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## EDITORIAL

# BREAD OR SOCIALISM?

OUR Planners appear to be more interested in saving scarce foreign exchange than saving human life. The near famine conditions in Bengal, Assam and Orissa have not in the least unnerved their stout socialist hearts. Their callous refusal to import foodgrains from abroad even in this emergency, evidently shows that they would rather have the people starve and die for want of adequate food-supply in the country rather than see their way to suitably alter or adjust their Plans which require massive expenditure on capital—intensive heavy industry to the great detriment of the vital agricultural sector. The Planners and the Central Finance Ministry are reported to have taken up not a kindly attitude towards the proposal of the hardheaded and practical Food Minister Mr. S. K. Patil that the Indian Government should enter into a fresh P.L. 480 Agreement with U.S.A. to overcome the food crisis facing the country and to enable the Government to maintain a buffer stock of foodgrains against future contingencies. After much pressure and great persuasive efforts, the Union Cabinet and the Planners have, it seems, fortunately for the people in scarcity areas, agreed to authorise the Food Minister to explore the possibilities for at least the import of rice under a fresh P.L. 480 Agreement. And Mr. S. K. Patil is already on his way to U.S.A. for the purpose.

The food crisis that confronts our country today is, in fact, man-made or rather 'planned'. Ideological aberrations of the Government have got not a little to do with it. Under the P.L. 480 Agreement concluded in 1960, sixteen million tons of wheat and one million tons of rice were to be imported into India during a period expiring in 1964. The Agreement was made to meet the difficult situation that prevailed in agriculture in the country, particularly in respect of the production of foodgrains. Secondly it was thought at that time that with this supply of food-grains under the Agreement, India Government would be in a position to stabilise the price line and step up food production in the country. But what the Government has achieved so far, is not stabilisation of prices but the stabilisation, nay, complete stagnation of food production at the level it had reached in 1960-61, when the Deal was made. This disgraceful performance of the Government and the Planning Commission in the agricultural sector has now given rise to a bitter controversy and mutual mud-slinging between the Food Ministry and Planning Commission.

Evidently the blame for this debacle can be squarely put more on the Planners than on the Food Minister and his immediate colleagues. The

time has therefore come for the Planners to re-think and revise their ideas on the subject. Particularly they should consider why under the First Five Year Plan, the country had achieved wellnigh self-sufficiency in food and why this success could not be maintained under the Second and Third Plans. The regularity and irregularity of monsoons alone could not account for the widely differing results of the Plans. In our opinion the real distinction clearly lies in the practical and economic approach of the First Plan and the unrealistic ideological approach of the Socialist Plans. The latter have all but killed local initiative and leadership in the countryside. The useful and good work of supplying to the actual cultivator in time, seeds, fertilisers and credit, done by the well-to-do peasant-proprietors and private investors from non-rural areas in agricultural industry, has now been completely paralysed under the impact of Socialist Planning and the Government agencies, Community Projects and so-called co-operatives have not been able to fill the gap created in this field, with even half the efficiency with which same work was being done privately by villagers themselves. Moreover, the ill-conceived tenancy legislation and so-called land-reforms aiming at the extinction of the self-employed peasant class have only turned the once smiling fields and pastures into dreary deserts and barren wastes.

It is therefore no wonder that food crisis has become a recurring phenomenon under Socialist Planning. We are going through the same bitter experience that Russia and China have had on the food front, even after decades of Socialist experimentation with agricultural industry. It will be therefore hoping against hope that our Government will draw the right conclusion from the experience of these Socialist countries and the present debacle in India that agriculture is essentially an individualistic and private enterprise and refuses to yield an inch of ground in this respect, even to the threats and blandishments of Socialist Planners and that no stabilisation of prices is possible through the means of State-Trading in food-grains and Government-sponsored Co-operatives. The prices refuse to stabilise themselves that way. They are already soaring up. Food is dear and sugar is scarce and people are on the verge of starvation.

But our Government, even in the midst of this crisis is harping on the same old and weary tune of food self-sufficiency and undesirability of importing food-grains from other countries. This rigid attitude bears out the truth contained in the sharp criticism directed against India's Planning by economists like Mr. P. T. Bauer who wrote: 'It is not impossible that they (Planners) might be prepared to run the risk of starvation in the

country rather than moderate cherished Plans.' The chances of Governmental Planning succeeding in increasing food-production and fulfilling the target of 100 million tons of foodgrain by 1965-66 fixed by the Third Plan are extremely remote and very poor indeed!

Under the circumstances, one cannot get away from the feeling that the Government has deliberately posed before the people the question: BREAD OR SOCIALISM? The reply of the people, of course, is and will ever be in favour of BREAD, whether produced and procured within the country or imported from without. After all human life is any day more precious than ideological smugness of Socialist Planners.

\* \* \*

### TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

The question of India's territorial integrity has been agitating the minds of the Indian people for some time now. The Naga rebellion and the revolt of the Adivasis in some regions had already brought this question to the fore. The D.M.K. movement in the Madras State for a separate Dravidnad made it incumbent on the part of the Government and our national leaders to look more closely into this trend which is sowing the seeds of national disruption and disunity. The emergency declared by the Government and extra-ordinary powers assumed by it during the period, had of course a sobering influence on such disruptionist movements but the fire of secessionism is all the same smouldering underground and is sure to flare up once again when emergency declared by the Government comes to an end.

To meet this situation, the Parliament has recently adopted the Bill amending Article 19 of the Constitution which prohibits any act that advocates secession from the Union territory. But it is obvious that this legislative measure alone will not be enough for fulfilling its aims and objects unless it be supported by effective educational propaganda to make the people realise the dangerous implications of this cult of separatism.

Side by side with this propaganda, the Government will be well advised to ascertain the root cause of this separationist demand and the forces that tend to reinforce it. The Government and leaders should in the first place shed off their self-complacency in this matter. They must boldly accept the fact, however ugly it may be, that India is not yet a fullfledged nation but only a nation in the making. So they must scrupulously avoid saying or doing anything which might retard the slow process of nation-building going on in India right up from the British times.

In this connection we should not forget that the Britishers have left us a rich legacy of sound systems of administration and education which have, in a great measure, created amongst us a sort of loosely moulded national consciousness.

But unfortunately this heritage is being simply wasted and even destroyed by our rulers, steeped as they are even now after fifteen years of independence, in their anti-British ideas of the pre-freedom days.

The time is not yet lost for our rulers to do some constructive thinking on this problem of national territorial integrity. The unity of mind and heart forged among the Indian people by the British through a powerful cadre of educated Indians should be carefully nursed and further cemented by giving English its dominant place in education and administration and speedily enlarging this cadre of English-educated intelligentsia throughout the country. The next step will be to remove as far as it is practicable, the imbalances in economic and industrial growth among the different regions of India so as to cut at the very root of the separationist demand which nurses itself on such grievances, real or exaggerated. Above all, the present personal rule of Ministers and their agents prevailing in the country should be substituted by the impersonal 'Rule of Law' so that the scramble for political power raging fiercely from the Centre down to the village level might be reduced to the minimum. This calls for a genuine decentralisation of political and economic power so as to divert the attention of the local leaders from power politics to real public service.

• These evils, economic, political and administrative having been removed from our body-politi-

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tic, chauvinistic regional leaders will feel the ground slipping from under their feet and even if at that stage, they should still choose to indulge in their harmful separationist activities for personal aggrandisement, the Government would then be able to put them down with a heavy hand, with popular sanction and support.

