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EDITORIAL

TIBET, INDIA AND CHINA

THE DALAI LAMA ARRIVES IN INDIA

THE most important news in the last fortnight from the Indian point of view is of course the startling series of happenings in Tibet. A definite stage of the Tibetan *anguish* is registered by the arrival of the Dalai Lama in Indian territory and the grant of asylum to him by the Indian Government. It looked as if India would refuse such asylum for fear of offending the Red Brother. Nehru's statement in Parliament regarding India's attitude to any refugees that may stream into India was cautious and non-committal, leaving everything to the "merits of the case". He refused to respond in terms of generous emotion when the example of little Austria which welcomed and assisted the fleeing refugees from Hungary in 1956 was urged upon him by Mr. Masani and others. In fact, the Austrians crossed the border in certain places even at the risk of being shot and captured to help the unfortunate Hungarians to escape safely.

The situation of large numbers streaming into India has not yet risen. But meanwhile it is good to know that at least the Dalai Lama is to be "respectfully treated" on Indian soil and is not to be ignominiously handed over to the Chinese.

This is something to be thankful for.

PANCHSHEELA TORN TO SHREDS

In the elaborate statements made by the Prime Minister on this Tibetan crisis, it is clear that the Red Chinese Government—(The Big Yellow Brother of the Hindi-Chinee-Bhai-Bhai cry)—has deliberately and cynically broken the clauses of the Indo-Chinese Treaty of 1954 which assured local autonomy for Tibet, though under the overall suzerainty of China. The Prime Minister recalled in Parliament that Mr. Chou En lai had assured him at their meeting shortly after (while returing from the Geneva Conference on Indo-China) that China would respect the freedom and autonomy of Tibet in her internal affairs, economic, political and cultural. The Treaty provides for the continuation of respect for Tebetan and Indian holy places and the safety and dignity of the Dalai Lama. It provides for the continuation of trade and cultural relations between India and Tibet though the special concessions of the stationing of Indian contingents on the trade routes for the protection of caravans and travellers were to be withdrawn by India.

Mao Tsetung had also assured the Tibetans that no attempt would be made to socialise Tibetan economy and polity forcibly.

But these assurances have been progressively betrayed year by year. In the first place, the

local autonomy of the Dalai Lama's Government was contracted to the area immediately around Lhasa, the capiptal—about a fourth of the extensive dominions of the hermit State. The forms of government with the cabinet of the Dalai Lama and the Assembly of lay and ecclesiastical notables were continued with restricted powers, the Military representative stationed in Lhasa exercising overall powers.

The Tibetans found that gradually their old free life, customs and way of life were being interfered with and began to taste the bitter fruit of subjection to a mighty alien power utterly callous to their rights as individuals and members of an independent society and nation.

Tens of thousands of Chinese families were imported and settled permanently in the fertile areas of the State, particularly in the southeastern areas—the lands of the *khampas* which are the seat of the present rebellion.

The masters began to interfere with the educational system of the Tibetan lamas introducing their own ideas of Marxist communism into textbooks. They interfered with the usual trade usages of the Tibetans. Trade was directed away from India and into China.

To crown all, they started "land reforms" in the classic communist style liquidating large holders and forming collectives. This was the limit for the ancient people whose economic system was based on agriculture and pastoralism salted by trade.

The bulk of the people were jolted out of their leisurely ways by the high pressure of the modern communist overlords who forced them into work on the new high ways and other places in remote places thousands of miles from their homes!

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There were therefore sporadic risings and revolts on a small scale throughout the last four years.

Matters seem to have come to a head when the Chinese Military Chief demanded that the Dalai Lama should visit his quarters alone without his bodyguard! Tibetans suspected foul play and surrounded the Potala (Palace) in the centre of Lhasa armed with guns and whatever they could get hold of. The Khampas in the southeast staged a large scale revolt and drove out Chinese officials and military units from their areas and proclaimed independence. The revolt spread to other areas and Lhasa became a seething scene of battle. The Chinese dispersed the crowds round the Potala with machine guns and pounded the buildings of abbots and lamas with artillery.

The building of the Indian Consul General received some attention in the general mellee though the officers and their staff have been reported to have escaped injury.

