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Indian Libertarian



Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'
and 'The Indian Rationalist'

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

Vol. VII No. 25

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February 1, 196

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EDITORIAL

CONGRESS SESSION AT BANGALORE

(14 to 18 January 1960)

THE 65th session of the Indian National Congress is closing at Bangalore as we go to press. It has been called Sadasivnagar after a great Congress leader of Karnataka namely Sri Sadasiva Rao who hailed from Mangalore on the East Coast of the State. He was a flourishing lawyer who pauperised himself in a life of self-sacrifice for the cause of independence. Gandhi once said with reference to him—"Fortunate is the mother-country that bore such a son as Sadasiva Rao!" A vast township of iron sheets and bamboo has been erected in the usual way with impressive gateways, commercial showrooms and stalls, netanivas or house for leaders, impressive meeting grounds to accommodate tens of thousands of people, elaborately decorated dais for speechmaking by the leaders, symbolic artistic designs and pictures on every piece of clear grounds in canvas or cloth etc. etc.

The whole atmosphere with immense crowds of city sightseers on the grounds scattered all over the place enjoying the multitudinous attractions of the scene, (the chief of which is the multitude itself!) the very concourse itself of large numbers dressed in their best and in holiday mood is one of light-hearted festivity and abandon. But one can discern an undertone of concern and criticism if one cares to catch conversations on the wing.

The entry of the new Congress President Mr. Sanjiva Reddi, the erstwhile chief minister of Andhra, into the city was symbolic of the spirit of the Congress mind. He was brought in on a jeep decorated like a huge Peacock! There was a procession seen by the city's milling crowds. Everyone remarked that the Peacock was a fitting emblem of the Congress after independence, an emblem of pride and vanity, over-decoration and display with nothing but the outside facade to show for all the immense expenditure and administrative proliferation that has characterised its post-independence career!

Congressmen themselves are feeling guilty about the fantastic extravagance that neither popular distress over high prices and unemployment nor the dread beginnings of aggression and invasion, by a mightier Power on the northern borders seems to mitigate in the behaviour of their leadership and rank and file. Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, a leading Congressman from Uttar Pradesh, moved that as the Pandal and session expenses have risen above Rs. Twenty lakhs, in future more austere and economical arrangements should be made. He suggested a resolution for this purpose at the subjects committee stage. Of course, it was over-ruled by the top leaders and Mr. Tyagi was satisfied that his conscience could rest content with the making of the suggestion. To do was his, but not the reward or consequence—in accordance with the Gita teaching. This is the way that the lofty Gita teaching of disinterested duty is being fulfilled in letter and frustrated in spirit!

Twenty lakhs is not a small sum. Annually a like sum is spent by Congress sessions in different parts of the country at the venue of the organisation. It is possible to think of so many urgently needed nation-building activities that could be provided by this princely sum. The capital investment that will yield twenty lakhs a year is an enormous figure running into several crores.

By the bye, what are Congress leaders doing with the corpus of the Ten crores of rupees collected for the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi? All of it has not vanished like the Tilak Swaraj Fund of One crore (collected by Gandhi) in travelling and other party and personal expenses of the organisation. A high civil service officer (in charge of a Congress-favoured organisation of welfare) after retirement said that Buick cars were authorised to be purchased by the District offices of the organisation for the use of social workers—not knowing what to do with the plethora of funds available!

Another point that figures in behind-the-scenes-talk of those in the know is the percentage that contractors had to agree to surrender to the organisation giving them contracts for stalls, pandals, residential units, pipes and electricity and water facilities etc. It is said that many refused to accept such contracts on those terms but of course many accepted them making up any loss by overcharging. The iron and other materials have been purchased at a concession price, but will certainly be auctioned at a profit. Who will reap the profit? Congress leadership is not lacking in shrewd business men who can turn sea-water into gold and make profits for themselves and the organisation (entirely above-board!)

The Indian Libertarian

*Independent Journal of Free Economy
and Public Affairs*

Edited by MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; Half Yearly Rs. 3

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

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

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

BACK COVER Rs. 150

SECOND COVER Rs. 125

THIRD COVER Rs. 125

- Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be type-written and on one side of the paper only.
- Publications of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum.
- Rejected articles will be returned to the writers if accompanied with stamped addressed envelope.

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and gifts to new subscribers.

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Gandhi used to deprecate such huge **tamashas** and amusement-park-like structures evoking a light-hearted and irresponsible spirit on the part of spectators. He wanted an austere military camp-like atmosphere of discipline, spare living and readiness for hard work and ultimate sacrifice in Congress gatherings but he had not the sincerity to insist on the performance on his recommendation on the part of his **chelas**. He was content with verbal suggestions like Mr. Tyagi in the present session!

If contractors are to be believed, there is no difference between this behaviour of Congress and the Kerala Communist Government who got back a part of the sums advanced to tapper's cooperatives and other government contracts to private bodies and institutions! This is a handicap to the Congress alliance in the mid-term election campaign in Kerala. Everything that the communists are accused of is shown to be equally applicable to Congress itself in some place and in some degree!

The Indian people, however poor, are lovers of festival and ceremony. If they are driven from the religious field, they will reappear in the political and other fields! Consider the number of opening ceremonies presided over by Ministers and other high-ups!

INDIRA GANDHI AS CONGRESS PRESIDENT

The firmness with which Mrs. Indira Gandhi stood by her resolution to stand down from re-election as Congress president has surprised many. It is also recognised that she was not such a flop as was feared by the public. It is said to her credit that she stuck to her own interpretations and decisions on crucial occasions and did not surrender her judgment even in deference to that of her illustrious and all-powerful father, the Prime Minister of the country and President-maker of Congress!

For one thing, she insisted that presidential rule should intervene to put an end to communist terror and misrule in Kerala much earlier than it actually came about. She did not share the vacillation and pro-communist psychology of her father.

For another, she wanted that the Communist party should be banned and outlawed, which was not accepted by the father.

It is entirely to her credit that she should stick to her resolve to give up the gilded post in the circumstances.

In her speech giving charge to her successor, she pointed out that in spite of everything, much solid work is being turned out both in Government and in Congress. There is a core of sound faith and work in both.

She and Mrs. Sucheta Kripalini have done well in essential matters and have shown much greater independence than many other occupants of the **gaddi** of the party.

MR. SANJIVA REDDI, THE NEW CONGRESS PRESIDENT

Mr. Sanjiva Reddi is one of the youngest president of the Congress at 46. He hails from Andhra whose chief minister he was since it became a separate State in 1953. He has the credit of much progressive achievements since then.

He was chosen, it is said, to organise opposition to the movement of the Swatantra Party with its peasant bloc under the formidable leadership of Prof. Ranga. Mr. Sanjiva Reddi accepted the challenge of the new party and said boldly that it would not develop in his State where it would meet with its Waterloo. This attracted the Prime Minister's attention and he had to accept the Congress job, though devoid of the charm of power it may be. His place is taken by Mr. Sanjiviah the first Harijan chief minister in the country. He can only go up to the Centre and cannot come back to State politics or government again.

Asked as to what made him a congressman long ago, he said with entire propriety and truth—"Pure emotion!" He is right. Most Congressmen joined Congress for promoting the cause of national independence and had no ideology other than national freedom.

Mr. Reddi also comforts himself with the Gita precept—"Aim not at personal reward and fruit of your endeavour! Do it for God's sake!" How much of this is a hypocritical fashion and how much genuine cannot be judged except by close colleagues.

It is quite likely that the success of Mr. Sanjiva Reddi in the provincial Congress elections against Prof. Ranga long ago has been the motif that has pitch-forked him to fight Prof. Ranga again in the arena of the official Nagpur agricultural policy.

His presidential speech had nothing remarkable in it—not a single flash of inspiration and individuality, not a single suggestion showing new creative thought. His speech is a replica of Nehruism all along the line. He will be a good lieutenant and not a leader in any real sense.

He called attention to the need for repelling the Chinese aggression but under the condition—if aggression occurs; As if it has not already occurred! There is no suggestion of throwing out the Chinese already on Indian soil.

He called attention to the fifth column menace of the communist party but again did not take any definite line for banning the party.

He supported the defunct nonalignment and panchsheel foreign policies. He defended the co-operative idea in farming as if it was the same as joint farming and will enable the retention of property in any but a pickwickian sense!

All in all, he will be a substitute for Mr. Dhebar, a willing and passive lieutenant of the Prime Minister in his mission of realising the "socialist pattern of society" with entire wholeheartedness in ideology. He went the length of saying that the present

Marxist Socialism was inherent in past Congress ideology!

His ideological stand is not worth analysis. It is in the practical work of mobilising popular support for Congress in the election field, particularly among the Andhra agricultural classes that his service to Nehru will show itself and be counted. Whether service to Nehru is service to the country is the great Question today.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS AND POLICIES AT BANGALORE

The President's letter to the Prime Minister following on Mr. Deshmukh's suggestion in his Madras lectures, pressure was put upon Congress leaders to take a stand regarding the vexed question of corruption in high places in the administration—in the ranks of officials and even Ministers.

Apart from financial corruption, there is also the question of misuse of official position for party causes, even to the extent of trying to influence the judiciary. The recent Punjab cases in this behalf have pointed the moral of urgency.

So the Congress executive went through the formality of a discussion and Mr. Nehru scotched the whole idea in open session. The line taken by him is familiar—Corruption does not exist in the proportions alleged by disgruntled people; people themselves guilty of corruption are the first to bring aspersions on others to cover their own guilt on the principle of the cry-stop thief! Even where there is some room for suspicion, evidence sufficient to convict the offender is rarely possible to obtain; other countries have more corruption than ours! The idea of having a tribunal to hear cases and charges against high-ups is fantastic and unheard of anywhere else. That even Mr. Deshmukh did not care to send him particulars of cases he had in mind, though he said that he would place them before a tribunal etc. etc.

But Mr. Nehru announced that income tax assessments of citizens will be published to make evasion more difficult! The earners of income should be rigorously squeezed but earners of illegitimate income by graft should be let off without fuss! This is the morality of the Prime Minister. The spectacle of extravagant waste of public funds by public authorities is not a spectacle inspiring a patriotic desire to pay up income taxes in full.

And so Congress corruption is not to be examined.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

A resolution was passed authorising the implementation of the present programmes of Five Year Plans, tapping of savings, foreign loans and aids for developing the takeoff stage through large-scale investment in heavy industries. The popular anxiety for resisting the Chinese aggression was exploited to support the programme of defence industries in the field of heavy industries, as if they could be used in the short term period of border fighting. As C. R. has pointed out, even the people's anxiety

(Continued on page 10)

Agricultural Policy of the Swatantra Party

By "Democrat"

THE declared agricultural policy of the Congress and Government after the Nagpur session last year has been the major and decisive provocation for the formation of the Swatantra Party under the aegis of Sri C. Rajagopalachari and the initiative of the All India Agriculturists' Federation.

The case against official policy in its twin strands of ceilings on land holdings at low levels and of cooperative farming (with pooled joint holdings) has been presented by the leaders of the Federation and others like Mr. M. R. Masani and Congress Ministers like Sri Charan Singh of the U.P. (who has had to resign office on account of his bold opposition in Nagpur). Leading newspapers like *The Hindu* and *The Times of India* and journals of opinion like *Swarajya*, *Mysindia* and *Indian Libertarian* have published the results of expert studies on the subject tending to show the dismal failure of "hasty land reforms" with ceilings and cooperative farming both in the free world and in communists countries.

