

Indian Libertarian



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AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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Vol. VII No. ~~8~~ 9

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June 1, 1959

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EDITORIAL

DALAI LAMA, THE BUDDHA AND INDIA

The 22nd of May was sacred to Buddhists the world over. It was the day on which the Buddha was born, attained enlightenment (bodhi) and the day on which he passed on to mahaparinirvana.

This year on this thrice sacred occasion, the Living Buddha (as he is regarded), the Dalai Lama of Tibet is with us in India, the holy land of the Buddha, the land that gave him to the world.

On this day great tributes are paid to the Buddha by leaders, lay and religious, and his great teachings are re-promulgated.

The Dalai Lama gave a *darshan* to devout people in Mussoorie and closed the meeting with a discourse on the teachings of the great Master.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-president of India, stressed on the unique teachings of the Buddha while presenting out of the 40 volumes of the Pali and Sanskrit text of the Tripitaka to the representatives of Ceylon and Burma. The enterprise is supported by the Central Government as well as that of Bihar.

Dr. Radhakrishnan said on the occasion that "in this world when we are passing through so many uncertainties, the only thing that is certain is that those who adhere to the moral law will survive and those who do not adhere to it will *not* survive."

Apart from the reverence with which we should receive the ideas propounded to us in the name of great moral teachers of the world, such occasions of remembrance also raise deep doubts in the thoughtful.

SOME DOUBTS

Also, though institutions like mutts and churches are necessary to preserve and propagate great ideas and ideals, it is a sad experience that such institutions tend to create petrified or fossilised thoughts and induce an uncritical, dogmatic attitude fortified by hypocrisy. Annual resuscitation of old teachings have value only when they induce a re-thinking of the truths handed down in the light of new experience of passing generations.

For instance the sermon preached by the Dalai Lama was quite common place. It was an exhortation to practise traditional virtues for the sake of salvation. The life of the Buddha was given as the guarantee of the validity of the faith that such morality will lead to salvation and that a state of perfection indicated by the world salvation or *nirvana* exists and can be attained.

What the Tibetans and Indians and the rest of the world should do in the present grim context of Red China's suppression of Tibetan autonomy and way of life was NOT mentioned in the Dalai Lama's sermon. It was devoid of guidance in the present context and crisis. But thinking people are few while the many content themselves with faith and belief. Participation in ceremonial and the seeking and receipt of blessings from spiritual leaders is enough for them. It acts as a kind of opium to them calming their fevered minds and helping them to transfer their individual responsibility for current affairs to leaders. This is a function of religion and whether on the whole it is an elevating function is a matter of grave doubt. It no doubt gives *shanti* or peace of mind but is *shanti* the final value in life?

Such thoughts arise on a consideration of the ideas presented even by so modern a thinker as Dr. Radhakrishnan. He repeated the time-honoured claim for moral conduct that those who are observers of the moral code of tradition will survive and those who do not will not.

Now this is a principle that has never been proved in the light of reason and experience. The universal experience of mankind, on the contrary, has been that it is the wicked that flourish like the green bay tree while the good are destroyed and deceived by the wicked and unscrupulous.

If Soviet Russia was wicked in suppressing Hungary, we do not see that she endangered her power by doing so.

We do not see that Red China is weakening itself in suppressing the Tibetan people. If the empires of the past—the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, the German and French have perished (and are perishing where they have still some remnants of it), the reasons are not to be found in their flouting of moral principles but in their neglect of the military virtues and economic wisdom etc.

IN THE REALM OF IRRATIONALITY

Even the great epic sage *Vyasa*, the author of the *Mahabharata* concluded his massive mirror of human destiny with the words:

"I declare with uplifted hands that it is *dharma* alone that protests and not anything else.

But no one listens to my words!

Dr. Radhakrishnan has to offer a good deal of reflective justification before his preaching on the survival value of morality can be accepted rationally.

Reflecting on the latter day claims of Buddhism supported by leaders in Government as well as by sentimentalists among the general public, one is led to question the whole basis of this adoration. We can appreciate the impulse of our government and people

to offer asylum to the Dalai Lama in his trouble but to go forward as if it were the most natural thing in the world to set up Buddhism as a world religion and philosophy equal to the needs of the modern rational world is to step into the realm of irrationality.

Mr. S. Ramanathan was right to call attention to this aspect of the matter when he deprecated any sentimental endorsement of Buddhism as a religion and philosophy.

Bertrand Russell wrote to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on the publication of his *Indian Philosophy* expressing appreciation of his chapters on the Buddha and his philosophy and ethics.

Indeed there are a few features that attract fresh non-dogmatic minds with a sensitive conscience in the preachings of the Buddha. It is the merit of Dr. Radhakrishnan to have brought out these humanist, rational features freeing them from the original context of mythology and ritual and transcendentalism.

For one thing, the Buddha exhibited a rare conscience for the *right to life* inherent in all living things. He preached the doctrine of ahimsa or non-injury. The traditional sacrifice of animals in the worship of the gods came to be discarded as barbarous.

The idea spread to other aspects of life and brought about a lasting refinement and elevation of ethical feeling.

In today's world of atomic and hydrogen bomb threat to the whole world of human affairs, the appeal of *ahimsa* is no doubt exceptionally strong.

But are we to advise America and other nations to cease thinking of military resistance to Soviet aggression? Are we to disband the police and the armed forces? Is it credible that such a policy will work well for us in relation to Pakistan? Is *ahimsa* to be coupled with total and absolute non-resistance? To put these questions is to realise that universal principles are not enough for practical conduct. Second principles have to be found to modify universal truths if disaster is to be avoided.

The Buddha also taught the necessity for verifying truths in one's own experience. "*Be ye lamps unto yourselves.*"

But he also taught the major lines of a *premissist philosophy* of life, a philosophy of world negation:— (1) That life is essentially painful (*dukkha*), (2) that there is no real self (*anatman*) and that everything is perishing (*anichcha—anitya—non-eternal*).

So the self is unreal, the world is unreal but *dukkha* alone is real! This is the source of the maya philosophy that has emasculated untold generations of people in India.

On Buddha Jayanti therefore we have to do some re-thinking valuing the moral ideas of the Buddha but freeing ourselves from their dogmatic hold. We need a new philosophy for our times.

PAKISTAN GETS NEW MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THE U.S.A.!

It is learnt from New York correspondent that the U.S.A. has delivered a large number of amphibious trucks to Pakistan. They are capable of crossing rivers while fully loaded! Whole divisions of around 15,000 men with all their equipment can be moved across rivers in unprecedented speed.

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The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; Half Yearly Rs. 3

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25.

One-eighth Page Rs. 15 One full column of a Page Rs. 50.

BACK COVER Rs. 150

SECOND COVER Rs. 125

THIRD COVER Rs. 125

- * Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be type-written and on one side of the paper only.
- * Publications of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum.
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Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

TIBET AND PANCHASHEELA

By M. A. Venkata Rao

What next is the "agonising" question about our policy regarding Tibet and China.

Chiang Kai Shek was a friend of Indian freedom. He urged the cause of Indian independence with President Roosevelt and Churchill (during the war). India sympathised with China's freedom and at the instance of the Romantic Nehru sent a medical mission to China during the war on behalf of the Congress party and the nation. Chiang Kai Shek visited India, paid his respects to Gandhi and expressed his fervent hopes for India's early deliverance from foreign rule.

He sent his Ambassador to India when independence came in 1947. That Ambassador was a scholar and followed the bier of Mahatma Gandhi on 30th January, 1948, with long streamers carrying the moving words—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is Dead: but the Mahatma Lives for ever!

But soon enough he was asked to quit to make room for Mao Tse-tung's representative in 1949 when Chiang fled to Formosa. India was in a hurry to accept Mao's triumph as *final*, subject to no reverse! Without a qualm, India wrote off the legitimate government of old venerable China with whom India had cultural relations for over a thousand years without giving a decent chance to its heroic defenders to achieve a come-back with the help of the free West. If we could not have assisted, we could at least in decency have retained a truly neutral attitude towards the rival claims of Mao and Chiang. We swallowed the biased propaganda of pro-Red writers, Asian and American, communist and near-communist, sentimentalist and fellow traveller, agent and traitor and let down Chiang Kai Shek. We took upon ourselves the moral responsibility of deciding *against* the legitimate Government of Chiang and in favour of the Red Dictatorship of Mao who conquered his own native country as if it were a foreign power through force and fraud with the aid of Soviet Russia making no secret of his prime allegiance to international communism. Mao had already proclaimed the meaning of Soviet internationalism which is the Aesopian language for "imperialism".

We voted for Mao as the harbinger of progress riding *the wave of future!*

SHOWING ITS TEETH

The Red Dragon soon showed its true nature in the Korean war. China sent volunteers to Korea. After an initial aberration in which we voted with the West and agreed that North Korea was the aggressor but soon turned a clean somersault and adopted with relief and gusto the Soviet explanation of the conflict as one of *civil war* in which the rest of the world should not interest themselves. This was balm to the communist aggressors and China and was a betrayal of the cause of freedom.

Far from condemning the atrocious immorality of covering a regular invasion of a foreign country under the false label of allowing volunteers to please themselves, we took China's part and withdrew from our earlier adherence to freedom's cause and took refuge in neutralism. We offered the services of an honest broker. India then lost heavily in moral prestige, though the contrary is claimed by official apologists.

This suppression of conscience prepared us to accept the next adventure of the progressive masters of China into Tibet even while the Korean war was hardly over. Again, after an initial gesture of protest we begged the invaders *to proceed non-violently at least* in their enterprise of swallowing a free country! This non-violence of our Gandhian leaders is a wonderful *alibi* for national conscience and permits them to excuse the most monstrous exhibitions of violence on the part of favoured groups or nations. The long trail of Mao's violence was forgotten, even as the violence of the founders of Pakistan was never acknowledged as such from the days of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

After the conquest of Tibet by Chou En-Lai's forces in 1951, India salved her conscience by throwing the mantle of moral approval on the consummation by a treaty of *Panchsheel*, on the understanding that the Red dragon would respect local autonomy and the special position of spiritual leadership that the Dalai Lama occupied in Tibet.