The followers of the Dalai Lama succeeded in smuggling their spiritual and temporal ruler into safe Khampa areas and at last we have the news that the party has reached safety on Indian soil.

The struggle seems to be continuing. The Chinese have flown reinforcements into Tibet, which is now not so formidable an effort as in the past, for the communists have covered the country with a network of military roads and aerodromes in the years of their occupation since 1950.

The end cannot be long in coming. The Tibean system of life, economy and polity will be destroyed. An organised people with an ancient culture of their own, namely, Buddhist, of great interest to Buddhists everywhere are being disintegrated before our eyes. This is nothing but the monstrous practice of *genocide* that began with the Hitlerite totalitarians in the modern world. It received systematic exemplification by the Russian Soviets in their wholesale transplantation of upper class elements from the Baltic States which they occupied during the war with the permission of Hitler.

The Chinese now have proved true to the model set by Hitlerism and Stalinism and are committing *genocide*—namely the assassination of a whole people's culture and system of life. There can be no greater crime worse than this in all history.

The era of collectivism is furnishing *collective crimes* unparalleled in human history for their systematic thoroughness based on up-to-date psychology that does not leave even *vasana* or mental trace of the former culture!

The worst feature of the Indian reaction to this colossal crime on Tibet is that our official representative *has not yet charged* the Chinese Government with having broken the clauses of local autonomy in the 1954 Treaty. Or has he done so secretly through diplomatic channels? It does not appear so.

DOUBLE STANDARD OF MORALITY

Distinguished observers. Indian and Foreign, have detected in the cautious announcements and interpretations made by the Prime Minister about these unfortunate Tibetan events the clear operation of a double standard of moral judgement.

The contrast between the spontaneous, why, instantaneous condemnation of the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on the Suez Canal in 1956 and the hesitating verdict (after a pause to take Bulganin's version) about the Russian rape of Hungary created a bad impression among the thinking part of the world opinion-makers.

Part of the undoubted prestige that our Prime Minister enjoys in the international community of the free world is due to the feeling sedulously fostered by him and his admirers that he gives expression to the highest conscience of humanity on political events as they occur, irrespective of the interests of India and the prevailing trends of thought and feeling in the two blocs of the cold war.

This has received damage during the Hungarian affairs. And today many observers feel that though India has acted cautiously but not ungenerously and not with undue fear in interpreting and reacting to Tibetan developments. There has been a strain on the Indo-Chinese relations but no one can blame India for the prudence displayed.

But it is felt that at least in the matter of moral judgement, India might speak out boldly and condemn the monstrous *genocide* and destruction of a people's free way of life and their enslavement in the name of communism and progress.

India is advising America not to be afraid of Russia and communism but to treat *their machinations as non-existent*! But today she is suppressing her spontaneous reactions for fear of offending the Red Dragon on her northern borders!

It is a mistake to have taken up the mantle of moral prophet and voice of conscience for the whole of humanity! India should be content with speaking for Indian national interests.

TIBET WAS A BUFFER STATE

In military and political terms, what has happened is the loss of the protection afforded by the existence of Tibet as a buffer State. This buffer State status used to give us the security afforded by the unarmed condition of a vast area above the Himalayas. Though the centre of population in Tibet is to be found round about Lhasa and mostly to the south and east towards the Indian frontier, the northern, western and eastern areas of Tibet with Sinkiang in west, Mongolia in the northwest, Siberia in the north and the area above the Assam bend and above the Burma boundary, are very *extensive, about a couple of thousand miles in width*! They are very sparsely inhabited. The whole of this vast domain was *militarily a vacuum,* which was a matter of safety to India.

This condition was secured through continuous diplomacy and pressure by the British rulers of India throughout the nineteenth century. Especially after the Crimean war of 1855, the British secured treaties with Russia whereby the Russian Tsar undertook not to occupy Tibet and not to seek administrative or political influence over her ancient areas from Sinkiang to Mongolia.

The British also negotiated with the Manchu emperors of China for a similar purpose.

Meanwhile, British military surveyors marked out a line of outposts and a boundary for India from the edge of Bhutan along the high mountain peaks and passes round the Assam bend where the Brahmaputra enters Indian territory. This military frontier of India is some hundred miles north of the administered territory of Assam.

