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EDITORIAL

HIT OUT OR GET OUT

The latest Chinese thrust into Tawang region of Kameng Frontier Division in NEFA must awaken the Indian Government to the unpalatable truth that China, our 'Bhai' country, is in no mood to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Border dispute by 'preliminary discussions' or by 'final negotiations', as so devoutly wished for, by Mr. Nehru. Mr. Nehru seems to have had some idea of this development beforehand. In a recent Press interview at London, he even hinted at a fresh Chinese aggression on Indian territory in the coming winter. This apprehension must have been engendered in him by the ominous silence maintained by the China Government over the Note dated August 22, 1962, sent to Peking from Delhi, affording another opportunity for both the parties to open exploratory discussions based on the internationally recognised McMahon boundary in this sector.

But the Chinese rulers have once again shattered and blasted the fond illusion of Mr. Nehru about them. They have replied to his latest Note in the only way the Communists know of. They have replied by setting in motion a fresh Chinese invasion of our territory in NEFA.

It is thus obvious that China, true to the spirit of international communist brigandage, is

no longer content with only occupying 'the barren and unadministered territory' in Ladakh, as Mr. Krishna Menon so ingeniously put it, in defence of his masterly inactivity in that area as Defence Minister. She now wants to push forward right beyond the McMahon Line into our 'administered territory' of NEFA. The Chinese troops have appeared in sufficient strength of about 1,200 in this sector, so as to over-power our Assam Riflemen about 50 strong, stationed at the check-post near Thag La Ridge. The easy accessibility and dangerous vulnerability of this pass could be at once seen from the fact that the Dalai Lama also escaped from Tibet into India through this North Eastern Gateway of our country.

It cannot be denied that the Chinese have been emboldened in this military venture by the timid and pusillanimous policies followed from time to time, by the India Government and its Ministers. With Mr. Nehru publicly declaring his determination to pursue 'non-alignment' policy at any cost and under all circumstances, whatever might happen to the country, and Mr. Krishna Menon, ever ready to play down the Chinese aggression on our Northern Borders, it would indeed be surprising if the Communist Chinese leaders were not led to believe honestly

that India had not "the will to fight". China and was not prepared even to involve herself in a skirmish with her. The Chinese rulers, therefore, intend closing in round our Northern Borders at all points from Ladakh to Nepal. They must be thinking that the time is now propitious for them to thrust forward deeper and deeper into Indian territory and accelerate the process of bringing India within the Communist orbit and fulfil the prophesy of Lenin, Stalin and other world Communist leaders that next to Russia and China, the other big Asian country that would inevitably fall a victim to communism, would be India.

In this situation what are our rulers and our leaders doing? They are still content to keep India loftily isolated from our neighbouring 'non-allied' countries and also from the 'Free Alliance' of the leading Western, European Nations. They are pre-occupied with word-building instead of building up our military defences against Chinese invasion. Mr. Krishna Menon, our Defence Minister, still says that the Chinese threat is 'not serious' and goes on his merry round of Continental tours to pursue, with missionary zeal, his holy work of alienating India from the Western Democratic Bloc. Mr. Nehru, our Prime Minister, though apparently alive to the danger, nevertheless, sticks to his old guns, viz., 'Panchashila' and 'non-alignment' and if at all, plumps for the new ones only of the Russian origin: MIGs — 21, in a naive spirit of 'Com-raderie' with Russia. He obstinately refuses to

learn the lesson from China's success in bringing down Formosa's U-2 Spy Plane with the latest military devices supplied to her by Russia. Therefore, it is the bounden duty of the Indian people to bestir themselves betimes, to ward off this Chinese menace to India's very existence as a free nation. All opposition parties and such of the Congressmen who are not yet lost to patriotism, must forge a United Front to bring pressure to bear on the Government to take effective steps to throw out the Chinese from Nepal at all costs and by all means and methods, peaceful or military. The first step in this direction would be to break off all diplomatic relations with China. Composing of differences with our other neighbouring nations through direct negotiations or through the good offices of leading democratic countries of the West, would be the next step. And the final step would be to enter into military pact, if need be, with the powerful world Democratic Bloc for the limited purpose of hurling back the Chinese hordes from our Northern Frontiers. In the meantime, it will be the duty of the Government and the people to marshal and mobilise all our military and economic resources in the defence of our mother-land.

Thus alone shall we be able to call this Chinese bluff in Ladakh and NEFA and at the same time expose the anti-national, pro-Communist elements in the Government as also in our body-politic. This is no time for hesitation or equivocation. The people should press for a dynamic approach from the Government to this stern reality. The Government must be left in no doubt about the hardening public opinion on this issue. They must be clearly told that either they should hit out at the Chinese Thugs and Marauders knocking at our Northern Gates or get out of office and power. The country's freedom and security are any day more precious to the people than the sweet will, pleasure and idiosyncrosies of a Nehru or a Menon.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND E.E.C.

The final communique issued with the unanimous approval of all the Commonwealth Ministers from the Marlborough House in London breathes throughout, a commendable spirit of mutual toleration and accommodation. This Prime Ministers' meet was specially intended for discussing economic problems arising from the proposed accession of Great Britain to European Economic Community. On behalf of England, it was urged at the Conference, not without some force, that British Trade with E.E.C. was steadily increasing, while her trade with Commonwealth Countries was progressively declining in the past few years and any more isolation of Britain from the Common Market countries would tend to leave British economy 'near stagnant', and prejudice her future place in the coun-

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sels of Europe and the World. The communique seems to realise that under the circumstances Britain's joining the Common Market is inevitable and cannot be long delayed.

But the conference has also taken a due note of the fears expressed by the Member-Nations about the possible consequences of Britain's joining the Common Market on their trade with Britain. It has therefore enjoined upon Britain's negotiators the onerous duty of pressing for the best possible terms of trade for these countries, from the Common Market. But, as observed by Mr. Spaak, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, by inflating their demands, the Commonwealth countries should not give the E.E.C. the impression that 'it is the E.E.C. which is seeking admission into the Commonwealth'.

The Commonwealth Members, on their own part, will do well to rely more on their own initiative than that of Britain, preoccupied with her own problems, for wresting more favourable trade terms from the ever-expanding Common Market which surprisingly enough is reported to have surpassed U.S.A. in productivity, during the few past years. India, Ceylon and Pakistan should particularly bear in mind that Duty-free entry of Indian Tea was allowed by the Common Market more under the direct pressure brought to bear on it by India than by Britain.

