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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
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EDITORIAL

JAP-AMERICAN TREATY IN TROUBLE

THE socialist, communist opposition to the Japanese American Mutual Security Treaty which has passed the Lower House with great difficulty has rocketed sky-high and has attained proportions that have taken the Premier Kishi by surprise. The whole world indeed has been surprised at the strength and universality (as it seems), of the popular protest led by students, socialist and communist parties and Leftist-oriented trade unions of labour. The Kishi Government has a comfortable majority in Parliament but the warmth of the supporters is no match and compensation to the virulence and violence of the upheaval engendered by the protesting masses. The masses surrounded Mr. Hagerty's car and made it impossible for it to proceed to the American Embassy building from the harbour. He had to be rescued by a helicopter from the howling mobs, with students milling round the car to reach the American press officer, some climbing on its top to harangue the crowd! The mobs attacked the Premier's residence and the Diet buildings in huge numbers. Battles with the police ensued and several students were killed and thousands hurt, hundreds of policemen among them. 700 professors sat in front of Kishi's house in protest against firing on students.

Still the latest information at the time of writing (17th) is that President Eisenhower's Visit would be proceeded with slight modifications. The whole world hopes that no untoward incident would happen to the President personally.

There are a couple of lessons to be drawn from these excited mob procedures in Japan against the officially sponsored Treaty with America in pursuance of national security. The Japanese have more reason for hatred of the Americans than we but it may be assumed that the Indian Communist party will stage similar mass upheavals if the Indian Government showed any inclinations to forge a defence agreement with America. But such a defence agreement is absolutely essential if we are to meet the Chinese menace.

It is up to patriotic forces in the country both to put pressure on the Nehru Government to drop all hesitations and to forge an Indo American Defence Treaty without any further loss of time. The pressure should be sufficiently intense and persistent.

It is up to patriotic forces of all parties (and none, again,) to counter-act the leadership of communist elements who will try to confuse issues and to mobilise support for the Chinese aggressors.

The lesson of the Japanese demonstrations is that a passive support of parliamentary majorities and of tame, isolated, liberal patriotic groups in the country in favour of Government policies are of no use even if they are clearly in the national interest.

A curious thing in press coverage of the Japanese incidents in our country is that headlines and news reports are confined to the events from the Leftist point of view. There is no news from the standpoint of the Official Authorities. Is there no justification at all then for the Government's action in forging a Mutual Security Alliance with America? How else do the socialists and communists hope to counter the menace of Russian and Chinese possible aggression and invasion.

The danger of being involved in war on account of the presence of American U-2 Planes is nothing in contrast to the actual danger of invasion. Not to have powerful allies is just the way to invite aggression. This is the plainest lesson of history which seems to have been strangely forgotten by Leftists and Indian leaders. The coverage of the Japanese news with its entire blackout of the opposite point of view favouring the Government's action in forging an alliance with America is clear confirmation of the charge against the press that it is mostly pro-communist in its presentation of world news. It seems to take the cue from Moscow which is first in the field with its own version of events, copying which seems to be easier to editors and sub-editors than take trouble to interpret news from an independent point of view with an eye on objective truth.

REVOLUTION IN TURKEY

Turkey has joined so many Eastern States in abandoning democracy. The Government of Adnan Menderes was under fire for years and resistance and demonstrations had been stepped up in recent months. They were simmering when Nehru visited Ankara while returning from London and UAR cities. The visit was inopportune but Mr. Menderes insisted, it seems, on it and would not cancel it lest his hold on his position be affected in the eyes of the world! Barely had Nehru left when the Military took over. Menderes and his colleagues and President Bayar were all arrested. They were rounded up while attempting to escape. Now a sketchy constitution has been proclaimed by the Military Committee that calls itself the National Union Committee. The National Union Committee consisting of Army officers under General Gursel form the ultimate seat of Power in the new regime. It proposes to appoint a Cabinet with civilians on it. General Gursel will be head of the Cabinet and continue as supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

The military junta has announced that it will continue the Kamal Pasha Revolution of modernisation and democracy. It will reverse the conservative pro-religious deviations of the Menderes regime which had based itself on village support buttressed by mullahs as of old.

Ten years of rule had corrupted Menderes and he wanted to establish personal rule suppressing democratic opposition and the press. Students and opposition members are all now released. The people and students have expressed rejoicings at the fall of Menderes. It remains to be seen whether the promise of early elections and restoration of full parliamentary democracy will be fulfilled by the Military Leadership. It is also whispered that General Gursel is not the key person but another at present in the background and would emerge even as Nasser did after pushing aside the first announced leader. In Pakistan, Mirza was set aside unceremoniously by General Ayub Khan.

What are the forces that make for the scrapping of democracy in the East? The corruption of politicians is one obvious reason. The people want good government and men in power even if elected duly can misuse their power to buy votes and rig the elections and intimidate opponents! Dishonesty in democratic procedures creates disgust and contempt for politicians. The people, when led either by competent individuals or student and other mobs, make an end of formal democracy through upheavals and demonstrations.

Dr. Syngman Rhee was thrown out in spite of having complete control of the official sources of power, police and military. The people will respect democratic forms if they are honestly exercised in favour of popular interests and a clean government is offered to the people. Honesty and justice are still values indispensable for government.

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Menderes was ambitious and used large amounts to build steel mills, irrigation and other projects. He rebuilt Istanbul at an immense cost and in all respects he seems to have emulated Nehru in grandiose industrialisation and dynamic modernism.

But the people starved and there was acute misery and unemployment made worse by high prices of consumer goods and inflation all round. The spectacle of contractors and officials who got rich-quick through American Aid moneys added fuel to the fire of popular discontent.

We have similar factors here in our country too. We should take care that similar upheavals do not take us unawares while we are gloating over our Five Year Plans whose finances and targets are soaring into the stars, while inflation is increasing its acceleration.

The lesson is clear that mere forms of democracy—elections and elected Ministers, parliamentary talking shops etc. are not enough to make democracy take root. Democracy is not an end in itself. It should deliver the goods of decent administration and show itself better than monarchy and bureaucracy if it is to have long life.

The Turks had jettisoned the Islamic past under the lead of Kamal Pasha and opted for modernism and Westernism—hat, boot, tie and all. The Kamal influence is still strong in the Army. Ismet Inonu, the Great Pasha's companion at arms is still living, though Adnan Menderes had put him into the shade. Nehru had insisted on seeing him. He greeted him as a hero of the Revolution. Inonu may stage a come back in the wake of the Army revolution. Modern Turkey is in the melting pot. For us in India, a possible line of interest in Turkey is whether Turkish leaders will revive pan-Islamic ambitions? Menderes was known to be hobnobbing with Pakistan and to be sympathetic to Pan-Islamic dreams. The revival of the Kamali tradition would postpone this dream of the Turkish race.

EISENHOWER PUTS OFF VISIT TO JAPAN

While writing these lines comes the news that the American President announced at Manila during a Parade that he had postponed his projected visit to Japan in response to the suggestion of Prime Minister Kishi. He attributed the rioting in Japan against his Visit to communist intrigues. He expressed his regrets that a small organised minority led by professional Communist agitators, acting under external direction and control, have been able by resort to force and violence to prevent his goodwill visit and to mar the celebration of Jap-American relations.

It is noteworthy that the Japanese Education Minister offered to resign in consequence of his sense of responsibility for student misbehaviour! The offer was refused. But the offer has a lesson for us. India too has had a series of student riots and other forms of indiscipline—slapping examina-

tion supervisors, preventing trains from proceeding on their journeys, attacking police stations and cinemas etc. But we have not heard of any qualms of conscience in our Minister for Education and Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Relations! They blame everyone else but themselves. The University Grants Committee has just issued a report on student unrest and a conference of Vice-Chancellors is holding its sessions.

THIS BY THE WAY

Prime Minister Kishi has pointed to communist leadership as the source of the recent violent agitation against the Treaty and the Visit of the American President. The postponement of Eisenhower's visit is a blow both to US prestige and to that of the Government of Japan. It is a sign of the weakness of the democratic Government of Japan. The Japanese are not merely a courteous people but also a proud nation. They are smarting under the humiliation of national defeat in the last war. And now they have had to eat humble pie on account of the inability of their legitimate, legally elected Government to suppress disgruntled elements and to offer a clean, decent welcome to the Guest of the Nation, irrespective of the merits of the Treaty. It remains to be seen what steps Kishi will take to root out the abnormal influence and hold of international communism on Japanese political groups.

Meanwhile we notice again the fact that Moscow is first in the field in news interpretation.

The flash of Ike's announcement of postponement of his Visit was accompanied the ~~same~~ morning and on the same page by a flash of Kremlin's judgment that the "US designed to make Japan take the first blow in any war—" in huge banner headlines.

The Question whether other capitals like London and Paris and New Delhi were not so quick in their reaction or just that newspapers preferred to splash the Moscow line?

The world coverage of the Kremlin is astonishing in its enormous and unprecedented scope and extreme efficiency. Moscow is feeding the world's intelligentsia with its own dope (creating the world in its own image gradually!)

RUSSIA AND INDIA

While we have news items reporting the progress of Soviet Aid to India, like the recent agreement on Oil Exploration and Supply for which the Soviets are giving a Loan, we have also indications that the Moscow ideological Line regarding India is unchanged from its rigid Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist pattern.

A recent publication of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Moscow makes an ideological attack on the Indian National Congress party of Pandit Nehru.

In spite of the growing socialisation of the Indian

economy through the expansion of the public sector in joint Indo-Soviet industrial undertakings and other ways and through the Nagpur resolution of land ceilings, cooperatives and joint farming, the Russian masters are not satisfied with the pace of socialisation. The book criticises Congress policy with its socialistic pattern as not socialistic at all! For there is no effort in India to abolish private capital. So long as private capital remains, says the Moscow mentor, there is no move towards communism! This is a good to the pro-communist Ginger Group and to Shri Nehru himself that they should proceed faster towards the Communitisation of India if they are to retain the favour of Russia!

How fast Congress leaders are colouring their minds Red is shown by the cool way in which people like Shri Dhebar speak of the need to hasten socialism. In 1955 during the days when the Plan-frame of Dr. Mahalanobis was being discussed and critics were pointing out its communist Pattern, Mr. Dhebar replied that even if industries are socialised with the expansion of the public sector, there would remain a vast private sector in small industries and commerce and the agricultural field. Now he has forgotten this assurance! He now speaks of full socialism! When it was pointed out that land ceilings would diminish production, he replied that he knew thousands of small farmers with five or six acres producing higher yields than large farms! He has become a full Marxist by sheer lapse of time and the glamour of Nehruism without any rational mediation. He and his colleagues repeat the slogan of socialism without any rational attempt to answer criticisms and prove its superiority as a system of economic and social effort. Into this vacuum, the Moscow directions come with pre-figured patterns with the result that Indian administration is poured into the moulds of international communism without its being keenly realised by the intelligentsia. They cannot see the wood for the trees.

RUSSIA AND CHINA.

The world is beginning to notice the growing independence of China vis a-vis Russia, though she owes everything to the masters of Moscow.

