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Only De-Nehruization Will Save India

THE whole Congress organisation appears to have been visibly shaken by its recent reverses in the Parliamentary by-elections. These elections showed that the Congressmen could no longer invoke the past name and glory of this organisation to their aid in electoral contests against non-Congress candidates of proven merit, integrity and devoted service to the country. The time when Nehru could boast confidently of getting even a Congress lamp-post elected, are gone never to return. It is no longer a secret that the Congress High Command has taken these electoral defeats as a serious challenge to their one-party-rule in the country and have been groping for a way out of this uncomfortable situation. And strangely enough the 'light' has come in this hour of darkness from Kamraj Nadar, the Madras Chief Minister. Pandit Nehru perplexed and flabbergasted as usual has simply jumped at the curious suggestion made by the Madras Chief Minister, not quite known for his intellectual brilliance or creative thinking, that the Ministers at the Centre and in the States should resign their posts and take themselves to the party work in order to revitalise the Congress. Mr. Nehru and of course, Mr. Kamraj Nadar the author of this idea, are reported to have offered to resign immediately when the resolution was passed at the meeting of Congressmen held at Delhi. But as expected, an honourable exception was made of Mr. Nehru since in the view of Congressmen Nehru's continuance as the Prime Minister of India was inevitable for the good both of the Congress and the country. Thus Mr. Nehru got easily an unequivocal, though indirect vote of confidence of his party in his stewardship of the Indian Government. The theatricals did not end there. Mr. Nehru has been further invested with absolute powers to decide the fate of the Ministers at the Centre and at the State level. It will be pertinent to observe here that in this picture nowhere does the electorate to which the Ministers are primarily responsible, figures and finds its due place and position assigned to it in the political life of the nation by the Indian Constitution.

SINISTER IMPLICATIONS

This move of Kamraj Nadar is pregnant with sinister implications and dangerous portents. It seems to have been made in full consultation with Mr. Nehru himself. It is not so innocent and spontaneous as it looks on the surface. The Bombay Weekly Journal "Current" had already hinted at it many weeks ago earlier and had even traced its origin to the evil genius

of Krishna Menon who is reported to be playing a deep-laid game against the non-Menonite Members in the Central Cabinet who were responsible for his exit from it in the wake of Chinese invasion. It is also significant that at this very time when Mr. Nehru is reported to be seriously thinking of a wide reshuffling of his Cabinet, the Russian newspaper, 'Pravda' should boldly come out with a suggestion that Mr. Nehru should appoint more 'Leftists' in the Cabinet to fight the 'reactionary' forces, without evoking any adverse comments from our so-called progressive journals who are ever prompt in protesting against even innocent suggestions coming from U.S.A. for improving the administration of our Government. Moreover, the story is widely current in Delhi that in some influential political quarters of the city, the probability of a peaceful settlement of India-China conflict is being seriously discussed and canvassed. Pandit Nehru's unusually firm and unequivocal tone on the Kashmir question as reflected in his statement before the Parliament, is also construed in some knowledgeable circles, to be an indication that, despite the reported massing of Chinese troops all along the Himalayan border, the Sino-Indian tension has somewhat eased. And above all the Soviet's reported pressure on India to seek a 'political' settlement with Brother China, even when Russia and China are at logger-heads on the ideological front cannot be lightly dismissed by the patriotic elements in this country who do not wish our Government to temporise in the least on the issue of recovering Indian territory lost to China.

It is not altogether improbable therefore that the combined deffect of all these manoeuvrings of Menonites, Moscovites and Nehru's close associates like Kamraj Nadar, will in the end goad Mr. Nehru into having more Leftist friends in his Cabinet, so that his policies of non-alignment even to the extent of opening peace talks with the enemy and of administering stronger doses of Socialism to fan the dying embers of his Five Year Plans, might be put through, without any let or hindrance from his Cabinet Ministers. It is expected that the Kamraj formula will greatly help Mr. Nehru in getting rid of some inconvenient senior Ministers who are as self-sacrificing, capable and patriotic as Mr. Nehru and who therefore could not be summarily relieved of their offices without creating strong reactions in the country and in foreign democratic circles. From the way in which such mock-heroic resolutions, passed previously by the Congress have been dealt with, it might be safely concluded

that this resolution too will remain a dead-letter immediately when on the strength of this resolution, Mr. Nehru has succeeded in ousting the old guard from his Cabinet and letting in through the back-door his leftist friends. If Mr. Nehru were honest in implementing the resolution, he should have been the first to quit his office and set a noble example to other Congress Ministers. The over-all result of this resolution will be that Mr. Nehru will be combining in himself not only the powers of the Prime Minister but also those of the plenipotentiary of the Congress, who could make or mar the fortune of any Congress Minister or legislator. This compares favourably with the dictatorial position held by Mr. Khrushchev in Russia who is both the Premier of the country and the Secretary of the Communist Party.

Mr. Nehru thus seems to be fully poised for playing the role of ONE MAN OVER THE CONGRESS AND THE COUNTRY, of course, in the Indian non-violent style.

WANTED 'MORE DEMOCRACY', NOT 'MORE SOCIALISM'

In one of his speeches before the Constituent Assembly of India on the aims and objectives, Mr. Nehru talked tall of India being able to improve on Western Democracy. But in practice his peculiar genius has only succeeded in altering Indian democracy as conceived by the Indian Constitution, beyond all recognition, by covering it in the garb of his socialist ideology. It has now happened that all his plans have gone awry and all his foreign policies have been a miserable failure. But unlike the Mahatma, he has no moral courage to own his Himalayan socialist mistakes which have only brought to the country disgraceful military defeats and humiliation and economic disaster and ruin to the teeming millions of India. His **Socialist Raj** has only enriched his own ministers, bureaucrats and licencees and permit-holders. When his countrymen ask for bread he give them huge steel mills and coffee percolators; when the country cries for arms for defending herself, he soothes her by his lullabies of 'Non-alignment' and 'Panchashila'. When his own party-men protest against corruption in high places and the fast deteriorating moral fibre of the Congress, he browbeats them into silence by assuming dictatorial powers through the good offices of his friends like Kamraj Nadar and Krishna Menon and stifles all opposition in his party to his pet theories and fanciful plans. When the patriots in the country point out to him progressive abridgement of democratic rights and liberties under his Socialistic Pattern, he and his neophytes, treat them to the music of songs on 'More Socialism' as if successive doses of a narcotic could ever save the life of a dying man.

Thus Nehru's Premiership for all these six-

teen years during which the Constitution was amended seventeen times, has witnessed a deliberate and cruel invasion of the democratic liberties of the people. It had also been a colossal misfortune for the common people. What the country requires at this hour is 'More Democracy' to undo the mischief and havoc wrought by Nehruism run amok and replace Nehru's 'Personality Cult' by democratic collective leadership. But this is impossible of being achieved without a thorough de-Nehruisation of Indian political life. It is high time therefore that all the democratic elements within the Congress and outside of it addressed themselves to this most urgent task of saving Indian democracy from 'Nehru and his Ism.'

