

RAJAJI'S MISSION ABROAD

Rajaji left for New York on 25th September via London. He was leading a three man delegation from the Gandhi Peace Foundation which would visit Washington, London and Paris to confer with the heads of the State and Government on the issue of Nuclear Tests and Disarmament. The other members of the delegation were Mr. R. R. Diwakar and Mr. B. Shiva Rao.

Arriving from Madras after a rousing send-off, Rajaji received an enthusiastic welcome from members of the Party in the city. Among those who were on hand at the Santa Cruz airport to receive him were the Party's General Secretary, Mr. M. R. Masani, the Vice-Chairman of the Bombay Unit, Mr. Piloo Mody, the General Secretary of the City Unit, Mr. R. V. Moorthy, Mr. Murarji Vaidya, Maharajkumar Him-matsingh M.P., Mr. Narendra Singh Mahida, M.P., and active members of the State Unit.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY A FAILURE

Addressing press reporters in Bangalore on September 8, Prof. N. G. Ranga M.P., declared that India's international policies had led to her isolation not only from the Western countries but from the uncommitted countries as well.

He stated that the recent exhibition of ill-temper by Indonesia was a measure of the failure of the policy pursued by our Government.

India had found it difficult to maintain good relations with Nepal. The Chinese were continuing their aggression and gaining more and more ground, whatever the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister might say.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUP CALLS FOR CABINET'S RESIGNATION

The Swatantra Party in Parliament in a statement issued in Delhi on September 15 commenting on the fresh Chinese incursions in the N.E.F.A. area demanded that the Government should resign in view of its utter failure to discharge its elementary obligation of protecting India's frontiers.

The statement, issued following the entry of some Chinese troops in the Kameng Division of the NEFA

earlier that week, said that recent information gave definite indication that the Chinese had advanced into our North-Eastern Border areas by crossing over the McMohan line.

'It adds to the deep humiliation and sense of sorrow that the country has already undergone by the loss of large chunks of our territory in the North Western Ladakh areas.

'The Swatantra Party in Parliament cannot but register its strongest possible protest against the utter failure of the ruling party to discharge its elementary obligation of protecting our well-established international frontiers,' the statement said.

GENERAL SECRETARY AMONG LIBERALS ABROAD

The General Secretary of the Party, Mr. M. R. Masani, returned from abroad on 23rd September 1962. On August 22 he read a paper on "Governmental Policies and Capital Formation in Developing Countries" at a Conference organised by the National Conference Board of Turkey, in which he participated from August 18 to 25.

From September 11 to 15, Mr. Masani attended at the Hague in Holland a meeting of the Council of the Liberal International, of which he was elected a Patron in June 1958. Among those present at the meeting were Mr. G. Malagodi, leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Italian Parliament, Don Salvador de Madariaga, Mr. Rene Mayer, former Prime Minister of France, and representatives of Liberal Parties in Germany, U.K. Holland, Denmark, Israel, Belgium, Canada, Norway and Switzerland.

The two themes of the Conference were the attitude of Liberals towards the European Community and Common Market and towards the Cold War. The text of Resolutions adopted by the meeting are to be found in Appendix A to this Newsletter.

While addressing the Council on September 12, Mr. Masani took note of the statement made by Prime Minister Nehru on the previous day at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, in which he had raised the objection that the European Common Market and Community might increase tension between the West and the Soviet bloc. Mr. Masani rejected this line of thought, which would

give the Kremlin a veto on all constructive and positive developments in any part of the world. He expressed the view that the coming together of the countries of Europe should be looked upon as a strengthening of the forces of peace and freedom and a step towards the world order for which humanity was now groping. At the same time, he hoped that the economic hardships of India would be taken into consideration.

A report of Mr. Masani's speech at the Hague was published prominently in the *Daily Telegraph* of London on 13th September under the heading, "Nehru line on Six opposed—Tension dismissed" alongside of a similar dissociation by Mr. Lester Pearson, leader of the Canadian Liberal Party, from the position taken by Mr. John Diefenbaker, who had spoken at the Commonwealth Conference on the same day as Mr. Nehru. *The Daily Telegraph* in its column, "London day by day" on the same day mentioned: "Mr. Nehru's hostile words have not altogether pleased his own delegation. What Mr. Nehru said seems to contradict his own previous words supporting federal union".

Mr. Masani attended the opening Session of the Assembly of the British Liberal Party at Llandudno in North Wales on September 19. The Chairman of the session read a message of greetings to the Assembly from the Swatantra Party, which was warmly applauded. The message ran as follows:

"The Swatantra Party of India sends greetings and best wishes for a successful session to the Assembly of the British Liberal Party meeting at Llandudno on September 19.

"The recent Liberal revival in Great Britain has been a source of great encouragement to us in our own efforts to place liberal values before the Indian people and we hope your Party will go from strength to strength in the coming months and years".

NEHRU STANDS CORRECTED BY SWATANTRA M.P.

Mr. P. K. Deo raised a question in the Lok Sabha regarding a statement made by Prime Minister Nehru that India's non-attendance at the San Francisco Peace Conference "had nothing to do with China." This contradicted an entry made in the booklet *Leading Events in India-China Relations*.

Mr. Nehru referred to his papers and realized that a discrepancy had arisen because of his statement, as one of the reasons why India had refrained from participation in the Conference was that China had

abstained. He apologized to the House for his incorrect statement.

M.L.A. EXCLUDED FROM ANDHRA LEGISLATURE PARTY

The Swatantra Party in the Andhra Pradesh Legislature, which met in Hyderabad on July 29, decided to drop the name of Mr. C. Vasudeva Reddi from the list of its members.

Addressing pressmen, the Leader of the Group, Mr. G. Latchanna, stated that Mr. Reddi had been dropped from the list as he had not been conforming to the Party's rules and discipline.

THE PARTY AND THE PLAN

The Convenor of the Working Group set up by the Party, Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu, addressing a meeting of Party workers and sympathisers in New Delhi on August 28 said: "Our problems have arisen because planning has not been for what the people can do but only for what the Government can do. This is neither democracy nor good economics."

The enterprises in the public sector, he suggested, should be partially denationalised. To provide more employment, the Government should subsidise private investment on agricultural improvement and rural housing schemes.

