

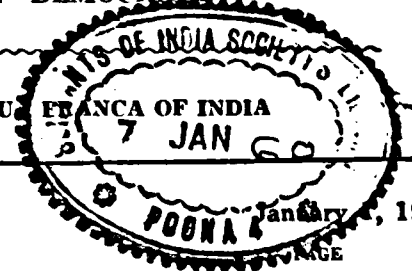


Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'
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AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
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MAKE ENGLISH THE LANGUAGE



Vol. VII No. 23

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EDITORIAL

INDIA AND ISRAEL

WHAT is India's attitude to Israel? India boasts having the unique distinction of treating all nations with equal friendliness irrespective of their status, power or wealth. But the equality she actually shows in her conduct sometimes bears a close resemblance to the "more equal" quality of Orwell's *Animal Farm*! Into this category falls India's treatment of Israel. India has formally recognised Israel as an independent nation-state and member of the UNO. But she has refrained from actualising it and follow it up with the setting up of an embassy in Tel Aviv, the capital of Israel. She has not also developed any trade relations with her.

Israelis complain wistfully that India is not quite sincere in her claims to impartiality of moral judgment and that she defers quite unfairly to the stronger States who are capable of creating a great nuisance. The late Mr. Harold Laski (a British Jew) complained that even the great internationalist and freedom lover Jawaharlal Nehru did not sympathise sufficiently with the Israel ambitions for a free nation-state status in Palestine, her ancient motherland from the days of Moses more than three thousand years ago.

The plain fact seems to be that India's policy-maker Mr. Nehru has an eye on Pakistan's ambition to rally Islamic sentiment in the Middle East and the world at large under her own leadership. With the avowed hostility of Pakistan to legitimate

Indian interests, it becomes necessary to develop a counter weight, in accordance with the well known maxim of the balance of power, on the other side of Pakistan. Hence Nehru's policy of cultivating the friendship of Nasser as an Arab power.

But the balance of power policy is patently contradictory to Nehru's expressed principle of absolute impartiality and equal friendship for all including Pakistan. Moreover, equal friendship with all should include good relations with Turkey also but India is not successfully developing good relations with Turkey, presumably because Turkey is openly anti-Soviet. India's pro-Arab policy gets involved in difficulties when Arab states themselves come into conflict, as for instance Egypt and Iraq. **If we back one, we antagonise the other!**

India should take a definite stand on Israel. The issue is: should Israel be allowed to continue as an independent State within the homelands of the Arab peoples, especially as she is obliged to be an expansionist Power to accommodate world Jewry through the generations? The expansion of Israel can only be at the expense of the Arabs who surround her territory. Moreover, the position of Israel in Palestine is due to the unfair support of Europe and America to her—as the Arabs argue. If we support Israel in this, we necessarily antagonise Nasser. But so far, India has refrained from taking a decisive step in regard to the ultimate destiny of Israel. Once Nehru let fall a remark that Israel should after all be recognised as a nation-state in Palestine some day as an ineluctable

fact. This instantly irritated and aroused the suspicions of Arab states and created an impression that Nehru is not to be treated. Their envoys in India protested and demanded an explanation. Some explanation was given that only postponed the issue for later consideration.

India has not the courage and sincerity to maintain that recognition diplomatically, does not pre-judge the issues of war and peace between the recognised Power and other States. Just as India argues that Red China should be admitted to the UNO as a full member by virtue of being an effective wielder of sovereignty and that such membership does not pre-judge any claims and counter-claims between her and her antagonists, Israel argues that India should recognise her fully entering into full diplomatic relations with her. India can assure Nasser and the other Arab states that her recognition of Israel does not prejudice Arab claims upon her.

Failure to do so for fear of antagonising Nasser is to be guilty of appeasing the stronger at the expense of justice and to be guilty of cowardice in spite of the tall claims we make for courage and incorruptible fairness in international affairs.

It is to be guilty of double standards in moral judgment and international conduct.

We should develop the habit of seeing ourselves as others see us in international affairs. The defects of Indian policy in this regard is partly due to the fact that it reflects the vagaries of one man. The public should take an interest in foreign relations and run foreign policy associations to create a sound public opinion in such matters. All criticism of our foreign policy should not be left to for-

eigners. We should take an effective part in the formation of sound judgments on international affairs and our part therein. This will offset the personal factor so running riot today to the detriment of our good name and interests.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S MISSION TO INDIA

The long expected visit of President Eisenhower to India has come and gone. He was in the Indian capital New Delhi for five days from the 9th December. According to his own words, he has had a tremendous experience exceeding anything by way of popular reception to him in his career, not excluding the great welcome he was given by London crowds on his visit after Victory in 1945 and by Americans in Washington shortly after.

The Presidential procession from Palam Airstrome to Rashtrapati Bhavan through Connaught Circus (decorated profusely with arches of welcome and streamers and the flags of both nations in their thousands fluttering everywhere and coloured lights in the trees on either side of the route) passed through close-packed milling crowds shouting welcome and showering flowers estimated at a million and more. The crowds might have exceeded those witnessed in 1955 December to welcome the Russian magnates Bulgarian and Khrushchev.

There was also nothing to be wished for in the matter of the spontaneity and warmth of the feelings evinced by the multitudes in their welcome cries. The Americans were immensely pleased. The President was overwhelmed at the magnitude of the reception by the people of India.

The numbers assembled later on Ramlila grounds at the civic reception also exceeded all previous records. As on the previous occasion of the visit of the Russian leaders, the grounds and approaches were decorated with arches, art replicas of Indian historic architecture such as the Ellora cave temple and coloured lights everywhere. The American President was so impressed that he had no words to describe the event. He kept saying "enormous" and asked correspondents who enquired of his impressions to write it themselves using their professional skill.

American newspapers are reported to have flooded their country with rapturous descriptions of the welcome that the people of India gave their President and the grandeur of the arrangements. The emotional satisfaction of the Americans was complete. In the background of the mind of the Americans was some doubt and misgiving about the response of the Indian people, especially in view of the anti-American propaganda of the Chinese and of the expressed sympathy of the Indian communist party towards the Chinese side in the current Indo-Chinese border conflict.

But the emotional response (and atmosphere) during the days of the American President's stay in New Delhi by the people and officialdom dispelled all such misgivings and created a new concord between the peoples of the two nations.

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; Half Yearly Rs. 3

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SECOND COVER Rs. 125
THIRD COVER Rs. 125

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The cordiality, appreciativeness and sincerity of the American President's sentiments and attitudes towards India showing clear realisation of the past greatness and (potential) present and future greatness of the country warmed the hearts of Indians. As a public relations job, President Eisenhower has done a great and lasting service to his country and our own. He has won new credit for the picture of America as a great humanist democracy valuing freedom and equality for all above all material achievements and ready to defend them to the limit of their capacity. He has shown his country as a nation seeking peace but peace with justice. The President addressed Parliament, replied to the civic reception at Ramlila grounds, opened the Amriki Mela or American Agricultural Exhibition in the World Agricultural Fair that opened on the 9th December. In conclusion, he also gave a radio talk to his host country.

A number of central ideas and recurring values radiated in these speeches that stirred responsive echoes in Indian hearts.

Mr. Eisenhower stressed the great humanist value of freedom cherished by the American people and reinforced them with apt quotations from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi.

He stressed the peaceful character of American ambitions who are more intent on the pursuit of happiness in individual life than on warlike aggression. He pointed out that America did not desire a single acre of land or item of power at other's expense.

He indicated that American only wanted a world of free nations fearlessly cooperating with each other for the furtherance of industry, commerce and the pursuits of culture in peace and freedom. He called for a rule of law in human affairs and an end to wars and aggressions.

He once even went the length of saying that Governments are too fixated on the grievances and fears of the past and hoped that people in their informal, hearty, honest contacts with each other may succeed in dissolving the hatreds of the past that have led to world entanglements from which all humanity is suffering now.

Eisenhower had great attractions for a farmer's life. In opening the American Exhibition, he said that he would go back to the avocation of a farmer after retirement from office. He gave the slogans of Food, Family, Friendship and Freedom as ingredients of permanent value.

He visited a village near Agra and was so pleased with the rural people and their efforts towards self-improvement that he said he would come again to see them!

The President had a number of intimate and confidential talks with Mr. Nehru on most outstanding problems. They discussed both Kashmir and Indo-Chinese border problems as well.

He made it clear that he would do his best to increase the flow of investment into the country

from abroad. He made it clear that though America would not interfere in the Indo-Chinese conflict, America would be ready to offer help, if asked.

He justified the policy of developing strength in view of "the alien philosophy" backed by military power that threatened American freedom. He pointed out in obvious reference to communist satellites that even friendship is impossible without freedom and equality.

The results of the great impact that Eisenhower has made on the Indian people and on the satisfaction that his countrymen have felt in the reception given to their President by the Indian people will influence the course of future relations between the two countries bringing them closer together in the consciousness of the shared ideals of peace, democracy and cooperation in world affairs. It is noteworthy that President Eisenhower always coupled the words "with justice" to "peace" whenever he referred to it. He made it clear that peace is not an end in itself. He did not value peace at any cost, peace purchased by surrender of freedom and self-determination, the peace of slavery. We also indicated the need for strength in support of righteousness. Justice and good intentions without strength and resoluteness to defend one's rights did not avail in this world.

But the President has urged these items of his and his nation's philosophy unobtrusively without referring to the communist bloc and its objectionable aims and strategies and tactics. This is in strong contrast to the direct and blatant attack made by Bulganin and Khrushchev in India against the British. Eisenhower's references to India and her hoary culture and her present independent career were flattering to the Indian's ego but were put forth tactfully.

It is to be hoped that Premier Nehru will learn these ingredients of a manly philosophy that is prepared for the worst, while doing everything to arrive at peaceful agreements through negotiation.

There is a certain ethics of force that needs to be learnt by practitioners of politics and diplomacy, the dealers in peace and war. Eisenhower's attitude to force is identical with that of the Gita that asks people to defend the right with force, if all peaceful proposals were rejected by wrongdoers with irrational obstinacy.

American Aid To India

While the general impression derived from President Eisenhower's utterances in New Delhi is that he would do his best hereafter to increase economic aid to India from all sources, a Congressional bulletin of 116 pages underscores the disadvantage of giving such Aid which will foster a socialist or Communist economy in India. One of the great emotional attractions of India to the free world and to the USA in particular, is that she is the world's largest democracy. Any economic Aid will help her rapid industrial advance through democratic institutions which will buttress India as the Asian leader of

democracy. This will automatically set a limit to Russian influence—this is the hope.

In communist terms, India will not become a reserve of the communist bloc but will remain an independent nation, if it does not enter the free world as a supporter by means of military pacts.

The Congress bulletin analyses the extent to which the public sector is extending from the first to the Second Plan and fears that in Third Plan, it will occupy practically the whole of the economy—some 80 per cent. Even to the extent the private sector is allowed to function, it can find scope only within very narrowly defined conditions. All available private finance will be drained off by the Government and the system of comprehensive controls hamstringing private enterprise will grow wider and more penetrating. Very little democracy will be left in India after the Third Plan. Thus through peaceful ways, the Western world would be committing suicide by helping India socialise herself. Meanwhile Russian massive Aid through impressive advertisements like the Bhilai Steel Mills will have drawn the country towards Russia!

The bulletin does not propose refusal of Aid but suggests that this aspect should be borne in mind and that the forms that economic Aid takes should specifically encourage democratic enterprise.

Mr. Dillon, Assistant Secretary of State for America, is trying in his present European Tour to persuade European nations to join with America in a coordinated scheme of economic Aid. The Asian needs have outrun the financial capacity of the USA. Moreover it is a world responsibility even like the defence of the free world.

