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EDITORIAL

EXTERNAL DANGERS: SOVIET IMPERIALISM

INTERNATIONAL Communism cannot be dismissed as innocuous on the ground of its supreme leader Mr. Khrushchev's frequent protestations of anxiety for the relaxation of world tensions and the achievement of world peace. He creates a tension and accuses the United States of having a war mongering attitude and refusing to take steps to relax world tensions. For instance he issued what seemed an ultimatum to the Allies to clear out of West Berlin before a certain date in May and when they protested that they would not surrender their positions before threats, Khrushchev informs the world of the "intransigence" of the Western Powers!

The fact is that the Russian imperialists have digested a vast area from the days of the last war—the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the Balkan States of Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, the Central European States of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Poland together with vast tracts in Manchuria and Mongolia in the Far East. Moreover the Soviets have had an immense accession of power with the adherence of Red China to their world circle or camp.

The European part of these acquisitions have been clearly against war agreements and treaties with the West. To allow these "captive nations" to be assimilated into the body of the Russian camp in flagrant defiance of agreed treaties is to give the socialist or communist imperialist camp the right of way to swallow the rest of Europe, and Asia and Africa as its read-

ness for it is developed in the fullness of time and propitiousness of the world situation.

It is against this background that we have to estimate the value of the chain of military bases constructed by American diplomacy and money around the world on the borders of the Russian empire.

A worker asked Vice-president Nixon in Moscow how America can claim to be peace loving with her military bases fixed around Russian borders? Mr. Nixon was ready with the reply that it was a reaction to the forward positions of Russian forces in European satellite countries—Hungary, Poland, East Germany. These forces can occupy the whole of Western Europe in a matter of weeks before America and the rest of her allies could mobilise sufficient forces to stop the onslaught. The onslaught of Soviet Russia could be more devastating and irresistible than that of the Panzer Divisions of the Nazis.

The bases are necessary to force a sufficient diversion of communism's invasion forces to enable the Nato forces to gain time for larger forces to be deployed from longer distances. Also American statesmen cannot forget the possibility of surprise or sneak attack like the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour which destroyed the bulk of American naval and aerial forces in the vast Pacific at one fell blow without the declaration of war!

Today the development of international continental missiles that can deal destruction across a distance of 5000 miles renders the peril of surprise attacks even more acute than before!

—In this light, Vice-President Nixon's report, after his return from Moscow that the Russian Government is as much committed to world communism, world re-

volution and world conquest as ever to stabilise the results of the Russian revolution of 1917 is worth pondering.

Instead of being misled by the propaganda headlines of the world press (which is largely infiltrated directly or indirectly and where it is independent it is influenced by the Soviet interpretation of the world scene on account of the uncritical identification of the communist cause with that of the under-dog,) observers should see behind the news and note the Machiavellian hand of the Soviet leadership.

In an interview that Mr. Averril Harriman, former United States Ambassador, had with Mr. Khrushchev in Russia during the former's recent visit, Mr. Harriman asked the Soviet Premier whether he would be interested in *taking over India*! It reveals the foundational anxiety of American statesmen, for with India annexed to the Red camp, the hope of *containing* international communism would be dashed to the ground.

The reply of Mr. Khrushchev was interesting. He did *not* repudiate the suggestion as an *unthinkable* idea and censor the American to have put it into words. On the contrary, he replied musingly that India had too many problems of her own! The reply has its affinity with the calculation of Hitler when he refrained from laying hands on Switzerland as being too costly. The idea remains valid that *if and when the times seem ripe*, with advantages outweighing disadvantages, the taking over of India would be an attractive proposition. The Red Chinese may then claim their share in the hegemony of world communism and ask to be permitted to over run India for the cause of international communism and Russia may acquiesce!

CHINESE DESIGNS ON INDIA

The aftermath of the Tibetan genocide and suppression shows the continued hostility of Red China towards India. Panchsheel has not prevented her from pursuing her imperialist designs in despite of Indian sentiments and interests.

Now comes fresh items of news revealing the depth and dimensions of the hostility confirmed by the Prime Minister in Parliament (who is now a sadder if not a wiser man at the ruin of his pet panchsheel negotiation and treaty).

It appears that the Chinese Government have refused to release the Indian officers captured in Ladakh. They have also refused to return or allow the return of the four hundred and odd Ladakhis residing in Tibet for some years, some from a recent and some from a more distant point of time for trade and education. Many of them are *lamas* under training in Tibetan lamaseries or monasteries.

The Chinese now claim that they are *not Indians* at all but that they are *Tibetans* and therefore *Chinese* in citizenship and legal status!

The Chinese authorities have also taken other measures to make the life of Indian residents to Tibet difficult if not impossible. Their movements for trade are prevented and transport facilities to which they had access formerly are now denied to them.

The Indian and Nepali rupee coins are now declared *not* legal tender in Tibet. Indian goods in the hands of Indian traders are confiscated and trade diverted to Chinese routes. Though the total loss may not be much, being a matter of Rs. twenty lakhs, the traders who were resident in the area and earning their livelihood for years past are dispossessed and rendered destitute. They will have to be repatriated and rehabilitated when the Chinese release them.

Some of the mountain passes are closed to Indian visitors. An Indian officer going to Lhasa by the usual pass across the Hamalayas was asked to enter by another pass though his visit was in order and he carried the necessary papers in due diplomatic form. To go back and seek another pass would mean a long journey across pathless ground on high mountain terrain and would take many weeks. It is clear that the Chinese are manning the passes with military units and do not want Indians to see them.

Thus the profound peace and security of our Himalayan borders in the North have disappeared due to the aggressive action and hostile intentions of the Red Chinese intruders.

The Chinese authorities have not replied to Indian queries about the meaning of the inclusion of Indian territories in their maps. Their *silence* is disturbing according to Nehru. Recently there was a propaganda against Indian expansionism and against the Prime Minister Nehru personally as well. It appears that as a result of Russian hints to their Chinese partner these campaigns have been *toned* down a little in recent weeks or days.

It is clear that the Chinese have *written down India*

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and Nehru as pro-Western and anti-Chinese. The rivalry between India and China extends from economic to political dimensions. India wants to have her influence supreme in Southeast Asia both for economic and for security reasons. But China has always regarded the rich area of the former Japanese co-prosperity ambition as her *own reserve*! The Tibetan incident and the boldness with which India protested and staked her claim in determining the destiny of Tibet in the chequer board of international politics has proved beyond a doubt to the Chinese that India would not be a pliable satellite or even a *junior partner* in the future policies of the Chinese camp. Hence the Red Chinese has made up her mind against India.

India should take notice. Since the whole vast Chinese population is mobilised both for military and for economic purposes, the vastness of the armies that may face us is staggering. The external danger from this source has therefore necessitated a re-thinking on every part of our Planning. But if Dr. Mahalanobis and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao have their way, India will pursue the old Soviet pattern of planning—top-heavy, inflationary and full of hardship to the ordinary man carrying the possibility of his losing political freedom altogether. This is seen acutely by the Swatantra Party leaders.

THE LESSON OF KERALA

One of the most important lessons that has to be learnt by India through the recent Kerala crisis is the implicit, wholehearted loyalty of the Indian Communist Party to Chinese policies. They supported the Chinese policy of destroying Tibetan national independence and personality in defiance of Indian sentiment and official policy.

The way they pursued class war in Kerala in cool defiance of the rule of law and all decencies of humanity showed the danger to Indian independence if they should come to power in the Centre. Here internal danger is linked to external danger. The people of India have to study the conduct of the CPI more closely than before.

Congressmen are toying with the idea of having an electoral alliance with the Kerala Muslim League. No doubt that the Kerala Muslim League threw in its lot with the opposition parties in fighting against the communist government. How much of this was genuine feeling and how much mere diplomacy it is very difficult to say. Perhaps it is unnecessary to apportion the two aspects.

What is important is to realise that if Congress or any other party wants alliance with Muslims, it is better to ask them to form a different political party or join any one of the democratic parties. It is altogether preferable to invite the cooperation of Muslims as Indian citizens committed to Indian national patriotism than to ally oneself with the Muslim League. For the Muslim League has made itself the vehicle of Muslim separatism demanding a separate sovereign homeland for themselves. What guarantee is there that the present truncated Muslim League will not revive and teach Indian Muslims the doctrine of *two nations* and separate nationalism once again? They may teach Pan Islam to them and wean them from Indian nationalism once again!

It is better for all concerned for Muslims to take part in politics through other democratic parties or through a new party with clear objectives within the framework of Indian sovereignty, and integrity and democratic constitution.

Revival of The Muslim League

By M. A. Venkata Rao

ONE of the less satisfactory repercussions of the anti-communist opposition movement of Kerala is the revival of the Muslim League. The All-India League is not dissolved but remains in being under Mr. Mohammad Ismail of Madras. When in the aftermath of the founding of Pakistan, he visited Karachi and asked for Mr. Jinnah's advice regarding the termination of the League organisation in India, he was scolded by Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah asked him to be more optimistic and not give place to despair. He asked him to bide his time and keep his organisation in being awaiting a suitable time for action. For the Pakistan that they had achieved was but a moth-eaten, incomplete territory insufficient to satisfy the real ambitions of Muslims.

And so the Muslim League of the Indian Union remains in cold storage but ready to spring into activity according to pattern. It appears that the melting of polar ice in northern Siberia occasionally reveals bears

and even prehistoric animals, dead but kept in perfect condition and could be eaten like fresh meat! So likewise the Muslim League is hibernating and can grow into a formidable influence in the land rallying the Muslims once again for a separatist cry. A newspaper reporter from Bombay asks whether this portends the beginning of a new movement demanding a fresh partition of the country?

The question is legitimate and though unpleasant, should be squarely faced by the powers that be in India and the general public, both Hindus and Muslims with equal honesty.

It was a good thing that the Muslim League of Kerala (mostly the Moplas of Malabar) threw in its lot with the popular opposition and participated in the various forms of the agitation led by Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan along with the other parties—the Congress, PSP, RSP.

For the first time perhaps in the history of Kerala,

Muslims including women participated in the struggle for freedom on the basis of an emotional identification with the rest of the people of other religions and political affiliations.

One of the women who carried a torch representing one of the dead in firing in a procession to the Governor was a Muslim woman. The papers had photographs of educated Muslim young women of colleges lying prostrate in the public street in front of a State Bus with police officers lifting them up on arrest! The emotional merger is something new and promising. But much depends on Muslim leaders for the best use to be made of the exalting experience for the benefit of integral nationalism binding together Hindu, Muslim, Christian and others.

While appreciating this development of unity in the fire of sacrifice and suffering, it is a pity that some among the Muslim leaders should have harked back to the idea of reviving the Muslim League on an All-India basis. New arguments are being advanced, particularly by one Mr. Koya that the Muslims of India forming 7 per cent of the population have their own interests—economic and cultural—to protect for which the League organisation needs to be revived. It is true that the Indian Constitution provides for equal rights for all on a non-communal basis but no rights are self-sustaining. They need to be defended by timely action whenever necessary and the rights enshrined in the Constitution are denied in practice.

The question has come to agitate the Muslims. They need a clear guidance from their own co-religionists as well as from national leaders of all democratic parties.

Mr. Chavan, chief minister of Bombay, seems to have expressed resentment and disapproval of the move. Many Muslims too are doubtful of the wisdom of reviving the League with its penumbra of separatism and hatred.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are glad to announce that from this month onwards "The Indian Libertarian" will carry a monthly supplement of "The Indian Rationalist". Libertarianism, as readers might be aware is based on rationalist principles and as such upholds the supremacy of reason which guides or, should guide human conduct. Libertarianism derives its inspiration from the humanist ideals of individual liberty and social and economic justice which are essential to human happiness.

This is a question on which in spite of the tragic consequences by way of partition and vivisection of the country and the enormous bloodbath that ensued along with the process of division in and about 1947, there has been insufficient thought on the part of leaders and public. The question raises problems of the nature of Islam as a religion, social system and case of ethical values as well as the probable course of Islamic development in Arab countries. It concerns the dreams and activities of Islamic leaders aiming at world conquest. It concerns the problem of the relation between Muslim populations living in different nations like Indian, Russian and Chinese Muslims. It concerns the possibility of these Muslims living in non-Islamic countries developing integral nationalism merging their political destiny with their host nations.

The Indian Constitutional Settlement of 1950 assumes that Muslims are identified with the nation as integral parts thereof without entertaining a separate political destiny for themselves as children of Islam who have more in common with Islamic peoples outside the borders of their host country than with Hindus inside. It assumes that they are *One Nation* with Hindus and others living in India. It repudiates the *Two Nation Theory* that led to the founding of Pakistan. It assumes that as time goes on, Indian Muslims will come to develop more strongly and decisively, (if they are treated as nationals on equal terms with others) a common national solidarity with others. There is nothing intrinsically wrong or impossible in this faith. Only, it needs to become the living faith of the Muslims also and not remain merely the faith of the majority community in the bona fides and solidarity of the minority. Also, conditions should favour such a consummation so devoutly to be wished for.

The crux of the question lies in the willingness of the Indian Muslims led by their leaders to make one nation with Indians. This willingness depends on a number of factors such as the nature of Islam and the ambitions springing from past historical greatness both in India in Mogul days and in Arabia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Turkey and East Europe whose populations endured Turkish rule for over 500 years.

1. *The Nature of Islam.* The nature of Islam is not very favourable to the development of separate national entities by Islamic peoples occupying different homelands or sharing territory with other peoples as in India, China and Russia. Islamic society is primarily a fellowship of the Faithful believers in the creed of the Prophet. It encourages no racial consciousness whatever. Islamic faith brings brotherhood across gulfs of race, culture and civilisation.