He added that the 'political plan' concealed in the Third Plan should be disentangled and eliminated. Almost a third of the expenditure was on schemes which provided electoral machinery and support for the Congress.

MORE COMMENTS ON THE CHITTOOR VICTORY

Here are some more press comments on the significance of Prof. Ranga's victory in Chittoor:

"The Chittoor reverse is one more warning to the Congress that it can no longer take its hold on the electorate for granted. It is, of course, no secret that the party in Chittoor was woefully divided. But group rivalries within the party only partly explain its present defeat. At least part of the reason for its reverse lies in the popular discontent over some of its measures including the additional land levy."

Times of India, August 29.

"The victory of Prof. N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party, over the Congress candidate, Mr. T. N. Viswanatha Reddi, at Chittoor has shaken the inner circle of the Andhra Congress Party with

regretted that they had later withdrawn the resolution on not submitting forms under the Food Grain Licensing Order.

He warned the traders: "It is you who are now asked to get licences. Next it will be those who want to eat who will have to get licences."

Later, addressing a public meeting at Chowpatty, Rajaji said that all the effects of the Government's misrule could be suffered if it had not ruined the nation's character.

Referring to Socialism, Rajaji described it as a product of academic thinking in the 19th century. Since then it had been tested and found to be faulty. Congress socialism had led to food scarcity, soaring prices and a general disgust.

Among others who spoke at the two meetings were: Maharajkumar Himmatsingh, Mr. N. Dandeker, Dr. (Mrs) Shantabhai Gulabchand, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh.

DELHI

SWATANTRA CLUB

The Swatantra Club of Delhi organised a public meeting in New Delhi on "The Problems of the Day". Rajaji addressed the meeting which was presided over by Mr. N. Dandeker.

Rajaji suggested a change of Government as a remedy for India's economic and other ills. He expressed concern over the deteriorating conditions in the country — food shortage, rising prices, widespread corruption, the threat of aggression and a crisis of character.

He said that the verdict of the Election Tribunal had not only meant Mr. Dandeker's success but had also exposed the "Gonda rape of the ballot box."

On the occasion, Rajaji formally inaugurated a new weekly publication in Hindi *Swarajya Sandesh* which would largely be a Hindi version of *Swarajya*.

GUJARAT

A meeting of the Gujarat State Executive at Ahmedabad on September 13 adopted a resolution criticising the Government for having imposed a ban on the export of groundnut oil without making adequate arrangements for the distribution of the commodity among the people within the State.

Maharajkumar Himmatsingh organised processions and made representations to the Government in regard to the grievances of the people of Kutch over the shortage of essential commodities and high prices.

Mr. Dharamsinh Patel, the Party's field organiser in Saurashtra represented the grievances of the people against anti-social elements. He had lodged a complaint against a Congress member of the State Assembly with the Sadachar Samiti.

ORISSA

The Executive Committee of the Orissa Unit at its meeting on August 23 demanded timely action to remove the present Ministers of Orissa from office. A resolution adopted at the meeting urged for the immediate appointment of a Commission of Enquiry by the Central Government to go into the charges of corruption against the Ministers and said "that will really be an acid test of Mr. Nanda's determination and sincerity in his bid to root out corruption and save the State from disaster." Reviewing the political situation in the State, the resolution said "widespread...mounting corruption in all spheres has been a long standing problem in the State" and alleged that it had become "acute during the last three years."

A resolution on rising prices fixed the blame for it on "continued indifference of the Government in solving the problems, inefficiency in administration, partisanship in distribution of food-grains..."

In another resolution on the coercive methods adopted by the Government for the realisation of water-cess, the Committee warned the Government that "arbitrary levy of water and land rents without correlating them to actual profits made by cultivators and collecting such taxes by repressive measures" will not be accepted by the people and is bound to be resisted.

A five-man delegation of the Party's leaders in Orissa led by the President of the State Unit, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo met the Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri and pressed him for early action on the memorandum presented by the State Unit to go into the charges of corruption against some Ministers and Congress leaders in the State. Earlier the Delegation had called on President Radhakrishnan and the Home Minister, Mr. Nanda.

The Swatantra Youth Front of Orissa and the West Orissa Students Association have expressed their deep shock at police excesses against students. They have called for immediate intervention by the Centre and the unconditional release of the arrested students.

WEST BENGAL

SWATANTRA FORUM, CALCUTTA

Mr. M. R. Masani, who was in Calcutta in September, went through a crowded programme during his short stay in the City.

On September 3, he addressed a well attended meeting of the Lions Club of Calcutta and other associated Clubs. The subject of his talk was "India and her Neighbours".

The following day he spoke to an audience of over 600 people on "Planning and Prosperity".

A meeting of Party Workers enrolled in Calcutta was held on September 5 in the presence of Mr. Masani. The future set up of the Party in the City and the State was discussed at length.

Later that day, Mr. Masani addressed a crowded public meeting under the auspices of the Swatantra Forum. The Chairman of the meeting was the well-known Barrister, Mr. Samarendra Sen. Apart from literature sold, hundreds of leaflets in Bengali were distributed free. Over 150 people wrote their names

and addresses in special books distributed all over the Hall as an indication of their interest in the Swatantra Party's work and the necessary follow up action is now being taken, reports Mr. Cusrow Irani of the Swatantra Forum.

ANNEXURE

Press Statement on the decisions of the Central Organising Committee Re: Bihar

The Central Organising Committee of the Swatantra Party, which met in Bombay on September 30, unanimously resolved to expel Messrs Kamakhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh and Shyam Sunder Prasad from membership of the Party for gross indiscipline and disloyalty to the Party.

An appeal by certain members of the defunct unit against the dissolution of the Party was considered by the Committee and rejected. The Committee was convinced that the former interim State Executive of the Bihar unit had completely failed to perform their functions.

The Central Organising Committee, after considering the show cause notice served on Messrs. Kamakhya Narain Singh and Shyam Sunder Prasad by the Central office on August 26 for flouting the authority of the Party by refusing to hand over charge of the papers, books of account and assets of the dissolved unit of the Party in Bihar, and the letter of resignation submitted by Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh on September 9 by way of reply, took note of the fact that even while Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh was appealing for justice from the Organisation Sub-Committee and an appeal against the dissolution was pending, Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh had offered to join the Congress. Therefore the Central Organising Committee came to the conclusion that Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh and Mr. Shyam Sunder Prasad (who had not cared to reply to the 'show cause' notice) were guilty of gross indiscipline and disloyalty to the Party. The question of their resignation from the Party, therefore, did not arise.