China has dared to criticise the Russian treatment of the Summit. In fact she did not want the Summit, especially as she had no part nor lot in it. She had declared that she was not bound by any international agreements that might be arrived at in her absence. She had said this even during Khrushchev's visit to America.

And Soviet papers are hitting back—a new thing in international communism! A writer in the Russian paper *Sovietskaya Russia* the official mouthpiece of the Soviet Communist party Bureau criticised the "left wing extremism and doctrinairism" of Chinese leaders in falling foul of Khrushchev's co-existence without war. The Chinese are accused of trying to jump necessary stages on the road to Communism. This is obviously a fling at Chinese communes. The

writer deprecates the haste and immaturity of Chinese revolutionary enthusiasm. They take every deterioration in the international situation as proof of the correctness of their sectarian views.

Obviously this refers to the recent Chinese proclamation of their view that the imperialists (i.e. Western nations) will never abandon their aggressive intentions and have to be defeated in war. Hence war cannot be bypassed as Khrushchev seems to believe. The Chinese have also more than once said that war would wipe out the capitalist empires and nations but would leave the communists intact to rule the world!

These statements show the intoxication of power from which the Red Chinese are suffering. As a recent writer points out, the whole six hundred millions of the population seems to have gone lunatic in their craze for power and conquest! They are rivalling Hitler in the ambition and fever to conquer the world—with South Asia as a beginning!

CHINA AND INDIA

Pandit Kunzru has again called upon the Indian Government to change its foreign policy at least to the extent of taking American and British help in speeding up our military armament and preparedness. He has also called upon the Prime Minister to remove Shri Memon from the post of Defence Minister, as the people had no confidence in him.

The latest news is that China is extending her military preparedness in Tibet and the Indian borders. There was a further spurt of Tibetan fighting, with a thousand Tibetan recruits to the Chinese army turning against their masters in a garrison between Lhasa and the Indian border near Sikkim. Guerillas are still fighting the Chinese oppressors.

The Chinese are reported to be making their Ladakh occupation militarily stronger. They are building new roads, airbases, munition depts., food provision stores etc., all along the border. They are arming the few high mountain Passes on the Himalayan ranges. They have asked Indian pilgrims to Mansarovar and Badrinath etc., not to go there as safety cannot be guaranteed!

They have stopped Indians trading in Tibet in various ways. They have practically confined the Indian Consul General at Lhasa within his compound and have isolated him, preventing visitors from contacting him on any business. It is high time that India showed some resentment at these calculated insults and pinpricks and retaliated in kind with regard to Chinese representatives in India who have practically a free-hand and free license to spy and suborn Indian nationals! They manhandled a sentry at the gate of the Chinese office in Kalimpong with impunity.

Dr. Raghuvira is alone among Members of Parliament in realising the Chinese danger in its full reach and scope. He has called for conscription and a one million army to be developed as soon as possible. And he is right.

A Libertarian Policy for World Peace

By M. A. Venkata Rao

AFTER the failure of the Paris Summit Conference, the world is looking anxiously for the next step in world diplomacy. Expectations of substantial relief from world tensions and of a real forward move towards permanent peace such as a tangible measure of disarmament had pitched the hopes of mankind too high and the disappointment is therefore correspondingly keen.

Thoughtful people are everywhere asking the question: where do we go from here?

It is all too easy to say: to another Summit after the American presidential elections are over in November. But this is to foster again the illusions crystallised in the abortive Summit.

The first thing is to realise that the Summit is not an end in itself. Nor is it beyond cavil true that it was intended by the Soviet Chief for achieving Peace and the relaxation of tensions between his bloc and the free world. In Khrushchev's mind, it was an instrument of diplomacy and a means of exerting the pressure of a carefully prepared world public opinion towards forcing the Western Leaders to grant across the table advantages he was not able to secure through the usual channels of negotiation.

Disarmament in some real measure to abate the mounting arms expenditure, getting the Western Powers to vacate West Berlin and to extend cultural contacts and expand trade to include new mechanical advances and strategic materials:—These might be said to be the real goals animating Khrushchev in his strenuous advocacy of a Summit meeting.

Not the least of the incentives for him was the passion to figure on equal terms in the Summit with the Western World Powers, like Stalin before him. This would lift him to the status of Stalin who confronted Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta and Teheran to dispose of the world during and after the War.

This was the only objective of his that was resoundingly realised by Khrushchev even by his intransigence and insulting behaviour. He derived immense satisfaction in slapping Eisenhower on the face. A thousand Year Passion of the Slavonic race including the Peters and Catherines and Alexanders of the Tsarist imperial throne animated Khrushchev and took revenge against the superiority of the West in the wilful insult offered to Eisenhower. The fears and nationalist passions aroused by the invasion of Russian skies by the American U-2 spying plane found satisfaction in Khrushchev's boorish behaviour at Paris. He emerged in Russian patriotic eyes as the fearless and uncompromising champion of Russian security against the depredators of the

West who had greedy eyes on it from the days of Napoleon!

It is a mistake therefore for the rest of the world to take Russian diplomacy particularly the idea of the Summit at its face value. It is an instrument, on the contrary, of Russian strategy and tactics directed to the realisation of the goals of Russian communist State doctrine, world conquest and universal empire under the flag of Marxism. It is not necessary to take the failure of the Summit too tragically.

As Vice-President Nixon of America remarked—it will be necessary and wise to rely more on the usual channels and methods of diplomacy through ambassadors for negotiations in the next phase of inter-bloc relations.

This time Eisenhower was hustled into the Summit against his better judgment by pressure of world opinion largely manufactured by Russian propaganda playing on the fears of mankind with regard to nuclear warfare, funnelled by his own British and French allies. The West Germans were alarmed and did not favour it. The French too were not enthusiastic, as they had not yet fully emerged as a Nuclear Power. But peace-hungry mankind in all countries, not least America herself, endorsed the demand for the Summit in the hopes of a real detente, if not of ultimate peace.

In the agonising re-appraisal of the world situation, it is difficult to chart out a new path and a new policy for untying the Gordian Knot, and show the way clear for permanent peace.

Meanwhile the Russian masters are clever enough to keep the world's attention engaged on hopes of real disarmament.

So far, the Russians were always intransigent on the question of inspection and controls. The Americans offered the Baruch Plan of atomic disarmament immediately after the horror of Hiroshima safeguarded by adequate inspection and control. But Russians refused indirectly by insisting on security council administration. The security council has a Russian veto which could negate the Plans of the inspectors. The Russians insisted on the full claims of national sovereignty, while the Americans offered to forego them in so far as inspection went.

This time the Russians have accepted inspection in full at least so far as published statements go. It is up to the Western Powers to negotiate this question patiently and secure fool-proof and trenchery-proof inspection and control in the national territories of the Nuclear Powers.

There is reason to think that this time the Russians want a real measure of disarmament so as to ease the internal economic situation. The seven year plan has announced a tangible satisfaction of the consumer demand for articles of daily use without allowing a let-up in the products of heavy and military industry. This is the rationale of the demobilisation of a million and quarter men from the armed forces. They are wanted for industry and can be spared without impairment of efficiency in view of the immense growth in missile strength achieved by Russia in recent years.

The Russian masses now consist of a literate industrialised machine-tending population who cannot be handled as Stalin handled the (Muzzins) ignorant peasants of his time. The civil service and industrial and military elite too have to be humoured somewhat if the best work is to be taken out of them.

The anxiety of the negotiators, both East and West is to secure the balance of power (now called balance of terror) intact even after agreeing to a real reduction in the various branches of the arms equipment.

The Russians are anxious to get the West to abolish the military bases they have established all along the borders of the Russian communist empire from Nato through Cento to Japan. SEATO too has military positions in the Philippines and Formosa.

It may be that the West may consent to such abolition in view of the rocket power of Russia which can destroy these bases in a short time by guided missiles of immense power.

In fact, the Americans and British feel that even bases in their own homelands are not safe from Russian rocket attack! They fear the repetition of Pearl Harbour calamity when the Japanese destroyed without warning and without declaration of war the bulk of the American Air Force and Naval Vessels.

In fact, even the Summit was suspected as a decoy on the Japanese analogy who sent negotiators to Washington while their attacking forces moved stealthily to Pearl Harbour! The alert signal given to American forces by Mr. Gates the American Defence Secretary who accompanied President Eisenhower is to be understood in this light of the fear of a sneak attack, so justified by the nature of the communist system of government and doctrine, which do not set any store on morality and good faith.

The other goals of the Summit namely expansion of cultural contacts and of trade should also be pursued as measures of relaxation of tensions without abandoning the principle of withholding strategic war materials from the communists too far.

But the crux of the negotiation concerns West Berlin.

It is clear that Khrushchev set his heart on clearing the West from Berlin altogether at the Summit. At Camp David, Eisenhower was brought by Khrushchev to see that there is something abnormal in the continued presence of Western military forces 14 years after its capture surrounded as it is, by Russian-occupied East Germany.

Adenauer of West Germany felt that this is a concession that should never be made to Russia. For it would be the thin end of the edge. The Russians would try next to over-run West Germany in the name of unification of the two Germanys! Khrushchev is emboldened to ask for this clearance by the West by his accession of rocket strength by which he could inspire the Nato powers with the fear of invasion any time suitable to Russia. The statements of Western leaders just before the Summit meeting were firm and deprecated any yielding on Berlin. Khrushchev got the impression that he would not gain any concession on Berlin. He threatened Germany, visited De Gaulle and reminded him of the grim danger of the revival of German Wehrmacht. Finally he made up his mind to wreck the meeting after coming face to face with the representatives of the Big Three.

Incidentally, the military and tough Stalinist faction in the Kremlin and the Chinese comrades would also be pleased.

Where then do we go from here? What is the best line of policy to adopt to avoid war and to obtain a gradual relaxation of tension until permanent peace could result as a cumulative effect of years of cautious and patient efforts?

To offer a remedy, we have to be sure of the right diagnosis. The origin of the cold war lies in the expansionist doctrine of world conquest that Soviet Russia has built into her Political Testament and Foundation of State (1917) in accordance with the gospel of Marx. According to Marx, world peace is possible only when the whole world accepts the proletarian society and destroys capitalism and its off-shoot of imperialism.

The Soviet State is therefore building a Power System, military and industrial, sufficient to achieve its goal of world conquest. Hence Khrushchev's warning to America—"We shall bury you." Hence the goal of the seven year economic plan namely overtaking the USA both in heavy and light goods, in peace as well as war goods.

The pressure of Soviet Russia has become ominous both through her communist parties in the interior of States and through her military equipment—warships, tanks, aeroplanes, bombers and fighters and freighters, submarines and rockets tipped with nuclear warheads. Those who do not understand this pressure night and day do not understand the USA's anxiety to avoid surprise attacks.

Meanwhile Soviet leaders keep their subject peoples on the toes expecting and fearing external at-

tacks on their country and point to the unofficial wars levied against the Revolutionary Government of Lenin in 1917 onwards as justification. American propaganda and spyplanes are furnished as additional proofs of the war mongering of America.