The white Christian missionaries in Africa cannot compete with Muslim preachers. The Muslim, whether Arab or Moro Asian, educated or ignorant, rich or poor, shares the life of the African Negro after conversion without any consciousness of racial superiority which is difficult to Europeans.

Of course the sentiment of brotherhood and equality takes traditional forms in daily life and is confined mostly to charity and to treatment on special occasions and places. As a matter of historical fact, the extremes

of wealth and poverty are nowhere more glaring than in Muslim countries. The oil magnates in Arabia and Iraq contrast in wealth and luxury glaringly with the ordinary folk there who are steeped in abject indigence. But the Islamic sentiment could be made to function as a strong bond of solidarity and to forge a modern nation.

Even Enver Pasha and his colleagues put aside their secular nationalism and rallied the sentiment of Pan-Islam in their fight against the Balkan nations, particularly Italy that attacked Tripoli in 1911.

The leaders of Pakistan are not (many of them) deeply and genuinely religious but do not disdain to make use of the religious emotions to rally support for their secular ambition. Religion has been exploited by them from before the birth of Pakistan.

The emotions of Islam derive from memories of the Prophet's intensity of faith and prayer and have been preserved and transmitted through group prayer. They have derived strength from the vicissitudes of war and suffering over a large historic area from Spain to India, from Egypt to Mongolia, from the Persian Gulf to Indonesia.

The present leaders of Islam are making use of religion to forge a bond of unity to support modern statehood. Nasser wants to forge all Arabs from Morocco to the Persian Gulf under his leadership into a single cohesive nation like Germany or France. To him the national boundaries of artificial States created by Britain and France in Arabia such as Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Palestine and Iraq have no sanctity. They are so many pieces of raw material for his *Nation-to-be of new Arabia*. A Pakistani professor considers that this is the best destiny for Muslims and that it is quite possible since territorial nationalism is less intense among Muslims than Islamic loyalty.

2. *The Role of History.* The second factor that is influencing Islamic peoples everywhere including Indian Muslims is the historic role that Islam played in the building of empires and rule over lesser peoples. For five hundred years the desert sons of Islam overran and ruled over a vast territory from Spain to Indonesia.

In addition to empires lasting for long periods in many places such as Egypt, Arabia, Baghdad, Syria, Persia, Samarkand, Mongolia, Delhi and Lucknow, a many-sided culture—science, philosophy, theology, Law, crafts and arts, medicine etc. was built up which kept learning alive during Europe's dark ages and stimulated the revival of learning in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is true that Islam is intolerant in doctrine but in effect owing to the personal character of rulers and the stimulus of wealth and contact with superior cultures, though decaying at the time, the arts flourished for certain periods in the long history of Islam.

The modern Muslim therefore naturally is fired with the vision of reaviving past glory once again under modern conditions. The first thing is to acquire political hold over as much of the historic lands of Islam as possible and to add to them when possible later.

The Muslim League in India adopted this dream and ambition fairly early. It is true that Sir Mohamad Iqbal would have been satisfied with a Muslim majority State within the Indian Union, if his mood held to the last. But even as early as the Round Table Conference in 1930, *one Rahmat Ali* a student in Cambridge, defined Pakistan as a territory in the Northwest consisting of Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and Afghan areas included in the Northwest Frontier Province. The scheme was put before Jinnah and others by the British members of the Conference. It was known that Churchill and Lloyd of the Conservative party were keen on it. And Attlee could concede Indian independence only by promising Pakistan to Muslims on account of the necessity to carry the Opposition of which Churchill was the chief!

Once this separate ideal was accepted by the top leaders of the Muslim League, it became impossible for the Indian Muslim to acquiesce in a joint destiny with Hindus in the Indian National Being or solidarity.

The cry of religion is stronger than anything in Muslim peoples, particularly as it is mixed up with memories of empire and past greatness.

MUSLIM IDEOLOGY

In theory too, Islamic doctrine insists on separate social and political status for Muslims. Muslims are asked if possible to live in lands ruled by non-Muslims who may not permit the exercise of their religion. Intrinsically, they are living in a state of war—*dar ul harab*. They should make use of every opportunity to come to live in *dar ul Islam*. This opportunity can be created by obtaining rule over the country they are living in. Treachery, conspiracy etc. are all in the game and not objectionable for the end in view. The only limitation is practicality.

It is very difficult for Indian Muslims to resist these religious and social imperatives of their faith when urged by their leaders. It is easier and more natural to them to entertain hopes of coming to live in *dar ul Islam*, either by Pakistan conquering India or their achieving a further bit of homeland of their own in India!

Pakistan entertains the ambition of assuming the leadership of Pan-Islam and has held several Muslim World Conferences in Karachi. But Arab politics dominated by the more urgent problem of forging Arab unity under Nasser are not yet favourable for taking up the question of Pan-Islam. Arab nations need India's support in their quarrel with the West. It is only after the realisation of Pan Arab ambitions that Pan Islam can come to the fore. Already we find signs that Arabs are not satisfied with the friendship of India. Recently a Cairo newspaper published a number of articles deriding the culture of India with its cow worship, idol worship etc., as a preparation for the visit of Nasser to Delhi. Muslims do not want Nasser to go too far in admiring India!

How many Indian Muslims will remain loyal to India and how many will act as fifth columns in the

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Fall of the House that Nehru Built

By M. N. Tholal

ANY one given to thinking out things dispassionately cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the whole basis of our foreign policy is absolutely unsound and rotten and the country cannot therefore avoid coming to grief until that basis is fundamentally changed. A cursory examination will show that the basis of our foreign policy is emotional integration with the Communists, which necessitates equating the two power blocs and putting them in the same category. Any one can see that for people who claim to be democrats this pose of neutrality is a fraud and, being based on a palpable untruth, is unrealistic and cannot last long.

It is an elementary political maxim that there is no generosity in politics. For any one to suppose that the nature of Communists can be changed by sending a parcel of mangoes every week to Khrushchev or by warm handshakes with Chou En-lai with cries of "Hindi-Cheenee Bhai Bhai", supplemented with pleadings for the admission of China into the United Nations, is the height of folly. Foreign policy should, it has to be, based on identity of interests and interest itself on ideological affinities. For any one to say that he is a democrat and at the same time to say that a true democrat is as good as a true Communist is a kind of political jugglery which, besides being dishonest, can only carry conviction with fools. It is like saying, as Mahatma Gandhi did, all religions are true.

EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

The root of our present trouble lies in Mahatma Gandhi's disregard of all sound political principles and

(Continued from page 5)

event of an attack by Pakistan is a moot question which it is futile to speculate upon though it is vital to Indian security. It is probable of course that a certain minority will remain loyal but much depends on the course of the struggle.

In such a situation, it is disturbing to hear of the revival of the Muslim League, for the Muslim League has made itself the vehicle for separatist ambitions. The present leaders should therefore be asked explicitly for their goals and objectives. Nationalist Muslims should form their own pro-Indian organisation to promote Indian citizenship ideals among Muslims.

Meanwhile Indian leaders should show *no quarter to separatists*. They have the weakness of succumbing to violence and throwing the nationalist lambs to the wolves. *It should not happen again*. Loyalty to extra-territorial forces should be declared to be tantamount to treachery and should be treated as such. Leaders of Indian Muslims should abandon such of their Islamic ideas as are opposed to Indian citizenship.

the consequent emotional integration that he started with Muslim fanatics. (Everything was grist that came to his mill, including Muslim fanaticism). The reason for his doing so was obvious to the shrewd. While proclaiming from the housetops that he wanted to reduce himself to zero, Mahatma Gandhi spent all his life reducing others to zero. And when people started criticising the dubious means he was adopting, he started proclaiming his doctrine of "purity of the means" from the housetops. His passionate support of the Khilafat movement, which astonished Muslims themselves and led Maulana Mohammad Ali to believe that he must be a Muslim at heart, could only have been actuated by a desire to put all other Indian leaders in the shade, otherwise how could an apostle of nonviolence have persuaded himself to start a raging and tearing campaign for the restoration to power of a fanatical Caliph who had been responsible for the massacre of a million Christians?

The paramount need of reducing others to zero necessitated emotional integration with the Ali Brothers and equating them with Lajpat Rai and Malaviya, and it was accomplished. There is no denying that Gandhi succeeded in reducing almost all others to zero—the only two who successfully defied him were Subhas Bose and Mohammad Ali Jinnah: the former had to leave the country while the latter had to resort to Gandhi's own weapon—fanaticism—to defeat Gandhi. For Jinnah as well as Bose it was a fight for self-preservation against Gandhi's attempt to reduce them to zero—the Quit India movement itself had its origin in the (for Gandhi infuriating) concession made to Jinnah in the Cripps Proposals and was the last attempt to reduce Jinnah to zero. Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in reducing others to zero at the cost of the country, for the history of the twenties made it equally plain that emotional integration between opposites has a very short life. It was not only the Ali Brothers and Gandhi who fell out: Hindus and Muslims fell out with each other and the latter proclaimed themselves another nation. If Mahatma Gandhi had the interests of the country at heart he would have thought a thousand times before rousing the sleeping lion of Muslim fanaticism through the Khilafat agitation. But he had his own personal axe to grind and it has to be conceded that, so far as he himself was concerned, emotional integration with the Ali Brothers and other Muslim Maulanas paid very high dividends. It made him unquestionably the greatest leader in the land and therefore even the question of his regretting his fanatical support of the Khilafat movement did not arise, followed though it was by communal bloodshed all over the land on a scale the country had never witnessed before. The apostle of nonviolence started a train of violence which a quarter of a century later culminated in the holocaust of 1947 with the loss of lives of a million countrymen and the uprooting from their homes of ten times as many.

NEW SYSTEM OF ETHICS

Our Prime Minister was one of the closest lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi and, having graduated in Gandhism with honours, has experienced the personal benefits flowing from emotional integration as none else in the country has done. Ideologically he has always been against Gandhi but emotionally he had always been with him—knowing that to be with him was to be a leader which was a great thing for a man who had failed in his profession—otherwise he would not be prime minister today. Whenever Gandhi's followers reminded him of Nehru's contrary views, the Mahatma used to say: "But I know he is loyal to me". Loyalty to the country or to one's principles was a negligible factor in the scheme of value which constituted Gandhism. It would not be wrong to say that Gandhi gave rise to a new system of ethics and that fundamentally Nehru has been a true Gandhite. Both Gandhi and Nehru have often reminded me of the lines:

**A merciful Providence fashioned us hollow,
So that we might our principles swallow.**

But not quite so hollow so far as orientals are concerned, as the poet suggests: our own Mirza Ghalib put the matter more shrewdly when he said:

*Bebhudee besabab nahin Ghalib;
Kuchh to hai jiski pardadari hai!*

(This selflessness, O Ghalib, is not without some reason: there is something which is being kept a closely guarded secret!)

All this could not have been possible in a country where men could stand up to speak out their minds. Motilal Nehru was ideologically much nearer Gandhi than his son Jawaharlal, yet the father found it his patriotic duty to oppose Gandhi publicly more than once and even make him shed tears in an open session of the All-India Congress Committee. A true disciple of Gandhi and out for results for himself, Jawaharlal Nehru never opposed Gandhi even when he violently differed from him, as in 1942 over the "Quit India" resolution. This emotional integration earned good dividends for him and he outdistanced Patel and Rajagopalachariar in the race for succession to the leadership of the country. So it is not without good and sufficient reasons that our Prime Minister believes in emotional integration. It led him to a position of supremacy in the country at the cost of the country, and has been leading him to a position of supremacy in the international sphere also, again at the cost of the country. Hence all kinds of unpatriotic slogans like "Hindi-Roosi Bhai Bhai" and "Hindi-Cheenee Bhai Bhai". But if we are prepared to swallow them, why not?

In this emotional integration of Nehru, as in the emotional integration of Gandhi, the country is never in the picture. It is just nowhere. That of course makes it all the more necessary that it should be referred to again and again, so that an unthinking public may be led to believe that our policies emanate from the fountain of patriotism when they really emanate from a sordid desire to promote the interests of their sordid selves.

WORLD LEADERSHIP

Conceding the need of emotional integration in the interests of the personal ascendancy of Mr. Nehru, just as we conceded the need of emotional integration in the interest of the personal ascendancy of Gandhi, all the wishful thinking that follows becomes legitimate—as legitimate as Gandhi's doctrine that nonviolence is the mightiest of all weapons. (Had Gandhi the slightest nodding acquaintance with Truth, he would have said, nonviolence is the root of all evil, and in support of that doctrine cited his own motherland's thousand-year-old slavery and the consequent demoralisation of her people, which he so skilfully exploited and which Mr. Nehru is exploiting now). In that wishful thinking there is no need of a buffer state between China and India, the Chinese being brothers, apart from being exceedingly good fellows who have always kept or desired to keep the Tibetans their slaves. But in that wishful thinking there is every need for Mr. Nehru to forget that he has always been against colonialism.

President Truman invited Nehru to Washington to warn him of the consequences to India of the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese. He promised all-out aid to India to prevent that calamity. But Mr. Nehru paid no heed. Accustomed to thinking in terms of self, like his Guru Gandhi, he doubtless reckoned that dependence on American military aid will not pave the way to that world leadership after which, again like his master Gandhi, he hankers. And what is the country weighed in the balance against that most singular first person singular? Nothing. Just nothing. Had not his great master Gandhi taught him that through decades of discipleship?