But the pre-condition for such a happy consummation is that the Government should first put its house in order by purging it of self-seeking politicians who place their own interests above those of the nation.

\* \* \*

### THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT BECOMES A "FELLOW-TRAVELLER"

Mr. Sanjivayya Reddi the Congress President has now openly confirmed the strong suspicions and fears of all Indian patriots that under the present leadership, Congress is slowly but surely marching into the camp of 'Fellow-Travellers'. In a speech at Hyderabad he stated: "The Communist Party of India is no more a threat or challenge to the Congress" and that the real threat was "from the Right reaction." This statement is an indication of the extent to which the Communist infiltration tactics have corroded the Congress organisation from within and of how they have not left even the tallest Congressmen untouched.

The one common feature which brings Congressmen and Communists closer to each other day by day, seems to be Power-Politics. When a Communist speaks of socialism, he means only concentration of all power, political and economic into the hands of the Government run by the Communist Party. This part of the Communist programme appears to have appealed greatly to the imagination of power-seeking Congress politicians like Sanjivayya Reddi. And so they are now badly wanting the Congress to move in the direction of capturing totalitarian power for itself in the country. It therefore logically follows that in the eyes of Congressmen whoever supports power-politics is 'Leftist' and whoever is opposed to it and stands for the political and economic freedom of the individual is a "Rightist Reactionary". The people's welfare does not come into the picture at all in this game of power-politics.

But the people cannot be fooled for all times. They now know that the Rightists are only a threat to the Congress but not to the Nation. The Rightists, valiantly fighting as they are, for 'Plenty and Prosperity' to the majority of the population 'through individual freedom, democracy and free economy,' can alone save the country from the present mess into which the country has been brought by the misguided totalitarian, pro-communist policies of the Congress Government.

\* \* \*

### KRIPALANI AND LOHIA TRIUMPH OVER CONGRESS REACTION

As we go to the press, the happiest news of the year has reached us that the veteran national

leader, Acharya Kripalani and the indomitable Socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia have come out triumphantly in the bitterly contested by-elections to the Parliament from Amroha and Farrukhabad constituencies of U. P. and they defeated their nearest Congress rival candidate by overwhelming majority vote of 49,445 and 57,588 respectively. Both these successful candidates have been carrying on a relentless fight against the the present pusillanimous and disastrous policies of Prime Minister Nehru and his Government in regard to Tibet, Sino-Indian conflict and foreign affairs. This vote cast in favour of these national patriots clearly points out which way the political wind is blowing in regions like U. P. whose Northern borders are directly menaced by the Chinese hordes and bandits.

By setting up Hafiz Ibrahim against the Acharya, the Congress leaders had perhaps thought of retrieving their position in the country lost in consequence of the disgraceful NEFA defeats, by enlisting the communal support of Muslims who formed a pretty large percentage of the electorate in the Amroha constituency. Both these constituencies were almost invaded by the Central Ministers and Congress leaders during the election time. But the iron had entered into the souls of the countrymen after the national humiliation at the hands of the foreign enemy. So no amount of Congress tomfoolery and Nehru's demagoguery could convince the people of the correctness of Congress policies of 'Bhai-Bhaism' formulated jointly by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon and imposed on the country with disastrous results and consequences. The victory, we should think, is the beginning of Nemesis that awaits the Congress so self-hypnotised and deluded by its egoism and complacency.

Hail the venerable Acharya and the Socialist leader on their resounding victory over Congress reaction! May their thumping election success usher in an era of Liberal-Democratism in India, now lying almost prostrate at the feet of Congress totalitarianism!

—D. M. Kulkarni.

### FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The Socialists believe in two things which are absolutely different and perhaps contradictory: freedom and organisation.

—Elie Halevy.

It is significant that the nationalisation of thought has proceeded everywhere paripassu with the nationalisation of industry.

—E. H. Carr.

*'The battle of Waterloo might have been won on the playing fields of Eton but the battle of NEFA was lost by the back room boys of Krishna Menon.'*

—Frank Moraes (Indian Express)

# COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

BY M. A. VENKATA RAO

National consciousness is no doubt necessary, but it should develop in all its dimensions. For this purpose our leaders should state clearly our social objectives. Only such action in a collective way will generate a sense of collective responsibility in which all citizens have a share and an opportunity for service.

**D**URING the days of British rule, collective fines were sometimes levied on whole towns as a punishment for rioting and collective attack against other collectivities such as hostile communities in a neighbouring locality. Punitive taxes were also imposed for the same reason.

The basis for such punishment lies in the belief that whole cities or towns and large groups of people distinguishable as communities by religion or other mark constitute **single entities** like individual personalities.

Municipal corporations and joint stock companies, trusts, partnerships, registered societies and such like have also a similar legal status as distinct personalities that can act and be acted upon, sue and be sued against. They possess **legal personality**.

Similarly towns that are punished are regarded as possessing legal personality like individual citizens.

But what is the basis for such belief? Obviously there is no single soul or mind actuating all the members of towns, cities, communities and corporations that are dealt with as personalities at law in this way.

The problem appears also in the larger context of the national life as a whole.

Writers often speak of nations as individual organic entities like individual persons with their own distinct national character.

The story is often told that when three tourists reached the top of an Alpine peak, the Frenchman threw out his hands in eloquent gesticulation all around and said "How charming! How ravishing the scenery!" and began to express his feelings by embracing his companions!

The German was silent and thoughtful and engaged himself in calculating the heights of different peaks! He betokened a scientific temper of mind as contrasted with the Frenchman's artistic and emotional temperament.

And the Englishman kept his appreciations and feelings to himself (which is not to say that he had none) and concluded "Now let us open our food baskets!"

Thinking along these lines, some observers have said that the Indian is a yogi and world renouncer who is naturally addicted to the philosophy of **maya** or world illusion!

These observations of national character are like so many cartoon-like exaggerations and indicate some characteristics of the **culture** of nations. But they do not demonstrate the existence

of any national mind as a separate and distinct existence and individuality like single individuals.

Psychologists have discussed this question of national or social or group mind. Except Hegelian philosophers, no psychologists have found conclusive evidence for believing in any such collective mind as a distinct entity analogous to the individual mind. We do not have the English mind like that of Shakespeare or Dr. Johnson nor the German mind like that of Goethe or Einstein or Bismarck. Similarly there is no evidence for the existence of an Indian Mind like that of Tagore or Gandhi, Nehru or Rama or Krishna. There is a tradition of a national mind in India under the mythological name of Lake Manas (Manassarovar in the Himalayas). But it is only a symbol of Indian ideals like the lotus or swan.

But the denial of a distinct existence corresponding to social or public or national mind (or soul) does not mean that there are no collective phenomena that need the collective influence of all members of a society to explain and that cannot be explained on the assumption of a summation of the action of individual minds taking place independently of each other.

To take the simplest instance, members of a crowd behave in ways similar to each other and differently to their ordinary selves and customary reactions, irrespective of their cultural levels. Even cultured and learned persons are often carried off their feet when they listen as part of a large audience to an eloquent orator appealing to feelings on an emotion-arousing topic like the Chinese invasion today.

Skillful orators have often led crowds to do crimes and violent acts that individually they would be ashamed to do. Members of Hindu and Muslim rioting crowds during communal disturbances and members of American whites during a Negro lynching orgy are examples of this atavistic behaviour of crowds. Crowds can also be inspired to rise higher than their ordinary selves as in patriotic rallies to contribute beyond their means to national defence funds and to join the army as recruits to fight the enemy to the detriment of their future careers. Men have been inspired to give their lives on such occasions, when defending their homelands.