To keep pace with the Soviets, America has to create and maintain huge armaments and personnel resources and to forge alliances with free countries around the borders of Russia.

Russia can maintain such a huge race more easily on account of the totalitarian hold her rulers have over their subjects. They starve them of consumer goods and invest the bulk of production and savings on military weapons and war services.

To keep up with Russia, America will have to become more and more dictatorial. This is the danger to democracy even without a war.

The world will breathe freely and the economies of the free world can become more normal only if Russia relaxes her abnormal war preparations and gears her economy to peaceful goods and a rising standard of living in terms of consumer goods enriching the daily life of all citizens. This will be possible if Russia becomes more and more democratic and responsive to public opinion and the pressures of the common Man.

This will be possible if Russians are persuaded that they will not be invaded or attacked by anybody. Once they are convinced of this, it would be difficult for Khrushchev to force them to produce such a high proportion of war goods.

The free world led by America should therefore declare that they have no intention whatever of a war to prevent war or a war to reduce Russia to slavery or satellite status. No war till surrender is in their programme, no unconditional surrender is in their blueprint.

Meanwhile, the Allies should prepare a humanist manifesto in contrast to Marx's Communist Manifesto describing the characteristics of free society to be approached by all, including Soviet Russia. This should include universal human rights such as the one drawn up by the UNO.

Negatively, the horrors of tyrannical systems like the communist should be propagandised thoroughly. The Russians should be contacted on all social and cultural fronts freely. Study circles and pamphlets should be put forth on an immense scale through impartial institutes of scholars. Russians should come to feel that a democratic life is worthwhile.

Meanwhile the cold war should be fought rigorously. It is inherent in the State doctrine and policy of Russian communism. It is not indulged in for pleasure or spite out of cursedness by the free world allies!

If the free world is as earnest about national democracy and true international justice as the com-

munist world is about its communism, there would be more hope for the world.

There should be a great democratic offensive by the free world in a concerted manner.

One aspect of it should be economic, corresponding to the Economic Aid of Russians to the backward peoples.

Another should be political showing the superiority of the free system in stability and progress and humanitarianism.

It should be shown that the under-dog is treated better in democracies than in totalitarian States.

This implies a change of policy towards democratic dictatorships, dictatorships appearing in the free world of Asia and Africa promising eventual democratisation and transfer power to the people. The USA should help or the UNO should help in devising constitutions for these backward states showing the transition to more democratic conditions stage by stage. To support them in their dictatorship without scientific and systematic advice by more mature democracies is rightly suspect. It gives rise to the suspicion that the West is not truly democratic in spirit.

A widespread enthusiasm for democracy should be created in the whole world to counteract the present slant towards communism. Even the Russian people should come to feel that some day their government should be responsive and responsible to them.

Meanwhile a ring-fence of strength should be developed to contain Soviet Russia within her borders. Any encroachment into the free world anywhere should be resisted instantly at the cost of world war. West Berlin should not be surrendered whatever the price. Brinkmanship should be played by the free world and not merely by Khrushchev.

The fact that Russia and the satellites have not dared to have a single free election should be made to have its due effect in lowering the moral prestige of the communist world. Totalitarianism should be made to appear the reprehensible thing it is.

These are the lines of policy that will have a chance of success if adhered to for a decade firmly and sincerely and courageously, even at the cost of brinkmanship and even war.

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Punjabi Suba or Sikh State

By M. N. Tholal

WITH the decision of the Shromani Akali Dal to carry on its struggle for the achievement of a Punjabi Suba and to launch a fresh enrolment of volunteers throughout India on June 19, which will also be observed as a day of protest against the repression of the Delhi police, the leaders of the Akali movement may be said to have thrown down the gauntlet to the Central Government, coupled as the decision is with the broad hint that Delhi would be the second front of their agitation.

But, as a special representative of the Statesman in Punjab points out, the Akali "Morcha," which will be three weeks old on the 19th June, has slowly begun to defeat its declared purpose. The good that the Morcha may do to the cause constantly grows more obscure, while the harm becomes more conspicuous. And whether the movement languishes soon, as Mr. Kairon predicts it will, or continues to show vigour as the Akalis hope, it can only give a set-back now to this particular ambition as Master Tara Singh sees it.

The pressure of Mr. Kairon's grip made it obvious that even a morcha could be slowly strangled to extinction, but says the correspondent, by the manner of its submission to repressive circumstances, it paved the way for ballot-box victories in the future. What happened in Delhi on the 12th June has, however, strengthened the hands of those who believe that the Government must ensure, by force, if necessary, that the gurudwaras are demobilised.

(It may be recalled here that after 1921 there was an unwritten agreement between the S. G. P. C. and the British Government by which the S. G. P. C. refused any person permission to stay in the precincts of Darbar Sahib, Akal Takht and Baba Atal, if he was wanted by the police in any case. In return the Government assured the S. G. P. C. that no policeman in uniform will enter the precincts of these holy places. In 1927, at the request of the S. G. P. C., police in uniform entered the Darbar Sahib and arrested Bhai Mool Singh Darpan Bahadur and his associates, who had forcibly taken possession of the Akal Takht Sahib.)

GENESIS OF THE MOVEMENT

It is in its reactions upon areas of opinion which are not purely of the Sikhs, that the morcha is doing more grievous harm, in political terms, to the prospects of achieving Punjabi Suba, adds the correspondent. It is promoting an alienation between the Hindus and Sikhs which can do no good at all to a movement which really needs the support of both. For this state of affairs, according to him, Master Tara Singh's wishes may be less to blame than a rash temper and unrestrained language, for at crucial

moments he has promoted (and never more sharply than now) what suits him the least—an identification of his movement with a single community or faith.

Is then Master Tara Singh a fool that he should insist on a self-defeating programme? The answer to that would be in the affirmative, on the presumption on which the Statesman's correspondent proceeds, i.e., that what Master Tara Singh wants is a Punjabi Suba. But it is that assumption, based doubtless on the repeated declarations of Master Tara Singh himself, that is in question and that has given rise to the bitter opposition among the Hindus of Punjab as well as of Delhi to the formation of a Punjabi Suba. So bitter is their opposition to Master Tara Singh and all that he stands for that they are disowning their own language.

Every one knows that to begin with, indeed for years, after partition, the demand was not for a Punjabi Suba but for a Sikh State. Even an English weekly was started from New Delhi under the editorship of Dr. Gopal Singh to campaign for a Sikh State and it was significantly named the Liberator. It was financed by Master Tara Singh. He soon found himself in prison and realised there that as long as he languished in prison his movement would languish outside it. Once outside prison his first thought was to go to Pakistan and he did. Master Tara Singh has been going to Pakistan with the same fervour as Communist leaders go to Moscow. He had been there recently again (before his arrest) and his 'moving' speeches were tape-recorded and played to friendly audiences. The Delhi Branch of the Akali Dal organised a Sikh rally at Ajmal Khan Park and the rally was presided over by Maulana Ahmad Siddique, a Muslim leader of Delhi and editor of an Urdu daily which ardently supports the Akali movement. At the meeting the Secretary of the State Akali Dal came out with the assurance that the Muslims of Delhi would participate in large number in the Akali procession. The Akali-Muslim unity being built up by the leaders of the Akali movement makes it still more suspect in Hindu eyes.

ANALOGIES

Before his arrest in connection with the current Morcha for Punjabi Suba, Master Tara Singh, according to a correspondent of the *Organiser*, a Jan Sangh weekly published from Delhi, gave vent to his ideas about his dream state to an interviewer. In the course of his observations he said:

"The Punjabi Suba in its administration shall be, more or less, on the lines of the Jammu and Kashmir State administrative set-up. We shall elect our own

Prime Minister. We shall nominate our own Rajpramukh or Head of State. We shall not tolerate any kind of interference in our internal affairs."

Asked about his intentions in the event of non-acceptance of his demand by the Government, he said without hesitation: "Such a situation would lead to undesirable results, as it would lead to a situation not within easy control in the areas adjoining Pakistan." Questioned further as to why only in border areas trouble would start and not elsewhere, Masterji said: "It would also spread later on to other areas, but it would start first near the border." (He then said something which the Editor of the *Organiser* has refused to publish.)

Master Tara Singh was then put a direct question: "Do you then treat Pakistan as a real and true friend?" He replied, "Yes, I can depend on Pakistan. Why Pakistan alone, if China were to accede to our demand, we would depend upon them as well." Regarding the status of Hindus, Masterji expressed the view that they could live in Punjabi Suba just as they did in Pakistan.

Allowing for a little exaggeration in reporting for an opposition paper (which may not be there) there would appear to be little doubt that the report bears the semblance of veracity. Indeed, the analogy of the Jammu and Kashmir State would appear to be spurious, in order to keep within the law, for even today, the Akalis are basing their claim on the analogy of the partition of 1947. It is not only what Master Tara Singh says in public and in private—and that is bad enough—that counts. What counts even more than the public utterances of leaders is the private talk the Akalis indulge in almost publicly. They had recently started making fun of the cow in the presence of their Hindu friends, feeling that thereby they would be touching them on the raw. It did not succeed. What succeeded was the fun the Hindus made of their Murcha. So great, indeed, is the gulf between the two today that Sardar Pratap Singh, who was the most unpopular man among the Hindus of his State as well as among Sikhs, is today, by virtue of the strong action he has taken against the Akalis, much more popular than he ever was among Hindus.

PROPOSED BOUNDARIES

Also, the Punjabi language would appear to have little to do with the demand for Punjabi Suba. While Maharashtrians and Gujaratis and others are insisting on including even bilingual border areas in their states, the Akalis are not even prepared to include unilingual areas in the proposed Punjabi Suba. The boundaries of the proposed Punjabi Suba are being drawn by the Akalis not on the basis of language but on the basis of religion—as in the partitioning of Punjab and Bengal in 1947. So what is desired is a state on the basis of religion where the Akalis would dominate the show. What this domination would lead to, in course of time, in the hands of a fanati-

cal and bigoted people is not difficult to contemplate. The rapprochement with Pakistan by a community which suffered most at the hands of Muslim fanatics in Pakistan and the rapprochement with Sikhs by Muslims who suffered most at the hands of the Sikhs in Eastern Punjab is by itself a circumstance which cannot be easily explained on any other basis except enmity with the Hindus, which form the vast bulk of the population of India, and with their Government.

Howsoever shortsighted the alliance may be, it bespeaks the mentality of those seeking it. Indeed the fanaticism engendered among the Sikhs by the repeated question: "The Hindus got Hindustan, the Muslims got Pakistan, what did the Sikhs get?" has so alienated the Sikhs from the national current that their leaders cannot be trusted with responsibility in a border province. Even supposing Master Tara Singh is not for a Sikh State today, he has created passions which will throw him overboard if he does not attempt to create a Sikh State out of a Sikh Suba, once he secures the latter.

Even granting that Master Tara Singh is today sincerely against the coming into being of a Sikh State, he will have no alternative to advocating it, once it becomes a practical proposition, because yielding leadership to others is out of the question. But there is no evidence that he is against an independent Sikh state, since he took out his sword and flourished it in the face of the British Cabinet Members' Mission in 1946, as if to say—the report is that he actually said it—that the Sikhs will carve out a kingdom for themselves with the help of the sword.