OUT-DATED ASIANISM :

The outrageous and scandalous anti-Indian demonstrations staged by Indonesians with the fullest connivance and even support of the Ministers and Government officials during the Festival of Asian Games held at Jakarta, did little credit to the sense of hospitality and propriety towards the guests on the part of Indonesia, the host nation. The reason given for this anti-Indian fury was that one Mr. Sondhi, an Indian national, who happens to be a prominent member of the Parent Body sponsoring these games, strongly objected to Indonesia's attempt to exclude players from Formosa and Israel — both anti-communist countries—from participating in these games, solely on political grounds. Indonesian Government circles did not like this independent but sportsmanlike spirit of Mr. Sondhi. So 'Guided Democracy' seems to have turned into 'Communist Mobocracy' at the time of these Asian Games and instigated the mobs, right in the communist style, to jeer at Indian players, to shout down the playing of our National Anthem, to raid Indian Embassy Office, damage its property and even insult the Indian National Flag. They were let loose on Mr. Sondhi, the main target of the Government's anger, who had to flee the country for his very life.

And how did our Government react to all these insults hurled at India? The first thing

that they did was to go out of their way in declaring the obvious that Mr. Sondhi's views were his own and not those of India Government. If the Government had any guts, they should have expressed their complete accord with Mr. Sondhi's view that politics should not be imported into sports and should have openly denounced Indonesian Government's interference with sports and its despicable ways of encouraging vandalism among its subjects against Mr. Sondhi and the Indian embassy.

Our Government will, it is to be hoped, at least now realise that other nations, even if they be Asians, respect only those who respect themselves. Another lesson to be learnt is that Bandung Asianism is an unmitigated fraud and mirage and Mr. Nehru should henceforth stop running after it, at least after the bitter experience, of 'Bhai-Bhaism' with China, Pakistan and now with Indonesia. Geographical vicinity cannot be a substitute for cultural, spiritual and ideological affinity which is the real bed-rock of international understanding and sympathy. In fact, Asianism, so called, in the case of some countries particularly under the influence of communist totalitarianism, may be only another name for Asian backwardness and vulgarity, as was witnessed at Jakarta. At any rate, Asianism or any parochial regionalism or continentalism is out-dated in this present Atomic Age which calls for a broad spirit of Humanism and Universalism.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'It would seem as if the rulers of our time sought only to use men to make things great; I wish that they would try a little more to make great men; that they should set less value on the work and more on the workman; that they would never forget that a nation cannot long remain strong when every man belonging to it is individually weak; that no form or combination of social policy has yet been devised to make an energetic people out of a community of pusillanimous and enfeebled citizens.'

— Alexis de Tocqueville (Democracy in America)

'The impulse to liberty is an individual impulse — not the property of any social category. What hope there is for a free life lies with free individuals — with those who, realising that Anarchism is a force for liberation which individuals carry within themselves make the kind of insurrection of which Stirner spoke. For me the real division lies not between the mass and its rulers but between those who believe in Liberty and those who believe in Authority, between the Anarchists and the Archists.'

— S. E. Parker in 'Freedom' (London).

A Defence Pact With The West

M. A. Venkata Rao

IT is crystal clear (and indeed agonisingly clear) to everyone but Mr. Nehru and his blind supporters that India's foreign policy has failed egregiously.

It was bound to fail considering its astonishingly unrealistic and sentimental patter about *panchsheela*. Even a tyro should have known that Indian historical tradition from the days of the code of Manu and Kautalya's *Arthashastra* has been indicated by the theory of alliances and balance of power known as *mandalas*. Both Manu and Kautalya lay down the psychological rule that the ruler of a kingdom should watch his neighbours and regard them as potentially hostile. To protect his realm, he should enter into friendly alliances and mutual defence pacts with States beyond his immediate neighbours. There is more wisdom in this principle and procedure than in the high-sounding Gandhian or Buddhist precepts of unilateral disarmament and persistent appeasement in spite of the most flagrant misuse of concessions by enemies to the detriment of national interests.

The latest move of Mr. Nehru is to angle for "negotiations" with China. It has already received a cold douche for response, as was to be expected.

Given the nature of the Chinese political tradition and of the ambitions of international communism, it is infantile to expect any cessation of aggressive policies by the Chinese. This is plain as a pike-staff to all except to Mr. Nehru and his Congress supporters who cling to the unintelligent and unpatriotic precept that "Nehru can do no wrong."

Since *panchsheela* has failed to defer aggression on the part of the Chinese so clearly, national interests demand peremptorily its unceremonious abrogation and the initiation of the more realistic and wiser principle of *mandala* or system of alliances.

At the outset, thinkers should give due consideration to the half-baked theories enunciated from time to time by the Prime Minister in defence of his extraordinary policies of non-defence of the country at any cost.

One of his frequently stated theories is to the effect that a military pact as such is inherently dangerous! He has stated times without number that a military alliance will necessarily attract the hostility of the State against whom it is directed and that it is a creator of needless tension. For instance, according to our Prime Minister, the Western alliance known as

the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) is the culprit in causing the present high tension between East and West, between the Russian bloc and the free West. This obviously puts the cart before the horse. The tension of the continued military mobilisation of Russia even after the war and after the rapid demobilisation of the USA, Britain, France and other allies is the over-mastering factor that forced them to re-arm themselves reluctantly.

The forcible way in which Russia engineered the subversion of Czechoslovakia by a combination of fraud and military intimidation in 1948 opened the eyes of the demobilised Western Powers. There was nothing to stop Russian divisions maintained at war dimensions to push to the Channel coast and occupy the whole of Western Europe.

After the Chinese communisation in 1949, Stalin showed his cynical determination to use force to achieve communist expansion in engineering the invasion of South Korea by the puppet regime of North Korea. The way in which the new Chinese communist regime of Mao Tse Tung sent immense hordes of soldiers (calling them volunteers!) revealed to all except the indoctrinated supporters of international communism and fellow-travellers that communist imperialism was out to realise its goal of world conquest using the old well-established means of "blood and iron" to support cold war techniques of peaceful penetration and conspiracy.

Sheer self-defence obliged the West to re-arm and establish treaties of alliance like the NATO. The SEATO and CENTO in Asia have not prospered to a comparable extent on account of the anti-West suspicions of newly enfranchised peoples like the Arabs and like India and Burma who cherish fragile illusions of neutrality.

It ought to be clear to all who realise the gravity of the situation stemming from the aims and preparations of Russia and her satellites that the only deterrent to possible aggression from them is to develop defensive forces and alliances. Since the UNO cannot be persuaded to build a universal system of collective security embracing both Russia and the West, it has been found necessary to forge regional pacts like the NATO. Mr. Dulles and the American authorities have made abundantly clear that these regional alliances are purely defensive and are not aimed at an aggressive attack on the Russian bloc.

They have been necessitated by the built-in aggressiveness by way of the goal of world (communist) conquest which is the operative ideology of the Russian empire miscalled the socialist international commonwealth.

The controversy between Khrushchev and the Chinese leaders about ideology, whether in particular a socialist war is to be ruled out under present conditions is revealing in this respect. The statements of Mr. Khrushchev made it clear beyond the shadow of any doubt that he does not envisage any change in Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism in so far as the goal of world conquest for communism is concerned.