These examples of collective action show, however, not the existence of collective mind but the social adaptability of human nature, in individuals dovetailing their activities together in a collective plan or pattern for a single objective. The unity lies in the objective and aim, not in

the texture of the minds. It is not necessary to assume idealists do a cosmic (or universal or spiritual) mind running through all individual minds to account for co-operative behaviour.

The Jains have a pluralistic philosophy that does not believe in an absolute spirit running through and underlying all individual empirical minds. But they postulate the mutual adaptability of individual souls and their capacity to overcome the obscuring and deluding effects of matter in which they are encased. Once the weight of matter is counter-acted, the Jains believe that perfected souls will function in perfect mutual harmony at the top of the universe.

Whatever the merits of these metaphysical theories it is clear on the practical plane in human society that there is indisputable evidence for the assumption of **collective responsibility**, even when there has not been any conscious collective planning and conscious consent on the part of individual members.

Individual members of cities and communities often protest that they should not be punished via collective fines and taxes for the misdeeds of other members of their group, local or cultural. But it is enough for law and punishment that they are members of a body and are conscious of being such!

Today, the whole Indian nation suffers for the unwisdom of the policies adopted in the years after the advent of national independence by the leaders in power. They owe responsibility for the actions of their government, because they had not the resolution, unity, wisdom and all the qualities necessary to check and to replace their rulers when they went wrong.

The nation as a whole may not have a single soul but all citizens are **interdependent** in social life from which springs their collective responsibility!

The Congress as a ruling party is next responsible as a collective body, in fact **more organised**, for the misfortunes of the nation—high taxes, maladministration, the unwisdom of socialist policy which is unmasked in the rest of the world as a failure, for not forcing Government to prepare adequately for defence, for not checking their unique leader and compelling him to take cognisance of realities etc.

More narrowly, the successive cabinets under Nehru (and Nehru himself) are more keenly and inescapably responsible, individually and collectively, for the nation's ills.

How in terms of democratic procedure, such responsibility is to be brought home to them is an urgent question on which all thoughtful citizens should bestow their best attention.

We find the same phenomena of collective responsibility in the more strictly **social** sphere as well.

We have the Naga problem unsolved on our hands from the day of independence—the 15th of August 1947 when the Naga leaders declared unambiguously that they do not accept their

position within free India as nationals. Society as a whole showed insufficient interest in the national peril posed by the Naga intransigence. If leaders of society had agitated, obtained full information about the problem, (particularly the big daily press and political science sections of universities etc.) government could have been galvanised to act with greater despatch and effectiveness in time.

So with the question of Hindi. It has been allowed to fester year after year until it has become an apple of discord and an engine of separatism.

So with the inter-provincial river disputes which have become discord-creating issues in the hands of provincial power-mad politicians out for local influence at the cost of wider national unity.

So with the agitation of the Dravida Kazagam and Dravida Munnetra Kazagam. These movements are several decades old and have their roots in the emotional bitterness engendered by caste law and psychology which determine ranks in society with the Brahman at the top and the untouchable at the bottom or bottomless pit. The **causus belli** has disappeared with the equalitarian constitution of free India but the emotional hang-over remains buttressed by the economic backwardness of many non-brahman dravida groups. As Dr. Ambedkar declared, until caste is specifically and openly discarded in theory and practice by leaders on behalf of Hindu society as a whole today and an active movement for encouraging inter-caste marriage is got under way, the **collective responsibility** of the upper caste Hindus for all the ills of Hindu society remains irrefragable.

A collective cleansing programme for renovating Hindu society inspired by nationalism and democracy as ultimate values (subject to universal human morality) is the only way in which the collective responsibility of Hindu society can be discharged adequately and at the deepest levels. Without such a many-sided psychological programme, political platforms like those of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jana Sangh will remain without dynamic efficacy. Jana Sangh leaders have sometimes said (some of them) that they are not sanatanists but **reformists** like the Arya Samajists. But they need to come out more fully, openly and frequently on the platform of **social reform** to back their political democracy.

National consciousness is no doubt necessary and good but such consciousness should develop **in all its dimensions** like the individual mind. And national leaders should state the social objectives and programme of reform clearly and firmly: Only such action in a collective way will generate a new sense of collective responsibility. The nation as a single mind may or may not exist. But national responsibility as collective responsibility in which all individual citizens educated and uneducated have a definite share is an inescapable reality but also an opportunity for service.

# The Mysterious Rajkot Fast—II

BY M. N. JHOLAL

The Rajkot Fast unto death undertaken by Gandhiji was the ace of trumps against Subhas Chandra Bose who bade fair to take the Congress under his control. Gandhiji lost the skirmish but won the war.

On March 7 Bose presided over the AICC meeting at Tripuri. He ruled that Govind Vallabh Pant's resolution, expressing confidence in the old Working Committee and urging the President to nominate the new Committee, according to Gandhi's wishes, could not be discussed by the All-India Congress Committee. He, however, gave expression to his readiness to have it discussed by the Subjects Committee.

The annual session of the Congress opened on March 10, three days after Gandhi had broken his fast. On the second day of the session, March 11, Mr. Aney proposed that, in view of the President's health, consideration of the resolution on the clarification of the misunderstanding that had risen out of the presidential election, should be referred to the AICC for disposal at some future date. The proposal was passed by a clear majority. This was a signal for uproarious scenes. Nehru said amid interruptions: "During the last 26 years I have attended the Indian National Congress year after year. I have never seen such a scene, though I have seen many strange things." To help ease the situation Aney withdrew the resolution—after it had been passed! Pant's resolution was carried by a bare majority in the Subjects Committee. It was passed by an overwhelming majority in the open session on March 12. In the middle of March Gandhi left Rajkot, reaching Delhi on March 15 to interview the Viceroy.

Regarding whether Gandhi was being kept informed or had seen the Pant resolution, he told members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh later: "When the resolution was being discussed I was on my penitential bed in Rajkot and my mind was occupied exclusively by Rajkot matters. Some one mentioned to me that a resolution expressing confidence in the old programme was being discussed but I was unaware of the language in which it was couched. Originally, that is before Tripuri, when Subhas Babu saw me in Wardha, I told him that the most straightforward course would be to bring a no-confidence resolution, that is, if it could be discussed without passion or bitterness. That I took it was not thought possible at the Tripuri Congress and Pantji's resolution was adopted in order to avoid personalities and passion."

In short, Gandhi had wired his opinion to Subhas Bose—which he disregarded—before the presidential election. He had told Bose at Wardha that the most straightforward course for his opponents would be to bring a no-confidence motion against him in the Congress. He knew that his disciples had resigned en masse from the Congress Working Committee weeks before the session was to commence. Is it illegitimate to conclude that he knew for certain that there would be fireworks against Bose at Tripuri? Even assuming that he

was very busy with Rajkot affairs before and during his fast and had no time for trifles like the annual session of the Congress which bade fair to divide the country in two, the penitential bed on which he lay at Rajkot had ceased to be one on March 7 when he broke his fast, and there was nothing doing so far as Rajkot was concerned, the ball having been passed on to Sir Maurice Gwyer. The All-India Congress Committee met on March 7 to deal with the Pant resolution, among other matters. The annual session began on March 10 and the Pant resolution was passed in the open session on March 12. Nearly five clear days for Gandhi to intervene and send a telegram to his disciples disapproving of the undemocratic resolution: Granting he knew nothing about it, was it not part of his job to find out, at least after breaking the fast on March 7, what was going on at Tripuri? Obviously, if he did not find it out, it was because he did not want to find it out. If Bose was in trouble, it served him right. Was he not courting trouble by defying the Mahatma's humble advice?