Tibetans are not a mild race in spite of their buddhism. Those of them living near Bhutan are accustommed to enter the Duars or doors of the plains and trade and loot according to convenience. Tibet has thus a historic claim for Bhutan and the northern plains of Assam. And since the Chinese claim suzerainty over Tibet, they include these areas as legitimately falling within their jurisdiction! This is the secret of the maps in which they include Bhutan and Northern Assam in what is called a cartographical aggression!

The status of *buffer* conferred on Tibet through agreement with China and Russia in several treaties is now lost and its military benefit destroyed by the inexperience and immaturity of Indian leadership!

The Chinese are a very ambitious race whose expansionism has been intensified by the forced industrialisation and militarisation of the country and people after the acceptance of Communism as their way of life. They have established military installations, aerodromes, and built military roads all along the Himalayas. The safety provided by the Himalayas is now lost to us. They are within three hundred miles of flying distance from the Gangetic plains!

Their Panchsheela declarations have proved deceptive in this Tibetan rape. The future holds a grim prospect to India unless she ceases sitting on the fence and joins the free world in military and economic pacts.

SUZERAINTY AND SOVEREIGNTY

The British had agreed that the Chinese might maintain relations of overlordship or suzerainty over Tibet in accordance with ancient custom, provided they did not interfere with the local autonomy or territorial and political sovereignty of Tibet.

Unfortunately the treaty that was negotiated in its final form in 1911 could not be signed as the Manchu dynasty was overturned by the Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

The turmoil that continued into the regime of Chiang Kai Shek prevented the formal signature and ratification of the borders in this region.

The Reds are taking advantage of this technical fact and claiming full sovereignty over the area, ignoring the proviso about local autonomy. The spirit of *panchsheela* as well as that of the British treaty have been violated by the Reds, proving how dangerous it is to trust to their words or solemn pacts.

Dr. K. M. Panikkar the historian was our ambassador in Red China. He interpreted suzerainty *as including sovereignty* so as to facilitate Nehru's capitulation to the demands of the Reds in 1950. This is an instance of the perversion of scholarship to a cowardly diplomacy of surrender and scuttle.

THE FUTURE OF INDO-CHINESE RELATIONS

What of the future of *Hindi-Chinee Bhai, Bhai* cordiality? There is no doubt that virtue has gone out of the slogan after the monstrous destruction of Tibetan autonomy which will no doubt be complete before long.

The Chinese have expressed impatience with our Government for not preventing what they call anti-Chinese activities on the part of imperialist plotters in Kalimpong and elsewhere to whom they attribute the Tibetan revolt. They are not satisfied with Indian action warning some foreigners but letting them remain so near the border.

Even in 1949-50, the Reds had asked India to expel all white settlers, missionaries and others in Kalimpong, Darjeeling and other border towns. They gave the Indian refusal to do this as the excuse for their military intervention in Tibet in 1950.

They have referred sarcastically to the *objective* (?) reports sent by the Indian Consul General from Lhasa which they disliked. They have surrounded the Consulate building with military units.

Though formally *treaty entente* is not given up, the spirit of cordiality has gone out of Chinese utterances.

The Chinese embassy in Delhi published a Chinese Newspaper report putting the blame for the Tibetan imbroglio on Indian negligence or worse in neglecting to nip hostile activities in Kalimpong.

Indian Parliamentarians objected vehemently to this conduct but Pandit Nehru next day glossed it over in general terms!

It us clear that the 1954 Treaty is dead and that the entente has disappeared. New policies are urgently needed to replace them.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

It is noteworthy that the Indian Communist Party has taken the expected line of complete alignment with the Chinese Reds attributing the Revolt wholly to Western conspiracies from Kalimpong, Formosa, Korea and USA and wholly exhonerating the cruel action of the Reds in destroying the freedom and culture of the Tibetans. They have no spark of sympathy for the unfortunate people. Nor do they have any sense of the *new insecurity* of the Indian border consequent on the disappearance of the buffer status of Tibet and the militarisation of the border from Ladakh to Assam Corner.

