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# Colombo Proposals: Misleading, Sinister And Disastrous

**T**HE statements of Prime Minister Nehru and his Government spokesmen that 'by and large' the Colombo proposals meet the preconditions laid down by the Indian Government for going to the negotiating table over the Sino-Indian conflict are as amazing as they are shocking. This shows Nehru's easy susceptibility to peace-feelers however half hearted and insincere coming from any quarter. The Prime Minister it was thought, had once for all realised fully the sinister aims of the Chinese who want to control Himalayan passes so as to be in a position to spread secretly or openly their communist tentacles far and wide over the Indian plains below, from these commanding heights. The newspapers report to say that China has already concentrated her troops on the Sikkim and Bhutan borders and has set up 'Peoples' Government' for Sikkim and Bhutan in the adjoining Tibetan area. China thinks that the two States being independent, India has no business to interest herself in what is happening between China and these States on the border question. She is not prepared to concede that India is committed to help these States by mutual agreement in case their sovereignty is violated by a foreign power. Thus it can be clearly seen that the Chinese Government does not in the least wish to reduce the intensity of pressure on our Himalayan frontiers, at any point. All our solicitude for peace in this direction is bound to be construed by China as our timidity or weakness. If at all, it will whet China's appetite for further intrusions into our territory or those of the Himalayan kingdoms of Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. Even if India should accept the Colombo Proposals in toto, with all the concessions to be made to China in respect of setting up civil posts in the 'demilitarised' zone in Ladakh to be demarcated on the basis of the present shameful cease-fire line imposed by China on India, and also in respect of Longju and Thagla Ridge area in eastern sector China is determined to give us no peace not even the breathing space which our Indian leaders badly need. China is bent on involving us in some affair, or other, may be, relating to Sikkim or Bhutan in the near future.

### TABLES TURNED

So our Indian leaders must now learn to think in terms of having to fight a long drawn-out war with China all along the Himalayan border including that of Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. One finds it very difficult to see any benefit accruing to India from committing herself not to march our troops up the September 8 line in Ladakh, as suggested in the Colombo proposals. Mere setting up of civil posts in Ladakh jointly or separately by the parties

will not amount to a complete withdrawal by the Chinese to the September 8 line. That even the September 8 line agreed to, by Mr. Nehru did not properly guard India's interests is now disclosed by the fact that India has now silently acquiesce in the rape of Longju by the Chinese in view of Nehru's commitments made in this regard in 1959. India Government let go its hold on this area in 1959 in the naive belief that truth would prevail in the end and peaceful negotiations would bring it back to India. But the strategy of China is clear. It is this: 'Nibble first at some territory. Hold on to it. Then occupy more of the enemy's territory by force or by fraud. Then pretend to withdraw from such territory in the interest of peace, taking care to see that in the peace negotiations the territory nibbled away formerly is retained by China, that too, with the full but forced consent of the vanquished party.' If this logic of China is accepted by the Prime Minister, then next time when China intrudes farther than the proposed demilitarised zone (which God forbid) then India will have to concede the demilitarised zone as an accomplished fact to China and again open cease-fire talks only on the basis of a new cease-fire line determined by China alone. And where is the guarantee that at that time too, our resourceful and ingenious 'Non-aligned friends' of China would not step in with their fresh proposals in China's favour and against India in the name of peace, socialism, Afro-Asian solidarity and Non-alignment? How neatly and cunningly are the tables turned now against Mr. Nehru, the Father of all these outworn and outmoded myths and illusions!

### THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

The Parliament will therefore be shouldering a heavy responsibility in meekly accepting the Colombo proposals on the recommendation of Mr. Nehru and his Government who are intent on dogmatically justifying their former ill-conceived foreign policies though they have landed the country into the present terrible mess. The very fact that Mr. Nehru wants to consult this time the Parliament over these proposals indicates that he is not himself sure that the proposals will ultimately bring September 8 line under both the civil and military control of India. If the Indian troops are not allowed to march up to that point, it is as certain as anything that China will invent many false excuses to pick up a quarrel with India as in the past and reoccupy the demilitarised zone without having to fire a shot. Experience has proved that negotiations are deliberately protracted by China on certain pretext or other so that she might have enough time to reconsolidate

her military strength and terrorise India into surrendering one position after another on pain of military force being used against her.

As the relative military position stands today, it must be admitted that China holds the whip-hand of the situation in the present conflict. If we are to rely only on our defence production, buttressed by the limited military aid received from America and England and the supply of a few MIGs from Russia which is very doubtful, we might have to continue to yield to China on the border question for some years to come. No one except the fellow-travellers and the gullible Sarvodayawadis can place confidence in the efficacy of sweet reasonableness of Nehru or the biting tongue of Krishna Menon to halt aggressive expansionism of communist China. Russia is of course the dark horse in this game. Most probably she will side with China if India should decide upon having a real showdown with the enemy.

So the only course that remains for us to take for the defence of our freedom is to come to some sort of military understanding with Western democratic countries on a long term basis. It is futile to expect any military help or even moral support from the so-called non-aligned nations, firstly because they are too weak to withstand pressure from China and secondly because their democratic consciousness is either non-existent or too weak.

England, West Germany, Japan, Malaya have already sought and received such foreign military aid without losing their independence. We can also do the same thing to fight the Chinese menace to our freedom. Even our socialistic pattern, provided it is run on democratic lines, need not come in our way. If non-alignment is sincerely designed only for maintaining our freedom to think and act as we please without fear or favour, the democratic countries of the West would certainly have no objection to it, unless in actual practice it comes to mean 'Peace at all costs' by meekly surrendering all along the line to Red-imperialism. The fear of a world war held out to us by the fellow-travellers arising from Indo-Anglo-American military combine is also untenable and unfounded. As said above, Russia is bound to help China under the Warsaw military pact against her enemy but all this has not endangered a world war over Formosa which is today guarded by the American Seventh Fleet. We might also learn a lesson from Pakistan which is safe from Chinese aggression solely due to her military alliances.

### THE BARE AND NAKED TRUTH

Thus considered from any point of view, whether of peace or war or India's honour and prestige, the Colombo proposals must be regarded as totally unacceptable to India and as such should be rejected. The Government must be made to realise that the people are in no mood to allow it to go back on its former pledge to the country that September 8 line should be fully restored before India could sit at the negotiating table with China. If the Cease-

fire line was extremely humiliating to India, the new September 8 line as described in Colombo proposals will not be less so, if our troops are not allowed to occupy it. Our troops must, as a matter of necessity, stand perpetually on guard at this line, so that if and when the internationally recognised watershed line in Ladakh and the middle sector and the McMahon line in the Eastern Sector almost based on the same principle, come to be finally rejected by China and another crisis brews up, they might straight way march forward beyond September 8 line and drive the Chinese bandits out of every inch of Indian territory occupied by them even before September 8, 1962. Our countrymen should not shirk their duty of telling the truth to our leaders at this fateful hour. And the bare and naked truth is: The Colombo proposals are *misleading and sinister* in their import; *harmful and disastrous* to India's interests in their ultimate effect.