THE GRIM

Today we have the grim disproof and breakdown of all these pretty assumptions of India's Gandhian-cum-Buddhist philosophy of seeing no evil, hearing no evil, etc. and the psychology of one-sided non-violence.

There was abundant evidence all along of the *amoral* Machiavellianism of international communist leadership and of the real ambitions of the Stalinist regime. The end of the war saw the strident revival of the cold war (in fact the cold war was started by Lenin long before the October Revolution) by Stalin in 1945. The promises made to Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta and Berlin that democratic elections would be held in the South-East European States that had fallen under Russian influence were cruelly and cynically disregarded and the iron regime of the communist homeland was installed in these unfortunate countries.

And when Czechoslovakia was sucked into the whirlpool through the *salami tactics* for which Russian strategy has made itself notorious, the free world was thoroughly alarmed in 1948.

But *not so* our supreme leader who has claimed unimpeachable wisdom about world politics and has had his claims allowed without scrutiny by India (and the world too, it seems). He *did not feel threatened*. He wanted to give a chance to Russia to develop along her own way and barred and ridiculed all suggestions that Russia could not be trusted.

He even popularised the fellow traveller story that the Chinese Reds were not Marxists and Stalinists at all but only innocent agrarian reformers! This was the slogan put out by the Russian masters for adoption by American fellow travellers and agents of communism to allay distrust and prevent premature warning being taken by lovers of liberty!

The entire tissue of assumptions on which Indian neutralism (with benefit of the doubt to the Iron Curtain empire) and *panchsheel* has been built has now collapsed. The *expansionist* nature of Chinese communism has been exposed without equivocation. The way in which Chinese personnel in authority have

castigated India and Nehru over their present softness to the Dalai Lama should open our eyes to the machine-made diplomacy of the communist regimes in general and of China in particular.

WHAT THEN SHOULD WE DO?

Obviously we cannot go to war with China. We cannot offend her to the point of inviting armed action against us.

So we have to continue, argues our leader, the code of panchsheel, even if it has proved a broken reed!

It has proved as useless and misleading as the old Locarno Pact and the Kellog Declaration of "not using war as an instrument of national policy" in the inter-war years.

But Nehru has declared that the policy will continue in spite of its non-observance by China. Perhaps he thinks of the sacred truths of panchsheel on the analogy of mathematics. Two plus two necessarily make four and no amount of mistakes on the part of humans can make it wrong!

The real lesson to be learned from this Tibetan tragedy is that in today's world the grim, unprecedented struggle for world domination by Soviet Russia and her satellites leaves *no middle ground* between the two contending sets of Powers. There is no basis for real neutrality. The cold war is real and cannot be wished away. It is an indication of war in the minds of world leaders—for domination in Russian leaders and for freedom in American minds, each party supported by its own group of nations.

The second lesson is that international communism cannot be trusted to observe any treaty of non-aggression the moment it can benefit by disregarding it.

India's aversion to military pacts is childish. There is no known way of increasing national security other than by allying ourselves with one or other of the existing Power System which are mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive.

There is no way out except to seek alliance with America and the free world. The terms of the alliance need not be the same as those of the Baghdad Pact or the Eisenhower Doctrine. India could initiate a new system of collective security against any possible aggressor through the U.N.O., getting it to define aggression in a fool-proof manner. This can be done and needs to be done. For Pakistan is trying every ingenuity to create conditions in which her atrocious aggression against our panchsheel country will *appear* to world opinion as but justifiable defence against an "aggressive India!"

The remark that Mr. Dillon, America's new Assistant Secretary of State, let fall that after all the Indian plane that was shot down by Pakistani fighters (gifted by America) was found deep within Pakistani territory is revelatory of the possible attitude of American supporters of Pakistan. The story of India will not be believed even if it has the substance of Truth and happens to be the very *incarnation* of panchsheel. Powerful friends will believe the story of friendly nations committed to shed blood with them in war in preference to that of moral preachers who look down upon even self-defence in an all-out desperate situation as something *obscene!*

India should cease to champion the cause of dependent peoples as if their independence would immediately transfer them to heaven. India could work for the spread of independence through the Gaullist or British policy of gradualism providing for assistance within inclusive framework of commonwealth or U.N.O. relationship.

The degree of independence would be correlated to degree of assistance, forthcoming from the comity of free nations to make independence good and durable.

Such a policy will preclude the emotion-charged present policy of condemning the free world and giving comfort to Russia and China. The communist championship of the Asian-African nations as against their Western masters is motivated only by the tactic of transferring their huge man-power from being "a reserve of the free West to becoming a reserve of the communist empire". This is Leninism pure and simple. And India adopts this policy in blithe unconsciousness of the evil she is doing!

India must find a new policy of championing the freedom of backward nations *without using the Communist Front and band-waggon.*

Today, India should reverse her policy in regard to Tibet which gives her a chance to reorient her entire policy and correct her erroneous assumptions.

Mr. Atal Biharee Bajpayee has frankly asked the Prime Minister to let the people of Indian organise a movement for Tibetan freedom on Indian soil. Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya of the same Party has asked for permission to the Dalai Lama to organise a freedom struggle with non-official Indian and world support. This will mean a risk but the risk is unavoidable in any case. Trusting and appeasing the Dragon will *not* help us in any future crisis where Indian freedom itself is challenged.

These things mean the forging of defence bonds with the free countries of the world in the form of *collective security* to which in principle even communist countries should be admitted.

(Continued from page 2)

India has no such amphibious trucks and lorries. Moreover, it is learnt that in every field of equipment fighters, tanks, guns, etc., Indian arms are inferior to Pakistan's.

No doubt the American Ambassador has re-assured the Indian External Affairs Ministry that the U.S.A. is only fulfilling an old agreement but not giving new equipment note included in the old pacts!

But this is small comfort for India.

What is the reaction of the Indian authorities to this fresh indication of American favour to Pakistan?

It is learnt that India has expressed *concern* about this to the U.S.A. authorities.

But what about *panchsheela* for a bulwark of defence? India reiterates her "religious" adherence to the "sacred principle" even though her enemies might use it as a *blind* to take her off her guard!

India will proceed to advocate China's cause for admission to the U.N.O. as a member as if the Tibetan atrocities had not taken place!

India will continue to *trust Pakistan* as if the Canberra shooting had not taken place! We forget nothing and learn nothing!

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Nehru Flogging a Dead Horse

By M. N. Tholal

THE Dalai Lama has by his flight to India rendered the greatest possible service to the cause of democracy, and particularly that of India, for he has snatched the mask off from the face of Communist China for all the world to see what it is like. The extent of that service has not generally been realised, curiously enough, outside the Communist camp where the effects of the shock to the world conscience, registered by his dramatic epic escape, will take a long time to subside. In the meantime the Chinese dictators have no alternative to lying low for sometime, and for sometime only.

In their zeal the Communists perhaps do not fully realise the harm the rape of Hungary and the rape of Tibet have done to their cause. In Hungary, it may however be conceded, they had no alternative for they could not afford to let it pass over to the democratic camp. In Tibet, had they succeeded in arresting the Dalai Lama, they would have been almost equally successful, but his escape robs them of the joy of victory, howsoever loudly Mr. Chou en-Lai may clap on the arrival beside him of Panchen Lama in a session of the Chinese People's Congress. The Dalai Lama in proving too clever for the Chinese Communists—that is all that his letters published by the Chinese Government prove—has upset their apple cart. He has also incidentally upset the apple cart of Prime Minister Nehru, whose conflicting emotions often paralyze his will and have been responsible for the jibe that he is the Hamlet of Indian politics.

NEHRU'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Let us see what this emotional Hamlet has achieved so far. In spite of all that India has gone out of her way to help China become a member of the UN as well as in her international disputes, she has reciprocated by making baseless insinuations against the integrity of the Indian Government. This is a tight slap on the face of our Prime Minister and it remains to be seen whether he will be Christian enough to turn the other cheek. Apart from the fact that one-sided friendship is no friendship at all—friendship is of necessity always reciprocal otherwise it is devotion—it is obvious that no reliance can be placed on Chinese good faith any more. We may not be able to do much, or indeed anything, to help Tibet, but we cannot remain indifferent to the problems which events in Tibet have created for us, problems which were forecast for the benefit of Mr. Nehru by President Truman when he visited the United States during his presidency. Mr. Nehru will not for long be able to resist historical forces or ignore them either in India or outside it, but in trying to ignore them for something in sheer obstinacy (by making it a question of prestige) he will do incalculable harm to India. History has already proved that his handling of the Tibetan problem was a great blunder from the moral, the political and the democratic points of view. His sympathy for the Tibetan people can bear no other meaning in the context of recent events. But his Panch Sheela (which seems to be his

obsession even as non-violence was Gandhi's obsession) appears to be a much mightier weapon than military pacts, although within a few years of its existence a land with an area of 600,000 square miles on our border has fallen victim to it at the hands of a signatory to Panch Sheela. Even the fact that the victim lies prostrate on our very border seems to make no difference to our Prime Minister.

INDIA RESPONSIBLE FOR TIBET'S PLIGHT

Let us make no mistake about it. Tibet has fallen because the Dalai Lama refused or could not, on account of India, seek the aid of those who were prepared to help her and, instead sought the help and listened to the advice of a Hamlet who is past master in the art of wishful thinking and self-deception. Tibet therefore is almost as much a victim of India as of China. Indeed, I should have not much reason to condemn any one who would go so far as to say that Tibet is the first victim of Nehru's policies and that the victimisation of Tibet throws the door open for aggression against India. The sooner, therefore, we seek military alliances with powers which can help us, the better it will be for India. Any one with a little insight and foresight can now see the inevitability of India seeking US military aid and even joining NATO and SEATO. The only question is whether she will do so after a good deal of harm has been done to her and a bigish slice of her territory has been snatched from her, or earlier as a preventive measure. We have never really been afraid of Pakistan despite the amount of military aid she has been receiving from the United States, for the more populated part of Pakistan would at the very beginning of hostilities have found itself isolated and in a position to revolt against the domineering western part. But China is different, as different as a nation of 80 million people can be from a nation of 650 million people whose rulers have refused to correct maps showing larger chunks of Indian territory as Chinese territory. Those who do not take such open cartographical threats as warning even when they are coupled with a reminder of the population of the country, do not really deserve to be custodian of the territorial integrity of their country.