There is a difference between the Sikhs and other communities which patriots cannot afford to overlook. The Sikhs are a martial community and a very large percentage of them are or have been in the Army. Given a Sikh state on the border of Pakistan on whom Master Tara Singh can depend (for what? supply of arms?) the Akali Dal will have a trained army out of their retired soldiers, if not also out of the Service personnel, ready to do battle for the sacred cause, once the supply of arms is assured—from across the border!

(As this is being written comes the news that Punjab Akalis have decided to construct a mosque in Chandigarh at a cost of Rs 5,000. The plan for the mosque will be prepared by a Japanese architect. This is a far cry from the days when the Sikhs occupied mosques in East Punjab, which Master Tara Singh offered to return to Muslims during his recent visit to Pakistan.)

PLAYING WITH FIRE

As the Statesman's Special Representative says while recounting the dangers inherent in the Murcha continuing too long, frustration itself would lead the movement to draw on stronger and more danger-

(Continued on page 10)

The Four-Fold Law of Living

By Ralph Borsodi

It is commonplace in science as in philosophy, that not knowing what one has been looking for means not knowing what one has found.—Simone de Beauvoir.

THE end-result of my study of the basic problems of man and of society point to the fact that they should result in a four-fold law of living, a law which unfortunately man has failed to formulate and to observe. I now venture some outline of what these laws should cover.

If Man's history is in so many respects worse than the history of any other species of animal; this is due to the fact that he cannot, as can all other animals, rely upon his instincts in dealing with the problems with which he is confronted. He has to rely for direction upon the use of his conscious mind. His two-fold failure to use this extraordinary faculty with which he alone in the animal kingdom is endowed, firstly to determine how he should live, and secondly to condition himself so that he lives as he should, is responsible for his dark and tragic history fitfully lightened, it is true, by marvelous artistic and scientific, cultural and moral achievements, which provide a glimpse of what he could make of life if he were to use his mind to actualize his potentialities as a normal human being.

This four-fold law of living, the full development of which in all its manifold aspects is the most important task to which science and art, religion and philosophy ought to direct itself, should be man's conscious response to the impulses which come to him from his three basic instinctual drives. The law should deal in detail with his problems firstly as a mere living organism, then as a sexual human, and finally as a fully evolved human being.

(Continued from page 9)

rous passions, inducing in some a militancy which could do no good either to them or to any one else. But, again, Master Tara Singh is not such a fool as not to have taken that possibility for granted. In so far as he must have been aware of it, he has been playing with fire, and doing so deliberately.

Thus Master Tara Singh's programme, clearly self-defeating as it obviously is so far as the objective of Punjabi Suba is concerned, is not so clearly self-defeating so far as the ultimate objective of a Sikh State is concerned, a state independent of India. He has been raving with reference to the conditions under which Andhra was created that Nehru yields to force. It is force that Master Tara Singh now relies on—non-violent at first and, when the circumstances are ripe for it, violent. Any one who does not realise this, does not know the Sikh mind, which Master Tara Singh truly represents.

I. As the law should apply to man as a mere living organism, it will necessarily apply to every living organism from the one-celled amoeba to man himself, for its essence, which can be summed up in one word, they all share as a common problem, self-survival. For the normal human being, (the qualification normal is all-important—defined later), the law must formulate an answer to the question of how he should go about the business of trying personally to survive.

But it should be emphasized that this is not man's most important problem as so many students of man and of society have assumed. It is his lowest problem, since in essence it is the same problem with which the lowest and least evolved of all organisms have to deal.

This is what makes Marx's economic interpretation of history such a base travesty of the complex problem with which the history of man confronts us. It is not true, as he maintained in *The Communist Manifesto*, "That in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which it is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that period." Yet crassly untrue as this statement is, Engels said of it in his introduction to the English translation of the manifesto forty years after the original appeared, "This proposition... is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology." The fact that most historians today have accepted the economic interpretation of man's history does seem to vindicate Engel's prophecy.

No wonder man's history is so dark and tragic when absurdities like this masquerade as science in the thinking of most of the educators of mankind!

II. As the law of living applies to man as a sexual human, it has to deal with two problems not one, self-survival and race-survival. This second problem is a higher, and much more difficult, and therefore much more important problem than the first. In formulating the specifications for it, account must be taken of the problem of reconciling self-survival, which is an individual right, with race-survival, which is an individual obligation.

We owe to Marx over-emphasis on the problem of survival; we owe to Freud over-emphasis on the problem of sexuality, but of the two, Freud dealt with the more important problem. And what Freud, after a life-time of the study of human

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

How I Became a Rationalist

By Sydney Willats



Mr. Sydney Willats was born on 23rd November 1882 in Norfolk, England. He went to Australia in 1900 and settled in North Queensland as a farmer. He kept a dairy farm of 40 cows, one bull and three horses on 160 acres of land. He did not marry. It is his opinion that a successful farmer should have a wife and children who work for him on cheaper wages than hired labour. His farm therefore was not a success. He has sold the farm and is returning to England where he will spend the evening of his life with his sister and her children. On his journey home he stayed for three months in Madras and spent considerable time with local Rationalists. He was a daily visitor to the Ranchoddas Lotvala Foundation Library.

In the eighties of the last century when I was a little boy, my mother taught me to say my prayers to a God that lived in heaven, a place high in the sky. The prayers were so worded that I was led to believe that God was an all powerful man. I knew nothing then of omniscience or omnipotence. Every night, with my hands clasped and my eyes tightly closed—why this latter I don't know, was it in case we caught a glimpse of God—I asked God to protect my dear Dada and Mamma, my sisters and brothers

and of course my dear little self, finalizing with the lengthy "Lords prayer". That was my nightly exercise up to my seventeenth or eighteenth year, with never an omission.

Come my school years, this teaching was reinforced by half an hour's bible reading, nine to nine-thirty, each boy to stand and read a single verse from a chapter of the bible. As I look back now I realize that the daily selected chapter must have been well "VETTED", in case there were words and actions that were not fitted for little boys to know what God was up to. In spite of this overseeing and selecting by our masters, we all could point out an "obscene" verse or two. To this day I remember one, and a shocking one it is, for somewhere in my christian teaching, the words "give us our daily bread" were intoned to us and often as I eat my daily bread I think of how Ezekiel in Chapter IV. viz. tells how to Leaven, I suppose, our daily bread.

The juniors' years passed and I was moved to the higher grade, and there for the first time I saw an "Orrery". This stood in the midst of the big class room. There it stood on its four legs, glass enclosed around its four sides, just high enough for my nose to press against it, with a glass top and this was protected by a brass grill and well it might be, for books were piled on top of it. We boys knew it as the "planetary system" and that is all for there was never a lesson given to us about it. It was about three feet square, and in the middle stood, on a supporting peg, the sun. It was "sun" coloured and to its satellites it was obviously their master. There they stood mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter and the others. Each supported from below by a thin almost invisible peg, spaced here and there to give us appreciation, if that was possible, of their distances. Earth was the only one that had any terrestrial coloured markings on it. This "Orrery" always intrigued me, far more than the flat maps on the wall, or in our book aths. There it stood with a brass-rail grid on its flat top with books more often than not piled on top. There was never any instruction given to us about it, but it was a thousand times more instructive to us, than the flat maps hung on the walls and I never tired of looking with wonderment at these planets suspended "in the air". Then one day, there came to

my young mind, an awakening, a realization that the sun was our "over-lord", the "all-powerful" that kept us suspended in space and gave us the heat and water to make the vegetation grow that feeds us. An incursion into the mysterious power of oxygen which we get from the sun, from the physics-master whom we boys called "stinks", made us realize that if Father sun was to be extinguished suddenly in very few minutes all living flora and fauna would die. I remember I went home and told my mother that the sun was God. What a sacrilege from a school-boy! My poor, ignorant and innocent mother said that I should not say so. Some years afterwards I noticed she had given up her habit of Sunday church-going, but I was not too old to be lugged to church, morning and evening every Sunday, but the "habit" of nightly prayer saying still gripped me.

Then came a momentous happening in my life. Was it in my eighteenth year? I awoke one morning, realized that I had not said my prayers before dropping off to sleep. I could not make out how this all powerful god allowed me to wake up. That did it, and I have never said them since but I still thought myself a Christian. Then one day, in the Overseas edition of the London Daily Mail, I saw a small two line advertisement offering a specimen of *The Free Thinker*. I sent for a copy. That changed my whole outlook on my future life. Now I could buy books that showed me that there must be truth in atheism, more than a horrid word and I found it as easy as anything to jettison Jesus, as it had been as hard to disbelieve in him before. Since that time my life has been free of fear and superstition and thus has been the happiest years of my life. I have met or corresponded with people that I should never have dared to approach had I remained a christian. Rationalism, Humanism, Atheism and Freethought is an "open sesame" for all of us that have enlightened ourselves by our own efforts, for few of us are lucky enough to have been born of Rationalist reasoning parents. We must all help the "best of all causes" by tongue and pen and pocket. When the late Dr. C. L. D'avoine of Bombay "Reason" had to "fold up" through his infirmity and the scattering of his contributors in the second world-war, it had been getting an increasing subscription list, and did not deserve to go under.

I have not many more years or months to live and I hope I shall be, when I die, in a place where I can be cremated. It is certain I shall have no white-man's witch-doctor anointing with oil all the places and parts of my physical body that may have contacted my body with so-called sin, my ears, for they had heard irreligious utterances, my eyes for they had seen obscenities, my tongue, for it may have uttered blasphemies, the palms of my hands for they had done things they should not have done and finally the soles of my feet, for they had took me to places I should not have gone; two other places that certainly have sinned but are not mentioned such as the hocus-pocus of last rites or extreme unction.

Give me the Faggets or heated dehydrating oven of the cleanly and hygenic crematorium. This latter is modern, not yet one hundred years old. It is the means of disposing of our dead bodies. The coffin or casket, enters into a hermetically sealed cylindrical oven and the heat given off from an oil fed and lighted torch which never touches the coffin supplies enough heat to dessicate the body in an hour and a half. Then the ashes are sifted to separate any metal ornaments and screws that had been used in the making of the coffin. You may have your ashes strewn to the winds of the world. The gardens surrounding the beautiful building are beautifully laid-out and there are brick walls with every second brick missing. In these pigeon-hole like places you can have the cannister, size about ten inches by five that contains your ashes placed and as the ends are embossed, any particulars you wish for, say name, age, where and when born and date of departure they are visible for relatives and friends for all time. Some have their ashes posted to far away countries. People say, a parent, will buy enough pigeon holes for his whole family, to be used as each in turn is cremated. Some by "will" have their ashes scattered on a river, which somewhat upsets the words in the christian burial-service, "ashes to ashes, dust to dust". That great American lawyer, that great advocate for the under-Dog had his ashes strewn on a river. I think that fundamentalist christians at each years's anniversary go to the place to see his body arise. Up to this time he has not arisen to please them. A late friend of mine "willed" his ashes to be used in his vegetable garden and sure enough they were so disposed of, to fertilize the cabbages and potatoes. Christian scandal-mongers said it was going back to cannibalism. Well what about the transubstiation of the mythical body and blood of Jesus the Christ at Holy communion service in the Christian churches? His flesh is the wafer made from flour, and his blood is from the grapes. If that is not going back to cannibalism then what is? And the first person to be cremated in England was a woman.