### DE GAULLE'S DISTRUST OF WORLD POWERS

The French President De Gaulle, if anything, is first and last, a continental European. He entertains a deep-rooted distrust of world powers like U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R. To these world powers he tries to counterpoise The European Community. It is reported that he does not very much relish the idea of the NATO Alliance being dominated as it is today by U.S. in close collaboration with Britain.

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The Nassau Conference appears to have confirmed him in his belief that Britain values her ties with U.S. more than those with the Continental powers. His opposition to Britain's entry into the Common Market may be attributed to his apprehension that Mr. Kennedy the American President might cleverly exploit for his own purpose England's role as a European power as also a Commonwealth country in the European Community. In his opinion the Atlantic Community organised on Anglo-American pattern is in many respects incompatible with the European Community composed of nations with different languages, cultures and economic systems.

There are also other considerations that make him oppose Britain's joining E.E.C. His opposition stems as much from his ambition to raise the political status of France in Europe as from his desire to protect the vested agricultural interests of France as against those of Britain. Britain on her own part wants to maintain her close and fruitful connections with U.S., while forging new relations with the E.E.C. She is equally keen on guarding the economic interests of the Commonwealth countries, particularly those of Canada, Australia and Newzealand which mainly export their agricultural products to Britain. De Gaulle does not approve of Britain's maintaining her old economic ties with the Commonwealth even after joining E.E.C. According to him Britain could not have it both ways. She has to choose between the two. E.E.C. could not afford to disturb her basic economic or organisational structure to suit Britain's special needs.

It is to be seen whether De Gaulle would succeed in vetoing Britain out of the Common Market. One thing is certain. Britain could not be kept out indefinitely and other members of the Common Market are fully alive to this fact. They are therefore trying to find out a *via media* to accommodate Britain into the Common Market. It has also to be remembered that Macmillain's Government is also keen on joining it. For, on the successful outcome of its talks with E.C.M. hangs its future prospects in the General Elections which are in the offing this year in England.

### SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S MESSAGE OF UNITY, STRENGTH AND FEARLESSNESS

It is not every often that a country gives birth to such a great and magnanimous soul as Swami Vivekananda. A hundred years ago on January 17, this spiritual giant of India was born in a middle-class family of Bengal. His centenary was celebrated on this day last month throughout India and other countries of the world with great enthusiasm and eclat.

What has endeared him so much to the countless millions of the world?—What has kept his memory so

fresh and green in the minds of the great thinkers, intellectuals and humanitarians of all nations? Undoubtedly the Swami was a man of many parts. His intellectual brilliance was unequalled; his spiritual attainments were of Himalayan heights; his oratorical gifts were impressive and of a high order. But the secret of his hold on the minds of the people appears to lie in his unbounded sympathy for the poor, the lowly and the fallen and his deeprooted humanitarianism. In the course of his travels on foot throughout the length and breadth of India as a poor and unknown Indian monk, he was an eye-witness to the miserable conditions under which most of his countrymen were living. His keen insight made him realise that a great many of the faults and failings of the Indian society had resulted mainly from the abject poverty to which the common people were subjected. He therefore said 'Bread' was the first problem before India's teeming millions. This ideal that he placed before the country was couched appropriately enough in the religious language which appealed to the masses. He advocated '*The worship of Daridranarayan*', which meant that the service of the poor who are verily Gods walking this Earth, is the real worship of God Narayan. To the more prosperous nations of the West, he appealed for helping poor India. This idea could be considered as a precursor of 'foreign aid' to developing and undeveloped countries so much in vogue at the present time. He thought that not only a harmonious blending of what was best both in Western and Indian societies was possible but it was also absolutely necessary for the good of India and the world. His idea was, as he so forcibly put it, 'to make a European Society with India's religion'. In one word he stood for a modern equalitarian society in India without any caste or class privileges for the few. So he asked the upper classes and castes in India 'to merge themselves into void and disappear so that a new India may arise.'

FEARLESSNESS AND STRENGTH, the great Upanishadic ideals, were his other watch-words. The essence of the Gita lay, according to him, in Shri-krishna's exhortation to Arjuna to fight fearlessly and relentlessly the wily and wicked enemy.

May our Indian leaders and the Indian people lay to heart these precious and inspiring thoughts of Swami Vivekananda and try to root out poverty so rampant in our midst even today and make India united, strong and powerful to fight to the last, the treacherous enemy at India's very gates!

### FOOD FOR THOUGHT

THE NATION WHICH CAN BE SAVED BY ONE MAN AND WANTS TO BE SAVED THAT WAY DESERVES A WHIPPING."

—Seume quoted in 'Nationalism and Culture' By Rudolf Rucker.

# Re-Thinking Defence Strategy

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The author pleads for an agonising reappraisal of the whole philosophy and strategy of Indian defence especially after NEFA debacle. The heart of the Communist strategy is ideological penetration, guerilla warfare, deployment of regular armies. This should be countered by a counter-force of armed propagandists ideologically trained, taking arms from friendly nations, organising defence production, reverting to pragmatic mixed economy and stabilising price levels.

**O**UR recent humiliating military defeats in NEFA should occasion an 'agonising re-appraisal' of the whole philosophy and strategy of Indian Defence. The dribbles of information that have found their way into the press indicate clearly and decisively the general pattern of communist operations when penetrating neighbouring countries.

When Stalin was approached by the Indian Communists for assistance in their Telangana guerilla activities in 1948, he is reported to have pointed to the interior, land-locked nature of the area in Hyderabad State where they had raised the standard of revolt against the Nehru Government. His point was that international communism (meaning Russia then) could assist rebellious communist parties in non-communist countries only if they had a common frontier with a communist state. The classic example was *Yenan* in North China which abutted the Russian frontier. Mao's campaigns received substantial assistance from Russian Communists from across the frontier, particularly after the defeat of Japan in 1946.

The similar significance of the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1951, which was foreseen by many Indians at the time (of whom Sir Aurobindo was the most prophetic) had began to appear as early as 1954, when news of the Chinese construction of their road across Aksai-Chin became known. Border clashes between patrolling units occurred with increasing frequency since then. Now in October 1962 we have had full scale invasion in NEFA which, with its human wave tactics known to the world from the days of the Korean war, took our forces by surprise and outnumbered and outflanked them in the high jungle-clad terrain.

Placing together the bits of information, we have of the whole sorry episode, we have reason to infer that the Chinese put into operation the full pattern of their manifold, social, psychological and military strategy and tactics in this invasion of India.

Any successful countering of the Chinese methods should be based on a full understanding of their communist strategy of conquest, evolved in detail by Mao Tse-Tung in his long "protracted war" against Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek and his nationalist armies and administration. The heart of the strategy is a creative combination (destructive from the point of view of the defeated) of ideological penetration and guerilla war in the first phase with control of the local population and deployment of regular armies in the final stages.

We see this fourfold strategy in operation in Indio-China, which immobilised the French forces, deprived them of the support of the rural people, harassed them by guerilla bands and finally defeated their fortified city of Dien Bien Phu by massed attack.