He is only developing communism, not altering it in doctrine. He is not revising it, softening its rigid principle of class war and the necessity for global revolution under the lead of the Kremlin. A Soviet film shown in India and other Asian and African countries began with a picture of the towers of the Kremlin in Moscow captioned: Moscow: the Future Capital of the World!

Mr. Khrushchev also said recently that he was sure that the Red Flag would some day fly on the White House in Washington! But, he added, that it would not be Russians who would fly it but Americans themselves!

And thereby hangs a tale. Russian communist imperialism has forged a new and unprecedented technique of espionage, conspiracy and subversion in foreign countries indoctrinating nationals themselves to work for the subjugation of their own country to Russia under the ideological delusion that such a treacherous procedure would promote the happiness of the workers of the world and put an end to the era of wars supposed to be engendered solely by capitalism!

Accordingly, we have in India a growing body of subverters called the Communist Party of India who are pledged to extra-territorial loyalty to Russia and China in preference to India, the land of their birth and parentage.

According to communist ideology, wars undertaken to promote communism are justified! It is only capitalist wars that are condemned!

The danger to India is manifest to all except to the blind and treacherous followers of international communism. The Chinese aggressors are entrenching themselves, establishing posts, constructing roads and aerodromes, stocking arms and ammunitions in strategic centres, establishing large masses of Chinese immigrants in Tibet to support Chinese rule and neutralise Tibetan revolt and non-cooperation. And India is hoping against hope for "negotiations" and peace. The world is not constituted in such a way as to yield to our mere wishes. We should

see facts in the face and gird up our loins to push the aggressors back.

The official talk of the high mountainous regions of Tibet "where not a blade of grass grows" and that military operations are impossible there and so on is nauseating to the limit.

The simple thing to do is to allow the military to do the strategic and tactical thinking and to support them with all the supplies and man-power they need in their grim task. It may take years to succeed but the demand of the situation is inescapable, if India means to stand up as a nation and secure a future in the world. Wars come to us unsought but there is no running away from them. We have no alternative but to wage war when it is thrust upon us.

The plea that the programme of industrialisation under the Plans is more urgent and cannot be interrupted even for the sake of defence is unintelligent, if not worse i.e. morally culpable. It is only a camouflage to hide our political bankruptcy.

The first obligation of a national government is to defend the country against aggressive invaders. Industrial wealth and equipment without defence will only result in making a present of them to victorious invaders. This ought to be plain to the meanest intelligence.

Also, military preparation involves a great deal of civil supplies. War emergency is a great quickener of industrialisation, as the example of Canada, Australia and even the USA would show. Except for actual guns and armour, food, clothing, communications equipment, transport vehicles and a thousand and one requirements of millions of armed forces demand industrialisation which could be used for civil economic needs after peace is restored.

In fact, the tempo of industrialisation can be increased several-fold if only the Government cease to hug their dangerous illusions and start on active preparations for an all-out war effort, rousing the patriotic sentiments of the people.

What is needed is the abandonment of the false psychology that Pacts in themselves are dangerous. Pacts are necessary since we cannot fight China and Pakistan single-handed. If we continue in the present supine defenceless posture, we shall have to see them invading the country and occupying it in several regions.

The USA had offered to supply us arms to maintain our relative position vis-a-vis Pakistan in 1954. But Mr. Nehru in his phony wisdom refused.

The country's defence requires pre-emptorily a military Pact with America and Britain, Australia and New Zealand whereby they will come to our assistance in case the Chinese and Pa-

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Flunkeyism Or Emotional Integration?

By M. N. Tholad

It is a sign of our slavish mentality and undemocratic spirit that we accept unquestioningly the most foolish of dogmas from our leaders who have by hook or crook—generally the latter—succeeded in making a name for themselves. We all know how Gandhi became a magician by fasting and wearing the loin cloth, and faith in Gandhi became an article of faith with most Congressmen. Even cynics like me who had been scoffing at the Mahatma's powers as a magician for decades had to admit them when he produced Pakistan, out of his hat, as it were, for I had never heard of a magician producing anything more than a rabbit out of his hat.

Pakistan was really born of emotional integration, the means being advocacy of the Khilafat movement, which was a sort of flattery of the Muslims. At the bottom of it was the conviction that flattery can achieve anything. The Mahatma went all out to flatter the Mussalmans. At almost every meeting that he addressed he reminded them that they were eighty millions, implying thereby the ease with which they could fulfil their desires. And they started fulfilling the same soon enough with the Moplah rebellion.

We all know the great emotional integration that the country witnessed between the Ali Brothers on the one hand and the Mahatma, on the other. It was a marriage between Muslim

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kistanis enter our territories beyond a stated line.

It is impossible to have a reliable Pact with Russia since she has a defence and mutual alliance pact with China. What we can negotiate is a sort of Eisenhower Pact, now to be called a Kennedy Doctrine, whereby the USA will come to our assistance in the defence of our borders. We need not agree to send troops abroad to work for them in global war. We man our own borders. This was the Pact that Eisenhower and Dulles announced for Lebanon and South Vietnam and Laos.

This involves no surrender of sovereignty. On the contrary, this is the only sensible way in which we can safeguard our sovereignty. If Pakistan's Tibetan frontiers are untouched by the Red Chinese and if Farnosa still remains unattached, the all-sufficient reason is the Pacts they have with the U.S.A.

fanaticism and Hindu tolerance, and we know the result. The Ali Brothers at least demanded that disputes between Muslims and Hindus in the Frontier Province should be settled according to the Shariat (Muslim law). And did it lie in the mouth of an advocate of the Khilafat to say "No"? But Gandhi said 'No' and the more intelligent of the Ali Brothers, Maulana Mohammad Ali, forthwith began talking of the need of a Fourth Battle of Panipat to decide the fate of the Country and who was to rule over it—Hindus or Muslims.

Saprus and Sastris and Jinnahs who condemned the Khilafat movement in private—for who could in those days condemn it publicly?—became traitors to their country almost overnight. And Congressmen themselves felt so ashamed of the Khilafat movement after supporting it for all they were worth, that they never mentioned it in their speeches or writings even in private talk, although it was the most successful movement started by their wonderful leader. Chancing to meet the compiler of a book on the sayings and writings of Mahatma Gandhi, I asked him why he omitted all that Gandhi said or wrote on the Khilafat issue. He said the leader who wrote the foreword had asked him to omit all references to the Khilafat. The foreword was written by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The emotional integration of the time reminded one of the proverb: "Marry in haste, repent at leisure."