And so the fat is in the fire. Tibet is Chinese and so, according to Chinese maps, are Bhutan, Sikkim and Laddakh. All these await liberation. And when they are liberated—Mr. Nehru has already told the world that he believes in appeasement and is dead against military aid from any quarter—will come the turn of Nepal and then of India. Every Indian who has travelled abroad and met Communists knows how anxious the Communists are to liberate India, specially since the day freedom dawned on her in 1947: before that it was an idle dream and therefore they did not indulge in it. But for Mr. Nehru, the Russian Communists are as good as the American democrats, if not better, for he has gone on record with the assertion that Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, etc. etc. etc., are not colonies of Soviet Russia. That being the case, our objection to a similar state can hardly be considered insuperable!

FAILURE OF NEHRU'S POLICY

With a fairly intimate acquaintance with Mr. Nehru extending to nearly four decades, I have been saying that Nehru, like Gandhi, cannot solve any problem. Like his master Gandhi, he can only create problems, and he has been creating them, singlehanded after Gandhi's death, together before it. Pakistan is Nehru's creation more than any one else's, with the blessing, of course, of Mahatma Gandhi. This thesis of mine has now received support from no less a man than

Maulana Azad. A man who is out for self-glorification is always driving his selfish coach and four through all the principles he proclaims he holds dear. So did Gandhi. So does Nehru. And we applaud them, worship them, as if to say: "That is exactly what we expect of you." So why should we blame them if they pay no heed to the interests of the country when they come in conflict with their own? Every country, it has been verily said, has the leaders it deserves.

A few weeks ago I said in these columns that Prime Minister Nehru was flogging the dead horse of Indo-Chinese amity. The official Chinese attitude is becoming clearer day by day. The Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, has been referring to "undefined frontiers with certain neighbours." The official Chinese maps have been showing large chunks of Indian territory as Chinese and these maps have remained uncorrected despite protests from India. And now the Chinese Government representative in Tibet has pointedly referred to the need of liberating Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan. Although the report of the speech given by the official Chinese newspaper in China does not contain this reference, official Chinese publications have been describing India and Indians as "imperialists". This leaves no doubt regarding the Chinese attitude towards Laddakh, Bhutan, Sikkim etc. etc.

Mr. Nehru says the Macmahon Line is India's firm border and talk of liberation of Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh and the North-East Frontier Agency is nonsense. But military might can make sense of nonsense and it is high time to think of Indo-Chinese relations in military terms. The large concentration of Chinese Troops in Tibet can hardly be meant to overawe the Tibetan lamas, and their movement towards the Indian border may only be a matter of time. It is high time we realised that the house that Nehru built has fallen like a house of cards, even as the house that Gandhi built fell like a house of cards in 1947. We pretended then that it had not fallen and continue the pretence. Shall we go on pretending, in the face of the Chinese threat, that the house that Nehru built has not fallen, that our Army and Air Force are enough to meet the Chinese onslaught when it comes, that no military aid is necessary from outside and military alliances and pacts are worse than useless? It would be much better to follow our great leader Mahatma Gandhi's advice and think in terms of non-resistance. A military pact and alliance today with a Power which China fears can halt the Chinese troops in Tibet far away from the Indian border. Nothing else can. We shall soon have to revise our foreign policy radically. The sooner we do it, the better it will be for the country.

A Note on Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution and Mr. Nehru's reply

By A. Ranganathan

THIS writer had written a pamphlet entitled 'English or Linguistic Chaos' a few weeks before Mr. Frank Anthony M.P. introduced his resolution in the Lok Sabha on the 24th of April 1959, seeking to include English among the national languages listed in the eighth schedule of the Constitution. Mr. Anthony argued that "English" is the final and conclusive linguistic and emotional bond in this country of different linguistic enclaves. However, a full-dress debate on the subject was postponed to August, when Mr. Anthony introduced the resolution again.

Mr. Nehru's assurance that English will continue as an "associate or additional language" for an indefinite length of time is a piece of welcome news. Not that we have got all that we wanted. But it will serve to administer the much-needed corrective to the Hindi-wallahs who spend their time in anti-English fulminations. However, there are a few points worth pondering over. One cannot agree with the Prime Minister when he said that "English is a highly important language, but a language which is not a medium of instruction in schools and colleges, but which is learnt as a separate foreign language". Herein lies the crux of the problem. In view of the future intellectual pro-

gress of the country, it is essential that English should remain our educational medium of instruction for an indefinite length of time. And he was not completely aware of its importance when he regarded English as he would regard French and German. That would be ignoring the forces generated by the English language, which led to the making of modern India.

However, three assurances have been given by Mr. Nehru:

- (1) English will be "associate" or "additional" language for as long as may be necessary.
- (2) The date for the switch over will be decided by the non-Hindi speaking peoples and not by the Hindi speaking people.
- (3) Even thereafter, English will continue to be an important international language.

Let us hope that along with Sindhi and Rajasthani, English will also find a place in our Constitution. Indeed, there is a case for the statutory recognition of English. One hopes that this point and also the case for the indefinite postponement of the target date will be discussed in the forthcoming debate which is expected during the end of the current session.

Congress Behind the Times

By K. Kumara Sekhar

THERE is a growing need for fresh thinking and reorientation of policies on all sectors, internal and external, economically and politically. But the Congress which ought to have done this, is losing its momentum and lagging behind. Hence it is that both the press and the people are jubilant in welcoming new parties and new ideas. Even socialism seems an old and outworn idea today. On the other hand thinkers of free economy are doing exceptionally brilliant and fresh work. They may have been complacent before, but today they are active and are doing very interesting work which the Congress can only ignore to its detriment. If the Congress does not follow this new thinking among Indian intellectuals it will lag behind the times. This fresh thinking has probably grown up only as a reaction to Mr. Nehru's arrogant public declarations of his bias towards socialism, which he was hitherto secretly pursuing. But now it has firmly established itself in the country, and cannot be extinguished or hushed up. Till yesterday whenever Mr. Nehru doubted the virtues of the private sector, none had the courage to say that it was due to his prejudices and false fears. Today it is however realised by at least certain sections that the prosperity of the country depends on yielding to this new thinking. Otherwise India will become a backward country again, backward in the eyes of the world, backward because of its blind pursuit of a slogan like socialism. However Nehru seems either too exhausted or too selfish to yield to this new thinking.

It has been proved that in Kerala, National feeling is too fresh and too strong among the people for them to allow a communist government to function. The congress has to do some rethinking on its approach to communism in the country. The congress because of its addiction to power during the past eleven years, has been more conscious of the rights of government in Kerala for a considerable time, ignoring the rights of the people. At several stages of the agitation it deemed to prefer to assure peace for the government rather than security for the people. If not through the congress, whose leadership today consists of government men rather than party men, who put the interests of governmental stability above party interests, the people of Kerala have expressed themselves through other parties. Even the other parties had to change their programmes to suit the interests of the people. The cause of the whole agitation lies in a major political blunder of the congress. The congress has unwisely allowed an undemocratic party to function through a democratic apparatus. The people could not tolerate this once they detected it. Democracies can allow only democratic parties to function, if they are to survive, because an undemocratic party if once allowed power, might not hesitate to revoke all elections and introduce single party rule as in Russia and China. We can declare that we do not like to see that party go to elec-

tions, whose success might ultimately lead to the revoking of all elections. If the people are once allowed the choice of communism, sooner or later they will lose the freedom to choose. This is the basis for the action of free governments in suppressing headstrong radicals, but yet it has not so far been stated in clear terms. So long as there is national feeling alive in a country it will always fight off communism and prize its national honour above its economic miseries. It is only a dead nation that will surrender itself, to a structure in which the poverty at the base would be made the whole thing. As under Nehru the leadership of the congress has been converted to socialism, the people have no other alternative but to function through other parties and under less popular leaders.

No mature statesman would allow the communist party to function side by side with the normal parties because its final aim is different, and is that of preventing all other parties from functioning at some stage or other. In communist countries the opposition candidates are non-partymen who have no party organisation to back them. Hence it is clear that the communist party always regarded itself as a party above all other parties, and would override them all anytime it wishes to do so. Any democratic apparatus will ultimately wreck itself if it does not take care to eliminate the communist party from amidst the parties that it allows to function. Hence it is that western politicians hesitate to call any nation completely democratic, if in its zest for freedom or democratic principles, it tries to give some license to Marxist ideas. While they may be asked what their freedom consists of, if they obstruct one set of beliefs and one section of the people from expressing themselves, it is difficult to realise that freedom is a thing that has to be preserved rather than a thing that can preserve itself. Freedom has also to safeguard itself from any license in its conception and existence, that would corrupt it, alter its meaning, weaken and endanger its existence.

Mr. Nehru because of his personal fascination for socialism tried to ignore these dangers of the growth of communism in a state of India. His own public declarations in recent weeks have been highly in favour of socialism, and to allay criticism on the mischief he has done to the country, he declared that it is all meant to improve the political maturity of the country, by putting to debate such issues as the merits and demerits of cooperative farming. But the pity is that these are not just discussed, and he is committing the bureaucracy of the country against the wishes of the millions of India's small peasants. In Kerala the people on their own initiative have brought certain things to the surface after much agitation. They were united, and either ignored the advice of Nehru, or functioned through other non-communist organisations to express their apprehensions of the situation in the state. Mr. Nehru still speaks in a tone of regret, of the failure of

the communist government when actually a political danger to the country has just been averted. When the danger of communist rule has been after-all averted, there need be no further discussion on the evaluation of its possible success. Mr. Nehru though himself averse to religion had to recognise its political influence in Kerala. He did not want the religions to meddle with politics. But as Dr. Radhakrishnan said it is our religiosity that will really save us from communist influence.

In the International sphere, India no longer engages "the eyes of the world", a fact which Mr. Nehru proudly boasted in recent years. That is because the world has come to realise what neutrality means after its novelty has worn off. It has grown as cold to neutrality as the neutral nations have been cold to the prospects of the free world in its struggle with communism. Further because of certain personal deficiencies of Asian leaders like Nehru and Nasser, the initiative for peace no longer rests with the neutral countries, but has passed back into the hands of Russia and America. Formerly India though a neutral power, took great interest in world affairs, and the advice that she gave to either side was respected. But from this active field she has gradually retreated becoming obsessed with internal pro-socialistic work, and because of Mr. Nehru's personal callousness to such dangerous issues as the Tibet and Berlin problems. Mr. Nehru without heeding any advice has accepted Chinese aggression in Tibet, and kept quiet while Krushchev heated Berlin into a furnace of war. Both these reactions are not compatible with any politically dynamic statesmanship.

There is also considerable need for fresh thinking on the part of the congress about the practical functioning of democracy in India. Eminent leaders like C.R. and many lawyers have condemned the agitation in Kerala against an elected government. The opposition in every state is now armed with new tactics like mass agitation and the "charge-sheet" method. The non-communist parties are not united anywhere, chiefly because of congress reluctance to recognise its losing monopoly over the people. If there are going to be

such demonstrations in other states, the political peace of India is likely to be disturbed. In unseating a communist government which it has at first wrongly allowed a place in the Indian democratic fold, the congress has precipitated a crisis which will loosen its control of the country. Leaders like Nehru will no longer have the courage to run to each disturbed state, to usher in any enforced quietness among the people. The significance of terminal elections has been lessened. One doubts whether the Indian people can appreciate all the implications of the democratic system.

In a recent survey, the governor of the Reserve Bank while stating that state initiative in the Industrial sector may seem essential today for economic progress, the situation is bound to change rapidly, and that when the private sector is safeguarded today it might be possible for the public sector to cease at some future date. This is an unbiased approach which is neither in favour of the public or private sectors, and uses both according to the needs of time. The public sector is a standby for situations in which the operation of the private sector is defective or not sufficient. Already cooperative farming and the like are dull things to discuss today, when the nation is faced with practical problems in agricultural production. To disturb the economic structure today would create fresh anxieties for the small peasant. Cooperative farming while suggesting massive help from the state and the people to the small farmer also involves the wholesale distortion of ownership. The press has welcomed the new interest in the Swatantra party and the popular discussions on the merits of free enterprise. Mr. Nehru had made these objects of deep contempt, but now the people are giving them a second consideration. For the first time we are hearing Indian advocates of Free Economy speak with courage, shrewdness and brilliance. With all these ideas, motives and initiative for free enterprise it now seems surprising how Mr. Nehru could so far publicly pursue his bias for socialism, to the extent of committing the Indian government. If the congress resists the new thinking it will lag behind the times.

China's Secret Plan for A Himalayan Federation

By. H. V. Kamath

(In a press interview at the end of a two month tour of Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and certain Assam areas on the Pakistan border, Mr. Kamath recently said that there was "a Chinese plan for the establishment of a Himalayan Federation comprising Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA under her suzerainty". In the following article, Mr. Kamath further elaborates that sensational statement. He is of the view that the Chinese plan is an integral part of its policy and aims in Asia, and that its objective is the elimination of all Western, particularly the growing American influence from Asia. The Chinese plan is,

moreover, linked up, in his view, with the global strategy of international Communism).

IN the course of a two-month long tour of Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and certain Assam areas on the Pakistan border, which I undertook last May and June, I gathered much valuable information: the most startling piece, however, which I obtained from reliable sources was about China's secret plan for the establishment of a Himalayan Federation comprising Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA under her suzerainty. The plan is an integral part of her policy and

aims in Asia. Her objective is the elimination of all Western, particularly the growing American, influence from this vast continent. This again is linked up with the global strategy of international communism.

My information is that Russia and China have carved out their spheres of influence: Europe and West Asia for Russia, and the rest of Asia for China. The communization of South and Southeast Asia under China's hegemony or leadership is the programme set by her communist leaders for the first twenty-five years of their regime.