SCIENTIFIC VIEW OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

It is with these public affairs that science operates, and only those things which can be verified publicly are included in the term scientific knowledge.

—One need not be learned in scientific matters in order to acquire the point of view I have here outlined. You will find, I suggest, that if you avoid private explanations in discussion, restricting yourself and your friends to public matters that can be verified, truth will acquire a new and cleaner complexion. Motives will be verified not by personal assurances, but by an examination of actual behaviour. Discussions that might have finished in personal bickerings and estrangements may resolve themselves into collective attempts to obtain and examine evidence.

—Prof. Hyman Levy

Building Up a Rationalist Organisation

By S. Ramanathan

READERS may recollect that I have issued an appeal to all Rationalists in India to become life members of the Indian Rationalist Association and pay up Rs. 100 each which will be accumulated into a permanent fund to keep alive the objects of the Rationalist movement. This idea represented the trend of opinion of the delegates to the last Convention of Indian Rationalists which was held in Madras in December 1958.

Shri R. B. Lotwala has sent his reaction to this appeal as follows: "You have appealed for life membership. I shall become one and send Rs. 100 on condition that it is spent away for propoganda work in the course of one year. I am against capitalising money as it creates vested interests. This was my quarrel with the London R.P.A. also which is now working on Capitalistic lines and spending only from the interest on accumulated funds."

These words from a leading personality in the Rationalist movement deserve careful consideration. Proceeding on abstract principles the attitude taken by Shri Lotwala is quite correct. It is a common sight, not only in India but elsewhere in the world also that an organisation which has accumulated funds attracts to it persons who do not have faith in the principles for which the organisation is founded but who merely seek to get possession of the funds and to wield power which goes with an executive appointment in that organisation. But then, how shall we proceed to spread the message of Rationalism to the people at large if we do not have an organisation for that purpose? This is the dilemma that faces all good causes and all attempts at missionary enterprise. Even Sanyasis, who have renounced the world, when put in charge of large religious funds accumulated in temples and mutts have abused their trust and become altogether corrupt.

Besides the attempt to build up a permanent fund the principal of which is not made available for current expenditure, but only the interest is made so available, displays a lack of faith in the future advocates of the cause. When it is possible to accumulate large funds for a great cause at any particular period it should be equally possible to gather such funds for the same cause at subsequent periods also. There is a Tamil saying that the springs in a well bring forth fresh water only if the present supply is pumped out. If a cause is worthy of popular support the money accumulated from the public to propagate the cause must be fully spent in the current period so that such expenditure will spread the message and induce the people to subscribe more funds for spreading the message still further.

Apart from the consideration of pure principles

indicated above, let us face the facts in regard to the Rationalist movement in India. There are at least 1000 professed Rationalists in this country of 400 millions. Indeed the subscribers' list of the *Indian Rationalist*, when it was published as an independent journal, was about 1000. But the tragedy of the situation is that these 1000 Rationalists are not active. They are just passive. Many of them started sending their subscriptions for one year and stopped with that, not renewing their subscriptions in spite of repeated reminders. It was considered at the Central office of the I.R.A. that sending reminders to these inactive Rationalists was throwing good money after the bad and we stopped sending reminders but continued to post the journal until we reached the end of our resources. A fresh appeal therefore is necessary. Probably we shall find a new set of men and women spread through all the States in India who may become active Rationalists, at any rate in the initial stage, although they may become passive later on. If there is any vitality in Rationalism we have to make such a new start at the present movement. Let me confess it frankly before the Rationalists of India that this small "Rationalist Supplement" is being printed and published entirely out of the munificence of Shri R. B. Lotwala, without any cost to the I.R.A. This state of affairs reflects the generosity of Shri Lotwala and the utter callousness on the part of members of the Rationalist movement. Many Rationalists have written letters to me asking me to re-start independent publication of our journal. But how am I to do it unless a sufficient number are forthcoming either as subscribers of the journal or as donors to our sustaining fund?

Probably it is best that we spend all the money that we now have and that we may collect in the immediate future from life members in doing propoganda for the cause of Rationalism.

I propose therefore to take Shri Lotwala's suggestion and open the subscribers list of life members who will each pay Rs. 100 to be spent immediately and not to be accumulated. But I shall wait for another month for reactions to this proposal from fellow members. The new campaign may start in the month of July this year. Meanwhile I request all Rationalists to write to me individually and tell me (1) Whether they will become life members of the I.R.A. and pay Rs. 100 or whatever sum they are capable of, specifying the sum they will pay up. (2) Whether they want their subscriptions to be accumulated into a permanent fund or (3) Whether they would like their subscriptions to be spent immediately for propoganda for Rationalism.

Scizophrenic Tales

By P. J. Sabnis

RAM RAO was a great social reformer, and a great Orator to boot. He was well-versed both in modern thought and in orthodox lore. He was a leading practitioner of the Bombay Bar. Marshalling arguments after arguments with his excellent forensic ability he laid his orthodox adversary flat on his back. Irony was his special weapon of attack. Casteism and its ignominious offshoot, untouchability, were his special targets. He would expose casteism to abject ridicule, and uphold the dignity of Man. Whenever he would point in the blackest colours the barbarous inhumanity inherent in the custom of untouchability, he would move, like Anthony, "The very stones of Rome (that is, Bombay), to rise and to mutiny." Whenever his lecture was announced, the Sunderbai Hall was packed to capacity. He had a ready-wit of an extraordinary type, a quality so necessary for a public speaker. One day, Ram Rao was interrupted in the height of his oratorical enthusiasm by one belonging to the fast disappearing generation, who asked him whether he a Brahmin would marry his daughter to a pariah. Another man in his place would have reeled under the blow. But, only after a moment's pause, Ram Rao retorted with a mischievous twinkle in his eyes, uttering every word slowly but emphatically, "yes, Sir, I would most certainly, most willingly—and most gladly—marry my daughter to a pariah—yes, to a pariah—if—if—if—.... (pin-drop-silence) I had one." The interrupter hid his face in shame amidst the thunder of applause, ridicule and cries of shame that fell like hell on his ignominious head. Ram Rao carried the day.

The following morning, Ram Rao sat in his study, complacently reading a detailed account of his overnight triumph. He was unhappily disturbed by a ring on the phone.

"Hello who is speaking?"

"Daddy dear, it is I, Vasant".

"Oh! bother! what are you after, son?"

"Daddy dear, do you remember?"

"Remember what? speak out at once, my boy I have much work to dispose of".

"Miss Kale, Daddy! Do you remember?"

"Miss Kale! Don't you mean the girl you introduced to me more than a month ago?"

"Yes, Daddy dear, the same Miss Kale, Suman Kale, I mean."

"Well, what about her?"

"She wishes.....Daddy dear! she wishes to be your daughter-in-law."

"That is, your wife! Isn't it? you rogue!"

"Yes, Daddy! How good of you!"

"Want you my permission? I give it willingly."

"Your finance is fair looking, well educated and well cultured".

"Not your permission, Daddy! Thank you very much all the same! We now want your blessings. We are just now married with Vedic-rites."

"Why this indecent hurry! You rogue! I would have celebrated your marriage with due pomp and fan fare. Your mother would have been so very very glad."

"Yes, that is true, Daddy dear! but.....?"

"But me no buts. Out with it at once, you rascal".

"But Daddy, she is a pariah."

"A pariah! Have you really married a pariah! You rascal! Are you in your senses! Or, are you simply joking with me?"

"God forbid! Daddy! I dare not joke with you. My marriage with Suman, who is a pariah, is now a fait accompli".

(The son had obviously inherited some traits of the father). "Then I cut you off with a Naya Paisa", roared the phone, "You are as good as dead, you damned rascal, I will perform your Shradda tomorrow". "But Daddy dear! You are a great social....."

Only a loud bang greeted the auditory sense of Vasant.

A KING WITHOUT A THRONE

Materialism has always claimed that the closet scrutiny of the world fails to reveal the slightest trace of a Supernatural influence. It has nothing to do with a God who exists somewhere—wherever that may be—and it leaves the proof of his existence to those who believe in him. No Republican has ever objected to a king who did not occupy a throne, and who played no part in national affairs. A God who does nothing is not likely to trouble anyone. If the action of God is excluded from the world of natural phenomena, he has, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist.

—Chapman Cohen

sexuality, was driven to conclude can be summed up in one word: **sublimation**. Man can not just devote himself to economics; he cannot just devote himself to propagation; his powerful instinctual sexual drive must be sublimated if he is to live and behave like a normal human being. The discharge of his obligation—of the obligation which grows out of his right to survival—calls for sublimation in art and science, in religion, philosophy and education.

III. It is at this point that the laws of living have to begin dealing with man's third great instinctual drive. Freud, in a sense, pointed towards its existence, but he was too sex-obsessed to recognize that his solution of the sexual problem was based upon the unrecognized fact that man also has an instinctual drive for self-expression. For the laws of living to grapple with the whole problem of living they must prescribe fully for the forms in which man should express his entire personality, integrally and harmonically, individually and as a social being, but prescribe for it not as if he were merely an adult but also as he passes through his life cycle from birth to death; and not merely as if he were a sexless animal either, but as he is, male and female.

But even this does not fully suggest the complexity of this aspect of the problem, for self-expression is both a right and an obligation; it is a right calling for a social condition, liberty, and an obligation calling for the development of a personal characteristic responsibility. Man must have the liberty to express himself, but he is only entitled to this liberty if he learns how to behave like a responsible human being.

And this third aspect of the four-fold law takes precedence over both the first and second; it qualifies what it prescribes for both of them; it sets the conditions for economic and sexual living; it precludes survival without regard to its consequences as it precludes sexuality, and propagation without regard to its consequences. It takes precedence over both the first and second aspects of living for a very obvious and indisputable fact: it is the only instinctual drive which man alone possesses; it is the endowment which has raised him so far above all other animals; it is his development of this endowment which has made him human.

IV. The law of living, however, has a fourth problem with which it has to deal. If man fails to live like a normal human being; if he fails to provide for his survival normally; if he fails to live his sexual and reproductive life normally, and above all, if he fails to express himself in all his activities normally like a whole human being and to try to realize in them his highest potentialities, then this fourth aspect of the law comes into operation.

It is not enough for him to respond, as most men do after some fashion, to the two instinctual drives with which man is ordinarily credited, to hunger

and to sex. If in living he bestializes instead of humanizes his behavior in either of these two aspects, or if he fails adequately to express his highest potentialities and instead expresses his lowest, frustration follows, and frustration of this pathological kind we now know is a kind of morbidity.

With slight frustrations in his pattern of living, he becomes either lethargic or irritable.

With more serious frustrations, he becomes neurotic.