In so far as the MP's, MLA's and MLC's of the Party in Bihar were concerned, the Central Organising Committee, in the absence of individual communications from them, considered them to be members of the Party and, in the circumstances of the case, declined to accept the signatures appended to the letter of resignation from Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh. The Central Organising Committee further decided that, in case any of them had applied for membership of any other Party, they will still have an opportunity to withdraw their applications (sending a copy of such withdrawal to the Central Office of the Party) and indicate their desire to remain members of the Party not later than October 20.

In so far as those persons who had been enrolled as Worker-members by the defunct unit prior to 31st

July 1964, are concerned, the Central Organising Committee felt that they should be given an opportunity to be considered duly enrolled on their being screened by the Central Office provided they complete two forms viz. (a) a letter addressed to the Party giving the relevant particulars such as receipt number and date of enrolment and indicating their wish to be Workers of the Party and (b) a letter addressed to the former President of the State Unit with a copy to the Central Office calling upon Mr. Kamakhya Narain Singh either to remit their subscription amounts to the Central Office of the Party or to return the money to the applicant concerned.

In response to the wishes expressed by the Party's friends and sympathisers in Bihar, the Central Organising Committee directed the Central Office to open immediately a branch office in Patna until such time as a reorganised State Unit comes into being. The Central Office was further directed to depute staff necessary to run the branch office. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel was requested to help the Central Office during the next few months in reorganising the Party in Bihar.

To ensure the fullest cooperation of the Party's friends and sympathisers with the work of the Bihar branch of the Central Office, the Central Organising Committee set up the following Advisory Committee and authorised the General Secretary to add to the Committee as and when deemed necessary and helpful for the growth of the Party in Bihar:

1. Mr. Ram Binod Singh
2. Mr. Jaleshwar Prasad
3. Sardar Harihar Singh, MLC
4. Mr. N. Baksi
5. Mr. N. N. Singh Deo, M.L.A.
6. Mr. Jaghdhatri Nath Sah Deo, M.L.A.
7. Mr. Maheshwar Prasad Narayan Sinha
8. Mr. Parmanand Kejriwal
9. Mr. Harischandra Mishra
10. Mr. M. V. Shastri
11. Mr. Bashirul Haque
12. Mr. Budhan Rai Verma
13. Dr. M. A. Azazi
14. Mr. Ganga Prasad Singh
15. Mr. Gajadhar Singh
16. Mr. A. S. Chaudhari

The following are some extracts from speeches delivered by Swatantra members in the two Houses of Parliament during the last session of Parliament.

IN THE LOK SABHA

PROF. N. G. RANGA

President's Rule in Kerala—September 23, 1964

"....This is the third time that it has happened in Kerala. Why is it that the principle of majority rule has failed in that State? Many experiments have been made. Almost every important party has been charged at one time or the other of making up a majority and running the administration there...."

"I think in 1960 the then President of the Congress went there and campaigned and some hon. friends there for whom I have great personal affection and respect had also gone there and run the election campaign. It was a national campaign carried on in the name of all democrats, belonging to all political parties, except the communists. They invited the co-operation of every democratic non-Congress party and it was that democratic coalition that had won the majority. But what had been the result? Bit by bit they swallowed up the other people, demoralised some others and in the end they emerged as the single party Government as the Congress Government.

In these circumstances, what is it that one can suggest to the Government? It was in this connection that the press people asked for my views, and I said that let an experiment be made, as Shri Khadilkar is now suggesting. He wants one kind of experiment, and I want another kind of experiment.

"...the Swiss type. That is what I have been thinking of. This is not the first time that I have been thinking of. This is not the first time that I have mooted this idea in public. When there was trouble in Orissa and the House was asked to give its sanction to President's rule in a similar fashion, I made that suggestion. Earlier when there was similar trouble in Kerala, I made a similar suggestion and I repeat it now. Look into the working of democracy in Switzerland, true it is a very small country; the population also is not very big. But at the same time, it is not much smaller than Kerala and the population is not much smaller than that of Kerala. Therefore, an experiment can be made on those lines.

What do they do there? They do not dismiss all political parties. All political parties are free to function. They go to the people and get their votes by proportional representation. If you can possibly introduce proportional representation even as an experiment in Kerala, if it is not too late for you to do it by taking the necessary legislative sanction, please do it; I am in favour of it. Let us agree upon a minimum strength of 5 or 10 members and let all those parties which gain that minimum strength be given proportionate representation in the Ministry. Let each Ministry be assisted by a small representa-

tive committee. Let all of them sit together and make a committee cabinet, as they have in Switzerland."

"It is not as if I am putting forward my claim for inclusion in their coalition. My party does not function so far in their elections. But the most important thing is, if this Government, if this ruling party, were to declare itself in favour of the kind of proposition I have made, then one good thing would happen. All this time, many people have been wondering in this country and abroad as to why it is that such large numbers of people in every State go on voting for the same type or different types of Congress people, in spite of the fact that corruption charges have been levelled against Chief Ministers and other Ministers, and they have been proved to the hilt."

"In spite of all this, people go on voting for them. There are various reasons. There is the name of Mahatma Gandhi and Panditji, which they have appropriated and also the two bullocks—"my bullocks"—which they have taken over. But more than any other reason, there is the reason of the fact that they themselves happen to be the ruling party. In this country democracy has been a new thing. For a very long time our people have been accustomed to supporting and eulogising the people who are there as rulers.

Let, for once, the Congress leadership make up their mind and demonstrate to the people that they are not so keen on governing everywhere at all costs and under all circumstances and that they are prepared to share power with other people, not in the way in which they have done, in the crab-like manner they have done, but in a co-operative, comrade-like, decent, Gandhian manner, when it would be safe for other parties to co-operate with them without the fear of being subjugated, subverted, destroyed and ultimately degenerated."

Foreign Affairs—September 25, 1964

I am glad my hon. friend, Sardar Swaran Singh, the new Foreign Minister, has made a comprehensive, sober and peace-making statement today. If one were to depend entirely on his own speech as it was being delivered and as it should be read later on, one would think that there is no trouble at all in this world, that everywhere there is peace, all problems are very easy to be solved, they are going to be solved and, therefore, there would be no need at all for India to be worried about. My fear is, the actual conditions are not like that.

