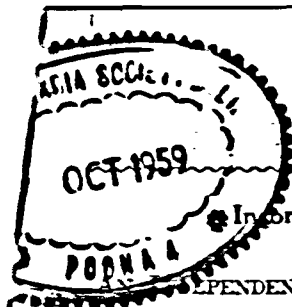


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MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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## EDITORIAL

### KHRUSHCHEV ARRIVES IN THE U.S.A.

AT long last, Khrushchev, the Soviet Chief arrived as a Guest in the U.S.A. fulfilling his three-year-old ambition. By the time this number is in the hands of readers, his visit will have been over and no doubt several significant incidents related to it will have been circulated, with world commentators, lay and official, having had their say about them. The results of the visit will have been canvassed in terms of its aims of the relaxation of world tension. Eisenhower will have probed his Guest's mind on world problems and Khrushchev will have had an opportunity of seeing the strength and weakness of the American social and political, not to speak of the military and industrial system.

But one thing is certain and that is that he arrived at a moment propitious to the Soviet system, the news of the Soviet rocket reaching the Moon with a pennant fixed to it being flashed around the world a few hours after he took off from Moscow. It is a stunning achievement equal to the launching of the First Sputnik.

Khrushchev could not help making mention of it to Eisenhower in his first speech at the Washington aerodrome. He said that the Soviet rocket's pennant would welcome the American pennant when it reached the Moon in its own time! It was no: a pleasant beginning for the Americans.

Khrushchev also mentioned another achievement of the Soviets, namely, the launching of a Soviet ice-breaker ship powered by atomic energy. This matches

the American nuclear-powered submarine *Nautilus* that performed the feat of crossing the North Polar ice-cap through the sea beneath it some time back.

But the Americans have yet to match the Moon Rocket. Khrushchev claimed naturally that these triumphs of technology were due to the superiority of the Communist social system. The Russian Revolution from the days of Lenin set its hopes on science and its unprecedented devotion to it has not failed its architects.

The claim is justified in the sense that the educational organisation of the Russian revolutionary State has been providing an open door to talent from the primary school to the highest technical laboratory. Brilliant students are pushed up from class to class as they show progress and capacity and special opportunities are given for talent to reveal and prove itself. Soviet scientists are given facilities for research on the most generous scale. All rules of economy and equality are relaxed in their favour. They have only to show results and continuous zeal for their speciality night and day and everything is found for them.

As the news of the success of the Sputnik rocked the world, Americans (politicians and educationists alike) combined to offer special promotions and facilities to teachers and investigators of science, pure and applied. American science is generalised and unplanned and not hitched to the wagon of military technology as is Soviet science.

What a contrast all this offers to the domestic Indian scene! We have talent enough in our schools and in the young not fortunate enough to go to school on account of poverty. But even the talent we have, we are not developing. We are on the contrary sup-

pressing our talent by unfortunate policies of casteism favouring the backward classes, backward by birth, it seems. Technical Institutions have seats reserved for students of officially declared communities to the detriment of brilliant students of so-called advanced communities. An integral nationalism is being consciously thwarted by official patronage from manifesting itself. Mediocrity is being permanently enthroned. There is widespread dissatisfaction with the rampant nepotism running riot in every department of life and administration.

Our railways are becoming more dangerous than airplanes for ordinary civilian travel for their unconscionable plethora of murderous accidents! The reason adduced by the knowledgeable is the slackness of supervision by the new class of "backward" officers who occupy responsible positions for which they are not fit by merit and character.

So in agriculture. The facilities of water, fertilisers, pure seeds, supply and marketing so sorely needed by agriculturists do not reach them in time and in sufficient quantities to sufficient numbers of them. This is due to sheer incompetence of the administration in the several departments concerned.

### RUSSIA TO MEDIATE IN THE INDO-CHINESE TANGLE

It is said that Khrushchev will offer to mediate between India and China on the border disputes that have sprung up now after the Tibetan Revolt. Meanwhile we have a statement of the Tass Agency calling upon both Powers to settle their differences by peaceful negotiation.

The Chinese incursions extend from Ladakh in the extreme North all the way to the Assam border. In

the Punjab and the U.P. they have come down the crest of the Himalayas on to our side and so in many other places in the East like Longju at which there was an exchange of fire.

The latest reply of Chou En-lai makes far-reaching claims unless the Chinese are persuaded to revert to their attitude expressed at the time of the 1954 Panch-sheela treaty.

Russian mediation can only be of a temporary nature for Russia too has ultimate goal of absorbing India into the World socialist camp under her leadership. Even from the days of Lenin, Soviet policy has been to detach China, India and the other Asian (and African peoples) from the hegemony of Western nations and empires and to attract them to the socialist camp. The first aim is to deny their resources to the West. For this purpose they exacerbate the anti-imperialist feelings of the subject and backward peoples by every means in their power.

We should be chary therefore of accepting Soviet good offices in obtaining a reconciliation with China. We stand to lose more than we can gain in any such submission to Russian mediation. There is nothing like a straight condemnation of imperialism as such whether in Tibet or Algeria and seek the assistance of the free world for defence purposes. It looks as though Russia and China have divided the world into their spheres of influence. The Middle East, Europe, Latin America and Africa seem to have fallen to the share of Russia. Australia, the Southeast Asian peoples, Indonesia, the Philippines and even Japan seem to have been reserved for China!

The Indian Communist Party leans more towards China for guidance than on Russia.

Mr. Dange in Parliament offered a guarantee with brazen frankness that China will not undertake a major invasion into India! Members asked how he could speak for China and whether he had received any letter from that country's leaders? All things are possible! The loyalty of the Indian Communist Party to China and Russia overriding that to India, (if they have any for the land of their birth) is as clear as a spike. The time has come to ask for a legal ban on the Party.

The mass upheaval in Calcutta in relation to food agitation was highlighted in Chinese papers with a profusion of photographs and bloodcurdling stories of repression of innocent people.

The Chinese seem to be pointing to these disturbances as answer to the dismissal of the Communist Government in Kerala.

Some Indian Communist Party leaders are now in Moscow and Peking receiving instruction in the art of conducting revolution!

### CHINA CREATES AN YENAN IN THE HIMALAYAN BORDERS

One reason that has been advanced for the sudden stepping up of the border penetration by the Chinese into India is the need for the Chinese to cover up their failure on the internal food and steel front. The com-

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munes have failed to reach their targets and the people are restive and are resisting the total oppression of commune life and labour.

So the Chinese have stepped up a move against the rightists inside and imperialists abroad—*India figuring as the imperialist!* Pandit Nehru asked dubiously whether there was any reason for the Chinese pressure at this time, apart from our giving the Dalai Lama asylum in the country.

There is also the suggestion made in some quarters that China and Russia might be feeling that the Calcutta mass agitation and the spreading weakness and internal dissensions in the Congress Party as in the U.P., Bengal, Punjab, Mysore etc., is bringing the time for the formation of a *communist liberation army* on India's borders nearer! Local communists could then prepare the people to turn to invading communist armies for succour against their own "oppressors!"

For this purpose, it would be good to have a common border with India and any penetration made inside it together with intimidation of border states like Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal could be useful." The communist leaders might be thinking along these lines.

A common border unsettled by claims could thus be used *as in Yen-an in North China* for bringing communism into the country from abroad. *Inner guerilla war* conducted by local communists (as prematurely they did in Telengana in 1946-50) could assist in softening resistance by the States apparatus.

This is a grim prospect. It is a pity that too many persons in authority and positions of social influence have become *fellow travellers* blind to the treacherous possibilities of communist penetration.

The theory of Chinese intentions of creating a Yen-an is quite plausible. It is the part of policy to prepare against it rather than rely on Russian intervention and the re-emergence of Chinese friendship later on.

If we look at the position of Ladakh and the Tibet-Sinkiang Road that passes through it now, we see that it leads up to the Moscow Road soon to be taken up for completion. This is one prong.

NEFA would be another prong. *Spiti and Shipki Valley* passes in Himachal Pradesh and the U.P. would be intervening *spearheads*.

Aerodromes on the other side of the Himalayas could land in Delhi, Lucknow, Patna and Calcutta in a few hours or bomb them with disastrous effect before we could take any precautions.

The utmost firmness is required. Softening like Nehru's offer to *consider minor adjustments* is dangerous. The intruders into Longju and Bara Hoti and Ladakh should be thrown out. The military should not be hamstrung by directions not to use violence as they have seen in regard to the Naga rebellion.

The country is passing through a period of tense anxiety on this border problem and its menace.

### PAKISTAN

It is a matter of satisfaction that in this hour of border trouble, Pakistani leaders under Ayub Khan have not shown any desire to create further trouble for India by stepping up their own border incursions!

The conciliatory gesture of the Pakistani President and his reported idea of defence collaboration as against invaders into the sub-continent are *healthy trends* that

require to be considered with the utmost seriousness.

The statement of General Thimmayya from Assam that the NEFA border is now static and that "the matter is now left to diplomats" seems to indicate the absence of any further probe by the Chinese.

But the statement is *too premature* and should not be taken to imply that the military danger is over. It would be a good thing if military persons in high office refrain from making political statements. They may create a false sense of security.

General Ayub's reported desire for a rapprochement with India in the matter of common defence is contradicted by the reported remark of Mr. Krishna Menon in Bombay on his way to the UNO that if our armies are deployed on the borders, a neighbouring country will take advantage of it to pour into the interior!

It is clear that India will have to prepare against the contingency of *fighting both intrusions*.

There is no use declaring that we shall fight *as best we can*. It is necessary to obtain assistance from America, Britain and the Commonwealth generally. The Commonwealth might be sympathetic since the defence of Australia and New Zealand is implicated, as China's southward ambition extends to them also. China may become a more formidable power in the near future than Japan was in the pre-war days!

### POWER CORRUPTS

When a person gains power over other persons—the political power to force other persons to do his bidding when they do not believe it right to do so—it seems inevitable that moral weakness develops in the person who exercises that power. It may take time for this weakness to become visible. In fact, its full extent is frequently left to the historians to record, but we eventually learn of it. It was Lord Acton, the British historian, who said: "All power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely."

These persons who are corrupt by the process of ruling over their fellow-men are not innately evil. They begin as honest men. Their motives for wanting to direct the actions of others may be purely patriotic and altruistic. Indeed they may wish only to do good for the people. But apparently the only way they can think of to do this "good" is to impose more restrictive laws.

Now, obviously, there is no point in passing a law which requires people to do something they would do anyhow: or which prevents them from doing what they are not going to do anyhow. Therefore, the possessor of the political power could only very well decide to leave every person free to do as he pleases so long as he does not infringe upon the same right of every other persons to do as he pleases. However, the concept appears to be utterly without reason to a person who wants to exercise political power over his fellow-man. For he asks himself, how can I do good if I just leave them alone. Besides, he does not want to pass into history as a do nothing leader who ends up as a footnote somewhere. So he begins to pass laws that will force all other persons to conform to his ideas of what is good for them.

# Rethinking Foreign Policy

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE Chinese Premier Chou En-lai has clearly and categorically repudiated the MacMahon Line in NEFA and Teensang area. That means that some 60,000 square miles of territory including a large slice of Assam is now claimed by him for China!

He issues a counter-charge that it is Indian troops that have aggressed into his territory at Longju and elsewhere in that area and that *we fired first* on Chinese guards!

It is all reminiscent of the procedure of Pakistan in repudiating our charges of border violation by her troops and policy and nationals. Pakistan denies all charges and mounts counter-charges without the least regard to truth and plausibility. So now China!