This strategy is in operation in Laos and South Viet-Nam. In the first phase, communists send out ideological organisers into the area marked out to be conquered. They begin to live in the villages and to indoctrinate the peasants. They will mobilise the hatred of the peoples against their oppressors—like the imperialist French. Those who hold out against their influence will be intimidated by violence—some of them will be killed as an example. Communists this way develop a secret "government" apparatus of their own in the villages.

Next begins the activity of guerilla bands, who will live off the country. They will attack government servants and government police and army units in ambushes.

The local people will give food and clothing to the guerillas and furnish them with intelligence of government forces moving into the vicinity. Guerillas will hide themselves and become inaccessible to government pursuers.

This happened for years in Malaya and the Philippines.

It appears that the Chinese have adopted these tactics of *softening* and using the local tribal population to success in NEFA. The Chinese had infiltrated into the area long before invasion in small groups. Their propagandists and organisers had acquired influence with tribes people in the hills. It is reported that some of them had even married tribal women. The Chinese military could find guides to lead them in safe detours to outflank our troops who were stationed at Sila and other passes.

The public was hearing of the propagandist activities of Indian sympathisers of the Chinese invaders all along the border. The press used to publish stories of how the ignorant tribes people and plain villagers were being asked to welcome the coming "liberation" armies of the Chinese!

Indian communists have assisted the Chinese infiltrators, in this anti-national business, it would appear. It is only natural, considering their philosophy of international proletarianism. They do not believe in national patriotism but only in loyalty to

international communism whose aim is to establish a world communist state under the hegemony of Russia. Gupta, Saliyahaña, Pratāp Sinha, Shivaji and Ranjeet Singh.

According to Lenin and Stalin, communists should welcome war for the opportunities it brings of demoralising the governmental organisation. In the anarchy that may ensue (and that can be promoted by communist sabotage of defence effort by 'patriots'), communists see an opportunity of seizing power. This is their sinister and treacherous doctrine of *revolutionary defeatism*.

Hence it would be no surprise to anyone that communists engage in secret (and open) activities to discourage defence activities on the part of government and citizens; (e.g. some posters in Assam—*Wanted Food, not Bombs!*)

The first element in a new Defence strategy therefore should be well-thought out planned organisation for countering this foundational aspect of the communist plan of controlling the area to be defended. The Government and public should put forth a counter-force of propagandists (armed with national patriotic ideology and light weapons) in the interior of NEFA and Assam. They should be in touch with every family in the area. They should watch every outsider that comes into the place, interrogate him, and send him out of it, if suspicious. This means immense work and demands large number of patriotic workers. They should be recruited on a voluntary basis from all corners of the country and should be an all-India body. They may serve for short periods as *national guards* all along the border areas threatened by invasion and infiltration. This will be an occasion for calling forth emotional inspiration of the highest order. The national guards may pass into the auxiliary forces or win the regular army later on according to physique and inclination.

Mere routine Police of the usual kind with poor education will not meet this dangerous ideological peril.

A caution to be observed is to *eschew all notions of party affiliation* in forming this band of patriotic national guard volunteers. The work is above party. The national guard may engage themselves in useful constructive activity in the villages as a matter of routine, e.g. school teaching, adult education, teaching crafts, carpentry, smithwork, weaving, road-making, cottage building, etc. They should be able to sing and teach the national anthem and other patriotic songs. They could also operate epidiascopes and movie projectors showing documentaries of Indian and world events. Lecturers could tour the area giving presentations of Indian history and the biographies of national heroes like Samudra

In addition, the economic development of NEFA and Assam rural regions should be undertaken on a large scale, ..... nationalisation for the time being. The other aspects of Defence concern individual and military matters.

In addition to taking arms of all kinds—fighters and bombers, tanks and automatic big guns—transport vehicles etc., from friendly nations, the Government should arrange the installation of manufacturing units conveying every requirement of defence.

It may be that the West, (more generous and perceptive than that we have shown ourselves) will not insist on the abandonment of our dubious policy of non-alignment. But whatever sacrifice of consistency may be absolutely necessary to obtain the arms and arms manufacturing capacity that we need, should understandingly be made. There can be no higher ideal or policy or end in itself to statesmen than national security and adequate defence.

In economics, we should revert to a pragmatic mixed economy giving free scope to private enterprise, both indigenous and foreign, under suitable regulations.

From the standpoint of social and psychological mobilisation, it is not enough to call upon the workers and employers to observe a truce and eschew strikes and lock-outs in the interest of the war effort.

Nor is it enough to rely on voluntary Defence gifts from the public; this source cannot last for years.

There should be a new social policy of *fair shares and equality and sacrifice*, spelled out concretely.

Wages should be linked to cost of living as well as to the *profits made*.

Investors should be allowed to make legitimate profits but a part of profits above a certain limit should be taxed for the duration.

The State should maintain stable price levels. War contracts could be given on a cost plus fixed profit basis.

Contributions by way of taxes, loans and free gifts will flow abundantly if legitimate avenues for earning are kept open and enterprise is not frozen at source. The war time policies of the U.K. and U.S.A. afford an inspiring example.

# The Nuances Of Non-Alignment

By M. N. THOLAL

The people of this country are not believers in SAFETY FIRST or in other words, in retaining the independence of their country. If they were not so they would not have equated 'two imperialisms' of Anglo-American group and the Red countries. For those who believe in Democracy as opposed to Communism, non-alignment should like fellow-travelling, be taboo, since there is a close affinity between fellow-travelling and non-alignment.

THERE is all the difference, in the world between those who stand for Safety First and those who do not. There is therefore no common ground between them. It is worth while emphasizing this point because there are many in India—and it may be readily admitted that they are in a vast majority—who do not stand for Safety First. This is perhaps only natural. For, we in India have never stood for Safety First, and the natural consequence was a series of 'invasions and a thousand years' slavery—a record in the history of the world. And the wonder of it is that we have learnt nothing from our own history and still remain as unconcerned about our safety as we were a thousand years ago. Indeed, we have not learnt from our own experience what others learn from the experience of others.

Non-alignment is naturally born of this refusal to stand for Safety First, which is the starting point of all political parties in the West, except Communists who stand for Soviet domination. If a country were strong enough to feel absolutely secure without outside help, strong enough to easily repel aggression and invasion without external assistance, there would indeed be no need for alignment in the interests of that country, though the need of alignment for weaker countries, standing for the same objectives, would still remain, demanding fulfilment from the powerful country on ideological grounds.

But today there is practically no country in the world that feels strong enough to stand by itself, not even the United States or Soviet Russia. There are some countries which find safety in distance from Soviet Russia and China, and whose leaders find in non-alignment a handmaid of their personality cult, which is really part and parcel of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which again, is a mask for the Leader's own dictatorship. But countries on the borders of Soviet Russia and China naturally do not feel safe after what has happened to the Baltic States, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania, and Bulgaria and East Germany on the borders of Russia, and to Korea, Viet Nam and Tibet on the borders of China, and

they seek safety in alignment or in guarantees of their neutrality from both the blocs, according as they are circumstanced.