'REALISTIC AND RATIONAL APPROACH' TO KASHMIR PROBLEM

In his statement made in the Parliament on 13th August 1963 regarding the Kashmir problem, Mr. Nehru, while pleading for a realistic and rational solution of this problem, declared that the concessions the Government had made to Pakistan in this matter have now been withdrawn in view of the supercilious attitude of the Pakistan Government towards India not only in regard to Kashmir but also the India-China conflict.

Mr. Nehru now thinks that his offer of

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plebiscite made many years ago could no longer be invoked by Pakistan, firstly because Pakistan has not complied with the preconditions laid down by the U.N.O. resolutions and secondly because both Azad Kashmir and Indian Kashmir have had over all these years independent and separate administrative set-up and economic and industrial development and growth and so religious considerations alone could not determine the future of these regions. If this argument were true, it could with equal force be made applicable to the future unification of Germany and both the Germanys would have to be recognised by the nations of the world as distinct units. One wonders whether Mr. Nehru had Kashmir in mind when he called upon the Western Powers to recognise the East German Government as demanded by the realities of the situation.

The only plausible reason that has been advanced by Mr. Nehru now against disturbing the present status quo in Kashmir seems to be the military one. It must be admitted that Ladakh cannot be defended against the Chinese invasion except through the link of the Kashmir valley. If so, to prove his bonafides to India and to his CENTO Allies, President Ayub Khan would do well to offer Indo-Pak joint defence of Kashmir territory in the event of Chinese attack, on the distinct understanding that a plebiscite will be taken in the Muslim majority Kashmir valley after the Chinese have been finally driven out. If Mr. Nehru and Ayub Khan should make such a realistic and rational approach to the problem, the former ceasing to harp on India's 'secularism' which is wholly unrelated to the Kashmir problem and latter, restraining his lust for grabbing even that part of the Kashmir territory which is indisputably Indian, a sure foundation will have been laid for bringing Indo-Pak relations in perfect harmony and consonance with 'the long-standing ties of geography, history and culture between the two countries' to which Mr. Nehru so eloquently referred in his statement. The flamboyant declaration of Pakistani statesmen that the Kashmir settlement will not affect Pak-China friendship, should be given no more credence and attention than the irresponsible outbursts of some of our Indian leaders like Krishna Menon that Pakistan is a greater enemy of India than even Communist China.

CONGRESS MENACE TO 'FARM, FAMILY AND FREEDOM'

It is hardly possible to write in a restrained tone about the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill proposed to be moved in the present session of the Parliament. The Swatantra Party resolution has rightly trounced it as an attempt 'to destroy Farm and through it, Family and Freedom in this country,' and has called upon the members of the Parliament and the country to

prevent its passage and to resist it if it should be enforced upon the country in the teeth of popular opposition.

It is a fact too well known that the 'Fundamental Right to acquire hold and dispose of property' guaranteed by the Constitution has been always looked upon by the Congressmen in power, as an impediment and stumbling block in their path of capturing total power in the countryside. So ever since the dawn of India's freedom, they have been bending all their energies towards curtailing and even destroying this right, by amending the Constitution if necessary, whenever they find that their socialist-oriented 'land-reforms' are successfully challenged in the Courts of Law. For this purpose they got the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution passed in the Parliament in 1951 and 1955 respectively. These Amendments extended the scope of the term 'Estate' under Article 31 to 'Zamindari, Inam, and Muafi lands' and enabled the Government to acquire the land of the landholders 'for a public purpose' with meagre compensation as fixed by the Government, which was made non-justiciable in Courts of Law.

The Government have been following what are known among Communist circles as 'Salami' tactics of isolating the different layers of the agriculturist class from one another and in the end eliminating all, one by one. Zamindars, Inamdars and other intermediaries between the Government and the cultivator became the first target of the Congress plan to socialise all agricultural lands. Now comes the turn of 'Ryotwari' peasants to be gradually liquidated under the new 17th amendment bill which seeks to bring even 'ryotwari' lands within the meaning of the term 'Estate'. This will enable the government to destroy the peasantry as a class and reduce it to the position of landless labourers organised in Co-operatives which in reality are no better than 'Communist Collectives' and which, as in China and Russia, will surely make an end of free and proud agricultural homesteads 'by a few paternal acres bound.'

As Vallabhbhai Patel, the great patriot and peasant leader of Bardoli Satyagraha once said, the agriculturist class living in an Indian village, consisting of land-holders, peasants and tenants who mainly live on the land and who are therefore immensely interested in stepping up agricultural production, should be considered to be one and indivisible unit. Let all agriculturists therefore unite forgetting all their internal minor differences and fight this grave menace from the Congress to their hearths and homes and a free way of life.

FOOLHARDY SALAZAR

Dr. Salazar, the dictator of Portugal is still
(Continued on Page 7)

PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

M. A. VENKATA RAO

The Kamaraj Plan that Senior Ministers at the Centre and the Chief Ministers in the States should resign and engage themselves in party organisation work, though endorsed by the A.I.C.C., has lost its chance of success by Mr. Nehru being excluded from its operation. Without Mr. Nehru's quitting his office and setting an example to others in renunciation (tyaga), the Kamaraj proposal sinks to the status of the drama of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Let the people, therefore, awake and throw the party out of power through the Ballot Box.

It is a salutary practice to reflect about, (on Independence Day every year) and to draw the attention of citizens to the deeper issues of politics and national destiny.

The latest move within the Congress party to respond to the grave situation created by the resounding electoral defeats it sustained at Dohad, Amroha, Farrukhabad and Rajkot is that of Kamaraj of Madras. His suggestion that senior Ministers at the Centre and the Chief Ministers in the States should resign and engage themselves in party organisation work has been endorsed by the recent session of the A.I.C.C. held at Delhi. Originally the idea was intended to apply to Nehru as well. And he is reported to have offered to resign in accordance with the proposal. But the Working Committee (as is only to be expected) vetoed the idea and made an exception of him and begged him to continue both as prime minister and as party leader as heretofore! It surrendered full power to him and placed final responsibility in his hands to accept the resignations of Ministers at the Centre and of State Chief Ministers and to appoint new ones in their place and assign senior members of the Party to organisational work in accordance with the Kamaraj Plan.

Thereby the Working Committee deprived the Plan of its major chance of success for without Nehru's example in quitting office the proposal sinks to the status of the drama of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark! The whole source of the suggestive and purgatorial effect of the Plan is vitiated by the top leader remaining in office, for in Indian tradition, influence is proportionate to renunciation (tyaga). It was the chief rationale of Mahatma Gandhi's unusual, historic influence.

Further, everything depends on the way the new chiefs of the Party's non-official branch set to work among the people.

Moreover, the Plan ignores the changed situation after the advent of independence and the Party's access to power as the ruling group having the coveted right and privilege of forming the Government of the country in place of the departing British.

Today Congressmen appear before the popu-

lace chiefly in the role of dispensers of patronage—jobs, permits, licences, quotas as well as educational opportunities by way of seats in schools and colleges and scholarships and travel grants! The Minister who resigns and becomes a private citizen is shorn of all this power and the aura of prestige derived therefrom naturally departs from him. If he is to retain any part of it, he must be a person of transcendent moral personality recalling the Mahatma or he must manage to retain sufficient influence to the Chief and other ministers and the officialdom to make his recommendations in favour of proteges effective. They may be individuals or villages or communities or his home-town compatriots—potential voters.