Full many a scheme of mice and men gang aft a-gley. It was a well-thought out scheme, except for the time factor which miscarried a little. The Viceroy was on a tour of Rajputana States. He cut it short on receiving Gandhi's message conveying his decision to fast unto death and the promptitude with which he suggested arbitration by the Chief Justice of India cut short the period of Gandhi's fast and his stay on the "penitential bed", making it shorter than he had expected, with the result that he was free from Rajkot affairs a little earlier than he had expected and quite a few days before the Congress session began, instead, as he had perhaps expected, of the fast ending with the Congress session.

Gandhi used to say about his sub-province, Kathiawad, that it is notorious for its intrigues. In Darbar Virawalla, the Dewan of Rajkot, he seems to have met his match. On April 3 the Gwyer award was announced vindicating the interpretation put by Gandhi and Patel on the Thakore Saheb's note. The award of the Chief Justice inter alia was that the Ruler's notification restricts the members of the Reforms Committee to ten. Gandhi had given assurances to deputations of Muslims and Bhayats on February 28 and in a letter to the President of the Girasia Association on March 11 to the effect that the representatives already nominated on their behalf would certainly be included in the Committee. "In view of these assurances," wrote the Thakore Saheb, "I have no doubt that you will advise Mr. Patel to include these names in the list of seven non-official members who, in accordance with the Chief Justice of India's decision, are now to be recommended by him."

## "DOUBLE GAME"

In the course of a statement on April 15 Gandhi said: "The Girasia Association has accused me in forcible language of a breach of promise in excluding their representative from the list of seven. All I can say is that they have hopelessly misread and propose at present to go into the immediate circumstances in which I hastily penned my reply to their note, but it has got to be read in conjunction with the statement with which I left Wardha, on what I have described as a mission of peace. I then stated, as an indispensable condition of the acceptance of any permutation and combination that might be offered for the composition of the Committee, that on it the Sardar's nominees should have at least a bare majority of one. The letter of March 11 has got to be read together with that conditions. Nothing whatsoever happened on March 11 to make me waive that condition. Assuming for the moment that I forgot to incorporate the condition in my letter, the Girasia friends would be expected to read my letter with the missing condition."

On April 18 Jinnah in a press statement criticised Gandhi's attitude regarding Muslim representation on the Rajkot Reforms Committee and advised Muslims to boycott it. Discussions between Gandhi and Durbar Virawalla with regard to the personnel of the Committee broke down on April 23. On the next day Gandhi wrote: "The award was acclaimed throughout India as a complete victory for the Sardar. But it has been effectively used against me for accusing me of a breach of promise to the Muslims and the Bhayats." The Bhayats wanted to refer to the Chief Justice of India the meaning of Gandhi's assurance to them and Gandhi told the people of Rajkot on May 12: "I had said the result of my fast had exceeded my expectations, but now I find that the Chief Justice's award has become a halter round my neck... The award which was tainted fruit made me impatient. It was that impatience which made me say to the Bhayats and the Muslims that I was not prepared to wait for Sir Maurice Gwyer's award on their reference, the work of the Committee must go on. There was no committee then, but impatience made me speak so... There is no doubt in my mind that the award must be renounced." The Almighty, as usual, came to his aid. "He (God) seems to be speaking to me in strident tones: Your victory is no victory. Throw it away". Obviously, it was not the fear of God but of Gwyer which made him throw it away.

Apologies followed—to the Viceroy, the Chief Justice of India, the Thakore Saheb and Durbar Virawalla. "I have been guilty of playing what may be called a double game, that is, hanging the sword of the award over his head and wooing him and expecting him of his own free will to advise the Thakore Saheb to grant liberal reforms," said Gandhi. Instead of waiting on God and allowing my fast to work itself, I sought outside aid. It was a grave blunder."

"But," said Mahadeo Desai, "Why not wait until Sir Maurice Gwyer gives his decision on the new reference? Let not the Mussalmans and the Bhayats have the pretext of saying that you fought shy of the Chief Justice's decision." Gandhi replied, "Why must I wait to take the right decision? I cannot await a moment's delay. I know the reference is mischievous and we must win. That might give greater value to the renunciation. But I am not renouncing the award in order that the world may acclaim the act. By no means. I am freeing myself from a terrible oppression. I have made my decision and am feeling free as a bird." He also admitted with reference to the fast: "I thought I must seek the aid of the British Government, lest I should die."

Any one can see that Gandhi's statement of April 15, reproduced above, cannot stand a moment's scrutiny, and that Sir Maurice Gwyer, or any honest judge for that matter, would have given the award in favour of the Girasias, Muslims and Bhayats and declared Gandhi guilty of breach of promise, regarding which he had said in the course of the skirmish: "Life to me becomes a burden when I find myself witness of a breach of faith as it happens to be in this case (Rajkot)," and again, "A breach of promise shakes me to my root, specially when I am in any way connected with the author of the breach." Gandhi knew what was coming and hence his refusal to accept Mahadeo Desai's advice. The renunciation of the award could not await a moment's delay because Sir Maurice's award on the new reference declaring him guilty of breach of promise could come any time. And why should his letter to the Girasias have been read with his statement on the eve of leaving Wardha, and not with his comprehensive declaration, "When I write I never think what I have said before"? It would not be illegitimate to say that a corollary of the declaration is, "When I speak I never think what I have said before". Breaches of promise are implicit in such strident declarations. The Mahatma himself called it "growing from truth to truth."

Gandhi summed up the Rajkot affair in these words: "And so I have left empty-handed, with body shattered, hope cremated... I have told Durbar Virawalla, "I am defeated. May you win." Said a critic who obviously did not understand the why and the wherefore of the Rajkot drama: "In giving so much attention to Rajkot to the exclusion of all else, you seem to have lost all sense of proportion. It was your obvious duty to be at Tripuri. If you had been there, things would have taken a different turn." Gandhi replied: "Tripuri was a preparation. Rajkot was a skirmish." He might have said more truthfully: "Rajkot was an offshoot of Tripuri. I was playing the Tripuri game from Rajkot." The fast unto death there was the ace of trumps against Subhas Chandra Bose who bade fair to take the Congress under his control. Gandhi lost the skirmish, but he won the war.



# Ralph Borsodi: Man Of Action

By MILDRED J. LOOMIS

It is common to label a man "visionary" whose chief interest is figuring out the education and institutions, the ideas and actions which should be widespread in a good "society." Such a "hopeless" idealist surely must be impractical; certainly he couldn't be much of a business man, and of course he'd know nothing about how to use a hammer or a spade! But these conclusions do not fit R.B. He is as much a man of action as he is of vision.

As a very young man he was a success in business. Before he was 30 he was counselling Macy's department store, the National Spool Cotton Co. and other large New York City firms on advertising and marketing problems. He helped them sell their goods and he wrote for trade journals. But he did not like it. He pointed out the waste, the added cost, the shoddy goods, the fake values and the unfair competition which he found in the advertising "game." He looked for an alternative; he asked, "What can I DO?"