But the starting point, the basic essential is always Safety First. It has to be, unless the objective, intended or unintended, is national suicide. What difference does it make to the result for any one to say that our leaders, almost of all parties, do not intentionally seek national suicide when they swear by non-alignment? Of course they don't. But politics is not religion where it is enough to say, "God knows men's hearts" or "My heart was pure". Politics is concerned with results and even the most popular leader has to go down when he cannot show results.

Most of our leaders are muddle-headed and scatterbrained poseurs. The Jana Sanghis, who now want to appear to be the personification of patriotism, have always stood for secession from the Commonwealth, as if to out-Nehru Nehru. What have they to say to that now? Were they not by that stand going in a direction opposite to the one the interests of the country demanded? They have been equating the "two rival imperialisms"—Russia and America—as if to inform the world, "Here is a Daniel come to judgment!"

The point is that the fundamental basis of their policies was not Safety First, whatever else it might have been. Most probably, to borrow a word popular in Communist ideology, it was adventurism. And insofar as their fundamental basis was not summed up in Safety First, it was absolutely unpatriotic. I am taking the Jana Sangh for example because, being a party of the Right, opposed to Communism more wholeheartedly than the other parties, it could reasonably have been expected to take an anti-Communist stand. But it did nothing of the kind, while pretending to be anti-Communist. It preferred to oversimplify the problem by equating the "two rival imperialisms", as if we Indians had as much to fear from the USA as from Soviet Russia and China. And this over-simplification is and has been as far removed from the truth as from patriotism. Indeed, oversimplifying the problem in this way is distorting the truth, to which they could plead not guilty only on the plea of

ignorance of the history of the last forty years, of the fate that has overtaken the states on the borders of Russia and of the absence of the fear of annexation by the USA in Canada and Mexico. In no other country would such parties be tolerated even for a few years. That they are tolerated in India would appear to prove that the people of this country are not believers in Safety First or, in other words, in retaining the independence of their country.

### INTERDEPENDENCE

The supporters of non-alignment argue their case by exaggerating, as highly as they can, the risks, as they call them, involved in alignment. If we seek American support, the Americans will come over to dominate the country. This is of course nothing but exploiting the fear complex of a people who have been under foreign domination for centuries, and who are ignorant of the ideology of the American people. Even to suggest that the Britishers want to return to India in the face of the liquidation of their Empire all over the globe is egregious folly. And to suggest that, far from preventing each other from establishing their domination over India, there would be an Anglo-American conspiracy to subjugate India is something worse, in view of the American intervention in the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt.

Mr. Nehru says there is now no non-alignment vis-a-vis China. But China is a link in a chain, and a very strong one too. Alignment against China is alignment against the whole chain of Powers of which China is one. Mr. Nehru must have heard of the Sino-Russian Treaty of Mutual Alliance of 1949, by which the two Powers bound themselves together to assist each other. That this Alliance is very active is shown by the presence in China of some 3,000 Russian bombers and fighters and also of the latest Russian rockets which recently brought down the two American U-2s operating from Taiwan. In one of his recent speeches in Parliament he mentioned the existence of the huge military reservoir near our Himalayan border—supplied to China, doubtless, by “very-friendly-to-us” Soviet Russia. (The words in quotation are the Prime Minister’s.) And he must have heard also of the Warsaw Pact which binds all the European Communist countries to Russia. Mr. Nehru says the Chinese invasion has nothing to do with Communism, but it is Communism—international Communism whose very existence he denies—that makes China powerful and capable of aggression against India.

When Mr. Nehru says there is no non-alignment vis-a-vis China he says there is no non-

alignment vis-a-vis only a part of the solid Sino-Russian bloc. The statement can deceive nobody. It is indeed meaningless, unless he denies and disproves the existence of the Sino-Russian Treaty of Mutual Alliance, which he of course cannot do. By refusing to “bunch them together” in our statements we cannot tear them apart or convince them that they are apart in our imagination. The arguments for or against alignment are absurd unless they have for their background the great Treaty of Mutual Alliance between the two Communist giants. Instead of emphasizing this Treaty in the context of the invasion—this Treaty which made the invasion possible—artificial and insignificant Sino-Russian differences are magnified and aired with an air of certainty and of course with the greatest gusto, coupled with flings at the ignorance of those who are ignorant of the latest developments in the international world. The differences are between the Russian giant and the Albanian ant, the latter valorously representing the Chinese giant who cannot stand by himself!

And how useful the non-alignment of non-aligners is, has been proved by the Chinese withdrawal. The Chinese invasion was proving to be the grave-digger of non-alignment and was withdrawn as soon as this fact was realised, to restore those who had been living in an artificial world of their own creation to the world they lived in, before Uncle Sam is able to do anything to prevent their return to the imaginary world. To find the non-aligners in the arms of Uncle Sam is the worst possible thing that can happen to international Communism, and China and Russia will do everything possible to prevent it, since a nuclear war has been ruled out for world domination.

There is an affinity between fellow-travelling and non-alignment which the realist cannot fail to grasp, and which the Communists appreciate all over the world. It is for nothing that Mr. Khrushchev, who wants to bury the free world, has been praising non-alignment and those who practise it? If he is such a great and genuine admirer of non-alignment, why does he not allow the captive nations to practise it? Did not Russian tanks march into Hungary in 1956 to prevent the country from embracing non-alignment? For those who believe in democracy—and as believers in democracy are opposed to Communism—non-alignment should like fellow-travelling be taboo. Let us see how far our Prime Minister keeps the promise he made after the Chinese invasion of remaining wide awake for ever and ever.



# UNDER THE RED FLAG

By SUSAN HUNT

Every week Refugees find a way to escape from China to Hong Kong, risking their lives while passing across the river, bribing others and smuggling themselves over the border by land. The GREAT LEAP FORWARD had failed. About 70,000 starving people sought a crossing. But only 12,000 were lucky enough to escape in time.

AS the Red Banner of Communist China flutters threateningly over India's borderland it behoves this country to consider what life might be like within the Chinese Communist domain. For a hint we might well turn to the people of Hong Kong who have tasted and fled that regime.

It is hardly possible to live in Hong Kong without knowing something of China. China is the reason for Hong Kong, the heart and soul of that small island and its surrounding territory. Hong Kong serves as a refuge, a rock to rest upon for those who can attain it. The presence of China, powerful and dark beyond the hills, is always felt. It is there harboured in the steep, laddery streets of Hong Kong island where Communist bookshops stack novels of Peking propaganda and coloured prints of glad workers marching laden to the fields under the Red Banner. It is there in the sale of exquisite Swatow embroideries "made in China" and offered at a price so low that the craftsmen could hardly benefit from the proceeds. China's presence looms still nearer on the peninsula of British mainland called Kowloon where American servicemen in uniform are not allowed after 11 o'clock at night. One is reminded at Boundary Street that the rest of Kowloon and the adjoining area known as the New Territories were leased to the British in 1898 for only ninety-nine years. Communist schools and other organisations flourish and are left well alone. Most of these are in an area apparently exempt from the lease and it would not pay, the Hong Kong Government to interfere.

Beyond the Lion Rock of Kowloon stretches the green belt of the New Territories and from a high peak China can be seen. Behind are the Colony's busy paddy fields; ahead the silent hills of China. Checkposts guard the two road and one railway entrance to no man's land while police posts hold the summits along that strip 22 miles long and 1½ miles wide. These look-out stations scan the hills and command a full view of the wide Sham Chun River border.