He can never get rid of the electoral objective of his work and career! This aspect of his motivation cannot be screened from the shrewd perception of observers, supporters and opponents. Such sizing up of the moral status of the pretenders to moral prestige on the part of the common man is fatal to real influence, flattery and hypocritical offerings of incense notwithstanding. Worship with offerings and flattery or praise of extravagant dimensions is a national trait with us.

The mistake that Kamaraj and the supporters of the Plan are committing is to continue in the climate of sacrifice and artificial tension and values maintained during the national struggle under the auspices of Mahatma Gandhi with his irrational methods consisting of fasts, appeals to sacrifice, surrender of jobs, schools and professions, the fostering of a cult of poverty (as if the whole nation was comprised of sadhus and not householders) and self-immolation of various sorts. Gandhi is a proper subject for psychoanalysis.

But the magic cannot be repeated by others of lesser stature to take in today's disillusioned common people and disappointed educated citizens.

The great need today is to get away from the negative idiom of the days of struggle and to assume the responsibilities of positive democratic government.

The primary responsibility of the leaders in

and out of office has been since the advent of independence to educate the people in all their ranks for democracy. It remains their primary and inescapable responsibility to spread among the people a sound knowledge of the working of democratic government—the correct rules of party and government, of the correct inter-relation between the civil service and elected office-holders like ministers as well as parliamentary procedure so as to give full play for the expression of opinion from all individuals and groups within the House.

Outside, parliament, The Press, public assembly, platform and discussion club have all to be properly used to inform and guide public opinion. Government should express the General Will or Common Good as arrived at fully and consciously after full discussion in the organs of public debate before it proceeds to legislate on it on various subjects.

It is important for democratic leaders not merely to carry on the administration justly but also to make the people understand the processes of the administration and make them **participate in it**. The Kamaraj Plan is only intended to make the people participate in **party work** or party decision or patronage. But what is needed is to make the people participate fully in the processes of government from the grass-roots. This participation becomes intense for the people at large during election times. But it is more continuous inside the life and activities of parties, in power and in opposition. After the Ministers of government are chosen, party men should keep a continuous eye on their work and keep them on their toes. They may not criticise their leaders publicly but they should do so in party meetings. But in Congress, party-men **grovel before** the ministers for favour and cannot keep them within the limits of law and decency! Ministers get away with rank abuse of official power for lack of principled opposition within and outside.

Groups emerge to dethrone ruling ministries only to displace them in power and with this end in view they prepare lists of irregularities and corrupt deeds misusing office for selfish purposes. But the **charges vanish** as soon as the **complainants are appeased** and given comfortable places either within the cabinet or in the official hierarchy like the Chairmanship of Social Committees and State Trading Commissions which carry fat emoluments. In Rajkot the people expressed disgust with the conduct of Mr Dhebar, ex-Congress President who resigned his seat in Parliament which he had secured from the constituent voters of Rajkot as soon as he got a two thousand rupee job!

A similar office is held in Mysore State by an ex-Congress Minister Mr. Siddaveerappa

whose salary as chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Board of the State is equivalent to that of a minister! That of Mr Ponnacha, an ex-Minister of Mysore is Rs. four thousand as Chairman of the State Trading Commission of the Union Government!

And if the resigning Ministers are considerably given such incomes out of public funds to facilitate their party work, (as is only too likely,) the Kamaraj Plan will end in derisive smoke and cynical laughter. Of course, they could be accommodated with living expenses on a modest scale **out of party funds**.

But the way in which party funds themselves are being collected has created a deep **revulsion** in the public mind and it will take much indeed, **a new life altogether from the new chiefs** and would be restorers of Congress vitality, to achieve tangible results.

But all this concerns primarily the Congress party, the fortunes of its leaders and beneficiaries. But the people at large are primarily interested in a radical change of policy and a more realistic attitude both in foreign policy and in domestic affairs. Above all, a more **conscientious, honest, economical and efficient government** which gives good value for the public moneys raised and spent. The people do not resent sacrificial demands on their purses by way of emergent high taxation and even the suspension of fundamental rights in view of defence necessities.

But they see with dismay that all the austerity is to be borne **only by them** leaving the Congress party and government leaders free to go (carefree) merrily and extravagantly as ever before! There is no sign of any abatement of the squandermania in government expenditure! The proliferation of the bureaucracy goes on seemingly as luxuriantly as before! The rulers forget that the people are paying taxes with their heart's blood and that there is a limit to their seemingly inexhaustible ocean of patience.

We must realise that today we have in our midst in this country as in most Asian and African countries **two revolutions** going on at the same time. The earlier in time and more complex—indeed comprising all the dimensions of social and cultural life has resulted from the impact of the West on our life. The first stirrings of a creative—reaction to this impact was seen early in the last century with the work of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Soon and especially after the Sepoy War and the introduction of universities and science instruction we are having simultaneously a renaissance, a reformative, counter-reformation, a revolution in industry and commerce as well as in politics working like a power-

ful yeast in our life. The **democratic revolution** bore fruit in the Constitution of Free India passed by her own Constituent Assembly in 1950 which incorporated the ideals of the American and French Revolution enshrining the Rights of Liberty, equality and fraternity and justice for all citizens which were defined in Part Three devoted to Fundamental Rights.

But no sooner the administration got going than the Prime Minister introduced on his own initiative without any discussion worth the name his industrial policy declaration, his Soviet Type Five-Year Plans and his Zamindari Abolition legislation on nominal and ludicrous rates of compensation, which were soon made non-justiciable and removed from the jurisdiction of the Courts. These were blows to democratic rights and diminished the property and other fundamental rights and thus damaged the very **foundations** of the democratic society of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice contemplated in the Constitution. Fraternity was injured not by enabling the landless peasants and tenants to acquire land cheaply but liquidating zamindari and proposing to liquidate surplus to declared ceilings in **ryotwari property**, while other ways as in Denmark were **open for achieving the same object without class war doctrines.**

In these measures fanning class hatred and and in the Marxist centralisation of economic power spelled out in the Five-Year Plans and in various other ways, the Democratic Revolution enshrined in the Western Liberal Constitution is **suborned**. It is being vitiated by socialist dogmas of the Communist Marxist, Soviet variety.

In foreign policy as well, nominal non-alignment has meant in practice a **pro-Soviet attitude** aiding and giving comfort to international communism both inside and outside the country. The virus of communism has been allowed to spread and indeed, it is given **respectability** even in times of war emergency. The CPI leaders are given the **status of mediators** and **policy makers** to bring about a reconciliation with the enemy without his leaving our sacred soil!

In addition to corruption and confusion of party and government and a full misuse of official power and influence to perpetuate themselves in power, maladministration, high taxes, ever increasing unemployment, failure on the agricultural front, farcical results of the public sector yielding $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on Rs. 1400 crores! Unless these grave defects are set right, there is no chance of the Party and Government winning the favour of the people merely by chief ministers becoming whole-time party workers according to the Kamraj Plan.