The President of the All India Agriculturists' Federation has been demanding but a free, unprejudiced examination of the whole subject by experts like experienced Directors of Agriculture and others with special qualifications on farming. He has been demanding a committee of experts to go into the subject *de novo* and assuring the Government that his federation would abide by the verdict of experts arrived at free from mental reservations and surrender to dogmatic isms like socialism and communism.

But the Government have systematically evaded this fair demand. The Congress under the lead of Mr. Nehru has contented itself with the statement that the subject was decided long ago by Congress resolutions from the days of the Karachi session. At Nagpur, a report of the committee of Ministers and other high-ups appointed at Hyderabad AICC meeting was accepted, which only endorsed the decision already arrived at without any re-study of the facts *de novo*. Moreover, it was a committee of Congress politicians and far removed from the kind of expert body demanded by the Federation. To use the popular phrase, its work was but an eye-wash to put up a facade of re-study without doing so in any acceptable sense.

The Swatantra Party has expressed its resolute opposition to the twin aspects of farming policy now being pushed into effect by Congress and Government obstinately despite the warnings of men of experience and special knowledge. It has expressed its stand in its manifesto of principles as passed in August 1959 in its Bombay convention.

The present Bangalore session of the Congress

is expected to reiterate the Nagpur stand despite doubts and anxieties expressed on all sides.

First of all, it is made clear beyond doubt and prevarication that in agriculture the paramount need is for increasing production. But the Party believes that it is best attained through the continuance of the self-employed peasant-proprietor who stands for initiative and freedom and is interested in obtaining the highest yields from the land.

This is a divergence in principle. The Government policy contemplates the eventual disappearance of the independent individual farmer working on his own and helped by the members of his family. Rajaji has given the slogan therefore—for Farm and Family. President Eisenhower too in his talk at the Agricultural Fair in Delhi spoke of Food, freedom, family and friendship. This stand has more than economic significance. It has an overtone of democracy and human value setting the individual in his natural context of family and neighbourhood working on tasks within his reach and deriving the value of his own work directly without dependence on others in any demeaning way, as would be the case under dictatorship.

Increasing production only necessitates a more efficient supply of aid by way of credit, marketing facilities, implements and technical advice to the farmer. The programme of the Swatantra Party insists on a more intensive attention by Governmental agencies and cooperative institutions to the provision of these aids to the farmer.

It holds that joint cooperative farms need not be insisted upon as the rule in agriculture. Individual holdings may continue and ought to continue. The remedy is not abolition but assistance for progress.

Service cooperatives are different since they do not imply the disappearance of individual holdings and their pooling into joint farms operated by managers reducing farmers to the condition of wage labourers. This connotes a diminution of personal status to the farmer, which he will never accept. Nowhere in the world has he voluntarily accepted it.

The Swatantra Party goes further and expresses disapproval of the idea of abolition of the landowner class that gets its hard work on the land done through tenants. By accepting the slogan of "land to the tiller," Congress accepts without adequate examination the policy of abolishing the class of owners who let out land and supervise its cultivation by tenant farmers. This is supposed to be exploitation and not partnership.

The first step in realising this goal of cultivation only by small owners and the abolition of mediators

between them and the Government or public is taken in the Government proposals by the imposition of low ceilings and the transfer of surplus lands to tillers and tenants with insufficient holdings, i.e. below basic or family holdings.

This provision is a clear adoption of communist doctrine, for it involves liquidation of property rights, the robbery of Peter to pay Paul. Farcical compensation may be paid but that does not deprive the transaction of its expropriatory character. Such expropriation will inevitably raise the demand for similar robbery to benefit other classes in other kinds of property-houses, industrial units, transport units etc. Such execution of the practice cannot be resisted for long. So this will function as the thin end of the wedge for the rapid transformation of free society into a communist society and state.

The Swatantra Party therefore asks that the programmes for improvement of agriculture and enhancement of production standards should not disturb the harmony of rural life among the element that compose it."

This phrase is purposely vague but the time has come when it should be clarified. The elements that compose rural life are landowners, tenants, labourers and cultivators' families. The attempt to impose ceilings hits the landlord and creates a clash of interest between him and the tenant and the landless labourer and cultivator.

The Swatantra Party should now expand its policy statement into a clear and comprehensive picture of the agricultural system that it favours in the countryside.

It should take a definite stand against ceilings on principle. The Federation has brought to light a good deal of essential data for judgment. It has shown that ceilings on holdings are entirely **uncalled for**, since adequate areas of uncultivated fallow land are available in different parts of the country. The Swatantra Party should restate this fact supported by reliable statistics covering every State in the country. The Revenue Minister in Mysore State Mr. Kadidal Manjappa recently said that Government were prepared to offer 15 lakhs of acres of Government land to Harijans and others willing to cultivate them! One thousand acres had been offered to Harijans a few years ago but they had not been taken up at all! Moreover the extent of land expected to be released by the imposition of ceilings at 30 standard acres is **only 2 lakhs of acres!** Why, if only two lakhs are to be got by liquidation of surplus land held by landowners when **15 lakhs** are available with Government, the expropriatory policy should be insisted on is beyond comprehension.

The Swatantra Party stands for individual freedom and accepts limitations to it only in cases of proved anti-social behaviour. It has to review the case for and against landowners having their lands cultivated through tenants. In what way is it anti-social to supervise landed property and obtain a legitimate harvest through investment? It provides

work for the landless tenants who are free to save money and purchase lands for themselves. The Government, landmortgage banks and cooperative credit societies may also help the tenant to purchase lands by giving him long term loans. The State may assist the credit institutions by means of low interest loans as was done in West European countries like Denmark, Holland and Germany.

The intermediary landowner might not have taken interest in former times but today under the inspiration of national independence and progressive agricultural departments, he will certainly respond to the duties and possibilities of his vocation. He should be given a chance before adopting policies aiming at his removal from the social system of agriculture. To give help to agriculture, it is not necessary to remove the landowner! The State can deal with the tenant, leaving tenant and owner to settle relations between them themselves on a voluntary basis.

Intermediaries come into existence in response to human needs and circumstances. Owners may have to travel to cities and accept jobs far from their lands owing to insufficiency of income. But they could make arrangements for supervision and efficient cultivation! In England, owners are penalised **only** if they leave their lands **uncultivated or inefficiently cultivated**. They are not liquidated. Nor are ceilings imposed.

The Swatantra Party refers to joint cooperative farming by the term **multiple ownership** and points out that it is certain to sap the incentive of the farmer, to reduce farm output and end in a collective economy and bureaucratic management.

The leaders of the Swatantra Party had thought of confining their published manifesto only to general principles leaving details of policy to be forged after attaining power. But the general public do demand that they should offer an alternative policy in sufficient detail if they are to support it intelligently with their eyes open. It is necessary therefore for the Party to offer a constructive alternative to ceilings and joint farming, assuring greater production and freedom for the farmer and his family as citizens of a democratic society. The direction announced by the party is sound but the overall picture should be developed in sufficient detail as a part of free economy and free society. With regard to agriculture as with regard to industrial and other aspects of the economy, **libertarian literature** has a great contribution to make to the clarification of issues and the defence of liberty.

Even in America there is a movement to resist the encroachments of State intervention in economic affairs, of which **The Foundation for Economic Education** is perhaps the leading example. In the journal that it publishes named **The Freeman** can be found plenty of material gathered by its numerous staff as well as summaries of positions taken by freedom-loving economists and statesmen, showing conclusively the evils of State intervention

and the curtailment of free economy. America has now a special problem as to how to withdraw from the policy of State assistance to agriculture particularly in the production of Food Grains. During the war, the State gave special subsidies for the production of food grains. But the result was such an abundance that the State had to step in to protect the price level and to buy up the whole production at upset prices! The policy of State support to food grains has now become a huge white elephant and American farmers are paid fantastic sums to refrain from producing above a limit! American economy in agriculture can produce enough to supply the whole world with food! So we hear of wheat being fed to pigs in America!

Political pressure and fear of loss of votes prevents politicians of both parties, Republican and Democratic, from removing the price support laws, showing how difficult it is for the State to withdraw its intervention once it gets entrenched in any sphere of the economy!

This libertarian literature has its counter-part

in India as well. This journal publishes an economic supplement from time to time as well as articles specially devoted to the value of free economy and the dangers of State intervention to the country, dangers both economic by way of inflation and the wage-price spiral and political by way of damaging the independence and self-reliance of the citizens so essential for democracy. If the citizen becomes helplessly dependent on the State for livelihood and conditions of economic well-being, his capacity to think and vote straight fearlessly will suffer.

The Swatantra Party has initiated a debate on the implications of freedom in economics and politics that will have to be developed into a full libertarian philosophy as applied to Indian conditions—a task started years ago by the Lotvala movement in Bombay now represented by this journal and branches of the Libertarian Social Institute in Bangalore and Madras. This libertarian movement offers just the kind of ideological support that is needed by the new party of freedom.

Nehru's Bluff and Bluster

By M. N. Tholal

—:O:—

WE hear a good deal these days of Russian neutrality between China and India, but a close examination of the situation reveals that all this talk of Russian neutrality as between China and India is the sheerest bunkum. Emanating from the mouths of those who claim to be in the know and who are students of international affairs, it is a tissue of lies. The mere fact that Russia has not vocally supported China in her aggression against India does not and cannot mean that she is neutral. At a time when the Russian Prime Minister is playing the role of the evangel of peace, he naturally cannot vocally support China in her armed aggression against India. But it should not be beyond the bounds of commonsense to postulate the steps Russia would have taken, if she were really neutral and regarded India as a friend. In the first place, she would have told China bluntly that, on account of the latter's armed aggression against India, and in view of the fact that Russia regarded India as a friend, China should consider the Sino-Russian Treaty of Alliance to have come to an end. That would have been a very necessary first step in case Russia regarded India as a friend. For, in the alternative, Russia is bound to help China in the event of war with India, and that certain eventuality is in itself Russian aggression in embryo and an incitement to China to go on in her aggressive career.

IMPLICATIONS OF SINO-RUSSIAN TREATY

There can be no denying that the assurance that Russian help would be available to China in the

event of war with India, in accordance with the Sino-Russian Treaty, is a provocation for aggression so far as China is concerned. Indirectly the Sino-Russian Treaty of Alliance also demands that China, as very much the junior partner, would not without Russian consent do anything which might result in a war of which the brunt, in case it spreads into a world war or something like it, would have to be borne by Russia. One can therefore logically maintain that mutual consultation in actions such as the Chinese aggression on the Indian border is implicit in the Sino-Russian Treaty of Alliance. That is only a commonsense deduction. Surely the Chinese Government did not start this aggression against India because Mao-Tse-tung felt liverish one day and suddenly ordered his troops to march into India, and, therefore, he might as well order their withdrawal the day he feels fine?

It becomes imperative to say all this as a great deal of emphasis is being laid on the so-called Russian neutrality. This make-believe appears to be inspired by high quarters. In any case it seems obvious that our politicians and journalists are either lacking in insight or have not the guts to give expression to their honest patriotic feelings on an issue which is a matter of life and death for the country. It should never be forgotten that untruth is unrealistic, and the greater the untruth a nation hugs to its bosom, the greater is the disaster that befalls it. All this only leads one to the unpleasant conclusion that we are really unfit for freedom and democracy, of which the life-breath is fearless utterance.