SINGLE MINDED DEVOTION

Any one who understands the single-minded devotion of the Communist to world domination could have forecast like Truman what has happened now. That great American statesman, John Foster Dulles, has been repeatedly reminding us that Communism is on the prowl but in our desire to be different and not to appear to be the camp followers of those who ruled over us, and to be in a bloc of our own, we have consistently refused to listen to the voice of that political sage. Honkong is on the mainland of China proper and Communist China (the same of 650 million people) is silent. We do not now hear anything even of the offshore islands of Matsu and Quemoy over which our Prime Minister also got excited on behalf of China

more than once. They stay where they were, because behind them are determined people and not vacillating Hamlets who announce in advance their faith in appeasement, and the dictators over 650 million people have had to eat their words so many times that they will or at least should think a thousand times before repeating them. Communism cannot change its feathers even to please Mr. Nehru. His honeymoon with Communism is over. That is certain. The USSR cannot but approve what we Indians cannot but condemn. Mr. Nehru will try to deny that the honeymoon is over, like most husbands and wives who feel it in their bones but dare not say so. Gone too is the summit seat for Mr. Nehru which made him so guarded in his references to the inexcusable tactics of China. At any rate it has receded out of sight.

By his failure to refuse to hand over Tibet to China, Mr. Nehru has created a claimant for a part of Kashmir (i.e. Ladakh) and affinity of interest in the farther dismemberment of Kashmir and its apportionment between Pakistan and China. Thus China and Pakistan are bound to come closer while Indo-Chinese amity is progressively decreasing. It will, therefore, be part of wisdom for India to come closer to Pakistan in the interest of the defence of the Indian sub-continent and prevent even a temporary alliance from developing between China and Pakistan. That will be something too dreadful to contemplate. The fact that the US will not approve of it does not mean that the desperate steps is outside the bounds of possibility. China has been on the prowl reconnoitring in all directions and it is to be hoped that Mr. Nehru will not in a mood of absent-minded garrulity suggest to China,

as he almost did once, in what direction China can expand.

ACID TEST

Any one who can reconcile himself to the situation in Tibet is not a democrat. He does not want world government. He is against freedom and self-determination, and an out and out protagonist of colonialism, while any one in India who fails to realise that aggression against Tibet is indirect aggression against India is no friend of India. He is either a fool or an enemy of the country masquerading as a patriot. If Mr. Nehru thought that, by advocating the Chinese cause in season and out of season, he was preventing the calamity that has overtaken Tibet and threatens India in her isolation, he has been proved a false prophet by events. In the last resort we shall have to fall back on such mercies as the democracies may in their generosity and in their own ultimate self-interest be pleased to spare us, but it is no part of wisdom to refuse to learn even from one's own experience and to continue to flog the dead horse of Panch Sheela and to keep declaring at the top of one's voice that it is alive and kicking.

The fact of the matter is obvious to all who have the capacity to think. And that is that Panch Sheela is dead as Queen Anne. It is dead as a door nail. It is dead as dodo and Mr. Nehru will do well to revise his pet self-deluding theories and, while thinking of his collapsed neutralism, remind himself of the Hindustan proverb which he must have heard many a time: *Dhobi ka kutta na ghar ka na ghat ka.* (A washerman's dog belongs neither to the home nor to the washing ghat.) May he have the wisdom to pull India out of that plight!

Nehru, The Big National Problem

By J. K. Dhairyawan

—:o:—

IN one of his characteristic and contemptuous remarks against the Hindus, Pandit Nehru had said that Hinduism is everything to everybody and nothing to an intelligent person. Of course, it was an over simplification of Hinduism and typical of the Nehruian contempt and aversion to everything that smacked of Hinduism. For it is a well known fact that in one of his other public statements Pandit Nehru had openly admitted that he was Indian by birth, Muslim by tradition and culture, and Hindu by accident. It is no wonder that a person who says that he is Hindu by accident, should have little or no respect for Hinduism.

What Pandit Nehru had said about Hinduism, that it is everything to everybody, applies to him in another context, specially to the role of standing on two stools, or more preferably, on more than two stools at the same time. This political acrobatic performance for the last 11 years and more, has now been overplayed.

This has been demonstrated glaringly over the double-faced stand he had taken on the events in Hungary, and quite recently, over the developments in Tibet. These two events have thoroughly exposed his role as the world champion of Freedom and Democracy and as the fighter against aggression and totalitarianism.

To any intelligent observer, who has watched his career as the Prime Minister of India, his contradictory domestic policies, his appeasement of Pakistan, his turning the blind eye to the communist aggression all over the world, his too ready desire to condemn what he styles the Western "imperialism," forgetting the fact that Western imperialism, since World War II, has lost many of its fangs and has readily compromised with the colonial peoples, his condemnation of the Indian Communist Party, and yet at the same time, adopting ALL the communist policies, from the "co-operative" farming to State Trading, it is crystal-clear that Pandit Nehru, though he may not admit it, is at

heart a Communist and NOT a democrat. That Pandit Nehru is NO Democrat, is further admitted by one of his lifelong colleagues and closest associates, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, first in his "*Ahmednagar Diary*," and latterly in the publication, "*India Wins Her Freedom*."

A WESTERN ILLUSION

Despite these contradictory actions of Nehru, which are there, for any one to read, it is surprising that many of the Western journalists and arm-chair critics, consider India under Nehru as "the bastion of Democracy and Freedom" against communism in Asia and in the East. Perhaps it is a case of wishful-thinking or "distance lending enchantment to the view." Whatever it is, to the intelligent Indian critics of Nehru and his actions for the last 11 years, it is plain that Nehru is no democrat much less is he a communist by conviction. His following the communist policies on the home-front are dictated more by expediencies of the situation than by the strength of convictions.

Let us make the statement that Nehru's policies on the home-front are dictated more by expediencies than by convictions, more plain and substantiated. When India obtained the "donated" freedom from the British, we gave to ourselves a Constitution based on the American and the British model of democracies, with property rights to the citizens, the right of freedom of worship and association, and no expropriation of property, lawfully acquired except with due compensation. However, with the passage of time, Nehru Government soon discovered that some of the basic rights granted to the Indian citizens by the Constitution, came in the way of stabilising his rule and there were more than four amendments to the Constitution. And today with the Nehru Government bent upon introducing his "communist" policies, from "co-operative" farming to the taking over the wholesale trade in food grains, the Constitution, guaranteeing the Fundamental Rights of the freedom of avocation, trade and of profession has virtually become a dead letter.

AN ELECTION STUNT

The "passionate" conviction of his, about which Nehru so often talks regarding "co-operative" farming stems from the fact, that there are more landless tillers than peasant-proprietors in the country, and the landless tillers form roughly 80 per cent of the voters. It is an election slogan for the next general elections. The carrot of land is being dangled before the ignorant and illiterate voter so that he can put Nehru and the Congress back to power. And when the land is formed into "co-operatives", an euphemism for collectives on the communist pattern, the deluded landless tiller will be a virtual serf of the State as in Soviet Russia or Communist China. The talk of increased production of foodgrains by "co-operatives" or collectives, is arrant nonsense as the experience of 40 years in Russia and over 10 years in China has shown. The plain fact of this "passionate" enthusiasm of Nehru for "co-operative" farming springs from his desire to "bag" the votes of the 80 per cent of the village voters for the Congress, that is Nehru Government for another spell of five years. In plain words, it is an election stunt. That this "co-operative" farming is only a bait to net

in the gullible village voters, was amply demonstrated, when in one of his statements, Nehru expressed his surprise that it is the urban critics who were carrying on a campaign against the scheme of co-operative farming. Here the cat was out of the bag. And why should urban critics be singled out when Nehru himself admitted that neither he nor his ancestors were farmers. If that was a fact, by his own argument, he has no right to recommend co-operative farming.

A SHORT-LIVED HONEYMOON

Again if Nehru were honest about his communist policies, he would not have willingly accepted the monetary and financial aid from a "capitalist" nation like U.S.A. Nehru is not only accepting the American financial aid willingly but is asking for more and sending his begging bowl all over the world, specially to Britain and even Western Germany. In addition, he is giving all facilities to foreign investments like the oil combines of Britain and America. And lastly, if he were honest about his communist convictions he would not have allowed India to remain within the British Commonwealth. And these open contradictions are again a proof that he is more concerned in stabilising his rule in the country than in communist ideology or in western democracy. Nehru wants to have the best of both the worlds—the communist as well as the democratic. But this politics of opportunism and expediency cannot carry him for long. Sooner or later he is sure to slip in between the two stools. And what is worse still, he is solely responsible for allowing the country to drift rudderless for over 11 years. A nation must have firm and solid principles to guide her in international politics and on home-front. India, under Nehru, has become the laughing stock of the world. That as a nation we have no friends nor genuine allies was amply demonstrated in the UN when there was NOT A SINGLE VOTE in our favour over the Kashmir question. And the same thing has once again being proved when with all our shouting "Chini, Hindi Bhai, Bhai" Communist China has opened a full-blast barrage of abuse, vituperation and condemnation of India and the Indian Prime Minister. China has falsely accused India of having "expansionist" ambitions and fomenting the revolt in Tibet. The Chinese official organ the "Peking Daily News" had referred to India and Indians as the "hogs" who should not poke their "dirty snouts in the Chinese garden." This was nothing new to those who had watched the code of conduct followed by communist countries. These vulgar, false and completely baseless accusations have been made familiar to the world by Stalin and his communist henchmen.