Mahatma Gandhi practised emotional integration for long before he became known as a Mahatma, and that emotional integration had a good deal to do with the title that his countrymen conferred on him. The first victim was no less a person than Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who referred to Gandhi at the Lahore Congress in 1914 as one who gave evidence of "the highest watermark of Indian humanity". When Gokhale was a guest of Gandhi in South Africa the latter used to clean himself the pots of Gokhale's lavatory. The crowd at the Lahore Congress rose to its feet and gave Gandhi a standing ovation. When Gandhi met the Viceroy after the start of the second world war he literally broke down (hysterically or histrionically?) at the thought of London being bombed and the Viceroy had to support him. That was also emotional integration of a sort, though it did not prevent him from starting the "Quit India" movement three years later. Gandhi did not seem to have realised that the Viceroy had

practically no hand in the shaping of British Government policy towards India.

FOIBLES AS DOGMAS

Jawaharlal Nehru, as a close associate of Gandhi, saw the latter's emotional integration at work and also knew from personal experience, as the only son of a flourishing lawyer, how emotional integration all round him, practised unwittingly by the members of the family as well as by all those who came in contact with him worked on his emotional soul. The foibles of the great become dogmas of uncritical or selfish minds. Not long ago we saw how a mere suggestion of "zonal councils" by him began to be repeated all over the country until he had himself to ask, "what if they gang up against one another?" Emotion is indeed a poor guide, as every one knows, and none knows it better than the emotional man or woman, for no other type is fooled more easily. But he has been brought up in the school of emotion, although his own father was a hard-headed man who knew how to keep his emotions under control. Indeed, it can be said of the highly emotional that they never live and learn, and to this type belongs our great Prime Minister! We are seeing it now and we shall see more and more of it hereafter.

In his own writings, particularly the books, Nehru gives us some examples of emotional integration. Compare, for example, the references in *Autobiography* and *The Discovery of India* to the fanatics, Maulana Mohammed Ali and Sir Mohammad Iqbal, and the slighting references to that noble patriot, Srinivas Sastri, when the only problem in India was and has been the communal problem. I shall be surprised if in literature anywhere else there is such incitement to bigotry as in Iqbal's poems and yet that man is referred to by Nehru in his *Discovery of India*, as turning "more and more towards Socialism during his last years". It is true that Iqbal had praised Nehru highly once. But is mutual praise the basis of emotional integration? Can it work in politics? Has it worked in India or anywhere else on a national scale?

Our Prime Minister has tried the mantram of emotional integration on the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. At the Bandung Conference he did every thing he could to please the Chinese Premier and made no secret of his pleasure at Chou's success. In India also he was at his courting best towards the Chinese Premier and once publicly hoped Chou would agree to talk. With what result? He forgot like Gandhi, that Chou En-lai does not frame China's policies and even if he is willing to oblige Mr. Nehru he would find himself helpless. Gandhi danced atten-

dance on Jinnah for 14 days twice a day. To what end? Only to upgrade Jinnah. There is no generosity in politics. And it is this proved political maxim that Mr. Nehru is out to disprove with his emotional integration. He can go on trying at the country's cost.

CART BEFORE THE HORSE

Emotional integration boils down in practice to ingratiating. It does not always succeed even in personal relations. In political relations where policies are thought out by a number of persons, the likelihood of its success is nil. In no country except India do policies depend on the moods and fancies of one man, not even in Soviet Russia. Nehru's attempt at emotional integration with Soviet Russia has brought forth no results so far. It was being said that Russia had advised China not to advance in the NEFA area. That also has been proved to be false or fruitless, and our hopes have been belied. But hope springs eternal in the human breast and the Communist Party in India continues receiving funds from the Russian employees in Russian projects in India falsifying the Indian Government's claim that it does not receive aid with strings.

Turning to the country, we find that the same foolish integration is sought to be foisted on the country without any one understanding what it is and how it will work. It is some sort of mysterious process whose working even psychologists cannot understand. It has been taken for granted that emotional integration will work, because it has been discovered by Jawaharlal Nehru, just as it was taken for granted that nonviolence will work, because it was discovered by Gandhi. "Are you wiser than Gandhi?" Was the question when he was alive. The question now is, "Are you wiser than Nehru?" — with addition: "There must be something in it when a man of the stature of Nehru approves of it". Of course there is. Disaster for the country lies embedded in it, just as it lay in nonviolence. Nehru in his *Autobiography* accused Gandhi of reducing others to mental pulp. What is he doing himself? Gandhi had at least men of intellect like C. R. and Sardar Patel to advise him to the end. Who is there to dare advise Nehru? Not a soul. So the Mantram of emotional integration is being chanted from one end of the country to the other and even an Emotional Integration Committee was appointed to devise ways and means of developing emotional integration. When the cart is thus put before the horse, what can horse do, even if he is Sampurnanand or an Asoka Mehta?

It is not being suggested that emotion has no place in politics. But it is the bud, not the

flower, and seldom is it of any value until it expands into a flower. More truly, it is the soil in which thought is steeped and which lends to thought its tone and power. Emotion turning back on itself has an element of madness; leading to thought it provides the basis of morality. Our constitution provides the quintessence for emotional and national integration, with its emphasis on justice which demands equality. Emotional integration is there in the Preamble in which the people of India solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political, liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity, and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE

But when the Prime Minister himself forgets the Preamble to the Constitution, particularly its clause relating to equality of status and of opportunity, enabling many a Kashmiri Pandit to declare in private that he belongs to the ruling race, the result may be more emotional integration so far as the Kashmiri Pandits are concerned, but is likely to lead to emotional disintegration so far as the rest of the population is concerned. A revealing piece of research for any one to undertake would be the number Kashmiri Pandits appointed as High Court Judges in U. P., the percentage among them paying income-tax on their earnings before their appointment as High Court Judges and their percentage among advocates in the State. Of course their fair complexion is an additional qualification for appointment outside India in embassies. But what about equality of opportunity guaranteed in the Constitution? A few thousand Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir may be said to be determining the foreign policy of the land and endangering its democratic existence, but over a million Tamils in Ceylon can be brushed aside as irrelevant. The need to talk of emotional integration is indeed great.

It all depends on what you want. If you want the lap-dog variety, you are bound to see emotional integration in practice, and if you are a literary man, you are likely to know what it is and give it a name. But the democratic constitution of India does not envisage a lap-dog breed, and Mr. Nehru should know that he is not quite loyal to the Constitution in his desires and practices. There was a time when Nehru was the one man in India on whose lips the word "ideological" was found more frequently than any other word. He was then found

saying: "I'll be damned for ever if I do anything to help the Axis cause" and "I'll fight Japan sword in hand". There was a good deal of sense in it, though his quest for leadership did not prevent him from joining the "Quit India" movement and betraying his cause. But what sense is there in emotional integration, the ephemeral nature of whose basis — emotion — is well-known? All that is needed is the preaching and practice of the Preamble to our Constitution, which rules out Hindi as the national official language because it will be manifestly unfair to non-Hindi-speaking people who will never be able to compete with Hindi-speaking people in proficiency in the language.