Let the People awake and throw the Party out through the Ballot Box and give an opportunity to Others.

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foolhardy enough to ignore the mounting revolt of the Angola Africans against his dictatorial colonial regime. He still fondly hopes, that notwithstanding the disgraceful defeat of his colonial policies in Goa he would be able to stem the onward march of Angolian people towards Liberation, by employing all his military might and strength. The African nations, whatever their internal differences may be, are all agreed on this one aim and objective which is to liberate Africa from foreign domination. This liberation movement has taken, of late, very rapid and giant strides, the latest being a declaration by all African States that they would give all-out assistance to Angolian freedom fighters headed by Mr. Holden Roberto, in arms and ammunitions and military training. Dr. Salazar will therefore be well advised to take quick steps before it is too late, to place Angola on the road to self-government as directed by the U. N. Security Council, if he wants to avoid a violent showdown with the freedom rebels who are determined 'to do or die'. His contention that 'Angola is the creation of Portugal' will meet with the same miserable fate which befell his stupid stand on Goa that 'Goa was a part of Portugal'.

He seems to have learnt nothing from his bitter experience about the way in which Goan Indians treated this baseless assertion of his with the contempt it deserved and liberated themselves from his hated yoke. At least the India Government and Goan Indian waited patiently for a change of heart in Dr. Salazar for more than fifteen years. But Dr. Salazar must understand that African nations and their nationals are no believers in non-violent methods. They will stop at nothing to win their freedom. And when the hour of reckoning comes, Dr. Salazar and his military men will not know even how to escape from the rivers of human blood in which they will be drenched and ultimately drowned by the infuriated Africans. It is, therefore, better for Dr. Salazar to be wise before the event and not after it.

—D. M. Kulkarni

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Congress Cart Before The Congress Horse

By M. N. THOLAL

The Congress Working Committee members plumped for Mr. Kamraj's proposal with a view to impress the people who have come to regard Congress-men as office-hunters with their self-sacrificing spirit. But the people are not interested in one Congressman being replaced by another. The A.I.C.C. resolution frankly invests Mr. Nehru with dictatorial powers to dethrone those ministers whom he does not like. As is his wont, Mr. Nehru being acutely conscious of the fact that he could be legitimately accused of being a Fascist, has already begun accusing the Opposition groups of Fascist tendencies, as he did at the A.I.C.C. Meeting.

THE AICC resolution on the relinquishment of offices by ministers so that they may "shoulder the responsibilities of the organisation" puts the cart before the horse. The Congress Working Committee was apparently at a loss what to do to arrest the deterioration in the organisation and jumped on the proposal of the Madras Chief Minister, accepted by the Central Home Minister, for relinquishment of offices to strengthen the organisation. The Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, relinquished his office of Railway Minister some years ago when some railway accidents upset him and devoted himself to Congress work. No one can say that this resulted in strengthening the Congress a bit. It may be said that this was a solo performance and that the same on a large scale will have the desired effect. How?

The resolution says: "While the relinquishment of office by ministers would provide a new atmosphere for the country, this will have to be followed up by a programme of action which will revitalise and strengthen the organisation. Such a programme will have to be fully considered and drawn up." This is obviously putting the cart before the horse. The programme of action to revitalise and strengthen the organisation should have been drawn up first, so that the proper men from among ministers to work the programme could have been selected. As it is, the selection of men to work the programme is to be made before the selectors know or the selector knows what the programme is. Can anything be more absurd?

In an almost identical vein Mr. V. B. Raju (Andhra) said the Working Committee had laid more emphasis on the capacity of the individual than on the efficiency of the programme and that it should have been drawn up first. He might have added that, if the individuals had been as capable as the resolution implies, the Congress would not have come to the pass it has.

The Working Committee members were obviously struck by the dramatic nature of the

proposal of Mr. Kamaraj and plumped for it without giving a thought to its workability and its pros and cons, with a view to impress the people, who have come to regard them as office-hunters, with their self-sacrificing spirit. The people are not interested in one Congressman being replaced by another. They are interested in corruption coming to an end. The Congress resolution does not promise anything of the sort, and only attempts to prove that the Congress ministers are not such a bad lot as the people seem to think.

LOOSELY DRAFTED RESOLUTION

The resolution has been loosely drafted. This shows that the man who drafted it has a confused brain, and that the members of the Working Committee, as well as the AICC, lacked the brains or the courage to amend it properly. Mr. Nehru is credited with the drafting. No wonder the draft was regarded as sacrosanct and no one had the inclination, much less the courage, to suggest even verbal amendments to make it look logical. "The Working Committee," says the resolution, "generally welcomes the proposal" (regarding Congressmen in Government voluntarily relinquishing their ministerial posts and offering themselves for full-time organisational work) "and decides to take action along these lines". What action can the Working Committee take "along these lines"? What the draft of the resolution apparently wanted to say was that the Working Committee generally welcomed and approved the proposal, because it is for the ministers and not the Working Committee "to take action along these lines".

In the end the resolution says, "The Working Committee decided to take early steps to implement the above proposal". There is no proposal above, but a decision that relinquishment of offices by ministers will have to be followed up by a programme of action which will

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revitalise and strengthen the organisation. "Such a programme," the resolution says, "will have to be fully considered and drawn up." What the Working Committee obviously decided was "to take early steps to that end" and not "to implement the above (non-existent) proposal". Mr. Nehru has always had a confused mind except where his own interests were concerned, but now it seems to be a case of confusion worse confounded. All this reveals the rotten state of the Congress organisation, for the Congress leaders in the AICC either had not the courage to cross the i's and dot the t's or were unable to see where that was needed.

FULSOME FLATTERY

Seconding the resolution Mr. S. K. Patil described Mr. Nehru as "the leader of leaders", implying thereby that in the Congress organisation leaders need a leader—a wonderful type of leaders indeed! If continued use of power by Congress for 16 years had not caused havoc in the country, he said, it was so because Mr. Nehru was at the helm of affairs. What else is the "historic" resolution intended to remedy, if not havoc? "Our enjoyment of power for such a long time has not led to devastation," Mr. Patil proceeded to observe, and added: "This is because we have many breaks, the most effective and powerful of them is the stewardship of Mr. Nehru. To us he is not only a prime minister. He is one of the founding fathers and prime architects of our freedom...Mr. Nehru, along with Mahatma Gandhi, has provided to the nation light...He is the only man who has imparted integrity to the administration." What a tribute in this last sentence to the Congress and Congressmen! What a confession of corruption among Congressmen from top to bottom!

Mr. U. N. Dhebar, whose loyalty to Mr. Nehru and the Congress is self-proclaimed, could not lag behind. He said some men were a creation of history but "Mr. Nehru was a symbol of India's history and it is a matter of great pride for the Congress and the country that there is one man on whose mere asking people are prepared to sacrifice even their lives". It is rather anomalous that people who are prepared to sacrifice their lives on his mere asking them to do so, should not be prepared to sacrifice here. Symbol means "a sign by which one knows a thing". Perhaps what Mr. Dhebar meant was that Mr. Nehru symbolised India's history—having regard to Mr. Nehru's scant regard for the country's security and the country's unparalleled slavery of a thousand years.