Thus the economic challenge of Khrushchev is working favourably to Asia and Africa and particularly India, in as much as she is still a democracy.

Private enterprise investment in underdeveloped countries will also be stimulated to greater lengths in the coming years. But democratic opposition parties like the Swatantra party should press home at this juncture their criticism of the Five Year Plan Patterns as hostile to free economy. It is interesting to note that their General Council which met at Hyderabad from the 7th December took up this position regarding the Plans.

Indo-Pakistan Regional Defence Pact

By M. A. Venkata Rao

Time brings strange reversals of feeling and opinion in the inter-relations of nations as well as individuals. The holders of power in Pakistan till the other day, the leaders of the Muslim League and like-minded persons have been cultivating a psychology of hatred and *jihad* towards India from the day of partition and the birth of the two States. Mr. Nehru has been proposing a simple No-War Pact to them for years. But the Pakistanis till the other day have always rejected the idea preferring to keep the door open to a profitable war of aggression against India. The League mentality (fostered by the Aligarh movement aiming at a separate national destiny for the Muslims of India who preferred to work for an exclusive Moghul revival for themselves with Hindus as subjects than for a common Hindu-Muslim nationality) persisted in Pakistani leaders that led them to reject the Indian pacifist proposal.

But today we have a proposal not merely for a no-war pact (which is after all only negative in character) but actually for a positive Defence Pact between the two States unifying the subcontinent for defence purposes once again. It is not clear whether President Ayub Khan has actually made a formal official offer to Premier Nehru. But he has expressed himself freely in its favour to press correspondents and Premier Nehru has taken the proposal seriously enough to reject it to press representatives.

The general public who have felt so long that Premier Nehru's government were too lenient to

Pakistan at the expense of the Indian people are now, (thanks to the Chinese aggression on the border,) inclined to favour a defence arrangement with Pakistan if it can be managed. The larger danger in their mind has shadowed the lesser peril.

There is wisdom in the proposal beneficial to both parties, if both parties are sincere in the matter.

But there is an initial hurdle to be overcome—the hurdle of bitter feud and enmity persisting for so many decades, if not centuries.

There is no doubt that in spite of many rapprochements in the course of centuries, the two cultures of India, Islamic and Hindu (or Vedic or Aryan) have failed to assimilate each other. Rather the nation has not assimilated the two in a single multicultural entity-composite culture, as it is called nowadays.

The failure has had historic results not the least of which has been the present split into the two nation-states of India and Pakistan. The problem is simplified in Pakistan by making Islam the basis of the state but remains in all its stubborn intricacy in India since its leaders do not recognise the failure of the sociological problem but adopt policies as if it is solved or did not exist at all!

Today we have a situation, (thanks to the emergence of President Ayub Khan in Pakistan as its supreme ruler from non-politician ranks and to the Chinese threat to both States,) in which historic animosities can be jettisoned and a new era in mutual relations can be established in mutual interests.

No doubt it is difficult to realise how such deep-

rooted hostilities between one people and another could be removed overnight, as it were.

But it should be remembered that emotions have roots in interest and imagination. Hindu-Muslim hostilities have sprung from conflict of interest—both peoples trying to establish rule over the other.

But today a common danger faces both and this common danger is capable of rendering ancient enmities weaker and even making them obsolescent, non-existent as it were, so long as the common danger lasts, at least. Also it is possible that new situations may turn the attention of the peoples to common projects of mutual interest leading to the complete erasure of the enmity in the subconscious of the peoples.

There are many historical examples of complete erasure of ancient hostilities. For instance the English and French had strong hostile sentiments towards each other from the days of Cromwell—a period of four centuries! But from the days of the *entente cordiale* of the early years of the present century, the old antagonism has vanished. It is replaced in Europe by the Franco-German enmity. Even that is receding in the face of the Soviet threat.

We have had a most extraordinary example of such a *volte face* in our own times in the Hitler-Stalin Mutual non-aggression Pact at the beginning of the war of 1939. Hitlerism and Communism were at daggers drawn for years. Hitler made no secret of his crusading zeal to destroy communism and all its works and hoped to forge a Four Power Pact of France, Germany, England and Italy combining them against Soviet Russia. It came to nothing because Hitler proved *untrustworthy* when he invaded Czechoslovakia, even after the Sudeten lands therein were transferred to him through the intercession of Chamberlain of England. He next invaded Poland which destroyed the Four Power Pact. Russia was hoping for the annexation of the Baltic States of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia and parts of Poland. Hitler agreed to such annexation in return for non-aggression. He thus secured his *Eastern Front* while he attacked France and the West-Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, France and Britain.

The Pact reversed all expectations derived from ideological conflict and historic enmity between Teuton and Slav. The historic conflict between Celt and Gaul in the French nation and Teuton in the German race still persists today, having been kept smouldering by the Franco-German wars of 1914 and 1939. But in spite of this ancient animosity and recent conflict, we see today Dr. Adenauer trying to have a rapprochement with French De Gaulle in regard to the summit conference preparations.

When deep lying national interests change therefore, even the most persistent and obscurantist passion will become tractable. After all, passions are not indulged for their own sake. They persist over a long time on account of their *synthesis with per-*

manent interests of people. The Hindu-Muslim animosity is due to their separate ambitions for hegemony in India as *communities*, either the Hindu or Muslim dominating as a *community* and ruling race.

This situation vanishes if India recognises Pakistan as a permanent separate nation and Pakistan gives up ambitions for rule in India. They should project their expansionism in a third quarter or sublimate it in working for a world federation under rule of law, as Eisenhower envisaged in his addresses in New Delhi. In any case, so long as the danger from the Chinese aggressors remains, there is a substantial psychological basis for an Indo-Pakistan Defence Pact. Thereafter new interests may occupy the rival nations for long periods which will favour the complete obsolescence of the ancient enmity and rivalry and ambition at each other's expense.

Moreover, as General Cariappa said at the Libertarian Social Institute in Bangalore, the defence of the subcontinent of India is *indivisible*. Once the defence organisation of the two nation-States is organised on a common and shared basis and is tried and tested in warlike activities against a dangerous and powerful enemy, it becomes difficult to change the set-up. The motive for change will also weaken and the liaison may continue. At any rate even if it should be found necessary to abolish the joint defence arrangements in a future period after the contingency has passed, it will have served the present purpose of *economising defence problems* and expense and maximising the benefits of military operations.

Above all, it will obviate the necessity of fighting on *two fronts* for both Pakistan and India which is a great strategic gain.

But in spite of these obvious advantages and compulsions of the situation, people will find it difficult to believe that the Pakistani leaders and armed forces could be *trusted*. They have long memories, especially those in the North who witnessed the horrors of the Leaguers' atrocities at the time of Partition from the Black Day of the Great Calcutta Killings.

It may be recalled that at the time of Partition, the British had a Plan of continuing military arrangements for common defence by means of a Defence Council governing both armies presided over by a British General. It was actually constituted with Sir Claude Auchinleck as the first president of the Council.

But certain Muslim regiments or groups from Baluchi contingents attacked Hindus indiscriminately! Even Lord Mountbatten who had undertaken to prevent such occurrences and given strict instructions to British officers in that behalf became helpless and aghast at the break-down of military discipline of the old combined army once the word was given for a split into two for the two nations.

But today President Ayub Khan is in charge.

He has a mind different from that of the old political Leaguers. It is reliably understood that he is anxious for a military pact with India for the limited purpose of defence of the subcontinent and not for global collaboration. Moreover, he is realising the utter need and value of avoiding two fronts himself, because the Afghans might open a front to the West if Pakistan is occupied in a fight with India or China on the eastern front!

The Russians are giving large scale aid to Afghanistan. It is said that it is exceeding 50 per cent of Afghanistan's budget! The money is being used to build roads in the country—strategic roads linking different areas from Kandahar in the South to the Peshawar Pass on the Pakistan border. President Ayub Khan has been complaining of the flight of unidentified aircraft over Pakistan territory coming from the Afghan side.

To this light, we have sound grounds for believing that Pakistan will keep her part of the Pact if India enters into a joint defence understanding with her.

General Cariappa thinks that the climate of feeling in Pakistan changed with the accession of President Ayub Khan and that India can enter into the Pact with some assurance. To the question that the Pakistani armed forces may misuse the opportunity if entry into Indian areas to begin nibbling into Indian territory with a view to conquest, General Cariappa replied—"We too can go there and do likewise!" Such a fear of retaliation will keep the Pakistani hot-heads in check."

But the Indian Government should consist of a different set of leaders who share the mental outlook of General Cariappa! They should be ready to treat Pakistan with strict reciprocity. That knowledge will keep them within bounds, at least so long as the military necessity of meeting the Chinese aggression over a wide front remains. It is time to think of changing policies thereafter! After all, no policies need be entertained for all time. They will change with the changing situations.

From every point of view therefore, it is advisable to respond positively to Pakistan's gesture and forge a Joint Defence Pact limited to the defence of the frontiers without global commitments.

The interests of security are paramount and should prevail over sentimental speculative theories like panchsheel and universal non-alignment.

We have to consider what price can legitimately be paid for the realisation of such a regional Pact, granting that it is necessary and practicable. It may be that the solution of all outstanding issues between the two countries is necessary to generate the mood essential to a successful working of co-operative defence which implies such a high degree of mutual confidence.

The canal waters dispute (which any fair and unprejudiced student of international law and custom would pronounce to have been a wholly unnecessary problem) is said to be nearing a solution. No less a personage than President Eisenhower has said that it is going to be solved early

with the World Bank's mediation. Indian opinion has for long been suspicious of the secrecy of the mediators in their deliberations on this question.

But the Kashmir problem, rather the aggression of Pakistan into Indian territory which Kashmir became after accession of the Maharaja, remains the most intractable issue bedevilling the relations of the two neighbours.

What will yield a solution to this difficulty?

It is said that a plebiscite in the Kashmir valley only deciding the ultimate allegiance of the country need be held. Jammu and Ladakh may immediately be added to India or conceded to India being non-Muslim. Others say that the final acceptance of the present division between Azad Kashmir and Indian Kashmir with the former going to Pakistan without further parley (or plebiscite or arbitration) would form the basis of a lasting settlement. It is pointed out that Premier Nehru once said in public, to a press conference, that he was agreeable to let the Pakistanis have the portion they have illegally occupied if that can be made the final solution without further disputes and claims. This gives two-fifths of the Maharaja's territory to Pakistan. At the time the Indian Prime Minister mentioned this possibility, Pakistan's leaders were not disposed to accept such a truncated Kashmir. They wanted the whole cloth. But today, it is reported from London papers that President Ayub Khan has expressed himself as agreeable to accept this solution as final and as closing the question once for all.

But there is also another proposal. Mr. M. N. Roy once mentioned this idea publicly and this writer endorsed it as useful from the military point of view. It was that East Pakistan be exchanged for the Kashmir Valley. India would by that transaction get rid of a perpetual Two Front Danger. She would avoid encirclement by Pakistan which would give much relief to her defence effort.

The time is now propitious to begin earnest negotiations on these problems with President Ayub Khan and strive to obtain a settlement with a view to entering into a firm regional defence Pact with his country. Since the Red Aggressor on the northern border is the greater danger, such a Pact is eminently worth-while from the point of view of national security, than which there can be no higher consideration.

ATTENTION

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Between The Sino-Russian Pincers

By M. N. THOLAL

MR. EISENHOWER has come and gone. He received a tremendous welcome in Delhi and it is no secret that the reception was officially inspired. At a time when the danger from China is looming large on the horizon, patriotism demanded that the man who is considered the greatest opponent of China should be given a rousing reception. On the eve of the American President's arrival, Mr. Nehru himself described him as a "Messenger of Peace." That in itself was a change of front for Mr. Nehru, for those who remember his speeches will re-call that he has all along been almost calling him, albeit indirectly, a war-monger.