Surely, Mr. Nehru knows that the people of India do not appreciate the beauty of the principles embodied in the Preamble to our Constitution and knows too that they did find place there haphazardly. Why then has no attempt been made to popularize them? That is the only sort of education the people need, including their leaders like Nehru and it should not be beyond the means of the Government of India to provide it. His great father, Motilal Nehru, belonged to an age when democracy was neither really sought nor understood in India. But he was a true democrat in his life. When he was addressing a meeting once in U. P. a man cried "Question!" "Who dare question me?" roared the old lion. "I do," said his son, raising his hand, and there was a burst of laughter. (He had only one son, who is now our Prime Minister.) Had the son been the father and the father the son, that one word "question" would have done irreparable damage to the relations between the two. Knowing both I have no doubt about it. But it had no effect on Motilal even as my sallies at Gandhi during my talks with him made no difference to our relationship or his admiration for me which started with my career on his daily, "The Independent". Indeed I have a shrewd suspicion that he liked me all the more for those sallies.

Patriotism, it has been said, is the vital condition of national permanence. To the public good, Milton said, private respects must yield. Where they do not and where patriotism is lacking, national existence is in danger and the facade of emotional integration committees cannot safeguard it. To quote Jawaharlal Nehru himself from his Autobiography: "We cannot take refuge in vague and emotional phrases, but must face... facts and adapt ourselves to them, so that we may become the subjects of history, instead of being its helpless objects."

Mobilizing Gold—Is It A Practical Proposition?

By S. Narayanaswamy

"Hourly we think of some new plan
For raising bullion at Lausanne.
Eager to pouch a salvage prize
From where the wrecked EUROPA lies;
Hoping at least that some brace diver
Will scoop a fiver".

—Owen Seaman

Reports that in their frantic search for that elusive commodity foreign exchange, the planners of Delhi have hit upon the astonishingly obvious device of mobilizing privately held and hoarded gold has caused dismay among the unsophisticated and brow-knitting among those that were suspecting that some such grandiose idea was round the corner. Numerous well-meaning persons have been proffering advice to Central Government over these tough years, that gold should be mobilized and should these precious hoards elude the process, should be conscripted; that gold certificates—bearer or inscribed—should be issued to the persons concerned—presumably to take the edge off the consequent sense of deprivation.

Holding of gold in India, by and large, take the form of jewellery worn by the women and a spillover kept in cupboards to be drawn upon on festive occasion. Gold bars, ingots and nuggets are kept by a small number at the very top of that sharply inclined pyramid of Indian economy—though its quantum continues to be a subject of fascinating conjecture. Gold has been affording to the average Indian through the centuries, a unique sense of security and a basic sense of solvency. He has regarded gold as the ballast of his not-too-sturdy economic ship and he has appreciated its value every time the ship is tossed—and has it not tossed remorselessly in the last few years? These years have been a cycle during which the money the head of a family had in the bank in fixed deposit, money he had lent; money he had invested in Life Insurance Policies, in National Saving Bonds or in Government Securities had been, slowly but sedulously robbed of its real contents—namely its purchasing power. Money is after all a measure of value and if what it can be exchanged for, keeps shrinking, the owner feels robbed. It is in this background that he has held on to some little gold—gold against which the economists have said hard things—that it yields nothing, that it is sterilized wealth, that it is economic waste and other such sonorous things. The less scholarly members of the masculine tribe have been twitting their wives for being

attached to gold and jewellery—thereby making a modest contribution to plan effort. Our women have, in cynical disregard of husbandly exhortations, held steadfastly to their traditional sense of values and to their gold.

Today gold has proved a dependable and fine hedge against inflation. Steadily depreciating currency has invested gold with impressive money value. The "economists, the sophisters and the calculators" have had to trouser their pocket book of pet slogans—when gold towered in all its majesty against the tempests of the monetary world. So much so, the gold hoarder of today is believed to have the wisdom of the Magi—the wise men that brought gold, frankincense and myrrh, as appropriate gifts to the Christ Child in the touching tale of the Epiphany. Every home has its own gold standard—large or small, decades after India Government abandoned the last vestige of a gold standard, following the footsteps of its then exemplar and master, the United Kingdom, by a simple amendment of its Currency Act. Gold has imparted social tons and self-esteem to the family—the consciousness that it has a last line of defence and the proverbial provision against a rainy day helped the family to feel self-confident to a degree.

Now it is this domestic gold standard that Government would be seeking to repeal—if it started on gold mobilization or conscription. A naive suggestion has also been made that the gold certificate issued might guarantee return of the gold now taken away, on the expiry of a period. The gold now proposed to be mobilized is intended to take the place of a non-available foreign exchange. This means Government will be shipping all this gold to countries, which will supply us the plant and machinery we sorely need to fulfil plan targets. Government will be in no position to repatriate the gold it sends out, unless of course within a few years we begin to enjoy the dripping prosperity of West Germany or the United States—which seems a rather rash presumption to make, in inscribing promises on gold certificates. We are further informed that the Government, if and

when they decide to garner the country's gold will be allowed to pay for it only world prices.—as the World Bank will not approve of our Government paying current Indian prices for our hoarded gold. Well: it is stimulating to remember that the Reserve Bank of India, which was the sole importer of gold from abroad, imported fair quantities of gold at world prices and retailed the stuff in India at the then prevailing Indian prices; which left a margin of profit—that would make those who regale the Private Sector with homilies about profiteering sit up in amazement. There was no World Bank to cramp its style at the time. Today it is very handy to have a World Bank round the corner, not only lending India Government foreign exchange but waiting to object to a transaction disadvantageous to the Government.

Since Britain and India went off the Gold standard in 1931, there was a steady outflow of gold from India—at prices then considered attractive, which in the light of subsequent happenings have proved expensive for India. This flow did not cease for many years. The reverse trend started in a big way only in the early years of World War Two, when India—by which is meant Indian Citizens—started buying gold at much higher prices than she sold out earlier. This she did (a) through the legal channel of the Reserve Bank and (b) by purchase of smuggled gold. There is and can be no statistical record of the aggregate loss to the country as a whole, as a result of ill-timed sales of gold in 1931/38 and the subsequent repatriatory purchase made in the War and postwar years through legal and illegal channels. This loss of real wealth must be regarded as unrequited export by India that has inwardly weakened the country. It is the duty of Government, if and when they embark on a gold garnering programme, to take account of the country's past sacrifices at the Altar of Mammon—when fixing prices to be paid by Government.

Smuggled gold has been and continues to be sold in India at prices which have little relation to world prices. This is inevitable, considering the expensiveness of an international racket of this description and the risks involved. Smuggled gold has become a convenient refuse of unaccounted money and is part of what is called the cash economy of India. This gold hoard will find no place in wealth statements nor any record of personal inventories. Such underground gold will go deeper underground when any programme of conscription is set afoot. There have been fascinating "guesstimates" of open gold holdings and undeclared gold hoards in India from time to time. Since selective demonetization of currency took place some years ago, gold has come to be regarded as a more dependable and immunized store of clandestine

wealth; and gold hoarding as a habit has become more widespread in consequence.