The gulf and conflict between the two sides are now clear and unbridgeable. Chou En-lai absolutely refuses to recognise the MacMahon Line and India sticks by it absolutely. India offers discussion on minor adjustments but China wants the restoration of the pre-independence status quo before the British had advanced up to the Mountain Tops from the tip of Bhutan to the Burma border round the Brahmaputra bend on the Northeast! The issues are stated clearly by both sides and there is no meeting point.

Chou En-lai had agreed in 1954 when the *panch-sheela* treaty was signed that he would accept the MacMahon Line as a matter of friendly obligation, though in law and justice, China was the lawful owner of the territories that belonged to Tibet to the south of the Line up to the Brahmaputra river! And the treaty came to an agreement with regard to Indo-Tibetan relations surrendering the existing privileges and rights as usual in friendly countries on a mutual basis. But it made no mention of any outstanding difference in regard to borders such as the MacMahon Line. Nehru presumed therefore that all outstanding questions between India and China as regards their relation to Tibet were settled in the treaty of 1954 which also mentioned as a preamble, the famous *panch-sheela* principles of non-interference, respect for each other's territorial integrity etc.

He was surprised and pained therefore when Chou En-lai sprang upon him the claim for territories in Assam below the MacMahon Line in the present crisis and Chinese frontier guards at Longju fired upon the Indian checkpoints.

The People's Congress has obediently endorsed Chou En-lai's claims as is only to be expected in a totalitarian country.

The most hopeful sign is the statement of Tass Agency from Moscow calling upon both countries to settle these border questions amicably through friendly negotiation. The Indian appeal to Russia has apparently resulted in this public statement through the

official agency which announces to the world that Russia is not interested in an exacerbation of the differences between India and China.

The People's Congress at Peking too ended with an appeal for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute after expressing a clear claim to the areas of Assam marked in Chinese maps as belonging to China.

Nehru did not return a clear-out answer to questioners in his Rajya Sabha speech as well as in his press conference thereafter that the *Chinese intruders at Longju would be ejected by force*. He merely said that the NEFA area has been entrusted to the Army. This *does not mean* that the army has been instructed to drive out the Chinese from Longju and any other place within our borders that they may enter. Consider the analogy of our East Pakistan border.

Pandit Nehru made bold speeches to the effect that we shall not tolerate any invasion or aggression and that we stand irrevocably by the MacMahon Line but at the same time and in the same breath destroying the assurance by the concession that we are always ready to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement! He said that he was prepared only for minor adjustments—a mile this way or that way but not for the surrender of large chunks of territory of the order of thousands of square miles.

As regards the Ladakh area in which the Chinese have built roads and occupied a large chunk several hundred square miles in area, he let it be known that *no action would be taken about their recovery*. They are deemed lost to us!

This is strange and indefensible in a Prime Minister; Mr. Masani is right in calling upon the President to invite a new Congress leader to take office as Prime Minister in place of Pandit Nehru who has *no tenacious hold on national territory*.

It is clear that Pandit Nehru wishes to continue in his old policy of Red Appeasement in spite of brave talk about defending the border.

He has instructed Mr. Krishna Menon to raise the question of China's seat in the UNO *this time as well, in spite of the low value that the Chinese have put upon Indian friendship*.

Another sign of the continuance of the old discredited policy of appeasement (and trust in those who should not be trusted) is Nehru's refusal to support the Dalai Lama's appeal to the UNO for moral support against the genocide and suppression suffered by his people at the hands of the Red Chinese. India is not prepared even to support any other sponsor either. On the contrary, Nehru has expressed displeasure at the Dalai Lama's action and said that it is of no use. He has even advanced the argument that Tibet not being an autonomous nation recognised by the UNO

and China as well not being a member of the UNO, no appeal from the Dalai Lama can be discussed legally in the UNO.

Mr. Vajpayee, member of Lok Sabha answered these sophistries convincingly. He pointed out that neither North Korea nor China were members of the UNO when the world body took up the cause of South Korea and even sent troops and conducted war against North Korea and China branding them as aggressors!

Nehru is here confusing issues by taking up legal quibbles. Tibet may or may not be a sovereign nation and State. For this deficiency, India is in large part to blame. She should have told China in 1950 that she recognised Tibet as a full national State of the autonomous Tibetan people and asked Western nations to recognise it likewise. She should have secured a seat for Tibet in the UNO just as Nepal and Ceylon and Mongolia were given seats in a package deal. Instead our ambassador in Peking (the historian diplomat Mr. K. M. Pannikar) recognised the sovereignty of China over Tibet! This was treachery to Tibet and appeasement of China.

What has India gained by this prostitution of history, law and conscience? The growth of the aggressor and his threat to us; Nehru has made no secret of the fact that Chou En-lai's claim for upper Assam is a perpetual threat to Indian integrity, a Damocles' sword hung dangerously over the head of Indian sovereignty!

It is clear that China will not mount a full scale invasion of India on this occasion, what with Russian intervention and other factors like the Khrushchev-Eisenhower meeting in the USA this month. But the threat is there menacing us for all time!

India has therefore to effect a re-orientation of her foreign policy. Russian aid is dubious and can only be temporary until Russia ceases to have a use for Nehru. When the time comes, Russia will have to compensate to thrust aside her Indian governmental friends and back the Indian Communist Party! Now that, with the disappearance of Tibet as a buffer, we have a continuous border with China we have the potentialities of a *Yeman in the North*. Stalin blamed the Telingana guerillas for having started operations where there was no common border between international communism and India. Now that desideratum is supplied!

It is therefore necessary for us to have a different policy. We may prepare for it from now on gradually without outwardly surrendering present obligations and expectations connected with panchsheela and neutrality and friendship with Communist States.

To begin with, Indian public opinion should press upon the Government to reconsider their attitude to the Dalai Lama's approach to the UNO. To continue the present policy of refusing to back his case is immoral and cowardly. In any case we have provoked the ire of China by expressing sympathy for his cause. We may as well separate the issue as a moral case and urge full consideration of the Tibetan case before the world assembly. Let the world know the grim realities of the Chinese terror and genocide. The Tibetans are a cultured organised people with a national individuality of their own. Their clinging to their ancient

isolation has been their undoing. Nowadays nations can preserve their individuality and freedom only through full contact with international relations and not through isolation. No nation can be self-sufficient today, not even Russia, China and the United States!

India should mobilise world opinion against such inhuman imperialism as was shown to the world by the Russians in Hungary and Chinese in Tibet. The *raison d'être* of the UNO consists in dealing with such suppression of one people by another and its enslavement by it.

Just as the United States public organises opinion and broadcasts information regarding the captive nations independent of the Governments Policies, the Indian public should be encouraged by the Government to take measures to mobilise the conscience of the world against Chinese brutality and the communist system that supports such ideology in the name of world "liberation."

Meanwhile, India may (as seems to be the intention of Nehru) trade part of Ladakh for NEFA and the Punjab, and UP Himalayan passes and the Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan borders. (Not states).

The West is ready to go to the assistance of India militarily if India needs it. This can be accepted in principle as a matter of secret understanding. India should ask for military equipment both from Russia and the USA and Britain, just as Kassem of Iraq is doing it!

We should deal with China as though one day she would invade us in strength, while maintaining friendly diplomatic relations and keeping up negotiations on border issues off and on.

If there is any substance in Pakistan's overtures towards a joint defence of the subcontinent, the possibility should be explored cautiously.

V. K. Krishna Menon let out in a flash to a press conference in Bombay that if the whole of our Armies are engaged in far-off mountainous jungle border areas, a neighbouring country might take advantage of it to invade our interior! It is clear he meant Pakistan!

So we have now a joint menace—both from communist China and Islamic Pakistan! As some observers including the present writer have felt, the two dangers to Indian independence—namely Islam and Communism may take shape simultaneously and this seems to be the beginning of that eventuality. With Nehru's background of Leftist sympathies and ingrained friendliness to Islamic culture (and people) (in which later, he inherits Gandhian predilections), the combination of the two hostile tendencies of our time may not receive the full attention and resistance they should in the national interest. Public opinion should study the deeper implications of these horizons and change Indian leadership accordingly, if present leaders are incorrigible.

If China is angered by our championing of the Dalai Lama, we cannot help it. To the degree we lose the goodwill of China, we shall gain the respect of the free world. We lost much when we hesitated to

(Continued on page 6)

# Wanted A New Government

By M. N. Tholal

**D**ESPITE what has happened, Prime Minister Nehru continues to swear by non-alignment, that self-same policy which has been wholly and solely responsible for the events of the last two or three years, the principal one of which, despite its magnitude, was kept a closely-guarded secret from the Parliament and the public of the country. For, it should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that, had we an alliance with the USA of the type Pakistan has, China would not have dared to behave as she had been doing, and we would not have had to say that we shall defend the country "as best we can"—as if the defence of the country is not a matter of paramount importance and must yield place to slogans and shibboleths like non-alignment and Panch Sheel!

## FRUITS OF NONVIOLENCE

As a nation we believe in creeds and not in objectives. We had nonviolence playing havoc with the

(Continued from page 5)

declare our spontaneous moral condemnation of Russian suppression of Hungary's popular revolt for national freedom in 1956.

We should recover our moral prestige by speaking for Tibetan autonomy.

The freedom of all nations small and big is the foundation stone of world order and of the UNO. We have also built the idea into our Constitution.

If Turkey, Iran and Iraq could resist Russian displeasure, we should be able to resist Chinese displeasure.

There is no way out. Under cover of neutrality, we should mobilise world opinion in favour of the freedom of small nations. Meanwhile we should accept arms free both from Russia and from the West as Kassem of Iraq does.

Even if we hope to maintain a position of neutrality in case of the breakout of the dreaded World War III, we should have arms and the determination to defend our *Neutrality itself*. Both Russia and America may seek bases in Goa and other points. We can refuse only if we are prepared to fight either of them. The case of Switzerland escaping the invasion of the Nazi Panzers is poignantly relevant to our case.

National independence is not a bed of roses. Only nations who are ready to shed their blood and organise themselves in a modern way with efficiency have a chance of survival. Singing the hymns of *panchsheel* and *universal love* will not avail any people in the hour of peril.

We should arm and become ready ourselves to fight for national liberty, meanwhile using diplomacy to *gain time, obtain help and train our people for any eventuality*.

country's destinies during the Gandhian era from 1920 onwards. The communal rioting, which followed the suspension of the non-cooperation movement at the outbreak of violence at Chauri Chaura, made the Muslim League progressively strong. Nationalist Muslims then used to say that all that was necessary to counter the forces of reaction among Muslims was the organisation of a force of nationalist Muslim volunteers ready to proceed at a moment's notice to the scene of rioting to challenge the rioters of their own community. One or two instances of Hindu-Muslim rioting thus developing into rioting between Muslim factions and resulting in the death of a few Muslims on either side would have set the whole Muslim community against those who stood to gain by Hindu-Muslim riots, but Mahatma Gandhi's creed of nonviolence prevented this marvellous method being adopted by Congress or pro-Congress Muslims. (This method was recently employed at Delhi by Nationalist Sikhs against Master Tara Singh with tremendous success). Thus nonviolence immobilised not only Nationalist Hindus but also Nationalist Muslims, so far as the Muslim League was concerned. The result was that Hindu-Muslim rioting disfigured the face of the country and went on weakening the hold of the Congress over Hindus as well as Muslims, the latter in particular, as they were a minority. Thus nonviolence made for ever-increasing violence in the country, defeating its own purpose as well as the national objective, until Pakistan was born. And we went on shouting "*Ahimsa Parmo Dharma*."