They insisted on suspecting Indian statements regarding the absence of consipiracy in Kalimpong even after Nehru's categorican denial, thus trusting Peking more than Delhi. Strange conduct in Indians, who profess loyalty to India. They were condemned for this in Parliament but Pandit Nehru let them off easily next day which rejoiced their hearts and strengthened their anti-Indian sentiments.

Behind the News

SIDE-TRACKING THE TIBETAN ISSUE

Thanks to a docile if not servile press amidst us, the Tibetan question has not been able to engage public interest for even the proverbial nine days. It is an eloquent commentary on the much-boosted love of freedom and liberty of Asiatic nations that not one of them has dared to raise its voice in protest against the rape of Tibet by a big bully at her doors. With what a fierce yell of raucous unanimity did they raise their voices when it was the alleged atrocities of western powers or the imperialism of Britain or France or the true blue nationalism of the Bedouins or the—Bantus! As for the Western powers, their silence in the present circumstances has a certain discreet irony about it. Such comments as they have made have an undertone of contempt for us, for they imply that our country could not have done anything effective, and so silence was the better part of wisdom. Pandit Nehru's appeal for restraint, for a responsible attitude in a difficult situation was a tacit confession of a cowardly respect for the big bully which is inconsistent with his abstract devotion to text-book maxims. Even the moral force which he used to claim as in apostolic succession to Mahatma Gandhi seems to have failed him in this testing moment; for he has shown a tenderness for the aggressor which was not called for in any appreciation of the situation.

Instead, public opinion has been diverted with the whipped up suspense pertaining to the safety and whereabouts of the Dalai Lama. We certainly rejoice that he is safe and sound. But we think it infinitely more important to ensure that the people of Tibet are allowed to shape their national life in their own way unfettered by any outsiders however benevolent or impeccable their motive may be. This aspect of the problem has been so completely thrust into the background that we fear the prospects of Tibet emerging unscathed from the ordeal can only be deemed almost nil.

Even as regards the future of the Dalai Lama, the situation is not without ambiguity and embarrassment to us. The granting of political asylum to a foreign potentate may be a

gesture of our sovereignty, but it automatically makes mincemeat of our profession of neutrality. To acknowledge our respect for his historic role in Tibet and to allow him asylum in this country can only mean that we would not be averse to his functioning here with his immediate entourage on the basis of extra-territoriality. It would mean in other words that *where the Dalai Lama is, there would be the state of Tibet.* There are historic precedents for these implications of political asylum being accepted as a matter of course. During the religious and political struggles of the English in the seventeenth century, the exiled line of Stuarts found sanctuary in France from where they made more than one attempt to regain their lost throne. By the same token, England and France were at daggers drawn against each other; and a cold war of hoary antiquity fed on historic memories was kept up which became, during short intervals, shooting, hot wars.

If the Dalai Lama is to lapse into private life as an obscure individual, the publicity given to him as a venerable and symbolic figure is both injudicious and insincere. Further, the role assumed by the communist party of India in this episode has unmasked in all its naked crudity and virulencce the extra-territorial proclivities of that party. It is clear therefore that by our official action we have introduced the cold war atmosphere into the country at large. The magnitude of the danger that may be expected to grow with the growth of time is not yet widely enough appreciated; but unless we mean to assist in the repatriation of the Dalai Lama to his own country in a manner acceptable to him, our offer of the present asylum to him is little better than raising expectations which are foredoomed to disappointment. We thus bid fair to find in the Dalai Lama amidst us a King Charles' Head ideally calculated to bedevil our domestic politics, and hasten us more quickly along the slippery slope leading to the communist limbo. The soft-pedalling of the entire issue by our official statements and silences is thus full of prospective danger to us.

A still further consideration, at the moment not canvassed, is the role of the UNO vis a vis so-called domestic or internal problems of independent countries. A *carte blanche* for tyranny or anarchy cannot be given or claimed by sovereign states, and people's rights made a holocaust of while the world organisation stands by witnessing the scene helplessly. It is really the old issue of subversion from within aided by powerful groups abroad exploiting differences of alleged ideology, but really pandering to the cupidity of clamant groups. The Prime Minister with unconscious irony spoke the other day of the possibility of the World organisation gathering more power and prestige and intervening in men's affairs everywhere to their own advantage. The enforced immobility of the World organisation in such crises as those which have made a shambles of Hungary or Tibet ought to give place to swift, prophylactic police action which would ensure the rule of law not only as between nations but also as between the state of national governments and the people everywhere.