The Chinese have always regarded themselves as the master race, particularly so during the expansionist epochs of China's history. The present is one such. Let us not forget Germany's expansionist drive in Europe during the thirties, albeit under the anti-Communist banner.

The Communist masters of New China realize that they cannot consolidate their position, and make China the leader of Asia, unless and until the last vestige of European and American influence in Asia is destroyed.

Shortly after the Communist Party seized power in China 10 years ago, the charming Chou-en Lai wheedled Prime Minister Nehru into recalling the last British representative of India in Lhasa, the shrewd Mr. Hugh Richardson, because the Chinese were sure they would deal with the Indians easily. Before leaving however, Richardson warned Pandit Nehru not to withdraw Indian troops stationed in Tibet, but Nehru paid no heed, and in the name of Sino-Indian friendship, he withdrew our troops, relinquished India's rights in Tibet, and subsequently made to China a free gift of our telegraph and telephone installations there,—all in exchange for a few affectionate greetings and sweet assurances from Chou en Lai, and the delightfully nebulous Panchasheel. Communist China for her part refused to renounce her suzerainty over Tibet,—a feudal, imperialist concept. She did not even pay up the claims of certain former Indian employees of Shanghai Municipality,—a paltry sum compared to what she had got from India. Thus she gained much, whereas India lost almost everything in the very first round. Shortly after the Indian troops returned home, the Chinese army marched into Tibet. There was, however, no imminent danger from the West and so China agreed to an autonomous region of Tibet with obvious mental reservations.

The Himalayan Federation plan stems from Communist China's basic expansionist and imperialist policy which is sought to be furthered and implemented in various ways: ethnic affinity or irredentism, economic allurements and hatred of the West, besides of course, ideological claptrap.

There is insidious propaganda on the Himalayan border, as indeed there must be in other parts of South-east Asia, for the inclusion of all Mongolian and Mongolid peoples in the 'great Chinese family'. It will not be out of place to recall in this connection the recent statement of M. Kaznacheev, former Soviet Information Officer in Rangoon, that 'the main role in espionage and other activities in Burma is played by China more than by Russia.' The resident Chinese community, too, would not mind lending a hand. Besides the

psychological plank in her programme, China's economic offensive will be increasingly felt in the coming years.

On the Himalayan border, the psychological assault will make a sizable dent because of the prevailing anti-Indian sentiment in those areas. Nor is the economic offensive likely to fail in its effect on the terribly poor and backward people of the region, what with trade inducements, and the picture presented by the rapid agricultural and industrial development programme in neighbouring Tibet: for on that bleak Asian plateau, after an orgy of slaughter and vandalism, the Chinese authorities are now working round the clock in Lhasa and elsewhere. Land is being distributed and opened up for cultivation, and roads, schools, houses, hospitals are being built, with forced Tibetan labour. A little bread, but no freedom,—that seems to be the motto.

China is not so stupid as to launch a military attack against the Himalayan States, because that may unleash a World War; and India by virtue of her treaties and agreements becoming the victim of aggression, would be thrown into the arms of the West. That will be a dangerous development for China. Her *modus operandi* will therefore be infiltration, erosion and subversion; the weapons being mainly psychological and economic, and the instrument of action, here as elsewhere, the local Communist party. Communists and their agents on both sides of the border will not be averse to bringing about the desired result, and fomenting internal disturbances to achieve that end.

China's policy will be more friendly towards Nepal than towards India in the coming years, and she will thus seek to drive a wedge between the two friends. The recent statement of Col. Bassett, Nepal's representative in Lhasa, about China's doing in Tibet, was a pointer in this direction. The mounting anti-Indian tirade in Nepal by Dr. K. I. Singh who sought and obtained asylum in China a few years ago is also significant.

There is another factor which has to some extent motivated China in her actions. Developments in Pakistan since 1954 seem to have weighed with China in making swift changes in her policy and strategy. Pakistan has passed under the influence of U.S.A. which, China is sure, will establish military and air bases in different regions of Pakistan. It is assumed that India will be neutral in the coming world conflict which, China is convinced, is inevitable within the next 5 years or so. A neutral India will not be of much help to China, but a less neutral Himalayan region will be useful, strategically and otherwise. Tibet remained neutral throughout the last war, but China and U.S.A. were then allies. But in the next War, wherein China will be pitted against the U.S.A. a neutral Tibet will not be helpful to China, with U.S.A. bases so close as in Pakistan and Pakistan-held Kashmir. That is one of the reasons why she has completely subjugated Tibet. Her apprehensions with regard to the next World War may not be well-founded but they can be understood, if not appreciated.

If the Chinese plan for a Himalayan Federation is to be foiled, the Government of India will have to re-orientate its Himalayan policy. India will have to be

firmer towards China, and while continuing to be friendly she will have to expose China's imperialist colonial policy in Tibet no less than her anti-religious, even anti-Buddha, drive. Has not India been friends with Britain, France and U.S.A., and yet castigated them for their misdeeds in Asia and Africa during the past few years? India must simultaneously adopt a more tactful and generous policy towards the Himalayan States, particularly with regard to their independence, internal autonomy, and economic development. The Government of India, after capitulation to China on the Tibetan issue, must do something, and that too quickly, for the restoration of confidence in the Himalayan region, for building up trade and improving agriculture; otherwise a strong China would appear a better protector, and a more attractive ally than a weak India. China's pull will prove stronger than India's.

China is intent on acquiring a hold on Himalayan States in pursuance of her general policy no less than for her own safety in War, and as a jumping-off ground for the next stage in her neo-imperialist drive. This explains her cartographic aggression against India, the still circulating map of New China, an outward sign of inward design. China has repudiated the Mac Mahon Line, India's international boundary with Tibet, and has even refused to reply to Nehru's latest protest note about the map. She has already built, or is building, airstrips in Western Tibet, and on the borders of Nepal and NEFA. Is it a fact, also, that she occupied last winter certain portions of Indian territory in Ladakh, and in Almora district of Uttar Pra-

desh? Will the Government of India let down Bhutan and Sikkim, just as it has let down Tibet?

The Himalayan Federation Plan is, thus not merely part of China's present expansionist drive in Asia, it not only fits into her ultimate design for the communization of South and Southeast Asia under her hegemony, but it is also related to her grand strategy for the coming World War which, she feels rightly or wrongly, is not far distant.

A friend warns, but an enemy strikes. I expect however the Government of India will deny all knowledge of China's secret plan or blueprint, and may even dismiss it as 'fantastic nonsense.' But that will not mean anything, because it is now common knowledge how colossal and profound Government's ignorance was of Chinese Communist moves in 1949, 1950, 1956 and again in 1958-59. Most of our missions abroad are little more than socialite institutions, and have not much utility as diplomatic and true information organizations. This was proved also at the time of the Hungarian national uprising three years ago.

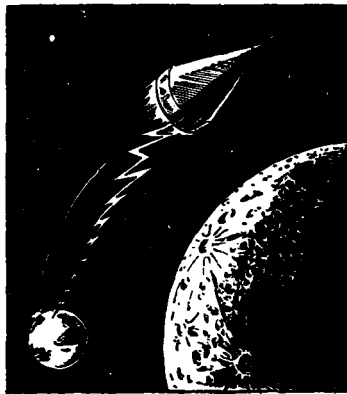
If our Government pursues a firm, vigilant foreign and defence policy serving India's interests first and last, and is not anxious to court the friendship of other nations at the cost of her own national honour, or at the cost of human, democratic, ethical and spiritual values, all may yet be well with India, and China's plan will come to naught. Else, menaced by China in the north, and assailed by Pakistan in east and west, India's freedom will not long endure.

DID YOU KNOW . . .

By Scio



Experts say the electric shock sometimes felt by persons after walking across a rug or rubbing fabric can be blamed on humidity. When the humidity is low, they say, there is a tendency for persons and objects to develop a static electrical charge. This is increased by friction. Relief can be gained by adding moisture to a room, or by touching the object from which a shock is anticipated with a coin or key gripped tightly in the hand. This will permit the charge to be dissipated without causing a shock.



The U.S. space probe Pioneer IV, now orbiting the sun, sent back its last radio message from 406,620 miles out in space....the furthest signal ever heard from a man-made object.



Studies have shown that insects are not only the champion flyers of the animal world, but that some are especially effective at distance flights. Experts believe the familiar orange and black monarch butterfly has flown the Atlantic Ocean. Desert locusts are known to fly hundreds of miles. Oddly, according to aerodynamic principles, a bumblebee shouldn't be able to fly at all.

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

1st. September 1959

The Revival

By S. Ramanathan

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Thanks to the munificence and the determination of Mr. Ranchhoddas Bhavan Lotvala, the *Indian Rationalist*, the authentic voice of the large mass of unorganised freethinkers and liberal minded persons in India, is again being revived. Let us hope that the journal will appear regularly every month hereafter. The question for Rationalists and like minded persons in India and elsewhere is why should such a task be undertaken against what seem to be insuperable odds. Let us frankly admit that Rationalism does not yet catch with the masses in India or elsewhere in the world. It is therefore very difficult to maintain an open and avowed Rationalist attitude in active life and to advocate its cause through an organisation like the Indian Rationalist Association or through a journal like the *Indian Rationalist*. Difficult as the task undoubtedly is, it is nevertheless worthwhile to attempt it because of the tremendous value that would accrue to humanity when the cause finally triumphs.

Imagine for a moment what would happen to us human beings if only we are allowed to fashion our lives in the Rationalist way unhampered by the prevailing impediments and inhibitions. First and foremost there will be the abolition of the fear of death and of the unknown but vastly exaggerated terrors that are supposed to inhabit the region beyond death. Most people spend their time and energies in the purchase and the insurance of the happiness of their own souls or the souls of their beloved and dear ones beyond the grave or the cremation. If and when the cause of rationalism triumphs there will be an illumination in men's minds which will abolish the faith in a life after death and hence the fear of death itself will vanish. Death, according to rationalism, is like falling asleep and surely no one is afraid to sleep. That great mountain of human energy which is now being wasted in the preparation for the life hereafter will then be yoked to constructive efforts to better the lot

of humanity in the here and now before the inevitable but no longer feared death. The vast resources now being misspent will then be available for the achievement of greater happiness to the living.

As a corollary to the above, the parasitic existence of a large class of people who arrogate to themselves, as their special function in their lives, to save the souls of others from perdition after death, will be abrogated because nobody would want to be saved from fears proved to be false. This parasitic class of priests of various kinds who have infested society in all countries and in all climes will thereafter have to turn their energies to useful work and contribute their legitimate share of the toil of building up human happiness.

The foregoing two transformations would by themselves amount to a revolution in human affairs whose repercussions upon the events of world history would be incalculable. The indirect results of the realisation of the falsity not only of life after death but of heaven and hell, of the God, gods, goddesses and the myriads of angels, devils and spirits that inhabit the upper and the nether regions, are numerous and will multiply endlessly and would work radical transformations in the lives of all individuals, families, societies, communities, and nations. What stands in the way of the triumph of reason and perpetuated superstition is not merely the conspiracy of the vested interests of the priestly classes and their patrons but the lethargy, the unwillingness to change established habits, that is the characteristic feature of the common man and women everywhere. That is why people who are convinced by Rationalist propaganda are yet unable to stand by their convictions and refashion their lives in the light of their convictions.

What we have said above holds not only for India but for countries beyond the seas, over the entire world.

(Continued on page III)

Towards a New Individuality

By R. S. Yadava

MODERN man is feeling powerfully tempted to accept modern civilization. But he is accepting it only intellectually, if at all; his emotions remain tied to the past. Hence he wants to have the best of both the worlds. That is, he wants to enjoy the dynamic civilization of our age by himself remaining static and loyal to some older civilization. This however, is impossible to achieve today. Such a desire can only keep him out of tune with the objective conditions of our times and make him a split personality by creating an unbridgeable gulf between his intellect and his emotions.

This is one of the fundamental aspects of the crisis of modern man. Modern civilization pushes him forward to a new culture; the past drags him backwards. Hence he vibrates between a past that is intellectually hollow and the present which is emotionally empty for him. Naturally, he feels torn between the two and makes unhappy compromises with the old at the cost of the new values which alone can happily fit him with the present. Emotionally and morally unprepared for the new, the more he departs from the old the more loudly he cries for it and the more firmly he sticks to it. Little realizing that his old culture is inconsistent with modern civilization, his intensified culture-consciousness (like class-consciousness, caste-consciousness and nationality consciousness) only further solidifies the foundations of conflict between various culture-groups within a heterogenous society. In consequence, the progressivism of the modern individual is only nominal and skin-deep. No wonder, he stands as a pathetic figure confused, bewildered, torn and lost!

Hence the deepest problem of our times is the problem of creating a new individuality in consonance with the objective conditions under which we live. In other words, the crux of the problem for the lost individual is to re-find himself and to develop a new individuality in an unprecedentedly new social situation from which he cannot run away in any case.

How to resolve this crisis of the modern man? Obviously, the first step towards the solution of this problem is to realise that the tragedy of the lost individual is two fold—there is absence of harmony and coherence within our vastly complex society, and there is also no harmonious and coherent solution of its inter-connections in the imaginative and emotional outlook of the modern individual.

The second step is to realise that the creation of a new individuality is indispensable for creating social harmony at a new level and for bringing the modern man into harmony both within himself and with the new world of today. The inner jungle of man can be converted into a harmoniously cultivated garden

only when the principles and forces of integration at work in the external world are correspondingly reflected in the patterns of thought, imagination and emotions of the modern man. Only such a new and creative individuality can solve the contemporary crisis in culture. The gap between a merely intellectual appreciation of new values and a merely emotional appreciation of the old ones is bound to keep a person always restless, unhappy and guilty in feeling. It might, if prolonged, ultimately lead even to abnormality of mind and to disintegration of personality. The great problem is whether to adjust the new intellect to old emotions or to modify the old emotions in conformity with the new intellect. Since the former is an impossible task for a mentally alert person, it is wise to attempt the latter which alone is the way to create the new individuality needed today.