To whip ourselves into a state of moral indignation over the manner in which the instinct of self-preservation operates is a futile pastime.

Any effort which Government may make to mobilize gold today will have the effect of scratching the surface and would deplete a much harried middleclass of its slender store of open gold—which is basically jewellery belonging to the family and will mean little in the context of what Government needs. Refugee gold in the private vaults of the affluent will become as invisible as King Arthur's Excalibur and will not be available for Government.

Since man or woman was first fascinated by the yellow gleam of gold, one paradoxical thing has happened to this most cherished of precious metals. Gold ore is dug from deep underground, its auriferous content extracted and refined and the major part of such gold is again placed underground not only in Fort Knox in the United States that holds more than half the World's gold stocks, but by the currency authority of every Government in its Central Bank vaults. In countries like India, part of non-Governmental gold also goes underground figuratively and sometimes physically. So long as such gold cannot be coaxed out of its obscure repositories, any programme of mobilization will amount to gathering pebbles on the shore while the vast sea remains unexplored. Gold collecting, as an exercise in garnering foreign exchange, would not be different from Don Quixotes' efforts to get the kick of adventure by tilting his lance at windmills in the absence of knights in armour. The efforts will not stop with leaving comic impressions. It will create a more lasting but disconcerting impression that in the ultimate resort, all resource finding—for the Plan or otherwise—is a process of resource-exhausting, when it comes to a predatory effort to siphon away the basic reserves of the people and leave behind an abiding sense of insecurity.

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Left And Right

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Leading neo-Congress politician is reported to have declared that there is no place for any politics in our country to the right of the ruling party and that any alternative to that party must be to the left of it. This peremptory doctrine of Left inevitability has the colour of profundity but it issues from what may be called the careerist angle. It may be a guide as to what line the power-and-place-seeker should take, but it is not political science. Things should be judged by the test of what contributes most to the public welfare and not on appraisals of popular favour. The classification of Left and Right is artificial and is apt to mislead judgment by preconceived notions of one thing being more popular than another, instead of directing thought to what would be right and what would be wrong, what would be good for the people and what would be to their detriment.

The name 'socialism' is given to an uncertain and undefined pattern of policy mainly in the departments of taxation and State control of economic activities. It is confused by most people with social welfare itself: as if outside of socialism, there could only be unjust disparity and oppression. The aim of all policies and all parties is the general welfare; it should not be assumed that this could be reached only through socialism and a socialist party.

It is needless to point out that welfare does not consist only of things of material enjoyment but includes much else, such as a sense of freedom and spiritual satisfaction derived from farm, family, art and religion. For the moment, putting aside these latter essentials of life and restricting our attention to only things material, it will be easily seen that the aim of all political parties in our country is adequate production of wealth and equitable distribution of it. It is wrong to believe or to claim that those who do not subscribe to the official theory of socialism are against equitable distribution. How this equitable distribution should be achieved is a problem on which opinions may differ.

Dealing with production first. It may be taken as agreed on all hands that at present production is below the level of satisfying the minimum reasonable wants of the people and it should be increased as speedily as possible. Every one knows that to achieve this increased production several elements must combine — capital, labour, good management and adequate incentives for all these. Government policy, and in particular taxation measures, must be such as to increase or at least maintain undiminished

these incentives. State capitalism which is the type of socialism to which the Congress Party has wedded itself is not calculated to improve production. On the contrary it retards production.

The limits of taxation are well understood. There is a point at which taxation becomes regressive and injurious, by reason of reduced incentives to production and investments. This is popularly expressed in the fable of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, often referred to by Gandhiji when socialist friends approached him with their propositions.

Coming to distribution, equitable distribution should not be based on any scheme of confiscation and doles and free gifts to the poor. Distribution should be based on earnings by work done. History has recorded the ill-effects of any policy of trying to remove inequalities by means of doles and gifts. Such policies result only in perpetuating the inequalities sought to be removed. Equitable distribution to be lasting in effect must be achieved by a progressive elimination of unemployment. This demands the establishment of industries spread throughout the country providing gainful employment. The question is whether the State should tax people and otherwise raise money, and with such capital establish industries or whether it is, from all points of view, more advantageous to encourage individuals and groups to set up such industries. Socialism as understood at present largely favours State-capitalism and State-management. The opposite view is that a wide network of industries is required to cope with the problem of unemployment in our country and therefore more reliance should be placed on private enterprise than on State-capitalism. Private enterprise and initiative will open up unlimited opportunities for employment. There is enough power with government for controlling such private industries to prevent any likely abuses. On the question of sound management there are no two opinions as to the advantage of private enterprise. State enterprises always go with monopoly. The State and its officials cannot really compete successfully with private management. Any monopoly, whether of Government or of others, acts against the interest of the consumers. If consumers as well as the weaker section of workers have to be protected, it is best done by the competition that is inherent in private enterprise and by the strengthening of healthy trade unionism. All this, however, is

(Continued on page 12)

China, Russia And Nepal : New Delhi's Teen—Murti

(From Our Correspondent)

The Defence Minister's departure for New York at a time when the Chinese have begun incursions in the NEFA area betrays the same mentality as was responsible for the notorious observation regarding "not a blade of grass" growing in Ladakh. His departure plays down the importance of the event and seems to suggest the adoption of the maxim, "What cannot be cured must be endured". Mr. Menon's departure for New York is even more significant in view of the fact that the Prime Minister is also away from the country and does not intend curtailing his foreign tour and will, as previously scheduled, return to the country in about a fortnight's time. The Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, will in the meantime guide the Defence Ministry in dealing with the NEFA situation. It is being fervently hoped here in New Delhi that the lesson of this gay insouciance will be lost upon the Chinese somehow and they will not draw the only conclusion possible therefrom. The whole thing smacks of an utter lack of the sense of responsibility for which both the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister are fairly notorious.

The situation, we are told, has "stabilised" itself for the time being. The Chinese have intruded nearly a mile in the NEFA area and stabilisation of the situation for the time being

(Continued from page 11)

not to deny that certain types of service must be left to the State. But they should be the exception and not the rule.

Reverting to the inevitability question, there is a distinction between politicians and statesmen. Both are engaged in public affairs, but the former term is given to those who seek power through taking interest in public affairs, the latter term is used for those who are not concerned with their own careers but are interested in promoting the general welfare on the most practicable lines available, under varying circumstances. 'Inevitable' is generally associated with trends of public opinion, apart from the merits of any proposal. This 'inevitability' issues generally from the angle of the careerists, whose concern is personal and cannot wait.