TIBET: THE STORY OF A BETRAYAL

By T. L. Kantam

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THE simple, cheerful, pleasure-loving people living on the roof of the world—Tibet—is the highest cuontry, comprising table-lands averaging 16,500 feet above sea level—have been passing through agonizing times. They are now engaged in a bitter life and death struggle against the ruthless forces of Communism.

LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND TIBET

This struggle is of vital interest to India for Tibet is bounded on the West by Kashmir and Ladakh and on the South by Nepal, Bhutan and India. Historically also, the contacts between India and Tibet have been very close, dating from earliest times. The first Tibetan King Nya-hi Tsen-po is said to have been the fifth son of King Prasenajit of Kosala. He fled North of the Himalayas into Tibet where he was elected king by the twelve chiefs of the tribes of Southern and Central Tibet.

One of the greatest kings of Tibet was Srong Tsen Gam-po who introduced Buddhism from India and founded the city which came to be known later as Lhasa (630A.D.). He had two wives, one a Nepal Princess and the other a daughter of the Emperor of China. He extended his sway through Nepal to the Indian side of the Himalayas. How far South this dominion extended is not known but according to Chinese sources, it extended over Bengal to the sea. In 703 A.D. the people of Nepal and that part of India under Tibetan rule rebelled and the Tibetan king, the third successor of Srong-tsan Gam-po was killed while attempting to restore his power. It is noteworthy that this Tibetan rule of India does not find a place in the history of India.

POWER OF THE LAMAS

We have to skip through the history of Tibet for about five centuries to come to the curious story of the Lamas coming to power. There was a severe struggle with China and peace was concluded in 821 A.D. Soon the country fell into disorder and there were internecine wars.

About the middle of the 13th century, Kublai Khan who had conquered Eastern Tibet and who later became the Emperor of China, invited to his court Phagspa Lodoi Gyaltshan, the nephew of the celebrated Sakya Pandita. Phagspa re-

mained twelve years with the Emperor and in return for his services, Kublai Khan invested Phagspa with sovereign power over Tibet. From this time, the Sakya-pa Lamas became the rulers of Tibet and remained so under 21 successive Lamas for seventy years (1270-1340). Their name was derived from the Sakya monastery which was their cradle and abode and their temporal power was exercised through specially appointed regents.

When the power of the Sakya began to wane that of the rival monasteries increased. In 1576 the Mongol Khans gave the title of Vajra Dalai Lama to the chief Lama of the most important monastery, that of Galdan near Lhasa. This was the first authoritative use of the widely known title of Dalai Lama. It was not until 1653 that Tibet came under the rule of the Manchu Emperors of China. But the Chinese government confirmed the Dalai Lama in his authority.

POWER AND PRESTIGE OF DALAI LAMA

The personal authority and prestige of the Dalai Lama have often been very marked, partly due to the fact that those who have occupied this great position have often proved themselves to be able and strong-minded men and partly from the belief that the Supreme Head is one who has won the right to Nirvana but has consented to be reborn for the sake of his fellowmen. The Dalai Lama is chosen by the heads of the three chief Buddhist monasteries of Lhasa with the help of the state oracle at Lhasa and the oracle at Sam-ye.

SECRET SERVICE PANDITS

Realizing the importance of accurate knowledge about Tibet, the British rulers of India sent a number of Indian explorers to Tibet, beginning in 1863 for surveying the country and collecting information about its people. These men carried their lives in their hands for discovery by the Tibetans meant certain imprisonment, if not death. They carried prayer wheels (in universal use in Tibet) with rolls of blank paper on which observations could be noted. The instruments of observation were hidden in a secret drawer in a wooden box. In spite of the dangers and difficulties of the work, the results were on the whole remarkably accurate.

The best known of these were Pandit Nain Singh (who was the recipient of the Royal Geographical Society's Gold Medal) and Pandit Krishna. A few years later Sarat Chandra Das made valuable exploration in Tibet and brought back a large number of interesting books in Tibetan and Sanskrit.