The policy of non-alignment, to which we are now wedded, is also born of the same mentality. There is nothing moral about it, even as there was nothing moral about nonviolence, for the only objective of the latter was placing Gandhi on the same pedestal as Jesus and Buddha. But that made it all the more necessary for us to assert that we take our stand on a high moral level. If democracy is immoral, we should scrap it and go in for totalitarianism. But if democracy is moral and the principles of democracy enshrined in the Preamble to our Constitution are moral, then obviously the opposites of those principles are immoral, and we should, with all our might, strengthen the forces of democracy and weaken the forces of Communism and totalitarianism. But that is what we refuse to do, saying we should not jeopardise the freedom the country has gained after a thousand years by engaging in an ideological conflict, the result of which no one can predict with certainty. We refuse to go a little farther to see that a Communist victory will certainly result in our losing our freedom, while a western victory will not so result, and we, a country of nearly 400 million people, might by our example and our policy be only making a totalitarian victory possible. There is plenty of fruitless cowardice and

immoral opportunism in our attitude, but not a trace of any compelling sense of purpose or objectivity.

### SPECIOUS EQUATION

To justify our non-alignment and neutralism and stress our high moral stand, we had to indulge in the specious equation of the USA with Soviet Russia, Russian imperialism with American "imperialism" and even declare that the so-called Russian satellites in Eastern Europe were not Russian colonies. Even right-wing Jan Sanghis have not been slow to talk of American "imperialism", although it does not require scholarship in history or geography to inform us that the USA has no satellites of the type of Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., etc. But this false equation was and is necessary to justify our neutralism and our non-alignment and enable us to do our best to make the worse appear the better reason.

Tragedies overtake those who indulge in wishful thinking and make-believe. One overtook us in 1947 and we are none the wiser for it. Prime Minister Nehru ruled that the satellites named above are not colonies of Soviet Russia and had presumably therefore no objection to China incorporating Tibet, forgetting, in his equating zeal, that Tibet could be a stepping stone to the 40,000 square miles of our territory which China has always been publicly claiming through its maps. And now, at a time when even the dreaded world war is receding in the distance, we find our territory encroached upon by a neighbour, a co-signatory to Panch Sheel, of which so much is made by admirers of Mr. Nehru.

It is difficult to imagine a more egregious document. Wars almost always start regarding disputes over territories. No one lays claim to other's territory: the aggressor claims the territory to be its own. What was the Chinese Premier's signature on Panch Sheel world when his maps showed 40,000 square miles of our territory as Chinese? How can he be said to have violated Panch Sheel when he always diplomatically refused to rectify the Chinese maps? How can the Chinese then be said to have ignored the Panch Sheel provision regarding respect for each other's territories. It is true Mr. Nehru has in his possession his own minutes of the meeting between him and the Chinese Premier in which the latter agreed to the MacMahon Line as the international frontier, but he did not have the minutes initialled by the Chinese Premier. He did not even, so far as we know, send a copy of the minutes to the Chinese Premier to afford him an opportunity of contradicting the same then, as he is doing now. This is a curious lapse. This dependence on the spoken word of a man is foolish for a statesman. After all, integrity apart, Chou En-lai could not be expected to be Chinese Premier for ever. Honesty demanded that, before signing Panch Sheel, both the statesmen should have made certain what each other's territories were. There would then have been some sense in their saying they respected each other's territory. It almost appears that Mr. Nehru was trying to make certain of the MacMahon Line by sacrificing Tibet to the Chinese and did not even suspect that that was the only way of

inviting the Chinese to violate the Line. What is more, he seems to have been afraid of making it absolutely certain, at least so far as the Chinese Premier was concerned.

Another example of puerility on the part of the Indian Prime Minister is contained in his speech in the Lok Sabha on September 12, as reported by P.T.I. Says the report:

Some members had asked why the Indian Air Force did not take aerial photographs of that area (bits of Ladakh occupied by the Chinese). But they did not seem to have fully realised the facts about that area. The mere taking of pictures would have endangered that place not only from the physical features point of view but from the point of view of the aircraft being shot down and other risks.

So it comes to this, that the IAF cannot take aerial photographs of Indian territory for fear of their aircraft being shot down, not to mention other risks. That is perhaps what Mr. Nehru means when he talks about functioning in a mature way. Incidentally, these bits of Ladakh comprise 5,000 square miles of territory!

Does he think no one in China or belonging to Communist China will study the frame of his mind as revealed in his speeches and in his answers to criticism of members of Parliament? The way he is going about his business is the surest way of starting a war between India and China.

Mr. Nehru continues to deprecate cold war attitude and cold war "blackguardly language" and is not even patriotic enough to realise that the country, over whose destinies he unfortunately presides, is, according to his own admissions, already in a state of something much worse than cold war with China: the Chinese are in occupation of large chunks of our territory—5,000 square miles in Ladakh alone. The Chinese Government has declared through its Prime Minister and its Foreign Minister that China does not and never will recognise the MacMahon Line as the international border, and Mr. Nehru is deprecating cold war attitudes as if there is nothing the matter with the situation between India and China. Surely there should be a limit even to posing in which Mr. Nehru is a past-master. A defeat much more serious than that involved in the admission of cold war between China and India is staring Nehru in the face and he has the cheek to say

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that cold war would be an "admission of defeat, mental and intellectual defeat." Obviously we shall have to have a new Government and some one else as Prime Minister if the country is to be saved.

Every one should now know that Mr. Nehru is thinking in terms of self. An admission of cold war between China and India would be an admission of defeat for Mr. Nehru—and not in any way for the country—and therefore the admission will not be made and Mr. Nehru will go on as if nothing has happened, come what may. Likewise there is a very good reason why Mr. Nehru does not believe in having committees to thrash out the country's foreign policy or the pros and cons of its various features. Any committee will have to consider and be told to consider matters from the point of view of the country's interests, but Mr. Nehru wants them considered from the point of view of his interests, in the interests of his position and leadership in the world, and that way he cannot ask them to be considered. Hence he decides against committees and has to fall back upon adventurers who have no position in the country or even the party to which Mr. Nehru belongs, but who know what Mr. Nehru wants and who will do that without being expressly told to do that, men who are prepared to be loyal to him rather than to the country.

### NON-ALIGNMENT

On what principles do we refuse to seek aid wherever we can get it, against threats, now materialising, from a much more powerful country? If that principle (of non-alignment) is so sound that defeat, or extinction is preferable to alignment, why should we take on the responsibility of defending Sikkim or Bhutan and thus provoking China, particularly when we have doubts about our ability to defend ourselves? If non-alignment is such a virtuous principle, why have we persuaded Sikkim and Bhutan to align themselves with us or agreed to their request to align themselves with us? If it is a question of hanging together, why should not the principle be extended to ensure the safety of the country? After all, non-alignment must, if it is to be accepted by patriots, subserve some national purpose. What is that purpose today? Non-alignment became popular in India because a country newly freed did not naturally want to get involved in a war of mutual extermination between two powerful blocs. The purpose was national safety. But the situation has suddenly changed and a policy that seemed to spell safety a few years ago is spelling disaster now. The sooner therefore it is changed the better it would be for the country.

An illiterate Muslim comparing Ayub with Nehru remarked of the latter: "*Kaghar ki nav bahut nahin chalti.*" (A paper boat does not go far.) But the lust for world leadership makes Nehru blind, even as it made his master Gandhi blind. Nonviolence was the rocket which was to push Gandhi into world leadership. We saw the result. Non-alignment is the rocket which was to push Nehru into world leadership. We are seeing the result. Since alignment means playing second fiddle to Eisenhower or Khrushchev, it must always be out of the question, regardless of the

safety or welfare of the country. Those who put down the present misfortune to Nehru's miscalculation do not understand the working of his mind and what it is after. In selfishness Nehru is madder than Gandhi, and without the latter's restraints in the persons of Rajaji or Motilal Nehru. Even a mad man, a Persian proverb tells us, knows which side his bread is buttered: "*Diwana bakar-e-khesh hushyar.*" So does Jawaharlal Nehru.

### FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN INDIA AN ANALYSIS

A study of foreign investments in India during 1957 and 1958 shows that India's international liabilities exceeded her assets abroad in 1957 and 1958 while in 1956 the opposite was the case. In 1956, the excess of assets over liabilities amounted to Rs. 215 crores; in 1957 and 1958, the excess of liabilities over assets amounted to Rs. 267 crores and Rs. 648 crores respectively.

This change in respect of India's net assets position was due mainly to changes in the official sector's assets and liabilities. Between the end of 1956 and the end of 1958, official assets fell by Rs. 364 crores and official liabilities increased by Rs. 427 crores. The decline in assets was mostly by way of fall in India's sterling reserves held in the U.K. The increase in liabilities was due to larger borrowing from various countries and international institutions. The inflow of loans in these two years amounted to Rs. 191 crores from the U.S.A., Rs. 89 crores from the I.M.F., Rs. 46 crores from the I.B.R.D. and Rs. 88 crores from the U.S.S.R., West Germany and the U.K. as credit for the three steel plants.

Private non-banking investment flowing into the country from abroad in these two years amounted to Rs. 83 crores. Of this, Rs. 57 crores were loans given to the private sector by the IRRD.

India built up during World War II sterling assets received as payment for goods and services contributed for the prosecution of the war.

Her net creditor position was largely a result of these reserves. These have been continuously used to finance the import of capital equipment in the wake of India's development plans. Similarly, our liabilities have been increasing for the same reason.

The decline in the assets held abroad by the official sector only means that monetary assets are being converted into real productive assets. Similarly, foreign borrowing, both private and official, is being utilised to build up internal productive capacity which creates its own repayment potential. A change in our assets/liabilities should not be viewed merely from the creditor/debtor angle but attention should be given to the causes which bring about such a change in status. If simultaneously with the decline in assets or the increase in liabilities, productive capacity is being built up in the economy, this is in the country's long term interest. An underdeveloped economy is short of savings and, therefore, has to utilise resources obtained from abroad either by borrowing or by liquidating assets held abroad in order that it breaks through the barrier of poverty.

—The Malabar Herald



# Fallacies Of India's Foreign Policy

By B. G. Pradhan

RECENT events have proved the utter failure of Mr. Nehru's China policy. The conquest of Tibet has been followed by the incursion on a part of India and a threat to the security of Sikkim and Bhutan. The incorporation of a part of India within the Chinese maps, repudiation of the MacMahon Line as the boundary between India and China, violation of the airspace of India, refusal to reply to the notes sent by the Indian Government, troop movements and the construction of roads etc., on the Indo-Tibetan frontier, imposition of difficulties in the way of Indian and Nepalese trade in Tibet are all acts of hostility and not in consonance with the five principles of the Panchsheel. The recent deterioration of the India-China relationship has therefore conclusively proved the failure of the Panchsheel policy of the Indian Government. If the Government still remains attached to that policy, it would be an act only of prejudice and perhaps of personal prestige and dignity. We do not know whether Mr. Nehru would have the courage of changing his own policy radically when experience had exposed its fallacies mercilessly. Anyway, a total change of our foreign policy is urgently called for and so everyone should think of the problem seriously.

It was the Chinese aggression in Tibet which appears to be the immediate cause of the present deterioration of India-China relation. The Chinese action in Tibet was very rightly characterised by our Government as an act of aggression. Our Government refused to recognise the Chinese version that the Tibetan revolt was the rising of the few reactionary people instigated by foreign imperialists and considered it as the mass uprising of the people. This attitude of the Government and the wide-spread popular sympathy in India for the victim of the Chinese aggression made China furious. And the present aggressive attitude of China against India follows from this Chinese unfavourable reaction to India's sympathy for the Tibetan people.