For those who may be inclined to doubt this statement, I shall quote from some of his major pronouncements, particularly in the year 1955, a year after the Chinese encroachment began. In the course of a speech on February 25, 1955, in the House of the People, Mr. Nehru referred to Matsu and Quemoy and said: There is hardly a country which does not recognise that the offshore islands, notably Quemoy and Matsu, are obviously and definitely parts of China. They are a few miles—five or ten miles—beyond the shore. And no country can tolerate any enemy sitting ten miles from their shore, bombarding them all the time. It is an intolerable situation. Therefore, it is almost generally recognised that those islands should immediately be evacuated and taken possession of by the Government of the mainland. But that has not been done (It was not clear at the time and has not been made clear since who was bombarding China all the time. The American position was that the USA would not yield to force or threats of force.)

ATTACKS ON THE STATES

Mr. Nehru returned to the theme on March 31, 1955, and said:

"Yet occupation of these islands continues by other forces and it is stated that, if the Chinese Government attacks them, a whole force of that mighty power will be engaged in defending them because, it is stated, the security of that great power might be involved. That is a very extraordinary approach, I say with all respect. It is as certain as anything can be that these islands will go to the mainland of China by logic and reason unless you have great wars, and nobody knows the consequences of those wars"

In a direct attack on the United States he said on March 20, 1951: "The former (South-East Asia Defence Treaty) came into existence at a time when, after many years of warfare, there was peace in South-East Asia. Tensions were relaxed and people looked forward to a return to normality. There was no possibility of aggression in the fore-

seeable future. Yet at this moment of relief and the beginnings of hope, this pact came into existence and resulted immediately in increasing tension." (At the time aggression was on against India! The United States should have apparently assumed, like Mr. Nehru, that there was no possibility of aggression in the foreseeable future and should have started making preparations for defence after the aggression had begun!)

Continuing Mr. Nehru said: "The more recent Bagdad Pact has already brought disruption, insecurity and discontent in Western Asia. Thus the very objective for which these pacts were made is being defeated. It is our firm conviction that these two treaties and similar military pacts do not add to the intrinsic strength of regions in the interest of which they are supposed to have been devised." (The word "disruption" reminds me of its use by Mr. Jinnah who was always complaining that the Congress was disrupting the Muslims, of whom he assumed he had a monopoly. Mr. Nehru did not then concede the proposition. It is not apparent for whose benefit and on whose behalf he was complaining of disruption—for the benefit of Nasser and Company or King Ibn Saud—and why one of the two should have submitted to the dictatorship of the other.)

Continuing Mr. Nehru said: "Talks on disarmament in the face of military pacts by either bloc are inconsistent and a mockery of avowed purposes. It is not by military alliances and matching of strength with strength that tensions can be lowered, and peace and stability re-established where conflict now prevails. We hold—and with each new experience are further confirmed in our conviction—that in adherence to and practice of the Five Principles, now widely known as Panch Shila, there alone lies promises of a new era of international peace and stability." (We have seen how by not matching strength with strength tensions have been lowered on our northern border!)

ATTACKS ON BRINKMANSHIP

Continuing Mr. Nehru observed: "China will never feel secure so long as Quemoy and Matsu remain in occupation of hostile forces. An essential first step would be the withdrawal of those forces from these islands so that they can become part of the mainland. The Taiwan issue will still remain, but I believe that if the coastal islands were to return to China, the problem of Taiwan could be handled a little more easily." (What should any one think of a man who indulges in special and specious pleading for a state which had been making encroachments on the borders of the state whose Prime Minister he happens to be? What must have Mao-tse-Tung and Chou-en-Lai thought of Mr. Nehru? Not only that Mr. Nehru sent

Mr. Krishna Menon to Peking to try to mediate between China and the United States on the issue of Taiwan, which, as he said, would be handled more easily after the cession of Matsu and Quemoy to China!)

His vehement attacks on the brinkmanship of the late John Foster Dulles, American Secretary of State, are too recent to need being recalled in detail. What is worth noting is that they were being made when Chinese encroachments into India were well-advanced. Indeed on one occasion he burst into anger and observed: "Are they mad?" His recent attacks on the cold war have been numerous. They continued right upto a few weeks ago. The cold war and brinkmanship are the two facets of the same coin designed to prevent expansion of Communism by force. They have admirably succeeded in their purpose and Soviet Russia feels baulked in Eastern Europe, having suffered a major diplomatic defeat through the strategy of the greatest statesman of our time, the late Mr. Dulles. (Poor Mr. Khrushchev has had even to stop uttering his weekly threats to annihilate the Western Powers!)

Now let us compare the Western achievement with the achievement of Nehru the Great whom we have been applauding all these years for his foreign policy and his Panch Shila, in which alone, as he said above, "lies the promise of a new era of international peace and stability." This new era of international peace and stability has started right on India's northern borders. In the course of his speech on March 31, 1955, Mr. Nehru had referred to the five principles of Panch Shila as "a challenge by Asia to the rest of the world." What is worthy of emphasis here is that these claims on behalf of Panch Shila were being trumpeted even after a year of the beginning of Chinese incursions. It is not a case of anticipations being falsified by the march of events or prophecy not being fulfilled, but of a deliberate attempt to mislead the people of India as well as the rest of the world, and to make the former in particular glory in a myth.

IRRESPONSIBLE MISREPRESENTATION

What has been happening in India must indeed be unparalleled in the history of the world. As the Chinese encroachment on Indian soil became deeper and deeper, Mr. Nehru's abuse and misrepresentation of the western powers, particularly the USA, became more and more pronounced—as if the United States and her allies were responsible for the Chinese incursion! Never was cantankerousness more irresponsible and more unpatriotic. Mr. Nehru was obviously more interested in settling old scores on the Kashmir issue than in defending the country against foreign invasion. Perhaps it was enough recompense for the Chinese invasion (in Mr. Nehru's eyes) that the great ally of China was recommending Mr. Nehru for the Summit Conference. In any case, one thing seems obvious now. Had Mr. Nehru disclosed the fact of Chinese incursion when it began, he would not have been able to abuse the USA and her allies as he has been

doing throughout these five years of incursion. Perhaps that was the main reason for keeping the Chinese incursion a closely-guarded secret. (India's Defence Minister even denies that there has been any invasion—after it has been on for five years!) One fact that emerges crystal clear from an analysis of the events of the last five years is that Mr. Nehru cannot tolerate criticism of himself but he can tolerate the invasion of the country of which he is Prime Minister. Was there ever such a colossal failure of a man's policies without a single voice being raised in criticism or protest?

I have always been of the opinion that we are the funniest people on earth, always willing and ready to admire the ridiculous and to look askance at the rational. That is what makes our leaders talk nonsense. No one ever talked such rabid nonsense as Gandhi and no one was ever half so popular as the Mahatma. Again, after him, no one has ever talked such Tommy rot as Nehru, day after day for years—about the cold war, and pacts and treaties, about non-alignment and brinkmanship, about Panch Sila and Asian and Afro-Asian solidarity—and no one in any country is as popular as Mr. Nehru is in India. I no longer wonder why we were slaves for a thousand years. And what greater proof could we have given during the last three or four months that we are dying to be slaves again?

PINCER MOVEMENT

The situation between India and the United States, having been as described above, during the last five or six years, it would have been shamelessly ridiculous for Mr. Nehru to ask for American military aid while the echoes of Mr. Nehru's denunciation of every American action are yet to die down. On the other hand, it would have been beneath President Eisenhower's dignity to offer to Mr. Nehru what he has been vehemently condemning all these years. The rousing reception to the American President has started the process of making amends for our folly. Let us hope the process will not be spoilt by that petty cleverness which passes for statesmanship in Mr. Nehru's mind. Much has to be undone before aid can be sought or obtained. Before that can be successfully undertaken we have finally to make up our minds that no reliance can be placed on the Communist word, whether it emanates from China or Soviet Russia.

Right upto a few weeks ago when Mr. Nehru condemned in Parliament the use of the "black-guardly language of the cold war," as also the suggestion that Communism in China has anything to do with the Chinese incursion, it was obvious that India was between the Sino-Russian pincers—the Russian flattery of Mr. Nehru and pose of friendliness for India preventing the logical consequence of Chinese incursions from taking shape in alignment with the western powers. We have to get out of this pincer movement before we can breathe freely and make a fresh start in foreign affairs.

Mr. Nehru is so amenable to flattery—it just sweeps him off his feet—that it will be a herculean feat for him not to succumb to the wiles of his friend, Mr. Khrushchev. In any case, the fact remains that only a fool can believe that China, in the present stage of her industrial development, can afford to disregard Russian advice seriously given and seriously meant. It should be obvious to everybody that Russia must have given the green signal before China started on its adventure against India.

There is one basic fact about Nehru which is the basis of the present imbroglio. The only son of a successful lawyer—for eleven years he did not have even a sister—he was surrounded by a doting mother and flattering servants feeling pleased or feigning pleasure at the sight of "Chhote Sarkar". Unsuccessful as a lawyer, non-cooperation came to him as a godsend. He had only to join it to become a leader—being his famous father's son. His emotional temperament was just the thing that made a good Gandh-ite, and Gandhi knew the art of flattery that went straight to young Nehru's heart. Since leaders were made and sustained by Gandhi, and since there was no going back for Nehru even after the failure of 1922, Nehru too cultivated the art of flattery and never said anything in disparagement of or derogatory to Gandhi—except in his *Autobiography* which was a retort to an almost

absentminded attack on Nehru by Gandhi. Thus, although poles apart ideologically, the emotional integration between the two always made Jawaharlal Nehru say 'Yes' to Gandhi's decisions. It ultimately made him Prime Minister of India—this being false to himself—and his faith in flattery and emotional integration became firmer. But he forgot that there is no generosity in politics—that if the Mahatma's support was most valuable to him, so was his support to the Mahatma against Subhas Chandra Bose after the Mahatma's failure in 1934. Nehru tried this flattery and emotional integration with Chou-en-Lai—at the cost of Tibet—and the latter feigned having been won over, but Nehru forgot that Chou-en-Lai was not all in all in China, even if he was not hard-boiled. There was Mao-tse-tung as well as a host of hard-boiled Chinese Communists to prevent sheer flattery from winning over the Chinese Prime Minister, and the emotional integration proved a flop. Mr. Nehru's wishful thinking prevented him from realising the simple fact that Chou was not the Dictator of China. In the result, Mr. Nehru's philosophy of flattery and emotional integration, which made him say all kinds of nasty things to the West, has failed, and here we are in a quagmire without a friend in this wide world, pretending to be ready to fight the Chinese with lathis.

THE THINGS WE "KNOW" THAT ARE NOT SO

That Communism Can Be Non-Aggressive

By Fred G. Clark and Richard Stanton Rimanoczy

I.

HAVE you ever heard of people wanting to migrate and settle down in a Communist country?

On the other hand, how often have you heard of people wanting to leave a Communist country and settle elsewhere?

In the answers to these two questions lies the reason why a Communist nation cannot live at peace with its neighbors who extend personal freedom to their citizens.

The very presence of nearby liberty, opportunity, and personal dignity, is a never-ending threat to the internal security of the Communist state and makes it, of necessity, one vast prison camp in which the penalty for trying to escape is a prison sentence or death.

That is why, as long as there are free nations touching their borders, the Communist countries must always claim that they are "surrounded by enemies."

This means that subverting or seizing the free nation "next door" will not solve the problem because the free nation next door to the newly-conquered one automatically becomes the next "enemy."

For example, after Red China took over North

Vietnam it had to start on Laos.

So we see that, unless checked by equal or superior force, Communism **must** attempt to spread until it covers the face of the earth.

There must be no remaining place for the prisoners to run.