Democracy is not for cowards and a nation of cowards cannot maintain their freedom for long. Three out of 5,000 delegates to the Indian National Congress had the courage to move amendments to the main resolution on international affairs in the Subjects Committee, but even they did not have the heart to move their amendments in the open session of the Congress, although they had been cheered in the Subjects Committee, to the discomfiture of Mr. Nehru. His indignation was obviously calculated to cow down the amendment-movers and it admirably succeeded in its objective. Obviously Mr. Nehru is not a believer in "letting a hundred flowers bloom" though he had praised the Chinese leader when he laid the trap in those notorious words for the suspect and the unwary in his country. Mr. Nehru has learnt one great lesson from his master, Gandhi, and that is that, talk of love and nonviolence notwithstanding, people are ruled through fear. Nariman, Khare and Bose were reminders to Congressmen of what the fate of dissidents can be.

But Mr. Nehru does not wait for dissidence to grow under his feet. His indignation is enough to wither the tiny saplings of dissidence. Lacking the wit of his great father as well as his great commonsense—which made an English judge of the Allahabad High Court say, "Wherever Motilal Nehru sits becomes the head of the table"—Jawaharlal Nehru believes in indignation to overawe his colleagues and co-workers. His master ruled through the loin cloth which made India acclaim him as an *avatar*. Vallabhbhai Patel ruled through fear also but the fear he generated was through reticence. A pressman was present when Pattabhi Sitaramayya came to see Sardar Patel soon after his election to the Congress presidentship was arraigned hoping that at last the Sardar Patel would speak to him as a colleague. But the Sardar uttered not a word. He just did not take any notice of the Congress President-designate's arrival or presence in his house; nor for the matter of that, of his departure from his residence after a few words with the Sardar's daughter.

These are all tricks of the trade—the loin cloth, the indignation summoned for the occasion as by an actor, the reticence—but Motilal Nehru's everpresent wit, with that hilarious hail-fellow-well-met air, made all these tricsters seem like scatter-brained people. But despite their lack of a mighty intellect, no one can say that patriotism was lacking in Mahatma Gandhi or Sardar Patel, as it has been lacking in our Prime Minister. No man, not even Gandhi, has given such vent to his egoism as Jawaharlal Nehru.

FRUIT OF SELF-RELIANCE

This indignation which Prime Minister Nehru has been cultivating to drive fear into the hearts of Congress cowards played its part in the creation of Pakistan. The Muslim League leader, Khaliqzaman, who was once upon a time a lieutenant of Motilal Nehru, used to say, "No gentleman can work

with Jawaharlal." That was his final answer when the hitch over his demand for two seats in the Cabinet for the Muslim League was being discussed and Khaliqzaman's Hindu friends were trying to persuade him to accept one seat for the League. Our Prime Minister has not got the temperament of a democrat—which his father had in abundance. Let us have a look at His Indignant Majesty at the Bangalore session of the Indian National Congress in the year of grace 1960.

Referring to the "three musketeers" who had had the courage to move amendments to the official resolution on international affairs—a resolution which had received the august approval of the Prime Minister—saying India should not close the door against something coming into India to help her, Mr. Nehru said: "I am astonished that such a voice should be raised in this house which has stood for self-reliance, logic and commonsense. At any rate it was a voice of the utmost folly." Mr. Nehru stands for self-reliance and logic. His countrymen have seen the result of self-reliance in Ladakh, where more than 10,000 square miles of Indian territory is in Chinese possession. To drive the Chinese out, he depends on India's industrial development, which, as he himself says, may take a hundred years. Incidentally he seems to assume that while India would be progressing industrially, China will be retrogressing in that sphere—on no other basis can India's industrial progress materially alter the situation vis-a-vis the Chinese aggression. (That shows how much commonsense our Prime Minister has.) Since our dependence is declaredly on our own industrial development, what is there to prevent the Chinese from occupying the remaining 32,000 square miles of our territory that they claim on our northern border, particularly as their dependence is not only on their own industrial development but also on Russian industrial development. The claim and the occupation, be it remembered, are with the help of Russian fighters, Russian bombers, Russian engineers, on whose Prime Minister our own Prime Minister pins his hopes.

"THANK GOD FOR RAJAJI"

Proceeding Mr. Nehru observed: "Here we have seen today that instead of energising you deaden their spirits and make them lie low, and ask others to come and defend us." "Is it what the Congress has come to?" he asked. No, Sir, the Congress should be dead against defending the country, whether it is by Indians or by outsiders. That is what we have stood for during more than a thousand years of our slavery. That is what we stand for today under Mr. Nehru's leadership. This tall talk of industrial development in the context of Chinese aggression means nothing else. No wonder he was "astonished that such a voice should be raised in the name of the defence of India, as if India was weak." As for spirits and lying low, who was it who said in India's Parliament that if we send our planes on our territory occupied by the Chinese they may be shot down? And who was it who

asked publicly, who is going to fight up there on the chilly heights of the Himalayas over 12,000 feet above the sea level? And now Mr. Nehru turns round and says, "We have never said anything which might shame our nation."

Our honour rooted in dishonour stands,
And faith unfaithful keeps us falsely true.

Bluster and bluff cannot hide the truth from the public for long. Mr. Nehru may cow down his Congressmen for some time, but the situation is too tragic to be glossed over by bravado. If he thinks his countrymen are all fools and will never wake up to reality, he is sadly mistaken. People who have nothing to do with the Swatantra Party have started saying: "Thank God for Rajaji."

Instead of acknowledging his own Himalayan blunders in the sphere of foreign policy, Mr. Nehru is trying to implant in the public mind baseless fears of foreign armies coming to help drive the Chinese out. In the first place, the very fact of our entering into a pact with the USA will serve as a deterrent to the Chinese, as nothing else can. And in the second place, Mr. Nehru should remember what happened in the Lebanon recently. The American troops arrived in the Lebanon at the request of the Lebanese Government and left as soon as they were ordered to do so by the Lebanese Government. Our fears regarding the British may be justified in view of our past history and the British tradition of exploitation of other people's lands. But the USA has never been a colonising country and is not likely to develop into one at a time when she is richer than any country has ever been on the face of the earth. Only those countries which are poor in natural resources seek colonies. The United States is spending untold wealth in promoting the welfare of people all over the globe. If she had a mind to obtain possession of other people's lands, she could have easily, with a fraction of that wealth, bought over all the parties in North as well as South America to do her will. But she has done nothing of the kind. Even Canada and Mexico feel safe adjoining that "mightiest power on earth"—to use Mr. Nehru's phrase. Is there any neighbour of Russia or China who is feeling half as safe as Mexico?

THE OBVIOUS NEED

And does Mr. Nehru really think that foreign

ATTENTION

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Bombay 4.

armies are needed to sit on our mountain tops to prevent Chinese aggression? What is needed is a feeling in Government circles in China that aggression against India will not pay. It is that feeling that the Indian Government, if it is loyal to the country, has to generate in the Chinese mind. Always remembering that there is no generosity in politics, the only task before Mr. Nehru is to set about making arrangements which will create that feeling in China. It is obvious that the only power which can help us in the matter is the United States, whom Mr. Nehru has been needlessly, unjustly, and cantankerously offending all these years. The whirligig of time brings its own revenges and even Mr. Nehru's henchmen will soon find that their henchmanship is a paying proposition no longer, unless they are able to persuade their foolish leader to mend his ways as well as his manners.

WHY I OPPOSE COMMUNISM

"Communism is a doctrine bred of poverty, hatred and strife. Its spread can only be arrested by diminishing the area of poverty and hatred".

—Bertrand Russell (Philosopher)

"True communism is impossible unless the whole world is perfect: and when it is perfect we shall not require Communism".

—Lieut. Gen. Sir Brian Horrocks. (Soldier)

"Communism arose as a philosophical theory designed to liberate the mind and it has become the most efficient means of enslaving it that has ever been known".

—C. D. Darlington (Scientist)

"The dynamics of dictatorship cannot permit free independent Trade Unions. Once the dictatorship gets entrenched, it follows, that all organisations within the State come to heel".

—Sam Watson (Trade unionist)

"The idea that somebody, whether his name be Marx or Lenin, has already found it (the ideal) and that all that is left to the rest of us is to learn how to say amen, involves a denigration of personality, which only a slave mentality can accept".

—Sir John Sargent (Educationalist)

"If the (living) conditions regarded as beneficial by the dictators are the whole end and aim of life, then sooner or later the picture of life allowed to be expressed in that society (communist) is a picture of life as the leaders think it should be, in these conditions, which they have themselves imposed".

—Stephen Spender (Writer)

Menace From The North

THE Chinese communist intransigence about the acceptance of the McMahon Line as the definite boundary between India and Tibet left no room for complacency on India's part. The Chinese communists, since 1951, have been showing in their official maps large chunks of Indian territory as belonging to China. It was, therefore, extremely important for the Government of India at least to press for the Chinese acceptance of the McMahon Line as the border between India and Tibet, and its incorporation in the Sino-Indian agreement of 1954. The failure of the Government of India to raise this issue during the Sino-Indian negotiations on Tibet in 1953-54, might prove tragically harmful to India's security in the long run. The fact that inspite of repeated protests from the Government of India, the Chinese communists are still persisting in their cartographic aggression, bodes ill for the future of Sino-Indian relations. The pointed reference made recently by the Chinese Prime Minister to an "undetermined boundary line between China and certain neighbouring South-Eastern countries" indicated that Red China is not willing to accept the internationally recognised McMahon Line as settled and wants to advance her territorial claims over Indian territory.

Chinese expansionism, besides, is not limited merely to cartographic encroachment on Indian territory which expresses the Chinese chauvinistic ambitions with regard to Indian territory. The Cartographic aggression is being increasingly asserted by the Chinese communists by actual physical possession of Indian territory. As Prime Minister Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha recently, China has for more than a year now occupied large parts of Indian territory in Ladakh and has repeatedly violated Indian border in the NEFA region. Between October 1957 and February 1958, as the Prime Minister himself disclosed in Parliament, a Chinese detachment crossed the international frontier and visited Khurnak fort in Ladakh within Indian territory. The Chinese forces even established a camp at Spanggur in Ladakh well within Indian territory. When in July 1958, the Indian Government sent a small reconnaissance party to this area, it was apprehended by the Chinese detachment on July 28, some miles from the border inside Indian territory. When the Government of India lodged a protest with Chinese Government, the Chinese Government released the Indian party on August 18, but in their reply claimed that that part of the territory was theirs. On this the Government of India sent another protest note to which no reply has been received till the end of August 1959. The Chinese have also built a road across Indian territory through a corner of the north-eastern part of Ladakh. The road was built more than a year ago and links Gartok in Western Tibet with Yarkhand in Chinese

Turkestan. The highway runs across the Akasachin region in north-east Ladakh and cuts off several hundred square miles of Indian territory. Here also the Chinese arrested a reconnaissance party sent by the Indian Government and when the latter protested against it, the Chinese, before releasing the Indian party, made a counter-allegation that the Indians had violated their own border and entered their territory. Both these parts of Ladakh are still occupied by the Chinese inspite of repeated protests by the Government of India.