Sir, I am glad the Prime Minister has accepted the advice tendered to him by some of us that at long last there should be a departure made and the

foreign ministership should be separated from the Prime Ministership. That was a demand which I used to make several times when the former Prime Minister was alive, and I am glad the present Prime Minister has accepted that suggestion. I welcome the present Foreign Minister into this House and I wish him and the country success during his tenure.

Then, Sir, I am also glad, my hon. friend has made a survey of the conditions that prevail vis-a-vis our country in the neighbouring countries, and that he has visited some of them. But I cannot agree with him in the statements that he has made assuring us that not much trouble would have to be expected by our people in Burma and Ceylon and that the Burmese Government is dealing with our people in an impartial manner and the Ceylonese Government has been decent and considerate towards those lakhs of Stateless people. I do not see any reason why all those lakhs of people who have been there during this generation as well as the previous generation too, who have been taken over there by their Government, whether it was the British or some other power, to develop their social economy, should be left in the lurch in the manner they have been left and should be denied the right of citizenship and, what is even worse, now that they should be placed at the tender mercies of the local Government. I am glad my hon. friend has stated that while we should try and strive to achieve friendship with these countries, we should not slur over the problems and points of difference that arise between us, and it is in this regard that I feel that if only greater consideration from the view point of all those people who had been there, large sections of them from different parts of our country, had been paid by our Ambassadors as well as our Foreign Minister and Foreign Ministry here, their fate would have been much better than what it has been.

"...I am glad indeed that the Finance Minister, when he happened to be at Kuala Lumpur, was good enough to offer sympathy and understanding to support Malaysia. We must remember that the Malaysian Prime Minister stood heroically with us when we were in trouble. I am also glad that the present Government appreciated the strong action taken by America when in Tonkin area Chinese aggression showed its face. I am also glad that we are trying to help Vietnam and Laos against Communist aggression.

It is most unfortunate that, as is the case with most other people also, we stick to dogmas long after their use is over. I would like my hon. friend to demonstrate what was the negative role that non-alignment has played and what is the positive role that it is going to play. My fear is that it has no positive role to play at all in the present circumstances. Even if you are enjoined to hang on to the dogma because it has come down to you as a heritage, even then, in addition to that, is it not necessary for us to look out for allies, for friends? Allies, not

against Soviet Russia, allies not against United States but only against Chinese Communist aggressors. If Soviet Russia is willing to be our ally, she would be most welcome. But we know that she cannot afford to do it, she would not like to do it, because ultimately she and Communist China are agreed on their general ideological approach, the Communist approach. Therefore, the only natural allies that we can have, not against Soviet Russia — I am repeating it again—but against Communist China, can only be from amongst the democratic nations.

In this context my leader, Rajaji, has been advising this country and the people as a whole that it would be best for us to have a firm alliance, a firm friendship, with the United Kingdom, America, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and various other democratic countries which are willing to come into partnership with us in order to beat down this imperialism and make those people realise the value of world peace, democracy and human rights.

In this context I wish to make an offer on behalf of my party and my leader, Rajaji, that we are prepared to give all our support for whatever it is worth to this Government — any Government for the matter of that in this country, which is anxious, willing, keen and earnest in achieving an honourable, peaceful and decent agreement with Pakistan. We would like to give first priority to this. Why? Because everyone knows that all this huge unbearable expenditure that we are now incurring on defence forces can be cut down by more than half if only we can have peaceful relations with Pakistan.

"...what about Kashmir? Did we not warn the Government, as I read out some time back, as long ago as 1958, that it would be dangerous for our country to come to depend upon the tender mercy of one political party in that State and none else at all? We have all known the history of the so-called National Conference. It is so unfortunate that this Government has been dogged by bad luck in such a way that every time they think in terms of having any important person in detention they seem to be doing it at the wrong moment. Was it necessary for them to have this gentleman, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, into custody and put into jail just on the eve of the session of the legislature? Was it not possible for them to know that they had a majority of support from amongst National Conference MLAs before they took this decision? But they have done it. We need not go into why they have done it and all those things. Even today we are in danger.

Is it not time that they should hold, just as they are going to hold interim elections in Kerala, interim elections here and give a chance for those people to make a choice of their leaders? As I had suggested in the case of Kerala, here also I would suggest to them to make an experiment of all groups and parties above a minimum strength, may be five or more MLAs being brought together into a committee government and expecting them to run the admini-

stration on the basis of a consensus, more or less on the lines on which the Swiss Government has been run. If you do not do it, what is likely to happen is that you would be keeping Sheikh Abdullah outside the legislature and all those who support him as also many others who would be opposing him, belonging to the Muslim League and various other groups, with Shri Sadiq and his group ruling the roost in the Assembly in the name of the National Conference.

Therefore we have got to convince the world that we are trying our best to make democracy work in Kashmir in the most effective and practicable manner. If we do it, it is possible that the talks that are to take place between our Prime Minister and the President of Pakistan would have a much better chance of success than at present.

Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti): How to make friendship with Pakistan? Let us know.

Shri Ranga: My hon. friend has tried his influence for several years while he was in Government. We know the results. Now I am asking other friends to make their experiments.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: We want you to explain it.

Shri Ranga: I have not yet become the Foreign Minister. It is not for me to do that. It is wrong for any Opposition leader to try to probe into details and then begin to give detailed advice to the Foreign Minister. All that he can do is to say that these are the objectives.....

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I withdraw my request.

Shri Ranga:which we would like the Foreign Minister to achieve with the aid of the Prime Minister and his colleagues including my hon. friend, Shri Malaviya. The only thing is that Shri Malaviya thinks that the first enemy is Pakistan and the second enemy is China, I suppose. I do not know whether he considers China as an enemy at all because he has begun to make new friends.