With frustrations of the most serious kind, his death instinct becomes operative. Sometimes he seeks to escape from them in a mystical retreat from life; sometimes he escapes from them in psychosis. If, in his effort to escape, he takes to neither of these forms of death-in-life, he then tries to escape by killing others or by killing himself. Of these two forms, homicide is of course much worse than suicide, and of the many forms of homicide, mass-homicide—war—is the very worst. If man has such a horrible history as a mass-killer, it is because he has so habitually adopted a pattern of living which made mass-frustration inevitable.

If this paints the consequences of frustration in terms which seem too extreme, all that it is necessary to do is to study the psychological life of any of the great mass-killers of history—the Tamerlanes, the Napoleons, the Hitlers, the Stalins, the Mussolinis.

This outline of the laws of living is not, of course, a specific recipe for action; it is only the outline of the basic elements which enter into the formulation of detailed prescriptions for dealing with all the basic problems with which man is confronted. These more detailed prescriptions are what we shall consider one after another in the course of this study.

But these formulations of the way to live can become more and more complete and precise, and contain fewer and fewer errors if we were to focus even half or even a third, of all the science, and art, and philosophy and education which we now lavish on the mastery of physics and engineering, upon the definition of norms of living.

That is the reason that I shall keep on insisting that the "law of living" is a perennial challenge and calls for unending research and education. All the knowledge and wisdom of mankind must be integrated, ancient and modern, Oriental and Occidental, not only upon the specific and critical problems which face us today but upon the universal and perpetual problems of man and of society. Right-research and right-education alone offer hope that all the labors of mankind and all the sufferings which life visits upon the individual can be rendered significant and so endurable.

The man or woman who is not taught and does

(Continued on page 12)

Eternal Love

By Lawrence Noonan

You are a member of the Jury in this fictional Court case.

THE Courtroom was hushed as the judge entered the chamber. It was crowded and many people could find standing room only. The trial, of course, had attracted nation-wide interest and you could almost reach out and feel the expectancy.

The defendant, Charles Akins, was a rather small and timid looking man. Perhaps the timidity was a matter of fear—surely the somber courtroom and the overpowering majesty of the law were enough to inspire fear in a defendant. Mr. Akins certainly did not look like a criminal. As a matter of fact, he really looked quite respectable. But he did look frightened. And yet, there was determination there. And just a gleam of courage shining through, too.

Perhaps we should tell you now that the year was 1975. Not that there was anything so special about '75. Children went to school, grew up, worked, got married, and reared their own children. People went to church, voted, talked politics, argued, and endeavored to understand the subtleties of economics. But, all of it was just a little bit different. Especially in the way that people looked at things.

The judge, the Honorable Warren Faber, having completed the preliminary ceremonies, was looking rather curiously, we thought, at the defendant.

"Mr. Akins," he said, "it is my understanding that you have retained no counsel and that you wish to defend yourself. Considering the gravity of the charge against you, I feel that you might like to reconsider."

"No, your honor," Akins replied, "I am going to defend myself."

"Mr. Akins, you are charged with a federal offense and are being tried in a federal court. You are charged with usurping the function of the government, of undermining and attempting to replace the monetary system of this country. With serious

(Continued from page 11)

not learn how to live as the "law of living" prescribes, does not and cannot realize the full potentialities and creative possibilities of the human personality. The failure to realize these potentialities not only dooms men to a continuance of his tragic history; it dooms the individual to frustrations and prevents him from enjoying the satisfactions which life can furnish. Only by learning how to deal with both his personal and his social problems can modern man end the frustrations to which his personal devotion to Progress and its implementation through Centralization, condemns him.

—Balanced Living

charges of this nature why will you not avail yourself of counsel?"

Mr. Akins seemed to be shivering slightly.

"Your honor, the facts have already been more or less determined. This is a matter of right or wrong. There isn't any legal thing involved here. I'm not guilty of anything. I simply want to tell what happened. I want to tell my story. I don't need any lawyer to do that."

The Prosecuting Attorney, Arnold Spear, leaped to his feet.

"Your honor, I object. The defendant is attempting to tell the court what is right and wrong. Further, I object to the statement that all of the facts are known."

"Objection overruled. This court will make its findings when the time comes. The defendant does have the right to represent himself. Mr. Akins, you have been sworn in. Now tell us what you consider to be your story."

"Well, this is the way it was. Back in 1957 my company, Trans-World Mining, became interested in increasing the market for our principal product—platinum. We had expanded our mining considerably and we needed more in the way of sales. We believed that platinum could be used far more extensively in jewelry and we bought a well-known jewelry manufacturing firm. We experimented with combining platinum with another metal, and we came up with something very beautiful and practical."

Judge Faber interrupted. "Mr. Akins, let me interrupt a minute. Up to this point you have simply told us that you were a mining company and had turned to the manufacture of jewelry from platinum?"

"Yes sir, that is correct. We had considerable success with the manufacture of jewelry, but as the years went by we began to notice a very unusual thing."

The Judge leaned forward intently. There was absolute quiet in the courtroom.

"We had manufactured small disk-like pieces of jewelry with some fine detail work on each side. Each piece had a small hole near one edge and we had intended them as pieces suitable for pendants. They sold for fifty, a hundred, and two hundred dollars apiece. Frankly, we had not expected to sell too many of them. But as time passed, we began to experience something unusual. As I said, in the beginning, we didn't know how much to expect in the way of sales from a simple little piece like

this. But as the years went by, the sales on this one small piece of adornment jewelry exceeded the sale of everything else the company was making! We couldn't understand it. These small pieces—originally priced at \$50 to \$200, and later at higher figures as the dollar price of platinum rose along with prices of everything else—were going like hot cakes. This went on and on. Finally, I had a market research out-fit do a survey to find out why we were selling so many of these."

Charles Akins paused and licked his lips. The audience in the room was quiet but tense. Although they didn't have a doubt about the outcome of the trial, it was fascinating to hear this story from the man himself. After all, you didn't defy the government these days and get away with it!

Akins went on. "We discovered that people were buying these as an investment. People had become terribly afraid of the government's solvency. The government had issued barrels full of paper money. It wasn't even backed by gold any more. You couldn't even get gold."

Arnold Spear had jumped to his feet again. There was contempt in his eyes as he looked toward the defendant.

"Your honor, the defendant is beating about the bush. These things about paper money and gold are ridiculous! He's completely dodging the main issue—what was written on those coins?"

Little Mr. Akins was growing bolder.

"Your honor, it is my turn now to object. This was not a coin. We did not make these as coins. We did put an inscription on this piece of jewelry which conveyed—in a foreign tongue—Eternal Love. We had expected that this piece would be used for gift purposes. However, many people also interpreted this quotation to mean Eternal Value. Later on, this piece of jewelry began to be used by people in trade. They recognized and trusted the purity of its alloy. It had real value to them not only as an ornament but also as a medium of exchange. And as it came more and more into use in trade, this new use gave it still added value. People began saving them, hoarding them. We increased our production many times. We almost eliminated the manufacture of all other platinum items. The people wanted these. They were demanding them."

Akins paused again. He seemed to be either waiting to be challenged by the Prosecuting Attorney or for a request for clarification from the Judge. Nothing happened. Both the Judge and Arnold Spear had become absorbed in the story.

Akins proceeded now with growing confidence. He was on familiar ground. Regardless of the outcome, he had only one course and he followed it.

"Naturally, we were in business to make a profit. However, we, too, had become very apprehensive

about the monetary situation and the government's policy. We finally decided that in addition to selling the platinum pieces, we should also make them the basis of our accounting and billing system—our private monetary unit. Thus, we began to use them as a medium of exchange. Of course, we were soon threatened by the Treasury Department. But they couldn't really do anything about it. Anyway, they didn't try. But later the value of the paper money in the country became almost worthless and they tried to blame Trans-World Mining for it. There was wild inflation. But the platinum pieces kept their value. People kept these whereas they would have kept gold if they could have gotten it. The government's paper money became almost worthless."

There was now both triumph and despair in Akin's voice.

"Well, it was almost incredible what had happened. The chaos became almost indescribable. People became frantic to get more of these platinum pieces. Where the value of paper money was going down and down, the value of the platinum piece was going up. It became the only sound means of exchange in the country."

Sadly he continued. "People came to realize that sound money was just as important as liberty itself. They found that there wasn't any honest freedom without honest money."

Another pause. "But now the government needs a scapegoat and they've got me. They want to put their own blame on someone else."

We won't bore you with the cross examination by Arnold Spear, the Prosecuting Attorney. He was eager for a conviction and the rhetoric thundered in the court. He likened Akins to one guilty of treason, of plotting the downfall of his own country. Akins was morally a leach and legally far worse. The thunder rolled on and on.

We don't know yet what the verdict is. The jury is still out.

—The Freeman

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China Violates Sino-Indian Agreement

(From Our Correspondent)

THE Akali Morcha is on. On June 12, fixed by Master Tara Singh for a march in Delhi, the Akalis presented a problem to the authorities by gathering in Chandni Chowk, the heart of the Old City, from all sides, and what happened on that day is an old story now. On June 19, the next Sunday, 150 Akalis courted arrest in Amritsar and 11 in Delhi. The paucity of volunteers in Delhi is accounted for by the fact that, on June 12, over 1,000 arrests had been made in Delhi for defiance of the Government ban on processions and assemblies. The hundred and fifty arrested at Amritsar were drawn from five Punjab districts. This does not show any marked enthusiasm for the cause among Sikhs. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the organisers are anxious to hold volunteers in reserve for what, it is now apparent, will be a long-drawn out battle between the Akalis and the Government. It would appear, however, that the aged and the unemployed find their way easily to the volunteers' camp, specially the former.

About a hundred former INA (Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army) officers and men have described the Punjabi Suba agitation as "anti-national and communal and have offered their services to the Government to combat the agitation, under the leadership of General (now plain) Mr. Mohan Singh. The General Secretary of the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh Jana Sangh says that the State branch of the party has decided to start a country-wide campaign to expose the Akali Punjabi Suba demand. Punjab Jana Sangh leaders are to tour other states to counter the Akali campaign. He has also strongly criticised the methods used by the Punjab Government in dealing with the Akali agitation. He maintains that the Government wants to strengthen its hold on the State to suppress all agitations, even those for just causes. There is some justification for the allegation, inasmuch as action has been taken against other bodies also. It can be said that that action was taken in order to present a semblance of fairness to the public, but it is indeed a funny kind of justice which makes the authorities take action against those who present no threat to law and order, simply because they have had to take action against those who did.

What the Akalis have done and are doing in using the gurudwaras for political purposes will take a lot of unconvincing justification. This is a point on which the non-Akalis can agitate with reason on their side. They can even approach the Government to prevent the misuse of the gurudwaras for party purposes. Some have begun doing so already.

It remains to be seen how this tangle is removed. One immediate effect of this misuse of the gurudwaras has been that the Hindus, who used to attend the gurudwaras as believers in Guru Nanak, are now refraining from doing so in larger number. Indeed, the hostility among Hindus for the Sikhs has been mounting again, and the increasing, if spurious, sympathy shown by some Muslims for them can hardly be regarded as a good substitute by any sane Sikh.