From the abovementioned facts it is clear that the Chinese adherence to the Panchsheel was not due to any genuine conviction to the principles enunciated therein but it was simply a tactical move. As long as China found India as the greatest advocate for her entry in the U.N.O., as long as China found Nehru always praising her and making her popular by giving her a high place in Bandung, China remained friendly to India and uttered the fine phrases of the Panchsheel. The moment India differed with her, she threw the Panchsheel to the wind and began to violate all its principles. The rapidity with which the India-China relation became strained makes it clear that the very basis of our policy towards China was unrealistic. It is necessary, therefore, to examine its basis and find out the fallacies contained therein.

Nehru's China policy was based upon two assump-

tions. One was that the age-old peaceful relation between India and China and the close cultural relation between the two countries would ensure friendly relation in future also. The other was that the underdeveloped countries which recently had liberated themselves from the imperialistic yoke have many problems common to them and this similarity of problems would ensure solidarity among them. From this second assumption follows Mr. Nehru's policy of Asianism, Afro-Asian solidarity, Bandung spirit etc. Both these assumptions are logically fallacious and recent history has proved them untenable. The essential weakness of Mr. Nehru's China policy results from his failure to gauge correctly the role of communism in China's home and foreign policy. To a Communist, the age-old cultural relation has no meaning because old religious cultures were either feudal or capitalistic or worse and were inspired by the desire of exploiting the people. The Communists are all votaries of the so-called proletarian culture and they are opposed to all other cultures. Secondly, it is true that both India and China are underdeveloped countries and are confronted with almost similar problems but the Communist method of reconstruction is basically different from the democratic method. Similarity of problems alone cannot promote solidarity if the method of reconstruction and the fundamental values behind that method are basically different.

In this connection it is necessary to mention that there is a touch of unreality in the entire foreign policy—not simply in the China policy—of Nehru. Mr. Nehru appears to be a man of peace and he wants to maintain peace in the world because without peace the national reconstruction of India would naturally suffer. Quite so. He, therefore, wants to keep India outside the cold war area by not joining in any of the two power-blocs into which the world forces are polarised. By remaining outside the influence of power blocs Mr. Nehru wants to judge every problem objectively and impartially without allowing his judgement to be prejudiced by consideration of power blocs. This policy of dynamic neutrality has brought India much prestige though not any gain. But how is this policy of dynamic neutrality—refusal to side with a power bloc—consistent with his close alliance with China and Russia in the name of the Panchsheel? This close alliance of Shri Nehru with Russia and China—themselves leaders of a power bloc—gave rise to the charge that Nehru's policy is a policy of appeasement towards communism. Nehru's bold denunciation of the Egyptian invasion by the Anglo-French group and his failure to do the same in the case of Russian brutality in Hungary (of course the public opinion of India forced Nehru to change his attitude at least to some

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# This Menace Of Hindi Fanaticism

By. A. Ranganathan

**T**HE Prime Minister's assurance for a second time that he had stood by what he had said earlier was the only silver lining in the cloud that has dimmed the Indian linguistic horizon. What is needed now is something more than an assurance; it needs to be translated into action. This is particularly important when we consider the devious and cunning ways employed by the Hindi fanatics to force a decision on the language issue. It is possible that there has been a degree of confusion owing to the fact of the Prime Minister's assurance (which was made in

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extent) showed his pro-Russian and anti-American attitude clearly in spite of his policy of dynamic neutrality.

Objective analysis therefore shows that the dynamic neutrality of Nehru was friendly towards Russia and China and hostile towards American bloc. This leaning towards Communism follows from a false interpretation of the nature of the two power-blocs of the present world. Mr. Nehru seems to consider that both the power blocs are evils but the American bloc is a greater evil because it represents the old colonial, imperialist powers. He considers the old colonialism as a greater evil than communism. And here he is possibly wrong. True, the American bloc contains some old colonial imperialist powers but the old colonialism is almost dead and the remnants are also on the sure road to decay. The U.S.A., herself is against colonialism and the students of international relations are fully aware of the existence of a difference of views between the old colonial powers and the U.S.A. (As for example, difference of views of the U.S.A. and France regarding Indo-China; opposition of the U.S.A. to the Anglo-French action in Suez). The Communist bloc also represents colonialism of a new type. The Communists call their colonialism "liberation" but words make no difference. Communist colonialism is thorough and brutal and it is hundred times more dangerous than the old dying colonialism. To belittle Communist imperialism and to magnify the old dying colonialism is a cardinal weakness of Nehru's foreign policy. The Communist bloc is a homogeneous one consisting only of the communist countries and a non-communist has no place in it. But the American bloc is a mixed one where countries with different social systems have combined against communist totalitarianism. The Communist bloc aims at spreading communism throughout the world and so its attitude is essentially aggressive whereas the U.S. bloc aims at defending the world from Communism and so its attitude is essentially defensive. The analysis of the character of the two power blocs shows that Nehru's leaning towards the Communist bloc is unwise and dangerous.

In the light of the above analysis our whole foreign policy should be revised and restated before it is too late.

response to Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution) coming after the Parliamentary Committee's Report had been drawn up.

Mr. Nehru has made a few brilliant observations on this business of coining words in Hindi—"All the efforts of Hindi scholars like Seth Govind Das or Dr. Raghu Vira would not meet the situation. They might produce volumes and volumes of artificial words or so-called translations." Again, Mr. Nehru turned his attention to Seth Govind Das and said that it was their over-enthusiasm and their way of approach to the subject that had irritated others and annoyed even him. And commenting on Acharya Kripalani's speech, he asked a pertinent question, what kind of Hindi should be accepted—whether the Govind Das Hindi, Raghu Vira Hindi or some other Hindi? It is to the credit of Mr. Nehru that he has been battling against this kind of Hindi fanaticism for over two decades. In his Autobiography he records the fact that one of his speeches had resulted in a tremendous outcry in the Hindi press and attributed it to the working of an inferiority complex.

The subject of Hindi fanaticism can be conveniently studied under two heads—language fanaticism and numeral fanaticism. The nature of what has been described as 'language fanaticism' is pretty familiar to us. One has only to take a dip into the narrow backwater of linguistic fanaticism which is a creation of Tandon, Lohia, Seth Govind Das and others, so that he can become an expert in raising the cacophonous cry of language fanaticism. The approach of the Hindi fanatics to the question of numerals is amusing in the extreme. The so-called Arabic numerals are really Indian in origin and can be found in Asokan inscriptions. The Arabs themselves called mathematics, "the Indian Art" (Hindisat).

In a beautiful pamphlet entitled "Hindi vs. Sanskrit," Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has correctly stressed that the ideal in a democratic country is All—inclusiveness and not exclusiveness or Suppression. If India is to develop as a liberal democratic country, Hindi ought not to be imposed as the official language. The fact remains that it was English which was the instrument of change in the transformation of a feudal and backward country into a progressive and modern nation. If we discard English, there can be no doubt that our progress in the modern world would come to a stop. Another important reason for continuing English, is that it does not give any unfair advantage to any group of people. Indeed, the enthronement of Hindi would permanently disable the non-Hindi speaking people and reduce them to the status of second class citizens.

This menace of Hindi fanaticism is not only dangerous in itself, but also breeds the regional varieties of

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# The Indian Libertarian

## *Rationalist Supplement*

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### A Rationalist's Plan

By James Harvey Johnson

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(Rationalists are frequently asked what they would put in the place of religion. The questioner usually believes that without religion, mankind would become unable to conduct an organized, beneficial social organization. Here is a Rationalist's idea of how mankind would build a better organization if unhampered by ancient dogmas.)

A new era will dawn when the constructive Rationalist plan for human advancement supersedes the present destructive rule of superstition. Reason, Science and Intelligence will guide man's destinies instead of the decadent morals, ethics, beliefs and fears of primitive, ignorant men and selfish, hypocritical money seeking clergymen.

Children and men will be encouraged to doubt, to seek to learn and to question. Men will be taught that they are not inferior beings, that they are not born in sin, that each has equal right and responsibilities.

Now only inferior men, often hypocrites, can be elected to public office because of religious influence; hence we can only have bungling, inefficient government with high taxes, waste, graft, crime, disease and wars. Intelligent men in office can prevent these things.

Birth control information will be permitted so that tired mothers will not be forced to bear unwanted children which poverty stricken fathers will have to struggle to support. These conditions lead to crime, hunger, disease, war and civil strife because where there is not enough food to go around and where there is not enough intelligence to provide it, men are easily induced by demagogues to invade their neighbours lands, or to try by force or law to take away from their thrifty or industrious fellow countrymen what they are unable to make themselves. With fewer children to raise, there will be more time for the parents to enjoy life and to improve their own and their children's lives.

Divorce of mismatched couples will be considered the business of the couple and not of the "celibate" Medieval clergy, and family laws will be based on sanity and reason instead of church dogma.

Rationalism wants happiness for all men, here and now. Men's lives should be devoted to the study of ways to provide that happiness, not to the contemplation of life in a mythical heaven, nor fear of a mythical hell.

Diligent research into the causes and cure of disease will be substituted for worthless prayers to the memories of reputed saints and to worship at shrines and sprinkling of faucet water declared holy. Science will be respected and supported instead of fought every step of the way by religionists. The childish method of the Christian Scientists of denying illness will be replaced with the knowledge of sure ways to prevent sickness and disease.

Men and women will be taught that normal sex relations are normal and beneficial, not sinful and harmful, as the church teaches now. No one can be considered better than others because he denies himself the use of natural functions.

The rationalist has no apologies to make for man's existence nor his natural tendencies.

Under Rationalism, the religious bigotries which have caused the deaths of millions of people in religiously inspired wars, which keep Christians divided into countless sects, suspicious of each other, which cause wars between Arabs and Jews, between Moslems and Hindus will be eliminated. Men will not be taught that it is sinful to marry outside their religion, or sinful to marry a divorced person.

Mercy deaths, under rigid control, will be permitted

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# Science, Faith And Scepticism

By John Lewis, Ph.D.

Many people today are afraid of applying science and reason to the problems of life. Is it because what would thus be revealed would not be welcome? As a result we have from time to time clever ideological devices for dodging the demands of scientific reason. One of the most popular in these times is the argument that science is concerned solely with the physical and the measurable, and since some of the most important aspects of life belong to neither category we must find another road to truth, which is neither scientific, nor rational. This is the road of mystical faith, of intuition or revelation. By adopting this way out, we are told, we can recover what science has long been discrediting—the whole world of the supernatural.

The argument is, of course, fallacious. In the first place, science deals with much more than the physical and the measurable. It includes such departments of life as psychology, anthropology, sociology and history—all of which subjects can be dealt with rationally and scientifically. Indeed, if they are not so dealt with they become pseudo-sciences, and as open to superstition and nonsense as the guess-work of the pre-scientific ages.

The fact is that what characterises the scientific mode of thought is not its use of measurement or its limitation to the physical but its method of strict deduction from observed fact, using the method of hypothesis, and testing each hypothesis by further reference to observation and experiment—taking the theory and using it as a guide to further action to see whether it works or whether it fails in action. This is a method which certainly restricts our explanations to the realm of the natural, but on the other hand it can find within the world of nature theories, explanations and world views which are on the one hand verifiable and scientific and on the other are sufficiently comprehensive to give us practical guidance in our task of mastering our environment, living together as human beings and grappling with the task of making our own history and achieving our own destiny.