"....Is India going to allow herself to be isolated as against China? Are we going to keep mum while Chinese influence in Burma and Ceylon increases and has been going on increasing, as you all know? In Indonesia it has been increasing all along, as you know, and with what disastrous results. The former Indo-China, all these four countries, that have come into existence there, if they were to be swallowed up through her influence and if they were to be brought under the paw of her political power and influence, what would be the fate of India? Not only as a matter of status but even in the matter of the ultimate freedom of this country, it would not be possible to be complacent. How else have all those ten countries from Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania and other countries in Europe come under the influence of the Communists? Did the local Communists ever succeed in getting a majority in any decent democratic election? No, Sir; it was because the Russian Red Armies went into those countries, helped them, gave them the protection or umbrella of their power that they were able to esta-

blish themselves in power. Similarly, the second group of Indian Communists are also hoping to get power in this country. They are politicians, and they want power just as my hon. friends opposite have had power here. Therefore, it is natural for them to look up to their spiritual mentors namely the Chinese Communists, so that they can also play their part here. If we allow that, what would happen in this country?

Recently, there has been so much of propaganda against this Government all over the world, saying that after Jawaharlal Nehru, the country is going to pieces; five thousand to ten thousand men have already been taken into jail, and everybody says that "poor Mr. Shastri is such a nice man and yet he is not well and he is not strong and the Government of India is going to pieces." This is the atmosphere that our enemies have been spreading all over the world. If that kind of atmosphere continues to be developed in the years to come, and country after country in our neighbourhood comes under the influence of the Chinese, then what would be the fate of our own democratic votes here in this country? Would they not be in danger of losing their souls? Would they not become unwilling to go and risk their votes for the ruling party or any of the other democratic parties including mine, and would they not go and vote in favour of the communists?

Of course, the communists may not come through elections in a majority all over India at the same time, but bit by bit they want to do it. They have already bored into Kerala and they have their place in Assam as well as in Bengal.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: They have bored in Andhra Pradesh also.

Shri Ranga: Last time when there was the Chinese aggression, we know what happened. We know the really disastrous role, unpatriotic and disquieting role that so many of these communists played in all those areas. They were hoping to be able to capture power bit by bit, and they would like to do it also.

Therefore, it is in the interests of India to see that she should not be thinking only in terms of fighting China all by herself because she would not be in a position to do it. For fighting China, we need the support of Pakistan, and we need the support of all our other neighbours, that is Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, and then in addition to this, we need also the support of the other countries, active or passive, psychological or physical or political, in the whole of South-East Asia. Beyond that, we must go also to Africa.

Recently, I came into touch with some of the leaders from the parliaments of the African countries, when they came to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference and also at some other international gatherings. I found to my surprise and regret that quite a large number—I do not wish to say that the majority of them, but quite a large number of them—of the newly liberated and independent African countries

are not convinced of the justice of our cause, that we should be supported, that China is in the wrong and China is going to be an enemy not only of us but also of them. Just as we have flirted with China in the years past when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was leading us, unfortunately wrongly, as we have discovered now, so also those countries are now pursuing and cherishing and nursing this wrong impression that communist China is a very peace-loving nation, and a very democratic nation and is really keen on the equality of races and continents and equality between backward and advanced countries and therefore, there is nothing wrong with communist China. That is the threat to our peace. That is the threat to our place in the world. The sooner our Government make up their mind to gear their foreign policy as well as their foreign publicity in the direction of gaining more and more friendships in the democratic world and also in the semi-democratic world and also on the Soviet side of the world, as against communist China, the better it would be. Otherwise, it would be a very dangerous thing indeed for us to pursue the kind of goody-goody, peace-evoking and general invocation of peace for everybody which seems to be the new atmosphere in reaction to the earlier tempestuous period that we have had.

P. K. DEO

No-Confidence Motion—September 14, 1964

As pointed out by the previous speaker of my Party, the present Government has inherited the legacy of 17 years of misrule, 13 years of planning with wrong priorities and reckless spending to the tune of Rs. 19,000 crores. Of this deficit financing amounted to Rs. 1800 crores, as a result of which the prices have shot up by 37 per cent. It has inherited a legacy of public debt to the tune of Rs. 90,000 million rupees or more. In this period, direct taxation had increased by 85 per cent and the net of indirect taxation has been cast so wide that it has not left any conceivable consumer item. We are reaping the consequences as the cumulative effect of all this. So, we feel that though the subsequent months may unfold the real worth of this Ministry, this three-month old Ministry does not possess any magic wand that it will undo all the mistakes overnight. So, we, as responsible Members of the House, belonging to the largest opposition party in the country, could not afford the luxury of associating ourselves in this no-confidence motion.

Up till now effective steps have been taken to free the sacred soil of this country from aggression. We have more or less acquiesced in the illegal acquisitions of China.

By occupying large chunks of Indian territory, China has been reaping the political and military benefits. We have always met the challenge by

making a mild protest and all these protests have fallen on deaf ears.

We still pursue these futile talks. This morning's paper says that we still want to find out through the good offices of Ceylon if China is at all sincere to withdraw its military posts from Ladakh. Are we yet to learn the intentions of China? Do we not know actually what China is after? All these years, we have been wasting time on these futile talks.

We sometimes fail in our diplomatic duty and in ordinary courtesy. We never bothered to send a message of goodwill when there was the meeting of the second African summit at Cairo while China was prompt in sending a message of goodwill. We should be careful when we will be going to the second non-aligned conference. I feel that it may be a trap and unless we play our cards properly, we may be put in such a situation that we will have to accept the *status quo* on the northern border. So, all these things have to be considered. We lack that genuineness of heart with which Tunku Abdul Rehman supported India at the time of the naked aggression by China. Of course, our Finance Minister has done a good job. I congratulate him. At the same time, I feel it is not adequate. In this Indonesia-Malaysia controversy, our UN representative should say in categorical terms that we are on the side of Malaysia. We should say that we support Malaysia and we cannot tolerate the interference by another nation, however great it may be, in the internal affairs of a neighbouring State. Though relations with Nepal have improved—for which I congratulate our present Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri—since his visit to Nepal last year, Indians' prestige has received a very rude shock in the neighbouring States. Indians are being squeezed out from Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and East Africa and Fiji Islands. It is high time that we use the good offices of our Missions abroad to ensure that the Indians there got equal and human treatment and they are able to repatriate their assets when they come back, and whatever is taken over by the Government there should be duly compensated for. But we have been neglectful in that duty. Some of the posts of Ambassadors in important centres like Rangoon and Djakarta remained vacant till the other day.

The rehabilitation of those Indians who are coming here is a big problem, and we shall have to give them all facilities. Dandakaranya has been all full, as you, Sir, coming from that area or from very near that area are aware. We shall have to rehabilitate them, therefore, in the backward areas of Kashmir, NEFA and Andamans, and I hope that the present Ministry will examine this proposal.