CHINA VIOLATES AGREEMENT

The Chinese authorities in Lhasa have informed the Indian Consul-General there that it would not be advisable for pilgrims to proceed to Kailash and Mansarovar this year, according to an External Affairs Ministry Press release. The Chinese advice against the usual pilgrimage to those places in western Tibet is supposed to be in the "interests of the safety of the pilgrims." It is thus assumed, according to the Press release, that the normal facilities will not be available for Indian pilgrims this year. The withdrawal of facilities is a clear violation of the April 1954 Agreement between India and China over Tibet. One of the clauses of the Agreement was:

"Pilgrims from India of Lamaist, Buddhist and Hindu faiths may visit Kang Rimpoche (Kailash) and Mavam Tse (Mansarovar) in the Tibet region of China in accordance with custom."

Last year the Chinese Government had informed India that "that pilgrims will be well-advised not to undertake the journey and they would do so at their own risk and responsibility." According to well-informed quarters in New Delhi, the Chinese are known to be actively engaged in the deploying of troops and the construction of roads, airfields and other military installations in western Tibet. Even in that case it is difficult to see how the presence of Indian pilgrims can be regarded as undesirable, since they are not allowed to carry telescopes with them. As for the reported local uprisings in western Tibet, they can only be the result of mopping up operations by the Chinese, and they can hardly be on mountain tops. The inference to draw from the latest Chinese violation of the Agreement with India is that China is not only being ruthless but is advertising its ruthlessness.

When the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai was about to come to Delhi last April, some newspaper reports made it appear that the Chinese had re-

moved all restrictions put on Indian representatives and that an atmosphere of marked friendliness had replaced the former stiffness and reserve towards Indians. These reports proved to be false and the conditions under which the Indian representatives work are broadly the same as described in the Notes sent by the External Affairs Ministry to China in the second half of last year.

With a vast army build-up, a network of new roads and airfields and elimination of all Tibetans from positions of authority, no real resistance to the Chinese is now possible. After the uprising of March last year nationalist elements in Tibet were either destroyed or driven out of the country. The Chinese have now turned their attention to the institution of lamaism and are driving away its real priests and monks and replacing them with suitably disguised Chinese priests to make it appear that these ancient institutions are being preserved. Although the Pancham Lama's position is obscure, his father is under arrest and his followers have taken to arms, but that does not amount to an uprising. It is only the last gasp of the Tibetan movement for freedom.

Apropos the grim story of the Tibetans told by an agent of the Communist Party who recently fled from Tibet, a correspondent of the State man asks: "What is this country doing for these wonderful people who have been enslaved against their will? Is India going to stand by and just watch, or act through the U. N. and take a hand in the matter herself?" He then proceeds to observe:•

"There is a big military build-up going on round the clock in Tibet, on the very doorstep of India. It is being conveniently overlooked by our Foreign Affairs experts.

"We are constantly declaring we are not going to align ourselves with any bloc, but it seems that one of the blocs is going to align itself with us forcibly. We should either be prepared to accept them or have a firm policy to throw them off our backs, and in the event we adopt the policy of throwing them off, we should act.

"The people of India are completely united—something the Government of India asked for. The times have changed and the people are now asking the Government leaders to unite over the action they want us, the people, to take. Whilst we are a very peaceful nation, we are not going to be intimidated or bullied into falling under the Communist hammer. Perhaps India has to shed blood for the cause of freedom, and this the people will do. We only ask that we be forewarned of any disaster. We cannot afford a Pearl Harbour or a Dunkirk.

"If India is democratic she must see that democracy is not impaired by the acts of Communist Powers. Communists are like Nazis—only a little worse. We should take heed while there is yet time".

FEAR OF CHINA

The answer to the question posed by the correspondent comes from Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru in an address to a public meeting held at Poona to celebrate the 55th anniversary of the Servants of India Society. This worthy successor of Sastri and Gokhale—"integrity personified" as the Kashmiris describe him—alleged that it was out of fear of China that a vigorous road-building programme in strategic areas was not pursued by India in the critical years after China had taken control of Tibet. When a road had been constructed by China in Ladakh, in spite of the Panch Sheel treaty, the Government of India took time to verify it, he said, adding that there was no need for such verification as the construction of the road had been publicly celebrated in China.

There might have been no need of verifying it, as Dr. Kunzru says, but there certainly was need for gaining time, and this kind of thing surely could not be disclosed on the eve of the elections, the in convenient celebrations in China notwithstanding. Indeed, to avoid the charge that the news was withheld from India because of the elections, the disclosure was not made until years later. That is what is called statesmanship in Congress circles. Can there be anything more surprising than the fact that 12,000 square miles of our territory should be annexed by a neighbour and we should still call that neighbour a friend and go to sleep over the aggression? Can such a country remain free for long? That is the question posed by the Chinese aggression.

MOSCOW'S FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY

A system of screening Indian students who want to go abroad has become necessary as a result of recent happenings. The Indian Ambassador to the USA has written to the Union Government about the undesirability of permitting Indian students to study abroad when they are not properly equipped or oriented, and the Institute of Moscow's "Friendship University" has raised an issue of far-reaching importance in this context. Admissions to this University are to be made on an individual basis and without reference to the Government of India. Although no university refers the question of admitting Indian students to the Indian Government, Moscow University has announced great latitude in the monetary and scholastic requirements for admission. That raises the question whether it would be proper to expose raw minds to the influence of an alien university controlled by an alien government which financially helps a particular party in every country, provided it owes allegiance to it. We know what kind of friendship Moscow wants and the name the Soviet Government has given to the University is significant.

The students, it should be remembered, consume valuable foreign exchange and permission for them

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to study abroad should therefore be confined to deserving cases only. As matters stand, the only qualification of most students is that their parents can afford the expenses of a foreign education. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the chairman of the University Grants Commission, who shares our Washington Ambassador's views regarding the desirability of sending the right type of students abroad is in favour of instituting screening boards in States or a central board in Delhi to ensure that only students capable of contributing their knowledge to society on their return to the motherland are permitted to study abroad. Such a board would also screen private students going abroad on their own and Communists going to Moscow at the Soviet Government's expense. It is also being pointed out that, although more than 5,000 students go abroad every year for study, there are no orientation courses for them, while a number of institutes in India have orientation courses for foreign students.

BURMA AIDING NAGAS

Before it became known that Phizo was in London, reports in the Press here were proclaiming the fact that leadership of the hostile Nagas has definitely passed out of his hands into those of Sema tribesmen. About 5,000 tribesmen are now believed to be operating in Sema and the adjoining areas, despite the heaviness of hostile casualties following the recent punitive action against them by the combined police and armed forces. Two prominent factors against successful punitive action against the hostiles are disinclination of loyal Nagas to divulge the whereabouts of the hostiles and the proximity of the Burmese border, which enables the hostiles to cross and recross the border and regroup at different points for sniping, ambush and surprise raids. Surely, the Burmese Government should be able to do something to prevent its territory from being used as vantage ground by rebels against India, which gave it 5,000 rifles at a moment of crisis to crush its own rebels?

Gleanings from the Press

IS CORRUPTION CONGRESS'S PRIVATE BUSINESS?

The accusations of corruption of which so much has been heard in recent years are brought against Congressmen not as Congressmen but as public servants. They are therefore a matter to be dealt with not by the Congress but by the public authorities.

The demand of Dr. Deshmukh and all the others who have made these complaints is for inquiry and action by the Government, which is responsible to the public. They have never contemplated action by a private and irresponsible body such as the Congress.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

Inquiry and action by the Congress is open to grave objection. There is no guarantee of access to the facts. There is no certainty that the panels will be immune from pressure, since they will have no official status. There is no certainty that their findings will be made public, nor that they will be acted upon.

In fact a machinery of inquiry private to the Congress Party, such as has been announced by the Congress President, is likely to fail where it is most needed. It may detect and punish people in the lower levels of the party hierarchy, but is unlikely to touch those near the top.

It has evidently been devised in order to satisfy the public demand for action, without putting the high-placed in any danger of exposure. But its weakness is so obvious that it is most unlikely to appease the public. It will be interesting to see if any of the "respected" persons the Congress President refers to will consent to be nominated.

—Mysinda

News And Views

FROM THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE

Addis Ababa. Charles Okala, Cameroon Foreign Minister warned a conference of African States against shaking off the bonds of colonialism only to fall victim to another, even worse kind of colonialism misery. With an obvious reference to the more brutal communist form of colonialism, he said: "it would be criminal and vain to speak of liberating Africa's masses from European colonialism only to deliver them to a new kind of colonialism more sordid because it brings nothing to the people".

THE CULT OF COW-WORSHIP

Ahmedabad: Although India's annual food deficit is expected to reach 20 million tons of grain within a few years, there is no hunger in the pinjrapoles that flourish throughout the country. Visiting a pinjrapole near the Ahmedabad University campus, the Manchester Guardian correspondent found hundreds of diseased, deformed and cancerous cows awaiting release from this life, with no medical treatment but with feed and pillows of sawdust. After observing a cow too weak to blink away the flies that rested in swarms on her eyeballs, he asked the director whether mercy killing might not be sometimes in order. "It is against dharma. Would you advocate mercy killing in the case of your mother?" came the shocked reply. "This cow is my sister. In another hour her soul will be free to seek another host". In the nearby Jain pinjrapole there is a large insect sanctuary, where millions of fleas, spiders, scorpions, ants and other insects are held sacred and lovingly cared for. Is this our "spiritual culture"?

SOVIET OFFENSIVE IN ASIA.

The NATO Secretary-General Paul-Henri Spaak, addressing a meeting organised by the European

Federalist Movement, said that peaceful co-existence between Soviet Union and the West would bring on determined Soviet economic offensive and that this offensive would be unleashed in Asia and Africa where the U. S. S. R. believes it has found the proper territory for its expansion. He warned that the Communist danger was even greater now than 10 years ago when after the Prague coup d'etat, the North Atlantic Alliance was created. Now the Soviet threat is not only military and political but social and economic as well, he stated.

"WE CHOOSE CAPITALISM."

Djakarta. About 75,000 Chinese have decided to drop their Chinese citizenship and become Indonesian citizens. Under a recent agreement between Indonesia and China, Chinese nationals in Indonesia could either become Indonesian citizens or return to their homeland. But the majority of them preferred to remain in Indonesia in freedom than return to Communist China, where they fear the Communist bosses would turn them slaves.

RUSSIA AND CHINA INTENSIFY COLD WAR AGAINST THE "FREE WORLD"

Russia and China are now intensifying their cold war against the "Free World". The Soviet threats to small Nations to blow up their air bases, in case they be used for American Air-flights over Russia, having proved ineffective, the Communist countries are now following their old Stalinist policy of trying to disrupt National unity of such countries with the help of their local Communist stooges and fellow travellers. Mr. Kishi, the Japanese Premier has had to face these Communist tactics and it must said to his credit that he did it bravely and in the teeth of communist fury and gangsterism, he got the Japan U.S.A. Security Pact ratified by the Diet.