The third step is to realise that the methods of postponement, of avoidance, or of evasion of the logic of the problem is bound to fail in solving it. Solution by evasion, apart from being an immorality towards the victims of evasion, is creation of an illusion for one's own self because there can be no stable and balanced development of mind, emotions and character without the acceptance of one's growing responsibilities. A robust and courageous individuality cannot be created so long as one fears freedom to accept the new due to pressure and non-cooperation from the old. An individual can recreate himself only by bringing his ideas, ideals and emotions into harmony with the realities of the age in which he lives. The person with divided mind and emotions is bound to remain unhappy; and to surrender to undesirable tradition is to fossilize one's personality. Tradition is always the chief obstacle to the formation of a new individuality and so also to the creation of a new society. Hence it is foolish to miss an opportunity to outstep and outgrow the dwarfing bonds of tradition. To feel paralysed by the fear of painful immediate consequences is to forget the long-range benefits of a new life and a new individuality. It is dangerous to abandon the values of the new civilization and culture for those of the past, because a harmonious integration of one's personality within itself and with the outer world can be found only in its relevancy to the present. It is equally inimical to personality integration to adopt opportunistically the new standard for public life and the old one for private life, because it is bound to create a split personality, a hypocritic bent of mind, a deceptive appearance, a fraudulent character, a deceitful life. Hence the modern man must not hesitate to pay the cost of personal and social progress.

The fourth step is to realize that, if the modern man is to face the present realistically instead of withdrawing from it, the pattern of a new and effective indivi-

(Continued from page 1)

THE REVIVAL

duality must be framed out of the realistic possibilities of existing conditions. That is, the existing social realities must be bravely accepted and wisely directed according to their own potentialities and not according to one's pre-conceived notions and out-moded emotions. All vital inter-play and communication between individuals comes to an end as a result of conformity to the old that has become outmoded, and the life of both the individual and society becomes stagnant and tasteless. An enduring, effective and pleasing conformity with the old is possible only so long as it springs spontaneously and unconsciously out of the agreements of a harmonious society. But our modern heterogeneous society no longer permits this alternative to the modern man. Today, he can either not conform to the out-moded past or conform only artificially. But artificial conformity is sheer superficiality; it is a sign of an inner void in man, it is bound to be transitory and thus to remain in a state of continual flux; it can, therefore, never offer him a genuine and enduring happiness. Nay, it will not only keep the modern individual lost and fluctuating in the modern world, it is also bound to lead him gradually to stagnation, and oblivion. Non-conformity is, therefore, the only healthy way out of the modern situation.

The fifth step is to realise that, in human history, the world has not suffered anywhere so much from absence of ideals as by man's inability to practice them. This inability is the sure road to disaster, both personal and social. Hence accordance of action with ideals, even if costly in many ways, is the crying need of our age.

The sixth and the last step is the progressive act itself, whenever the occasion arises and in every sphere of life. To avoid action at the needed hour is to betray one's whole past development. It must further be remembered clearly that one cannot stand still and constant in life; one must either move forward or go back. Hence, if one refuses to move forward at any stage, one is bound to go back. A degeneration in personality make-up and regression in social life are the inevitable end-products of such a betrayal. And history rarely forgives its betrayers.

Thus, it is by actually taking all of the above six steps that modern man can develop a new individuality in himself and thereby be also helpful in the solution of the crisis of our age in the interest of mankind at large.

Obviously, the taking of these steps depends on mental enlightenment and moral courage. And this being so, social reconstruction today must begin with the moral reconstruction of the modern man according to a new enlightened morality, because there can be no moral society without moral individuals although the character of society also moulds the character of man.

(To be continued)

Judging by the output of rationalist, free-thought and humanist literature that reach us from various countries, it appears that the problems everywhere are very similar. It may be that in India we are thought to be backward, economically and in education. But in the so called advanced countries which pride themselves on the claim that they are in the vanguard of scientific progress and have elevated their people to the highest level of life, the problems appear strikingly the same. As instances we may quote the problem relating to religious education of children of tender age, the problem relating to the opposition to Birth Control and the planning of families and the problem relating to colour bar, caste or Varnashrama, by whatever name we may choose to call the bar sinister. Apparently the progress of scientific and technological developments have not helped to relax the conservative trend in human nature which persists in following established habits tethered to an out worn mythology. Universal education, the spread of a knowledge of science and even planned economic development so as to reach higher levels of life, do not achieve the desired and worthwhile object of freeing the human mind of the incubus of religious superstition. Nothing but a direct attack organised with the specific object of annihilating superstition root and branch can bring about the desired end. Hence the need for organised Rationalism. Hence the need for keeping up the publication of the *Indian Rationalist* at whatever cost. Hence also our deep debt of gratitude to Mr. R. B. Lotvala for the magnificent way he has come forward, in his advanced age, to help in keeping alive the torch of Rationalism in India.

ANNOUNCEMENT

"THE INDIAN RATIONALIST" is incorporated with "THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" with effect from 1st September 1959. The first copy of "THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN" containing the RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT will be sent to all subscribers of "THE INDIAN RATIONALIST."

Caste And Creation

By R. G. Kulkarni

Caste was conspicuous by its utter absence in the Rigveda period when people had a secular outlook and fantastic ideas like prebirth, rebirth etc. were unknown. Gritasamed, one of the authors of the Vedas, was a weaver by trade. Valmiki, a fisherman and one time dacoit, could become a seer, write an epic and win the honour of being called the "First-Poet." People, then, though very backward culturally, formed a more or less homogenous society and hardly anybody was denied opportunities.

But when we come to the age of the Yajurveda we find this egalitarian society uprooted and we see the emergence of the violent cult of Caste based on "blood and birth" warranting pompous sacrificialism and ritualism, involving animal and sometimes even human sacrifice: all this in the name of "VARNASHRAMA DHARMA."

If a pregnant woman studied the Vedas, she would be put to Death. The gruesome tale of the execution of Shambhuk, the molten lead assigned to be poured into the ears of low class Sudras who would dare listen to the holy recitals of scriptures, the outright condemnation of women as inferior stock, and similar practices indicate that free thought and love for humanity of the Rigvedic culture had vanished.

Krishna, the mythological creator of CHATURVARNA, is very often quoted by the advocates of the Caste system. This needs scrutiny in the light of his actual deeds and behaviour. In those days man was still a savage to some extent, and there was a great deal of tyranny practised on women. Krishna is said to have freed several thousand women from the clutches of tyrants like NARAKASURA and their gangs. This gave rise to a problem as to how to enable these women to settle in life. People had contempt for soiled gloves, and so nothing but appalling misery awaited these women. Krishna took a bold decision and married these women and assimilated them by giving them a status in Society. Such regard for helpless women was also displayed by the Prophet of Arabia. It was Krishna's contribution towards women's emancipation that made him great and poets called him God incarnate.

When I was a boy, I was fond of attending Bhajan and Kirtan parties where stories about Rama and Krishna were told. But nowhere did I hear or read that Krishna hinted at Varnawise or Castewise assortment of the 16,000 women he married. It appears impossible that Narakasura and his gang who originally kidnapped them took the trouble to choose women of the same Caste as Krishna. It appears equally impossible that the priestly order which had been all along alert and active, kicking and crushing the violators of caste rules should have kept mum over intercaste or inter-varna marriages of Krishna. Or is it that Krishna had

nothing to do with Varna or Caste? I think that Krishna blew up the myth of Caste.

I cannot help mentioning one more thing about Krishna. He is depicted as a most cunning and enticing gallant. His role as a rebel against the unthinking orthodoxy of his times is either forgotten or deliberately ignored; whereas the violent intolerance he displayed in killing his critic SISUPAL has been idealised. The tendency to idealise and revive past savagery is found in some people in almost all countries. They quote authorities from ancient literature and mythologies, that are fraught with stories of savage acts told in extolling tone, and men like Godse, Ilamdin and Khudabux are misled. In the past, wily rulers exploited this tendency, gave a twist to tradition and mythologies, and misled people, making ugly many pages of history.

In the early twenties there was a Conference presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Some people felt the urgent need for the abolition of social evils arising out of Caste tyranny and oppression. They tabled a resolution, a quite moderate one, before the Conference:—to consider "whether the untouchables should be allowed to say 'NAMAHSIVAYA' with or without the holy OM.

Much discussion took place. Rambling and Wrangling went on continuously for three days and at the end nothing was decided. The sponsors of the motion tried to hack and hew the LITTLE ROCK, and then they came to know that they were butting against the big Rock of religion. They took to their heels.

NOTICE

This first issue of the *Indian Rationalist* which is published as a Supplement to the "Indian Libertarian" is sent to all the members of Indian Rationalist Association, inclusive of those whose subscriptions are in arrears. But it is requested that arrears of subscriptions be remitted immediately on receipt of this issue. We regret that we shall not be able to post the next issue to members and subscribers who are in arrears of their subscriptions. Subscribers who are not members of "The Indian Rationalist Association" should send their Subscriptions to the editor, "Indian Libertarian," Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Major Factors in American Economic Growth

By Carl F. Oechsle

OUR very emphasis in the United States on optimum freedom and self-development means that America's economy is characterized by growth, by geographical shifts, by competition which results in expansion, contraction, location, and re-location.

In only the last 50 years our population has doubled. But even more dramatically, our per capita output has also doubled, so that today our gross national product—in real terms—is four times what it was in 1909.

The implications of the rapid changes in the size, location and character of business enterprise in America should be clear to anyone who has a mature viewpoint. At every step of the way, change has meant that some individuals and some industries have been affected, often adversely.

Those with vested interests in the *status quo* often found themselves rendering a service or producing a product for which demand had disappeared. Others found that new sources of power energy, new processes, or new materials had made their products, location or plant obsolete. Still others found that old markets had disappeared, or were served by new foreign or domestic competitors.

These facts have inevitably spelled failures and temporary unemployment for some, while yielding new business and job opportunities for many. It has been well and truly stated that no war, no strike, no depression, can so completely destroy an established business or its profits, as new and better methods, equipment and materials in the hands of an enlightened competitor.

Nevertheless, such has been the vigour of the U.S. economy that 1958—a recession year—wound up with a record business population of 4.6 million firms, or around 26 per thousand population.

Incidentally, and in the light of our rapidly expanding population, this ratio of around 26 firms per thousand has persisted for over a decade. In 1900 the ratio was about 21. The increasing ratio indicates a greater rate of growth in business concerns than in population over the last half-century, except for sharp dips in wartime and periods of depression.

Business failures, even in the recession period 1957-58, were a little over 50 per 10,000 firms as contrasted with 92 in 1900 and in 1928. But the number of new business incorporations reached a record high in 1958. This seems to indicate that businessmen were confident of opportunities—particularly in small business—even in a recession year.

MAJOR FACTORS FOR GROWTH

What have been the major factors in our growth over the past 50 years at the annual rate of 3 per cent?

How have we doubled our per capita output since 1909? These related questions deserve a clear answer. Fortunately, Commerce Department economists have given it, in a recent publication of our Office of Business Economics entitled "U.S. Income and Output."

Starting with that annual growth rate of 3 per cent, it is noted that aggregate number of man-hours has increased about one per cent per year since 1909. Employment expanded about 1½ per cent per year, but this was accompanied and substantially offset by a sharp decline in the length of the work-week and work-day.

So, the remaining 2 per cent in annual growth had to come from what the statisticians call "output per man-hour worked"—more briefly, productivity.

This factor, broken down into its constituent parts, means gains in technology, management skills, a high rate of capital formation including natural resource development, plus constant advances in the education and skills of the workers.

Add to these, the economies of mass-production and mass-marketing associated with our population growth, free markets and national advertising, and the stage was set for achievement of the highest standard of living for the most people.

The story is particularly dramatic in the case of manufacturing. Over the last 30 years the amount of capital per man-hour increased over one-third. While the number of man-hours worked was increasing only 40 per cent, the physical amount of capital applied in manufacturing production virtually doubled and output rose to 2½ times its 1929 volume.

The conclusion reasonably to be drawn from these facts is that the kind of economic growth we have experienced is greater than can be accounted for by input of either man-hours worked, or the tangible capital assets such as plant and equipment dedicated to production.

Less tangible assets were at work which cannot be neatly measured by known quantitative standards, and which can only be indicated by such phrases as education, skills and technological and managerial progress.

These intangibles, in turn, boil down to our people and their response to the opportunities and incentives which our way of life provides. Government's best contribution to economic development has been preserving a climate friendly to enterprise and all that connotes in terms of private incentives for saving, investment and hard work.

To achieve a faster rate of growth requires more in the future of those ingredients which have been successfully used in the past.

Socialism--Has it Become A Doctrine Of The Past ?

By A. D. Shroff

PEOPLE who believe in free enterprise have often been charged with being out of date. But when one sees that even so-called socialist countries like Austria and Yugoslavia going back on nationalisation and renouncing dogmas of earlier day socialism, one is baffled at the reactionary thinking and policies of socialists and communists in this country who believe that heaven can be brought to this earth by adopting the socialist pattern of society.

A classic example of disillusionment in socialist ranks is to be found in the United Kingdom. Let us see what some of the biggest socialist leaders of the United Kingdom have to say on socialist dogmas which they believed in to start with.