Towards the close of the 19th century, a Lama, Mongolian by birth and a Russian subject, obtained great influence over the Dalai Lama who was made to believe that Tibet was threatened by Britain and that it was desirable for Tibet to secure Russian protection. It was suspected that a treaty was being drafted whereby Russia should assume suzerainty over Tibet. At about this time, Sikkim was encroached upon by Tibetans. Lord Curzon despatched a mission with an armed escort but the Tibetans refused to negotiate. The mission was opposed and it became a military expedition. It dispersed without much difficulty the Tibetan levies and succeeded in reaching Lhasa. Lt. Col. (later Sir) Francis Younghustand, the political representative with this force, effected a treaty there in September 1904 with the Tibetan delegates, the Dalai Lama and his entourage having fled to Mongolia.

The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and stipulated that neither Russia nor Britain should interfere in the internal administration of Tibet, secure concessions there or depute representatives to Lhasa. As a result of the Russian Revolution, this Convention is believed to be no longer in force.

TIBET DRIVES OUT CHINESE

In 1911 the Chinese Revolution broke out and disorder among the Chinese troops ensued. The Tibetans were able to drive them out of Lhasa and to recapture most of their country. In 1917 the Chinese attacked again but were defeated and the Tibetans pushed them back more or less to the positions which had been held since 1720.

COMMUNIST CHINA ATTACKS TIBET

In October 1950, Communist China invaded Tibet. The purpose of the expedition, according to Peiping Radio was "to free three million Tibetans from imperialist oppression". The weak Tibetan government was unable to offer any effective resistance and appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to intercede and restrain Chinese aggression" but no action was taken by the United Nations. The Communists continued to advance and at the end of December the young Dalai Lama (he was then only fifteen years old) fled his capital reaching Yatung on the Indian border. On March 5, 1951, it became known that an agreement had been reached between a "deputy government" left in Lhasa and the Communists. The terms of the agreement were announced by the Peiping radio on May 27 : Tibet was to become a province of Communist China, to yield control of her foreign relations to Peiping and to agree to the stationing of Chinese Communist troops within her borders. In exchange for these military and foreign policy controls, the Communists agreed "to preserve Tibet's political institutions, maintain the present position of the Dalai Lama, protect religious freedom and permit the local rather than the Central government to carry out reforms". At the same time, Tibet was required to recognize the Communist-supported Panchen Lama.

In mid-August 1951 the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa after eight months as a "virtual prisoner" of the Chinese Communists at Yatung.

Those who have seen and heard the Dalai Lama cannot but have been struck by his grace, uncommon dignity and compelling presence. For one so young, he handled his great responsibilities with surprising ability. But alas, he is now

(Continued on Page 25)

NEHRU—AN ANACHRONISM OF OUR TIMES

By K. Kumara Sekhar, B.A.

IT is wrong to eulogise with some that Mr. Nehru is in his finest hour, and all that. He is the same man, and so are his thoughts which have been recorded in his writings decades ago. However, because of his governmental position he receives more attention today, and every action and utterance of his gains some official importance, and therefore hits the headlines.

Even before, it was doubtful whether the cause of the congress was the great thing, or the greatness was about its leaders. Today its main cause,—namely independence, having been achieved, its glamour rests solely upon its leaders. Death or infirmity has eliminated many. The others feel themselves surviving anachronisms of the freedom struggle. Mr. Nehru himself should have become an anchronism, because the main task of independence has been achieved. National development is not so special an aim as the struggle for liberty, which moves every patriot; but still Mr. Nehru had to make it his cause, for otherwise the engendered national feeling would run to a waste, and in fear of becoming an anachronism himself. Mr. Nehru had also realized, that while national leadership was happily nursed in the arms of the people in pre-independent India, it would now have to seek the shelter of government for its continuance after independence. Accordingly Mr. Nehru chose to be the real executive of the country. Inspite of these tactful decisions and precautions of his, he cannot however make national development as great and attractive a cause as national independence, for obvious reasons. The congress itself has become stale in this matter, and has ceased to produce ideas either for its continued existence or the country's progress. But Mr. Nehru cannot remain with the congress in this matter just because his leadership is liable to be discredited. Hence Mr. Nehru appears to be, and is compelled to be, more active than the congress which is not afraid of its logical consumation. Mr. Nehru and his friends for their own purposes have been virile in appending ideals to this dying movement. The congress has consumated itself. But the congress leader Nehru is living beyond his time, and to keep it alive, with himself still as leader, he is knotting it with socialism.