But the heart of China is best judged by the motivations of Hong Kong's people, the refugees

who have struggled in at the rate of 1,000 a week since 1949 with nothing but the clothes they stand up in, nothing but the hope to live and the will to work; happy with their lot, for whatever they acquire in Hong Kong will be more than they ever had before. Their squatter's shacks cling to the crumbling hillsides, sometimes as many as three families occupying one room in shifts of eight hours each, others on rooftops, pavements, and at least 100,000 on a floating city of junks and sampans.

As the refugees earn cent by cent, so they hurry to send parcels to China where relatives are so much more in need. A typical amah, Ah Moy, would be found packing a small parcel of peanuts with vitamin pills carefully concealed amongst the nuts for the Peking Government will not admit to the flagrant need for medicines and their import is banned. In the Kowloon Post

Office hands a large placard, "PARCELS TO CHINA", under which there is always a line of the Hong Kong poor sending parcels to those poorer than they. Such parcels are wrapped in cloth instead of paper so that the cloth may be used also. The limited weight is 2 lbs. per person per month and should the parcel weigh half a dozen beans too heavy then it must be unstitched and made the lighter by six beans, for the Communist customs are not generous.

To most Chinese their New Year in February provides the one golden opportunity to take a little sweetness to relatives and friends in China. All through the year rice and other provisions and cloth are saved against the day when they can close their shops and take the only journey of the year. They jam the Kowloon railway station laden and fiercely guarding their precious parcels, waiting for the train to Canton. Cloth ration for the ordinary labourer in China is only a few yards per year, and food is so low that even the army's ration, usually of top priority, has been cut.

Every week refugees find a way to escape China. Some creep down the river by junk, heavily bribing the owner to smuggle them in the hold of the boat and land them on some outer

island from where they hope eventually to reach Hong Kong. Many are arrested, many are drowned, many are left to die on a barren island by an unscrupulous navigator. Others, and they are fewer, manage to bribe or smuggle themselves over the border by land.

The year 1962 had been another harsh one for China. The Great Leap Forward had not led to greater prosperity. Instead, its blind regimentation had denied the peasants even the freedom to farm the rugged land as they knew best and had ruined the entire agricultural system. It had failed to curb the Yellow River floods or to assuage the droughts of Kwantung. The industrial drives that had forced people to the cities had not provided food for them to eat. Factories closed down and the thousands thereby made idle were given one-way tickets back to their villages to shift for themselves.

It is probable that Peking knew nothing of the events which followed in Kwantung Province, probably that fear of hunger revolution caused the provincial authorities to issue 300,000 exit visas, thus lifting the escape hatch to Hong Kong to disperse some of the starving population.

Early in May 1962 the mass exodus to Hong Kong began. The refugees came first in hundreds and then in one to two thousands per day. They had gathered at the border village taking shelter where they could until no more was to be found. The journey from China across the river and especially the precipitous Sham Chun Mountain is gruelling even for the healthy and strong. Those who succeeded brought stories of the weak and sick lying in the village and on the railway station platform waiting to die because they had neither food nor strength. Even as the luckier refugees reached Hong Kong territory the Colony's Government had the heart-breaking task of sending them back to China. Hong Kong can hardly keep pace with its present teeming population even though building continues night and day in an effort to house the increasing numbers. The water supply that summer was down to three hours a day and a hundred families queued at one water pump where fights often ensued.

Extra police and army were called to the border to round up the newly arrived refugees, give them one hot meal and medical attention before sending them back to China in trucks at first, and then by train for the numbers were overwhelming. Again and again the refugees returned, making three and four attempts, hiding in the hills waiting for another chance to cross. The task of the Hong Kong police was made more distressing by the numbers of Hong Kong residents lining up at the border with food parcels, entering into no man's land and searching the hills calling for relatives or friends they hoped might be amongst the refugees. Police also searched the hills, established checkposts and searched every train, bus and car proceeding

to Hong Kong. Journalists were arrested for obstruction and there were many clashes when hysterical Hong Kong citizens tried to stop the path of trucks taking the refugees back to China and hurled food parcels to outstretched arms. 70,000 sought a crossing. Some found shelter with villagers in the New Territories until they could change their telling blue uniform and reach the safety of the city to become absorbed anonymously into the crowds. About 12,000 succeeded and some 58,000 were sent back to China.

Then, as suddenly as it had been raised, the Chinese barrier was clamped down and the borders were closed again. The news had reached Peking. Those 12,000 refugees who had managed to filter into the city of Hong Kong sat four days in the monsoon rain queueing for work permits, terrified that they would be refused and thanking their lucky stars that they had escaped in time.

—Opinion.

### CONGRESS M.P. ATTACKS NEHRU'S FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES

Deccan Herald dated Jan. 13, 1963 reports: Nehru Government's pronounced policies on foreign relations and Planning came in for severe criticism on Saturday at the hands of Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, Congress M.P. He characterised the external policy as "frog-in-the-well" thinking and planning as "thoughtless." The former Chief Minister described it as "unwise" of our leaders to have recognised Chinese rights over Tibet.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya was inaugurating the Seminar on Third Plan and Students' Role in Nation-building under the auspices of the Youth and Government Programme of YMCA, Bangalore, at the Town Hall.

The M.P. was certain that if India had recognised the independence of Tibet, the United States would have run to the aid of Tibet when the Chinese took over control there.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya said that it was a great blow to our national honour in not having taken a single Chinese soldier as prisoner, whereas they had taken thousands of our soldiers into custody. He said he asked the Prime Minister about this and the Prime Minister was silent.

#### Plan Objectives

Mr. Hanumanthaiya said that the main objective of planning should be bringing peace and happiness to every individual and this would not be possible by merely increasing wealth. This has been completely neglected by our planners, who he charged, were concerned more with satisfying their statistical-instinct through showing percentages of increases in industrial production and the standard of living of our people.

He said that there was a lot of talk about peace but all the while preparations for war were going on. So "peace is to be guaranteed today not through good-will between nations but through might alone."

# Kashmir Background: Sino-Russian Puppet Show: Colombo Proposals

(From Our Correspondent)

The Kashmir talks with Pakistan are on and may be said to be in a crucial stage. Whatever the difficulties, they forcibly remind one of the saying, "Where there's a will, there's a way." The difficulties are indeed great, not the least of them being the emotional attachment of the Prime Minister, as a Kashmiri Pandit, to Kashmir. Perhaps it was a realisation of this fact which made Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain say some time ago that the Prime Minister should seek the assistance of Rajaji in solving the Kashmir problem.

It cannot be denied that Pakistan has been nursing a just grievance over Kashmir. We took over Hyderabad because its population was Hindu and wanted accession to India; and we got Kashmir, because the Maharaja, finding himself in trouble, acceded to India. The terms of accession were, however, fair to the people of Kashmir. Their will had to be ascertained and approval sought by way of confirmation of accession. That should have been done when the atrocities of raiders were fresh in the minds of Kashmiris, and Sheikh Abdullah, their unquestioned leader, was a lieutenant of Nehru. But the little risk involved in the plebiscite then was not taken and the opportunity missed.