But consider where the rejection of science and the adoption of the second, mystical road to truth takes us. In the first place it cannot offer us more than the subjective convictions of fallible human beings, and these we know from experience are both contradictory and unreliable. The wildest nonsense has been passionately believed and can come home to the minds of men with an overwhelming feeling of certainty. Is it to be believed on that account? Is it indeed to be distinguished from delusion, from the effects of drugs or disease?

But suppose the higher road to truth reveals a Perfect System or a Divine Being which explains every-

thing? Once again it falls short of scientific credibility. A theory which explains everything explains nothing. We must ask of every such theory, How do you test it? With what possible facts is it inconsistent? Only if it is possible to envisage circumstances which would either contradict it or substantiate it are we dealing with a theory which we have any right to entertain.

One of the real achievements of contemporary philosophy is its demonstration of this principle. At a stroke it banishes all metaphysical types of explanation. Unfortunately this philosophy itself falls into the error of supposing that scientific thought is incapable of formulating a philosophy of history or a world view to guide men in life's pilgrimage. This is an error. The formation of any hypothesis is allowable provided it is capable of being tested in experience. This allows us to frame hypotheses in anthropology and sociology without becoming metaphysical or relying on mystical experience. Why should we not take the method further and seek to frame a philosophy of life itself?

Of course if we were to imagine that this requires us to eschew the use of intuition and imagination and follow the path of pure deduction we should get nowhere. Our critics would like us to do just that, because, once again, they could then point to the inadequacy of the method and demand that we should join them in their metaphysical and mystical adventures. But in point of fact, as scientific thinkers, we do nothing of the sort. For the framing of hypotheses is very much a matter of intuition and imagination. No great scientific theory has been discovered by any other method. But what establishes the validity of such an hypothesis on the one hand and what refutes the validity of mere speculation and mystical insight on the other, is the tests we apply, or do not apply to the fruits of imaginative insight. The scientist uses his imagination, but he also tests the theory that his genius produces. The metaphysician has no such test.

Two very unwelcome conclusions follow—for some people at any rate

1. We can and must use the scientific imagination and the scientific method to grapple with the problems of man and of society. Whether the results are disconcerting or are welcome, there is no other way. Where scientific humanism points today is, however, certainly not in the direction that theologians and mystics and sceptics of all sorts would like us to go.
2. But on the other hand the scientific method will never give us the neatly rounded, final and authoritative explanations of the great philosophical and religious systems, but something far more limited, requir-

(Continued on page IV)

# Towards a New Individuality

By R. S. Yadava

*(This is the concluding part of the article which appeared in the September 1st issue of the Rationalist Supplement).*

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What, then, should be the new morality for the modern man? This is the next problem that logically emerges here. Since the subject of morality is too vast, we shall confine ourselves only to a consideration of the distinction and conflict between progressive and conventional morality corresponding to the distinction and conflict between a progressive and conservative personality.

Since a conduct, when repeatedly indulged in, crystallizes into a habit, virtue also tends to become a matter of habit. It is indeed desirable in some respects. But not always; because habit breeds conservatism and absoluteness, thus making a person incapable of adapting and enlarging his moral ends, means and actions to the growing needs of his changing environment and new knowledge is a progressive morality, while that based on outmoded knowledge is a conventional morality. The latter is obviously undesirable in many respects. Habits, like the customs of a community, represent the customs of an individual. Both, after a point or in changed circumstances, become hindrances in the way of moral progress. One cannot defend the one and oppose the other.

It would become evident if we keep in mind the various stages of the moral development of man corresponding to the stages of development of his personality.

(i) In the first place, it being the quality of interaction between individuals, morality is involved even in a single thought or act of an individual towards another individual or individuals. And habitual interaction makes morality also habitual. This is how, beginning with the single thought and act of an individual, morality gradually becomes social and binds an individual in its thread.

(ii) Even when conditions change, habit-ridden persons often do not understand or become sensitive to the demands of a new moral obligation. In all such cases, they remain the honest upholders of a conservative morality. They remain subjectively moral, though not objectively so.

(iii) Then come those who become conscious of what is right under a new set of circumstances, but still evade their new obligation both in private and public life, because they continue to be guided by custom and personal convenience for several reasons. They are prepared to betray the ideal but not to modify their habits. They may indeed be highly moral and noble, but only within the limits of the assump-

tions of their community and only so long as they are not required to talk and behave radically.

(iv) Because it is psychologically very difficult for a person not to act according to his growing convictions, some habit-ridden persons sometimes find a via media by dishonestly remaining conservative in public eye, but honestly, though secretly, accepting the demands of the progressive morality in their private lives. Here emerges the distinction and gap between public and private morality, based on a double standard of morality, one for the public and the other for the private sphere of life. They may be perfectly moral in private life but they are the dishonest upholders of a conservative morality in public.

(v) Some go one more step forward by even publicly professing the radical morality, although without publicly acting accordingly, not only because such actions involve a much severer disapproval from their community than such talk, but also because it satisfies their conscience to a still greater degree and earns for them the reputation of being full-blooded progressives without actually being one. Here emerges the trait of hypocrisy, whether consciously or inspite of oneself. This hypocrisy is the bribe which conservatism pays to progressivism for being ignored by its demands for action. They are progressives both in private life and public talk, but conservatives in public action. They might be progressives even in public action, but only in the "safe" and "convenient" spheres.

(vi) Now, from one point of view, the last three groups represent, so to say, three stages of the development of progressive morality in an ascending order. In the third group the idea of the new progressive morality takes birth. In the fourth group it expresses itself in private life, first in feeling, then in willing, then in talk, and lastly in action. In the fifth group it also expresses itself in vocal practice publicly. It is only in a different group of the full progressives that it finds its culmination even in public action, thus attaining full maturity, bloom and completion, although likely to appear conservative in the further changed conditions of its future.

From another point of view, however, this order of moral valuation might be reversed. Persons of the fifth group are on the verge of full entry into the sixth group of persons. They have already half entered it. It is much easier for them to do so than for those in the fourth group to take their next step. It is not only easier, it will also inspire, encourage and embolden those in the

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fourth group to march forward, who shall similarly serve as a beacon-light to those in the third group. Thus the responsibility of the persons in the fifth group is the greatest. And so they are to be judged by a much higher standard. Viewed in this context, their inertia is more discreditable than that of those in the fourth group whose inertia, in turn, is more discreditable than the one found in the third group.

The ideal normally is that, one should feel what he dynamically thinks, say what he thinks and feels, and do what he says. No man can express his convictions more fully than by acting upon them. Hence we should try to approach this ideal in our lives, and to mend conditions which makes its realization difficult. This alone is how a new individuality can remain imbued and consistent with a new morality.

To conclude this discussion, it may be remarked that the sight of thinking freely and acting independently, of using our minds without excessive awe of authority, and of shaping our lives without unquestioning obedience to custom, is now a finally accepted principle in some sense or other with every school of progressive thought. I do not know of a higher principle for our times, because this principle is the source of all other principles of Man, everything including his morality. This is what my reason tells me.

### SCIENCE, FAITH AND SCEPTICISM

*(Continued from page II)*

ing constant revision, definitely provisional. Yet while we have not here all the light we sometimes think we need, we have light enough to walk by and that must suffice.

At any rate, whatever we might wish to be the case, there is no other light and no better light, so we had better make the best of it. True human dignity and courage is found not in wailing for supernatural enlightenment but precisely in tackling life's tasks with what knowledge we have, testing it by living in its light, rejecting it and improving it by so doing. Precisely here is our responsibility as men and also our human dignity.

*—The Monthly Record*

### PURPOSE OF LIFE

Last month the British Brains Trust had to discuss that original problem, "What is the Purpose of life?" and, needless to add, found it quite insoluble. The Abbot of Downside was quite unintelligible on this subject, while the Asiatic Prince who formed part of the "Trust" as a good Buddhist claimed that it was all a question of successive "reincarnations" each designed to make you better and better until you dissolved into "nothingness." It was all very entertaining and very silly. Nobody dared to say that, in the ultimate, there was no purpose in life!

*(Continued from page I)*

for those who want them because they suffer from incurable, intolerable painful diseases such as cancer. Today, the religionists have enough influence to cause members, and others, to suffer for months or years, because of insane dogmas against euthanasia.

The Rationalist offers mental security, instead of the fear of hell, purgatory, devils and a jealous and vindictive God, an absolute dictator who has filled men's minds with desire and then threatens fiendish and even eternal torture for those who carry out those desires contrary to the dogmas of the priests and clergy who claim to be representatives of the supernatural dictator.

The Rationalist preaches a doctrine of tolerance, equality and freedom, freedom of speech, of press, of radio, of movies, much of which is now denied the people, all over the world.

Under Rationalism the clergy will not be given exemption from compulsory military duty and their organizations will pay taxes like all the rest of us, thus reducing the heavy load on those who pay.

Hereditary criminals, degenerates; those hereditary insanes, will be sterilized and prevented from multiplying, a procedure now prevented because of Church influence.

Men will be taught to rely on themselves, not to expect handouts from heaven.

When Rationalism prevails, the need for hypocrisy will be eliminated. Men will not have to pretend to believe religious doctrines and myths which common-sense teaches them to be stupid and false.

Instead of praying for rain in times of draught, scientists will be given a freer hand in finding how to produce it. Statesmen, free from the destructive influence of religion will learn how to prevent war, not await prayers for its successful conclusion, after it starts.

Rationalism will seek to improve the race by eugenics; it will not try to perpetuate the stupid, docile believer, as religion does. Rationalists do not want to live by begging, as the religionist leaders do; they are able and willing to earn their way and they want other men to do likewise. Parasites, human or insect, should be eliminated.

The collective intelligence of mankind should be known to all. No egotistical, insolent pope, priest or church leader should be able to tell his followers that he is infallible, or a representative of the Gods and better than other men. No church should support a dictator such as Franco, or Peron of Argentina; Rationalism does not approve of dictators.

Rationalism seeks to promote the peace, prosperity, health and happiness of mankind, and without asking for political influence, power or the right to exploit fellow men.

*—The Liberal*

# The Great Path Finder of Modern India

By V. Yogeswara Rao, M.A.

**M**OOL SHANKAR was born in 1824 A.D. the son of Amha Shankar who was a devout and orthodox worshipper of Shiva. Anxious that his son should follow the rigours of orthodox Hinduism, Amha Shankar initiated Mool Shankar into the study of Yajurveda and made him learn by rote some mantras and slokas. When he was barely 14, Mool Shankar knew by heart Yajurveda and some parts of other vedas.

While the younger scrupulously followed the routine pattern of orthodox religious existence set for him by his father, an event took place in his boyhood which turned to be a crucial point in his career. On a Shiv-rathri, Mool Shankar followed his father to a Shiva Temple where the devotees assembled to keep a vigil for the whole night, which began enthusiastically enough to thrill Mool Shankar. But as the night advanced, drowsiness overcame the devotees including his father, who began to fall asleep one by one. The priests followed suit. But Mool Shankar was bent upon keeping himself awake. While profound silence reigned the temple, a mouse creeping out of its hole began nibbling at the good food offered to the idol

(Contd. from page 10)

fanaticism. To cite an example in my own state, the Madras College Tamil Committee has appointed six committees for selection of text books in history, politics, economics, geography, psychology and European philosophy. These 'professors' will soon "translate" and "prepare" the new text books so that they could be used in the B.A. degree course in the Government Arts College at Coimbatore from the academic year 1960-61. Oh, God, what morons in academic robes, we will be producing in our University which has produced a Raman and a Chandrasekhar! It is tragic that this Coimbatore experiment on student guinea pigs is to be tried by our scientific-minded Government, even though the Osmania University experiment was a colossal failure. It is little tragic-comic, therefore that the Andhra Government has appointed an officer to 'study' the working of the adoption of Tamil as the official language of the State. This special officer will also study the result of the "Godavari experiment." At this rate, the whole country will become one vast National laboratory conducting 'experiments' on students. Which shows that India is catching up with the scientific West indeed! Mr. Nehru had said that English is "our major window on the modern world." Indeed, the "translations" of our 'professors' on a regional scale and supplemented by the 'translations' of Dr. Raghu Vira and Seth Govind Das will constitute the 'major window on the Modern world.' The vision will necessarily be circumscribed by the narrow linguistic view of our Hindi fanatics and their regional counter-

parts of Shiva. Mool Shankar was roused to indignation at this humiliating sight of a mortal mouse taking liberties with the immortal deity and posed a significant question: "Can this image be the all-powerful God?" From this simple skeptical interrogation his mind was led to more and more theological subtleties bringing forth the virulent and uncompromising iconoclast in him.