It is a good thing that the External Affairs Ministry has now a whole-time Minister who is not entirely new to this task, and it is now high time that we should shed the international ambiguity of non-alignment, and do some positive thinking and take

action. Non-alignment has not led us anywhere. It has not solved even one problem of ours.

Non-alignment may be quite good for an academician or from the academic point of view. But non-alignment should not mean *equi-distance* from the USSR and the USA. It should be the closest proximity to both. In the present context, you may call it by any other term also, if you like, but our foreign policy should be of the closest proximity to both the USSR and the USA. Fortunately for us, both are against China, because both understand that China is a potential menace to the world peace.

Taking advantage of this, we shall have to accept aid. American *bona fides* have been justified by their action at the time of the crises. We are still in the dark regarding the *bona fides* of USSR. My respected leader Rajaji has said in categorical terms that we shall have to align with the West. In our defence preparations, we have been bled white, and the nation has been bled white. If we want to fight poverty, in the internal field, we cannot afford to spend a single paisa for our production military equipment. So, we shall have to align, and I most respectfully agree to Rajaji's suggestion.

My hon. friend Shri Harish Chandra Mathur was saying that Shri Dandekar needed some education, because he was new, and that his statement that agriculture was getting a step-motherly treatment was all wrong. I take the liberty to educate Shri Harish Chandra Mathur, through you. It is absolutely correct when Shri Dandekar says that agriculture in this country has received a step-motherly treatment from Government. It is a fact. While the industrialist gets power for the aluminium plant at 3 p. per unit from the Rihand project, the poor agriculturist has to pay 19 p. to pump the much-needed water for his thirsty land. Is that not step-motherly treatment? 2 million acres of irrigation potential have remained unutilized, and there is every likelihood of this figure being raised to 5 million acres by the time we reach the end of the Third Plan.

There is also insecurity of tenure. My hon. friend spoke of our Fundamental Rights. Our Fundamental Rights in the Constitution are like pie-crusts, and they are broken at the time of convenience. The Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution has robbed the ryot of his free-hold right, that is, the ryot who is the backbone of India's economy, and has classified him along with the zamindar or intermediary to wait for his liquidation. When that is the case, could there be any impetus and could there be any incentive for more food production?

I quite fail to appreciate the anxiety of Government to check the food prices. Their anxiety is quite incompatible with the deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 149 crores which they have resorted to in a period of six weeks, during June-July last, which has broken all previous records. Unless you call it planning or call it anything worth planning, it is all hambug and throwing dust in the eyes of the people.

What is the value of the rupee today? The rupee is just 17 p. in value. You cannot increase the intrinsic value of the rupee by putting Pandit Nehru's profile on the coin. We strongly resent at this. If at all anybody's profile is to be put, it should be that of the Head of the State. We are against the personality cult. We shudder to think how the party in power which had brought forward legislation to the effect that a currency note will lose its legal tender if any political slogan is written on it—that was only to accuse the DMK—could on their own come forward with the proposal that the Indian rupee will bear the Prime Minister's profile. However great he may be he is a party man. That is all wrong, and I strongly protest against it.

PRAVINSINH SOLANKI

Murud Incident—September 17

The only mystery which remains unsolved is the security arrangements of the Government of India. Before this, the only Walcott I knew was Clyde Walcott of West Indies, a famous cricketer. But recently an international smuggler by the name of Daniel Walcott has hit the headlines. He is not only wanted by our Government; six other countries including France and also the Interpol are after him. Two Indian officers who were sent to England are now holding talks in Paris about this man and they are trying to find out where Mr. Walcott will hit again. Twice he has entered our country breaking our security arrangements and he escaped twice.

There is nothing at present that we can do. The only lesson that we can draw from the incident is that we should tighten our security arrangements for the future. We are facing an Emergency and we have the Defence of India rules and we talk of tightening of the belt and being alert but international smugglers of the calibre of Walcott enter our country and escape without any hindrance. It does not pain me that we are unable to catch him; six other countries are unable to catch him; they are also after him. What pains me is that our security arrangements are so slack and under this slack security arrangement Walcott found his escape.

They spent in this country nearly 36 hours. The whole incident took place within 36 hours, from 8th June to the noon of 10th June. During these hours, neither the people of Daboli-Janjira could contact the Bombay Officials nor the Bombay officials could be alerted by the airport staff or anybody who might have traced the plane inside the country. Nothing happened to these people. They just went about their business quietly; in Bombay they met their men, they made their contact and they disposed of their goods which they were carrying, and they were perfect, legal passengers for the flight to Pakistan! When they went to airport, apparently they had nothing that could be checked, and the customs authorities found nothing wrong with them.

The question of their inserting the names in the passenger list remained, and it was quite happily and agreeably done by the airport officials! Therefore, even there, it was not a problem. After taking off to Pakistan, the names of Philby and McLister were found by an airport correspondent, not by the security officers; but an airport correspondent traced the names of these two people and suspected foul play and reported the matter that Mr. Philby could be Mr. Walcott,—could be an international smuggler—and there was something wrong in this. That means, after this incident, our security officers started taking measures; it was too late for them. The people had already escaped. It was believed that they were carrying smuggled goods worth nearly Rs. 1 crore.

IN THE RAJYA SABHA

DAHYABHAI PATEL

Food Debate—September 16, 1964

Now, the question of food is allied to the question of prices. The question of agriculture comes first because it is agriculture that produces mainly our food, the food that more people in this country have been used to, and then it brings me the question of prices. How we have been dealing with this question I would like to deal with first. I always remember that the late Prime Minister said that if we failed on the food front, all our plans would be of no avail. Unfortunately in spite of what we have been trying to warn the Government, our warning has not been heeded to. I do not know whether in the altered situation some attention is going to be paid to it. Time and again it has been stressed and recommended by the planners too that only on a sound agricultural basis can a stable economic structure of the country be built. If food intentions and expenditure of colossal sums alone were any criterion to judge the success of agricultural planning, we should have achieved spectacular success in this field long ago. During the first two plans we have spent about Rs. 2000 crores on schemes of agricultural development. Yet the production of foodgrains, the pivot round which the country's entire price structure revolves, has not been able to make any appreciable headway. In the case of other agricultural crops too the progress has not been significant. Food and clothing are the basic necessities of life and in our country where the people have sub-marginal living standards their weightage in the average family budget is much greater than in prosperous communities. Almost sixty per cent of the family budget of an average family in India is spent on food and eight per cent on clothing. Any shortfall in the availability of foodgrains, therefore, creates far-reaching repercussions on the price levels.