"What do the Kashmiri Muslims really want?" I put this question to the Publicity Officer of Kashmir, a Kashmiri Pandit, when he visited Delhi soon after independence. Pat came the answer: "They want both Abdullah and Pakistan." "But they can't have both," I said, and the Publicity Officer replied, "That is their dilemma." We also wanted both—Kashmir and Hyderabad—and got them, though a man of Sardar Patel's eminence was once heard saying, "I don't want Kashmir; I want Hyderabad." That is in fact why Kashmir came to be dealt with by Nehru and not by Sardar Patel. (I am giving the answer to a question raised by Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain recently.) But it was Sardar Patel's perspicacity that saved Kashmir for India. He over-ruled the British Commander-in-Chief of India, who was of the opinion that it was too late to save Kashmir, and ordered Indian troops to proceed to Kashmir. At the instance of Nehru, Gandhi had been to Kashmir as a guest of Sheikh Abdullah to do a bit of emotional integration, and had doubtless succeeded in what he had developed as an art.

We have got used to blaming everything on the Anglo-American—it is so easy—and the

change that came over the spirit of Abdullah's dreams is also attributed to Anglo-American influence. But that is wrong. What really happened was that Sheikh Abdullah paid a visit to Hyderabad to attend a meeting of the AICC and some Muslims of the Razakar brand saw him to relate to him harrowing tales of the sufferings of the Muslims of Hyderabad at the hands of the Indian Army that carried out the police action which preceded the accession of the State to India. That was the turning point in the career of Sheikh Abdullah and he was later heard making derogatory references to Mr. Nehru and making public speeches indicating that the accession of Kashmir to India was not a settled fact. Later Rafi Ahmed Kidwai paid a visit to Kashmir, where one of his cousins had at his instance been appointed Chief Secretary, and came back to Delhi to tell Nehru: "Kashmir ja raha hai." (Kashmir is going.) That confirmed what the Kashmiri Pandits had been telling Nehru, and Sheikh Abdullah was arrested.

## INTERNATIONAL ASPECT

Kashmir has been the guiding factor in the determination of our foreign policy; and our non-alignment, together with its wellknown emotional bias, also may be said to be due to the varying attitudes of the two power blocs over Kashmir. The ten-to-zero vote of the Security Council on Kashmir against us and the Russian vetoing of the Anglo-American move to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir virtually threw us into the arms of Russia, mainly because we failed to realise that Russia's veto was intended to serve the cause of China, not ours. Had Kashmir gone to Pakistan as a result of the plebiscite then, as was generally anticipated, China, because of Pakistan's membership of the Western military alliances, would not have been able to annex the part of Ladakh it has done, without as much as a "by your leave".

The unaligned is an easy prey and the Soviet veto, which pleased us Indians so much, was really a green signal for China to advance into Ladakh, the wherewithal for which advance had already been provided by Soviet Russia. (Heard of 'deep-rooted' differences between the two giants? What? No? Then read the subsidized news agencies' misleading commentaries which pass for news reports every day in our dailies.) The green signal from Russia was at once duti-

fully obeyed by China. Pravada recently almost let this cat out of the bag, but it upset our Prime Minister so much that the paper dared not repeat the performance. The agent provocateur, however, is so friendly with our Prime Minister and to our country and to all non-aligned nations that it has to plead quarrels with its brother and ward to help them all stick to their non-alignment and remain an easy prey to the attentions of the Asian giant, in the interests, of course, of Afro-Asian solidarity. The greater the likelihood of our leaning to the West and leaving non-alignment, the louder will the quarrel between the two brothers grow.

Cuba, it is being said here, should have taught us the lesson that security comes before respect for international law and rights of sovereign nations. The U.S.A. was absolutely wrong in interfering with what Cuba wanted to do on her own territory and yet was absolutely justified from the standpoint of her security in preventing the establishment of a Russian nuclear base in Cuba. Many have failed to notice the simultaneity of the Cuba trouble with the Chinese invasion of NEFA, when the two giant brothers might have excusably thought President Kennedy's knees would be knocking against each other for fear of unleashing a nuclear war and he would be too perturbed to offer aid to India at such a crisis. But his knees refused to knock against each other and called the Russian Premier's bluff. These coincidences, which began with the simultaneity of the Russian veto of the Security Council resolution on Kashmir with the Chinese aggression in Ladakh—are they not one too many to suggest that they are pre-planned? And where do we go from here, from this Sino-Russian puppet show? Back to the artificial world of our own, or rather Sino-Russian creation?

It will be the height of folly for us even after the lesson we have recently learnt to go on taking the show for reality. Gen. Thimayya has told us that the Chinese are 300 times stronger than us. There is therefore no question—unless his estimate is to be very seriously questioned—of India being militarily as strong as China in the near future, despite our best efforts. As the general pointed out, the solution of our problem has to be sought on the political plane, in alignment, in other words, and for alignment to come about a settlement of the Indo-Pak dispute on Kashmir is absolutely essential. Not that India and Pakistan together would be stronger than China. But then we can ask for military aid sufficient to match the Russian military aid to China, and we shall then be entitled to seek alignment, which at present we have no right to do. If the intention is to go on tinkering with the problem, as we have been doing, and to go on talking of industrial development, that is another matter.

#### COLOMBO PROPOSALS

The Colombo proposals should be consider-

ed by the people and Parliament, with a grim sense of reality, says Dr. Raj Krishna in a letter to a local daily. The real question, according to him is, "Is the formalisation of the de facto cease-fire necessary? He suggests it is not, for the following reasons: "It is now in the Chinese tactical interest and not ours, to stabilise any line between the true international frontier and the line reached by them on November 21, 1962, —whether it is the September 8, 1962, line or any other. For it will still leave them in possession, for an indefinite period, of a major part of the territorial fruits of their aggression. They can consolidate their gains and move forward again when they like. For the 'classical' Chinese Communist agreements are meant to be kept only until the forces mature for the next tactical move forward. On the other hand, our position would be frozen on our own territory to the west or south of whatever is the zone of disengagement. We shall scrupulously observe the cease-fire and wait for the Chinese to break it. I do not understand why we must formally place ourselves in such a ridiculous diplomatic and military position.

"Our interest now," Dr. Raj Narain proceeds to observe rightly, "is not to stabilise formally any line within our own territory until we are able to re-establish the true international frontiers of 1947. It is an illusion to believe that a cease-fire agreement will give us even an iota more time than the Chinese want to give us without a formal agreement. For, let us remember that the Chinese Communists are restrained not by agreements nor by Russian pressure, but only by the length of their supply lines and the calculation of effective countervailing power. As the entire post-war history shows, cease-fire lines have a way of getting frozen until the Communists choose to move them forward. If the cease-fire line in NEFA and Ladakh, now agreed to, gets frozen for an indefinite period, the Indian Government and Parliament, in agreeing to a cease-fire line now, would, in effect, be agreeing to the loss of a lot of Indian territory and many strategic passes and positions to a massive, cynical enemy. They should do so with open eyes. Posterity may not excuse them, if this second acquiescence in the Chinese occupation of alien lands has the same consequences in the long run as the first acquiescence (in the case of Tibet).