Perhaps the best speech of the session was that of Mr. Mahavir Tyagi who said the resolution was no remedy for the ailment of the Congress. He said people would accuse Mr. Nehru

of not building up the second line of leadership and appealed to him and others to take a revolutionary step and bring about a collective leadership. But how can there be collective leadership when even half-hearted critics like him say: "There may be controversies and whisperings on his decisions. It is therefore essential that, while entrusting him with such a task, we must also decide not to question his decision and not to vote for those who do so." Why not have a clause in the Congress constitution declaring all votes against Mr. Nehru to be *ultra vires* of the constitution? That would solve all difficulties, for that is the solution every historic and epoch-making session of the AICC is obviously leading the Congress to.

In other words, Mr. Tyagi accused Mr. Nehru of dictatorship. The AICC resolution frankly invests Mr. Nehru with dictatorial powers. He can now unseat any minister or Chief Minister and exercise his discretion to dethrone those whom he does not like. Mr. Nehru could not but be conscious of this and, as is his wont whenever he feels he can be legitimately accused of something, he at once began accusing his opponents of it. So he said rather irrelevantly in the course of his speech; "The ways in which some of the Opposition groups function bring to me memories of Fascism and Nazism, which have reared their heads in the past decades." Why, Mr. Nehru, what else were Fascism and Nazism doing but rearing their heads and sticking out their tongues during this session of the AICC at which he was present? Perhaps his conscience pricked him and he got so confused again as to observe: "I don't mean to say there are such trends in this country, but the tendencies are so remarkably similar". Being an anti-fascist and a democrat, Mr. Nehru could not but deplore and be upset by the non-existent trends and the existing tendencies towards Fascism, and he had to confess: "It is rather an upsetting feature. We have to face all these with calmness." The poor dethroned ministers will at least have to bear their dethronement with calmness and try not to feel frustrated. For how long?

THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE,
BANGALORE

19th July, 1963: Shri D. N. Subba Rao delivered a lecture on 'Socrates as a Rationalist'. Prof. M. A Venkatrao presided.

How They Live In East Berlin

AROUND East Berlin runs a grey wall, built of rough stones, re-inforced with barbed wire and tank traps and guarded by soldiers from the Soviet-Zone army. The Berliners on both sides of the border call it "Ulbricht's Wall".

Until the wall was built the people who are now living behind it in East Berlin were, understandably, the envy of all the other Germans living in the Soviet Zone. There was an obvious advantage in staying in this town. Many tried to move there, but only one in ten thousand was given permission to take up residence even if it was only for a short period.

The East-Berliners were the lucky ones among the people in the Soviet Zone. They alone had the rare chance to travel out of the zonal misery into another world for a four-penny ticket; to read any particular newspaper which was forbidden in the Zone; to see a film or play not permitted in the Soviet Zone; to read a book which was on the black list there; to buy some butter, a pair of shoes, medicine, or the necessary spare part for a machine which had been forgotten by the economic planners in the East.

There were a hundred cinemas for the East-Berliners along the western side of the sector border; there, they could also buy a ticket paid for in East Marks. And one Mark of their money was reckoned as the equivalent of one West Mark. They could use West Berlin trams and buses under the same conditions. They could order West Berlin or Federal German newspapers at reduced rates. There were entire shopping areas in which the tradesmen specialized in meeting the needs of East-Berliners. The Mark was treated as valid currency.

A Double Life

The inhabitant of East Berlin led a strange double life. He resided and worked in the Soviet sector, but he lived in the western sectors. For him the town did not end at the sector border.

But soon the Communists judged the atmosphere in East Berlin very realistically. They surrounded the East-Berliners with tanks, built a barbed wire barrier around them, and flooded the streets with soldiers. The extent of the Soviet defeat in East Berlin can be judged by the speed with which they worked and by the enormous military strength that was brought into the field.

A taxi-driver in East Berlin reports the following story: One of his colleagues had long had a reputation as an "unstable element". But he was a good driver and was left alone. A few days after 13th August, 1961, he was provoked by a party official. The driver, who was already upset by the building of the Wall, expressed what all Berliners thought, namely, that the

Wall was an inhuman business, and a confession of political bankruptcy. Today he is no longer a taxi-driver, but a manual worker. "Socialist education" is what the party officials call it.

Lonely and Lost

The people of East Berlin now feel lonely and lost. "We lived all through these years in a world of illusions", says a woman who works in an East-Berlin publishing house. "We did not see the dirt and misery here as clearly as we should have done, because the light over there in West Berlin was brighter. But now it is being brought home to us: dismissals, cuts in salaries, arrests. The Socialist educational process is being forced along at a hot pace. We buckle under and are ashamed of it at the same time. But who wants to run against a wall if it means death?"

—German News

Permit-Licence-Yug

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE development policies of the Congress Government develop and establish corruption in the economic life of the country. The regime of permits and licences and quotas displacing fair and free competition sets persons engaged in industry against one another in a competitive exercise of unhealthy practices. This corruption has robbed a cadre of civil servants of its established standards. A service which was one justly famed for efficiency and integrity has now almost become notorious in the opposite direction. Members elected to make laws in the various legislative bodies have many of them settled down to a subsidiary occupation as agents to secure favours for big and small people engaged in the business of making money under a 'socialist' government.

What prevailed during the centuries before the period when ordered British administration came to be stabilized, has now again become the climate of life in India. But in those days the greater part of citizens' activities was independent of government and its operations, whereas nothing can now be done without the cooperation and permission of government officials. Even a cottage cannot be built, or a petty retail shop start some small business without hunting for and securing several things from Government. The tax-gatherers are everywhere. "Oh! do you not agree to pay to the Defence Fund? Very well, let me see how you escape; show your accounts," says the sales-tax petty official who is responsible to his superior officer to show a certain quota of collections to the Defence Fund or other such fund. The courage or impertinence of the petty shop-keeper oozes out on this threat. There are a hundred forms in which this wretched drama is played.

LOHIA, THE LION-HEARTED

(From Our Correspondent)

As was expected Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha on August 16 that there was no intention to publish the NEFA inquiry report as it would be harmful to the country's future military preparations. That, he said, was the view of the Army authorities and the Defence Minister. As Mr. Frank Anthony said, certain parts of the report might impinge on our defence preparedness. But how can the publication of the report minus those parts prove harmful to the country's military preparations? By refusing to publish the report the Prime Minister is only strengthening reports in the Capital to the effect that the Army reverses in NEFA were due to direct political interference from the Ministry. Mr. Anthony went so far as to say that the troops had been ordered not to fire more than 50 rounds and that during the actual operations the Generals had been "hamstrung" by the then Defence Minister and they were not allowed to implement their decisions.

Mr. Nehru, however, categorically said these allegations were completely baseless. But how can they be completely baseless, it is being asked here, when long before the Chinese invasion began last October, reports had been appearing in the Press to the effect that Mr. Menon, the then Defence Minister, had told the Army Chief of Staff that the country's enemy was on the East and West and not on the North?