RED COLONIALISM EXPOSED

In his spirited address to Phillipines Congress, Mr. Eisenhower thoroughly exposed Red Colonialism and said that "since 1945, thirty-three countries that were once subjected to Western control have peacefully achieved self-determination. During the same period twelve countries in the Sino-Soviet sphere have been forcibly deprived of their independence."

SOVIET BLUFF CALLED

After the failure of the Summit Conference, free nations are being brought closer than ever before. America and France rejected the Soviet proposals for disarmament. Mr. Eaton, the U.S. Ambassador, plainly told the Disarmament Conference that the strategic balance should be preserved for world peace and challenged Soviet supremacy in Rocket and Technology of which Mr. Zorin boasted.

England is also planning jointly with America for a round—the clock bomber patrol to counter the threat of surprise Soviet missile attack. U.S.A. has agreed to make the skybolt Rocket weapon

which launches H Bombs one thousand miles away, available to Britain.

SOVIET WORKERS ASK FOR BREAD BUT GET ONLY SPUTNIKS AND ROCKETS INSTEAD

Moscow: A letter suggesting that the Soviet Union would be better off with more goods and services than with more Sputniks and moon-rockets was published prominently on the front page of young Communist newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

The writer, a worker, said: "Our scientists have sent a rocket to the moon, and I won't argue whether it landed there or not. That is their business.

But, there is the other side of the picture. What do most ordinary people, and myself in particular, get out of Sputniks and rockets? When the moon rocket was launched, I had a debt of 300 roubles. I still owe it, despite this cosmic success.

Don't you think the craze for Sputniks is premature, while housing creches, and consumer goods are lacking? People would certainly be shocked if they knew the cost of one such rocket."

ADVERTISEMENT OR PALM GREASING?

The Soviet Embassy in New Delhi is understood to have drawn up a Rs. 1 crore worth "advertisement" plan for the next one year. A glimpse of the cost of "advertisement" the Embassy proposes to put out was had last week when two English dailies of the Capital dished out a verbatim report of K's Bluff-and-bluster speeches at the rattled summit Conference. The publication had been paid for at advertisement rates by the TASS. Advertisement or legalised palm greasing?

DR. KUNZRU'S CALL FOR ACCEPTING FOREIGN MILITARY AID

Poona: Pandit H. N. Kunzru, M.P., urged that India should take military help from other countries to defend her freedom and safeguard her territorial integrity.

"This has to be done urgently and I see no loss of self-respect or abandonment of our foreign policy in doing that," he said.

Pandit Kunzru said that military aid could be taken from countries stronger than India in the same manner as she had been taking economic aid for development purposes.

Pandit Kunzru was speaking on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the Servants of India Society.

"PEACEFUL" EXPANSIONISM OF CHINA ALONG THE HIMALAYAN BORDER

Nearly 500 Tibetans have "occupied" Khemchok, a small grazing field in north-west Sikkim, near Lachen. They had been sent there by the Chinese authorities to settle down permanently.

The authorities claimed that the grazing field was within Tibet.

GENOCIDE COMMITTED IN TIBET: JURISTS' REPORT

Geneva, June 20.—The Chinese authorities in Tibet have violated most of the human rights embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—including the right to life itself—according to a report submitted to the International Commission of Jurists here.

The committee claimed, however, that four principal facts had been established by the evidence:

1. The Chinese would not permit adherence to the practice of Buddhism in Tibet;
2. They had systematically set out to eradicate this religious belief in Tibet;
3. In pursuit of this aim, they had killed religious figures whose belief and practice was an encouragement and example to others; and
4. They had forcibly transferred a large number of Tibetan children to a Chinese materialist environment to prevent them from having a religious upbringing.

SWATANTRA PARTY IS CONFIDENT OF POLL SUCCESS IN BIHAR

The Raja Sahib of Ramgarh, Mr. Kamakshya Narain Singh, expressed his confidence that the Swatantra Party in Bihar would sweep the polls in the next general elections in 1962.

The Raja Sahib who is the President of the Bihar State Swatantra Party, said that the Party was gaining popularity in the State and the membership had increased from 27,000 when the party was started to 1,17,000 at present.

Mr. Singh, was speaking at a reception organised in his honour by the Bombay Branch of the Party.

EFFECT OF RISE IN POPULATION ERA OF INCREASING POVERTY PREDICTED

Geneva:—Mr. Naval H. Tata, President of the Employers Federation of India, told the I.L.O. conference here today that it was essential that Governments should come to grips with the "frightening problem" of the world's population explosion.

Mr. Tata, the Indian employers delegate to the conference, said that if the rising curve of population overtakes the rate of capital formation and production, people in general and the working classes in particular, must in most cases face an era of falling standards of living.

Mr. Tata said that in many countries in Asia "the pangs of growing population and consequent low-level income are often attributed to the tyranny of the capitalist, and false hopes are created in the minds of the masses that a more equitable distribution of wealth is bound to result by means of elimination of the privileged classes and vested interests."

It would not be long, he said, before the hungry masses attributed their miseries to the tyranny of the ruling classes or the dictators who were fast replacing the new democracies.

DMK THREAT OF STIR OVER HINDI

Coimbatore:—The general council of the Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam has requested the President to withdraw before August 30 his directive to Parliament to take measures for use of Hindi as the official language of the country.

A resolution adopted at the conclusion yesterday of the two-day session of the council at Komarpalayam (Salem district), about 75 miles from here, said the directive was against the united opposition to Hindi in South India and contrary to the assurances given by Mr. Nehru.

If this was not done, the resolution said, the DMK would launch an agitation. As a prelude to this agitation, the party would organize a "protest day" on August 31 all over South India.

The council constituted an action committee for this purpose with Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, MP, as president.

SERIOUS RIFT IN WORLD COMMUNISM

London:—Mr. Khrushchev hit back publicly for the first time at the Chinese Communist critics of his policies. His reaction took the form of an obviously inspired article in the "Pravda," official organ of the Russian Communist Party.

The article aimed a sharply-worded attack at "Left-wing extremists and doctrinaires", inside the international Communist movement. It disclosed the bitterness of the ideological conflict going on inside the Communist world.

Its aim, it said, was to refute "statements by present 'Left-wingers' in international Communism. These, because they have power in their hands think they can introduce Communism at once and avoid the historical phases of its development."

Letters to the Editor

DR. LOHIA'S ANTICS

Madam,

In spite of the slogans, shouting and stone-throwing at Coimbatore and elsewhere where he addressed meetings, Dr. R. M. Lohia is reported to have proclaimed himself as an enemy of English.

Whatever be the motive political or otherwise, stone throwing and such other hooliganism must be rightly condemned. For such violent demonstra-

tions do little justice to the stand taken by the opposing elements.

On the other hand, Dr. Lohia merely by revealing his respect to Tamil can never hope to win the hearts of Tamilians as long as he considers himself as an enemy of English. English is fostered by every Tamilian as much as his own mother tongue.

Dr. Lohia will do well to remember the words of General K. M. Cariappa who says in a brochure that 'We cannot allow a false sense of nationalism to make us bury this great language (English) which we have been learning for more than two centuries.'

'What a splendid example India will be setting to the rest of the world, says Gen. Cariappa, 'if we can make the English language the Lingua Franca of India.'

Dr. Lohia's suggestion at Salem sounds fantastic wherein (according to the version of a Tamil Daily) he is reported to have said that Tamil M.P.'s should speak on the floor of the Lok Sabha in Tamil and Tamil only. Does Dr. Lohia attempt to undo what Sardar Patel did, viz., the integration of India?

Coimbatore.

—Y. V. Visweswaran

OPEN LETTER TO NEHRU

Dear Sir,

I may remind you that on 25th November 1949 at Roorkee you had stated that "some of our Provinces behave as if they are almost independent countries."—Now after eleven years of Congress Rule, these Provinces have become fifteen Hindu Pakistans, with hostility to one another, shamelessly quarrelling over cities, boundaries, river waters and for the establishment of industries. Do these create any respect for us in Pakistan, China and other foreign countries? Our enemies think that on account of the Frankenstein Monster of Linguism created by the Politicians for their own base selfish interest, they can easily attack one State or other without rousing the anger of some other States as of old. Within twelve years of independence, the genius of our Politicians has practically destroyed the great unity in administration, judiciary and university education, which the English had left to us. We witness bitter conflicts between politicians and non-politicians, employers and employees of every kind, teachers and students, ending in lock-outs and strikes and police firing on the people, with an indescribable indiscipline through the country. The country has never witnessed before, so many suffering beggars on all public places, which is often noted with disgust by foreigners. The all India feeling of Vande Mataram has been completely effaced from the hearts of the people.

Gandhiji stated on 7-8-34 that "that corruption in the Congress is preying on me as it has never before done." It has now risen in spiral columns. I do not merely mean the mere money corruption,

which is inevitable in modern world. Our Chanakya has stated "just as it is impossible not to taste the honey or the poison that finds itself at the tip of the tongue, so it is impossible for Government servants not to eat up, at least, a bit of the King's revenues. Just as fish moving under water cannot possibly be found out either drinking or not drinking water, so Government servants employed in the Government work cannot be found out while taking money for themselves." We need only add the word "politicians" to the above dictum. However, I should state that the corruptions in spirit and morals, which have come into the country, are many times more heinous than the other corruption. Even a Central Minister the other day in the Rajya Sabha admitted this fall, while speaking about adulteration of foodstuffs in the country.

All these degradations and disruptions have been brought about not by foreigners but by our own men. They have done so in spite of warnings from persons, who saw the coming danger. For instance, Sir Archibald Nye, the Governor of Madras, said on 4th September 1948 to the Legislators that "I see all round me on all sides, fissiparous tendencies creeping up in every direction. All these diverse elements are showing their ugly heads.... There is a tendency to pull the whole country apart and sectionalise it.... If you go on like this you will find yourself Balkanised. You will find yourself split up like different countries of Europe. I would beseech you all to do everything in your power to fight this tendency, which will pull people apart.... We should not stand on provincialism, which is bound to pull the country apart...." But alas! Our Politicians have been constantly doing for the last twelve years everything that would disunite our ancient country and nothing has been done to emotionally unite it. Yet how many ideals and instructions our ancient ancestors have given us!

I feel that sooner or later a Vidharba, a Punjabi Suba, and a Nagathan will become realities. I am afraid that the Congress leadership of India will only disappear after it has completely proved the statement of the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah to Gandhiji that "There is no India." Unfortunately I have neither the physical strength of a Bhima of Mahabharata nor the spiritual power of my rishi ancestor and hence—it—is I am forced to write this letter.

In writing this letter, I am following your advice given to the people on 25th July 1948, when you said that "I think it would be a sad day if people stop criticising and condemning those in authority, because without people strongly criticising and pointing out the errors of their ways people in authority often go wrong. They get swollen headed and complacent. They think everything they do is right and everything else is wrong. That is the danger, even though they may be Congressmen. Therefore people in authority have to be checked and kept up to the mark."

"Devinilayam," Coonoor. —S. R. Narayana Ayyar

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