Then, and then only, can Communism safely relax its never-ending policy of aggression.

II.

A crystal clear example of this relentless pull on Communist populations is to be found in post-war Germany today.

The people of East Germany, one of Russia's war-prizes, live under the iron rule of Communism—and live miserably.

The people of West Germany, occupied by the non-Communist powers, live under personal and economic freedom—and live better than any other nation in all of Europe.

East Germany has an escape hatch,—the City of Berlin—which makes emigration possible providing the escapee is willing to leave all his possessions behind.

The massive migration of East Germans to the Western Zone—the never-ending stream of people willing to strip themselves of everything they have

in order to find freedom and personal opportunity—is a dramatic demonstration of inferiority which frustrates and enrages the Red high command.

The "shame" of it is there for all the world to see.

Every one of the more than three million East Germans who have "crossed the line" is eloquent testimony to the inability of Communism to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of mankind.

This, the Communists cannot abide, yet they cannot close the escape hatch except by one step—bringing all of Berlin under Communist control.

This would serve two of their purposes: shut off migration and destroy this magnificent show-case of freedom standing in sharp and damning contrast to their own drab spectacle of serfdom.

By the same token, the protection of this shining example of freedom is absolutely essential to the interests of the free world.

III.

The loss of prestige caused by this type of migration is only one of the penalties suffered by Communist nations.

Of equal importance (or more) is the fact that these departing citizens are usually the cream of the population—the people who have the most ability and the highest skills.

For example, in the last five years, 3,433 doctors and dentists have fled East Germany.

Where it is possible, most of the time, to keep the population imprisoned within its own borders, this migration can be kept more or less under control, but even rough and ruthless Communist China cannot imprison everybody—a fact attested by the substantial and continuous flight of its citizens to Hong Kong, Laos, Vietnam, and South Korea.

And we all remember how many of the Communist Chinese prisoners of war in Korea, when they were released, did not want to go home.

It is safe to say that where there is no migration from Communism there are plenty of policemen to prevent it.

IV.

We wish that we could offer some comfortable solution to Communist aggression, but we cannot.

We do know this, however,—the beginning of the solution is the constant awareness, by every free man in every free nation, that Communism is in the grip of something bigger than itself; the stern necessity to expand or wither away internally.

Some means, short of all-out war, must be found to stop the expansion and permit the wintering to start.

Worse Than Ever

By Vivek

WHAT a characteristic document is Mr. Chou En-lai's reply to the Prime Minister's proposal of a month ago! What a combination of suavity and duplicity! "You are wholly in the wrong; we reject all your suggestions; you are in possession of our territory, not we of yours; we don't accept your Ladakh border; our maps are right; please leave the areas you have encroached upon; come to China on December 26 for talks or come to Rangoon, if you prefer it.

"And always remember, we have plenty of land in China: Why should we worry about uninhabited border areas and cause trouble? It would be ludicrous. We have not taken and will never take advantage of any neighbour, big or small, friendly or unfriendly."

After which big lie, comes one even bigger. "Big nation chauvinism is abhorrent to our very nature, for we are a socialist country of the working people and have no exploiting classes and pro-imperialist forces to profit by outward expansionism. Note, oh note, never do we encroach on even an inch of foreign territory."

In the face of this reply, there is clearly nothing to discuss. The Chinese Communist position is "All we claim is ours. Get out of it." Their recent

acts have emphasised this position. Reports from Hong Kong state that Communist China has issued a new map showing the whole of the Himalayas as its territory. Reports from Nepal mention Communist troop movements in Nepal and the gathering of strong Communist forces on the Tibet-Nepal border. Reports from Bhutan indicate direct negotiations between the Communist Chinese and the Bhutanese authorities. Reports from Delhi say the Communist are making false complaints about the stoning of their pavilion at the World Agricultural Fair.

DANGEROUS

For India the situation is extremely dangerous. The Communist Chinese have obviously made up their minds that India is not going to resist and that accordingly they can go forward boldly and expeditiously. Nor can they be blamed for coming to this conclusion. President Eisenhower's visit is over. Any tangible results? No. Any promise of help? No. Any tentative assurances even? No. The Government of India, according to all reports, did not even seek any of these. It contended itself with general conversation at a very tenuous level. Of goodwill, no lack appeared; of the likelihood of assurance or assistance capable of deterring, no sign.

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

The Evils Of Idolatry In India

By D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.

IDOLATORY like the caste system, is another distinguishing feature of modern Hinduism and has equally proved to be a drag on the material and spiritual progress of India. Not even the best of the Hindus have been able to escape it. The great philosopher of the seventh century A.D., Shankaracharya, notwithstanding his lofty monism almost bordering on Budhistic Nihilism, had to worship the idol of Vishnu, presumably in difference to the then prevailing popular religious practice, and is said to have also introduced the daily performance of 'Panchayatan Pooja' i.e. the worship of the five deities. Idol worship has thus become the very breath of Hindu religious life. As Prof. Monier Williams says in his book "Hinduism"—"there is no country in the world where so many shrines dedicated to gods and goddesses under different forms, images, symbols and names meet the eye as in India". This is borne out by the fact, that though the Vedas enumerate only 33 deities, in the course of centuries, the number has assumed astronomical proportions and now we have in our midst as the saying goes "thirty-three crores of deities." As if this number was not sufficient, many Hindus are known to be worshipping, on occasions, Muslim Pirs, Christian Saints and deities to tide over their present difficulties and sorrows in life. This is verily blind credulity gone riot, and it is, in a large measure, responsible for the spiritual degeneration of India and her social stagnation and sterility.

HINDUISM, A STRANGE MEDLEY

Scholars have been hard put to explain this amazing phenomenon of dogged and unflinching persistence of idolatry among the Hindus, even in modern times, when all progressive nations have well-nigh discarded it. The innumerable deities they worship, will be found, on close observation, to fit in, with the fissiparous tendencies generated by the innumerable castes and sub-castes extant amongst them. Each caste and sub-caste has its own god to be worshipped. Besides, every village has its own 'Gramdevta' or village God. There is no locality, no high rock and no stately tree without its image carved out of stone, wood or mud. In the towns, are scattered all over, shrines of Shiva, the destroyer, Vishnu, the preserver, and

their consorts Uma and Laxmi. The images of Rama and Krishna, the 'Aptars' of Vishnu, are also in evidence everywhere. Images of Ganesh, the son of Shiva and Parvati, the God of learning and evil spirits, are installed in numerous temples. In South India, there are shrines dedicated to Kartikeya, also called Subramanyan the son of Shiva. The monkey God Hanuman, the faithful servant of Rama, is the favourite deity particularly in Maharashtra. Prof. Monier Williams neatly sums up the position of Hindu gods in the following words:—"there is not an object in earth or heaven which he is not prepared to worship—rocks, stones, stocks, trees, tools, rivers, his own implements of trade, the animals he finds useful, the noxious reptiles he fears, men remarkable for any extraordinary qualities, for great valour, sanctity, virtue, or even vice; good and evil demons, ghosts, goblins, the spirits of departed ancestors, and infinite number of semi-human, semi-divine existences—each and all of these coming for a share of divine honour or a tribute of more or less duration." The same author goes on to add "there is in truth a strange mixture of aboriginal fetishism with Brahminical pantheism in the popular religion of the Hindu people". ALL honest Hindus will fully bear out the truth of this description of the different forms of Hindu religious worship, which is none too flattering to the Hindu community.

EVOLUTION OF HINDU IDOL WORSHIP

Idolatry has been defined as "the worship of idols, i.e. images or other objects believed to represent or be the abode of a superhuman personality". (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Early stages of human civilisation everywhere as in Greece, Egypt and India, have been marked by aniconic forms of worship, i.e. shapeless Gods of wood posts, trees, lands, stone-cones, etc. Then follows the worship of elemental forces of nature as in the Indian Vedic period, when the people have a settled life, only to be replaced later on by the higher form of image-worship, when man has developed his intellectual and imaginative faculties sufficiently so as enable him to give a concrete shape and form to his ideas of the supernatural. But with the growth of learning and enlightenment, man ceases to believe in idolatry and conceives of one Supreme Being gov-

erning the universe, i.e. monotheism, which is but a step towards the final and complete liquidation of god and religion by scientific materialism. The movements of Reformation and Renaissance, of the period from fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, freed European humanity from the thralldom of superstitious idolatry and outmoded forms of religious thought. But India unfortunately, by a peculiar combination of circumstances, was not subjected to this process and consequently she remains to this day, in the back-waters of crude mediaeval religious rites and ceremonies. The primitive animistic religion which looks upon animals like the bull, the cow, the monkey and even inanimate objects like the banyan tree tulsi plant, stones and anthills, as being possessed of souls, flourishes in India side by side with high devotional and mystical forms of religion and the highest pantheistic philosophical thought of Brahmin. The higher religious thought of the Hindus, instead of ruthlessly suppressing and rooting out lower idolatrous forms of worship as Christianity and Islam did, tolerated and accommodated all sorts of gods, good, bad and indifferent in the Hindu pantheon. This has only afforded a golden opportunity to the corrupt priesthood to satisfy its material greed, by exploiting the ignorant masses, in the name of innumerable gods, for earthly benefits. It has led to the submergence of vast masses of India in the sea of gross superstition and ignorance and has stunned and retarded India's cultural and material growth.

IDOLATRY AND ITS SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Though the Brahmin philosophers stressed the idea that the image is only a symbol and in reality represents the supreme God "who is without a second", in the eyes of the common devotee, the image whether of Krishna, Rama, Hanuman or the bull, is a real separate being, which, by dint of its inherent supernatural powers for good or for evil over the destiny of man and the world, commands his homage and reverence and deserves to be propitiated. While in the Vedic times, animals were being sacrificed to please the gods, the gods of the Pauranic period became gradually more humane under the impact of Buddhism and could be propitiated with offerings of flowers, fruits and even with water. But all the same, the common religion as practiced today, is born out of the fear for the gods who are deemed to possess mysterious powers to make or mar our lives and who are little concerned with moral ethical values. As Sir Charles Eliot observes in "Hinduism and Buddhism — "The gods do not come within moral category. The function of the gods is not direction of morals but the distribution of blessings and curses. . . . The gods are offended not by sin but by neglect. They are pleased by offerings and ceremonies rather than by repentance and a new life". The gods themselves need not be models of virtue. It is enough if they are strong and powerful. The erotic legends of Krishna and Radha, it must be admitted, have worked havoc with the followers of certain sects and cults that worship these deities and their in-

fluence on the morals of the common herd has been more banal than beneficial. Dayanand Saraswati the great founder of the Aryasamaj has also in unequivocal terms denounced such erotic cults in his "Satyarth Prakash" as leading to gross immorality among the common folk.

Another evil effect of idol worship in India is the ever-growing strangle-hold of the priesthood on the society. The priests have traded on the ignorance of the common people and have goaded them on to waste their money and time on unmeaning and irrational religious rites and ceremonies. This, on the one hand, has encouraged too much reliance on the part of the common man on the supernatural, even in small matters of his daily life, and has killed all initiative and self-confidence in him; and on the other, in the words of Swami Dayanand "it has turned millions into idle priests and loafing mendicants" and thus has inflicted a great loss of the country in terms of valuable money and socially useful labour. The institutions of priesthood and of non-productive mendicants will disappear as it must, only when idolatry is clean swept off and destroyed as being an anachronism and an unmitigated evil in modern society.