— Swarajya

would appear to suggest that they are not in a hurry to advance farther or in a position to advance farther hurriedly. Apparently they do not intend to disturb the equanimity of our Prime Minister and Defence Minister, knowing, as they well must be doing, that they can hardly get an improvement on them in this country. In that case, of course, the Chinese Communists and the Indian National Congress are of the same mind, suggesting a repetition and a re-trial of the old cry: "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai!"

EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

The Sampurnanand Committee on Emotional Integration is understood to have made over 200 recommendations respecting all aspects of education, including the medium of instruction, education policy and the functioning of universities. It has proposed that the use of the Roman script should be permitted in certain areas for an interim period to enable people to improve their acquaintance with Hindi. While accepting that Hindi has an important part to play in promoting national integration—so far it seems to have been promoting national disintegration—the Committee has expressed the opinion that knowledge of the language can be more quickly acquired if the burden of learning three scripts—regional, Hindi and Roman—is reduced. In addition to the use of the Roman script, the Committee has proposed that Hindi may be learnt in regional scripts. The use of international numerals has been recommended throughout the country.

The committee has analysed in detail the implications of the Centre's policy of replacing English by regional language as the medium of instruction and placed on record the pros and cons of the measure, stating at the same time that it is extremely important that Hindi and English should continue to be effectively taught in universities as "link languages" so that conditions of emotional and intellectual isolation are not created when regional languages become the medium. With the replacement of English by the regional languages as the medium of instruction, the existing link language will disappear, and the Committee has therefore drawn pointed attention to the need for special efforts to forge links between universities in different

parts of the country. To destroy the existing link—the English language—in the mere hope that it will be possible to forge other links would appear to be an extremely shortsighted policy, but the Committee does not appear to have had the courage to recommend the retention of the existing link so that wide gaps between the universities may not be created. That is a price we have to pay for playing to the gallery. An explanatory note by the Communist MP, Professor Hiren Mukherjee, to give expression to his view that regional language should be used as the medium of instruction “at all costs” would appear to be all that is needed to convince patriots of the undesirability of replacing English by regional languages in the universities, in view of the paramount Communist aim of creating disruption in the country.

Education, according to the Committee has a key role to play so far as emotional integration is concerned—education, the Committee might have added, in the elementary principles of democracy, of which many a leader in the country stands in need, particularly the type known as Hindi-wallas.

NEPAL BORDER RAIDS

In a statement at a Press Conference in New Delhi on September 11, Mr. Rishikesh Shah, Nepal's Foreign Minister, appealed to the Government and people of India to check raids by rebels across his country's southern border. Although he said in reply to a question that Mr. Nehru had assured him that steps for “greater vigilance to check the raids would be taken,” he did not answer another on why he felt the need to make a public appeal on the same point. But he really had no need to answer the question which had already been answered by the sentence in the statement that “our collaboration in the past with the Indian Police authorities has, indeed, given us another impression of efficiency than the one you would have to entertain if you were to believe that all this (the raids) takes place without the knowledge of these authorities”.

That is very neatly put. A policy has to be judged by its results and those results have yet to show themselves. With reference to “the gun-running and the raids into Nepal from across the border,” he claimed that the raids had increased “in number and intensity” since King Mahendra's recent visit to Delhi. Of the 138 raids since December, 1960, 76 had, according to him, taken place after the King's visit. Photographs do not lie and it cannot be denied that there has been too much frowning from the Indian side during the welcome and the farewell at the air port to the King of Nepal, which would appear to be a departure in protocol which, it is perhaps being presumed, we can afford to indulge in, having regard to the com-

parative smallness of our neighbouring country and its fairly long border with India. Regrettable as it would be as all times, it should seem utterly stupid at a time when India should value friendship with Nepal more than ever before, unless, of course, our policy is to throw Nepal into the arms of China. The difficulty with Mr. Nehru is that he is seldom able to anticipate anything, being a wishful thinker of a high order.

Mr. Shah's appeal was made after a long preamble on the need to promote Indo-Nepalese friendship and of his understanding of the natural sympathies in India for the parliamentary system, which are much emphasised in New Delhi. But in our relations with Soviet Russia, the emphasis is on every country's right to have the sort of government it wants, the country standing not for the people, in this case, but obviously for the Communist Party, or the government it wants, the country standing not for the people, in this case, but obviously for the Communist Party, or the government it establishes. Mr. Nehru has made that observation several times. In Pakistan the country is synonymous with the Army or President Ayub, the head of the Army. Surely in Nepal it can be considered synonymous with the King who has always commanded over-ruling powers. In over-emphasising our natural sympathies for the parliamentary system, we can thus be accused of double standards. The whole problem seems to resolve itself into one of forcing Nepal to have a system of government, and then a government, of our choice, which is contrary to our declarations in favour of peace and against colonialism, old and new.

Book Review

Essays on Liberty, Edited by L. Read Reprints from the Monthly Magazine Freeman published by The Foundation for Economic Education Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. VIII Volumes from 1951 to 1960.

The Foundation for Economic Education Inc. was founded by Leonard Read in 1948. Its main objective is to educate public opinion in the essentials of free economy and free society. Inevitably it comes into frontal antagonism with the prevailing Leftist trends with their pro-socialist, pro-communist, pro-statist, welfare, state, social security at state expense, centralisation of economic power in the hands of government, ideas of social justice involving a compulsory re-distribution of property and income and similar ingredients of the climate of sentiment and opinion eroding the free way of life in the West.

In India we are up against a similar stream of all-pervading thought built into economic and

political, policies by the leadership of the Prime Minister. Mr. Nehru took over this world of thought current in the West in the thirties of the century when the post-war after-math resulted in a breakdown of economy in Germany and Europe generally and catastrophically from 1929 to 1934 even in the USA. Forgetting that this breakdown was largely due to wartime intervention of states in the economy and the imbalance in world trade consequent on German reparations and bankruptcy, social thinkers attributed the evil of the times to capitalism pure and simple. The example of Soviet Russia gallantly trying to build a new social order on socialist principles eschewing the hated capitalist system based on egoistic profit motives proved both infectious and damaging to cool rationalism in analysis.

Today socialism has been tried in Britain and the Scandinavian countries on democratic lines and in Russia and her satellites on violent lines. New and unheard of evils are emerging making the socialist remedy worse than the disease of capitalism! But the influence of the Communist Parties and of fellow travellers and of economists depending on state universities are supporting the anti-freedom way of life and misrepresenting the defects of communism.

In India we are finding half-baked notions of planned economy progressively eroding freedom and hamstringing economic progress. These volumes of the Foundation for Economic Education consisting of brief essays from 5 to 20 pages each are ideal reading for the busy citizen to recover his faith in freedom and individuality, democracy and republicanism.

Incidentally they convey a vast amount of critical information on present world problems and afford aperçus into the economic situation in the USA, Britain, Russia and other countries from the angle of free economy and free society.