In the NEFA region also the Chinese forces have violated Indian border and are occupying some part of the Indian territory. As disclosed by Prime Minister Nehru, Chinese forces crossed into Indian territory in the Subansire Frontier Division of NEFA and opened fire on the Indian post at Longju on August 25, 1959. On the following day, they overran it which they knew was well within Indian territory. The Chinese are still occupying it, forcing the Indian Government to resort to arms to re-establish its claim to its own territory occupied by the Chinese.

Similarly on August 7, 1959, an armed Chinese patrol, approximately 200 strong, violated Indian territory at Khinzemane, in the Kameng Frontier Division in NEFA. When requested to withdraw, they physically pushed back Indian patrol two miles into Indian territory.

The Chinese communists, moreover, have not limited their aggressive activities to the Indian border alone. They have increasingly shown their determination to translate their cartographic ambition into action with regard to the Himalayan states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan also. Not content with their subjugation of Tibet, the Chinese have been recently openly talking of "re-uniting" with "the great motherland of China," Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. They have lately begun a war of nerves directed against the people of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. For example, at a mass meeting held in Lhasa on July 17, 1959, Chang Kuow-Hua, the head of the Chinese mission in Tibet, has been reported to have announced that "Bhutanese, Sikkimese and Ladakhis form a united family in Tibet. They have been subject to Tibet and the great motherland of China. They must once again be united and taught the communist doctrine." Many of the speakers at the meeting, it was reported, called for the "liberation of the Bhutanese, Sikkimese and Ladakhis from their capitalistic oppressors." Similarly, the Chinese troops also were reported to have infiltrated some time back into Nepalese territory. Simultaneously with this anti-Indian tirade, the Chinese have been busy through their agents in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan spreading anti-Indian propaganda. A

large number of Chinese agents have been reported to have crossed over into Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and launched anti-Indian and pro-Chinese campaign among the people there.

In addition to this, the Chinese military build-up on India's northern frontier also poses a serious threat to India's security. There have been reports of heavy concentration of Chinese forces in Tibet near the frontiers of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. There have been at least eight divisions of Chinese troops in Gyantse-Yatung area alone. These troops have been reported to have dug canals on hills facing Nathulla Pass to hide their movements. Referring to the concentration of Chinese forces on India's Northern border, Mr. Nehru recently remarked in Parliament. "There are, I believe large Chinese forces in Tibet. I would even call it very large forces over Tibet.....We are, however, quite awake and quite alert over this matter."

This whole catalogue of territorial violations and military movements by the Chinese, revealed by the Prime Minister himself, only corroborates the warnings repeatedly given by many discriminating critics of India's foreign policy. Bemused by the hypnotic spell of Panchsheel, the Government of India attempted to buy Chinese good behaviour even at the cost of our national security. Relying on the honeyed words of Chinese communist leaders, the Indian Government complacently adopted a policy of toleration beyond the point of

(Continued from page 3)

for defence is exploited by the chief leader to confirm his totalitarian hold on the country!

NONALIGNMENT AND PANCHSHEEL CONFIRMED

Three Congress members sought to move amendments to the resolution approving the current policies of nonalignment and panchsheel—Mr. Kali Mukherji, Mr. Banarsi Das and Dr. Nalinakshi Sanyal. They were ridiculed as *three musketeers*—Scorn was poured on them by the Prime Minister and were asked furiously as to how as Congressmen they could express criticism of policies approved by the whole world as well as by the whole of the Indian people etc. etc. There was no argument except assertion of amazement and astonishment. Mr. Nehru said that the country was powerful enough to defend herself. He said that foreign armies cannot be admitted again on Indian soil. It was all a procedure of abuse, *suppressio veri and suggestio falsi*.

There was no suggestion of any determination to throw the Chinese out. The only comfort is the explicit expression that aggression has taken place. Like the instance of Goa, the Chinese affairs will remain in cold storage so long as the Chinese are satisfied to remain where they are! As our Delhi correspondent has written: we have put all our eggs in one basket—that of Khrushchev! And so Bangalore confirms Nagpur. And Mr. Nehru remains supreme Leader.

national interests, but this has only whetted the Chinese expansionist ambitions vis-a-vis India.

And, lastly, Tibet has been strategically important to India from another point of view. Big rivers like Indus, Sutlej and Brahmaputra, which irrigate large areas of the Indian subcontinent, originate in southern parts of Tibet and flow for a long distance inside the Tibetan Territory before wending their way through the Himalayan ranges. These rivers irrigate vast tracts of arid land on the plains in India and Pakistan. The Chinese communists in any future dispute with India or Pakistan can use these rivers as a convenient device to blackmail or bring pressure on the Governments of India and Pakistan. Besides, Tibet suffers from a shortage in water which causes most of its areas to remain uninhabited. The Chinese, therefore, can cut off the supplies of water in these rivers by damming the waters in Tibet as part of their pressure tactics against India and Pakistan in future. Already there are rumours current in the border areas adjoining Tibet which credit China with the nefarious intention of damming the waters of Brahmaputra in Tibet so as to put pressure on India in case she refuses to fall in line.

In its obsession with "peaceful settlement" of the Tibetan problem, the Government of India in 1950-54 only helped the Chinese communists to dress up their aggressive aims in the robes of peace. The thinking of our foreign policy planners was blind to the true nature of the Chinese communists and was burdened with a feeling that it was necessary to justify these Chinese occupation of Tibet in the interest of Sino-Indian friendship. But the national uprising in Tibet has given them a rude jolt. Confronted with the logic of its own position on Tibet, India's foreign policy today, thanks to the Sino-Indian agreement of 1954, is threatened with a moral collapse. It has also endangered our territorial integrity and brought the cold war to our doors. Initially we set before ourselves the task of saving ourselves from being drawn into the vortex of cold war, but now we are being forcibly drawn into it by the Chinese communists.

INDIA, TIBET AND CHINA

"Now I will be as frank as St. Augustine, and admit that the professed Socialists are also a very mixed lot: and that if joining them meant inviting them indiscriminately to tea I should strongly advise against it, as they are just like other people, which means that some of them steal spoons when they get the chance. The nice ones are very nice; the general run are no worse than their neighbour; and the undesirable tones include some of the most thoroughbred rascals you could meet any where."

—George Bernard Shaw

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

The Prasadam Incident

By S. Ramanathan

RECENTLY the press in Madras was agog with a certain happening at the Tiruchendur temple in the extreme South, very near Cape Comorin. There was a conference of Lawyers held at that place and Mr. S. V. Damasami, the Central Minister of State for Railways, was scheduled to address that conference. As usually happens with most of the Ministers in this Secular State, one of the functions arranged for the Minister was worship at the temple. If this temple were like other temples, this ministerial worship before the idol would have passed off without any notice by the public and the press would not have given more than one or two lines for reporting the worship. But it happens that the temple at Tiruchendur is not like other temples. The priests in that temple consider themselves specially sacred and far above the rest of humanity that gathers before them to do obeisance to the idol. They strut about in and out of the temple with great pomp and fanfare scattering the worshippers in all directions so as to clear the way for their entrance and exit. At the close of the ceremony of worship in all Hindu temples there is distribution of what is called Prasadam to the worshippers. The prasadam is no more than cow dung ash contained in a brass vessel which the priest holds in his left hand. With the fore fingers of his right hand the priest takes a little of the ash at a time and places it on the out-stretched palms of the worshippers who crowd before him in all reverence. Often the priest's fore fingers graze the palms of the worshippers during the act of Prasadam distribution. But the priests of Tiruchendur temple have set up a custom of not distributing the prasadam in this manner. They get little bits of the sacred ash bundled up in small leaves and heap up the bundles before them. They clutch at these bundles and throw them from a distance at the worshippers who are prohibited to go near them. The poor worshippers have to scramble for the bundles which often fall on the ground and have to be picked up. Any normal human being who is treated in this manner and asked to pick up what

is thrown at him from a distance will resent the treatment.

The writer of this article did visit this temple years ago during his youth. His blood boiled at the insult offered to him during the prasadam distribution. He did not pick up the prasadam to the astonishment of the priest. That was the first and the last time that the present writer entered the precincts of that temple. Many others should have felt and acted in the same manner but they were all small men and could not make any effective protest. It has to be recorded with shame that many Ministers and persons in authority have worshipped at this temple and have put up with the insult offered to them during the prasadam distribution. It is to the credit of Mr. Ramasami that he is the first among the big wigs of India to refuse to brook this insult. He reprimanded the priest on the spot for the ill-treatment offered to the worshippers. He went one step further and in his address at the Lawyers Conference held at that place he condemned the practice obtaining in the temple as humiliating and inconsistent with human rights of equality guaranteed under the Constitution.

Such a condemnation emanating from a Central Minister created a stir among the Lawyers assembled at the Conference who without any exception—it is a shame to the legal profession—rushed to justify the priest and to condemn the Minister. The press, which represents the vested interests of Hindu orthodoxy, naturally rallied to the support of the priests and defended the practice and as one sanctioned by sacred scriptures and long usage. The State Minister in charge of the portfolio of Religious Endowments also took up the side of the priests and roundly condemned the Central Minister. A string of letters is appearing in the press condemning Mr. S. V. Ramasami for his hardihood in standing up against the immoral practice. The Minister for Religious Endowments has advanced

(Continued on page IV)

Political Prisoner in Hungary

By J. W. N. Watkins

CAN men and women who have been imprisoned for years for political crimes they have not committed, who have been humiliated and tortured and starved and driven close to insanity, can they make reliable reporters of their experiences? We have had reports of Hungarian prison life from Edith Bone and George Palocz-Horvath, and now from Paul Ignatus (*Political Prisoner*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 16s). By itself, each story rings true. Mutually they reinforce each other. Apart from occasional discrepancies over details, inevitable when two people are relying on memory to describe the same thing, their stories interlock to form an overwhelmingly convincing composite picture.

I think that there is a common explanation for the detailed, matter-of-fact, objective quality of these autobiographies. When all other gods had failed their authors, one thing rose to supreme importance: truthfulness. They fell in love with facts, accumulating and hoarding them like misers (and political prisoners were in some ways exceptionally well placed to learn facts). They guard ferociously against tricks of memory and self-delusion. Their record must be kept straight. It was released prisoners who spoke out against the lynching of AVO men during the uprising—not from tenderness but because it was untrue that all AVO men were uniformly vicious (some were newly conscripted youths, for instance).

FANTASTIC CONFESSIONS

Paul Ignatus was a Social Democrat who left Hungary and came to London in 1938. His book opens with a charming account of life beside the Thames in Southwark among Cockney and Bohemian Londoners and Spanish emigres. This picture of kindness and eccentricity, of girls in slacks and men drinking beer, lingers in the reader's mind when he is submerged in the claustrophobia of seven years' imprisonment—until, at the end, Mr. and Mrs. Ignatus (he fell in love with her in prison, tapping signals but never seeing her) are back in London.

After the War he returned to Hungary and was imprisoned in 1949 at the time of the Rajk Purge. As Hitler began by purging leading Nazis, and Stalin by purging the Bolshevik Old Guard, so Rakosi began by imprisoning and executing many of the best Hungarian Communists—Nagy was the main exception.