Another significant but tragic event in his boyhood was the death of his sister and uncle who passed away suddenly. Mool Shankar after witnessing the death of his sister and his uncle, was obsessed with the idea of seeking escape from death. He was informed that the practice of yoga under a complete teacher will solve this tangled problem. The pleasures of life to which human beings cling doggedly in spite of hundred disillusionment had lost all charm for him. This led him to become a disciple of Lal Bhagat who named him "Swudwda Chaitanya."

The simplicity of life, embodied in the verse of Emerson: "The Hero is not fed sweets, Daily his own Heart, he Eats," seems to have impressed Swudwda Chaitanya. He led his life very simply and was anxious to enter Sanyasa ashrama. Swami Paramanand named him as Dayanand Saraswathi. His astute differentiation between Rishikreta granthas of pre-Mahabharata days and the post-Mahabharata Sanskrit literature, enabled him to condemn idol-worship, caste-system and other insidious superstitions which crept into Hinduism. His association with Virajanand led him to a fever pitch of the knowledge of Vedas. His Dakshina to his guru was of a very great value to Hinduism which awakened the sleeping Hindus from their false notions.

His lectures condemning idol-worship attracted many and Dayanand fearlessly aimed at clearing the path for the Hindus to lead a rational life of devotion to

**JUST OUT!**

**ENGLISH**

or

**LINGUISTIC CHAOS**

(Our Language Problem in Perspective)

By

**A. RANGANATHAN**

Published by:

**The Libertarian Social Institute,**

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Sandhurst Road (West),

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one and only God and service to man, ridding them of the superfluities of religious rites and ceremonial orthodoxy.

The failure at Kumbh fair was of signal importance to Dayanand who realised the enormity of the task before him viz. denouncing un-Vedic practices and unfolding the beauties of Vedic truths. His success at Anupashahar awakened the sleeping minds of his critics.

His campaign at Banaras helped to eradicate the malpractices which were eating into the vitals of Hindu society. With clear-sighted vision of truth and courage of determination, he preached and worked for our self-respect and his was a vigorous mind that could strive for a harmonious adjustment with the progressive spirit of the modern age.

Ignorance of English was one of the handicaps for Dayanand. Had he known it he would have enlightened Western thought with Vedic truths as was pointed out by a great Bengali reformer Babu Kesrub.

Dayanand was born with a mission. If anybody really loved democracy it was Swamiji. He treated alike a Raja or a Vikshuk. Thus he proved himself as a model of selflessness.

One criticism that was laid against him viz. that he was guilty of ingratitude to his parents, can be better answered by pointing out that if it was a sin at all, none could have atoned for it better than Swami Dayanand. His noble expiation is a matter of history.

As saint and a scholar, a socio-religious reformer and an educationist, he found India ashamed of herself, suffering from an inferiority feeling. He restored to her, her pristine glory: he gave her a vision of a glorious future.

To him "reform was revival and revival was reform." He seized justly on the Vedas as the Indian rock of ages, and had the daring conception to build on what his penetrating glance perceived as a whole nationhood. Dayanand understood that India has been weakened by worshipping many Gods which was an un-Vedic practice and realised that unity is necessary for India's advancement. "Worship one God-bow before ideals and not idols" he exhorted his follower.

Dayanand as an educationist did not achieve much. His programmes for pathshalas, and the education of boys and girls can be found in his masterly work "Satyārtha Prakash." He was an exponent of compulsory education of children by the state. He made them understand that knowledge is the birth-right of every human being and should not be denied to any one on account of colour or caste. Moral and religious training therefore, should form the basis of education. Though one may not accept his views on co-education, which he opposed, his programme for educational reform was on the whole sound.

Dayanand as a saviour of Hinduism to the Hindu nation that idol-worship, child marriage, the caste-system based on birth, untouchability and other pernicious customs of this type which were eating into the vitals of Hindu society had no sanction behind them. He established the supremacy of the Vedas

against the onslaughts of Muslims, Christians, secular scientists, evolutionists and polytheists. He founded the Arya Samaj in 1877 before which he laid down ten basic principles which, while upholding the true content and spirit of the Vedas, aimed at eliminating the superstructure and non-essentials of Hinduism.

Dayanand, the maker of modern India, who vehemently opposed foreign rule believed that independence cannot be got by begging. Democratic principles should be sown first in the minds of the younger generation before independence was to be achieved. He had the foresight to see that caste is the greatest curse of India. Sanyasi Dayanand gave freedom to the soul of the Hindus as Luther did unto the Catholic Europeans. He was an ardent advocate of Swadeshi, which sometimes he pushed to the extreme as for instance his advocacy of Hindi as the national language, which view will not find favour with modern progressive Indians.

Dayanand was not only a social and religious reformer, a scholar and educationist and a great patriot, but he was much more. He was a harbinger of truth and love, a benefactor of mankind and essentially a world teacher. Dayanand is no longer the founder of a religious sect but a pioneer of social progress, a true nation-builder. Hindus will do well to follow his teachings and emulate his life which was graced by a sense of patriotism and selflessness.

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# Our Irresponsible Prime Minister

(From Our Correspondent)

**L**ACK of the sense of responsibility (which Prime Minister Nehru almost admitted in acknowledging his mistake in not informing Parliament when the Chinese occupied nearly 5,000 square miles of our territory in Ladakh) is underlined by the departure from the country of the Prime Minister as well as the Defence Minister as if their presence outside the country would serve her interests better at a time when she has almost been on the verge of war with China. Or it may well be that war has been ruled out altogether whatever happens—and they would be better away if and when the worst happens. It must have been ruled out as, according to the Prime Minister himself, even cold war between India and China is out of the question, to say nothing of the “blackguardly language” of cold war. All that remains now is for Indians to begin shouting “Hindi-Cheenee Bhai-Bhai” again, until such time as the Chinese choose to take another “big leap forward.” After all, if even cold war must be avoided at all costs, including its “blackguardly language”—to use Mr. Nehru’s phrase again—something positive is necessary to reassure the public that, when all is said, the Chinese have not done us much harm. What is 5,000 square miles compared to the size of our great country? A mere drop in the ocean, as it were! So it would be absolutely childish to lose your temper over it, and for the Prime Minister to cancel his tours abroad, where he may at least have a pleasant breakfast every morning without a bunch of unpleasant telegrams from the border awaiting perusal.

## SILLY SPEECHES

The parliamentary session just over will go down in his story for some amazing performances by the Prime Minister. His mastery in speaking the English language is by no means impressive—not half so impressive as his pronunciation—yet he speaks extempore even on vitally important matters—such as those dealt with in the last session—and refuses to have a written speech to help him make important pronouncement in unexceptionable language. The Press Trust of India has sometimes come to his aid to explain in brackets the references explicitly or even implicitly made by him! It is obvious from some of the statements made by him on the Chinese incursions that he would not have made them, had he put down his thoughts in writing and preferred to read out the written word, rather than trust his tongue or his presence of mind, which is often not there. All this amounts to a lack of sense of responsibility bordering on contempt for members of Parliament. The latter may be justified, for only a few of them deserve to be there, but then even for their presence there, Mr. Nehru has to take the responsibility more than any one else. One almost suspects that the choice of third rate men for our Parliament

is meant to enable our Prime Minister to shine as one-eyed among the blind. That purpose our Congress members of Parliament undoubtedly serve.

Mr. Nehru must be holding the record in silly speeches by Prime Ministers, but his speech in the Lok Sabha on September 12, 1959, surpassed his previous best in that category. There is no other word for it, if journalists are to be accepted as better judges than his loyal supporters.

Referring to Mr. Karni Singh’s suggestion regarding seeking help of others, Mr. Nehru said “those who said this seemed to be, in spite of their gallant language and behaviour, weak, timid, panicky and alarmist.” Where is gallantry in admitting that one is not strong enough to meet a certain opponent, which the suggestion to seek other’s help implies? Loss of “bits of Ladakh,” comprising 5,000 square miles of territory is, apparently, not enough justification for feeling panicky or alarmed, according to the Prime Minister. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh’s suggestion about bombing to clear the Chinese in the mountains belonging to India only showed to the Prime Minister that “he had lost his balance” because “such action would only be an exhibition of petulance, excitement and anger.” Mr. Nehru’s declaration, which followed soon after, that “we will never submit to force whatever happens” is devoid of all meaning, if repulsion of Chinese by force from areas which they have intruded into is ruled out. And that has been ruled out; the Army has been told to avoid a “show of force.” Mr. Nehru reminds one of the dame of Lord Byron who “saying I shall never consent, consented.”

## AERIAL MAPPING NOT FEASIBLE!

No wonder he deprecated people “talking loosely about being firm” because such loose talk took them “away from the main question.” Bombing or firmness apart, the Prime Minister was of opinion that even aerial mapping of the area (in Ladakh) was “not at all a feasible proposition” because “for the last 100 years the position has been challenged.” “It was something distinct from the other area,” said Mr. Nehru, “because it was a matter of argument as to what part of it belonged to India and what part did not: it was not at all a clear matter.” So wherever the matter is not clear or wherever an area is a matter of argument, the Chinese forces can come and occupy it with impunity. Of course Mr. Nehru will say that is not what he meant to convey. But should not the Prime Minister of a country say what he means and mean what he says.

Mr. Nehru believes in being beautifully vague about vital matters. Some member had asked whether the Chinese had built an airfield in Indian territory. Mr. Nehru, accordingly to the PTI report, “said there was no such thing. There was only one airfield in eastern

Ladakh—Chushul. About four or five years ago he went there—it was an exciting trip to the border of Tibet—but there was no Chinese airfield.” There was no Chinese airfield four or five years ago. But the member’s inquiry related to the present, not the past. Or can it be that the Indian airfield in eastern Ladakh is under Chinese occupation, inside the “bits of territory” occupied by the Chinese in Eastern Ladakh? And the Prime Minister is rightly refusing to call it Chinese?

Also, regarding reports of China jamming our news broadcasts by strongly beaming its propaganda on the Himalayan states through frequencies used by Akashvani, Mr. Nehru told a Press Conference on September 11: “There might have been. I have no precise information. I am told by Mr. Ramdhvani (Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, who ran up to him at the time) that he has no authentic information about it. In fact he is *inclined to think* there is no jamming. There might be sometimes, *nobody can say.*”

### DEFENDING CHINA

In Parliament on September 12 Mr. Nehru almost seemed more keen on defending China than answering the critics of China in Parliament. Regarding the Bombay demonstrations, he said:

I am sorry, I was much disturbed by that particular incident in Bombay, because whatever may happen, a head of a state is supposed to be above criticism and it rouses tremendous passions to hit a head of State. The Bombay incident made a tremendous difference suddenly to change the atmosphere of China against us. It was utilised by our enemies.