## Move to the Country

The answer was that he and his family did not have to endure "the city" or live by commercial practices which he did not like. So in 1921 they moved to a run-down place, which they called York City. There was plenty to DO!

named "Seven Acres," 25 miles north of New York.

They did not know all about doing it, but his wife, Myrtle Mae Borsodi, had come from an Iowa farm. With her assistance and the help of books he (they) learned to till and plant, compost, cultivate and harvest; to repair and build; to raise chickens and goats; to can and process; raise fruit and fodder. Seven years later they had developed the skills and the confidence to buy more acres and build the now famed Dogwood Homestead near Suffern, N. Y. A large three-winged house grew there from the stones on the place, gardens and fruit orchards, animal shelters, a swimming pool—all from their own labor. As their sons grew and married, stone cottages were erected nearby for and by them.

## Mills and Machines

At Dogwoods the Borsodis had a modern homestead—a small-scale, electrically-equipped enterprise. Borsodi improved and designed looms for their own cloth. He suggested and developed equipment for the kitchen and the home laundry. In the 1920s he motorized and built a cabinet for what was probably the first mill for the home-milling of flour and cereal in this country. Actually, he started what is today becoming a national trend: the increasing use of home-scale kitchen and garden equipment.

## Dayton Homestead Community

The Borsodi homestead was widely featured during the Big Depression; people flocked to his door. I, in a small group of former religious educators in Dayton, Ohio, was doing graduate work at Columbia University. We asked our professors what to do about the depression back in Dayton. We were told to see Borsodi and we did (1931). Mr. Borsodi was invited to Dayton to supervise an action project on a larger scale—the First Homestead Community near that city. Plans included ringling a "depressed" industrial city with many small, self-sustaining homesteader groups. Several were started; one came to fruition before government red tape defeated it. But in the process Eleanor Roosevelt and the American Friends Service Committee were interested. The U.S. government set up a department of homesteads, and the Friends have sponsored intentional communities since.

## Education Needed

Borsodi went back to Dogwoods convinced that a new education was needed to produce new values and a new culture. Another action project resulted: the School of Living, for research and teaching, a larger than family-sized house on four acres of land, where the vegetables, fruit and animals used in the school were raised by faculty and students. Here the research for the "How to Economize" bulletins was carried on.

## Suffern to Melbourne University

Borsodi realized that an isolated homestead family could not develop all the factors of the good life. The next step was Bayard Lane Homesteading Community, sixteen lovely homesteads—with houses of Rockland county stone, built by co-operative building guilds—clustering around the School of Living near Suffern, N.Y. This was followed by Van Houten Fields, a community of thirty homesteads near West Nyack, N.Y. All the time Borsodi was administering the projects, raising money, supervising the building guilds, an office force and research, and doing educational work in problems of living. A Herculean job. Numerous problems developed, World War II came on, and financial support dwindled. Mr. Borsodi retired to write and study, to plan, and later to organize and erect a small university through which to challenge educators and leaders in society to educate for living.

—'The Green Revolution' School of Living, Ohio.

# THE INDO-PAK TUG-OF-WAR

(From Our Correspondent)

As might have been expected, the Indo-Pakistan talks at the ministerial level have failed. According to Mr. Bhutto, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, the break is "final", but he admitted to newsmen that the Pakistan Government had asked for clarification of the Anglo-American mediation proposal. Mr. Swaran Singh, the Indian representative, also told newsmen, India will not be averse to utilising the good offices of a mutually acceptable personality for resolving Kashmir and other major irritants between India and Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand, according to Mr. Bhutto, would like to know the terms of reference of the proposed mediation, their duration and time limit, before it gives its consent to the proposal.

There were some differences in regard to the contents of the joint communique issued at the end of the talks. India had suggested that the communique should contain a declaration that the two countries were agreed on settling the Kashmir issue by peaceful means, but the proposal was rejected by the Pakistani representative, although he had earlier given the assurance that Pakistan also believed in pursuing peaceful methods in settling the issue. His refusal to include the principle in the communique is therefore significant, particularly as, in rejecting India's offer of a no-war pact, Mr. Bhutto argued that, while Pakistan had not settled any problem by armed conflict or aggression, India had resorted to the use of force in the case of Goa, Junagarh and Hyderabad. "You have not," he told an Indian correspondent, "desisted from resorting to a solution by armed force."

The Pakistan delegation leader also said that reference to the World Court was "vaguely touched upon" at the Rawalpindi round of talks, adding that Pakistan had always maintained that she was willing to consider "the totality of the whole problem—not just the bare act of accession" being referred for adjudication. This would seem to indicate that Pakistan is far from convinced that Kashmir's accession to India was illegal or unconstitutional. He laid stress on the point that India's conditional acceptance of accession should be among the factors to be taken into consideration by the adjudicator.

Mr. Swaran Singh rightly regretted that response was lacking to India's offer of no-war pact, although India had suggested that a no-war pact did not mean freezing the Kashmir issue. From the Pakistan point of view, presumably, that would be the practical effect of a no-war pact. Mr. Singh said India had made a major concession by its willingness to cede to Pakistan an area

of 32,000 to 34,000 square miles of Jammu and Kashmir state—almost as much as has been under the occupation of Pakistan for over a decade—but the Pakistani claim to the whole of that State, leaving about 3,000 square miles for India was patently unrealistic. It would, therefore, appear that the Indo-Pakistan talks never got down to brass tacks. In the circumstances, Mr. Bhutto can hardly be blamed if he, as Mr. Swaran Singh said, started the present round with the idea that this should be the last one. The constitutional crisis facing Pakistan, as a result of its Supreme Court judgment that ministers cannot be members of its Parliament, appears to have come in handy to cut short a round which, it appears, hardly required any further prolonging.

The failure of the talks, it is being anticipated here, will result in a reduction of the quantum of aid immediately available to India from the Western Powers and in a postponement of the utmost amount available to India from these countries. This read with reports of the Chinese continuing the massing of their troops on our border appears ominous, as the Chinese may not like to miss an opportunity to come to the aid of Pakistan if only to show the world that India is being unreasonable all round in her border disputes.

According to Pakistanis, continuation of talks would assure India peace along the Pakistan border and approval by U.S. Congress in course of time of long-term aid to India.

## BY-ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT

In the by-elections to Parliament which are being fought in U.P., it is very much to be regretted that the Praja Socialist Party should have thought it fit to put up a candidate against Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. This correspondent is no admirer of the Socialist leader, nor of the methods of his Party, and has frequently condemned its slogans. But Socialist unity is one of the greatest desiderata, not only for the cause of Socialism but also that of democracy in India, by way of reducing the multiplicity of parties without which the Congress Party will continue to enjoy undue representation in the legislatures of the land and to ride rough-shod over others. Opposition to Dr. Lohia's candidature by the PSP will reduce almost to nil the chances of Socialist unity and should have been avoided, even granting that needless obstruction in the way of that unity has so far been put by the Socialist Party.

The Congress alone can gain by the splitting

up of the Socialist vote in the constituency and the PSP cannot be unaware of it. Of what avail then can be its protestation that that is not what the Party intended? Indeed, the PSP could not have done greater good to the Congress and more harm to the Socialists than by putting up a candidate against Dr. Lohia. It is things like these that make the Socialists say that the PSP leadership looks up to the Congress leaders for favours. An Opposition Party that comes out in support of the ruling party to such an extent becomes a contradiction in terms. The vicious circle has to be put an end to somewhere. It is, therefore, being earnestly hoped here that the PSP will withdraw its candidate at the last moment in favour of Dr. Lohia to enable him to defeat his Congress rival, Dr. Keskar, one-time assistant to Lohia in the AICC office at Allahabad. Passions should not be allowed to sway sober judgment and personalities should not be allowed to cash with principles to the detriment of the cause and for the benefit of the common opponent.