FOLLOWING THE RED MIRAGE

If Nehru, who poses to be an historian and a student of international affairs, should have known that the communist statesmen and communist nations have neither morality nor ethics in dealing with their so-called friends or allies. Nehru has throughout his stewardship of the Indian nation always championed communist China and Soviet Russia. Despite this fact, neither Soviet Russia nor communist China have ever cared to befriend India, whether it is the question of Goa or of Kashmir. Their attitudes have been of

sitting on the fence. As against this championing of the communist nations Nehru has never allowed an opportunity to damn and condemn the Western Powers, whether it was the Suez affair or the Algerian question or the Tunisian affair. In fact, as the self-appointed High Pontiff on the international plane, Nehru has always passed adverse verdicts on the doings of the Western Powers. When Nehru has been the first to pass verdicts on the doings of the Western Powers he is now advising Indians to observe "restraint and patience" in condemning China when she has openly and falsely attacked and accused India. In his confused statements over Tibet and China Nehru had to admit that his "panchasheela" had lost its lustre and the much boosted Afro-Asian solidarity has been sniped. In a word, the policy of non-alignment and "dynamic neutrality" that he has followed so far has been torpedoed.

Nearer home, his appeasement of Pakistan has not borne any fruit for the last 11 years. Again his soft corner for many of the anti-national activities of the minorities, specially the Muslims, has greatly affected the internal security of the nation. If India were really a secular Republic, as Nehru advertises, there should be no differentiation in the treatment of the Hindus and the Muslims. While there are legislations for the control of the Hindu temple funds there are no such restraints put on the Muslim "wakfs." Marriage laws of the Hindus have been amended, in many of the States, but the Muslims are governed by the Quranic law which gives them the right to polygamy. This is Nehru's secularism in action.

LOVE OF POWER, THE CHIEF TRAIT

Those critics who could read in between the lines of the various statements and actions of Nehru could clearly perceive that ALL his actions are prompted by expediencies and fear-complex. There is no scientific or rational foundations for them. Crediting Nehru with intelligence and commonsense, how is one to square up his contradictory and confusing actions. There is one and one answer to it. And that is that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." This is true in the case of Nehru as it is in the case of any other dictator. Nehru occasionally talks the language of a democrat but all his actions are guided by the sole desire to stabilise his rule and consolidate his power. That explains the apparently double-faced attitude of his on any question that comes before him.

And the peculiar situation in the country have played its part in Nehru having his own way without serious opposition. In the first place we have an ignorant and illiterate populace, who are gullible enough to swallow anything. Secondly, this credulous and unthinking adulation of Nehru by the ignorant public, and even by the so-called intelligentsia, has turned his head. In his own words, he has become the Caesar. In the place of a democracy we have a khaddar dictatorship.

PLAYING THE SECOND FIDDLE TO COMMUNISTS

The cool, calculated and false accusations by communist China against India and Nehru seemed to have their desired effect. The Chinese threats are being kept up, with just some conciliatory statements. The "hog" and the "imperialist" trick of China has worked. Neither Nehru nor a single Indian M.P. had the guts or sense to call for the breaking up of diplomatic relations with China. It seems that India, under Nehru, will persist in the servile efforts of wooing the friendship of China and try to get her seat in the UN. In a word, Nehru's "panchsheela," specially in the context of communist nations, will assist and promote the objects of international communism to the point of even the conquest of India.

To those who have read the history of India correctly it is a patent fact that with the spread of Buddhism the national defences of the country were weakened. In a few years after the death of Ashoka, India fell an easy prey to foreign conquerors, specially the Muslims. One is afraid history may repeat itself. India, under Nehru, the modern apostle of Buddhism, seems to be destined to fall a victim to similar situation.

On the domestic front, the irrational and mullish obstinacy of Nehru to stick to the fantastic and "passionate" pet schemes of "socialism" and State capitalism are leading the country to the brink of an economic chaos.

As correctly pointed out by Acharya Ghosh of the Jan Sangh, the problem of problems before India today is the problem of Nehru. Nehru is the fountain source of many of the headaches that the country is facing for the last 11 years. Unless democratic public opinion is brought to bear on the Nehru Government to drastically change his policies, the future before the country is very dark and dismal indeed.

The Individual and Indian Constitution

By A. Ranganathan

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THE success of democracy does not merely depend on the eloquent words enshrined in the Constitutional Preamble. Every student of political science knows that even such a centralized State as Russia is based on a constitution which is federal in theory! In the last analysis, the Constitution is an extremely delicate mechanism which is controlled by the main-spring of liberty in creating the proper balance between public authority and individual freedom.

The Indian Constitution is at once evolutionary and revolutionary—evolutionary because India's new constitution is patterned to a great extent on the Government of India Act of 1935, except for a few changes necessitated by the achievement of Indian Independence, and revolutionary since the Constitution is based on the republican idea, which is definitely a break with the Indian tradition of a monarchical form of government. The nineteenth century was a period of internecine struggle between democracy and monarchy ultimately resulting in the triumph of the democratic idea, which can be said to be the legacy of the twentieth century. But countries which emerged from a period of political domination (there have been exceptions in European history) generally plumped for a republican form of government. The adoption of the republican idea is, therefore, a product of the forces of history.

THE PREAMBLE

The preamble, eloquently enough, wishes to secure:

'JUSTICE, social, economic and political

'LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship.

'EQUALITY of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all

'FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

The Indian Constitution is different from the previous ones in many respects. Nearly five hundred States which formed 'NATIVE INDIA' vanished from the scene. While the old dichotomy between 'British India' and 'Native States' had been removed, a new classification was introduced—part A states, part B states and so on. The old princes were made to fit in with the new constitutional pattern, because clad in pseudo-purple and designated as Rajpramukhs who have been abolished.

Another important feature of the Constitution is adult suffrage which confers the status of a voter to every man and every woman who is a citizen of India and who is not less than twenty-one years. Perhaps the most important feature of our new constitution is the section on Fundamental Rights.

CURBING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Any discussion of a constitution must necessarily take into consideration the various amendments which take place from time to time. It is well known that changes, economic and technological promote the tendency towards centralization. In this connection it is interesting to recall the great role played by the Ameri-

can Supreme Court in fashioning a legal apparatus which was responsible in adopting the American Constitution, framed for a predominantly agricultural country with a few million people, to the evergrowing needs of a great industrial power with more than thirty times the original population. The justification for a judicial interpretation of a constitution finds its expression in the historic words of Chief Justice Marshall, who declared: "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the Law is." And if a comparative study of the various amendments of the American Constitution and the amendments effected in the Indian Constitution is made, one can easily arrive at the conclusion that the scope of individual rights has been broadened whereas the area of individual freedom in India is being steadily narrowed.

EXECUTIVE POWER INCREASED

Since Indian Independence, there has been a sustained effort to increase the powers of the Executive at the expense of the courts. Pandit Nehru has violently opposed the idea of the Supreme Court being the final arbiter on the quantum of compensation on the plea that the Supreme Court ought not to make itself a third chamber of legislature. It would be difficult to deny that this amendment which vested this power in parliament has made great inroads into the domain of the individual. This new power of fixing the amount of compensation is theoretically vested in parliament, but in actual practice will have to be delegated to the ruling party and finally administered by the Executive officers. And it becomes all the more serious when the Government propose to introduce Co-operative Farming.

In a recent lecture Mr. V. P. Menon has said that the policy of fixation of ceilings raises the question of right to property—"In contrast to the Zamindaris, the land to which the ceiling applied was purchased in the market out of honest savings and these land Reform Bills, would be the means for expropriation of private property." Indeed, there can be no doubt that co-operative farming on a nation-wide scale, which is sought to be implemented by the nostrum-fed planners, will do violence to the individual's freedom of action guaranteed by the Constitution. Another proposal of a serious nature is to set up administrative tribunals in different states, on behalf of the Central Government, to pronounce the final verdict on revenue disputes and also matters pertaining to Government employees. This measure, if brought into force, will prevent High Courts from discharging their normal functions. On the one hand we are assured of Fundamental Rights and on the other hand, everything is taken away in the name of social "progress and freedom." The Court is the last resort of the aggrieved citizen and if he is deprived of this right it simply means the negation of democracy. This proposal is most surprising, if we reect on the statements of Congress leaders who had asked

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The Uninterrupted Revolution

By T. L. Kantam

THE full significance of the developments in Tibet cannot be understood without a proper appreciation of what is happening in China to-day. This is not easy because an understanding of the true nature of the "uninterrupted revolution" in China is clouded by skilful and persistent Communist propaganda. The Communist regime in China relies "not only on the strong right arm of the People's 'Liberation' Army but also on the gentler but equally tenacious left hand of its propaganda machine."

"Who is a propagandist?" asked Mao Tse-tung and answered it himself in the following words: "Not only is the teacher a propagandist, the newspaper reporter a propagandist, the literary writer a propagandist but all our cadres, in all kinds of work, are also propa-

gandists." (The term "cadres" is used in the Chinese Communist Party jargon to refer to the elite groups made up of those who are specially active and prominent in the work of the Party at the lower and middle levels). Thus propaganda to the Chinese Communists is education; it is journalism; it is literature; in short, it is the communication of ideas in all its forms.

IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

When the Communists seized power in China in 1949, they were regarded by many as mere "agrarian reformers" unlike their totalitarian neighbours to the West. But it soon became clear that Communism in China was not a unique brand and that it represented an application to the Chinese mainland of the principles of international Communism under leaders who are fanatically devoted to the advancement of the cause, and who closely co-operate with the leaders of the Soviet Union.

The Chinese Communist leaders have declared their unswerving allegiance to the so-called Marxist-Leninist body of doctrine. It is highly significant that after the death of Stalin, Mao became the leading theoretician of Communism. But, while retaining the general theoretical framework of the writings of Marx and Engels, purporting to offer an all-embracing view of the processes and goal of social evolution, Lenin, followed by Stalin and Mao added many specific revisions and even repudiations of Marx.

MARX REPUDIATED

Marx's "scientific" and historical theories and particularly his analysis of the stages in the class struggle, were in their original form inapplicable to the Chinese society of the second quarter of the 20th century just as they were inapplicable to the Russian society of the first quarter of the century. Marx pointed out the great gap between the backward economies of the Asiatic countries such as China and the advanced industrial countries of his day, Britain and Germany, and indicated that such backward countries were far from ready for a revolution of the Communist type, but would have to go through a great deal of development first. It remained for Lenin and Stalin in Russia and Mao in China to break away from this "scientific" analysis and to revise Marxian thought to apply directly to their less advanced countries. Lenin showed the possibility of a highly disciplined, conspiratorial party appealing to the Marxian revolutionary ideals to take advantage of any revolutionary situation (and could even help to create such a situation) to seize control of the state machine for the ostensible purpose of transforming that country into an advanced industrialized nation. Thus, it is not surprising that Mao, himself part of the highly disciplined movement created by Lenin, should pattern his thinking much more upon Lenin than upon Marx himself.