Earl Attlee, who was the Prime Minister of the Labour (Socialist) Government in the United Kingdom, has said:

"We talked a great deal of theory but we did not know very much about practice.....None of us is certain whether we have the right set-up in the nationalised industries...Even if you nationalise everything you haven't a Socialist society."

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the fiery left-winger, said:

"The trouble with Boards of the nationalised industries is that they are constitutional outrage..... This was a mistake for which I must accept my share of responsibility."

There is something much more interesting. Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, a Labourite M.P. and a leading member in expounding the policies of the British Labour Party, has said:

"More and more serious minded people are having second thoughts about what once seemed to them the obvious advantage of central planning and the extension of State ownership. Among the factors which have antagonised them I would list..... the discovery that the Labour Government's 'Socialism' meant the establishment of a number of vast bureaucratic public corporations, which failed to fulfil the two essential requirements of Socialism, namely, that a State owned industry should be fully responsible to Parliament and give a share of management to its workers. Nationalisation has not changed the lives of the workers in the industries affected in the way they expected. It has been a disappointment to the Trade Union Movement."

Mr. Norman Dodds, another socialist M.P., said:

"Some of those who holler most for more nationalisation do not know even the fundamentals of running a fried fish and chip shop or a cockle stall."

Mr. Francis Noel-Baker, M.P., has said:

"Although I am a Socialist Member of the House

of Commons, I do not happen to be particularly enthusiastic about the wholesale extension of nationalisation at the present time.

"In fact, I believe that we should do better to concentrate first on improving the organisation and methods of some of the industries nationalised between 1945 and 1950."

Mr. T. Balogh who is known as Socialist Economist has said:

"No Socialist should be surprised by the hostility of the workers in certain private industries against nationalisation.....The basic objection to private industry is its almost complete irresponsibility towards its own workers. What we have created (in the nationalised industries) is, if anything, worse."

What is happening in Yugoslavia and Austria, supposedly socialist countries, is equally interesting. For instance, in Austria, Chambers of Commerce are consulted on matters relating to commerce and tariff. But for the last 10 years, our experience in this country is that business men as a class and also as individuals must be treated as pariahs so far as the Government is concerned. There has been so much misunderstanding of private enterprisers in India that the ruling authorities and leading bureaucrats have made it a part of their religion not to go near these New Untouchables.

I do not know who is the winner and who is the loser. A very close study of the running of various public enterprises would possibly reveal an effective answer. But in recent months, criticism of public enterprise not only by the public, but by independent and competent journalists, has so much irritated the Prime Minister that in defence of the public sector, he thought it was good to attack the private sector. For instance, in one of his speeches recently, he referred to what he called the "Captains of Industry". He said that he was not terribly impressed by captains of industry in this country. I want to assure the Prime Minister that his impression of the industrialists and business men of the country is not going to make the business men go into sack-cloth and ashes. Moreover, while he may not be terribly impressed with the record of captains of industry in this country, business men as a whole are not very much impressed by either the policies or the actions of the Government which he leads.

Had our ruling authorities cared even to consult the private sector in certain matters before something went wrong in ambitious ventures into which the Government had embarked, this country would have been saved crores of rupees which have been wasted during the last few years. Let us see what has happened in connection with the expansion of the steel industry in the public sector. Despite the fact that the private sector had gone into this industry and had acquired

tremendous experience during the last 50 years, every possible effort that one can conceive of was made to keep the steel industry in the private sector at an arm's length. The result was, added to other typical bureaucratic phenomena, the cost of steel projects in state sector exceeded estimates beyond reasonable measure.

Very recently the Prime Minister even said that Tatas, with 50 years' experience, were inefficient and incompetent because the estimates of expansion had been exceeded in their new scheme. The public, of course, does not know what is happening. I will give only one illustration. When the Tatas embarked on their expansion programme, they had the service of an American organisation, Kaisers. The maximum number of American technicians that Tatas had during the scheme of expansion was 115. It has been officially admitted that there are about 700 Russian technicians at Bhilai and more than 800 German technicians at Rourkela. The estimates of public sector steel plants, apart from such important factors like the one mentioned, have gone on a holiday.

One of the biggest tragedies in the country today is the arrogance which our bureaucrats have developed since independence. I have personal experience of discussing this matter with some of our highly placed bureaucrats who honestly believe that there is nothing

under the sun which they cannot do. As a matter of fact, they have made themselves believe that they could do jobs on industries better than the private sector. One thing which disturbed me during my recent visit to the U.S.A. is that whilst persons like me are making every effort to stimulate interest amongst private investors in the U.S. in the possibilities of Indian economic development, some of the highly placed officials from the Government of India have been going round that country with the specific job of telling the American investors that private sector in India is incapable of doing the job before the country. From this, one can understand the mentality of the bureaucrats who have developed into *Chota Hitlers*. One finds it difficult to believe that they are the only people who are going to deliver the goods to this country in the matter of large-scale and rapid economic development.

Fortunately, today large sections of people in our country are dissatisfied with what is happening and are becoming increasingly aware of the dangers facing the freedom of the individual and the democratic way of life. I am sure that if we all independently persist in giving expression without fear or favour to the views that we hold, the day of deliverance from the horrors of a socialist society cannot be very far away.

History And The Modern World

By S. J. Koder

Why do historians hesitate to express opinions on today's problems?

IT is a curious thing that modern historians—are reluctant to pronounce upon the issues and affairs of the contemporary world. Though this reluctance on their part is understandable, historians are apt to carry this abnegation too far. After all, if anyone is qualified by his subject to say anything useful about the situation that confronts us, the issues that are in discussion, the prospects that open before us, it is surely the historian. Who else? Up till yesterday it was the philosopher who regarded this as his province, who took upon himself to give us guidance; before that it was the theologian. In the breakdown of the transcendent claims of philosophy, the abdication of the philosophers themselves, who remains but the historian? And, after all, it is his business to study human affairs in a long perspective, to watch the ups and downs of societies, not to be influenced by too short term a view of things. The historian has undoubted advantages; perhaps he has something useful to say.

Let me say quite boldly, then—perhaps too audaciously—what as a historian I expect in our time. After a long period of doctrinal conflict I expect to see peace for the rest of our lives and a return to common sense, and age of reason, of greater toleration and understanding, from the strife of exclusive faiths and fanaticisms. You may say that is expecting a lot; and of course it depends upon certain contingencies.

On the other hand, historians have seen that kind of thing happen before, and perhaps we may take hope from it. The problem for us is to achieve an integrated society, a new basis for integration. The unity and common characteristics of eighteenth-century society were given by the unity of the European aristocracy of that age. Nothing is more agreeable than the way their friendships and cultural contacts were carried on across national frontiers even in time of war. They did not allow it to interfere with serious business of enjoying life.

Now in our time, underneath all the conflicts going on on the surface, the mutual exclusiveness between political creeds, Communism and Fascism, totalitarianism and democracy, and the Western powers—underneath it all I see a certain deep social movement common to us all: the emergence of the working classes into the foreground of the picture, into the leading place in society. That is what gives the common character to our time; that is what all, or most, of our problems, are about. Such a prodigious social movement is bound to bring in its wake all kinds of malaises and maladjustments, shifts of an almost geological character. It is our business to tackle these problems, to work them out as other ages did theirs—or failed—to make our adjustments and find our solutions. It is a gigantic task; but it is the task of our time. And—

here is my point—I suggest that there must be a basis for the new integration of society.

I think I see clearly what our job is: to work out in political and social life that new integration on the basis of the working classes, now freed and emancipated, while at the same time preserving and communicating the cultural values of the old European order which were essentially aristocratic. I see the job of each one of us who is concerned with education, to understand and interpret and thereby carry over into the new social order the values and creative achievements of the mind and spirit in which the old order was so fertile.

If I may go back for a moment to my expectation of an epoch of peace and moderation and common sense—no great enthusiasms or fanatical illusions (we have had too much of all that), a period during which we can work out the problems of the new society—it is precisely here. It seems that there is as good a chance or perhaps rather a better one than elsewhere, of reconciling the conflicting demands of contemporary society for economic equality while retaining the liberty of the individual. If we can strike a due balance between the economic controls of Socialism while leaving plenty of scope for free enterprise and individual liberty, in short a “mixed polity,” we shall have achieved something that is very much in the tradition of our history and at the same time made a cardinal contribution to the contemporary world.

Civilization and culture to be at their best need a certain smallness, and a certain integration. The great continental land-masses are not favourable ground for the development of culture. They lack integration: they are too big. It is impossible, it seems, to get a satisfactory culture going in them; true contacts of mind are too difficult.

Though we do not want to make Power our sole end and aim, or even our touchstone, on the other hand we must not ignore it. We need to seek and find a middle way. The cult of Power for its own sake, is all wrong, culturally sterilizing and apt to defeat itself and, on the other side, the abnegation of power, which is also wrong, leads to an abdication of duty and responsibility.

We should all agree, I suppose, about the chief contingency: the division between East and West that darkens the scene. We should be not too pessimistic about that. I do not much respect the prophets who are for ever crying havoc—and who make rather a good thing out of it. Underneath their differences East and West are engaged in the same fundamental task, working out a society in which the common people take the leading place. The great danger is that of a mass-culture. And here, we in the West are better placed, with our far longer and deeper traditions of culture in our respective societies. We have indeed every reason to have confidence in what Western society stands for: individual liberty as well as social justice, freedom of the human spirit, the sanctity of human life, for we believe that those are the cardinal values of civilized life.

Let us take them as our watchwords in this period, which we have some ground for thinking may be one

of peace and reconstruction, the following—Reason and Moderation, Common Sense and Reconciliation.

WARNING TO NEHRU 30-YEAR OLD PROPHECY RECALLED

“I warn you, Jawahar, that your present colleagues will desert you. They will leave you in the lurch in a crisis. Your own Congressmen will send you to the gallows.” Mr. Nehru records this solemn warning of Maulana Mohamed Ali in his “Autobiography,” and dismisses it as “a dismal prophecy.” Ominously, the events of the past few weeks indicate that Maulana Mohamed Ali’s 30-year old prophecy is now threatening to materialise, at least partly.

Mr. Nehru’s erstwhile colleagues in the Congress, Rajaji and Munshi, to name only two, have turned his vehement critics and have raised their banner of revolt. It is just the beginning. Where all this will lead to, it is not for everyone to guess. But everyone is pained at the sad spectacle of Nehru and Rajaji being engaged in a world warfare. This is all the more painful because right now, India can ill-afford to lose the service of either or brook any widening of the gulf between them. If Nehru captures the heart of the Indian masses by his mesmeric spell, Rajaji captivates their intellect by appealing to reason. The question is not one of Rajaji supplanting Nehru but of supplementing him.

The crying need of the hour is; they should stop talking at each other but begin talking with each other.

This is a pointer to the widespread regret that is prevailing over the rift that is taking apart the top leaders of the nation—Nehru and Rajaji. This is a development which will ill-serve the nation; and the whole country looks out to the coming into the scene of a person of the eminence of late Sapru or Jayakar to bring them together so that they would put down the swords they seem to have drawn and iome together for the nation’s benefit.

Along with this has come into existence a growing apprehension that the formation of the Swatantra Party and the defection from Congress of persons like Munshi is the prelude to a revolt in the party which will affect the nation itself.

—*The Malbar Herald*

WHY NATIONALISATION?

We are convinced Socialists. We understand from our point of view that you may call the long-run case for nationalisation. But the millions of electors we have to convince, including many millions of labour supporters, are not quite so well educated in Socialism as that, and they will not be satisfied if, when they ask, “Why are you proposing to take over this industry?” you simply reply, “Because that is Socialism.” They want to know what the specific reasons are for nationalising.

—*Hugh Gaitskell*

The Orgonomic Concept of Health and its Social Consequences

By Ola Raknes, Ph.D.

(This is the concluding part of the article which appeared in the August 15th issue)

In Sweden, Elise Ottesen-Jensen, who certainly has a more extensive knowledge of sex life in that country than anyone else, has compiled statistics on the sexual experiences of women. They showed that one-third stated that they had full enjoyment in intercourse, another one-third some enjoyment in it, while for the last third, intercourse was not enjoyed and was more of a burden. . . . There is reason to believe that many of those who stated that they had a satisfactory sex life, merely did not know what a gratifying sex life is.

You have noticed that when I spoke of the sickness rate I spoke only of neurotic and sexual disturbances. This is and was more of a burden. . . . There those illnesses that directly or indirectly stem from disturbances in biological pulsation all have a neurotic and a sexual aspect, even though they may not usually be considered neuroses or sexual difficulties.

Since biological pulsation is the basic function of the life process, Reich found it useful to give a special common name—biopathies—to the illnesses that derive from disturbances in this function. Among the biopathies, he counted first, neuroses and psychoses; next, illnesses like cancer, cardio-vascular diseases, epilepsy, multiple sclerosis, St. Vitus' dance anaemia, chronic alcoholism and others. . . . One must say that these illnesses, the biopathies, represent one of the most important problems of present-day medical science. Their prevention is an equally great problem in the upbringing of children, in education and in social policies.

To a large extent disturbances in biological pulsation derive from hindrances of the child's natural movements—hindrances that are a regular feature of the usual upbringing. All manifestations of life take the form of movements; and the hindrances are usually called inhibitions. There is general agreement that the inhibitions originate in conflict situations. Freud was of the opinion that the basic conflicts were between the child's instinctual impulses, and the reactions of parents, educators and others.

