broadly from about 1880 to 1930 which he characterises as a revolt against formalism.

He develops his theme through an exposition of the major ideas and motives of Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, Justice Holmes, John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen.

In the thought of these thinkers, America comes of age in the field of social thought and develops their own attitudes of reform and reconstruction towards the formation of a new civilisation preserving the values of old Europe but transcending them in new directions of human fulfilment.

The great economic crisis of 1929 which showed up the failure of the capitalist system in a flash of lightning, as it were, lent urgency to the thought of the new thinkers. It assumed a practical shape in various ways in the New Deal of President Roosevelt in the next epoch of reconstruction from 1932 through war to the present day.

Justice Holmes contributed a new orientation to law in social affairs by looking upon it as the product of history and evolution. He looked upon the function of the judge as one of interpretation of changing social needs in awarding his verdicts. Law becomes an instrument of reform and progress and is thus rationalised and re-integrated into the social whole, instead of standing aloof without roots in experience.

After the first world war, fundamental rights like free speech came to the fore and Justice Holmes made history in his participation in Supreme Court Judgements. In one case, he expounded his famous view of the "clear and present danger" condition for taking action in restraint of free speech. In time of war, in view of such clear and present danger, free speech may be curtailed by the administration. Thus law is related to social situation.

Holmes related law to social anthropology. Professor White characterises this as an attitude of organicism and historicism. The former views cultural elements as parts of the social whole. The latter views culture as the product of historical evolution.

Professor Charles Beard made history in the cultural field with his **Economic Interpretation of the American Constitution**. He showed how the Fathers of the Nation had their economic interests to safeguard in formulating the fundamental rights, which thus brought down airy idealism to solid earth in the interests of classes. He came close to Marx.

His colleague, Professor Robinson, better known to the general public as the author of the well-known book **Mind in the Making** (which is an account of reasoning in the concrete) wrote a history of Western Europe to illustrate the new view that history is a science as seeking explanation in terms of causes and is not merely a string of brute facts or chronicle of unrelated events.

Here again, social thought relates past and present in a continuity of causal bonds and history is viewed as a guide to the future. It is the root of the tree of which politics is the fruit. The human meaning of history is thus brought home to us, which is a move away from mere form to concrete matter or material of life-interests.

Professor Morton White next offers a revealing picture of the motivations of Professor Dewey in his philosophical contributions. Dewey brings philosophy down from abstractions to solid earth. He strengthens human interests with his philosophy of instrumentalism, experimentalism and pragmatism as a living application of the methods of science. He brought out the social mission of science in terms of attitude, method and organised thinking. He was also a pioneer in the new education for democracy; his ideas passed into American schools as "progressive education". Dewey favoured a **planned society** on the analogy of science and so approached socialism in a broad way. His pacifism was shaken by the wars but he evolved compromises in terms of reason to support defensive force.

Thorstein Veblen is one of the major thinkers of economic theory in America. His **Theory of the Leisure Class** passed into general reading as a work of cultural interpretation in addition to being a work of economic theory. His work **The Engineers and the Price System** showed the important role of engineers and managers in modern industry as superior to that of businessmen of financiers.

Veblen caused a devastating criticism of capitalism to become fashionable without putting anything in its place.

Morton White shows how the new thought was incomplete as a sound social philosophy and could not meet the demands for full social justice. The presence of communist solutions filled the vacuum for many. This is a lesson for all today.

M. A Venkata Rao.

## The Mind of the Nation

### PARTY OR GOVERNMENT?

It is extraordinary, to say the least, for the Prime Minister to maintain that in the matter of Cabinet formation in the States, the final say rests with the High Command and not with the respective Chief Ministers. This theory of supremacy of party over Government is distinctive trait of Communist regimes, we should think. In democracies such as England, the party functions only as a link between Government and the people and never seeks to arrogate to itself the authority, which the popular vote vests in legislature and, through it, in the Government. In fact, according to the Constitution of U.K's Conservative Party, the Chairman of the party is actually *nominated* by the Leader of its Legislative Wing.

In India, the P.M.'s thesis violates the concept of federalism, as well. The Constitution knows nothing about a Party High Command. It allows not even the P.M. to have a say in the choice, either of the C.M. or of his team.