They constitute essential reading for all in India (or elsewhere) interested in consolidating democracy.

— M. A. Venkata Rao

Gleanings from the Press

NEHRU'S INSENSITIVENESS

To return to the Socialists' accusations against Mr. Nehru, we have found only one thing among them which needs a fuller explanation than he has cared to put across. This is the reference to royalties on Mr. Nehru's books published abroad, including the Soviet Union and other so-called Socialist countries, presumably not excluding China. Now, it is common knowledge the Soviet bloc countries are in no habit of paying royalties to foreign authors except, as in some cases, in their own currency which is of dubious worth to an outside author. They do

not subscribe to the International Copyright Convention. It appears, however, they have made an exception in Mr. Nehru's favour.

Mr. Nehru is too astute and too experienced a politician not to know the reason for this exception. Normally one would be glad that an Indian author of Mr. Nehru's standing was considered worthy of remuneration by the Soviet Union, though many others in India and abroad never have had such a privilege. But here the question is whether Mr. Nehru would be shown this honour if he were not the Prime Minister of India. And if it is as Prime Minister, not as author as such, that Mr. Nehru is paid royalties by the Communist countries one cannot help asking why the sensitive Prime Minister has been so insensitive to it.

Thought

News & Views

CHINA STRENGTHENED BY SOVIET ARMS AID

U2 SHOOTING HOLDS LESSON FOR INDIA

Washington

The cold war has taken a serious turn for the worse with the downing of the Nationalist Chinese U-2 aircraft over mainland China within ten days of the violation of Soviet airspace by an American U-2 over Sakhalin.

For India, which is trying to get Chinese aggression on the northern frontier vacated, this incident has significant military implications if it turns out that the plane was shot down at a height of 60,000 to 70,000 feet.

The Peking announcement, says a "New York Times" news despatch, "suggests that Chinese have more modern Soviet arms than had been believed."

In fact, according to military observers here, the Chinese military machine would be truly formidable if it had ground to air missiles that were needed to get at these aircraft.

It is assumed such aircraft are beyond the reach of fighters.

It would also mean that the strained political Sino-Soviet relations have not stood in the way of the flow of the most modern arms from the Soviet Union to China.

"CLEAR OUT," CHINA TELLS RUSSIA

China has asked the Soviet Union to close down its consulates on Chinese territory, the West German News Agency said, quoting "reliable non-Soviet sources" in Moscow.

Its correspondent in Moscow, Igor Witsinos, said the Chinese request "signifies a new sharpening in the relations between Moscow and Peking in the view of Western observers" and reciprocal Soviet action could be expected.

He said that according to "communist circles," the reason given for the request to close the consulates—in Shanghai, Charbin and Dairen, (the former Port Arthur)—was that there were not enough Soviet citizens living in China to justify maintaining consulates.

The correspondent said: "Western observers see in this sharp Chinese action a reaction to the (Chinese) concern over improvement of Soviet-Yugoslavian relations."

CLASS DIVISIONS IN RUSSIA

To an observer—particularly a Socialist one—even with just one eye open, it shows that class divisions are rapidly developing in the Soviet Union.

A few weeks ago I returned from Russia; and it was the wide differences of dress between the poorest and the more affluent that struck me. For example, in Leningrad one sees many elderly women street cleaners, poorly dressed and shuffling along the gutters with their brooms. It is not a particularly happy sight; and is in complete contrast to the well-dressed officials, diplomats and "important" people that one meets in the Astoria hotel or on board the M. S. Michael Kalinin, a Soviet luxury liner. Most of these "important" people travel—first class, dress well, carry expensive cine cameras and do not have to worry if there is a shortage of butter or meat (which there is at the moment in the Soviet Union), or if prices rise.

It is obvious to the observer in Russia that there is a growing gulf between the average worker and the emergent bourgeoisie; the one looks shabby and drab, and travels by bus, trolleybus or tram; the other has a Moscovich car, or uses Aeroflot or a luxury liner. The privileged few have a large modern apartment or a Dacha (or both), whilst the majority in a city like Leningrad live in slums every bit as bad or worse than those of Liverpool or Glasgow.

Some people are lucky enough to get a flat in the suburbs. According to a recent issue of Moscow News, "families that are still housed in overcrowded and substandard dwellings will get new flats before the end of the first decade." And the experts say that approximately 86 million flats will have to be built within the next twenty years! We seem to have heard all this before—in Britain.

Soviet apologists tell us that life is getting better. And it is. A little better for the majority; and a lot better for the few.

A British visitor to the Soviet Union said to me: "If this is Socialism, I don't want it." But, of course, it is not Socialism.

—From a Report in Socialist Standard.
(London)

Mrs. PANDIT ASSAILS BANGING OF DOORS AGAINST ENGLISH ACCENT ON NEED FOR FOREIGN TONGUE IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit observed in Bombay that English was a "cementing force" in India and "it would be a pity if in a fit of anger we reject it."

She was speaking at a meeting organised by the Bombay branch of the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth at Walaingham House School on Napean Sea Road.

She said that at a time when the question of Hindi becoming the national language was being discussed because it was understood by a large number of people in the country, "we cannot close the doors of Hindi on English if the common man is to understand the former," because other Indian languages did not supply the required words as English did. Regional languages, of course, should not be neglected.

According to Mrs. Pandit the standard of English should be raised to the level where it was a generation ago in India, since it was so important from the international point of view. She also stressed the need for encouraging the use of good English.

Continuing she said that but for the English language one would be handicapped while abroad. English was bound to play still an even more important role when co-existence would take place on planes other than political. Through the medium of English such ideas like co-existence could be put into practice very effectively, she added.

It was through English that "we learnt the system of Government of the United Kingdom. We are running our Government on the same lines as that of the U.K."

440 MILLION INDIANS NOW New Delhi

India is next only to China in the world in population, according to the 1961 census which puts the figure at 439.235 millions. Of them, 226.293 millions are males and 212.941 millions females.

Releasing the final figures of the 1961 count at a press conference here, the Census Commissioner, Mr. Ashok Mitra, said there had been abnormal population explosion in the States of Assam (34.45 per cent), West Bengal (32.79 per cent) and in the Union Territories of Delhi (52.44 per cent) and Tripura (78.71 per cent).

Goa, Daman and Diu recorded a singular minus with its population down by 1.66 per cent.

The lowest increase was recorded in Jammu and Kashmir—only 9 per cent, with Madras close on its heels with a modest increase of 11.83 per cent.

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Have you tried the Cow Brand flour manufactured by the Duncan Road Flour Mills? Prices are economical and only the best grains are ground. The whole production process is automatic, untouched by hand and hence our produce is the cleanest and the most sanitary.



Write to :

**THE MANAGER
THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS
BOMBAY 4**

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Telegram : **LOTEWALLA**