In their attempt to apply Communist thinking to the situation in China, the Leninists had to face the fact that the bulk of the masses in China have always

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for a separation of the judiciary from the executive, during the British regime. The idea of instituting administrative tribunals is to take over the functions of the Judiciary by the Executive. The serious implications of this proposal can be grasped if we examine it in the light of various measures—Preventive Detention Act, Wealth Tax, Expenditure Tax, the Essential Services Maintenance Bill, all leading to an over-centralized bureaucracy contributing to an atmosphere of a police state.

THE NECESSARY AMENDMENT

Our Constitution as it is needs only one amendment. The time limit for the use of English in our day-to-day administration must be extended by a further period of twenty-five years, if not more. The most important thing at the moment is to make the Government take suitable steps to amend the Constitution to include English as one of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule. The next step would be to delete Part XVII of the Constitution. Indeed, even article 315 of the Constitution has made it clear that Hindi is still an undeveloped language and it is difficult to understand the reason behind the idea of imposing Hindi, when English serves our purposes admirably. Again Article 344 (3) says that "in making their recommendations, the (official language) commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services. Mr. P. Medapa, says foreign language is legally untenable and constitutionally incorrect. It is well to remember in this connection that the Bombay High Court had shown that English is not a foreign language in pronouncing judgement on the celebrated Bombay School case.

It is sad to reflect that the mainspring of liberty has been tampered with on many occasions and it is to be hoped that they will desist from further attempts. Indeed if the mechanism gets out of order, it will be an irreparable loss which would mean an end of democracy. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

been peasants and agricultural workers rather than urban industrial proletariat. The latter class—the “workers of the world” whom Marx exhorted to unite to break the chains of their bourgeois oppressors—to this day constitute a small minority in China’s essentially agrarian economy.

Lenin, determined to exploit the revolutionary potentialities of China and other backward countries, completely abandoned Marx’s classical view of a static oriental society. Both Lenin and Stalin conceived of all societies, the Oriental included, as following a single, stereotyped line of development, through slavery, feudalism, capitalism, with socialism and communism to follow. This interpretation made it possible to assign to the Chinese peasants, like the Russian peasants before them, a specific role in the world revolutionary movement—a role which had previously been reserved exclusively for the industrial proletariat.

LENIN TWISTS MAXISM

Following the October Revolution of 1917, in which peasant discontent had been an important factor, Lenin extended his counsel to the Communists of other agrarian countries. His specific advice was to bring about an “alliance of the advanced proletariat of the whole world with the workers and the exploited masses of the East who often live in conditions which prevailed during the Middle Ages.”

The effect of this doctrine of an alliance of the workers with the peasants in the so-called feudal agrarian societies meant that the centre of interest for the revolutionary movement was in practice shifted from the advanced industrial countries, where Marx had looked for proletarian uprisings, to the “backward” and colonial areas of the world. It further meant that one of the mainsprings of the revolutionary upheaval would be the peasant’s discontent with long-standing evils in respect of land tenure and agricultural credit.

But peasant discontent was not the only potential source of revolutionary fervour to be exploited in the non-industrialized areas. Throughout the colonial and semi-colonial territories, feelings were running high against the “imperialism” of the Western industrial nations, often accompanied by a rising nationalism. As a master tactician, more than an abstract theoretician, whose primary concern was the establishment and maintenance of power, Lenin saw the opportunities created by this historical development and did not hesitate to alter Marxian theory to be able to take advantage of it. The result was the development of the concept of whole proletarian nations” waging the class struggle against “capitalist-imperialist” nations. Through this theory of imperialism, his most important ideological contribution, Lenin was able to make Marxism-Leninism directly applicable to the Chinese nation in yet another way.

Thus the Leninist theory of imperialism carried two major implications for the Chinese Communists. It allowed them to view their own movement as part of the “world proletarian revolution as a whole and of the struggle against imperialism as a whole.” More important than this, it gave their own efforts a very special place in the world movement. Following the Communist victory in mainland China, a spokesman

of the Communist Party of China described this position in the following words: “The prototype of the revolutions in Imperialist countries is the October Revolution. The prototype of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries is the Chinese Revolution.”

In their view of the ultimate goal of the movement, the followers of Lenin have retained the Marxian apocalyptic of a new world order. It has likewise been very useful to them as a myth to justify their own seizure and maintenance of power. They have thus made of Marxism a symbol of a world-wide revolutionary struggle to “emancipate” the down-trodden masses and to achieve the promised utopia. Mao has often invoked this symbol to show that the Chinese Communists have a bolder and more radical programme than had any other movement. In his 1945 report on “Coalition Government,” he boasted “We Communists never conceal our political stand. It is definite and beyond any doubt that our future programme is to make China advance into the realm of socialism and communism. Both the name of our party and our Marxist world outlook unequivocally point to this highest ideal of the future, a future of dazzling brightness and unsurpassable beauty.”

EMPLOYEE OPPORTUNITIES

THE FREE MARKET allows a person the opportunity to be both an employee and a stockholder under a single corporate management. The market offers the opportunity, though it does not guarantee any individual an unlimited supply of personal ability or capital with which to take advantage of all opportunities. The fact that an employee has the opportunity to invest capital in the corporation is a protection to him. If he feels that the stockholders are getting more than a fair share of the corporate product, he may protect his interests by purchasing some of the stock. Most of the industrial corporations pay out in wages and salaries each year more than enough money to buy a controlling interest in their voting stock—if the employees wanted to use their earnings for that purpose.

Aside from the possibility of dividends, there are at least two other reasons why employees might want to invest some or all of their savings in the common stock of the corporations which employ them: (1) This is a proper method of gaining control over management, and (2) Such investment may help to increase the supply of raw materials, tools, and plant facilities which are necessary if there are to be more and better job opportunities.

FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS

When will we know these fundamental truths?—

- (1) That all wealth comes from production.
- (2) That we cannot distribute more than we produce.
- (3) That production comes from applying human energy to natural resources with the aid of tools and that anything that discourages the invention of, or investment in tools, injures the welfare and security of the worker.
- (4) That employment comes from customers—not from corporations.
- (5) That there is no such thing as job security without customer security.

Digging the Roots of our Chaos

LAURANCE BARTH

—:O:—

HUMAN society cannot much longer stand the ravages of politics.

If this statement is made flatly, it's because experience has shown it so flatly. We enter the remainder of the twentieth century with all the political-militaristic insanity of the past centuries intensified and made infinitely more "efficient" by a peak of scientific development. Well-meaning human beings have been trying to solve their problems through a variety of political parties and ideologies. Religionists, economists, Marxists, technocrats, ethical culturists and many others all feel that they have final and essentially complete answers. The sincerity of their intentions doesn't alter the fact that humanity continues its incredible chaos of greed, war, mysticism and brutality as enthusiastically today, on the whole, as it did 2000 years ago.

WE HAVE IGNORED THE BASE

In looking for the "cure" we made the mistake of continuing to look on superficial levels only, of trying to manipulate only the superstructure of society, and ignoring the base.

Many sincere people believe they have found the base of man's brutality and meekness in economics. They say, "we must change from the irrational and ruthless profit system to a decent, rational economy." This is a need that's perfectly clear to anyone with his eyes open to reality—but a change in economy will not by itself repair a sick humanity. The problem is, in fact, involved, and man's sickness prevents the achievement of this change that will supposedly end the sickness. Religionists go at the problem on the level of human emotions—thus coming closer to the base. But religion, non-realistic, anti-sexual, anti-rational at its core, necessarily defeats whatever constructive intentions it has; with one hand it gives out charity, food and superficial emotional relation while with the other hand it creates meekness, paralyzes any urge for realistic social change, and forces an inhibition and storage of emotional energy that leads directly to sadism and further mysticism.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES' JOB

Political parties—We're concerned here with those that can in any degree be called progressive or radical—are ceaselessly turning little knobs and screws in the futile effort to achieve the "correct" political formula—that is, the one that actually brings about a society which is rational, free and creative in every sense. No political party has ever achieved this, nor is it likely to, for an examination of the members and followers of any political party will reveal that they, like all human beings, are sufficiently neurotic to knock a societal brick down every time they set one up. This is not to say that a neurotic human being may not achieve socially useful things in spite of his neurosis, but that while neurosis remains spread thickly through humanity, rational struggle is extremely impeded and its place taken by politics.

Here we must make a semantic clarification; by "politics" I mean the eternal trickery, hypocrisy and

tactics by which individuals, political parties or nations jockey for power. When we want to speak of true pro-life efforts in the field of government and nations today we should let the word "politics" sink in its mire and use some expression like "rational struggle" or "social effort."

DISILLUSIONED POLITICAL DEVOTEES

There is nothing more dismaying to a man of goodwill than to have it gradually forced on his notice that a political party of progressive intention into which he has put his heart and soul is shot through with the same qualities that he has come to expect in the major parties: hypocrisy, mechanical thinking, pettiness and dishonesty: leader-worship, bureaucracy and ruthlessness. There have been many accounts of such dismaying realization.

As the awareness slowly develops, he criticizes individual members for individual faults, he criticizes aggregate faults of the group, he exhorts, he tries to do the painful job of examining his own faults and rationalizations; he speaks of policy and ethics, of the undesirability but practical necessity of tactics, of the possibility that tactics may be a means which destroys rather than achieves an end. He may find himself drawn to other dissatisfied members and then realize that he has joined forces with a political sect, within a political sect, a clique, and is doing or condoning some of the same things that he objects to in the party as a whole. A clique idea he rejects also, but he has not yet solved anything. He is confused by the complexity of the total problem and finally may have only a feeling that something is very wrong, as his base of orientation.