We are not sure, however, that the P.M.'s rather vehement outburst in defence of the High Command's authority, stemmed out of any conviction that the Government should be subservient to party dictates. Had the P.M. really subscribed to that view, neither Acharya Kripalani nor the late Shri Purshottam Das Tandon would have had to quit the post of Congress President. Fact is, Jantar Mantar has been feeling not a little annoyed that the new Chief Minister of U.P. should have refused to become a puppet in their hands. Hence the P.M.'s pique.

—The Organiser

## News & Views

### WESTERN AID TO DETER CHINA FROM RESORTING TO AGGRESSION AGAIN

New Delhi, the advance party of the British Royal Air Force squadron, selected to take part in the joint air defence training exercises with the Indian Air Force, will fly into an airfield near Calcutta.

The British are contributing one squadron of 12 Javelin Mark 9 fighters, capable of attaining supersonic speed. The squadron, which will be under the overall command of Group Captain Gage Sise, will be arriving in two batches, the first leaving Britain in October 26 and the second the following day.

### KENNEDY: NO DISARMAMENT PACT WITHOUT CHINA

WASHINGTON: "Communist China must be a party to any comprehensive disarmament treaty in which

all the countries involved agree to reduce their arms to a very low level." President Kennedy told the editor of a leading American women's Journal.

"We can make progress on limited measures without the co-operation of Communist China," he said, "general and complete disarmament will not be possible without a change in the attitude of Peking."

"We can act unilaterally to build up our military strength to out-match that of the Soviet Union," he said. "But unfortunately, we cannot disarm unilaterally without abandoning our allies and imperilling our freedom."

Speaking on the danger of an accidental war, Mr. Kennedy said: "We have developed techniques for preventing the firing of an atomic weapon without control from Washington—safety links, codes, etc.—as much as men afford for the prevention of accidental war."

But he warned that "as these weapons proliferate into other countries and more and more countries get them which may not have this sophisticated means of control, the chance of accidental explosion increases."

### A-BOMB AND CHINESE THREAT WILL CONTAIN USSR: LORD HOME

Blackpool, The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, held out prospects of genuine and lasting co-existence between the Western alliance and the Soviet bloc.

Russia, he said, would not return to the old ways and switch from blandishments to threats because of the nuclear bomb and the presence of China on its eastern frontier.

The Conservatives gave him the loudest applause when he finished his speech at the party conference here.

Lord Home has been Mr. Macmillan's closest friend in the Cabinet and it was he who brought the Prime Minister's letter announcing his decision to resign here yesterday.

### INDIA FOR RETAINING FORMOSA SEAT?

When the question of admitting Communist China to the United Nations is raised again, India may recommend that the Nationalist China (Formosa) retain its membership even if the People's Republic of China is admitted.

This apparently was indicated by Minister T. T. Krishnamachari while in the United States recently.

Mr. Krishnamachari says that his references to Formosa were given out only in a personal capacity. But Foreign Office officials in New Delhi do not deny that the statement constitutes a "significant" departure from India's previous stand.

India's stand vis-a-vis Communist China has gone through three phases. For about the first nine years of its independence, it enthusiastically supported China's admission into the United Nations. It introduced the country to the first Bandung conference as a peace-loving Asian giant. It even persuaded President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, among others, to afford the Peking regime full recognition.

The second phase started with the arguments that while China should be admitted, it should in some way be bound by the rules of the international organization.

Last year when this question came up, India still supported Communist China's candidature and put forward the argument that condemnation of its aggressive intent in India

would be more effective in the international forum than elsewhere. On the question of Formosa, there was continued silence.

—*Christian Science Monitor*

## SALE OF U.S. WHEAT TO HUNGRY RUSSIA APPROVED

WASHINGTON: President Kennedy approved the sale of U.S. wheat to hungry communist countries except China and Cuba.

Poland and Yugoslavia have for long received wheat against local currencies, which, as India knows, means almost a grant.

Besides Russia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary have formally asked for U.S. wheat to make good their shortages. The Russian demand is for four million tons of wheat and other food grains, worth about 250 million dollars at world prices. The orders from the other three countries amount to 50 million dollars.

President Kennedy painted a wholly rosy picture of the deal. He saw nothing but advantage accruing from it to the U.S. It will substantially reduce the U.S. balance of payments deficit. It will reduce the overflowing wheat surpluses which cost the country 1,000 million dollars to store. It will demonstrate to the communist countries the superiority of the U.S. farming system.

If the Russians do not tell this story to their people, Voice of America will.