Surely the Chinese cannot go on occupying bits of Indian territory running into thousands of square miles without rousing passions in India. Mr. Nehru certainly knows that the Chinese were building a road across Indian Ladakh years before the Bombay demonstrations took place:—the Chinese aggression therefore could not have been due to the Bombay demonstrations. He also knew for certain, though the public in India did not, that the refuge India gave to the Dalai Lama and his supporters, was given years after the construction by the Chinese of a long road right through Indian territory, so that that refuge could not be held responsible for the change in the Chinese attitude, as he suggested recently. Surely, India is a free country and Indians are free to give expression to their patriotic feelings in any legal manner they like, without fear of favour, even though that manner does not suit Mr. Nehru’s personality-cult politics.

If Mr. Nehru’s advice is followed by Indians of all political persuasions, India, it is felt here, will soon be a state afraid of and subservient to China. Firmness is not born of fear, though forbearance may well be, and to show fear in moments of crisis is an unpardonable political error. How could publicity regarding occupation of bits of Ladakh by the Chinese (it is being asked) have “worsened the situation” so far as India was concerned? Lack of publicity regarding it only showed the Chinese what and how much we are prepared to swallow. A bully always wants to know

that. Forbearance is a virtue within limits. Cross those limits and it is a synonym for weakness, timidity and cowardice, and these are exactly what we have been giving proof of. Even a fool knows that flattery is born of fear.

### DALAI LAMA’S STATEMENT

Meanwhile the Dalai Lama’s statement that the MacMahon Line was recognised by Tibet and not by China, and that the very fact that Tibet was a party to the Simla Convention which approved the MacMahon Line shows that Tibet was an independent country, holds the field and has won approval all round amongst intelligent newspaper readers. For, what was the value of Tibet’s signature on that document if Tibet was not an independent country? By conceding the Chinese claim that Tibet was not independent, Mr. Nehru gives the case away for the MacMahon Line. Truman warned Mr. Nehru when he went to the USA during his presidency against letting Tibet pass under the domination of China, but he refused to listen to him, although he promised full military support to back him against China. That again leads us to Mr. Nehru’s inability to anticipate what should have been staring him in the face, and the cause thereof is not stupidity. It is selfishness, for world leadership recedes in the distance with 600 million Chinese or their representatives telling Mr. Nehru publicly that he is a “running dog” of American imperialism.

### FORBEARANCE AND SILENCE

Mr. Nehru is reported to have told a Congress Parliamentary Party meeting that China is not likely to make major incursions into Indian territory as that would lead to world war. (This has gone uncontradicted and surely it is cold war language, according to all standards. Apart from the definition he might have in his mind of major incursions, surely no country is likely to invade India to help India repel a Chinese attack. That help can only come if it is asked for, and such a request from India Mr. Nehru clearly had in mind when he referred to the probability of world war. That means our policy of non-alignment will be pursued until the country is in imminent danger. That means also that external aid will be sought only when much more harm has been done. That implies the belief that external aid will be effective as soon as it is sought and arrives in a matter of moments. Surely this is a puerile proposition and implies that the safety of the country is a matter of taking chances and the policy of the present Government is not that of “Safety First.”

In Mr. Nehru’s own words his policy is one of firmness coupled with forbearance. Of firmness we have seen precious little so far. Of forbearance we have seen a lot—5,000 square miles of territory is not exactly a mile here or a mile there, as Mr. Nehru has been putting it. To talk of forbearance when such major incursions take place is to reveal weakness of the worst sort, an attribute which he has been ascribing to his advisers and critics in Parliament. It was his forbearance and silence, it is being pointed out here again and again, in respect of “bits of territory” in Ladakh that made the Chinese go farther and occupy Longju. That is as plain as plain can be.

# A Sample of Communist Logic

By J. K. Dhairyawan

—:0:—

**R**ECENT events both in the country and outside across the borders have made the position of the Indian communists very pitiable and difficult. "Comrade" Gopalan has taken suddenly ill and gone to their Mecca, Moscow, for "medical" treatment but the real reason is for getting the "correct" line of action for the Indian "comrades." In the meanwhile the "faithful" flock of communist sheep and goats have to be content with what the local "leaders" could advise them on their behaviour pending the bringing of the "fatwa" from the communist Mecca. So "comrade" S. A. Dange, M.P. called a public meeting in Bombay the other day where the "faithfuls" were harangued for over an hour. The subject on which Dange was advertised to speak was "Indian Political Situation," a convenient heading for the talks which could attract the fellow-travellers as well the lay public.

And what did Dange say on the public situation in the country? It was a tortuous and longwinded speech, the sum and substance was that what has happened across the Indian borders and the acts of Red China were very trivial matters, and there was no need for the Indian people to raise such a ballyhoo about strips of territory, here and there. And what is more, to give weight to his communist logic he stated that even the "great" Prime Minister Nehru had also advised the Indian people accordingly. So there should be an end to the "war psychosis" which the "reactionary" elements in the country were encouraging.

## A LABOURED ATTEMPT

Though Dange tried his best to give a bold front to his speech, one could see that it was a laboured process, beyond even the mercurial communist that he is. Through his speech one could read that he knows that the communists are losing their hold in the country, and he was quite clear in his mind about the confusion that the recent events have caused in the ranks of the communist "faithfuls." His speech was a fine effort to stand on two stools—to appear to be a very patriotic and loyal Indian and also to appear as an able advocate of communist China and her aggression, and as defender of the communist faith.

In doing so, one could clearly see where his loyalties lay. His loyalties were on the side of communist China in her aggression and his loyalty towards India was not only thinly veiled, but suspect. In defending the action of Chinese aggression he went to the length of saying that China being a neighbour of India, and being communist, there cannot be any any aggression on her part! There were minor misunderstandings of small strips of territory which could be well settled across a round table. And what is more, he cited that both Chou en-lai and Nehru have already agreed on

that point. Since there was the agreement on both sides where was the need and necessity of creating this "war-psychosis" that the PSP to the Jan Sangh had been encouraging?

Dange hit hard, and very hard, at all the patriotic elements in the country that had called for strong measures against China and also asked for throwing the Chinese aggressors across the border. In his eyes these patriotic elements were coming in the way of Indo-Chinese friendship which was of more importance that a few miles of territory, here or there.

## A BRAVE BUT FALSE SHOW

Raising his voice he stoutly challenged the critics who doubted the loyalty of the Indian communists to the country. He said that in case of any aggression by any power against India, the communists would shoulder arms and rush to the defence of the nation. But in the very next breath, he did not fail to mention that China being a neighbour of India and being also a communist there cannot be any aggression! Yes, "comrade" Dange, the Indian patriots are really stupid. When the Chinese soldiers march against any country, including India, they are the "liberators" whom as faithful communists Dange and his followers would rush forward to weldome. Did not China "liberate" the masses of Tibetans from serfdom and feudalism quite recently? Yes, "comrade" Dange, BUT what you communists call "liberation" the democratic and the non-communist world understand as aggression, pure and simple and nothing less and nothing more.

## NO CHANCE FOR STAGING A KERALA

That "comrade" Dange was worried, not quite sure, when he came to the question of the formation of Sanyukta Maharashtra. To begin with, he doubted the truth of the many of the reports that have appeared in the newspapers about it. He seemed to be lukewarm over the forthcoming formation of an unilingual State of Maharashtra. One could read from the speech that followed from him what was worrying him. With the fate that had overtaken Kerala and the communist regime there, Dange was doubtful whether the communist could ever succeed in repeating their tactics in Maharashtra that they had used in Kerala.

In the end, Dange wound up his labourous defence of the action of China on the key of Prime Minister Nehru who had asked the country NOT to worry over the border "incidents" as Nehru was confident that China would not invade India. Dange might console himself with the assurance of the Prime Minister BUT NOT SO the Indian public except the communists. Nehru has been proved TO BE WRONG over many of his wishful thinkings and assurances.

Nehru had given a certificate of character to the Russian murderer Stalin as a "great gentleman and a great leader," Nehru had also given a certificate of character to Chou en-lai when he was here in India as also "a great gentleman," Nehru had also certified Sheikh Abdullah to be a patriotic Indian who is now on trial for conspiracy against India. Today Nehru had to say that the acts on the part of China are "clear cases of aggression" and he had to say that China and India "do not speak quite the same language." Stalin, who was according to Nehru a great gentleman and a great leader had been debunked by no other person than Khrushchev, who had publicly shown the clay feet of the idol of Nehru.

To the patriotic Indian public, Nehru's logic, which is nearer the communist, does NOT now appeal. Public opinion in the country demands that stern action is called for against communist China. The latest developments in the neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and the Chinese broadcasts to these countries leave no doubts about the objectives of Peking. It is to create a Himalayan State of these three countries subservient to China and thus bring the communist borders right to the frontiers of India. If Nehru is still living in the ivory castle of his youth, when communism was a great attraction to young intellectuals, he is sadly mistaken that the Chinese "incidents" could be negotiated over through the "good offices" of Moscow. The recent fulminations of Khrushchev in USA give further proof that the communist and democratic approaches to any political issue are divergently opposite—they are like poles apart. To use the latest statement of Khrushchev to the American Labour leaders, whom he met in closed doors. Khrushchev concluded the meeting by saying:—"Our points of view are irreconcilable." He had thus set the seal that no talks between a communist leader and a democratic leader can achieve anything. And if despite this statement of Khrushchev, Nehru still imagines to solve the Indo-Chinese dispute, he is crying for the moon.

### ANNOUNCEMENT

"THE INDIAN RATIONALIST" is incorporated with the "INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" with effect from 1st September, 1959. Subscribers of "THE INDIAN RATIONALIST" will get "INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" along with Rationalist Supplement once a month by paying Rs. 4/- per annum. They can however get "THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" twice a month by paying Rs. 6/- per annum.

## Book Reviews

**COOPERATIVE FARMING: *The Great Debate***  
Published by The Democratic Research Service,  
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 7. Price Rs. 3.

This is a very timely and useful publication by the Democratic Research Service of Bombay. It contains extracts from the speeches of the Prime Minister in Parliament and elsewhere together with Mr. Masani's replies to his arguments in favour of cooperative farming. There are also a few reproductions of important articles that have appeared in the Press.

Mr. Masani has exposed effectively the double talk of the sponsors of (the so-called) cooperative joint farming. He has made out his case that the Indian plan as sponsored by Nehru and as adumbrated by the Nagpur Land Reform Resolution is a replica of the Soviet-Chinese pattern that leads inevitably to collective farming. The explanations offered by the defenders of the scheme that private property is not abolished inasmuch as the land contribution of the individual farmer is recorded in the books, for which a dividend is paid in addition to the wages for labour, is effectively debunked.

The next result will be *collective farming* in which the farmer will lose all control over his land for effective operation and will be reduced to the position of a wage labourer or proletarian. This is indeed the intention of the communist programme.

The ideal approved by Mr. Masani for agriculture is that of *peasant proprietor* operating on his own lands with the help of his family and hired labour.

It is pointed out that incentives for rapid improvement can be fully preserved only by retaining private property in land and helping the farmer to obtain facilities like water, seeds, fertilisers, implements, credit and cooperative assistance in purchase and sale.

The organisation of cooperative farming will entail heavy costs for supervision and management and will raise the cost of production of farm produce.

The motive of communist governments in universalising cooperative farming is to obtain possession of the harvest from the individual which facilitates their *total* planning of the economy. This is also the motive for their monopolisation of the food grains trade at fixed prices.