It is said, of course, that a cease-fire on the September 8 or any similar line will not prejudice our claims in subsequent substantive negotiations. But I do not see why in these later negotiations the Chinese will have any need or incentive to agree to anything we propose—securely holding, as they would, the whole of Indian territory east and north of the cease-fire line and some "civil" posts even beyond it! And it is difficult to believe that, if the negotiations stall or fail, the Government of India will really proceed to break the cease-fire line and re-establish the true international borders of 1947 un-

laterally. If they would, I would like to see a formal declaration to this effect."

So, indeed, would every one. Dr. Raj Krishna concludes: "Thus there is more in the cease-fire than the ceasing of fire. There is more in disengagement around the September 8, 1962, line or any similar line than a mere basis for talks. There may be in it the seeds of de facto appeasement. Let Parliament beware that the cease-fire agreement may prove to be another instalment of Panch Shila. Let them remember that behind the din of the cease-fire proposals a massive Chinese ground and air build-up in Tibet continues in steady frenzy." That is the ablest comment so far on the Colombo proposals.

## Book Review

**THE PROBLEM OF POWER BY LORD RADCLIFFE:** Comet Books published by Collins Paper Backs Ltd., London, pages 128, The Reith Memorial Lectures 1951 and a postscript published in Comet Books in 1958 price 2s. 6d.

The Reith Memorial Lectures of the B.B.C. have occasioned some remarkable reflections on the deeper trends of current civilisation. Bertrand Russell's *Authority And the Individual* and Sir Charles Snow's *Two Cultures* (that of the science and of the humanity criss-crossing with those of the masses and the alike) have been outstanding contributions.

Lord Radcliffe (formerly Sir Cyril Radcliffe whom we in India know as the Chairman of the Boundary Commission in 1947) offers in these seven B.B.C. talks a fresh and stimulating discussion of the problem of power, by which he envisages the different aspects of the exercise of sovereignty by the custodians of State authority.

The State is essentially the Social Institution which is entitled to exercise a monopoly of Power as the arbiter of last resort.

Two great problems arise in the fulfilment of its functions by the holders of power (who exercise authority in the name of State and for the common good of society).

One is about the way by which the holders of power are to be chosen. Monarchy and Aristocracy solved the problem in times of old by enthroning heredity in royal or aristocratic family. This frequently led to tyranny and became intolerable.

Plato outlined in his celebrated work called the *Republic* (written in the fourth century B.C.) an elaborate scheme of education using the fine arts in the early stages and Science, Mathematics and Philosophy in the final phase to train the future rulers of the State. They had to combine both intellectual excellence and moral. By moral excellence Plato meant perfect unselfish devotion to Society and State. To assure

this, he thought of abolishing property and family life for the guardians to remove the temptation of selfishness from their hearts.

Lord Radcliffe points out that in some way the high seriousness connoted by the Platonic scheme should be grafted on to the character and motivation of modern politicians civil and military service officers and the managerial ranks of industry and commerce. He discusses the medieval Christian Weal of Government as part of the Divine scheme of things. He mentions St. Augustine's City of God as importing this sense of high seriousness.

He reviews the more modern theories of Social Contract in Rousseau and brings out the elements of common good and popular sovereignty in the doctrine of the General Will.

But the kernel of the book is given in the chapters in which Lord Radcliffe discusses the work of the founders of British rule in India (after the corrupt era of the Nababs) and American efforts to limit the powers of the Federal Government by means of separation of power.

He gives a glowing tribute to the members of the British civil service in India who after commanding armies and dictating terms at the gates of conquered cities, ruling millions of subjects in areas as large as England and France, dispensing even-handed justice between man and man, returned contentedly to obscurity and a modest competence in the home country.

In the lecture on the American Constitution, he stresses the great work of American jurists and politicians and writers in defending the rights of the citizen as against encroachment by the Government or officialdom in the name of the Government.

These are the central problems of State power: that of choosing the wisest of men of rulers and that of keeping them within the just limits of legitimate authority, preventing tyranny and oppression.

We in India (and all those involved in establishing sound systems of Government in the newly enfranchised countries of Asia and Africa in the post-war world) are profoundly concerned with these problems of power. Lord Radcliffe's survey of the essentials of good governance sums up the wisdom and experience of the West from Greek and Roman times in terms of vital relevance to contemporary affairs.

—M. A. Venkat Rao.

## Gleanings from the Press

### A PRIVATE ARMY FOR THE CONGRESS PARTY?

A couple of news-items published last week have been, to say the least, extremely intriguing. First, we learnt about all Bihar Congressmen under 40 years of age being imparted rifle training at police stations in their respective

areas. Later on we have had the Congress General Secretary Shri K. K. Shah state at a Press Conference at Indore that the AICC had decided to set up 2,000 guerilla camps in NEFA!

The first report surprised us primarily because from our knowledge of things in the Capital itself, we have had the impression that arrangements for rifle-training fall considerably short of the demand of those eager to receive it. In such a situation, the privilege conferred on Bihar Congressites appeared very strange. But the second news-item left us wondering how dangerously close Peking had come to us during this crisis!

After all the essential difference between a "people's" democracy of Peking's conception, and the "parliamentary" democracy that we have accepted is that the latter refuses to accept that the monopoly of wisdom vests in one party. But it appears that there are leaders in the ruling party who think, or have lately started to think, differently.

As in Russia, or in China, they would like to have the party become a limb of the government. Otherwise, how dare a party boss speak in terms of arrogating to the party functions which obviously can belong only to the Army? Those who know the Congress Party's feeble organisational strength and rickety structure may be inclined to laugh away the General Secretary's declaration as a big joke, but we think that the statement does reveal ominous trends of thinking, which all democrats would do well to be vigilant about.

—Organiser, January 14, 1963.

## News & Views

### COERCION Vs. FREE CHOICE THE ISSUE BEFORE THE WORLD

WASHINGTON

President Kennedy briefly noted the Sino-Indian border conflict in his "State of the Union" message to a joint session of the Congress and said that developing and non-aligned nations were shocked by China's "arrogant invasion of India."

In his survey of the world events, President Kennedy said, "They (developing and non-aligned nations) were shocked by the Soviet Union's sudden and secret attempt to transform Cuba into a nuclear striking base—and by Communist China's arrogant invasion of India." They have been reassured by our prompt assistance to India, by our support through the United Nations of the Congo's unification, by our patient search for disarmament and by improvement in our treatment of citizens and visitors whose skins do not happen to be white," he said.

President Kennedy said: "As older Colonialism recedes and the neo-colonialism of Communist Powers stands out more starkly than ever, they will realise more clearly that the issue in the world struggle is not Communism versus Capitalism but coercion versus free choice."

He said hope over the Sino-Soviet differences must be tempered with caution and pointed out that disagreement between the two was over ways and not ends.