## CHAIRS FLUNG AT K.P.C.C. MEETING

At a meeting of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, held on October 6, rival groups fought each other like ferocious wild cats. Chairs were thrown, fistcuffs exchanged, and abuses hurled while the AICC observer, Sir Harihar Kambhoja looked on helplessly.

The meeting had been convened to hold elections of President and executive of the PCC, but the pandemonium and uproar that broke out was such that the elections had to be abandoned.

Ever since the date of elections had been announced, both the factions of the Kerala Congress, the organisational and the ministerial, have been engaged in a hectic canvassing campaign—with no holds barred. Allegations and counter allegations have been made by the warring groups that bogus members have been enrolled and voters have been bribed. Anyway, the PCC faction led by Red-leaning C. K. Govindan Nair secured a majority of seats in the PCC. Meanwhile, the Ministerialists made attempts to have Mr. P. T. Chacko accepted unanimously. The 'progressives' in the party didn't agree and so a poll became necessary.

Just when the polling was about to commence, a telegram purported to have been sent by Mr. K. K. Shah, AICC General Secretary, was read out. The telegram requested partymen to elect Mr. Chacko unanimously. The genuineness of the telegram was questioned. This touched off a spate of order, which in turn led to cat-calls, hooting and abusing, and then to chair-throwing and boxing. The representative of the Congress High Command, Shri Harihar Kambhoja pleaded in vain to have an orderly election. Then the PRO announced the postponement of the election.

## PLAN TARGET OF FOURTEEN MILLION JOBS Shortfall in Appraisal

NEW DELHI: Additional employment that will be

generated in the first three years of the Third Five-Year Plan is now estimated at about 40 to 45 per cent of the Plan target of 14 million jobs.

According to the present indications, by the end of the third year of the Plan, about 4.9 million jobs are expected to be created in the non-agricultural sector and 1.6 million jobs in the agricultural sector, as against the five-year targets of 10.5 millions and 3.5 millions respectively.

The shortfall in the creation of additional employment revealed in the mid-term Plan appraisal is reflected in the growing size of the live registers of employment exchanges.

Latest available figures show that the number of applicants on the live registers of employment exchanges has been increasing considerably since March 1961—15.61 lakhs in March that year to 26.85 lakhs in June 1963.

## FOOD-SUPPLY LOSES RACE AGAINST POPULATION GROWTH

UNITED NATIONS: The Director-General of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organisation, Dr. B. R. Sen, said here that the world was losing its food supply race against an increasing population.

Dr. Sen said that there might be an additional 1,500 million under-nourished people in the world at the end of the next 35 years and this threatened "grave social disorders and even revolutions."

He pleaded with the social welfare committee of the U.N. General Assembly to include in a proposed human rights treaty clauses calling for freedom from hunger and share-the-need measures as necessary human rights.

He said the treaty, the language of which was being considered by the committee, stated that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." He added that "it is quite evident that the right to life is not assured unless there is at the same time, an assurance of the right to adequate food."

## Dear Editor . . . .

### EQUATION OF SOCIALISM WITH COMMUNISM IS ZIONISM

Mrs. Goodman in 'The Indian Libertarian' of July 15th, states that the Socialist Party of Great Britain maintains that the Russian Revolution was not meant to establish Socialism or Communism. "How Right they are!". The Revolution was created to establish a New Empire—The Zionist Communist, Jewish World Empire and to perpetuate 100 per cent Debt Slavery to the World Bank as the Treasury of the Jewish World Empire. It is now well-established that the U.S.A. and the rest of the U.N.O. are Colonies of the Jewish World Empire through the operation of the Monetary funds via the World Bank. The continual assertion that the Communist world is almost complete is no idle assertion, as the Communist-Jewish World Empire has existed ever since Taxes were levied. The 100 per cent Debt Finance system ended the capitalist system some thousands of years ago. There has been no capitalist system on the Earth since Taxation existed, because Taxed money ceases to be money of its face value, "Capital Empire". "Every Taxed State is a colony of the Jewish World Empire" and every man who borrows Bank Credit is a slave paying upwards of 500 per cent interest upon his own productions and national Cash through Taxes.

London,

OLARESHSHAW.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

We have a few back issues of "Freeman" a monthly journal published by the Foundation for Economic Education, U.S.A. They are available free on request to us. Requests for copies should be accompanied with 15 nP. stamps.

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