Dr. Lohia categorically stated that the Defence Minister had sent a circular to Army Commanders in NEFA during the Chinese invasion in October to withdraw from areas in imminent danger of being attacked by the Chinese and that Bomdi La was evacuated without a single shot being fired. This, he said, was due to the psychological fear caused by the circular. At this stage the Prime Minister asked the Deputy Speaker, who was in the chair, whether he was expected to answer all these questions and whether it was not an extension of the question hour. This is indeed, amazing. Here is a leader giving out the contents of a secret circular from the Defence Ministry which, if true, amounts to collusion at the highest level with the invaders, and here is our Prime Minister wanting to know from the Presiding Officer whether he was expected to answer all these questions! What else does he think he is there for?

On this question from Mr. Nehru to the Deputy Speaker Dr. Lohia shouted at Mr. Nehru :

"You are a servant and Parliament is your master. All these issues can be raised." The Prime Minister did not deny the relationship to Parliament ascribed to him by Dr. Lohia. (Could any Prime Minister in a democratic country do that openly?) But a Congress M. P., Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad, took exception to Dr. Lohia's remark and was heard shouting at Dr. Lohia that he was a "chaprasi" who had come there. Dr. Lohia retorted by saying, "Mr. Nehru has collected many servants like you to support him". Mr. Nehru then stood up and told the Deputy Speaker that Dr. Lohia (not Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad) was getting out of self-control. He was a new member, Mr. Nehru added, and did not know the rules and he should be taught the rules of procedure to maintain decorum. But what about Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad who is not a new member and who is expected to know the rules? Mr. Nehru is leader of the House as well as the Congress Party and had apparently nothing to suggest for Mr. Azad. Is that because Mr. Azad is a Congressman and was at the moment supporting Mr. Nehru, although Dr. Lohia had said nothing to which legitimate exception could be taken? Surely, in matters of maintaining decorum, Mr. Nehru should rise above party considerations and not turn the Nelson's blind eye towards his followers, one of whom had clearly said something about Dr. Lohia which he should not have done.

Dr. Lohia is being warmly applauded here for pointing out a fact to the Prime Minister which he is apt to forget in his dictatorial frame of mind. He has been trying to hide everything that really matters. He even kept the invasion of India by China a closely-guarded secret for years. This is hardly a convincing proof of his mastery of the rules of procedure which he wants Dr. Lohia to learn, or of his knowledge of the supremacy of Parliament. In fact the real quarrel between the Prime Minister and the Opposition may be said to be over the supremacy of Parliament which Mr. Nehru has been denying in practice. Dr. Lohia in his own inimitable fashion put his finger on the ailing spot in the Prime Minister's constitution, but for which, indeed, the country would not have come to its present pass. Had Mr. Nehru regarded himself as a servant of the country and its Parliament, and disclosed the Chinese invasion when it really started some years ago, the country would have known the real nature of his policy of non-alignment and perhaps even summed it up in six words—"Flattering the bully and the

aggressor"—than which there can be nothing more foolish or unpatriotic.

Dr. Lohia has indirectly shown what the Opposition in Parliament has been lacking so far—contempt for the Treasury benches. And why has the Opposition been lacking in that essential when its leaders have been leaving no stone unturned to prove that the ruling party and its leaders are far from patriotic? Because the leaders of the Opposition are goody-goody folk and suffer from that common malady, inferiority complex, which enables Mr. Nehru to retain the initiative in attack and ridicule the leaders of the Opposition even when he himself is entirely in the wrong and when his policies have proved disastrous for the country.

The fact of the matter would appear to be that even a partial admirer of Mr. Nehru cannot be a good and successful leader of the Opposition. In order to be a brilliant leader of the Opposition he must have contempt—the obverse of strength of conviction—for the leader of the Treasury Benches. Mr. Lohia, the lion-hearted, has a great opportunity before him and all well-wishers of democracy will wish him a glorious parliamentary career. Fortunately for him, he has entered Parliament when Mr. Nehru's stock is at its lowest ebb, and which would have been much lower had the leaders of the Opposition justified their existence as much as they should have done in the interest of the country. As matters stand they have been sleeping over the greatest disaster that it was in the power of Mr. Nehru to bring about as Prime Minister. This can only be said to be due to their ignorance of the role of the Opposition in democracy and the hypnotism that Mr. Nehru exercises even over his opponents.

INDEPENDENCE DAY EXHORTATION

In his Independence Day exhortation delivered from the ramparts of the Red Fort, Mr. Nehru appealed for unity and discipline and a cheerful sharing of the burden in guarding the country's freedom against the existing external threat. As usual Mr. Nehru said many things which could more appropriately come from the mouths of the leaders of the Opposition, things of which his Government cannot by any means be said to have been mindful in the recent past things upon which his policies cannot be said to have been based. "Any country which is free and which wishes to remain free considers the defence of the country above everything," he said, adding: "All citizens of India have to be of one mind in this matter and, if they are, they have to realise that they have to march together and work together. They should place national unity above everything else." Again and again he rightly emphasised the need of living together, marching together and working together. But does not the implementation of this gospel in this national emergency require a national government? Is not that the first step in the

direction of living together and working together and marching together? What is one to say of a Prime Minister who does not realise this elementary need stemming from his own exhortation day after day? How, people ask, can this exhortation be regarded as sincere without any effort on his part to form a national government, having regard particularly to the fact that his policies have proved a total failure? There is obviously no place for collective leadership in Mr. Nehru's ideas of working together and marching together. Equally obviously, there is no realisation on his part of putting first things first and forgetting minor differences in the face of the threat to the country's freedom and integrity.

CONGRESS STRATAGEM

The decision of the All-India Congress Committee empowering Mr. Nehru to pick and choose ministers for Congress organisational work has many pitfalls, which are obvious to those who know his predilections. The impressive stratagem of all Congress ministers placing their resignations in his hands and some of them being chosen to do Congress work by him is likely to result in the long run in the deterioration of the Congress organisation as in strengthening it. Frustration will not take long in rearing its head in an organisation where a man is a nobody unless he is a minister. Indeed, things there have come to such a pass that even a man who is a minister wants to be something higher and cannot see why he should not be a Chief Minister. The selection by Mr. Nehru of Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain as President of the UPCC proved beyond all doubt the faulty nature of Mr. Nehru's selection of men for high posts. There is no ground for the assumption that Mr. Nehru will suddenly change his criteria for selection of men for important posts or that he will be able to induce a spirit of sacrifice and selflessness in a group of men whose distinguishing feature since independence has been hankering after power and more power and yet more power, the highest example of which has been furnished by Mr. Nehru himself.

The Congress today is rotten to the core, mainly because of Mr. Nehru's favouritism and his scant regard for ability and integrity. Being an emotional man this favouritism is part of his character, and it produces resentment and rebellion rather than a spirit of working together and marching together. The results of the AICC resolution will therefore be watched with amusement in the country and he will indeed be a bold man who can forecast that the Congress will be the stronger for it. Ambition is made of sterner stuff and pious resolutions cannot hold it in check for long particularly when there is little justice in the implementation of those resolutions. Surely, Mr. Nehru knows that the successful leadership of his father was mainly due to the latter's selection of the right

man for the right job, based not on flattery but on the man's qualifications. Where there is justice there is peace in the human heart. And how can there be peace with favouritism riding roughshod over Congress land?