Such a person, if he is solidly realistic-minded, will begin to ask himself, "What is this self-defeating thing within well mean organisations? Why do we human beings act mechanically, worshipingly and brutally even when we're devoted to ideals of reality, independence and kindness?" He observes, he thinks and if he is lucky he suddenly knows a fact clearly that he should have recognised ten years earlier in his life: a political party is a collection of individual human beings consisting of flesh and blood, emotions and drives; each one, having grown up in a neurotic society, is inevitably twisted somewhat himself, and twists his organization.

He looks beyond the immediate political party into history and sees in example after example how a revolution of one sort or another has degenerated; the brotherhood ideal of Jesus Christ that has ended in altars and "holy virgins;" the promise of 1776 that has largely withered into fascist congressional committees and psychotic war plans: the British Labour Party's "socialism" that descended to murders in Israel; the promise of the bold, realistic young Soviet Union that has ended in the shocking and tragic degenerations of over a quarter century, too numerous to mention here.

And he loses the illusion that "the people" (meaning, simply, everybody) know what they want and are

able to achieve it; that once the people are given an opportunity to run society themselves, they will automatically do the right things. He sees that when human beings start to carry out a new and decent social ideal, they very soon distort and twist it back into the same old rigidity, tyranny and mysticism, under the cover of a new vocabulary and decorations. He sees (if he continues having a radical, that is, literally a root seeking eye) that they don't really want to defeat themselves, but are in the grip of an emotional sickness, too afraid of freedom, too sexually, muscularly, emotionally locked up, too masochistic, too sadistic, to do otherwise. And he sees that politics, far from being a science as he had thought, is the active social expression of this chaotic irrationality in human beings.

DISTORTION OF EMOTIONS AND BODY FUNCTIONING

Dr. Wilhelm Reich has put the situation succinctly: "Every single major religious or social movement failed and degenerated sooner or later. . . . The common denominator of all these cruel failures is man himself who cut himself loose from his own nature. Whatever he takes over is bound to perish so long as he does not finally attack his own bio-physical structure. And this is no longer a question of 'politics' but of the discovering of the human animal, of how our newborn babies grow up."

Nothing can be more basic in humanity than the baby. It is in this new human body with its muscular, nutritional, emotional and other needs that sick character traits are formed right from the beginning—emotional distortions that, multiplied and made subtle and complex by adult society, evolve into the "political and "economic" generalities of war, the profit system, race hatred, crime and mysticism.

Most human beings, and their institutions, veer towards either sadism or masochism. Within the area of sadism we can include giving the petty physical and psychic blows of family and school life, "office politics," gossip, crimes of violence, and the greatest crime, war.

Within the area of masochism we can include the smaller physical self-cruelties such as compulsive, pleasureless exercising and tight, hot-clothing; general inhibition of emotional outlet; self-abasement, as in worship of "God," a political leader, or a movie star; and the everyday guilt feelings which create a socially-irresponsible meekness. Dialectically enough, both these sicknesses operate within the average person at the same time, though their directions are in opposition to each other. And—again dialectically—they find a common ground, in both being an expression of energy. Freud long ago discovered (and the more authoritarian psychiatrists and psychoanalysts have since been steadily smothering) the fact that both cruelties are born of suppressing our basic livingness, our sexuality. (The word is used here in its largest sense—that of all living functions, including genitality).

Essentially all over the World we live in a society and have for centuries—which distorts and suppresses more or less the entire natural functioning of the body, and primarily the genital aspect of sexuality—the natural sex play of children and natural, easy, non-anxious sexual intercourse in adolescent and adult life. A host of incredibly unrealistic laws and customs attempt to shut off and distort the strong flow of the basic human energy. As a result it bursts out as best it can through a hundred twisted paths, and man either tears his fellow-man's head off or he retreats into "It's in God's hands—I will accept my troubles with resignation."

In view of the undstanding of human irrational actions in terms of energy use and emotional distortions, it becomes impossible to go on manipulating the political superstructure of society and ignoring its base, the biological, emotional human body. And if this emphasis would be hastily labeled by some readers as part of the current anti-intellectualism, let them realise that nothing more surely conserves intellectual than eliminating preventable neurosis.

(To be continued)

Courtesy: "Balanced Firings."

English In Asia

Languages are not mechanical aids to communication which might one day be replaced by "controlled telepathy": they frame and partly condition our thought. It is therefore natural that newly independent nations should feel their freedom diminished if they cannot use for all purposes some language which they can claim to be a mother-tongue, however unknown it may be beyond their own borders, and even if within them there may be rival claimants. Often, in absorbing the latest results in science and technology, they consequently run into trouble. For whereas there are almost three thousand languages extant, nearly three-quarters of the world's annual output of articles on engineering (in 1,400 journals) are in English, as are well over more than half of those on chemistry.

This clearly reflects the primacy of British Commonwealth and United States industry. Russia seems now to be becoming the language with the next widest technical use; only three or four other languages are starters. Besides this great lead as a medium for

science, English has been widely diffused throughout Asia and Africa by commerce, administration and education over several generations, and its impact has been much deeper than I had previously appreciated.

My latest first-hand experience has been a tour, as Chairman of the British Council, around the sub-teaching English has been confused with the political of race, nationalism, language and religion can be studied in every aspect. In both countries the problem of teaching English has been confused with the political controversies about official languages. The Indian Constitution had laid down that Hindi (spoken in one form or another by about forty per cent of the people) should become the official language by 1965. Though this is still the law, it has been generally agreed to recognise in their own territories thirteen other languages, and the present formula is Hindi, a regional language or English.

In the first enthusiasm of national independence, English, which had long been the medium for teaching

during the last six years of school life, ceased in the state schools to be the medium and became a subject; simultaneously the standard deteriorated owing to the disappearance of the teachers from England and to the great increase in "literate" without an increase in teachers. As the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, told me with characteristic humour, "English was first taught by Englishmen, then by Indians taught by Englishmen, then by Indians who had never seen an Englishman!"

Presumably it was hoped the universities would follow suit, but they have not. Though I talked with a dozen University Vice-Chancellors and four Education Ministers, I could obtain no exact classification of the thirty-seven Indian universities in terms of the medium used; but at the moment all of them are using English for scientific teaching, whilst a fluctuating minority use Hindi or their regional language for the Arts courses, including economics and history. One university has tried Hindi, then Gujrati, and returned to English. The standard of English in the schools is naturally affecting the standard of subjects taught in English in the universities.

Entrance examinations to the Indian Administrative Service are conducted in English, and, when I spent an hour in the Lower House at Delhi at question-time, thirty-eight out of forty questions were answered in English, the answers all being printed in English.

In Pakistan the situation is broadly similar. Here the Constitution (at the moment suspended) laid down the retention of English for administrative purposes till 1976. The eventual aim is to replace English by Urdu in West Pakistan, by Bengali in East Pakistan. Meanwhile English continues to be compulsory for entrance to the seven universities and for all degree students; but pressure for accelerated adoption of Urdu leads to failure to remedy the decay in English teaching in the schools, which comes from the same causes as in India and has the same results.

Both in India and in Pakistan the educational effects of the controversies about the official languages are now realised, and it is growingly recognised that, until English can be dispensed with as a teaching medium, it must be properly taught. In both countries the situation in the universities is partly saved by the large group of students from the non-state schools—"Public Schools," Anglo-Indian and missionary (in which usually only a minority are Christians)—for in these

English is still the medium. Since independence the Christian High School College at Madras alone has counted among its old boys the Vice-President, three Finance Ministers of the Central Government and three of the present leading Ambassadors.

The first step must be for the Governments to distinguishing frankly and officially between the political question of the official languages and the technical question of the teaching of English; to face the two facts that the universities cannot fix a date for the abandonment of English as the main teaching medium, and that the State schools are more and more failing to prepare the students to use it. Once the Governments are not prepared to act, how can we co-operate? There is no longer any question of large numbers of teachers from England being again available for direct teaching in the sub-continent, and the primary approach must be indirect, by improving the standard of English teaching.

The British Council has many ways of helping, but two new developments deserve special attention. The Allahabad and Hyderabad Institutes have been founded, at which experts lent by the Council give intensive courses in English to groups of teachers from the training colleges. There are only twenty-eight on the first course at Hyderabad, but their enthusiasm was infectious and the opportunities in this new field are unlimited. Under the expansion programme recently adumbrated in Dr. Charles Hill's White Paper, there are new funds for such work, for the subsidy of teaching posts, and for a great increase in the supply of books.

In the British colonies and protectorate, in Malaya and Ghana, where there is no question of any substitute for English, the problem is to maintain and where possible to improve the standards. In the Middle East there is a demand for direct teaching through institutes, but the main lead in education has been left to France and the U.S.A. Sir Kenneth Grubb, in his recent article in *The Sunday Times*, suggested that English teaching is not best supplied through official machinery, but my experience is that private commercial teaching institutes can seldom flourish outside Europe. The more one delves into this complicated subject, the more is the imagination stirred by the immense field of new opportunity within our reach.

—*Sunday Times*

Pakistan Has No Business to Keep Bomber Force

By the late Sir David Kelly

PROVIDENCE (Rhode Island): The United States agreement to provide Pakistan with seven or eight light bombers seems an incomprehensible piece of blundering in both domestic and foreign policy, says the *Providence Journal* in an editorial.

"As a nation which only a few months ago was forced to adopt a military autocracy to cope with an acute economic crisis, Pakistan has no business to maintain a bomber force in the first place, even if it had a likely target against which to use it.

"But Pakistan could put the bombers to no use that the United States could sanction. Certainly, eight B-57s would not checkmate and overt Soviet move

against Pakistan. Indeed, if the Soviet military threat ever reached the point where the bombers were needed the U.S. Air Force would be called into action through SEATO.

UNJUSTIFIED

"Small arms, trucks, even pursuit and observation planes, can be justified for a nation as close to the Soviet Union as Pakistan to prevent raids and insurrections and the U.S. has provided \$250,000,000 to Karachi for such equipment. But the gift of bombers cannot be regarded realistically as strengthening the
(Continued on page 15)

WHAT IS PAKISTAN'S GAME?