A clear distinction is made between service cooperatives which help the farmer to obtain higher benefits from his private holding by securing to him the advantages of large-scale operation in obtaining supplies, credit and in marketing his produce.

Cooperation in this sense is part of agricultural progress but cooperation in the sense of *cooperative farming* will spell the death of democracy by depriving the farmer of the right of operating his lands in his own way.

M. A. Venkata Rao

**ENGLISH OR LINGUISTIC CHAOS:** by A. Rangai-nathan, (Libertarian Social Institute, Arya, Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, (West), Bombay 4. Price 25 nP.)

This booklet puts our language problem in perspective. The author studies it from various angles; he examines with care all the arguments for enthroning Hindi as our official and national language and he has no difficulty in refusing them. He has taken immense pains to get all the facts. And he is on firm ground in declaring that English meets all our requirements. He concludes, "The proper functioning of our Universities, the smooth working of our administration and the national unity... are interlinked with this problem. The future of modern democratic India depends on the choice we make between Hindi and English. Hindi sentiment would take us into a mediaeval backwater; all-round progress in the modern world can be sustained only if we continue to use and spread English".

—"G" in "The Hindu"

## NEWS DIGEST

### FISCAL REFORMS IN INDONESIA BID TO CURB INFLATION

Jakarta: President Sukarno announced three drastic monetary and trade regulations designed to overcome increasing inflation and find fresh national capital for development projects.

The regulations, broadcast to the nation, are:

1. The value of all currency notes of 500 and 1,000-rupiah denominations will be reduced by 90 per cent.

2. Ninety per cent of all deposits in banks exceeding 25,000 rupiahs will be frozen and the sum treated as subscription to Government debentures valued at 2,000 million rupiahs.

3. The export certificate system which was introduced on July 20, 1957, and which has been much criticised by businessmen all over the country, will be abolished immediately and a new rate of exchange will be fixed later.

### THE FIRST WORLD CONGRESS OF MONGOLIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

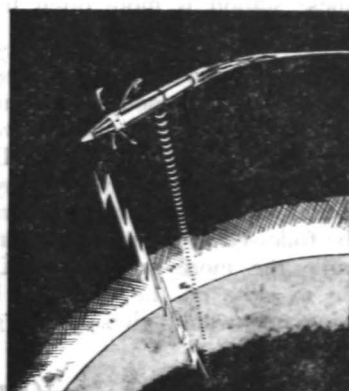
The First World Congress of Scholars of Mongolian Language and Literature was held in Ulanbatar the capital city of the Mongolian People's Republic. Delegates were invited from all over the world from Japan in the Far East to Canada in the extreme West. India was represented by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira, who is the founder of Mongolian studies in India. Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira's plan of publishing Mongolian literature has been received with great enthusiasm by the Congress. Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira made a presentation of his monumental Mongol Sanskrit Dictionary to the Congress. It is a pioneer work and is to be followed by a Comparative Mongolian Grammar in Hindi.

### THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LAND VALUE TAXATION AND FREE TRADE

The International Conference on Land Value Taxation and Free Trade was held in Hanover, West Germany, at the end of July. This was a most successful venture attended by more than 100 members from 14 countries although unfortunately with the exception of Dr. David Ascher from Israel there were no representatives from any of the Asian countries.

## DID YOU KNOW

By Scio



Because of its poorly developed nervous system, scientists believe a fish probably experiences only discomfort to find food by its sense of smell rather than actual pain, when hooked or netted.

Libertarian Social Institute,  
Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4

The third U.S. earth satellite, Explorer III, gathers valuable cosmic ray data on a tiny tape recorder and regularly transmits it back to the ground each time it makes a trip around the earth.

## DALAI LAMA ON VALIDITY OF McMAHON LINE

The Dalai Lama speaking under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs claimed Tibet as a sovereign nation.

The Dalai Lama said that the McMahon Line as the Indo-Tibetan frontier was agreed upon at the Simla Convention of 1914 and "this Convention was valid and binding as between Tibet and the British Government. If Tibet did not enjoy international status at the time of the conclusion of the Convention, she had no authority to enter into such an agreement. Therefore, it is abundantly clear that, if you deny sovereign status to Tibet, you deny the validity of the Simla Convention, and, therefore, you deny the validity of the McMahon Line."

## CHINESE JAM INDIAN RADIO RECEPTION

Hamdi Bey, writing on Chinese jamming of Indian Radio reception in the *Hindustan Times* (Sept. 6), says:

"Throughout eastern India the medium wave band on radio sets is so dominated by Chinese Stations that it is difficult to listen without interference to any Indian station except the nearest. That is a problem which Akashvani will have to solve at an early date.

"The solution is in having more powerful stations, and probably more stations along our frontiers. Gauhati is too far away from Dibrugarh and Pasighat to be an effective station for the extreme east. Calcutta is too far south from Sikkim. Jaipur, Ajmer and Ahmedabad do not truly cover parts of Rajasthan and Kutch which find Pakistan easier to tune in.

"A newspaper report suggests that listeners at Kalimpong find the frequencies used by Akashvani and a powerful (and probably nearer) Chinese station so close that the Chinese station is more often listened to than the Indian.

"Even now Akashvani has not given the country a national station which is powerful enough to be audible over most of the country on the medium wave and over the entire country on the short wave. Delhi's short wave transmissions are subject to so many irritating interruptions that without a detailed programme the station cannot be followed in the more distant parts of the country, while the more powerful BBC and Radio Australia are so close on the dial that if the one is not persevering one would give up the search for Delhi and listen to them.

—Organiser

## HOW CO-OPERATIVES WORK IN CHINA

"We cannot even bury our dead," Lieu Po Shin a refugee from Communist China is reported to have said. "The party has ordered every one in our commune to participate in a fertilizer-collection campaign and bring in his monthly quota of ten pounds of human bones."

## HEAD LAMA WARNS NEHRU THAT CHINESE HAVE FIXED NOVEMBER AS DATE OF... ADVANCE ON LADAKH!

New Delhi: KUSHAK BAKULA, the Head Lama of Ladakh, who also holds charge of the Ladakh affairs in the Kashmir Government, has written a letter to PRIME MINISTER NEHRU intimating him that "the Chinese have tentatively fixed the tenth of Bodhi Alminai, approximately corresponding to November this year, as the time of their advance on Ladakh."

He has learnt this fact, Kushak Bakula says, from the Ladakhi students and traders who have recently returned from Tibet. These Ladakhis have further told their Head Lama that "the Chinese had made no secret of their intention to take possession of Ladakh in the very near future. In fact, they had impressed this fact on all Ladakhis in Tibet."

In view of this "unimpeachable intelligence," Kushak Bakula has urged Mr. Nehru "to make adequate defence arrangements against the aggressive tactics and intentions of the Chinese."

Kushak Bakula is also said to have termed Mr. Nehru's statement about the undefined nature of the Ladakh-Tibet frontier as "unfortunate, misleading and erroneous." In this connection he has referred to one of the provisions of the 1842 agreement between Mehta

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Basti Ram, Thanehdar (Governor) of Ladakh and Mr. Kalon Rizin, representative of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, which reads as follows: "The present boundary between Ladakh and Tibet is well understood by Tibetans and Ladakhis and should remain the same."

In accordance with this agreement the villages of Chumar, Dem Chok, Tskala, Chusal, Fort Khurnak near Pong Gong Lake, Sarigh Jiganang and Hajilungar, at present occupied by the Chinese, are clearly on our side of the Sino-Indian border.

—Current, Sept. 23

### I.D.A. AID TO INDIA FOR THWARTING CHINESE DESIGN

London, Sept. 23: India will be the first and the greatest beneficiary of the International Development Association, forecasts Paul Johnson in an article in the "Evening Standard."

India would get low-interest loans to buttress her Five-Year Plan progress against the alleged Chinese communist design to unbalance India's economy.

Johnson saw India's democratic system as having been significantly vindicated in Asia's eyes when Peking, a month ago, had to admit an unprecedented failure of the Chinese alternative.

Though its successes were still meagre, India's production figures had been verified by the U.N. and found correct. But India's progress was based on a vital assumption: that India would not have to defend itself.

India's per capita expenditure on defence is the world's smallest. In raising the military pressure on the Indian border, the Chinese had sought not to invade India, but "solely to force Prime Minister Nehru to carry out an agonising reappraisal of his defence spending and so make the new Five-Year Plan inoperable."

With the collapse of the economic democracy in India, the Chinese way would seem the best for Asia. This was the communist grand design. Fortunately, it was likely to be frustrated.

Peking's pressure on India had evoked a gathering response in the United States, whose association with Britain in support of the proposed International Development Agency, led the writer to predict that the proposal would go through without argument.

—NAFEN

### CO-OPERATION IN PRACTICE

Three co-operative sugar mills in the Punjab have shown huge losses and, in the upshot, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the three concerns has resigned.

The three co-operative mills which are situated at Rohtak, Panipat and Bhogpur—were started in 1956 with a capital of two and a half crores. The first three years running of the mills has shown a loss of 43 lakhs. The detection of this serious state of affairs in the mills has led to the removal of the General Manager of the Rohtak mill and the closure of the Rohtak mill is also under consideration.

The loss of Rs. 43 lakhs in 3 years is considered to be a record even for co-operative organization. And co-operative farming is going to cure us of all economic ills.

### RS. 4,000 A DAY ON PRIME MINISTER'S SECURITY!

The Madras Government had to incur an expenditure of Rs. 30,773.75 nP to provide security arrangements for Mr. Nehru during his one-week stay at Ootacamund earlier this year. This is what the Madras Finance Minister stated in reply to a member's question. To another question asked by the same member as to why so much expenditure was incurred, the Finance Minister said that it came only to Rs. 4,000 a day, as if that was nothing!

—Organiser

### INDIA IN THE DEEP SOUTH

The reluctance with which Mr. Nehru eventually decided to ask President Prasad to oust Kerala's communist ministry was wholly understandable. India is engaged in the world's largest experiment in democracy, and it is an unwelcome admission of the limitations of democracy when a state government duly constituted after free elections has to be dismissed and direct administration from Delhi imposed. Moreover, the communists themselves have several reasons to welcome the "introduction of president's rule in Kerala: it may enable them to appear as martyrs instead of as tyrants. Since they won power in India's southernmost state in the 1957 elections, their reputation has sharply declined. Mr. Namboodiripad and his colleagues have visibly failed to provide a marxist panacea for Kerala's poverty, and they have increasingly turned to beatings-up and volleys of rifle fire as a substitute for popular support. They would have faced a mass march on Trivandrum, the state capital, and a Hobson's choice between yielding to their angry opponents and mowing them down.

Now, while protesting their own innocence, they have been enabled to complain that their dismissal from office is discriminatory and unconstitutional. Communist leaders have also dropped heavy hints that the game of making life impossible for a state government can also be played where the Congress party is in power, specifically in West Bengal. The weak link in their argument is their rejection of the idea of going to the polls again at any early date. (Many observers, eyeing the divided and ill-led Kerala opposition, have judged that the communists stood a good chance of winning another election if it was held now; but the party leaders presumably think that their chances would be better after a short sojourn in the wilderness.) Mr. Nehru's unwillingness to award them a cheap martyr's crown was evidently overcome by the prospect of a complete breakdown in the deep south.

—The Economist

### THE LAST LAUGH

If a man runs after money, he's money-mad; if he keeps it, he's a capitalist; if he spends it he's a playboy; if he doesn't get it, he lacks ambition; if he gets it without working for it, he's a parasite; and if he accumulates it during a life-time of hard work, he is called a fool who never got anything out of life!

—Organiser

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