Book Review

REFLECTIONS ON GOVERNMENT: BY SIR ERNEST BARKER Formerly Fellow of Merton College, Oxford and of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Published by The Oxford University press. First printed in 1942 and reprinted in revised form five times since then. Pages 424. Price 30s. net in UK.

This is a work of ripe social and political wisdom based on wide scholarship both of the ancient world of Greece and Rome and of the modern era of democratic revolutions. It displays a rare combination of the humanist idealism of old Oxford and of the scientific temper of new Cambridge.

The book was written just before the outbreak of the war of 1938-45 but Dr. Barker postponed publication to see if any modification of view was called for the armageddon. He finally decided that it did not and issued the book in 1942 in the critical period of the war with Hitler.

The book is a thought-laden thesis on modern democracy and the challenge posed to it as a faith and a working method of governance by Nazism, Fascism and Communism. The first part sketches the mind and face of democracy and the structure of civil and political liberty, for the defence of which it has been won through the struggle of centuries. He then delineates the internal and external dangers confronting democracy today the eruption of the romantic and charismatic Leader of racial, national or class groups and the dangerous use or misuse of mass media of communication by dictators to control the public mind and public emotions. The vogue of mechanisation is also, says Dr. Barker, a new danger which, in the hands of scientific Marxism (falsely so-called) ends up in making a machine of society itself to which the individual citizen is sacrificed, even as fascism and Nazism sacrifice him in the name of race and nation.

Dr. Barker gives an acute and very full analysis of the contemporary tendencies operating in every country science and mechanisation, expanding population in urban centres, speed of literacy and the industrial worker-classes (homogeneous in outlook) and liable to be swayed by mass leaders.

He indicates clearly how democracy can stand up to these forces of disintegration by a deeper use of reason and experience and a wider and more sensitive humanitarianism in the spirit of fraternity, equality and liberty, the two for-

mer developed without prejudice to liberty but preserving it as the spirit and medium of individual life. Here we find a deep and wise thinker grappling with the problems of the age in social and political fields without glossing them over and suggesting the broader point of view from which the resulting crises could be resolved and opposites reconciled and the spirit of democracy retained as the permanent framework of social and political life for civilised man.

M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

STALINISM STILL REMAINS

Stalin is dead; but the system that made possible the horrors of Stalinism, remains. This point was likely to be blurred, in the atmosphere of relief, if not of jubilation, created by the Testban Agreement and the rending apart of what was regarded as the monolithic structure of the International communist movement by the obstinate, arrogant, national chauvinism and imperial ambitions of China.

It is, therefore, good to find Mr. Averill Harriman, who negotiated the test-ban agreement, stating clearly that apart from their common interest in avoiding a nuclear war, American and Russian objectives were "irreconcilable". He said at Washington on August 1: "I find no difference in Khrushchev from Stalin in terms of determination to communise the world."

The same day the Vatican was taking up a similar stand. The Vatican's views are of particular importance because of the active role played by the late Pope John in the worldwide efforts to end the threat of a nuclear holocaust hanging over mankind.

The atomic menace was real. In the 19 years since the first explosion of an atomic device, the world has seen over 400 tests which amounted to a megaton yield of 535 — or 535,000,000 tons of TNT equivalent. As the earth's atmosphere has no political barriers, further tests represented a menace as much to Russians as to anyone else. Russian willingness to sign the test-ban agreement sprang out of the fear of their own destruction, than out of any moral revulsion against killing.

—PANDIT G. IN 'CURRENT'

News & Views

U.S. NUCLEAR POWER IS 'SUPERIOR TO RUSSIA'S'

Washington: U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert K. McNamara told a joint meeting of Congressional committee that the tripartite nuclear test-ban treaty between the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain was "not risk-free."

"I do not pretend that this or any other agreement between great contending Powers can be risk-free," Mr. McNamara said as he appeared before a joint session of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Forces Committees and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

However, Mr. McNamara, who was testifying in support of the ratification of the treaty, said: "I am convinced that even undetected, clandestine tests will not alter the basic military balance."

"The United States has nuclear superiority. We are determined to maintain that superiority," he said adding the U.S. to that end had "tens of thousands" of nuclear warheads.

BOKARO MUST GO AHEAD, WARNS GALBRAITH

NEW YORK: Prof. J. K. GALBRAITH, former United States Ambassador to India, has warned that any refusal of American aid to India on the issue of Government ownership of industry could permanently damage the relations between the two countries and jeopardise the future of Indian private enterprise.

Prof. Galbraith was testifying before the House Appropriations Sub-Committee presently holding secret sessions.

Prof. Galbraith said it was a myth to say that India had enough private capital to finance the Bokaro plant in the private sector.

Prof. Galbraith said that the existence of private capital in India, West Germany and the United States for financing the steel plant was a myth and even if available it would be too costly for India.

Prof. Galbraith also expressed the view that if the United States did not help India it was unlikely that the plant could be set up unless Russia came forward with help. But he doubted such a development.

RADAR EQUIPMENT STARTS ARRIVING

NEW DELHI: American radar and related equipment has begun arriving in India by special airlift in preparation for joint air defence training exercises to be conducted by the Indian, the United States, the United Kingdom and Australian Air Force units.

In a special airlift, giant cargo planes of the U.S. military air transport service, based in Hawaii, California and the north-east state of Washington, have hauled more than 120 tons of equipment for the first mobile radar installation.

They flew more than half way around the world from a depot in south-eastern U.S. The airlift was similar to the special transport organised last November to fly initial American aid to Calcutta within days of the Chinese attack on India.

This initial airlift of equipment is for one of the mobile units being burnished by the U.S. as part of the joint air exercises our for the training of Indian Air Force technicians in modern radar operations.

American Air Force specialists for installing, siting, operating and training have already arrived in India. Additional radar equipment and technicians will follow.

According to an official press release, the first installation is expected to be in place and ready for joint training and practice in a matter of days.

The equipment came in two C-130 Hercules turbo-prop aircraft, similar to those that have been operating on the air lift to Ladakh, three C-124 triple-deck Globemaster transports and two turbo-prop C-133 Cargomasters, the latest and largest American transport aircraft.

Technical discussions on 'operation shiksha' were held recently in New Delhi between experts of the Indian Air Force and their counterparts from the U.S. and the U.K.

NASSER USES POISON GAS AGAINST YEMENI VILLAGES

Daily Telegraph Special Correspondent reports from

Jeddah: An International Red Cross medical team from Geneva will arrive in Jeddah on its way to the Yemen. The Saudi Arabian Government has passed the Yemeni Royalist complaint to the Red Cross that the Egyptian Air Force is using poison gas against Yemeni villages.

Dr. Beretta, the International Red Cross representative in Jeddah, was receiving reports of gas warfare over a month ago but had no means of checking. The staff of the hospital in the Saudi Arabian town of Abha, near the Yemeni border, has appealed to the Government to provide them with gas masks.