There was a remarkable continuity between Nazi Hungary in 1944-45 and Communist Hungary in

1949-53. Many of the AVO men were ex-Nazis. A particularly vicious one, dismissed in 1945 for torturing Communists under Horthy, was back at his old job in 1950, torturing Communists under Rakosi, welcoming them with a jocular 'Sooner or later, we always meet again.'

Perhaps because of their own Jewish origin and the anti-semitism in Russia, the Rakosi clique encouraged anti-semitism in Hungary. An ex-inmate of Auschwitz found herself once more at the mercy of ex-Nazi guards. For many Jews and old fashioned Communists it was the continuation of a briefly interrupted nightmare. An anti-Nazi record came to be highly suspicious. One of the many prisoners who went mad did so in a revealing way: he became convinced that he was the victim of a White Terror and would eventually be rescued by Red soldiers. For this 'impudence' he was horribly punished by his Red gaolers, dying in a prison hospital. (According to Palocz-Horvath, he was clubbed to death.)

It seems that British Communists (except, perhaps, Pollitt and Dutt) should be thankful that their party is not in power. 'That party', an interrogator contemptuously remarked to Ignatus, 'All police spies. We know very well that when we get power over Britain, nine-tenths of the Communist leaders will be hanged.' (Palocz-Horvath was interrogated particularly closely about Gallacher, Haldane, and Bernal; a Hungarian scientist had been sentenced to eleven years 'for spying for Professor Bernal'.)

Everyone confessed. And everyone involved knew that there was no truth in their confessions. But the cruel hypocrisy was maintained, at least during the first months of his imprisonment, that a prisoner must make a 'true' confession. Thus he could not inquire what was wanted from him, and he could not guess into what weird fabrication his inventions had to fit, so he just had to go on being tortured. Eventually, hints would be dropped; and before his trial, Ignatus had his confession dictated to him; everything was cross-checked with other dictated confessions, and carefully rehearsed.

Why was this not done sooner? Indeed, why were those trials *in camera*, with the prisoner in a smart new suit, held at all? After being sentenced, Ignatus was told to appeal, 'otherwise it wouldn't sound natural.' Why maintain a pretence of judicial procedure within prison-walls where everyone saw through it? Why not simply report to the world outside that the accused was found guilty, sentenced, and given leave to appeal? Perhaps the secret

trials were modelled on the public trials. Perhaps it was hoped that the long process of torture and interrogation would bring something genuinely subversive to light; but it is doubtful whether a genuine revelation would have been detected amid the welter of fabrication. In fact the system of co-operation between interrogator and prisoner in the manufacture of confessions resulted in prisoners' flights of fantasy being mixed with those of their interrogators—with some danger to the latter.

EVERYONE AFRAID

Ignotus confessed to having been 'organized in' to the British 'I.S.' by General B.L.O. Odylie, Sir Fai Rytale, Morgan Philips, and others. Although they might prove dangerous to the interrogator, such grotesqueries in his confession were no safeguard for the accused at his trial; on the contrary, to have drawn attention to them would have been suicidal, for it would have made the security police appear what they in fact were, extra-ordinarily ignorant. One thing seems clear. A real British agent would never be caught by this system. He might get hauled in by accident, but the security police would have no means of recognizing the genuine article when they saw it.

Prisoner-co-operation in concocting confessions was dangerous to those in power in another way. Weissberg has described how a time came in the Russian purges when prisoners deliberately tried to incriminate as many Stalinists as possible, and Ignotus describes a similar reaction during the 'monster period' in Hungary. He discovered that only five Hungarian Communists—Rakosi, Gero, Farkas, Kadar, and Peter—must not be implicated. On the principle, Why should we not help murderers to murder other murderers? he set about incriminating as many of the remaining Rakosi-ites as he could think of. Ignotus insists that he and his fellow prisoners were not heroes. They were systematically humiliated. 'To be proud and dignified while cigarette ends are stamped out on one's skin is surely more difficult than cinema-goers would think. But it can be tried. To be proud and dignified after being forbidden to go to the lavatory for twenty-four hours cannot even be tried.... We were but human in a sub-human world.'

What a world it was. Within the Party, at most two or three comrades, perhaps only one, could feel that their lives were tolerably safe. Everyone else was afraid and acted unnaturally. The situation was far worse than it would have been in an ordinary despotism whose corrupt practices are intelligible and predictable. I assume that in some South American dictatorship, say, one would be safe as the brother of someone who is not only a deputy-chief of the security police but a personal friend of the dictator himself. But not in Hungary. Ignotus gives the example of Miklos Szucs, a loyal Communist who was arrested as a spy on the orders of his brother Erno, AVO colonel and friend of

Rakosi. Not that this helped Erno in his struggle for survival. He was arrested as his 'spying' brother's contact-man on the orders of his chief, Gabor Peter, who eventually had both brothers sent down the acid-bath—a piece of zeal which did not stop him being purged in due course. Given this atmosphere of fear and distrust, one is not surprised that Ignotus, after his release, meeting two middle-aged sisters who had lived together in Budapest for years, should be told by each of them separately that she considered the regime murderous but that he must on no account so much as give a hint of her views to her sister who, alas, remained a rigid Stalinist. Only ex-political prisoners could be whispered to at all freely, or whisper freely among themselves.

SADDEST OF ALL

But even among political prisoners there were dedicated Stalinists who went through the whole long process of arrest, humiliation, torture, and execution with their faith intact to the end. Their case is, perhaps, the saddest of all. Crying 'Long live the Party' as they died, they lost every human privilege, even that of seeing brute facts as they are. Those among them who were not executed suffered grave embarrassment at their rehabilitation trials. 'They had thought it their duty to take the blame on themselves for the crimes never committed. They would argue that they had been traitors and would be hurt by anyone doubting it.' For years they had strained to adjust their beliefs to absurd demands. Now they had to undo all this and make an even more painful confession, namely that the Party apparatus had been wrong all along.

PROGRESS

A Catholic missionary who had laboured for years among the cannibals of New Guinea was finally given an assistant.

The young priest felt some misgiving about his assignment, and when he reported to the pastor he remarked, "I've heard that the natives around here don't take very readily to religion. How do you get along with them?"

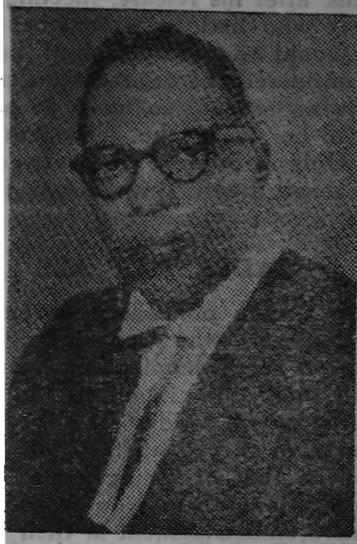
"Not as well as I'd hoped," admitted the pastor. "But I seem to be making progress. On Fridays now the cannibals eat only fishermen."

—Age of Reason.

STYMIED

A doctor asked his patient: "If I consider an operation necessary, will you be able to afford it?" The patient considered a moment and asked, "Would you consider an operation necessary, if I cannot afford it?"

M. V. V. K. Rangachari



Late Sri M. V. V. K. Rangachari

It is with a deep sense of sorrow, I report the death of Sri M. V. V. K. Rangachari, one of the pioneers of Rationalist Movement in India, on 28-12-59. No doubt, it is a personal loss to me, he being my revered father, friend and guide, as well as also Guru, yet it may be of some consolation, if the rationalist friends share the grief. I hope this expectation is not very ambitious.

Born in 1889, Mudunurupadu, a small village in Andhra, he spent his childhood in a very orthodox Sri Vaishnavite family. As was natural in those days, he was married in the

teens before completing his education. Those were the days of religious victimisation and social penalisation for any assumed contact with a relatives' family, one of whose members went on voyage. The fear of being outcast was so rampant that it could keep, brothers and sisters and even husbands and wives, apart and isolated. This evil and its associated suffering should have much influenced his young mind producing an aversion for socio-religious exploitation. He entered the bar after graduation from Madras University in 1910. He joined the Rationalist Press Association (London) in 1920 and has been its Hon. Secretary for Madras Presidency ever since. He was also an active member of the Rationalist Association of India, (Bombay) and a regular contributor to REASON, REVOLT, and other journals.

He was also a member of the Indian Philosophical Congress, whose sessions he was attending regularly and also he presided over the Ethics and Social Philosophy Section of its XIV Session at Allahabad. He has written a number of books some of which were by noted rationalists abroad, like the late Max Isenberg (U.S.A.) and Charles Bradlaugh Bonner (U.K.). He had such an enthusiasm towards literary and allied activities that paralysis could not deter him from writing articles. In fact, just a week before his death, he brought out an article for publication in "WORLD STATE" (Bangalore).

Satyam

(Continued from page I)

the plea that temples are intended for believers only. The disbeliever may as well keep out. This argument presumes that the believer should put up with everything that the priests do. Has a believing Hindu no right to say that certain practices in temples are not moral by modern standards? Should a believing Hindu subscribe to every superstition practised in the name of religion and should he submit to every insult offered to him because such insult is sanctified by sacred tests and by long usage?

Again the question arises, should a practice be allowed even though the victim believes in it and voluntarily submits to it. After all many a woman

who was burnt alive by the inhumanity of the Sati willingly entered the funeral pyre. There is a public conscience and a code of morality which should protect the willing victims against themselves.

It is noteworthy that in the press campaign that is being carried on against Mr. S. V. Ramasami, no suggestion is put forward that this obviously demeaning, inhuman and immoral practice enforced by the priests of Tiruchendur temple has to be changed in this age of enlightenment, liberty and equality. So far as the State Government is concerned, the Minister concerned has pronounced his verdict. Since the matter pertains to the conduct of a Central Minister, the public of India is awaiting with anxiety what the Central Cabinet and the Congress High Command have to say in the matter.

Indo--China Border Dispute

American Military Expert's Analysis

New York: Manson W. Galwin, considered the foremost military writer in U.S.A., agrees with Prime Minister Nehru that there are only two courses open; to talk with the Chinese or go to war. The P. M. said "As far as I am concerned, we will negotiate and negotiate to the bitter end". There is not much else that India can do for the moment. Terrain, communications, climate and numbers all favour Communist China along one of the world's most rugged and inaccessible frontiers. The unsettled problem of border demarcation will probably remain an academic or diplomatic dispute, not a military one, until spring. During the winter, Ladakh, in eastern Kashmir, and other disputed areas to the east are deep in snow, bitter with cold and racked with winds. The mountain passes are blocked even to foot soldiers. And India's airlift is incapable during the winter of supplying any but the smallest forces at the high altitudes where the clashes have occurred. The terrain in much of the disputed area, particularly in the Ladakh region, favours Communist China. India has a railroad within about 100 miles of the Ladakh region, but from there to the border area there are only trails and the going is uphill, through steep narrow defiles or over mountains.

The Chinese, on the other hand, are in possession

of the high ground. They can operate from the relatively level Tibetan plateau to support their troops in the disputed area; their supply line extends back hundreds of miles through uneasy Tibet into China. The Communists are reported to have built one or more main roads into Tibet, one of them paralleling the Indian frontier. They have completed or are working on several roads that lead toward Ladakh and other areas of the disputed frontier. Two or more Chinese airstrips near the Ladakh area also have been completed. Supply difficulties for both sides are immense, much more so for the Indian than for the Chinese. The remoteness and the nature of the terrain mean that military operations must necessarily be small scale. Large numbers of men and great quantities of equipment could not be supplied.