What is Pakistan's game and how long is India to remain on the defensive? This sums up sentiments in Parliament and in the country in respect of the series of the latest acts of unprovoked aggression on the part of Pakistan towards us. The incident relating to the shooting down of one of our aircraft, which figured so prominently in Parliament on Saturday last, is still not closed, and is bound to recoil on Pakistan to an extent unheard of and even unimagined. The manner in which the personnel of the U.N. Observer Team investigating the violation of the Cease Fire Line for Kashmir was treated, is another serious incident. In addition to these two grave incidents, there is the other one of Pakistan military trespass into Cooch-Bihar, and the killing of one Indian citizen, taking place within the same twenty-four hours. What the Prime Minister said in the Lok Sabha was full of sorrow over Pakistan's first action, and it was indicated that we on our side did not retaliate when Pakistan violated our air space for as many as a dozen and a half occasions. In other words, every time Pakistan is wilfully and provocatively on the offensive, we continued merely with expressions of regret, concern and horror, and contented ourselves with lodging pro-

tests. Is it Pakistan's game to draw us into the vortex of armed conflict? Does she feel that with all the military assistance and equipment which is now being made available to her from abroad, she is in a position to declare war on this country? Does Pakistan believe that India would continue to confine herself to the policies of peaceful negotiation, even when her security and honour are repeatedly violated and without cause? One by one the answers to these and other questions are becoming available in the thinking of Authority at New Delhi, and it cannot be long when the answers which Pakistan wants are made available to her.

Let there be no misunderstanding on one issue. Despite the unthinking manner in which the Communist Party put itself outside the pale of national sentiment on the Tibetan question, every Indian citizen would rally round the Government of India in any firm dealing which it wants to give Pakistan. In fact, a nation of near four hundred millions would become automatically mobilised behind Nehru and his Government, to give the answers which Pakistan wants from us. This also must serve as a notice to World Powers still wanting to fish in troubled waters.

MORE PAKISTANS IN THE OFFING

The veteran Maharashtrian Congressman, Rao Bahadur Patwaddhan, stated that Pakistan was the not the creation of one individual or one person. It was the result of the "immature political leadership of the Congress during the NCO movement."

Continuing, he stated that even with the exhibition of "immaturity" there are no signs that the national leadership has become wiser by the creation of one Pakistan. The linguistic squabbles, the mold of the Dravid Kazgam movement in Madras and the South, and the fanaticism of the Akalis under Master Tara Singh are all symptoms that there were more Pakistans in the offing than the people or national leadership imagine.

(Continued from page 14)

anti-communist coalition, although that is the fundamental aim of U.S. military aid.

"Rather, as Pakistani officials freely admit, the bombers were demanded to checkmate India, which, although not aligned in cold war terms with the West, is important to the United States as the keystone of democracy in free Asia.

"Indeed, the United States has invested to date nearly one billion dollars in economic grants and loans to India to ensure that democracy survives there. Even now, because that purpose is so urgent, the American Government is framing another large loan programme for India to help its Second Plan.

"Yet with the other hand, officials in charge of military aid to Pakistan, are neatly voiding millions of dollars of the Indian loan by giving bombers to Pakistan. The reason is that India, feeling threatened by Pakistan, will be forced to divert precious capital to buy more planes for its air force to match Pakistan's new striking force.

CHINA ON THE RAMPAGE IN TIBET

Since fighting broke out in Lhasa the casualties in Tibet are mounting heavily. Originally the Tibetan tribal group the Khampas showed only a weak resistance to Chinese intrasigence in their country. Now this movement has assumed such proportions that it can be described as the truly national movement of the Tibetans to free themselves from their servitude to the Chinese.

Way back in 1950 the Tibetans made no secret of their aspirations and wanted their country to be merged with India as a federated unit, but reserving themselves the right of internal administration of their own country. But Nehru our "Dharamaraj" not only betrayed their aspirations but actually made a gift of Tibet to the Chinese when an agreement took place in 1951 recognising Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. Ever since that agreement, Nehru has cold-shouldered the Tibetans whenever Chinese aggression was brought to his notice. But now that the Tibetans are being ruthlessly suppressed and butchered by the Chinese, India can no longer absolve herself of her responsibilities, in Tibet.

PAKISTAN'S "HEADACHE"!

I wish the U.S. would make some distinction between those who sit on the fence and its committed allies. The people in Pakistan cannot see why the nations that follow neutralism get the assistance. Why must neutralism give them more dividends?

—Mohammed Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to the U.S., Indian Express, February 17.

C. D. Deshmukh's Plea for All Party Government

A 10-YEAR TRUCE OF PARTY RIVALRIES CALLED FOR

At a 140-minute Press conference Mr. C. D. Deshmukh made a forcible plea for the formation of an All-Party National Government at the Centre to meet the crucial years ahead. He warned the country against the disruptive tendencies due to party rivalries and their disastrous results on the solidarity and unity of the country. These party bickerings have now reached the village level and they bode ill for the country.

To a question whether he advocated the nationalisation of the Banks, Mr. Deshmukh said that he was opposed to such a move. There was no necessity to do so.

Asked whether he was thinking of joining the Union Cabinet again he stoutly denied the rumours. He added that he was not a politician but only an administrator. There was no foundation to the recent rumours touching upon the subject of joining the Union Cabinet.

In the end he recommended a 10-Year Truce of political rivalries so that the main problems of stepping up production and relieving unemployment could be tackled.

NO NATIONALISATION OF BANKS

Referring to the demand for nationalisation of Banks Mr. Deshmukh did not think that at the moment there was any urgent necessity for nationalisation of scheduled banks. The powers of control and regulation, which were now available to the Reserve Bank, were sufficient to enable it to take care generally of the monetary sector and to subserve any reasonable interests of implementation of the development plans.

"I do not think" he said; "that any additional resources will result from nationalisation of scheduled banks."

ALL-PARTY GOVERNMENT

Asked to elaborate his views on the likely advantages of an all-party Government, Mr. Deshmukh, a former Union Minister, said no big ideologies were involved in such an idea.

The main point was to remove all grounds of friction as far as possible. If all the credit for implementation of the Five-Year Plans was to go to one party, then others thought it necessary to oppose it at every stage. It might be possible to get the best talent, not necessarily affiliated to any particular party, to assist in the country's administration which could then be more capable and representative.

Mr. Deshmukh also referred to the fact that with devolution of power, party faction was now being carried down to the village level. People were now concentrating on panchayat elections, with the result that villages which were already rent by class warfare, would also be engaged in political rivalries.

"We should have a truce for, say, ten years, until we go over the hump," he said. The present was a critical stage in our planning and such a truce was needed for the smooth implementation of the plan.

TWO POINTS STRESSED

Two points which seemed to call for a great deal of attention in respect of national economy were:

(A) Organisation and administration which seemed not yet geared to the increasingly heavy task which they were called upon to perform, and

(B) The elimination of red tape which caused even small things to be held up and consequently led to frustration and disappointment on the part of the ordinary citizen. The need was for a more efficiency-oriented administration.

EDUCATIONAL DETERIORATION

Mr. Deshmukh was of the opinion that the deterioration in the standards of university education which had been prominently noticed and commented upon a few years ago had been checked and there was now a definite improvement in the standards.

He, however, made it clear that it was too early to make a proper assessment of the result of the various measures taken for the maintenance of standards of university education, such as restriction on admission to colleges, the employment of properly qualified teachers, and the provision of adequate laboratory and library facilities.

Out of 613 colleges falling within the jurisdiction of 40 universities, 267 colleges had accepted the University Grants Commission's offer of subsidising increased emoluments to teachers. Others were considering the proposal and only the Venkateswara University had expressed its inability to provide the necessary matching funds.

On the controversial issue of the medium of instruction, Mr. Deshmukh said sometime or the other, the medium would have to be the regional language.

For the next ten years at least English would have to remain in its present position.

NEW TAXATION LEVELS FOR THE THIRD PLAN

There are inspired statements from knowledgeable sources that our planners are contemplating new and unheard of levels of taxation to meet the grandiose targets of the Third Plan costing around eleven thousand crores of rupees (Rs. 11,000 crores)

The Second Plan has involved some Rs. 900 crores of new taxation. The country is groaning from its weight. But we find the planners suggesting Rs. 2,000 crores by way of taxation in the next plan period asserting that it can be yielded by the richer classes thought with some distress. So we are in for distress greater than we endured in the last couple of years!

The whole gamut of ideas connected with the Mahalanobis plan-frame has to be refuted and agitation focussed on it more strongly than ever before if the country is to be saved from colossal hardships in the coming years.

The ginger group has to be confronted with an opposing group of libertarian thinkers with an alternative scheme of free economy capable of assuring progress without subversion.

4. CONGRESS — GANTANTRA COALITION

For the first time we have a Coalition Government of Congress and Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa. But the terms of the agreement on which it is based make it a disagreeable disappointment from the point of view of political progress.

For it was hoped that the Ganatantra Parishad led as it is by ex-rulers and large landlords and other well-to-do elements in Orissa would develop a rightist programme, or at least, a centralist platform to counteract the Leftist, pro-communist policies of the Congress. Calling itself Ganatantra Parishad, meaning a republican party, it was hoped that it would do some re-thinking and would stress the genuinely republican attitude in economic policies, which is so essential for the defence of democracy, free economy, guided by essential regulations, should have characterised the platform of the Parishad.

But today its entry into a coalition government on Congress terms dashes these hopes to the ground. For the joint communique issued at the time of the formation of the new government with two Congress and one Parishad members says distinctly that it would assist in the successful working of the Plan and the carrying out of the programme of land reforms, co-operative farming and State trading in food grains! It does not say that it would assist in carrying the country "a step forward to the goal of socialism!"

The coalition is a triumph for Congress and a defeat for the Parishad and to all lovers of free economy who had hoped for an alternative democratic line of development from the Parishad.

The coalition is a symptom of the emptiness of much opposition in the country. It shows the frailty and unreliability of all opposition not based on a clear and principled adherence to ideas thought out in all their implications.

POLITICS IS NOT ECONOMICS

I

The study of economics normally deals with the "natural" actions of the people in financing, producing, and exchanging goods and services to their best personal advantage.