One almost begins to wonder if the PSP regards the Congress as its opponent. If it does, why is it playing the opponent's game in U.P.? Even the Jana Sangh—all honour to it—has come out in full support of Dr. Lohia, though it is surely much farther removed in politics from the Socialist Party than the PSP. All that one can say safely—and it is being said here does not realise the paramount need of a good and strong opposition in Parliament, so necessary for the proper functioning of the democracy. It is the old history of the pre-British period repeating itself when principles and policies were always sacrificed at the altar of groupism, and a united front of nationalists remained a distant goal, because some one would not call Gandhi Mahatma and another refuse to wear khaddar and yet another scoff at the spinning wheel.

### DESERTIONS

The crossing over of two Akali members of the Punjab legislature to the ruling Congress Party has again raised the issue of the morality of a member of one party crossing over to another. As this generally benefits the ruling party, beside the deserter, the need of a convention is being stressed here to prevent such unwholesome desertions. It is well-known in some shape or other. If the Congress is really interested in curbing corruption, it should put its foot down on such desertions. How nice it would have been if Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon had insisted on the deserting members seeking re-election on the Congress ticket before joining the Congress. It would, indeed, have been a feather on his cap—one which would have been applauded all over India. Instead, he has given rise to a demand for the enactment of a law making it obligatory on members of parties leaving their parties and crossing over to others to resign their seats in the legislatures and seeking re-election on the ticket of the party they choose to join. Some such healthy conventions will do the country no harm and prove the bona fides of the rul-

ing party. Indeed, it is being said here that if the chief ministers were to exert themselves in the game of inducing members of other parties to leave them and join the Congress, they can be quite successful in reducing the size of the Opposition still further. If such things do not happen in the democratically advanced countries, it is because public opinion there is too strong for such desertions taking place without the deserters having to pay for it sooner or later. But should not attempts be made in India to make it possible for democracy to function successfully, instead of democracy being used as a stepping stone to personal gain?

## Book Review

**GENERALIZATION IN ETHICS:** By Marcus George Singer, Associate Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. Pages 341 exclusive of bibliography and index. 30s. Published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1963.

Modern western philosophy from the days of Des Cartes has been one consistent and sustained, co-operative and many-sided endeavour of thinkers to find a rational, secular basis for a synthetic vision of the universe. It has also been motivated at the same time by a passion for finding a rational basis for the human values, which, hitherto in the history of man have been mixed up with religion, mythology and superstition. Explanation and valuation have been the twin inspiration of modern philosophy which came of age in the sixteenth century with Des Cartes when it began the process of disentangling itself from the swaddling clothes of theology.

The distinctive character of modern thought (to put it in other words) is to adopt the rhythm of reason to interpretation of human experience in all its dimensions. This has been called the scientific method which is but a conscious systematisation of the methods of discovery and invention.

Much current thinking on the part of trained professional philosophers in the universities in India is taking the form of interpretation and defence of traditional systems and values.

But it is high time that modern India started on her own adventure in the reconstruction of experience in terms of reason in all realms—of nature and value, of the positive sciences and the humanities.

In this endeavour, the building of sociology, social psychology and moral science in terms of reason occupy pride of place in the present context of democratic life.

Among the works in ethics put forth by contemporary thinkers in the West, the present volume under review is specially attractive in this context to us in India.

The author, Professor Singer, uses the major classics of western moral philosophy from Kant and J. S. Mill, Sidgwick and Hegel and the notable contribution of living thinkers like Paton and Ross to think out afresh the criterion of ethics—viz: what is the moral standard whereby we can distinguish between right and wrong, good and bad.

He restates the Kantian principle of universality or generalization in a more adequate form as satisfying the quest for moral criteria. The good and right are those actions that can be universalised without contradiction and without leading to social breakdown.

He restates also the utilitarianism of Mill and the modern varieties of it given by G. E. Moore and Ross—the idea of good so as to include the value of generalization.

It is clear that the moral value of human actions contains in some way the element of **universality**. Moral actions are far removed from those conceived as exception indulged in by agents for their own interests. They are different essentially from prudential policies, enlightened or other.

There is an element of **objectivity** in moral value which cannot be thought away.

Nor can it be fused into a feeling of the compulsions of nature. The "**ought**" does not derive from natural law in any direct sense. For nature is 'red in tooth and claw' and knows nothing of self-sacrifice which is the cream of morality.

As T. H. Huxley long ago put it, "though the moral process is born of the cosmic process, it is at enmity with its parent!"

In social ethics, it is impossible to agree with social Darwinists like Herbert Spencer who sought to merge morality with natural selection.

It is this general or universal element that is at the root of the **rule of law** which binds societies, states and nations.

In India we have yet to begin thinking along these lines in a systematic way, using the traditional moralities as a basis for reflection as well as starting *de novo*. There is room for both methods—that of cultural interpretation and that of *de novo* reflections from experience today.

Was Krishna right in inducing Yudhishtira in telling a lie on the battlefield—a lie in effect, as it proved?

Was the son right in disobeying his father's order to kill his mother (in the epic), an order given on suspicion of her infidelity?

Is the politician right in making impossible promises to win votes? Is he right in voting for socialist policies even when he has no study of the doctrine and its social consequences? Is the ruling party right in using public patronage out of public funds to gather electoral influence to perpetuate its governmental power?

The mass of historical learning evident in the book is used as basis for new thought and does not crowd it out. We welcome this work as a stimulating example of constructive thought on the rational basis of morality.

It is noteworthy that the author is fully aware of the claims and efforts of semanticists who deny all possibility of philosophical thinking apart from clarification of word meanings and usages. But he rejects their conclusions of subjectivity for morals and of their relativity to time and place, race and traditions.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

## The Mind of the Nation

### LOBBIES IN THE CONGRESS

The division of the Congress by personalities is based on numerous lobbies. In the first place there are the regional lobbies, with Shastri as leader of the Hindi region, Morarji for the Gujerat region, Patil, with Chavan competing, for the Maharashtra region and T.T.K. for Madras and Andhra. Each is jockeying for position as successor to Nehru in an ambidextrous way, on one side pleasing Nehru and on the other invigorating himself! The second lobby is of Socialists which has been weakened by the fate which overtook Menon and may overtake Malaviya. Nanda too has been shaken by the failure of his planning. The strength of the lobby is first, the favour of Nehru and second, from the support of the communists. The third lobby is the Gandhian lobby, which is against modernisation. It received some support by fighting for Hindi as the official language. Its leader Debbar however has deflected for an appointment on Rs. 2,000 as Chairman of the Khadi Board. The agricultural lobby has been started by Patil, doubtless to strengthen himself against Chavan. It is a lobby which may get powerful, particularly if Planning is slanted away from industrialisation as is likely. The labour or Trade Union lobby is not strong, because it cannot go further than the Congress itself in gratifying labour. The capitalists have no lobby as such, but can get individually what they want by indebting Congress members through election finance. Lastly, there is the lobby of ex-ministers, who are not only hostile to their successors but critical of the Congress. Menon, Tyagi, Mehtab, Deshmukh, Dasappa, Hanumanthayya, Santhanam, Amrit Kaur are more important than others. They do not however co-operate with each other or collect much support from other members, but they are disintegrating the Congress nevertheless.