Hindu society has also been rent asunder from top to bottom by the innumerable conflicts and feuds that generally arise between Shaivites Vaishnavites and other similar sects with their different marks on the forehead, different ideas of purity and pollution. The evil effects of animism, the bed-rock of all religions, particularly that of idol worship, are well brought out by Sir James Fraser in his essay 'Magic and Religion.' He says "Animism honeycombs the town, the village and even the family so that the surface of the society is cracked, seamed and sapped with rents, and fissures and yawning crevasses, opened up by the disintegrating influence of religious dissension". How truly this description applies to the present deplorable condition of Hindu Society! In historical times also, this evil spirit disrupted national unity and paved the way for foreign invasions and consequent loss of our country's freedom.

It is sometimes contended that idols are only an aid to the devotee in concentrating his mind on the supreme spirit which they represent. To this, Dayanand Saraswati sarcastically but truthfully retorts that concentrating on inert idols is apt to make our minds dull and inert. Besides, the fact that there have been great spiritualists among the followers of Islam and Protestant Christians renders this contention totally unreasonable and untenable.

SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM THE ONLY WAY OUT

From the foregoing, it will be evident that the day of idolatry or even of religious mode of thought is, past. All attempts of the nineteenth century religious reformers of India like Raja Rama Mohan Roy and Dayanand Saraswati to purify Hinduism by removing its dross of idolatry and to bring it in line with the needs and requirements of

(Continued on page IV)

Rationalism In The Age Of Science

By Hector Hawton

RATIONALISM is entering a new and more creative phase. The emphasis is shifting from what we don't believe to what we do believe. This more positive approach is due to the success of its pioneering work in undermining the basis of supernatural religion. It was necessary to destroy before we could build. Today, the Christian Churches are still in retreat. In order to come to terms with modern thought they have either modified the old dogmas or abandoned all pretence of argument, relapsing into frank irrationalism. Even the Roman Catholic Church has compromised on the theory of evolution under pressure from Catholic biologists. Circumstances vary in different countries, but in Great Britain only a small percentage of the population attends church regularly. The vast majority regard religion as irrelevant to their lives and there is evidence of a growing public who are seeking an acceptable alternative. "Where do we go from here?" sums up their attitude. The duty of Rationalism in the second half of the twentieth century is to cater for the needs of this new public which will certainly increase with the spread of scientific education.

What can we offer them? Clearly we cannot provide a cut-and-dried metaphysical scheme. A glance at the names of the past and present honorary associates of the RPA shows that they represent many different schools of philosophy. What unites them, I think, is an agreement that problems of knowledge should be solved by an appeal to evidence, and also the acceptance of the same basic values. We hold that human problems must be

faced in terms of human, intellectual and moral resources without involving supernatural authority. There are no inspired scriptures, no oracles, no miracles. Human nature is neither intrinsically good nor corrupt. It can be deformed by environment or enabled to develop harmoniously. How to organize our individual lives and the community to which we belong to ensure the maximum of fulfilment is an empirical question. Scientific knowledge is not an end in itself but a means—and the only one—of freeing mankind from fear, frustration, poverty and disease.

To stress this constructive aspect of Rationalism, some people prefer to call it Humanism. The label does not matter. It is the spontaneous response of men of goodwill to the most critical situation in human history. There is scarcely any limit to what right use of science could do to improve man's lot on earth. The chief obstacles come from those who think that man's destination is elsewhere and that what happens now is relatively unimportant. The aim of supernatural religion is to save the individual soul and this gives to a fanaticism that may destroy the world. If we are to avoid catastrophe we must do all in our power to strengthen the forces of reason—and that is why organized Rationalism is more necessary now than ever before. It may seem small in comparison with its opponents if we merely count heads; but what matters is the sort of heads we count. They include the most original and profound thinkers of our time. Rationalism is the natural and almost inevitable reflection of what is predominantly the Age of Science.

Education For Our Later Years

By A. J. Carlson

1. The aging process includes a gradual impairment of all the organs of the body; but this impairment does not run strictly parallel with the chronologic age of the individual person.

2. The aging impairment of our physical and mental processes are in many cases hastened by infections, tumors, deficient diet, etc., even during our childhood and our adult years. Therefore, prevention of disease will contribute to a longer, a healthier and a happier life for our senior population.

3. Overeating to the point of obesity hastens the aging impairment of our physical and mental capacities, and thus shortens our life span, as well as our pleasure in living in our senior years.

4. Continuous mental and physical work on the part of the aged individual retards the aging im-

pairments of our bodies. "Physiological" age is not identical with our chronologic age. "Retirement" should be based on the former, not on the latter.

5. We should inaugurate a system of continuous and real, that is, factual education throughout our adult life for all citizens, as an important element in preparation for their senior years and so-called retirement. Such education would provide a more intelligent guide to human evolution of the future. It would keep alive our human curiosity and we would secure profound pleasure from the greater understanding of man and the universe, even after physical impairments confine us to the rocking chair or the bed. Such education, started after we are 65, is "too little and too late."

A TALK TO FREETHINKERS

I wonder how many Freethinkers are suffering from an inferiority complex that might be called "The Defeatist Attitude." Have you ever thought of a remedy? Maybe you don't know just what I mean. But let me explain.

Why are we Freethinkers? What is the purpose of organizing? We are Freethinkers because we believe in the philosophy of Freethought, because we have cast off the cloak of superstition, fear, prejudice, and all degrading dogmas, mental or physical. We are Freethinkers because we have taken the trouble to find out about this old world, because we are curious about things, because we aren't gullible about every principle that is offered to us. We organize to protect those higher principles we believe in, and to extend them.

Through reason I have come to accept Atheism as the most desirable philosophy of life. I believe there is no sacrifice too great for its principles. Would'nt any human being in America sacrifice his life for his country—a country that defends freedom, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Wouldn't it then be a justification to your own human decency to defend those principles by which you live?

But human beings are funny creatures. They never take action until some enemy hovers over

(Continued from page II)

the present age have proved utterly barren and futile. The reason is not far to seek. Modern Hinduism does not differ much from primitive Animism in its basic approach to life and its problems. "Animism" says Sir Edward Tylor in 'Primitive Culture', "is in fact the ground-work of the philosophy of religion from that of the savages to that of the civilised men. Animism seems to be drawing on its outposts and concentrating itself on its own position, the doctrine of the human soul". In face of modern scientific thought, religion itself has been driven from pillar to post, till at last it is now fighting its losing battle from its last tottering fortress of the doctrine of the human soul. However, much we might try to save it by pruning its diseased parts, it could no longer be saved. It will have to go along with idolatry and its other fossilised forms. Its theological speculations and crude practices cannot bring about improvement in the lot of the common man. Modern man is now moved and inspired by the spirit of the age which is at one "practical, pragmatic, ethical, social, altruistic and humanistic". (J. Nehru 'Discovery of India').

The goal before him is social welfare and his motto is service of man. He is now more than convinced that his spiritual and material progress is possible, no longer under the old and tattered banner of mystical and devotional religion but only under the bright and cheerful colours of the new faith 'Scientific Humanism', rooted in man's inherent dignity and reason.

them, ready to destroy. Now, suppose by some miracle, we could look into the future after you and I have gone. And let us suppose that we would see the destruction of our principles in which we believe so fervently. Wouldn't you set about earnestly to achieve your principles, if you knew you could avert a disaster by arduously spreading your view of life?

I know that we are fighting against numerous and tremendous odds—hate, greed, superstition, dogmatism, ignorance, fear, criticism, summed up at its worst—RELIGION. But as a Free-thinker have you the courage, the stamina, the bravery to get up and fight for your idea? Just because some religious fanatic calls you a so and so, a Communist, a radical, are you going to crouch back in your hole? Are you going to give up the fight?

Therefore, I ask, "Are you suffering from a defeatist attitude?" Do you make up petty excuses to feel that you are more justified in crouching like a whipped animal? If you are, get that complex out of your mind. Be proud that you are an Atheist, a Freethinker, Rationalist, or an Agnostic. Don't be in a state of confusion. If you really believe in your principles, support and propagate them!

—Earl Stephanson.

An 8-year old lad was asked by his mom what he learned at Sunday School. "Well," he said, "our teacher told us about when God sent Moses behind the enemy lines to rescue the Israelites from the Egyptians. When they came to the Red Sea, Moses called for the engineers to build a pontoon bridge. After they had all crossed, they looked back and saw the Egyptians' tanks coming. Moses radioed headquarters on his walkie-talkie to send bombers to blow up the bridge and saved the Israelites."—"Son!", exclaimed mom, "Is that really the way your teacher told you the story?" "Not exactly," the boy replied, "but if I told it her way, you'd never believe it."

—The American Rationalist.

GHOSTS

Rufus—Goofus, do you believe in ghosts?

Goofus—No sir! I woke up one night and saw one in my room. I asked him what he wanted and he said "nothin'." Next mornin' I found he'd stole my Sunday pants. Since then I don't believe in ghosts at all. They ain't reliable.

FLASHES

The fundamental defect of Christian ethics is that it labels certain classes of acts "sins" and others "virtues" on grounds that have nothing to do with their social consequences.

* * *

I loathe the mess of mean superstitions and misunderstood prophecies which is still rammed down the throats of children under the name of Christianity.

—Bernard Shaw.

Nor has India's power to oppose been augmented by any arrangement with its neighbour within the sub-continent. There has been hardly any improvement in the relationship with Pakistan, and the bulk of India's army still faces East and West instead of North. Realisation of the new danger has led to no attempt to make such adjustment as would as would reduce old enmities. We and the Pakistanis continue to glare at one another, when our common interest requires us to push resentment into the background, at least until the new danger has been met. A full settlement may not be possible immediately, but an arrangement to work together ought not to be particularly difficult. Essential as it is, it can not come about so long as the mentality dominating the Government of India is what it would appear to be from the report quoted below:

"Finance Minister Morarji Desai angrily set out to get the facts about the Red road. Cross-examining India's Army Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. K. S. Thimayya, he asked when he first knew about the road. In 1957, said the General, and he had offered proposals to safeguard the security of India, but they were turned down by the Defence Minister. "Why?" asked Desai. "Because," replied Thimayya "he said the enemy was on the other side (i.e. Pakistan), not on this side."

And this indeed brings us to the nub of the whole matter.

WEAKNESS WITHIN

The dominance of the crypto-Communist Krishna Menon over the policies of India continues. Supported by the Prime Minister even in the face of strong opposition from informed quarters, including considerable sections of the Congress itself. Krishna Menon follows the normal inclination that leads him to be extremely forbearing towards the Communist Chinese. In his view, at worst they have erred, and error must of course not be taken too seriously. The idea of driving the Chinese out of the areas they have seized and kept hold of, would, to him, be anathema. Why, that might lead to war. No, no, no. As if the conquest of 4,000 square miles of Indian territory, the building of roads across it, the taking prisoner and killing of Indian soldiers, was not war but just some rough excursion, perhaps.

To the Indian army, mountain warfare is not something new. Considerable has been its experience of it. There can be little doubt that if the Government were really determined, even now an operation could be mounted with a very fair chance of driving the Communist Chinese out of Ladakh and regaining the country they have seized in that province. So too, they could, probably without too great difficulty, be dislodged from Longju. Better relations with Pakistan would be of direct value to the armed forces and would assist greatly the Ladakh attempt. But without the will and determi-

nation to defend one's own land, nothing can be done.

GRIM PROSPECTS

The true site of failure is not in Ladakh or Longju; it is in New Delhi. There every likelihood of action evaporates in loud talk. The emphasis is all on industrialisation. Now to industrialisation there can of course be no objection. It is necessary; it is inevitable for raising the living standard of the people. But can it, whose effects will make themselves felt years hence, be of any relevance to our immediate problem, that of ridding our soil of the Communist Chinese invader and of preventing further aggression by him?