Reich was of the opinion that the inhibition of genital sexuality especially, caused neuroses. He found that along with every neurosis went a disturbance in genital sexuality, so that no neurotic was orgasmically potent. Personally I believe the decisive element is whether the child experiences the inhibition as a brake on or prohibition of its search for pleasure *per se*. If the child feels this, it will no longer be capable of being entirely absorbed in any primary search for pleasure, be it in sexual or in any other kind of activity. What made both Freud and Reich regard the inhibition of sexuality as the primary damage was the fact that in every neurosis there is a disturbance of the

sexual function. Only later did they find that in every single case there is also a corresponding disturbance in the ability to work. Experience in the psychotherapeutic clinic shows that the capacity for complete surrender is one and indivisible, no matter whether in a sexual embrace or in a task or in work. This ability is what Reich has called orgasmic potency, and its prerequisite is free biological pulsation.

A FEELING OF UNITY

Let me briefly enumerate some of the most important orgonomic psychological criteria of this basic prerequisite of health—that biological pulsation is free and in order.

1. Capacity for complete concentration, be it on a piece of work, a task, a conversation, or in a genital embrace, and a feeling of unity both in that which one is and in that which one does.

2. Capacity for and feeling of contact, both with oneself and with other people, with nature and art and, for instance, with the tool one uses in one's work; mention should also be made here of an ability to receive impressions, of having the courage and the will to allow things and events to make impressions.

3. Freedom from anxiety where there is no danger, and ability to react rationally even in dangerous situations—and courage to enter voluntarily into dangerous situations where one sees a rational and important purpose in doing so.

4. A deep and enduring feeling of wellbeing and strength, a feeling of which one can become aware each time one directs attention to it, even when struggling with difficulties or when feeling bodily pain. Some of this feeling can be traced to the feelings of pleasure in the genitals during exhalation.

Some of the most important somatic criteria of the organism's free pulsation include:

1. Orgasm occurs at fairly even intervals, with a complete momentary loss of consciousness and involuntary convulsions in the entire body.

2. The entire organism has a good tonus; the body stature is elastically erect; no cramps or jerks.

3. The skin is warm with a plentiful blood supply, the color reddish or slightly tanned; the sweat may be warm.

4. The muscles can change between tension and relaxation, being, however, neither chronically contracted nor flaccid; peristalsis is easy; no constipation or hemorrhoids.

5. The facial features are lively and mobile, never set or masklike. The eyes are clear with lively pupil

reactions, and the eyeballs are neither protruding nor sunken.

6. There is complete deep exhalation with a pause before new inhalation; free and easy movement of the chest.

7. The pulse is usually regular, calm and strong; normal blood pressure, neither too high nor too low.

8. The red corpuscles are full, with tight membrane without wrinkles or spikes; they show a strong, broad orgone margin and disintegrate slowly into big bions in physiological saline.

9. There is, finally, a broad and changing orgone field around the entire organism.

WHAT ARE CONSEQUENCES OF LOOKING AT HEALTH ORGONOMICALLY?

This point of view will change the art and science of medicine and of therapy. It will be less concerned with individual symptoms than with their basis, namely the disturbances in free biological pulsation, and therefore with the energy economy of the organism. We will be constantly attentive to the best way to remove those disturbances in order that the organism may again function freely. What a therapist discovers can serve as a basis for improvements in both the therapeutic technique and the future preventive work. A mere therapy of symptoms is not pertinent, nor is it pure psycho-therapy, but a biotherapy, since it tries to heal the damage to the central life functions.... The more freely the therapist is functioning himself, the better his chances are of being a good therapist when he gets the organomic knowledge required, which includes both a solid medical and psychological education.....

In the long run, our main emphasis must be on the prevention of biopathies. This work must be laid partly through biotherapy of adults, and increasingly through child therapy and a biotherapeutically-oriented child psychology.... Research projects are under way to find out what furthers and what impedes the free biological pulsation of the infant. This includes studying the pregnant mother to see if her pulsations are of any significance to the child.

It is probably self-evident that the work of biotherapists or child psychologists alone will not suffice. They must carry the parents, the educators, and above all the teachers of small children, along with them. They must have the approval of public opinion, and creating this public opinion, falls on the psychologists, the therapists and teachers. We must make available to all teachers and parents the knowledge about this biological basis of health, so that they can feel and experience enough of it so that they are capable of natural contact with children, and of seeing at least the cruder forms of inhibitions in biological pulsation.... I think it will take less time, work and expense to give a large number of teachers the necessary knowledge of and experience in biotherapy than it would take to provide them with corresponding psychoanalytic knowledge and experience.

In the long run, however, if society is to get rid of

the biopathies, the new view must come to be expressed in social institutions and in politics, especially in school and housing policies. The factor which I would mention first in spreading the biological foundation for health, is the need for natural activity, which is one of the most important sources of pleasure, and a necessary regulator of the psycho-physical economy. If the sexual activity is free, it will be easier for an individual to find adequate outlets for his other activities, either by adapting to external circumstances where this is necessary or by reshaping the environment.

As you understand, such knowledge of the biological foundation of health would conflict with the view of morals which is still most prevalent among a large proportion of people. A consequence of such a view of health would be that each individual—child, youth, adult, and old person—had the sex life corresponding to his or her need, when this need did not conflict with the right of other people to their own person. Acknowledgement of this right would make an end to much of that censoriousness which is raging so fiercely in many circles. The right to a satisfactory genital love-life would also imply a demand for housing so that each person could be alone or in just one other person's company when he or she felt the need for it. As far as I can see four things would be needed in order to meet the need of a satisfactory housing standard: (1) a general increase in productivity with a view to more housing units; (2) a far-reaching rise in people's economic status, (3) a conscious regulation of the number of children, (4) a considerable reduction in unproductive expenses, i.e., in the defense expenses.

The concept of health that I have tried to present has its basis in the study of the neuroses and of neurosis-therapy, later widening to the biopathies in general, and to the laws of energy that operate here. The study of the cosmic orgone energy shows that these same laws of energy that we find regulate our own biological functioning are valid also in the universe in general. This is the energy which makes itself felt in the life-creating and life-furthering processes, and if one wants to accept the definition of the American theologian, Wieman, who defines God as the creating process, one can say that the work—in therapy, in the rearing of children and in social policy—which builds on these laws of energy, is a work according to God's will.

—Balanced Living

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Concomitants Of Neutralism

(From our Correspondent)

It is not difficult to see through the divergence in the defence of the Presidential Proclamation offered by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister in the Lok Sabha—"mass upsurge" and subverting the Constitution—and the reasons therefor. If they have been caught between two minds it is for good reasons, for the only alternative was a forthright confession that the action now taken at long last should have been taken long ago. That would have been a confession of a blunder arising from Mr. Nehru's neutralism and was therefore naturally considered out of the question.

The whole episode smacks of the hole and corner business for which our foreign policy is getting notorious and which is a necessary concomitant of neutralism in a democratic country. Mr. Nehru has long been notorious for running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, a very profitable pastime in a country where criticism is synonymous with offensiveness. This Kerala business furnishes another instance of that dual and dubious policy. If the two defenders of the Presidential Proclamation had said in the words of Article 356 of the Constitution that "the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution", because it has not been so carried on for the last two and a half years that the Communist Government of Kerala has been in being, the question would have arisen: "Why then have you been tolerating this violation of the Constitution for the last two and a half years?" And to that question there would have been no answer, as no one in the Government dare expose the nature of Mr. Nehru's neutralism as one tending to tear the Constitution to pieces.

AN OBEDIENT GOVERNOR

No honest man can quarrel with the proposition advanced by the Kripalanis that the Presidential Proclamation was long overdue. This is proved by the array of facts marshalled by the Home Minister and in that weightiest of documents, the Governor's Report to the President, a summary of which minus the confidential portion was placed on the table of the House. The facts of the case being as stated by the Home Member and the Kerala Governor, the question arises: "Had the Governor of Kerala been hibernating for the last two and a half years?" (The report refers to acts of omission and commission indulged in by the Communist Government from the very beginning of its coming into power and maintains that the allegations made against the Government are substantially true). Yet he cannot be said to have been hibernating soundly for he had been keeping the Central Ministers well-informed through letters. (This fact came out in the debate). But he was hibernating to the extent that he did not submit his report to the President a year

or two earlier, as he might well have done on the facts of the case.

Since the Governor has not been taken to task for his hibernation, it is legitimate to assume that he sent the report when he was asked to do so, that is, when the Central Government had made up its mind to intervene. And the Central Government made up its mind to intervene not because the Constitution began to be violated by the State Government—the violation had been going on for two and a half years—but because the mass upsurge in the State left the Government no alternative.

This reminds one of similar incidents in the forties. When Subhas Chandra Bose was invading India with Japanese support, Jawaharlal Nehru declared he would "fight Subhas sword in hand." But when there was mass rioting in Calcutta and other places to secure the release of INA prisoners, Mr. Nehru changed his attitude and later even donned the lawyer's coat and collar to defend the leading INA prisoners in the trial in the Red Fort of Delhi.

NEHRU GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGING COMMUNISTS

Two facts emerged from the debate unequivocally. The first is that the Central Government had all along been partial to the Kerala Government in ignoring its misdeeds and consistent defiance of the Constitution for reasons which are anybody's guess. The Nehru Government may indeed be said to have been encouraging the Kerala Government. Can any one imagine this sort of thing going on anywhere under Sardar Patel's home ministership? The Communists were banking safely enough on Nehru's neutralism and that is why they went as far as they did in Kerala. Mr. Dange confessed as much when he said what had happened represented the "fall of the Prime Minister. . . . His chariot has fallen and he has become as mortal as others. . . His reputation is lost." But they did not expect—nobody did—the miracle that happened in Kerala, the "mass upsurge," the real cause of the Presidential Proclamation which really led to the decision to dismiss the Communist Ministry. While this mass upsurge is very heartening to democrats, as it should be, for nothing like it has happened since we gained our independence, the wisdom of making such an upsurge the reason of the Presidential Proclamation may well be doubted. Mr. Dange rightly characterised the agitation in Kerala as a declaration of rebellion to overthrow a Government by forcible means and wanted to know whether this would be allowed to the Communists in other States and the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Bombay.

In this case the rebellion was justified because the

State Government itself had rebelled against the Constitution. Nevertheless the Central Government was prepared to offer all military assistance! "The majesty of law and the rule of law were virtually abrogated?" declared Pandit Pant, but that did not prevent him, as he declared in the course of the debate, from assuring all military help, moving troops to the State border and ordering flag marches by the military in certain areas where firing had taken place. (Such are the defenders of our Constitution!) The Communists naturally did not ask for intensive military aid, as it would have, they feared, furnished an excuse to the Central Government to intervene. But surely the Home Member was talking with his tongue in his cheek when he said the Government was prepared to render all military assistance while he took over the State because its Government did not ask for it. This is in the best Hitlerite fashion. Although few can legitimately question the soundness of the Government decision, the contrary reasons advanced therefor smack of cowardice and vacillation in the face of clear duty and therefore the Central Government cannot be said to have set a good example.

The Constitution should be treated as something sacred. Since the Communists have yet to liberate the country to make it a tool of Moscow, they may not be expected to respect the Constitution—"Charter of Slavery" as they called it in 1950. But, surely, the Prime Minister of the country and the Government of the very party which fashioned the Constitution should not treat that sacred document with scant courtesy. That they do so is the one deplorable fact which emerges from the debate in the Lok Sabha. Are the people to die in their hundreds and thousands before the Central Government can be made to realise that the Government of a State is not being carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution or is subverting it? Is it for illiterate and uneducated people to sacrifice themselves in order to make the Central Cabinet realise that government in a state is violating the constitution of the land? This is a very funny state of things which can only be natural to the state of mind of a man whose sense of fairplay and justice is given to hybernation.

GOVERNOR'S REPORT TO PRESIDENT

The Kerala Governor's Report to the President is in many respects a strange and unconvincing document. Apart from the major objection to it as to why one was not submitted by him to the President earlier when the Kerala Government was not conducting itself in accordance with the Constitution of the land, there are several minor defects in it which lead one to suspect its genuineness. For example, the summary supplied to the Lok Sabha (prepared by the Governor himself) contains the following: "The present is the seventh ministry which lasted for a period of 28 months, which is slightly less than that of Mr. T. K. Narayan Pillai's ministry." The sentence indicates that the dismissal of the ministry was an accomplished fact when the report was written, while the President in his Proclamation dismissing the ministry refers to the fact of his having received a report from the Governor of Kerala.

The use of the past tense instead of the present indefinite occurs again and again suggesting that the report was written after the Proclamation and not before it. Farther on he says: "Coupled with this was the discrimination shown towards labour disputes. It became clear that the object of consolidating and expanding the sphere of influence of AITUC against non-Communist labour unions was the reason for this discrimination."

The Governor also enters an apology on behalf of the Central Government, as if it is part of his business to defend it in his report to the President on Kerala, making his report look like a draft of a speech prepared for the Home Member. Says he: "In treating the State Government in this spirit of accommodation, the Central Government was not only guided by the principle of non-interference in matters which fell within the purview of the State according to the Constitution, but also by the consideration that a party, which is in opposition at the Centre, was in power in Kerala, and that any insistence by the Centre on their own views would create misunderstandings." Apart from the absurdity of taking up the brief of the Central Government, the Governor seems to suggest that Government should not only be but seem fair to the accused. What a hopeless proposition!

The Governor goes out of his proper sphere again when he quotes Kripalani to answer the Communist contention that giving of benefits to one's own party was also to be found in other states governed by the Congress.

Many allegations have been reproduced in the report which, coming as it does from the Governor of a state, might well have been expected to be more definite accusations. For example:

"There was a recent instance where the Government is alleged to have promoted a circle inspector over the head of thirty seniors as a reward for his loyalty. It is said that this particular officer had a bad record and some of his actions as investigating officer had come in for adverse remarks by courts."