—Insight.

## News & Views

### BOWLES SUPPORTS U.S. AID FOR BOKARO

WASHINGTON: Mr. Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador-designate to India, declared that American aid for a State-owned steel mill in India would also stimulate enterprise there.

President Kennedy recently gave his public endorsement to U. S. assistance for the Bokaro steel project, but the Agency for International Development (AID) has not yet taken a final decision.

Mr. Bowles expressed his support in a filmed interview with Republican Senator Keating, recorded for broadcast on television and radio in New York.

Senator Keating said there were many objections to giving India aid for a State-owned steel plant.

Mr. Bowles said he was all for private capitalism, but there were situations in developing countries like India where they could not get all private investment that was needed.

U. S. officials expressed gratification at a report that the Government of India had approved a proposal to establish an independent Indian Government company to build the Bokaro steel plant.

A spokesman for the Agency for International Development made it clear that the action represented only one step towards clearing away a whole complex of issues surrounding U. S. Government financial assistance for the gigantic plant.

## TOUGH WESTERN NOTES TO RUSSIA

MOSCOW: The West rejected in toughly worded Notes Soviet attacks on the NATO multilateral nuclear force plan.

A British Note handed over here declared that Russia was deploying "more than than 700 medium and intermediate range nuclear missiles, the bulk of which are ranged against the U. K. and her continental allies." This Note and Notes from the U. S. and West Germany were delivered to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The Notes—which replied to a Soviet protest of April 8—used some of the most pointed language in recent diplomatic history.

The American Note said "hundreds" of medium and intermediate range nuclear missiles are aimed at the West and said it was "preposterous" for the Russians to argue that Western Europe should not be allowed to build up a defence.

One of the key phrases in the Soviet protest had been "The plans for the creation of a multilateral NATO nuclear force have, as a matter of fact, been thought of for the purpose of satisfying the evergrowing demands of the Federal Republic of Germany."

The Western Notes replied that the Russians are not only increasing their military strength, but frequently boast about it.

Continuing that one of the main reasons for tension in Europe was failure of the Soviet Union to agree to unification of Germany, the American Note said. "All objective observers understand that tensions and dangers in Europe do not result from the policies of the Federal Republic (of Germany) but, rather, from the unnatural division of Germany which is manifested in its most grotesque and inhuman form by the wall through the centre of Berlin and from the refusal of the Soviet Government to agree to grant the German people their inherent right."

## CHINA PREPARING FOR A NEW ATTACK ON INDIA?

NEW DELHI: In the last few weeks, Chinese have further reinforced their forward positions with fresh troop concentrations both in the Ladakh and NEFA sectors.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry said: "We have information from several sources of a progressive concentration of Chinese troops in the forward areas."

He disclosed that the Chinese had also moved in small military detachments into the demilitarised zone in Ladakh where they had only civil posts.

In addition to their general military build-up along the entire Sino-Indian border, the Chinese are reported to be

secretly maintaining pockets of troops in the so-called demilitarised zones both in the Ladakh and NEFA sectors.

The Chinese have also been sending reconnaissance planes across the McMohan Line to watch the Indian movements in NEFA. The Chinese air activity in this area was noticed for the first time in March last; and when a protest Note was sent to Peking, the Chinese promptly replied quoting a statement of the Defence Minister Mr. Y. B. Chavan, in Parliament to the effect that no enemy air violations had taken place during the first three months of this year.

These Chinese reconnaissance flights across the McMahan Line are seen as evidence of Peking's readiness to use its air force in the event of a renewed onslaught on India.

A message from Shillong says that the Chinese have been assembling and massing forces in areas bordering the Siang frontier division of NEFA, according to villagers coming into the interior from the Manigong and Tuting frontier areas.

The villagers said that there had been considerable massing of forces across the border during the last three weeks.

## LIU CHI DENOUNCES CO-EXISTENCE

TOKYO: President Liu Shao-chi of China criticised Mr. Khrushchev's policy of peaceful co-existence and assured North Viet Nam of full support for Viet-Cong war against the South Viet Nameese Government.

He compared Sino-North Viet Nameese relations to "lips and teeth which share the same destinies."

Although the Chinese chief of State did not refer to Mr. Khrushchev by name, the stand he took was directly opposits to that of the Soviet Premier.

"Peaceful co-existence must not be used to abolish the the socialist countries' duty of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people," Mr. Liu told a mass rally in Hanoi.

"The foreign policy of socialist countries," Mr. Liu declared, "must not be reduced to the single aspect of peaceful co-existence."

During the height of the recent Moscow-Peking flare-up over ideological issues, the Chinese charged Mr. Khrushchev with being lukewarm in supporting local "liberation" struggle for fear that they might trigger a nuclear holocaust.

## PAKISTAN REMINDED OF CENTO AND SEATO AIMS

Washiton Post published its New Delhi correspondent Selig Harrison's story datelined Karachi on CENTO meeting in Karachi. The story in part said:

"Rusk has reportedly reminded Pakistan that military aid programme here has run well over dollars 1.3 billion (Rs. 650 crores) exclusive of defence support and economic assistance.

One official expressed the view privately that it would take India a long time to catch up to that.

The United States has also made clear that CENTO and SEATO are aimed at communist aggression and that the United States would regard United Nations as appropriate channel for action in event of non-communist aggression against CENTO or SEATO member states..."

## PATEL THREATENED RESIGNATION AGAINST NEHRU'S TIBETAN POLICY

Prof. Nitya Nand writes in **Organiser**:

Dir Sardar Patel at one time threaten to resign in protest against Pandit Nehru's Tibetan policy? A recent book on Tibet by Mr. Lowell Thomas Jr. has affirmed this very categorically. In this book titled "**The Silent War in Tibet**, (Seeker and Warburg, London) Mr. Thomas writes:

"Most Indians not only agreed with the democratic ideals of the Europeans but also believed that communism was anti-theoretical to the principles of their religions. Among those whose thinking reflected this attitude was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who, in addition to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, was one of India's top three nationalist leaders. He was firmly opposed to a soft policy on Communist expansionism. When the United Nations declared North Korea an aggressor, Patel advocated sending Indian troops to join the U. N. armies.

"And when the Chinese Communists attacked Tibet, he wanted to send Indian force in aid of the Tibetans. He knew that the force would be defeated, but his idea was to show the world that India was militantly opposed to aggression from any source. Patel, however, was mainly in charge of domestic problems while Nehru had responsibility of foreign affairs. Thus, although Patel nearly resigned in protest against the leniency to China, Nehru's policy predominated.

"Moreover, Patel did not live long enough to have modifying influence on the other type of thinking which Nehru exemplified."

## GROSS MISUSE OF GOVERNMENT MACHINERY AND PUBLIC FUNDS

CALCUTTA: Not many outside West Bengal had heard the name of "Digha" till last week when Prime Minister Pandit Nehru accompanied by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Orissa boss Biju Patnaik descended on the village by helicopter to address a "Political Conference" organised by West Bengal Committee.

Some one in the State Congress needs to explain why at all this distant, desolate, sea-side village was chosen as venue for the conference, and some one from the State Government ought to tell as to how much expenditure this party **tamasha** has cost the State exchequer. On face of it, it seems the expenses may well run into several lakhs.

The gross misuse of Governmental machinery and public funds made in trying to thrust importance on an unimportant site by holding a political convention there, reminds one of the ill-famed AICC Session of "**Kalyani**"—a name that will go down in history as a notorious example of Congress corruption.