It is about time the Government of India understood the Communist design. Within Tibet, resistance still continues. In spite of all the excesses and cruelties of the Communist Chinese forces, the spirit of the freedom-loving Tibetans, especially the Khampas, has not been destroyed. This the Communists cannot bear. The Khampas, against whom they have old scores to settle, they wish to annihilate altogether. The other Tibetans, too, they would gladly get rid off. They feel that in order to do this, territory all round the borders of Tibet must be in Chinese hands. They can then seal off Tibet completely and wreak their will fully upon the helpless people.

This design necessarily imperils Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, portions of the Eastern border along the McMahon Line, portions of Uttar Pradesh, the Punjab and Kashmir. It also gravely endangers India, for it brings the Communist Chinese across the Himalayas, and establishes their frontier where our plains begin. The conquest of India thus becomes feasible for them.

Feasible, too, even without conquest becomes the establishment at New Delhi of a Government of coalition between the Communist and Congress parties, brought about by the pressure of large Communist forces along the frontier and the threat of their marching forward in the event of refusal. Once such a Government was formed, it would not be long before the Communist Party became the dominant party, the Congress a non-entity and the country a People's Democratic Republic.

Much more than is at stake than Ladakh or Longju. Upon the action taken now depends the whole future of India. If we stand up to the Chinese Communists, eject them from our territory, resist firmly their claims, we can, under providence, safeguard our independence. If we continue to temporise and hesitate and all our reliance is on lengthy notes of protest and expostulation and all our government longs for is business as usual and a complacent conscience, then we are doomed.

—Nagpur Times

India's Economic Road

By William Henry Chamberlin

The fanfare on President Eisenhower's visit to India is over. The country is now poised for another massive American aid to India's plan-hungry economy. Hints were thrown at our guest that all we need now is some foreign help to sustain our Five Year Plans... Chinese aggression does not matter so much as paucity of funds to finance our Plans! But the over-taxed American taxpayer does not feel happy about the state of India's economy. Indeed there are some sections of the American populace who are manifestly hostile to any programme of foreign aid to India, which they feel only help to drive this country further left. Below is an article from the Wall Street Journal, mirroring one such opinion.—Ed.)

OXFORD, England, United States opinion about India results almost entirely from actions by the planners and collectivists who direct that country's series of economic five year plans.

As a consequence, some influential members of Congress and publicists have committed themselves to the proposition that Uncle Sam should counter-sign any blank check for foreign aid which Prime Minister Nehru may present.

Insofar as there is opposition to this "back up India at any cost" psychology, it has been mainly rooted in two considerations: distaste for India's strident neutralism, to which a sometime representative in the United Nations, Mr. Krishna Menon, has often given a strong anti-Western twist; and consideration for the heavily burdened American taxpayer. What may be the more important question, whether India is on the right economic road, whether there can be reasonable confidence that American and other foreign aid will be effectively used, has seldom, if ever, been raised.

But it was raised very emphatically, and by an Indian of proved competence as an economist and financial expert, Professor B. R. Shenoy, at the meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society in Oxford.

The Mont Pelerin Society is a group of economists and political scientists, committed to the belief that economic freedom is an integral part of political and personal freedom and that economic freedom means maintenance of the free market, rejection of state intervention in economic matters, and reliance on individual initiative as the principal moving force in economic life. Its membership is overwhelmingly West European and North American, with a small fringe of Latin American members.

A REVELATION

But by general agreement, Professor Shenoy's speech was the highlight of the Oxford meetings, if only because it was a revelation, even to an audience considerably above average in familiarity with world political and economic conditions. Professor Shenoy has served as an Indian representative with the World Bank and the Monetary Fund, is Director of the School of social sciences in Gujerat University at Ahmedabad, and is a member, an increa-

singly dissenting member, of the panel of economists attached to the Planning Commission of the Government of India.

So Professor Shenoy's analysis of the results of India's planned economy was an inside job of a man with thorough knowledge of the subject and it was devastating in its impact. India is now in the fourth year of its second Five Year Plan. The main counts in Shenoy's indictment may be summarized as follows.

Agriculture, basic source of livelihood for the overwhelming majority of the people, has been ruthlessly sacrificed to the building of costly industrial white elephants, including several steel plants, the need for which cannot be proved. Investment in these "white elephants" has been pushed at a rate quite out of proportion to the real savings of country. The result has been an inflationary rise in the price level, alleviated but not cured by foreign aid and by reducing the gold and foreign exchange backing of the currency to a dangerously low level, with a prospect of complete exhaustion if the present course is followed for another year.

News reports of firing on hungry mobs in Calcutta lent topical significance to Professor Shenoy's criticism of a series of state interventionist measures in agriculture, interference with interest rates, land transfers, prices and marketing of food grains, pressure for collective farming. The effect of these interventions, however well meant, has been to affect adversely the amount of credit available in agriculture, to deter large landowners from improving their land, and to cause withholding of food grains from the Market.

GOLD SMUGGLING

A rigorous system of exchange and import controls has led to equally disastrous consequences, slowing down industrial output, leading to a widening gap between the internal and external prices of import goods and gold, promoting gold smuggling. The state enterprises which are heavily favoured against private firms in new investment generally run at a loss or at rates of profit considerably lower than private firms.

(Continued on page 13)

The Congress Government's Game

(From Our Correspondent)

ANYONE with a little commonsense could have anticipated what the Chinese Premier's reply would be to Mr. Nehru's offer, or rather climbdown, of November 16 last, having regard to the circumstances in which it was made and, in particular, to the confession of the Indian Defence Minister in Parliament regarding our paucity of equipment and resources and the Prime Minister's emphatic declaration regarding India's adherence to the policy of non-alignment and her reliance on industrial development to meet the Chinese threat. Both our Prime Minister and Defence Minister, it is being pointed here pathetically, have, since the revelation of Chinese incursions, been making statements which can only whet the appetite of the Chinese aggressor to go on playing the bully with India. If they do not realise this simple fact, all that need be said is that their brains are not functioning normally and that there is something wrong with their upper storey.

First and foremost is the staggering fact that Mr. Nehru concealed the fact of Chinese incursions from

(Continued from page 12)

Professor Shenoy sees two alternatives for India's economy: all-out planning along communist lines or the adoption of policies consistent with a free market economy. He received a hearty round of applause when he declared: "What we need from the West is not dollar aid. It is the philosophy of the Mont Pelerin Society."

Even more surprising, perhaps, than Professor Shenoy's exposure of the consequences of high powered planning (which could be paralleled in the experience of Turkey and other underdeveloped countries which have tried to do too much too fast) is the fact that they are so little known in the West. Perhaps we have a better idea of the Soviet than of the Indian economy.

Professor Shenoy is considering the publication of a book in America. Certainly his vies should be made widely available in the United States—least to the members of those congressional committees which deal with foreign aid appropriations.

His speech, with its hard-hitting facts and figures, conveyed the impression that government-to-government foreign aid creates for the givers the awkward dilemma of underwriting the shopping list of foreign bureaucrats who may or may not know what they are doing, or of being denounced as imperialist Shylocks if there is any attempt to criticize or to prune the extravagantly planned economy ventures.

—The Wall Street Journal

the Indian public and Parliament for full five years. Whatever Mr. Nehru's motive might have been—it is presumed that it was to prevent the Indian public from realising the colossal failure of his foreign Policy—the Chinese could only impute cowardice as the reason for his silence regarding concealment of their aggression. Unfortunately for the country our Prime Minister and Defence Minister have, since the great disclosure, been making statements which could have only confirmed the Chinese in their estimate of our reaction to their aggression and our lack of willingness to fight over the issue. What can the description of the territory occupied by the Chinese as "barren mountains where not a blade of grass grows" mean except that it is not worth fighting for? What does the question as to who will go and fight on the cold heights 12,000 feet above sea level mean except reluctance to repel aggression? What does the emphasis on industrial development and economic regeneration mean with reference to the Chinese aggressors except that war has been ruled out for the present? And very wisely, too, if non-alignment has to stay, as it must, according to Mr. Nehru. If even then, it is being pointed out here, the Chinese do not make hay while the sun of non-alignment shines, they would be the biggest fools on earth.

CLAPTRAP AND BRAVADO

Our non-alignment is only another name for non-violence which resulted in the holocaust of 1947. Fighting with lathis, those in possession of stenguns is as good as non-violent resistance. We have Mahatma Gandhi's word for it. Authorities apart, since there is no possibility of the lathis spilling any blood because they will always be out of reach of the enemy, non-violence is assured even with the threat of resistance which can only be interpreted as claptrap and bravado.

We have to remember in this connection that Mr. Nehru's mind is full of his master, Gandhi, and he imitates his method and his strategy because they succeeded so well in bamboozling the people. The threat of retirement, the desire to form a bridge between the East and the West—Gandhi wanted to be a bridge between the Muslim League and the Congress from 1938 onwards, and during the second World War between the British Government and the Congress—the hocus-pocus of non-alignment (which is only a synonym for non-violence) were all among his Master's "monkey tricks," to use a phrase Mrs. Sarojini Naidu used to employ in her humorous moments with reference to them. Even the bravado which Mr. Nehru is indulging in was part of the humble Mahatma's creed. "Pakistan over my dead body" he used to say—to which

the Muslim retort was "Then we shall be killing two birds with one stone"—and when the time came for a real fast unto death, to which he had committed himself over and over again, he was found wandering in Noakhali with a posse of Pakistani police constables to protect him.

MR. NEHRU'S IRRESPONSIBILITY

One of the most tragic features of the present heart-rending situation facing the country is the irresponsibility with which Mr. Nehru approaches his task. Even the speeches on the border incursions, which are bound to be quoted all over the world, are delivered extempore, knowing full well, as he does, that he is liable to go off at a tangent by a stray interruption or even without one at the spur of the moment. There is no preparation, no cogitation by a group of specialists as to the interpretation of the word and phrases used may be liable to, and no heed is paid to the impression they may create in the listener's or the reader's mind. Indeed, generally, the speech is not there for scrutiny, before delivery, by himself or anybody else. Every one knows that in other countries important pronouncements of the Prime Minister are first scrutinised by specialists and even approved by the Cabinet before they are made in Parliament. But here Mr. Nehru seems to say: "What do I care? I am master of all I survey."

No wonder then that the Chinese Premier's reply to Mr. Nehru's proposal is stiffer than the Chinese Premier's proposal of November 7 suggesting that the two sides withdraw 20 Kilometres from the McMahon Line and from "the line upto which each side exercises control in Ladakh." In his latest the Chinese Premier extends this formula, already rejected by India, to the Central Sector of the frontier—the border of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh—regarding which he had nothing to say earlier and requests Indian withdrawal from nine places well within our frontier. He not only refuses to recognise the McMahon Line but insists on India withdrawing from the territory he claims south of it. In the meantime the Chinese have been steadily pressing forward into what the Chinese Premier, imitating the Indian Premier, describes as "desolate areas."

The Political Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* makes a very significant observation regarding the venue of the meeting—China or Rangoon—proposed by the Chinese Premier. "The obvious venue," according to his "observers," "would have been a place in Russia, which is China's ally and India's friend and which has kept itself neutral in their disputes." These observers, who are obviously pro-Russian, and who pin their faith on Russia, "wonder whether the choice of Rangoon is not a subtle way of China telling Russia that it is not impressed with Russia's public and private efforts to bring about a friendly settlement between the two countries."

These observers may well only be echoing the

master's voice. In an interview filmed for transmission by the Columbia Broadcasting System, Mr. Nehru had said: "We have had two kinds of communications from the Russians, neither directly dealing with it (the border dispute) . . . as he said in public he wants this settled and he wants this should happen between the two countries which are friendly to him. He just repeated that." Mr. Nehru did not identify the person referred to as "he" but from the context it is obvious that he meant Mr. Khrushchev. A rather quaint way this of using the pronoun without the noun preceding or even following it. This, I believe, is not done anywhere except by wives in India with reference to their husbands.