The overwhelming Chinese advantage in military manpower is less important than it might appear since neither side can maintain large numbers in the contested area. China maintains the world's largest army with a strength of about 2,500,000. The Indians, on the other hand, have total armed forces probably numbering 500,000 and 600,000 men. Some of these are semi-military and many are poorly equipped.

—Swarajya

DELHI LETTER

India Out For Conciliation

(From Our Correspondent)

THE welcome given to the Soviet President by the citizens of Delhi was enthusiastic enough, but was not a patch on the one extended to President Eisenhower last month. Heads of rival powers, the comparison came naturally to every one's mind. One reason for the smaller rush during the reception of the Soviet President was undoubtedly the colder weather which has been prevailing in Delhi for a week. Another—perhaps the main reason—is the growing unpopularity of Communists in the country since the Chinese incursion became known.

The most significant feature of the visit so far has been the enunciation by President Rajendra Prasad of Indian policy vis-a-vis Chinese aggression. In words which sound rather ominous, India's President said in the course of his speech welcoming the Soviet President at the banquet in his honour:

"On our own horizons we face unfortunately

new problems but I can assure Your Excellency that we remain resolute and are determined to seek peaceful solutions in our traditional spirit of negotiation and conciliation."

What the nation has been fearing all these months has now found expression in the mouth of the Indian President in that one significant word 'conciliation.' Conciliation and appeasement are Siamese twins without any difference, both requiring pacification of the other party for their fulfilment. Only the word 'appeasement,' which has a bad odour about it, has been avoided. We are, it seems, heading straight for another climb-down by the Nehru Government. That much indeed, seems obvious.

WHO IS REALLY NEUTRAL?

In his reply, the Soviet President referred to the "strong friendship between the Soviet Union and

India" which "has acquired important international significance." He also referred to the "mutual support which the Governments of our countries have been and are rendering one another on a number of international issues." We shall soon see how strong is the friendship between the two countries. A friend in need is a friend indeed. There must be an equivalent Russian proverb. If not, surely the Russian statesmen must have heard the famous English saying. The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof. The Communist idea of friendship soon develops into a oneway traffic and people are wondering here what more will be demanded for Soviet support of the Indian stand on Kashmir, beyond the support the Government of India have been giving Soviet Russia on a number of international issues.

It is worth recalling here what an American Senator said recently regarding the foreign policy of our Government. It is not neutral, he said, it is pro-Russian and pro-Communist. What he said was borne out by Nehru's ringing condemnation of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt and his wobbling when the situation demanded an equally unequivocal denunciation of Soviet Russia when Russian tanks rolled into Budapest to cow down the Hungarian patriots. In reality it is the United States which is neutral and not India. The American intervention on the side of Egypt against members of its own bloc gave the United States the hallmark of neutrality. This is something which we do not appear to have realised so far.

AKALI VICTORY

The Akali victory in the Sikh Burudwar elections was a foregone conclusion. What made the victory so decisive was the use of the machinery of the law against the over enthusiastic Akalis to clap them on the eve of the polling. Howsoever justified it might have been the effect of the measure on the Sikh mind was just the opposite of what was intended—if any effect of the arrests on the elections was intended. This could have been easily foreseen. The Akalis pounced upon the arrests and declared they had to answer them as well as the Kaironshahi, of which it was a symbol.

The issue in fact got confused and even fair-minded people, who do not like Master Tara Singh, voted for his partymen in their dislike of the rough and ready manners of the Punjab Prime Minister. The judgment in the Karnal Police Officers' Case came in handy for the supporters and lieutenants of Master Tara Singh, who had been complaining of corruption in the administration of the State. On top of that came the indictment by Mr. Feroze Gandhi of the methods adopted by Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon in running the administration of the State. The son-in-law had the courage to come out against his father-in-law, whose favourite Mr. Kairon is known to be. Perhaps Mr. Gandhi is not content to shine in the reflected glory of his father-in-law. All honour to him for acquiring a reputation of his

own. But the fact remains that Sardar Pratap Singh's reputation was at the lowest ebb of its career when the Gurudwara elections were held. The fact that his party was Communist-backed appears to have made matters worse for the Desh Bhakts of Sardar Kairon. The Communists too, as everybody knows, were never so unpopular as they are today. The fact is generally forgotten that most Communists are light half-believers in a casual creed which is apt to be thrown off like a stinking over-all at the first shock resulting from a clash of patriotism with real communism. The reputed percentage of Communists among the Sikhs stands exposed today even more than the hollowness of the popularity of Sardar Kairon. As a cartoonist puts it in a local paper, the public is sorry that Master Tara Singh has won, but it is glad that Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon has been ignominiously defeated.

NON-ALIGNMENT AND JOINT DEFENCE

With much that President Ayub Khan said in favour of his proposal for joint defence of India and Pakistan at Dacca on January 21, sensible men would wholeheartedly agree. The armies of the two countries, instead of facing each other, should be free to meet the external danger. For that it is necessary that India and Pakistan should resolve their differences and there should be goodwill between them. "There need not be any pact," he says, "only an understanding that the two countries would defend the area together would be enough." The understanding he suggests, implying as it does mutual consultations on defence problems, will itself lead to a pact in course of time, but the main hitch between the two countries is in regard to Kashmir, differences over which have been responsible for the shift in India's foreign policy towards non-alignment, which, in turn, has rendered the country a helpless witness to its own invasion from the north.

Now that the animosities arising out of the partition of the country are dying down, Indo-Pakistan relations can be seen in clearer perspective, but President Ayub's contention that India would not be giving up its non-alignment policy by accepting his proposal of joint defence with Pakistan would appear to be untenable. If the two countries are to defend the area together, India would be using the military aid provided to Pakistan by the United States in self-defence. That is something abhorrent to the Indian mind, for whom any excuse not to defend the country against foreigners has always been good enough. Despite his tall talk of modernity, Mr. Nehru follows the ancient traditions of the country all right. Perhaps that is why he is so popular in the land.

Pakistan, as President Ayub says, is not a rival either of the USA or Soviet Russia, but Pakistan has a military alliance with the United States and, by coming to an understanding with Pakistan on joint defence, we enter the alliance by the back-door, without reaping its full benefits. Joint defence

surely means much more than the armies of the two countries being free to look after their respective territories. This is admitted by President Ayub when he says the countries should defend the area together. The case for a forthright alliance with the United States could not be stronger anywhere but Mr. Nehru has a knack of standing on prestige and is obviously finding it difficult to let bygones be bygones and practise what he preaches in regard to Kashmir. As matters stand at the moment, Mr. Nehru is certainly right when he says that India cannot think of joint defence because of its policy of non-alignment. Humourists here are going farther and saying India cannot think of defence—let alone joint defence—because of its policy of non-alignment. There is much in that. The moment we think of defending our territory against China, we line up against China as well as against Soviet Russia. (vide the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Alliance). And that means falling into the lap of President Eisenhower after all the abuses Prime Minister Nehru has been showering on his Government! Any one with a grain of self-respect in him would rebel against the idea and do his utmost to avoid the calamity. Mr. Nehru is doing nothing else. Only poor India is nowhere in the picture.

KHRUSHCHEV'S VISIT

Mr. Khrushchev, the Russian Prime Minister, is due to visit Delhi next month on his way to Indonesia. From the point of view of the country's future, it may be safely said that no visit has ever been so full of import as that of the Russian Prime Minister next month. Mr. Eisenhower's visit could have been much more fruitful from a long-term point of view, but Mr. Nehru's non-alignment prevented that visit from being exploited for the country's benefit. As matters stand at present, Mr. Nehru has made no secret of the fact that all his eggs are in the Russian basket. That is also a form of flattery. Our telling Russia that we depend wholly and solely on its good offices may have the effect of softening Mr. Khrushchev a little while he is here in Delhi, but does Mr. Nehru really think that international policies are decided on the spur of the moment

when some kind of emotional integration is in process? They are in reality decided by cool and calculating thinkers who are the brains behind the governments of the world. There is no generosity in politics and the appeal "Have pity on me" has no bearing on the issue. Our only trump card, of course, is that we can tell Mr. Khrushchev plainly that if he fails to come to our aid in this time of crisis, the country will have no alternative to aligning itself with the United States. It is doubtful if Mr. Nehru will do so. In any case, there can be no denying the fact that the possibility of our going over to the American camp is the only deterrent so far as Russia and China are concerned. If we do not play that card—and it is a trump card—then Mr. Nehru would have again failed to do his best for the country and he might as well think of quitting the scene of his adventurous labours as soon as possible. Mr. Nehru's threats of retirement during the last five years bear a different interpretation after the information regarding Chinese incursions that he let loose on the country after keeping quiet for five years. Once again we have to be grateful that the coming into being of a party which promises to be powerful will act as a check on Mr. Nehru's happy-go-lucky ways.

Book Reviews

MODERN INDIAN CULTURE by D. P. Mukerji,
Lucknow University (A Sociological Study) India
Publishers, Allahabad, Rs. 4/12. P. 277.

This is one of the very few efforts by Indian thinkers to assess the outcome of the new factors entering Indian society from time to time from the entry of Muslims including the current influences streaming from the Western world. The book is written specifically from the sociological point of view and claims a scientific orientation free from religious and other prejudices.

The first question that arises in the mind of the reader is the doubt whether there is such a thing as modern Indian culture today with a recognisable pattern? Dr. Mukerji asserts that there is but concludes that it is an unreal artifice, an unreal class structure unrelated to the creative principles operating in society. How this artifice has worked he says, is the subject of his study.

The main influences that have worked through the centuries on the basic Hindu culture (which is tinged by a mystical colour in all its phases) are those of Islam and the Modern West in its ingredients of nationalism, realism, science, secularism, art, literature and philosophy. The book makes an attempt to estimate the quality of the literary and philosophical efforts of the Indian renaissance from the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The author has a special meed of praise for Rabindranath Tagore.

Dr. Mukerji centres his observations in the

JUST OUT!

ENGLISH

or

LINGUISTIC CHAOS

(Our Language Problem in Perspective)

By

A. RANGANATHAN

Published by:

The Libertarian Social Institute,

Arya Bhuvan,

Sandhurst Road (West),

Bombay-4.

Price: 25 nP.

nature of the new middle class that emerged towards the end of British rule till the last war. He thinks that its economic characteristic lies in the failure of the finance capitalism of the country to evolve into full-fledged industrial capitalism. He thinks that the new middle class consisting of the professional classes, civil servants and commercial classes serving as the agents of foreign trade (without touch with an indigenous creative class in wealth creation at first hand) was spurious and artificial. It did originate some renaissance effort but failed to become creative with new roots in the soil. Social mobility was insufficient and the emerging generations could not be accommodated in an expanding economic and social order.

He does not study the impact of Islam on Hindu society in any full sense nor does he speculate as to why India failed to assimilate it in its culture. Nor does he define what he means by modernism.

The book is useful as an indication of the role of the middle classes in social evolution in the economic, educational, political and social spheres no less than in the higher artistic, scientific and philosophical aspects.