Hence it is not surprising that the congress movement as a whole is clinging to Nehru. Similary all those who either wish that the congress should continue, or fear that no other party can yet replace the congress on a nation wide basis, consider him as an indispensable figure. But these are men, who out of fear or ambition, want to lay down rules for history. One thing that becomes clear is, that it is because Mr. Nehru wants to arbitrarily make development a new national cause, that he has been becoming impatient with the progress made, and is unscrupulously adopting communist methods such as centralized planning, a high taxation, public industries, forced development, and the exaggerated use of the equity principle.

Actually national development is an unattractive proposition to the individual as well as to the group, and is a long term rather than a short term concern of the people. National development is the hope of hopeless economists. But because it is to Mr. Nehru the only cause which can keep him from becoming an anachronism, and serves to keep alive the mass movement of the past, it is not surprising to find him becoming desperate about India's economy, shouting the slogans of the socialists to appease the toilers, and proclaiming communist ambitions in a state of exasperation.

The more difficult the crisis in our economy, the louder does Mr. Nehru speak of his ambitions for the country, and the more beautiful are the pictures he paints of India's future. If Mr. Nehru had chosen with others to terminate his political career with the independence struggle, he would not have found himself crying today for these illogical socialistic developments. If Mr. Nehru had not been over-ambitious, these plans would never have been over-ambitious.

High taxation is a deliberate punishment inflicted upon our entrepreneurs. But for the anachronomistic presence of Mr. Nehru, India would have progressed at a natural pace, and not in such a hurry, with threats of pain and punishment. It would not have had to attempt to make a pretension of heroism, in the necessary task of self-reconstruction. Even without Nehru we would have had, as much unity as is possible, in the country.

May be Mr. Nehru wants to appear a progressive and a socialist. If so he is free to leave the congress and work for the socialist party; but strangely enough he now compels congress-men to leave the party, if they differ from him on co-operative farming. Even the question of ceilings, which appears to be a simple thing, really involves certain fundamental principles, which have been overridden to accommodate this fanatic ideal. Because he anticipated resistance from the industrial section, he wanted to rush through his pet reforms in the agricultural side. Actually none may discriminate between one section of our economy and another. What is threatening agriculture today will be applied to industry as

well, and Mr. Nehru himself could not hide this at one meeting. In fact our people wuold resist any tampering with the basis of agricultural production. Under these circumstances, it is Mr. Nehru who seems to betray the principles of the congress for the principles of socialism, that must resign and not the innocent and loyal ordinary congressman.

I cannot agree with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari that a new conservative party has to be established in the country. New parties find difficulty in becoming popular. The self-willed creation of the Praja Socialist party by certain beaten leaders, for instance, indicates only another division of the opposition. If the opposition could have been strengthened by the creation of a different party, the P.S.P. would have already succeeded in doing that. So what is imperative is, that the congress party itself should overhaul its leadership at the top, and rediscover its spirit of moderation as the need of the hour. Congressmen at the lower cadres have not lost this spirit, and the bulk of the movement is the same. And it should not hence be difficult to put back the party on right lines.

Surely one man's thoughts cannot decide the country's fate, and that was what was bewildering the press and the people, so long as Nehru dwelt on socialism without the least opposition. Mr. Nehru had also made a number of mistakes, and had to be checked repeatedly by wiser leaders, but by the accidental circumstances of the demise of these leaders, he had acquired the reputation of being the real guardian of the nation. This reputation stood in the way of his own party men correcting his recent extremist speeches and undertakings. So, at the party session, his quaint and utopian resolutions, were without the least consideration of disadvantages or details, accepted. But at the parliamentary party, there were thinking men, who perceived the mischief that was being done to the country. Mr. Nehru has been, with the co-operation of certain trusted senior colleagues, trying to sell the nation to the communists. Dhebar might have also supported him in his fanaticism, but anticipating ultimate resistance, he had persuaded him to leave his office. What people take to be signs of efficiency in Nehru are really signs of fear, and signs of overblown ambition; the fear is fear of replacement in office. The ambition is to demonstrate administrative capacity where there is none.