The Third Plan postulates an increase in agricultural production of 30 per cent during the Plan

period, that is, 6 per cent per annum, and of 70 per cent, that is 14 per cent per annum, in industry. Actually in 1961-62, the first year of the Plan, agricultural production increased by only 1.2 per cent over 1960-61; in 1962-63 it declined by 3.3 per cent over the previous year. During the last twelve years agricultural output has been rising at an average annual rate of 3.5 per cent only. Why? Has Government considered these aspects? There are countries that have been continuously stepping up their production by a much higher percentage than 3 per cent. Is our Government inclined to take lessons and learn from them? As a result of the low output the prices of foodgrains have shown a significant rise. As compared to a year ago, by the middle of July wheat prices have recorded a rise of 28 per cent; jowar and bazra of as much as 56.5 per cent and 34 per cent respectively; pulses 34.5 per cent and gram 46 per cent. The pressure on price levels has been further aggravated by the slow rate of increase in industrial production, particularly of consumer goods the demand for which has been increasing with the rising income in the hands of the people as a result of the large expenditure on developmental plans.

Under the Second and the Third Plans, particularly in the case of the Third Plan, a great emphasis has been laid on the development of the producer and basic industries with a lower priority accorded to the consumer goods. I am sorry the emphasis was not on agricultural output. That is where I think we have missed. The situation has been further aggravated by the rising public expenditure especially of a non-productive nature of the Union and State Governments. We are told that a higher expenditure on defence is necessitated by the Chinese aggression, which has increased from Rs. 312.49 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 854 crores in 1964-65, and that it has somehow to be met as long as the threat to the integrity of our frontiers continues to exist, even though it results in creating a certain amount of pressure on prices. Madam, in the Budget speeches that I made in the last two years I quoted figures of the Public Accounts Committee which pointed out that the increase in taxation was really unnecessary. The under-estimates of income and the over-estimates expenditure that Government planned but was never able to use showed that the increased taxation was hardly justified. If the figures of the Public Accounts Committee reports are scanned and produced before the House, even for the last three years the position is the same. Therefore, I am justified in saying that the increased taxation is not justified and it unnecessarily leads to rising prices.

The division of the country into different zones and the restrictions on movement of foodgrains between them have also tended to aggravate the scarcity conditions. I am glad that the Government seems to realise that the zonal system is not the remedy and they are going to take steps to remedy it by removing the zones as soon as they think they can cope

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munists, once again, embarked upon aggression.
New Delhi-3

RAMA SWARUP

THE POOR MAN LURED

Sir,—It is quite a captivating advertisement that the Tamil Nad Government has by its Raffles scheme created 163 lakhiers. It will be interesting if a survey is made of the number of those who have become disillusioned, demented and psychiatric patients. Lotteries seem to have become a way of life for many of our plebeians fed on synthetic socialism and cinema illusions.

With the exception of the Gujarat Government, all the other State Governments earn at least Rs 10 to Rs 15 lakhs every month. The newspapers too earn by extra advertisements. The new Directorates of Lotteries provide much-needed employment to unemployed hands, a new tribe of agents, sub-agents and door to door ticket-sellers with catchy pep talk has come into being—though economists may call it unproductive employment. In the blare of official propaganda and tumult of public enthusiasm, the detractors of lotteries seem to have no chance! Rajaji is carrying on a veritable crusade against lotteries almost single-handed, calling them "immoral", "vicious", etc.

"Hope is the poor man's bread" it is

said. By paying just a rupee, the buyer has piping dreams of plenty and prosperity, which last till the results are announced. Results may be disappointing, but "hope springs eternal in the human breast"; and there are as many as 16 State lotteries, so that one can entertain endless hope. Like chain-smokers, we have now chain-addicts of lotteries. But Bacon has said, "hope is a good breakfast; but an ill supper". The bigger the hope, the greater the frustration. Dreaming of so many lakhs of easy money, they lose their few chips even, the worst sufferers being the poor and middle classes who forgo a part of their necessities in the illusory hope of enjoying infinite luxuries. "Fortune favours fools" they say, but in this mad pursuit it is the few selected poor that are rewarded, and hence the attraction for the poor.

For a Government that badly needs money, having perhaps exhausted other sources, this scheme may be a blessing, since revenue is raised without tears, though the intelligent section may call it exploitation of human weakness. Even Prohibition is being almost discarded and lotteries are floated in this Gandhi Centenary year—of all years!

A Tamil journal has pointed out that if gambling can be 'socialised', other forms of vice can also be nationalized! A Bombay monthly has suggested that instead of wasting crores and crores of

rupees on family planning, we can have State-run brothel houses, which apart from providing relaxation to the needy and containing surplus sex, would yield revenue to the State.
Thanjavur

L. NARAYANAN

DIPLOMATIC BLUNDER

Sir,—The unwise decision of the Government of India not to participate, even as an observer, in the Asia and Pacific Conference on Cambodia held at Djakarta clearly shows its political inclinations. All the countries attending the conference are Asian and democratic minded—Malaysia, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and South Korea. The absence of India in such a conference naturally gives room for suspicion that India is not really non-aligned.

The initiative for the conference was taken by Indonesia with whom only a few years ago our relations were bitterly strained. India's decision to boycott the Djakarta Conference is bound to strain further our relations with Indonesia.

If Indonesia should decide to boycott the forthcoming Non-Aligned Summit Conference, it should not surprise anybody—what else can one expect from India's unimaginative behaviour towards the Djakarta Conference?