Most of the social and political problems of Indian society emerge from the incompleteness of the social evolution begun in modern times as indicated from our dependence on foreign sources for all ideas of the world in all aspects of life and thought—science, philosophy, industry, commerce, political institutions, art inspiration and forms etc.

The emergence of Indian contributions to these spheres of full-orbed life requires a richer and more various and independent economic base than has been evolved yet. The large free patronage of well-to-do classes independent of courts and princes is essential for the creative contribution of a sufficiently large class of writers, artists etc. to come into existence.

The middle class is the necessary mediator in culture and all social evolution. The middle class has made a great contribution so far, particularly in the winning of national independence.

But a new synthesis of all the cultural factors, Islamic, Hindu (including Buddhism and Jainism) and Western has not yet emerged. We have modern India divided between the spiritual or religious orientation of the past and today's dominant materialist orientation typical of Marxist communism. The former type is symbolised by the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, the influence of Aurobindo Ghosh, Tilak, Gandhi and Radhakrishnan. They restate ancient ideas in terms of modern forces—of social progress, of nationalism, of national independence etc.

M. N. Roy represents the other tendency of materialist secularism associated with progress of the Marxist variety with emphasis on economic re-

construction imbued with the humanitarianism of proletarian morality.

The structure and quality of current Indian culture is the outcome of the failure to weld these modern trends into a coherent whole. But synthesis is not visible anywhere else either in the world today. Hence it would be unjust to ascribe a spurious, artificial character to Indian society for such failure. The measure of success it has attained should be judged in relation to the meagre openings it has had by way of economic, educational and political opportunity in the recent period of foreign rule.

The book is stimulating inasmuch as it envisages modern Indian society from a scientific point of view, though the author's concessions may not be largely acceptable. Such "a dry light of science" should increasingly figure in our attempts to study currents of thought and feeling in our society if social reconstruction is to be guided in the new period of national independence by rational vision instead of by vested interests and obscurantist notions.

BASIC EDUCATION—A Quarterly Devoted to Creative Education, etc. Edited by: Rev. Anthony Ellenjittam, St. Catherine of Siena School, Mount Mary. Bandra, Bombay 50. (Single Copy 75 nP).

This new Quarterly has come out with its first issue for January/February/March 1960, containing articles on Basic Education as also a useful and instructive anthology of Indian scriptural lore. The article from the pen of the veteran Libertarian, Shri R. B. Lotvala vigorously pleads for the fullest autonomy of educational institutions and mentions the Essentials of Libertarian Education as being "Freedom from State and Governmental Control, ethical training for the cultivation of moral virtues without religious bigotry and intolerance and training of the pupils in useful crafts to earn an honest living". The Section "Question Box" contains penetrating and erudite replies from the Editor. It may be pointed out here that the Editor has fallen into an unconscious error common to many well-meaning social workers in describing Christianity in terms of the equation "Communism Plus God is Christianity" (see page 13). Humanitarian and Religious movements, it must be remembered, can never be equated with communism diluted or undiluted.

The get-up of this Quarterly is simple, neat and tidy. It should prove a useful addition to the Magazines in this important field.

—D. M. Kulkarni

CHINA'S POPULATION (Census and vital statistics by Dr. S. Chandrashekar, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong. Price HK\$4).

In this small book, Dr. Chandrashekar presents the text of two lectures delivered by him in June 1959, under the auspices of the Department of Economics and Political Science and the Contemporary China Seminar. He visited China in 1958 and his objective was to study China's population problems and policies. He has presented factual figures of China's population.

Before 1953 no government in China in the past had undertaken the difficult task of enumerating the entire population due to absence of strong central government and political stability. It was in 1953 that the new regime felt the need for conducting a nationwide census and it published "Measures for National Census and Registration of Population" which contain eighteen articles covering the overall organization and administration of census, definition of household, de jure residence, the calendar to be followed and the registration of water population to be followed, armed forces and aliens etc. It was estimated that the total population of China was 583 millions but the accuracy of this figure was greatly doubted and it was argued that the People's government was telling the outside world a lie. The nation wide census was a by-product of the national elections and these became, in fact a matter of life and death for many. They were a means by which Peking could discover and weed out all those opposed and unsympathetic to the regime. "Franchise was not the birthright of every citizen but the prerogative of the supporters of the regime." It was in this atmosphere that the census was conducted. As a matter of fact a census undertaking should be an end in itself and not a by-product of some other government effort.

Even if the figures are accepted as reliable, they reveal a steady increase in China's population and several factors appear to be responsible for the addition to China's population numbers. The main factors according to the author are political stability and peace, absence of widespread famine, impressive improvement of public health and sanitation, network of hospitals, clinics and sanatoria. A modicum of health and medical services are being set up in rural areas. The government did embark on a vigorous nationwide birth control campaign for nearly three years but the loyalty to Marx asserted itself and birth control campaign was called off in the middle of 1958. Thus the absence of contraceptive habits has been a significant factor in the growth of China's population. Last but not the least, there is an impression in China that the country was not overpopulated but actually underpopulated and that People's China would demonstrate to the world that a rising population and rising standard of life need not be incompatible in an undeveloped country. All these factors according to Dr. Chandrashekar are contributing to the increase in population and today there are more than 680

millions on the Mainland and the numbers continue to increase. According to Dr. Chandrashekar, the population of China is bound to increase annually by about 20 million in the next few years.

At the end of the book, Dr. Chandrashekar has drawn certain conclusions. He says "In China a huge population may be an asset in the sense that people are expendable in totalitarian economy. Under Communism there are no free trade unions, with their innumerable demands for wage increases. There is no free choice of occupations as the labour force is directed to work on projects of agricultural, industrial, or military value as the Government decides. Consumer goods are cut and guns replace butter." China in time can create a formidable military machine with the help of a huge population, and whether it will be a source of aggression in future will depend according to Dr. Chandrashekar "on the future of coming generations and the survival of our free way of life."

—G. N. Lawande

KERALA UNDER COMMUNISM, A Report prepared by The Democratic Research Service, Bombay. Price Rs. 4/- , 176 Pages.

The first eight chapters of this documented Report were originally intended to be a survey of Communist rule in Kerala. However, the later events of Kerala which culminated in a mass upsurge led to the dismissal of the Communist Ministry by the President of India on July 31, 1959. The ninth chapter (the final one) deals with the last phase of the Kerala regime. This book begins with an interesting account of the land and people of Kerala. The authors state that "Politics is a national pastime in Kerala and over 30 dailies carry political controversy into millions of homes in the State." It is surprising, however, that no mention is made of the great efforts made by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer during his Dewanship of Travancore. Indeed, he was mainly responsible for its economic and industrial progress (politics was not a "national pastime" during C.P.'s time). The disintegration of the Congress as a result of internal stresses and petty party bickerings and a change in the political atmosphere which made communism "respectable" (in the wake of Band K's visit to India) did contribute to the Communist capture of power through the ballot-box. It was significant that the Communists interested themselves in introducing far-reaching changes in the educational set-up, the police system and the agrarian situation. Naturally enough, 'Mao's China' came in for lavish praise whereas more attention was paid to foreign policy in the lesson on 'Nehru's India' in the text books 'prepared' by the Government. The police were to keep clear of two dangers: "the danger of continuing to be, as of old, an instrument for suppressing democratic political parties and organisations and movements of the toiling people and the danger of

being at a loss to do what is to be done in carrying on their normal duty of investigating anti-social crimes and bringing their perpetrators to book." And the so-called 'Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, which was expropriatory in character was supposed to confer 'Swaraj' to the rural poor. However, in the final analysis, it is clear that a general feeling of helplessness and insecurity contributed to the mass upsurge. The Kerala Education Bill and the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill offended many sections of public opinion; and the Andhra Rice deal had certainly contributed to the lowering of its stock. But as Mr. Philip Spratt put it, "the Communist Party has not accepted the spirit of constitutional democracy, but intends merely to take advantage of the democratic process to get into power and then to misuse its power to overawe and terrorise its opponents so that it can never be removed." As stated earlier, one of the causes which helped the Communists to ascend the gadi could be traced to the Bhai-Bhai atmosphere which had prevailed a few years ago. It is certain that the aggression of the Chinese on our borders will undoubtedly have an impact on the coming elections. The real difficulty, in the opinion of this reviewer, will have to be faced after (and not during) the elections. This timely Report is a well-documented and analytical account of Kerala under the Communist regime, which could be read with profit by all students of Kerala Affairs.

—A. Ranganathan

INDIA, TIBET AND CHINA, by B. K. Desai,
Published by the Democratic Research Service,
Bombay. Price Rupee One. 40 pages.

This informative pamphlet gives us a clear perspective of Sino-Indian relations. As he has argued, the McMahon Line, which was drawn as a result of the Simla Convention in 1914 was never disputed at any time. Indeed, the only dispute regarding the Simla Convention was the frontier to be established between China and Tibet; the McMahon Line has been the accepted international boundary since that time. It is disputed only by the Communist Government of China. The attitude of the Indian Government towards the problem of Tibet's autonomy could be gauged from the following remark of Mr. Panikar: "The only area where our (India's and China's) interests overlapped was Tibet and knowing the importance that every Chinese Government, including the Kuomintang had attached to exclusive Chinese authority over that area, I had, even before I started for Peking come to the conclusion that the British Policy (which we were supposed to have inherited) of looking upon Tibet as an area in which we had special political interests could not be maintained" (Mr. K. M. Panikar, "In Two Chinas"). It is extraordinary, indeed that Mr. K. M. Panikar should have decided on a policy, even before he left for Peking. No wonder, it

contributed to the golden period, in our Bhai-Bhai era. It is also on record that we were asked to clear out of Tibet after the Red Chinese occupation of Tibet. And we did so after making a present of the Indian Government's rest houses, buildings, post, telegraph and telephone services to the Chinese Government. It is clear that the Chinese Government is undergoing the Stalinist phase of Communist imperialism, although our leaders might delude themselves into believing that it is just a mere outward symptom of irrational Chinese expansionism. In this connection, it is well to remember that a bit of news has "leaked" from certain quarters—it would seem that while Red China would accept the McMahon Line (how generous!), she would ask for the Ladakh area to be incorporated in her territory. This is the crux of the problem. The military road built by the Chinese through the AksaiChin area in Ladakh connects Tibet with Chinese Turkestan which borders on Russian territory. Again it is expected that the military highway linking the Soviet rail terminal of Termez with Kabul will be completed this year with the completion of the tunnel under Hindu Kush mountains. This certainly expresses the sub-continent to the Sino-Soviet land mass in its entirety, even if we surrender a bit of Ladakh. (although there is a talk of its being a barren region where even a blade of grass does not grow). Mr. Desai had written this pamphlet a few months ago. Since that time much water has sped down the Ganges and the Yangtse Kiang. However, it is to the credit of Mr. Desai, that his basic thesis is correct; recent events only confirm his thesis.

—A. Ranganathan

WELFARE BY TAXATION

It is supposed by many that our Government possesses somewhere or other, an inexhaustible storehouse of all the necessities and conveniences of life, and from here hard-heartedness refuses to distribute the contents among the poor.

When one section of the population say, "We demand that the Government should pay for us" it is really saying "We demand that other people should pay for us." Which means more taxation.

Taxation erodes incentive to produce and earn.

It penalises success. People spend the money they earn on what they themselves really want.