—Organiser.

## CONGRESS MAL-PRACTICES IN ELECTIONEERING

Mr. Rahat Maulai, MLA, candidate in the by-election to the Lok Sabha from the Amroha parliamentary constituency, in a distressing appeal withdrawing his own candidature, has exposed Congress tactics thus:—

"All sorts of pressures and influences have been brought to bear on me by the Congress. Many elders and religious leaders have been deputed to meet a humble person like me. Extermment of my brother has been used as a means to coerce me. After an intensive tour of Amroha, Sambhal and Hasampur, I have come to the conclusion that not only has the Congress permitted communal considerations to prevail in nominating Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim at the last minute, but it has also created a positively communal atmosphere through its election propaganda. What is worse, it is playing upon sectarian feelings everywhere. Its election strategy is based upon utilizing leaders of each caste and sect to persuade the voters of the respective castes and sects to vote for the Congress. Block Chairmen are being pressurised to support and assist the Congress candidate.

After sincere, serious and careful consideration, I have come to the decision, and I am happy to make it public today that in the interest of future well-being of the district and the nation, I should retire from this contest. I appeal to the voters of the Amroha parliamentary constituency to bestir themselves and, reposing still their confidence in me, stand by me and cast every vote in favour of Acharya Kripalani and help strengthen the Opposition, and teach an unforgettable lesson to the Congress."

## WHEN FOOD IS MORE DEADLY THAN POISON!

BHOPAL: Tears rolled down the cheeks of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, when Union Health Minister, Dr. Sushila Nayyar, recently told him about the high incidence of adulteration in the country.

According to a Sarvodaya worker who was with Vinobaji during his recent **padayatra** of West Bengal, Dr. Nayyar told the Acharya a evry pathetic story:

**A disgusted man decided to commit suicide and took poison. But to his great surprise he did not die. Later, it was found that the poison was adulterated.**

Meanwhile, he felt hungry bought some eatables and soon after taking his meals felt uneasy, went to a hospital and died.

**On investigation it was found that the food he had taken was adulterated!**

## BIGGER STATES IN BORDER REGIONS Move Suggested By Kairon

INDORE, The Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon, told, a public meeting that India must remain alert as long as the danger of invasion by China continued.

Mr. Kairon told the Indore Press Club earlier that he favoured the formation of bigger States in the frontier regions for administrative convenience and speedy development.

He suggested that Kashmir, the Punjab, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh should be integrated. Such a big unit would help the defence against 'our enemies across the border.'

## REASON FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S RETREAT

How is one to explain the retreat of the present Communist leaders under Khrushchev from the positions of Leninism in international policy? Why does Khrushchev so insistently preach a policy of peaceful co-existence between

countries of the socialist camp and states of the capitalist world, even going so far as to give spurious interpretations of Lenin's views on the subject? The reasons for this change in tactics are to be found in the advances of military technology. Even if Soviet Union were victorious in an atomic war against the capitalist camp, the catastrophic consequences of such a war would leave the Communist leaders with no hope of creating Communism on the ruins of civilization. The new Party programme states that "support for peaceful co-existence is also in the interests of the bourgeoisie, who realize that thermonuclear war would not spare even the ruling classes of capitalist society." The authors of the programme do not mention that the new ruling class of the Soviet camp would likewise not remain invulnerable in the event of atomic war, but it is this that prompted the Soviet leaders to carry out a revision of Lenin's theories on war. The rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, whose government long since abandoned Lenin's belief in the inevitability of a new world war, is in line with this policy. Only the Communist parties of mighty China and diminutive Albania remain true to the letter of Lenin's theory of the inevitability of war between the countries of socialism and the capitalist states.

—P. Fedenka (Bulletin, Institute for the Study of U.S.S.R.)

## Dear Editor . . . .

### HINDI GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

It may be said that late Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the unwitting father of the secession movement in India. Mr. K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras, asserted in September 1962 that "in his view, the idea of separation (demanded by the DMK) could be traced to the earlier attempts to introduce Hindi compulsorily in the State, though it was made with the best of intentions." If the allegation be true, the members of the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly were equally divided on the question of retention of English or change over to Hindi as the Official Language of the Indian Union, and, in unconscionable violation of the well-established convention that the casting vote should favour the status quo, Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave his casting vote in favour of the change to Hindi. In the Constituent Assembly, the Congress members had to vote for Hindi as a solid Party and, in response to frantic appeals for unanimity and speed, the non-Congress dissenters voted for it, but not without mental reservations, which revealed themselves subsequently.

The Hindi Government of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri first amended the Constitution to declare secession unconstitutional, when it was unnecessary as the D.M.K. voluntarily suspended its propaganda for secession as soon as the present emergency was declared, and later enacted the Official Languages Bill to enforce Hindi permanently throughout India, and offered to tolerate English for a while and push Hindi with might and main in order to eliminate English as soon as possible. It is impossible to believe that the Hindi Government of India will treat English with any more respect than a cat may be expected to respect a mouse. Its action in first making a secession unconstitutional and then enforcing Hindi is like that of a cruel husband who beat his innocent wife after tying her up to a tree in order to prevent her escaping his beating.

Bangalore, 15-5-1963.

—P. Kodanda Rao.

### A PLEA FOR THE RETENTION OF ENGLISH

The views bandied about by anti-English conferences are quite erroneous. These so-called politicians and statesmen must realise that English language cannot and would not quit India merely for their wishing. For, English is the *lingua franca* of the world and to ignore it is to ignore world unity and international co-operation. To discard English would also mean that we do not recognise the claims on us of culture, science and progress of the modern age. By no stretch of imagination could Hindi substitute English as our common language. The Universities which have introduced Hindi as medium of instruction have so far miserably failed in their attempts to turn out intellects of higher calibre. It goes without saying that the production of wealth has become an imperative need for India and this purpose will not be fulfilled without foreign assistance at least for some years to come in the fields of science, technology and modernised agriculture. For achieving these ends and also for reaching a fair standard of education and culture and acquiring for our country a respectable status among the nations of the world, English is absolutely essential.

For these reasons the demand of all the sane sections of the people for the continuance of English as the sole All India Language for an indefinite period has become irresistible and no amount of Hindi agitation would be able to thwart its fulfilment.

Aska (Ganjam)

—P. Ramji Patro.

### TWO COMPETING SYSTEMS

*'New Nations, asked to choose between two competing systems need only compare conditions in East and West Germany, Eastern and Western Europe, North and South Viet-Nam. They need only compare the disillusionment of Communist Cuba with a promise of hemisphere Alliance for Progress. And all the world knows that no successful system builds a wall to keep its people in and freedom out —and that the wall dividing Berlin is a symbol of communist failure.'*

—President John Kennedy  
(*"Winds of Change"*)

### BANKRUPTCY OF MARXISM

*'Marxism as an economic prophesy is bankrupt in mid-twentieth century. If economic equity is emerging anywhere at all, it is in the Western democratic countries where labour and capital negotiate on an equal footing and the lot of the poor is ameliorated by judicial legislation; not in Communist countries where the State is the arbitrary employer and all power of bargaining is taken away from the employees. Economically invalidated, all that is left of Marxism is the idea of Proletarian dictatorship, which Lenin, Stalin and Mao have elaborated into a technique that enables a small party of professional revolutionaries to maintain power.'*

—Wang Li-ming (Communist China Today).

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