It may well be that the Governor was taken unawares and was asked to submit his report to the President rather suddenly and he had no time for the necessary investigation as the previous orders were to sit still and do nothing.

STRENGTHENING NEHRU'S HANDS

Referring to the financial position of the State, the Governor says: "It has to be admitted that this state of affairs is not peculiar to Kerala. Some other state governments also seem to be in a similar position." Surely it was rather irresponsible for the Governor of a state in his report to the President on Kerala to refer to the state of affairs in other states without even being sure about it. This assessment of the situation could have been left to the President and his advisers, who doubtless knew better about the financial state of various states.

Supporting the Prime Minister's proposal for mid-term elections—again a work of super-erogation—the

Governor says: "In all democratic countries where parliamentary government obtains the practice is for the Government itself to offer to resign and to hold re-elections in case there is overwhelming opposition to any of Government's measures, or when there is a widespread demand for general elections." But no one has so far heard of a Government resigning and seeking the verdict of the electorate at a time when the popular tide is against it. One wonders where the Kerala Governor has been getting his facts from. The Prime Minister's proposal regarding mid-term elections, which seemed fair, was in fact most unfair to the Kerala Government. Nor is there anything particularly wrong in creating "this perpetual division of Communist and non-Communist citizens of Kerala." Admitting the necessity of considering the Communist Party legal—as a matter of fact there is no such necessity even having regard to our foreign policy—democratic Britain has boasted of two main parties for centuries.

The concluding portion of the Governor's Report contains a gem rare for its unconscious humour: "While the securing of a majority of seats in the legislature, however meagre, is very relevant at the time of forming a government, it cannot be pleaded as conferring a continuing right to claim the confidence of the majority."

All this unconvincing rigmarole was hardly required when the case against the ministry was one of defying the most salient provision in the Preamble to the Constitution giving equality to all citizens and thus outlawing the existence of a privileged class.

WITHOUT COMMENT

Mr. V. Shankar, who is being appointed advisor to the Kerala Governor, will continue to hold charge of his present office of Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs. Mr. Shankar will visit Delhi for a week every month to dispose of work relating to the Directorate General of Posts and Telegraphs. Since Mr. Shankar's stay in Kerala will be for about six months, the duration of the President's rule, a new incumbent is not being appointed as Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, because he will take a few months to familiarise himself with the job.

NEWS DIGEST

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR KERALA

Mr. P. K. Kunju, a former Praja-Socialist Minister of the Travancore-Cochin State, said that only a national Government consisting of the representatives of all parties excluding Communists would be able to deliver the goods in Kerala and that all concerned should try to create a congenial atmosphere in which people would begin to think on such lines.

Mr. Kunju was speaking at a public meeting at Tri-vandrum on August 9, organised by the city committee of the PSP to observe Martyrs' Day.

—Malbar Herald

CHINA INDIFFERENT TO INDIA?

In a statement to the Lok Sabha by the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, it was indicated that Peking was strangely remaining without responding to India's appeal to remove restrictions on Indians and persons of Indian origin from Ladakh and other places, who consider themselves Indian Nationals, so that they could either be registered as Indian nationals or allowed to return to India.

The occasion was taken advantage of by a Congress member, Mr. Pahadia, to know if the Government had kept in view "the happenings of last year and deeds of China" when India decided to raise the question of China's admission in the U.N.O.

—Malbar Herald

U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN

U.S. aid to Pakistan in the past 12 months has included approximately these amounts:

Military aid: \$75,000,000; defence support grants: \$93,000,000; development loans: \$90,000,000 surplus U.S. agricultural products sales for rupees, the proceeds to be loaned and given back to Pakistan: \$60,000,000; and technical aid: \$5,800,000.

—Organiser

RANGA'S EXPLANATION FOR REFUSAL TO RESIGN

New Delhi, August 7: N. G. Ranga who recently resigned from the Congress Parliamentary Party on joining the Swatantra Party will not resign his seat in the Lok Sabha.

In defence of his stand, he said today that when he rejoined the Congress in 1954, it was at their initiative. They knew at that time that without his and his party's support the Congress had no chance of winning the elections in Andhra. The first approach made to him to rejoin the Congress was in 1953. "I had made it clear then," Mr. Ranga said, "then I was opposed to the first Plan itself." According to him, he had strongly attacked it as "only a pale edition of the Soviet Plan." Despite that, he added, the Congress was willing to have him back.

—Organiser

GENOCIDE CHARGE AGAINST CHINESE FULLY PROVED REPORT OF WORLD JURISTS ON SITUATION IN TIBET

The International Commission of Jurists announced that distinguished jurists from nine countries of Asia, Africa and Europe had agreed to be members of the "Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet," which is to continue the investigation on the situation in Tibet.

The inquiry committee has developed out of the small team of experts headed by Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas, senior advocate of the Supreme Court of India, who presented personally to the Commission in Geneva his findings on the question of Tibet.

The committee will pay particular attention "to the

questions of violation of human rights" and "whether the crime of genocide is sufficiently proven.

In its preliminary report, just published, the Commission said that there was a prima facie case that the Chinese Communists had committed acts of genocide in an attempt to destroy the Tibetan nation and the Buddhist religion in Tibet.

INTERNATIONAL ACTS

The report added that "The Chinese have by killing Tibetans and by forcible removal of Tibetans committed acts contrary to the Genocide Convention of 1948. There is also evidence that these acts were intentionally directed towards the destruction of the Tibetan religion and the Tibetan nation."

—*Times of India*

SURPLUS U.S. GRAINS FOR INDIA ASSURED 300th SHIPMENT ARRIVES

Until India becomes self-sufficient in food grains and so long as the U.S. had food grains to sell, America would continue to supply India's needs, Mr. William T. Turner, American Consul-General, said in Bombay.

Presenting a token bag of wheat from the 300th shipment under the Indo-U.S.A. Commodity Aid Agreement being unloaded from the tanker, "Maryland Trader," at the Alexandra Dock, to Mr. P. K. Samal, Regional Director of Food, Bombay Region, Mr. Turner said that it was a matter for gratification that food production in India this year would amount to 70 million long tons or even more.

This was the largest food crop on record in India and more than twice the production 20 years ago. At this rate, Mr. Turner hoped, India would soon be self-sufficient in food grains. Until that time, and so long as the U.S. had food grains to sell, she hoped to supply India's needs.

WHEAT LARGEST ITEM

Mr. Turner said that wheat, rice, cotton, dairy products and other agricultural products were being sold to India under agreements negotiated under U.S. Public Law 480. Wheat was the largest single item and so far seven million tons had been delivered. Nearly half of this huge amount had been shipped to Bombay.

He said that another P.L. 480 agreement for the purchase of 3,000,000 additional tons of wheat was now being discussed between New Delhi and Washington.

Mr. Turner said that one of the most important features of such agreements, from the point of view of nations endeavouring to develop their economies, was that agricultural products were sold to them in their own currency. Not only was wheat paid for in rupees, but the rupee proceeds were then, to the extent of 80 per cent. set aside for use by India in the form of grants and loans for economic development. Thus, more than Rs. 236.37 crores were available for India for the Second Five-Year Plan. Such agreement, therefore, represented something more than ordinary transactions.

WILLINGNESS TO HELP

"We, the American people, are glad to be able to lend this assistance in this important period of Indian history, and happy that, out of the abundance of our own land, we can help in this way to meet the food needs of a friendly people during the period that they are expanding their own production," Mr. Turner remarked.

He added that Americans were greatly impressed by the efforts of the Indian people to develop their economy, to relieve poverty, to raise standards of living and give freedom a meaning which the masses could understand.

Receiving the sample bag on behalf of the Government of India, Mr. Samal said that the arrival of the 300th shipment under the P. L. agreements was an important landmark. He stated that the Government and the people of India appreciated the assistance given by the U.S.

—*Times of India*

'HINDI NUMERAL FANATICISM'

C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister of Madras, is understood to have told Members of Parliament from the State that the Madras Government would insist on the retention of international numerals.

In a reference to the Official Language issue, he is stated to have remarked that the acceptance of international numerals by the Central Government was the basis of the acceptance or the Parliamentary Committee's report on official Language by the Madras Government.

He opposed the use of Hindi numerals on milestones and is reported to have said that "this kind of Hindi numeral fanaticism" should go.

—*Nagpur Times*

OUR PROGRESS (BACKWARDS)

Estimates of national income issued recently by the Central Statistical Organisation of the Cabinet Secretariat of the Government of India reveal that the per capita national income of India for the year 1957-58 was less than that for 1956-57. In 1956-57 the per capita national income was Rs. 283.5 whereas in 1957-58 it had fallen to Rs. 275.6.

India is the only country in the world which went down in national income in 1957-58. What is more, even Pakistan, in spite of her economic difficulties, recorded a rise from Rs. 237 to Rs. 249 in per capita national income during the same year.

The difference is due to the fact that India has "PLANS", while the other countries of the world have none.

—*Radical Humanist*

AUTOCRAT IN DEMOCRACY

K. M. Munshi has said in Madras that Mr. Nehru has paralyzed the thinking apparatus of all Congressmen including the highly placed ones. Some of the top Congress leaders, when asked by Munshi why they did not oppose collective farming, said they did not want

to differ from Mr. Nehru because they feared that in that case they would not get tickets for the next general election. Others said that it was no use criticizing co-operative farming because it was certain that it would be a failure.

The Swatantra Party has been formed by those who have the courage to say NO in this land of *Jo Hukum*.

DEMOCRATIC DEFINITIONS

Secretariat:

A variant of the proletariat, perhaps evolved and perfected end-form. Tapes of all varieties found here. Abounds in calculators, planners, schemers, secretaries, models. Will outlive the State which will wither away. Holds up each five year plan for five years until it lapses automatically.

—Nectee

EXPLOSIVE LAOS IT'S THE STORY OF THE WOLF BEING AFRAID OF THE LAMB

There is an element of macabre humour in Peking's anxiety about the situation in Laos. With an area of over three million square miles peopled by a quarter of the human population, China's fear of little Laos (area 89,000 sq. miles; population three million) follows the logic of the wolf's argument with the lamb in the fairy tale.

Peking wants no UN intervention in Laos; it wants the defunct (adjourned *sine die*) International Control Commission to be reconvened and the 88 US officers allegedly in service with the Royal Laos Army to be withdrawn.

Peking's fears were echoed in Hanoi. North Vietnam's Foreign Minister, No. 2 to *Dr. Ho Chi Minh*, *Pham Van Dong*, too, saw a threat to his country's security in the tensions building up to warlike proportion in Laos.

Hanoi's solution for ending the tensions was a high-fidelity echo of Peking's.

It would be utterly naive in the present circumstances to look upon *Dr. Ho Chi Minh*'s presence in Peking as purely coincidental. It was the same kind of coincidence which occurred when *Dr. Ho* showed up in Moscow when the Laos "situation" warmed up two months ago.

According to Washington the Chinese and North Vietnamese anxiety is an excuse for them to intervene in Laos in the same manner as when the Chinese hit across the Yalu in Korea.

—Current

SOVIET WRITER ATTACKS SARVODAYA AS 'A NEW, REFINED AND SUBTLE POISON. . . .' & "AN EXTENSION OF THE REACTIONARY ELEMENTS OF GANDHISM"

NEW DELHI: Beneath calculated politeness and platitudes, a vicious offensive against India has been launched by the Communist world.

This is obvious from the fact that within six months of *MR. YUDIN*'S attack on *MR. NEHRU*'S "Basic Approach" in *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW*, the

Comminform's theoretic monthly journal, *ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE* and his Sarvodaya philosophy too have come in for a rough handling at the hands of one *MR. A. MIRZA*

According to this Soviet scribe, "in origin and content" Sarvodaya is "an extension of the reactionary elements of Gandhism" to secure the interests of the national bourgeoisie in the post-independence period. It is "a new, refined and subtle poison for the oppressed masses that weakens their struggle for emancipation, and thereby "perpetuates their poverty, exploitation, backwardness and political subjugation by the exploiting classes."

It is primarily because of this particular aspect of Sarvodaya that, *Mr. Mirza* asserts, it is receiving "generous support" from the exploiting classes and the Government of India who regard it as "an ALTERNATIVE to scientific Communism" because it helps "to spread illusions among the Indian working people and so blunt their class consciousness."

After condemning Sarvodaya as "reactionary, idealistic, bankrupt, unhistorical and unscientific", *Mr. Mirza* remarks: "The experience teaches that no exploiting class voluntarily relinquishes power or willingly agrees to social changes which affect its ownership of the means of production."

—Current

Letter to the Editor

RAJAJI AND THE RISHIS

Sir,—The curse of present-day politics in our country is its pseudo-religious obsession. No political party or programme but to be glorified under some kind of religious sanction without which the goods are not to be delivered! *Gandhiji* himself had been unwittingly responsible for such a state of affairs when he attempted to tack on God and Religion to Politics. We are all witnessing only too well all sorts of crankiness practised under the holy names of fast satyagraha and ahimsa. If *Rajaji* believes sincerely in the existence of these Rishis, he may do well to entrust God, Religion and Dharma to the care of these Rishis. I dare say, they are more competent to handle such matters than the politicians of the Swatantra Party. Material well-being is a prerequisite condition of life and existence. Empty stomachs can build nothing, not even airy castles. Therefore let a healthy political programme be built on sound economic principles. No more "kill-joy" policies. The motto should be safety first and salvation next. The Lord of the Gita does not decry material well-being. He has nowhere enjoined on us to abandon things and pleasures and walk away as Sanyasins.

C. T. Srinivasan.

Madras.

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