The State spends the money not on what the rest of us want but what our Welfare State's bureaucrats think is good for us. In the process, the rupee you have paid in taxes shrinks considerably because of the excessive costs of Government administration.

The delation of the Welfare of the State flourishes not merely through stupidity but because there is now an enormous vested interest in keeping it alive.

Gleanings from the Press

EVIL PORTENTS

In the much publicized book, *The Political Biography of Nehru*—the Canadian professor, Mr. Michael Brecher, has expressed his opinion that the danger to democracy in India is greater from the orthodox Right than from the extreme Left. As a good part of the book has been written long before Mr. Rajagopalachariar's Swatantra Party came into being, or the uncerecermonious turning out the Communist Government in Kerala, Mr. Brecher must have based his above findings on other independent evidence. According to him, after the retirement of Nehru from active politics (and that situation will have to be faced within the next decade), Congress would drift into authoritarianism "with the backing of Hindu orthodoxy." Some would go further and say that even with Nehru at the helm of administration and without the support of Hindu orthodoxy, Congress authoritarianism has been growing steadily during the last twelve years. Much of the Progressive authoritarianism has been clothed in the high sounding language of economic reform and socialist jargon. But as every body cannot be fooled for all time, the popular mood today is not only one of frustration but of anger. Contemplating what elected Governments have done and can do, the people are fast losing faith in the power of their vote. Their main topic of discussion is not the next general elections but how best to dislodge immediately those who have been voted to power already.

If the parliamentary system brings itself into disrepute, the people will instinctively turn to undemocratic methods and change of Government will then come about not through the ballot box by civil commotion.

Failure of democracy in the post-war liberated countries of Asia and Africa—Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, South Korea, Siam—the list is getting longer with the passing of time—does not hold out hopes that India will long continue to be any different from the others. Many people are now resigned to the prospect of India being headed for a period of trouble of both internal and external origin.

—"Behar Herald"

News Digest

FORD FOUNDATION AID

New York: The Ford Foundation announced here it had allocated 15,250,000 dollars to aid development programmes in 16 countries and territories in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean in 1959.

India's share of this amount was nearly 2.5 million dollars.

MAHALANOBIS 'CONFESSES'!

New Delhi: Speaking at Vigyan Bhavan recently, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis "confessed" that all the estimates made by the Planning Commission and the Indian Statistical Institute about the national income since 1952 were incorrect.

Asked why he didn't say so earlier and why he was saying so now, Prof. Mahalanobis emphatically asserted that being a scientist he could and always would, accept his mistakes in order to rectify them.

PROF. MAHALANOBIS SEEMS TO HAVE CONTRACTED THIS HABIT OF MAKING "CONFESSIONS" AND "RE-WRITING" FACTS AS WELL AS HISTORY FROM THE SCORES OF COMMUNISTS HE HAS EMPLOYED IN THE INDIAN STATISTICAL INSTITUTE, CALCUTTA.

'PERSONALITY CULT' IN CONGRESS

Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, warned the country against internal dangers and as well as the external threat on the northern border.

Presiding over a meeting organised by the Forum of Free Enterprise in Bombay, Mr. Masani said that the "disturbing symptom" of personality cult was noticed during the recent Congress session at Bangalore.

On the one hand there was the "temper of intolerance" displayed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, when, he "brutally reviled and ridiculed some senior members of his party for daring to draw attention to the fact that his policies of neutralism and appeasement of China had failed.

Mr. Masani said, that "while the totalitarian menace to democracy may, in the long run, have many facets, both internal and external, the most immediate manifestation of it is the continuance of a crypto-Communist like Mr. Krishna Menon in the sensitive portfolio of Defence at a time when Chinese Communist troops are in occupation of Indian territory."

RUSSIA'S DEBT

Settlement of Russia's long-standing Lend-Lease debt to the U.S. is now considered likely—for about \$600 million.

But government officials warn against interpreting such an agreement as the acid test of Soviet intentions at the summit.

"A concession of Lend-Lease is a long way from a concession on Berlin," one expert says.

The total Lend-Lease bill was \$10.8 billion, but the U.S. asked only \$1.3 billion for civilian goods.

The last U.S. demand: \$800 million. Russia's best offer so far: \$300 million.

WAGE SCALES IN U.S.A.

The eight month's strike of U.S. steel workers has come to an end, agreement having been reached between the Steel Companies and the Steel Workers Union. So long the basic wage of U.S. steel workers was Rs. 15/- per hour. Now they will get Rs. 17.25 per hour. A wage of Rs. 17.25 per hour means that a man will get Rs. 4,140 in a month of 30 days, if he works 8 hours a day. A comparison between U.S. steel workers wages and steel workers in Russia—the proletarian state—will reveal that a Russian worker gets only one-third of what his counterpart is getting in U.S.A. Besides, a strike by the workers is inconceivable in Russia. That is the nature of "proletarian dictatorship."

MONOPOLY TRADING AIDS PROFITEERING

Gurgaon: Prof. N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party, said here that his party was opposed to monopoly trading by the Government or anybody else, because it led to profiteering at the cost of both producers and consumers.

Inaugurating the Swatantra Party Conference at Rewari, he said his party believed that peasants could thrive only in a competitive market.

Referring to co-operative farming, Prof. Ranga said that Mr. Nehru was aiming at regimentation in the agricultural sphere. The Prime Minister's assurance that nobody would be coerced to take to co-operative farming was meaningless. As the implementation of the scheme depended on Government officials and subsidies, the element of coercion could not be ruled out, he added.

JOINT ASIAN FRONT URGED

Prof. Ranga referred to a recent statement by the leader of a U.S. farmers' delegation in India that co-operative farming could not be expected to raise production.

Referring to China's incursions on India's northern borders, Prof. Ranga likened Mr. Nehru's policy to that of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, a former British Prime Minister.

TIT FOR TAT

Russia brought out a stamp honouring Greek Communist traitor Manolis Glessos. Greece protested: but Russia ignored the protest. But Greece had evidently studied Stephen Potter. In a classical demonstration of one-upmanship, it has now brought out a stamp in honour of the premier victim of one Soviet tyranny in recent years, the late Imre Nagy.

IN LIGHTER VEIN

There were loud cheers when the Prime Minister said in the Subjects Committee of the Congress: "Whatever the consequences, we will not have foreign armies on our soil."

Except in Ladakh. I beg your pardon, I should have said, except on either side of Kashmir—one side for each bloc! Perfect neutrality.

* * *

The Prime Minister said India had placed before the world a policy which was certainly idealistic, but in the financial analysis it was perfectly true that no country's foreign policy could function on the basis of pure idealism.

That is exactly what happened to our foreign policy five years ago when the Chinese incursion began in Ladakh. It ceased functioning without Mr. Nehru being aware of it.

* * *

"When a big challenge comes," said Mr. Nehru, "people must either go forward and meet it or collapse."

So we have collapsed, according to the Prime Minister?

* * *

The Prime Minister ridiculed what he called the casual way in which some members sought to upset and reverse the entire policy that had been followed by the Congress for decades, even before the country attained independence.

If the Prime Minister has his way, the Congress will have to begin its work all over again.

* * *

Mr. Nehru declared amid cheers in Parliament the other day, "If the worst comes to the worst and if the two countries are engaged in a conflict, it will be a life and death struggle and no one gives in. Certainly India does not give in."

Not every time, let us hope!

* * *

"He strongly deprecated speeches which demanded that the Chinese should be kicked out of the places they had occupied."—P.T.I. report of a speech in Parliament on November 27.

"He" refers not to Mr. A. K. Gopalan or any other Communist leader but to the Prime Minister of the country!

* * *

Without comment:

Referring to the McMahon Line, Prime Minister Nehru said in Parliament: "Before the line was

made, the line itself was a laying down of something that existed before it."

"Even if they do not yield results, you have to negotiate," says the Prime Minister, because "that is the way of procedure."

* * *

Mr. Madan Mohan Verma (Congress) chairman of the Delegated Legislation Committee, submitting his report to the U.P. Vidhan Sabha the other day complained that the rules framed in Hindi were mere transliteration from English, although the Hindi text was supposed to be authoritative. The rules framed in Hindi, Mr. Verma said, were unintelligible without reference to their English texts. Accepting this criticism, Chief Minister Dr. Sampurnanand said an effort would be made to remove the complaint.

It is not quite clear whether the effort would consist in improving the Hindi language or making the English text equally unintelligible. In the latter case, perhaps the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, will lend a helping hand.
—M. N. T.

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library.

American Economic History: by Kemmerer, Donald L. & Jones C. Clyde.

Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis: by Freud, Sigmund.

Agricultural Marketing in India Vol. I: by Kulkarni, K. R.

Agricultural Marketing in India Vol. II: by Kulkarni, K. R.

Elements of Indian Income-Tax: by Lakhotia, R. N.

Future Trading and Future Markets in Cotton: by Dholakia, H. L.

Transport in Modern India: by Bhatnagar, K. P. & others.

Kerala Under Communism: by Democratic Research Service.

Educational Psychology: by Gates, Arthur I. and others.

Bombay Money Market: by Parekh, H. T.

Story of My Life Vol. II. 1922-1925: by Jaykar, M. R.

Commodity Exchanges: by Salvi, P. G.

Thesaurus of English Synonyms and Antonyms: by Hartman, Roger.

Everyday English Idioms: by Benham, R.

Second Book of Fifty Model Essays: by Miller, Mar-

garet J.

War, History, and Human Nature: by Martin, Kingsley.

Jawaharlal Nehru's Seventy Years: by Indo-Soviet Cultural Society.

Great Stories by Nobel Prize Winners: by Hamalian, Leo & Volpe, Edmond L.

Lady Chatterley's Lover: by Lawrence, D. H.

Text Book of Economics: by Briggs, Milton and Jordan, Percy.

Structure of Competitive Industry: by Robinson, E. A. G.

Dynamic Factors in Industrial Productivity: by Melman, Seymour.

Classics in the Theory of Public Finance: by Musgrave, Richard A. & Peacock Alan T. (Eds).

Analysis of Financial Statements: Guthmann, Harry G.

Razor's Edge: by Maugham Somerset.

Readings in World Politics: by Goldwin, Robert A. & others (Eds).

Readings in Russian Foreign Policy: by Goldwin, Robert A. & others (Eds).

History of Indian Political Ideas: by Ghoshal, U. N. Society, **Introductory Analysis:** by Maciver, R. M. & Page, Charles H.

Origin and Growth of Caste in India Vol I (B.C.2000-300): by Dutt, Nripendra Kumar.

Advance Accounting: by Batliboi, Jamshed R.

Principles of Economics: by Sundharam, K. P. M. & Vaish M. C.

Text Book of Deductive Logic: by Roy, Bhola Nath. **Capitalism Yesterday and To-day:** by Dobb, Maurice.

Manual of Foreign Exchange: by Evitt, H. E.

Economic Development: by Meier, Gerald M. & Baldwin Rober.

Theory & Practice of Co-operation in India and abroad Vol. III: by Kulkarni K. R.

Societies Registration Act: by Kher, Sunit Bal.

Studies in the Economics of Welfare Maximization: by Brahamananda P. R.

Report Currency and Finance 1958-59: by Reserve Bank of India.

Text Book of Economic History Paper I & II: by Abraham, N. T. and others.

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