Abha was the recent target of an Egyptian air raid. The Yemenis in the north are not only desperately in need of attention for gas victims but also for medical treatment for hundreds of people suffering from Egyptian bombing and strafing raids.

They do not possess a single qualified doctor in the area. The few medical supplies that they have are now almost exhausted.

When I told the Military Governor of the Jizan Province of Saudi Arabia near the Yemeni border of the suffering of the gas victims in Al Kawma village, he said he would appeal to the Saudi Government to relax the embargo on supplies to the Royalists.

This would enable the despatch of medicines to relieve the suffering of the gas victims. Seven people in the village have already died and 25 are suffering from severe effects of the gas attack.

CHINA CLAIMS CHUNKS OF HIMACHAL PRADESH!

SIMLA: Communist China has claimed several thousand square miles of Himachal Pradesh as part of their territory in Tibet, according to their latest maps.

They have demanded the whole of Kinaur district and half of Mahasu district upto Narkanda, 40 miles from Simla. Narkanda is 8500-9000 feet above sea level.

The people of Himachal Pradesh, instead of being shocked by this latest Chinese tactic, are organising themselves, with determination to fight the enemy.

The CPI in Himachal Pradesh strategically supports the Russian line of action, supposed to be a safe line for functioning overground.

Thousands of Tibetans and several Chinese are spread out upto the inner border of Himachal Pradesh. Hundreds of children attend the three Tibetan schools in Himachal Pradesh. Some of these schools are aided by the West and Western teachers, nurses and administrators are also present.

SWATANTRA WARNING: LAND LAW WILL BE RESISTED

AHMEDABAD,

Gujarat's Swatantra Party has warned the Government that the proposed 17th Amendment to the Constitution, regarding land reforms, will face resistance in every farm and village.

The warning was conveyed by telegrams to the President, the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha by Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel, president of Gujarat Swatantra Party and leader of the Opposition in Gujarat Assembly.

The telegram compared the 17th amendment to Section 31-A of the Indian Constitution with the "Rowlatt Act" of the British regime and was dubbed as a device to turn farmers into slaves.

The Swatantra leader reminded the ruling party that it was playing false to the peasant masses, who voted the party of power.

The Gujarat Swatantra Party challenged the Congress to fight a fresh election on this specific issues and threatened that the party would oppose the measure with all its power in every village in the same way as the "Rowlat Act" was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi.

The proposed amendment denied to the peasants their natural rights of farm land and also their right to seek justice on the same from judicial courts, the Swatantra Party said.

It urged the Union Government to see that the national crisis was not exploited for "acts of confiscation of justice."

ORISSA GOVERNMENT'S 'KALINGA INDUSTRIES' SCANDAL

NEW DELHI: Ready to blow up in a big way in New Delhi is a report said to have been prepared by an M.P. on the patronage given by the Orisa Government to Kalinka Industries Limited Kalinga Industries Ltd., is a private concern.

Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik, now Chief Minister of Orissa, was a controlling shareholder in Kalinga Industries. He was also its Managing Director.

After assumption of office as Chief Minister in Orisa Mr. Patnaik handed over the Managing Directorship to his wife.

Kalinga Industries is the agent of Kalinga Tubes Ltd. (of which Mrs. Patnaik is also Managing Director) for tubular structures. Another concern, known as Orisa Agents, belonging to Mrs. Biren Mitra, wife of the Deputy Minister of Orisa, is the agent of Kalinga Tubes Ltd. for tubes, and the agent of Kalinga Industries Ltd. for tubular trosses.

Therefore, the entire interest in these various concerns is interlinked between Mrs. Patnaik and Mrs. Mitra, or in other words, between the wife of the Chief Minister of Orisa and the wife of the Deputy Chief Minister of Orisa. The commission for the tubes of Kalinga Industries is shared by Orissa Agents, which is proved from the letter of Orissa Agents dated February 27, 1961, informing different departments of Government that it (Orissa Agents) is the agent for Kalinga Industries. The letter requests these departments to let it know on which date the payment for supplies to Kalinga Industries is made to them by Governments so that, apparently, Orissa Agents can get their commission on these goods supplied.

REDS' SUBTLE WAY OF HELPING CHINA

NEW DELHI: According to intelligence sources, there is a distinct possibility of the Communist Party of India against high price, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and the taxation proposal synchronising with a fresh Chinese attack.

The Pro-Chinese Wing of the CPI is believed to be in close correspondence with its counterparts in China and is understood to have given an assurance to Chinese Communists that in their second invasion they would muster 50,000 strong on the border to welcome the "Chinese liberation forces."

According to reports reaching here, CPI workers are spreading dissatisfaction against the local authorities.

KAMRAJ PLAN'S 'THEATRICALITY'

New Delhi: Mr C.Rajagopalachari, addressing a crowded

meeting at Sapru House, said the Kamaraj proposals for curing the ills which best the Congress were nothing but "theatricality."

Ministers who went to work for the party would continue to wield as much influence as before.

He condemned the idea of sending "red hot Ministers" to run the party which now suffered from an incurable disease. The project was no better than "a secretary getting a job with a commercial firm." Mr Rajagopalachari said.

There was much laughter when he said the possibility of Ministers returning to the Government after a spell of party work was analogous to that of a sanyasi remarrying.

Mr Rajagopalachari characterized the Kamaraj plan as a conspiracy to save the party from disintegration. The root cause of the decay was the too much power acquired by the Government.

There was no reason why a party which conducted election campaigns as the Congress did should be allowed to rule, he said. It won elections not because it was popular but because it used the influence of the Government. The Congress was a party of careerists, Ministers and those who wanted to become Ministers, and those who sought licences, he said.

HALF OUR FOOD ADULTERATED

Adulteration of different foodstuffs in the country varies from 15 to 51 per cent according to an official report.

The report says that 1,46,233 samples were analysed in 1961 out of which 42,960 about 30 per cent were found to be adulterated. In 1960, out of 1,22,119 samples analysed, 37,837 were found to be adulterated.

PAKISTAN'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

According to a recent Reuter's from Karachi published in the Christian Science Monitor.

"Pakistan's income this year is rising faster than the birth rate, according to government statistics.

It was encouraging news for a nation of 100 million people in which the soaring birth rate is a major economic problem. Until 1963, the birth rate had outdistanced the rate of average income increases.

The income increase has lifted some people on the edge of poverty to middle-class status. In fact, these people now complain they cannot hire servants at reasonable salaries.

But poverty has been a major problem through Pakistan's 16 years of existence. The fact that some people now are able to have servants does not mean that suddenly all is well in this "have-not" country.

However, Pakistan is making economic headway despite continuing poverty, overpopulation, weak industry, backward agriculture, and a literacy figure of only 18 percent.

Foreign aid, largely from the United States, and in 1962-63 running at about \$1,216,000 a day, has been pumped into irrigation, power, communications, industrial, fisheries, and other development projects for several years.

National income increased by 11.4 percent in the first two years of the Second Five-year Plan, which began in 1960.

Government statistics show that per-capita income increased 3.7 percent in 1960-61 and three percent in 1961-62, to a current level of 340 rupees (about \$61.50) a year.

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