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

In the course of his announcement that he had sent a reply to Mr. Chou en-Lai expressing regret that the Chinese Premier had not accepted the "reasonable and practical proposals" he had made for the lessening of tension on the Sino-Indian border, thus creating the necessary atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute, Mr. Nehru said: "I have further stated that I cannot accept the allegation that Indian forces have occupied any part of Chinese territory or committed aggression at Kong Ka Pass and Longju where our established check posts were attacked by Chinese troops." The Chinese allegation shows the worthlessness of Panch Shila as an agreement of any sort. Both the main clauses in it—one regarding "non-interference in each other's affairs" and the other regarding "respect for each other's territorial sovereignty" beg the question unless the territorial sovereignty of both has been clearly defined and accepted by the parties to the agreement. Mr. Nehru himself said so when he added: "I do not see how we can reach agreement on principle when there is a complete disagreement about facts." It is being pointed out here that this "complete disagreement about facts" was there in embryo when the Panch Shila between the two countries was signed and the Chinese official maps gave expression to it. Panch Shila was only postponing the evil day and was a smoke screen which deceived neither party but which did deceive the gullible Indian public. It will be recalled that the Chinese incursions began a few months after Panch Shila had been signed between India and China. That was China's reply to Mr. Nehru's attempts at emotional integration with Chou En-Lai.

But Mr. Chou En-lai assumes the pose of injured innocence when he says in his reply that the principal concern of the two countries should be "the programme of long-term peaceful construction to lift ourselves from our present state of backwardness, and we should not be parties to the increasing of tension between our two countries and in the world."

Much of what Acharya Kripalani said in demanding a discussion of the matter in the House may be true. He pointed out, for instance that the

Chinese reply showed that Ladakh was being effectively colonised, that this correspondence is only an attempt to waste time on the part of China and that she wants to frighten the small kingdoms on the border. But then what is the alternative? as Mr. Nehru practically asked. The only alternative is war and the country cannot just think of it so long as it pursues the policy of non-alignment. As has been repeatedly said, it would be "criminal folly." This is something which is obvious to Mr. Nehru, though he does not say so, and should be obvious to every one. And why should Mr. Nehru say anything against his own policy? It is for the Opposition to realise the implications of their demand for a "tough" policy and understand that our weakness is due to our foreign policy and that weakness will continue so long as that policy continues. But this they blissfully refuse to do, mesmerised as they appear to have been by the false fears engendered in their minds by Messrs. Nehru and Menon that military aid will result in their losing their independence.

EXPLOITING SUSPICION COMPLEX

The Congress Government today is prospering on the suspicion-complex of the people. The truth of the matter is that the USA alone can render military aid to us and there is no fear of the USA trying to transform India into an American colony because colonisation is born of the desire for economic exploitation and the USA is so rich that it can hardly think of exploiting a poor country like India. On the other hand, the USA has proved its bonafides by entering the Lebanon to render military aid when its Government asked for it and withdrawing as soon as the Lebanese Government asked the Americans to withdraw from the land. Over and above that is the glorious American intervention against their own allies when France and the United Kingdom invaded Egypt in support of Israel. That chapter deserves to be written in letters of gold. If, even after these two examples of American honesty of purpose, we go on harping on the fear of losing our independence if we seek American aid, all that need be said is that we are not being honest. Of course, India will have to be friendly to the USA if she receives military aid from her. That is obvious. And Mr. Nehru will no longer be able to play the part of a Daniel coming to judgment between two robbers. The sooner Mr. Nehru gets rid of his megalomania the better it will be for the country.

Book Review

THE ESSENTIALS OF ECONOMICS by Douglas C. Hague & Alfred W. Stonier. (Longman's Green and Co. London, 12 sh. 6d. net).

This small book contains mere introduction and outline of economics and it is mainly meant for the beginners who desire to have an elementary knowledge of the subject. The aim of the book in the

words of the authors is "to explain the main generalisations of present day economics in simple and straightforward language, using only those few technical terms which are essential for accurate expression". Surprisingly it does not talk down to the reader as it contains a serious discussion which cannot be understood by a layman without an elementary knowledge of economics. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that it avoids technical terms and from this point of view it is really a valuable addition to the list of book for the beginners. It can be used with profit by one who wants a serious study of the subject like economics because it will give him a "first canter over the whole field".

The authors have deliberately avoided the traditional method of starting with the definition of economics and they have started with the behaviour of the consumer. It must be said to the credit of the authors that almost all the important elements of economics have been covered in a lucid style. To be simple and straightforward the authors have sacrificed depth and comprehensiveness of the treatment. The treatment of every topic is rather sketchy but the authors allow ample scope to the readers to draw their own conclusions. In short, this book can be called a book where economics has been defined as a science of choice. There are some statements which sound like mere slogans. For example "Economic principles play only a minor part in determining the size of the Government expenditure" "a government may expand agricultural subsidies for purely political reasons".

In spite of these deficiencies the last chapter of the book is the most important not only to the beginners but also to our planners who aim at the economic development of the country on the basis of socialism. Here is what the authors say "The real objection to socialism is that it inevitably breeds the bureaucrat; and he suffers from the important fault immortalised in the story of the mother, who sends her daughter into the garden with the command "Go and see what little Johnny is doing; and tell him not to". The danger that, to the bureaucrat, private industry will automatically seem to behave just as badly as little Johnny, is one which raises a strong objection to socialism and even more to the Communism. Coupled with this fault of the bureaucrat is the rather similar view of many socialists that the State knows better than the individual what is in the individual's best interest. This is equally undesirable attitude". In the same manner the authors give their frank opinion on equality of income. At present our planners are bent upon "trimming the sharp claws of the rich in order to achieve equality of income in order to establish socialist pattern of society. Here is what they say" "A further argument against equality of income is that it will reduce the savings of the community. The rich will not be able to save" out of their superfluity." Money which would have been saved by rich men will probably, if incomes are made more equal be spent by a poorer one. Thus, at

times when progress in the economy depends on large savings to finance investment in industry, considerable inequality of income may be desirable. For there are likely to be more savings when incomes are unequal than when they are equal". This is an important point which must be remembered by our planners so that they may reverse the present fiscal policy which is detrimental from the point of savings and investment and ultimately from the point of economic development of the country.

This book, in the opinion of the reviewer will be highly useful to the beginners of economics as it gives a bare minimum information about economics in simple and straightforward language.

G. N. Lawande.

Gleanings from the Press

CHINA'S TRADE OFFENSIVE

INDICATIONS are available that the People's Republic of China is soon to launch a trade offensive, the second of a recent series, the first having been abandoned owing in particular to the sensitiveness of India. This time, the offensive is stated to be more thorough and extensive. India's recent footholds in South Asian and Near Eastern countries are principally aimed at. A little while ago, some 30,000 chests of China tea were unloaded on the London tea market, making a strong impression on the position of our tea exports promotions as a principal foreign currency earner. Now, it may be vaster than before.

In the prevailing slump in world shipping, China is getting access to a tremendous volume of tramp shipping to carry out her trade offensive, particularly aimed at dislodging India from her export markets. The character of Government gives China a tremendous advantage over this country, both for routing foreign trade, and for fixing uneconomic prices.

—"Commerce & Industry".

INDIA'S LEADERSHIP?

(Those who brag of India's leadership of Asia and urge that smaller Asian countries "learn" things from India would do well to take note of the comments that Mr. Richard L. G. Deverall (whom many in India know very well) makes on this subject in *Socialist Commentary*—Ed)

"I do believe that it is a mistake to make the statement that 'the failure of socialism in Asia is the failure of Indian socialism'. To equate India with leadership of South East Asia is fatal and reveals a geo-political illiteracy unpardonable at this stage. Mr. Nehru might well speak as if he were the voice of Asia, but that is Mr. Nehru's conception, not that of South East Asia. So few Europeans seem to realise that Indians are mainly popular in India i.e., their neighbour Pakistan has been on the verge of war only a few years ago; that southern neighbour

—Ceylon—would like to get rid of many of the Indians who have flooded into delightful Lanka; and in pre-war Burma pogroms directed at the Indians were not unknown. India to literate South East Asia means rapacious moneylenders and traders and cheap labour. I once had starry-eyed notions about the leader-role of India, but residence in Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Thailand and other countries educated me to the reality of the situation. Perhaps India should be the leader of South East Asia. I doubt if at this time most of South East Asia has very much to learn from India—socialism or anything else. And I write this as a friend of the India in which I spent some of the best years of my life".

EIGHT YEARS OF PLANNING

PEOPLE should not be asked to tighten their belts even in a period of planning, but steps should be taken steadily to increase the production of consumer goods and to make better provision for the essential necessities of living.

Austerity, does not evoke people's enthusiasm in implementing plans nor does it help in expanding the economy. So far it has resulted in confusion and waste. The time has now come to look forward to the enjoyment of reasonable living standards. Even Communist countries appreciate the need to raise consumption standards.

India's per capita income decreased to Rs. 276 in 1957-58 from Rs. 284 (at 1948-49 prices) in the preceding year. Most Asian countries have a higher per capita income—Rs. 550 in Ceylon, Rs. 1,180 in Japan, Rs. 925 in the Philippines and Rs. 400 in Thailand.

Though home of the second biggest cotton textile industry, India consumes 16.8 yards of cloth per capita per annum, one of the lowest in the world. There is only one pucca house for 5.3 families on an average, implying that 85 families in every 100, live in kutcha houses per capita consumption of electricity is 35 kwh.

Road mileage per square mile of territory is 0.025 compared to 3.24 in the U.K., 3.03 in France, 1.00 in the U.S.A. 0.38 in Spain and 0.38 in Ceylon. There is only one hospital bed for 2,600 people, one doctor for 5,000 people and one midwife for 2,500 families. There is only one radio for 300 people, one gramophone for 650 houses, one sewing machine for 100 families of five members each, one domestic refrigerator for 1,000 pucca houses, one motor vehicle for 900, one bicycle for 100 people, one scooter for 10,000, one camera for 50,000, one typewriter for 5,000, one watch for 80 people, one cinema for 100,000 people, one telephone for 45 pucca houses, one post office for 6,500 people, one telegraph office for 36,000 people, one tractor for 7,000 acres. Consumption of fertilizers (in terms of nitrogen) is 1.2 lb. per year.

How can the grandiloquently advertised plans enthuse the common man when he finds that after

eight years of planned economy there is great shortage of consumer goods, higher prices of everything due to inflation, taxation growing higher and higher every year, unemployment increasing and there is uncertainty about the future?

—Behar Herald

News Digest

AID TO SMALL INDUSTRIES FORD FOUNDATION GRANT

New York: A 94,300-dollar grant for the development of small-scale industries in India was announced by the Ford Foundation here.

The Foundation also announced a 8,000-dollar grant for class-room study of teaching problems and practices by the South India Teachers' Union's Council of Educational Research and 98,300 dollars for consultants on management training, small industries, community development and home economics.

Among other appropriations announced by this private philanthropic organisation were a 500,000-dollar grant to the European Nuclear Research Centre in Geneva and a million-dollar grant for a human sciences centre being established in Paris.

JOINT DEFENCE MEASURES SWATANTRA PARTY'S SUGGESTION

Hyderabad: The General Council of the All-India Swatantra Party welcomed the voicing by Parliament of the strong feeling in the country that a vigilant policy should be followed in regard to Chinese aggression against India.

The Council said that when the territorial integrity of the country was violated, the concept of non-alignment had little meaning.

India's policy ought to be reviewed in the light of the realities of the international situation.

ACCORD WITH PAKISTAN

The Council was of the opinion that measures for ensuring the defence and security of India should include a settlement of the outstanding issues with Pakistan and a serious consideration of the offer of joint defence made by Pakistan.