Bombay

K. RAMASWAMY



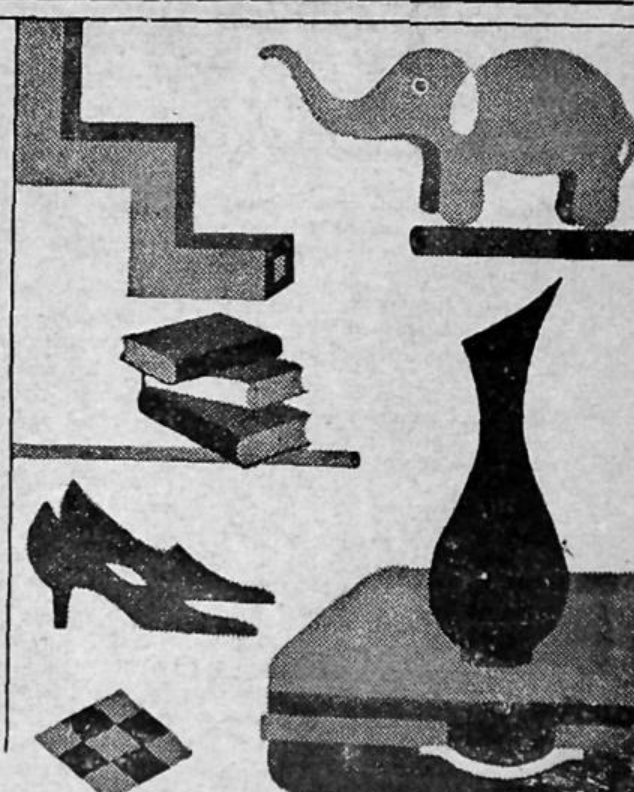
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THE PROPOSED COALITION PARTY AT THE CENTRE

Mr M. V. Arunachalam Ayyar writes:

Talks about the formation of a coalition party to govern the affairs of the Centre when the ruling party is dislodged are in the news. Rajaji has blessed the move.

It is quite easy to unite for the purpose of ousting the ruling party, but the trouble comes after that. Once the object of ousting the ruling party is achieved, the tendency to boost the image of each of the coalescing parties raises its ugly head. The way the United Front Governments in Kerala and West Bengal functioned and eventually fell is a pointer.

The proposed coalition party should limit its objectives to a select few items of common interest which will produce the desired results in a short time. A hundred items listed in the election manifesto—all begun at the same time and all remaining uncompleted—are like part-heard cases in the courts.

A few principles may be laid down on which the coalescing parties may unite:

(i) There shall not be any agreement with the Communists.

(ii) No new projects shall be started until the projects already on hand are completed, all available funds being earmarked for this purpose.

(iii) No further division of States or readjustment of boundaries shall be undertaken under any circumstances.

(iv) The problem of providing employment for the educated unemployed should receive priority attention. It is cruel and immoral to give all kinds of encouragement to the students in their educational career, lead them like brides up the garden path, and then allow them to fend for themselves when the first bark of the dog of unemployment is heard. Do we want a new steel project or do we want to give employment to the educated youth so that they may be happy? Unemployment of the educated youth is the breeding-ground for communism. Once the burden of finding employment for the educated is assumed by the authorities, their approach to education in all its aspects may become more realistic and the politicians will heed the advice of the educationists in matters educational.

(v) We are yet to decide which nations or nations are our true and real friends. During the Chinese attack in 1962, whilst the USA promptly responded to our SOS, Russia stated that China was its brother and India its ally. And blood is thicker than water. Russia has also started supplying arms to Pakistan. It is strange that India is still

hugging the Russian bear in spite of what the comrades do in West Bengal and Kerala. The coalescing parties may agree on a definite alliance with the West as being more beneficial to India.

(vi) Similarly, the coalition party may agree on an alliance with Pakistan. With the growing influx of refugees from East Pakistan and communal troubles raising their heads, the loyalty of the five crores of Muslims if and when any troublesome situation arises has to be assured. It is necessary to realize that China is the real and only enemy of India, and negotiate with Pakistan.

(vii) Finally, the coalition party must govern with firmness and courage, setting a good example of character, conduct and manners both in the legislatures and outside, helping the law-abiding in all respects, and ruthlessly punishing the blackmarketeers and adul-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

PRESIDENT NIXON AND CAMBODIA

Sir,—President Nixon's decision to counter the Communist move in Cambodia is in accordance with international law, notably the concept of hot pursuit and the doctrine of neutrality which holds that if a non-belligerent State is unable to prevent violation of its neutrality, the aggrieved State is entitled to intervene in the neutral territory. So long as hostile North Vietnamese Communists operate in, and attack from, Cambodia, so long the defenders of South Vietnam are legally entitled to act against them in that country.

For nearly 200 years, the foreign policy of the United States has been to support national self-determination and independence. For more than 50 years, the bi-partisan foreign policy of the United States has been to oppose aggression.

Without the prior conquest of the roads in eastern Laos, the Communist aggression against South Vietnam would not have been feasible. This conquest was executed in violation of the principles laid down in the UN Charter and the Geneva Accords of 1954, and it also violated the agreement of 1962, which was concluded to re-establish peace.

Hanoi's attacks would not have been feasible without the utilization of neutral territories along the western borders of South Vietnam, especially the five staging bases in Cambodia which Sihanouk made available to assist Communist aggression. Three of those bases directly threaten Saigon

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terators of foodstuffs. The plea of lack of funds to prevent adulteration of foodstuffs is a poor excuse.

The list given above is not exhaustive, only illustrative. Experienced statesmen and politicians may add a few more items as necessary. What is wanted is realism in dealing with the urgent issues of the day. The loose ends must first be tightened up.

and the Mekong delta, the heartland of South Vietnam. Without those staging bases the 1968 Tet offensive could not have been mounted.

Hanoi never left any doubt that it intends to conquer the whole of former Indo-China, not just South Vietnam. Communist operations have always involved Laos and Cambodia as well as Thailand. This all-Indo-China strategy was re-confirmed by the so-called summit meeting which the Communists held in southern China around April 25. This meeting was attended by the Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Pathet Lao; by Sihanouk as the supposed leader of the newly bled Kampuchea Liberation Front of Cambodia; by North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong; and by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The Communist leaders reiterated that they intend to defeat "American imperialism". Silence was maintained about current Communist plans against Thailand and the rest of South and South-East Asia.

While still in power, Sihanouk himself asked the Communists to remove their forces from Cambodia. The Lon Nol Government repeated the request. Hanoi refused to withdraw and the other Communist States declined to negotiate. The US did not budge. Instead of being satisfied with the status quo, the North Vietnamese attacked Cambodia's main highways and began to encircle Phnom Penh. So there can be no doubt that Com-