President Kennedy also emphasised the importance of continuing America's military and economic aid programmes to the under-developed world. "...it is hard for any nation

to focus on external or subversive threat to its independence when its energies are drained out in daily combat with forces of poverty and despair. It makes little sense for us to assail in speeches and resolutions on horrors of Communism, to spend 50 billion dollars a year to prevent its military advance and then to begrudge spending largely on American products, less than one-tenth of the amount, to help other nations strengthen their independence and cure the social chaos in which Communism has always thrived", he added.

### PEKING HAS NO GENUINE DESIRE FOR PEACE

PEKING

From the tone and intensity of the continued attacks in the Chinese Press and on Peking Radio in the past few days, observers here discern little evidence of any genuine desire on the part of China to facilitate the efforts of the Afro-Asian nations to bring peace on the Sino-Indian borders.

Usually these verbal attacks relate to what is called India's anti-Chinese activities and "continued arms drive and war preparations."

But more subtle than these have been stories in which the "ruling clique" in India is attacked for fleeing the people.

These stories, in which Indian Press is cleverly quoted, would appear to have a subversive aim as they are not published locally but also broadcast in Hindi by Peking Radio.

### NO STRINGS TO ARMS AID

NEW DELHI

Prof. J. K. Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador, reiterated that there were no strings attached to American military assistance to India to meet the Chinese aggression.

The Ambassador was speaking at a reception accorded by the Citizens' Council of Delhi to officers and men of the U.S. Task Force, who airlifted military equipment to India.

Prof. Galbraith said the question had been put again and again to him on various occasions whether the United States had imposed any conditions to this aid. His reply always had been that there were no conditions attached and there had been no bargaining over the assistance.

### RED SABOTAGE

RAIPUR

Mr. Gangaram Tiwari, M.L.A. and General Secretary of the Madhya Pradesh unit of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, alleged that Communists were inciting workers of the ordnance factories in the State to slow down production.

Mr. Tiwari, who was talking to newsmen here, said, that he had brought this fact to the notice of the State Government.

A pro-China pamphlet asking the workers to refrain from extending their co-operation in the defence efforts and "to await revolution from the north" was distributed among the workers in Indore, he alleged.

### PREMIER NOTES 'SUBVERSION'

Mr. Nehru has evinced keen interest in a report sent to him by the All-India Port and Dock Workers' Federation re-

garding a "systematic campaign of subversive activities" launched by the affiliates in India of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. Nehru in a letter to the Federation has stated that the dockers' reply to the "secret document adequately answers all the points raised in the WFTU letter."

Mr. Kulkarni said that he had no doubt that the Union Government would take prompt and adequate security measures to curb the subversive and anti-national activities carried on by the affiliates of WFTU and other international Communist bodies and fellow travellers through their agents in India.

### CHINESE CAN'T BE TRUSTED, SAYS TAWANG HEAD LAMA

BAHRAMPUR (Nowgong).

Khempo Kesang Phuntso, the Head Lama of the historic Tawang Monastery, told newsmen here that he would not place reliance on the Chinese professions of cease-fire.

The Khempo, who is convalescing after an attack of pneumonia at a special camp, said he was a man of peace and was at present engaged in offering special prayers for the cessation of wars and for the human freedom from diseases.

But his heart was heavy with the memories of what the Chinese did to the people of Tibet. Chinese could never be trusted to uphold 'dharma', he said.

He said the Chinese were making a strong bid to convince Monpas in Tawang that the religious freedom was safe in Chinese hands. But the people would never be taken by the Chinese propaganda after what had happened to the Lamas in Tibet, he added.

Asked if he would favour the idea of the Dalai Lama going and staying in Tawang, the Khempo appeared pleased with the question, but said that the first thing was to free NEFA of the aggressor. Once that was achieved it was for the Government to decide the question of the Dalai Lama visiting or staying in Tawang.

### KMT GUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN CHINA

TAIPEH, JANUARY.

A top intelligence official in Formosa said the Kuomintang Chinese Government was contacting guerilla forces on the China mainland with a view to establishing a unified command there against the Chinese Communists.

The announcement was made by Maj.-Gen. Yeh Hsiang-chih, Director of the Intelligence Bureau of the KMT Chinese Defence Ministry, who is in charge of anti-Communist operations on the mainland.

Gen. Yeh said it would be wrong to regard the guerilla warfare specialists sent to mainland China as the backbone of an invasion force.

#### GUIDANCE TO PARTISANS

They were sent, he said, to provide leadership and guidance to anti-Communist partisans already operating there.

Meanwhile, the TATO news agency, run by the Formosan Justice Ministry, reported today that an anti-Communist guerilla force had been operating since last May in the North China province of Shantung.

The agency quoted unidentified arrivals in Hong Kong

as saying that Huang Wen-yuan, leader of the guerillas, had been killed by the Communists, but his men were still active.

The Chinese Communists had made a number of arrests in Shanghai of people suspected of connection with the KMT Chinese.

### VARSIY REGIONALISM

MADRAS.

Mr. K. M. Munshi warned Indian universities against narrow-minded regionalism and academic fragmentation.

Opening an exhibition of Indian universities publications organised by the Book Industry Council of South India, he said the main function of a university was not to turn out graduates or the conferment of degrees but development of research and higher knowledge.

Knowledge knew no frontiers of language, region or country, and the only way of conquering the thoughts and minds of people today was by developing higher knowledge and forging links of academic unity among Indian universities.

Universities, he said, were the windows of the nation, which helped us to peep out into the international world. Academic unity could not be sustained if emphasis was laid on regional languages and regionalism, as happened in Gujarat for instance. If Gujarat had its own way, it would not be able to keep up its channels of communication with its own neighbours Maharashtra let alone distant States like Tamilnad.

### Dear Editor....

#### MADRAS SALES TAX ANOMALY

Please permit me to bring to the notice of the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry an anomaly, whether hygienically unfinished ox casings solely an exportable item exempted from the purview of obtaining an export licence and the item not mentioned in the schedule of taxable items appended in the Madras Commercial Sales Tax Act is taxable under the Act on their sales to the exporters.

Ox casings which are not edible part of beef in India and perishable are purchased by Harijans engaged in the ox casings industry from the slaughter houses and are collected on the outskirts of villages where they are cleansed in water, inflated with mouth wind, dried in the sun for hours, flattened after drying, rolled in bundles and then they are supplied to the exporters from whom advance of money was taken for running the industry. The nature of work involved in the industry is essentially classified as a cottage industry. The industry was introduced by the Europeans first in Calcutta and then it spread sparingly in U.P. and other States. The export trade in ox casings fetches a sizable foreign exchange to the Government of India and hundreds of Harijan families engaged in the industry are also making a decent livelihood by the export trade.

In view of these points, the right of assessing and collecting sales tax on ox casings is required to be clarified at the Union Ministry level, lest the Harijans engaged in the industry will be thrown out of employment in case sales tax is leviable on ox casings only on the plea that whatever sold is taxable under the Madras Commercial Sales Tax Act.

Madras, 17th January 1963.

P. KUPPU RAO.

**ANNOUNCEMENT!!**

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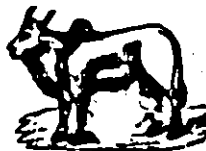
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