The Council further suggested that India should hold consultations with the countries of South and South-East Asia for co-ordinating measures for the security of the region. There should also be vigilance against the infiltration of undesirable aliens and fifth column activities. The Government of India should abandon "ideological adventures" in its domestic policy, the Council urged.

EFFICIENCY IN PUBLIC SECTOR

The Government of Bombay is reported to have invested at the instance of Mr. Jorsingh Kavi, a Congress M.L.A. a sum of Rs. 1,20 lakhs in a dairy in Palitana which did not exist. And what is more a sum of Rs. 24,256 was spent on "miscellaneous expenses".

While Nehru brags openly about the efficiency of the Public sector, the Bihar Rajya Transport managed to lose Rs. 77 lakhs in 7 years due to mismanagement and inefficiency.

SOVIET SICK MACHINE

Two years ago the Soviets publicized the huge synchrotron installed at Dubna near Moscow as the world's largest atom-smashing machine. But now the Dubna scientists find that the machine in which over 36,000 tons of steel were used in the magnets is not at all that it should have been. Dr. Maurice M. Shapiro of the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory called this machine a "white elephant". Dr. Luis Alvarez of California who visited Dubna said: "Unfortunately for the Russians they made a lot of design judgments before anybody in the field really knew enough. It is a very sick machine and the doctors will have to twiddle a lot of dials to get it well again".

The Russians seem to be clever in keeping mum over their failures while their achievements are proclaimed from house-tops.

INCREASED AID TO INDIA OPPOSED

Washington. A critical report on "U.S. Aid and Indian Economic Development" published by the American Enterprise Association says: "The aid to India would make it inevitable that the country is pushed further in the direction of the establishment of a completely socialised economy in which the range of individuals is severely circumscribed both as consumers and producers and in which the State is all-powerful". Deploing the effect of various controls with which the Indian government has armed itself, the report says that these controls retard the development of the industries and the progress of the most efficient units. We agree with the report, as it has been the experience in this country that foreign aid has tended to make the Leviathan State more and powerful and has encouraged the Government to indulge in reckless spending, while the scope and sphere of private enterprise has dwindled with every expansion of the public sector.

Bonn. Die Welt, an influential independent paper called upon the Federal Republic to resolutely concentrate its aid only in the Mediterranean area with its immediate Asian and African hinterland. The paper named Egypt as a country West Germany should help intensely. The paper asked West Germany to ignore Indian claims to assistance. There are many in West Germany who do not appreciate the idea of giving aid to India. They feel that they have practically no say in India's planning but are called upon to foot the bill at the eleventh hour.

Besides, they are justifiably opposed to giving aid to India because of India's pseudo-neutrality and secret ties with the Eastern bloc. Apparently the Germans are more practical minded than the Americans whom we seem to succeed in blackmailing into giving us aid, on pain of going Red if the aid is stopped.

CHINESE BID TO WIPE OUT TIBETAN RACE DALAI TELLS JURIST COMMITTEE

Mussoorie: The Dalai Lama repeated his charges of genocide and suppression of human rights in Tibet by the Chinese Government, and said that there was no way other than legal and moral means of stopping them.

In a statement before the legal enquiry committee on Tibet constituted by the International Commission of Jurists, the Dalai Lama said that with a view to destroying the Tibetan race, the Chinese had resorted to sterilization of men and women.

He said that there were among the Tibetan refugees in India, about ten who had been subjected to castration and sterilization and they could be medically examined to prove his statement.

The Dalai Lama disclosed that about 10,000 children in Tibet were deported to China.

CRISES THE REDS CANNOT HIDE

Unlike the Western Alliances, whose intramural disputes are mostly aired in the public, the Communists can usually hide their internal stresses and strains. The Red's main problem is that a system which leads the world in cosmic rockets and industrial advance is still chronically unable to feed its people well.

In Poland, Premier Joseph Cyrankiewicz opened the fall session of Parliament last week by announcing an austerity programme, to be run by two tough Stalinists. Red boss Wladyslaw Gomulka has called on the U.S. for emergency grain shipments.

East Germany is faced with a serious food shortage and Premier Otto Grotewohl has threatened to enforce faster collectivisation. Long queues formed to buy vegetables and food rationing seems to be impending. The latest East German jingle runs as follows:

"On the moon the red flags fly
But cream and butter you can't buy".

PEKING REJECTS!

New Delhi: Circles close to the External Affairs Ministry disclose that Peking, in its note delivered here on 4th December, has rejected Mr. Nehru's sixteen 'proposals' on the ground that they are inconsistent with the dignity of the sovereignty of China!

Mr. Chou en-Lai is reported to have harped once again on the recognition of "existing administrative

realities" as a pre-condition for any talks on the India-China border issue.

The Chinese Prime Minister is also said to have rejected India's stand on Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal.

As a result of this note, it is learned here that the possibility of a limited war to recover lost Indian territory should not be ruled out.

Our Bangalore Letter

Bangalore, 14th Dec.: 'No use of talking of peace without Strength. Strength is essential for peace. To-day America and Russia are respected because of her strength and not for her philosophy, and we want strength for peace', declared General K. M. Cariappa, former Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army addressing the Libertarian Social Institute in Bangalore recently.

Gen. Cariappa, was speaking on 'Defence Matters in India'. The meeting was presided over by Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao, the vice-president of the Institute.

The President of the Institute, Mr. Philip Spratt, introduced the speaker as the first commander in chief of free India with distinctions earned in the war and as the chief organiser of the armed forces after independence. He was specially competent to speak on Indian defence matters. The present critical situation on the Frontiers brought on by Chinese aggression intensified the defence problem.

The General stood by his public statement some time back that India should push the intruders back from the frontiers. This he declared does not amount to war. It is only like throwing out the robber who had broken into the house.

"The security of our northern and north-eastern frontiers is being threatened by unprovoked aggression by one whom we had imagined all these hundreds of years as a good neighbour and a really friendly ally—China. The honour of our country is at stake. It behoves every Indian to realise the seriousness of this threat and to be prepared in every respect, physically, mentally and morally to play his part actively in the defence of our land, against this aggression" said the General. He further added that he was happy to see in the press, the report of the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament that this threat to our frontiers must be met with strength and that it was very much of a military affair. In the modern times, four very important pre-requisites were essential to make the defence forces of a country really strong. They are: a people with high morale, with grim determination to face any calamities facing the security and/or interests of the country; economic stability in the country; industrial sufficiency as far as possible in order to be able to produce in the country practically all, if not all, the equipment, weapons and munitions; and a virile

people—virile physically, mentally and morally.

Unless there is a good, sound, and well thought out 'marriage' between the civil requirements and the defence services requirement in peace and in war, no country can possibly feel that its defence organisations are complete and correct, he added.

The General said: A country should have in peace time a small, but well organised—with specially hand picked officers and men, highly trained and well equipped regular standing armed force. Behind these, there should be large reserves of officers and men and behind them, there should be the second line of defence, the Territorial Army. Then all the youth of the country should be given military training in the shape of N.C.C. and Auxiliary Cadet Corps and finally it would be very desirable to have compulsory military training, of a limited nature, for all able bodied men between the ages of 20-40.

Gen. Cariappa could not understand why the M. P.S. had not taken any sustained and active interest in regard to the happenings in Tibet and on our frontiers, often reported, though perhaps briefly, in the press, all these nine years. "Why now this throw of the blame on the Prime Minister for the unpreparedness?" He strongly felt that had the M.P.S. given any thoughts to our defence problems at all seriously, they could have got the Government to act on the defence of these frontiers, and so there need not have been this shock to the nation. However, it is no good carrying out a 'postmortem' he said, 'We must get busy to face realities'.

He said until this Chinese threat came up so unexpectedly, the defence of our frontiers was thought of only in terms of aggression by Pakistan, but thanks to the friendly attitude of the new regime in Pakistan under the leadership of that fine man Field Marshal Ayub Khan, this possibility is rapidly receding.

In the end the General answered a number of questions put to him by the audience, which were mostly of a political character concerning the policies implied in the current frontier dispute with China.

Earlier Mr. Philip Spratt gave an account of the Founder Mr. R. B. Latvala's work and objectives in supporting the Institute. Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao who presided over the meeting summarised the items of interest in the General's speech and drew attention to the need for military preparedness.

Mr. A. Venkataram, secretary, proposed a vote of thanks.

(A. Venkataram)
Secretary,

Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore.

IN LIGHTER VEIN

"Diplomacy," according to Mr. Nehru, "has many shades and many ways." A shady and wayward business, in short.

Amid cheers from his Congress followers Mr. Nehru said in Parliament: "So far as I am concerned, and as far as the Government is concerned, we will negotiate, negotiate and negotiate to the bitter end...."

While the Chinese are negotiating the barren mountains of Ladakh.

According to Mr. Nehru, there is no alternative to ceasing talk but war. According to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, however, "there are many other steps that need not lead to war."

But who is to take them—as well as the consequences.

"It is not a question of some additional arms. These are minor things," says Mr. Nehru. "If unfortunately the situation worsens, we shall have to become a nation in arms."

A nation armed with lathis. No wonder the price of lathis is going up.

"These problems are too big for any Prime Minister or individual to deal with," says Mr. Nehru, adding, "We are small men facing great events and great decisions."

In fairness to himself, he should have said: We are small men facing great events with small decisions—and great expectations.

"The Government of India saw this (the explosive situation) eight or nine years ago," said Mr. Nehru the other day in Parliament, "and knew that these two factors (industrialisation and the pace of population growth in China) were going to create a novel and dangerous situation not only for India but others also."

That explains it at last—our policy of non-alignment.

"The choice whether we should give up the broad progress which we envisage in favour of guns and guns alone," says the Prime Minister, "would come to us if we decided to give up that building process and also decided to rely on guns bought and imported from abroad."

That is to say, the choice will come after the decision on the matter has been taken.

"Then our resources go," added Mr. Nehru, "in buying war-like materials from abroad in a temporary emergency and it cuts short our schemes. I hope we will never come to that. In a small measure it might come but not in a big measure because that itself would be wrong thinking or very short

thinking," because, as Mr. Nehru added, "the kind of crisis the country has to face to-day is not a short-term crisis."

In other words, if it comes to that, we shall buy war-like materials in a small measure for a long-term crisis.

—M.N.T.

—:o:—

SWATANTRA PARTY CONFERENCE AT MERCARA, COORG 6, DECEMBER 1959

Coorg so long an independent State under the British is now a district in the Kannada speaking State of greater Mysore.

It is full of coffee plantations and well to do agriculturists. They are all shocked at the Communist nature of the proposed land reforms. They have capital and know-how to produce vastly greater quantities of agricultural products if only ceilings and redistribution of land and inadequate compensation etc. do not threaten improvement.

The All India Agricultural Federation was founded in Coorg at a meeting convened by Mr. Manjanathayya two years ago which was addressed by Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao from Bangalore and Mr. Jinaraja Hegde from Mangalore.

On December 6th, a great meeting took place in the Mercara Town Hall. Prof. Ranga, chairman of the Swatantra Party, inaugurated the conference. Mr. Imam, a former Minister of the Mysore Government before independence, a popular Muslim from Chitaldrug district and for long in the political field and at present member of Lok Sabha on the PSP ticket presided over the deliberations.

He stressed the growing distress of the common people on account of high prices, of business men on account of high taxation and the growing inflation in spite of large projects and steel installations etc.

Prof. Ranga dwelt on the necessity to preserve self-employed small agriculturists and artisans as a measure of democratic principle.

Mr. Kushalappa a former Speaker of the Coorg Assembly became president of the Coorg District Party organisation. Mr. Manjanathayya, a leading coffee planter and so long a principal supporter of Congress became secretary.

Under these representatives who have now openly broken with Congress, the party is sure to progress and include the intelligentsia and men of property in Coorg.

—A Bangalore Observer

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