But a knowledge of "natural" economic actions means very little unless people know how "unnatural" they can become through government intervention.

And unless people do know this they are likely to blame their economic troubles on the wrong things and on the wrong people.

They are also likely to vote for the wrong candidates for the wrong reasons.

II

For the welfare of its citizens, there are certain actions which every government should take, such as the collection of taxes for essential services, the maintenance of a sound stable currency, the policing of fair competition, the removal of unregulated monopoly, and the protection of its working people from ruinous competition from foreign low-wage labor.

These actions help the people help themselves "naturally" through their own efforts, resources and calculated risks.

But through our history governments have been unable to resist trying to help the people "unnaturally", without effort or risk on the people's part.

As extreme examples, the most "unnatural" economies in the world today are the Communist nations where the people's "Welfare" is decided entirely by government action.

In these countries all important economic decisions, the things to be produced, wage levels, working hours, selling prices, job selection, promotion, demotion, etc., are made at the political level.

III

Even in the freest of nations, however, politics has an impact on economics.

For example, the value of money becomes primarily a political decision when government decides to spend more money than it takes in, rather than tax the people the full cost of government.

The government then "manufactures" extra money (inflates) by increasing its bank debt.

In many nations the cost of many goods is a political decision based on the decision to guarantee farm prices and buy surplus production.

This means the people pay for these products twice—once at the store and again when they pay their taxes.

The "unnaturally" low selling price of electricity, gas, transportation, etc., produced by most subsidized government utilities is political decision.

These services are paid for twice; once when they are bought and again when taxes are paid.

In nations which have adopted the "unnatural" progressive personal income tax, the individual reward for economic success is a political decision.

Politically-decided "unnaturally" high "minimum" wages don't increase real wages—they merely force up all money wages without adding to purchasing power.

Moreover "minimum" wages "unnaturally" prevent employers from hiring crippled or handicapped workers who cannot earn "the minimum" but want to work for less.

IV

It is no accident that everyone of these "unnatural" policies has vote appeal.

They all seem to give somebody something for nothing and when the penalty must be paid the public is usually unable to place the blame in the right place.

But the popularity of these policies will continue in every self-governing nation until the people are educated to understand the fallacy of "The things they know that are not so."

RED RUSSIAN ATROCITY IN RANGOON

Rangoon: The march of Burmese newsmen was touched off by the mauling of Burmese newsmen and photographers at Mingaldon airport by Russians as the latter loaded a Russian military attache abroad a Chinese air-liner to get him out of Burma.

The Burmese newsmen today marched from a public meeting to the Russian Embassy and threw vegetables at the Embassy. A Russian plain-clothes guard threw a stool at the demonstrators. When a Burmese photographer rushed to the gate of the Embassy to take a picture he was grabbed by a burly Russian and taken forcibly inside the Embassy assaulted and kicked.

The newsmen and the photographer who were hit by the stool have filed complaints with the Police of assault and theft of the camera.

NEWS DIGEST

INDIAN CONSULATE IN LHASA STORMED BY WOMEN

A Flagrant Breach of International Law.

Kalimpong: Nearly 500 Tibetan women forcibly entered the Indian Consulate in Lhasa last week and demanded proof that the Dalai Lama was not under duress in India, reliable reports reaching here said.

The women demonstrators pushed aside the Chinese guards posted at the Consulate gates shouting: "You are telling us lies. The Dalai Lama is under duress in India." They refused to leave the premises, unless some proof of the Dalai Lama's free movements was shown to them, the reports added.

The Indian Consul-General told them that he had no recent picture of His Holiness and assured them that the Dalai Lama is not under duress in India.

CHINESE FORCE THEIR WAY INTO INDIAN TERRITORY

New Delhi: Two M.P.s, Mr. J. B. S. Bhist and Mr. Bhaktadarshan, it is reliably learnt, have informed the Prime Minister that the Chinese soldiers have crossed the Indian border in Gharwal District and have entered the area of Garbaug.

It is understood that these Chinese soldiers have occupied the area of Barahoti Pathar and that the security measures of the Indian Government there are not sufficient to meet the Chinese aggression.

600 CHINESE TROOPS KILLED BY THE KHAMPAS

Kalipong: Nearly 600 Chinese soldiers were killed and 200 injured when Khampa rebels fired on a Chinese Army unit engaged in clearing a road block, at a site nearly 15 miles away from Gynagtse, according to an Indian trader who has just returned here after a two-month stay in Tibet.

The Chinese injured were brought to Gynagtse at night.

The trader said that Gynagtse-Yatung road was unsafe for travelling. No trucks or cars were plying there. He had himself to take a horse-driven car to cross over the border. He was detained for two days at Yatung for security measures.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION TO THE CONGRESS

Hyderabad: The formation of the Socialist Democratic Party with the merger of the dissident Socialist unit and the Democratic Party comprising Congress "rebels" was formally announced here.

The idea is to aim at the "unification of all democratic opposition forces."

The resolution said that "to safeguard democratic and human principles" the Socialist Democratic Party "shall counter the totalitarian philosophy and the outlook of dialectic materialism and the concept of proletariats dictatorship."

The resolution further said that the economic condition in the country was "fast deteriorating due to the undemocratic, dictatorial and sectional policies of the Congress."

PAKISTAN FIRING IN PATHARIA AREA

New Delhi: Pakistani forces have been exercising aggressive pressure on the Patharia reserve forest in Cachar in Assam, according to reports reaching New Delhi.

It is gathered that on May 1 Pakistani forces fired rifles and bren guns on the Indian outposts, at Adamtilla, without provocation. This was followed by more aggressive moves on May 10 when a Pakistani patrol crossed the Indian border, and opened fire on an Indian patrol in the Indian area.

In order to cover their aggressive intentions Pakistani authorities have complained to the Indian officials that heavy Indian reinforcements have been seen in the Patharia area. What has actually happened is the routine change-over of the personnel of the Border Force.

A FUTILE PLEA

300 PAK NATIONALS RAID INDIAN VILLAGE

DINHATTA (Cooch-Bihar): About 300 armed Pakistani nationals trespassed into Indian territory last evening and set ablaze a dozen houses in Baragarol-jhara under Dinhatta police station in Cooch-Bihar, according to official reports available here today.

The reports said the Pakistanis, who came over from Bhurungamari in Rangpur district of East Pakistan, looted and damaged property worth several thousand rupees, and assaulted an Indian national who subsequently succumbed to his injuries.

The Pakistanis also carried away forty heads of cattle.

The raiders attacked the villagers with swords, daggers and lathis. Panic-stricken inhabitants called for police assistance, but by the time help arrived the Pakistanis had crossed over to the other side of the border.

Following the incident, strong precautionary measures have been taken in the area. The Deputy Commissioner of Cooch-Bihar has lodged a strong protest with his counterpart at Rangpur.

Letters to the Editor

TIBET EVENTS SHOULD WAKE UP INDIA

Dear Madam: We are enmeshed in the Tibetan imbroglio before we realised what was happening in Red China. When the Red Army marched on Tibet a few years ago and Dalai Lama came down to India en route to U.S.A. he was refused exit visa by Nehru. Obviously Dalai Lama is going to a wrong person now.

In the gradation of our enemies, Communism should top the list. The Arab countries seem to have realised the menace of Communism to national safety. Nasser is becoming anti-Communist. Arab nationalism (Iraq) rejected collective security. And there is a growing power vacuum that is gradually filled by Communism.

Nehru thinks that to save India from Communism he has to impose a Communist economy on the people! His opposition to communism seems Titoistic: he has been a national Socialist: now he is a national Communist.

It is time that we woke up to the Communist danger. We must join SEATO or else the power vacuum will be filled up by Red China or Russia. Will Nehru change his foreign policy before it is too late?

ETHIOPIA

Dr. B. S. Sanyal

Dear Madam: In your issue of May 1, I was glad to find that there was not much Vituperation and Criticism against Pakistan. It SHOULD BE SO, for now both of us, India and Pakistan should forget the past and stop slinging Mud and Stones at one another and become Brothers again and show "A UNITED FRONT" to our common enemies.

We must remember that the Indian and Pakistani were born to and nurtured by the same MOTHER—Hind Mata—and the Indians and Pakistanis were and ARE (Still) BLOOD Brothers. I am sure that BOTH these brothers are feeling the REMORSE OF SEPARATION and do not show their true feelings.

The "Chini-Bhai" has shown his true character and it will not be long before the "Russi-Bhai" will also show his true colours.

China must expand to allow some "Living-Space" to her 650 million and the only side to expand is towards her Eastern Boundries. There is ample place to her North-East, but big "Russi-Bhai" is there holding a very big stick to stop this expansion.

If India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and the South-East Asia Countries will not COMBINE and show a Bold Front then the "THE YELLOW PERIL" is going to be "A CERTAINTY", by 1965.

Poona

Homi Driver.

EDITOR'S NOTE

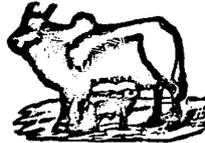
We have published the letter of one of our esteemed readers above. Mr. Homi Driver is entirely wrong in characterising the writings in the "*Indian Libertarian*" as "vituperation" against Pakistan. Our criticism of the hostile attitude of Pakistan is guided by the continuous campaign of vilification and hatred that Karachi has been carrying on against India since the establishment of the two States of India and Pakistan. All our criticism against Pakistan is solely aimed at bringing pressure on the New Delhi authorities to take a more realistic and reciprocal attitude towards our neighbour, who has never missed a single opportunity to demonstrate her congenital hatred towards India.

We are afraid that Mr. Driver suffers from the same complacency that has taken hold of New Delhi authorities. The trouble with men like Mr. Driver and our policy-makers is that they have not correctly read the role of Islam in world politics. Mr. Driver is a Parsee and he should only go back to the causes that led his community to flee from Iran and take asylum in tolerant India. Islam, in practice, does not know patriotism nor tolerance of other faiths than its own. It may be that as a Parsee he feels that the Pakistanis are blood-brothers but it doubtful whether they will reciprocate his feelings. Islamic history is a standing proof against such a consummation.

—Editor,

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