Now he is prepared to wreck the unity of the biggest party in India for the sake of co-operative farming. Even before, it was known from certain incidents, that Mr. Nehru is not a large hearted magnanimous person, but a self-willed narrow-minded common place type, who would venture on reckless "do or die" techniques. If co-operative farming was the logical development of the circumstances in the country, it would have been accepted by the people. But it is being imposed by one man, just because it is one stage in his thinking. It is not as he says "a test for every congressman" but a test for himself, whether he can chalk out a path of peace and truth, and not surrender the nation to chaos and controversy.

Mr. Nehru says that he wants to draw a line between joint farming and collectivism. He does not want that we should associate the horrors of collectivism with joint farming, which is a relatively simple thing. Mr. Masani on the other hand, has wisely pointed out that co-operation between the owners of land can only be in the processes of purchase, irrigation, etc., and not actual cultivation, because it is too near to collectivism. When there is going to be co-operation in cultivation, ownership would loose all its significance, and becomes a dispensible thing. There will be conflicts about the distribution of profits, and threats of state intervention on behalf of the poor partner. If the arguments of economy through integration are accepted wholesale, without pointing out the disadvantages of its intrusion on full owner-ship, the time will be near when the integration of all farms under the direction of the state, will not appear preposterous to us. Mr. Nehru seems to be preparing the way for state control of agricultural production, which is a feature of totalitarian government. So, it is not economic advantages alone that should determine our way of life; there are other postulates as well.

As for "going from peasant to peasant" which Mr. Nehru says he will do, it is a thing with which Gandhiji himself threatened the Nehru Government on one issue. Gandhi had at least the patience to do this. But with Mr. Nehru it must appear a mere threat, with the features of mimicry. If the peasants wanted joint farming they would have sought it without the propaganda of Mr. Nehru. The Model Co-operative Farms which Mr. Nehru threatens to start, will turn out to be state farms as in Russia. He calls the wise Indian peasant. a conservative in need of education. He considers it as a matter for training, when it is a question of feelings.

It is evident today that Pakistan has become the nightmare of India. Almost the whole news in our papers, on somedays, is about the military pacts of Pakistan, the interpretation of U.S.A. on them, the interpretation of Pak spokesmen, and finally the comments from Delhi. But none dare to suggest, that if the situation is such today, it is due to the gross blunders of Mr. Nehru in foreign policy. His arrogant rejection of United States Military assistance has not been criticised. India has to suffer much by choosing an isolationist path. Mr. Nehru preserves the older differences between the congress and the Muslim league in the relations with Pakistan.

From the beginning, Mr. Nehru being an individualist and no lover of society or sacrifice, has used the opportunity of party leadership only to convince others on his personal merits, as a man of ideas. In his photos, he had books placed by his side, as if his was going to be a studious approach to problems. In jail he had taken to writing, which is again meant to win for himself

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THE DELUSION OF CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

By A Ranganathan

THE 64th Session of the Congress at Nagpur concluded after having heated arguments on the wisdom of imposing ceilings and co-operative farming. It was the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress that a few non-conformist voices were heard. The fact that Mr. Nehru told the members of the Congress Party that the Nagpur resolutions of the Congress regarding ceilings on land and co-operative farming would be implemented even if it meant a split in the party is a hopeful sign for the survival of democracy in India.

About 'co-operative farming' Rajaji says—"And now the slogan of land reform is co-operative cultivation. Has ever land been put under co-operative cultivation anywhere—anywhere except in countries where private personal liberty is absent and forced labour is commandeered under Communist regimes? Men do not feel enthusiasm or even inclination to become wage-slaves and peasants are least inclined to it. Co-operative farming will be a disastrous failure in our country. It is not an idea born of experience or thought, but a barren corrolary of another error —a child of socialism, that of putting a ceiling on ownership of land with no scheme for distribution of the pillage that avoids fragmentation." The entire progress seem to be borrowed from Red China, where the Communist Party was able to force down its scheme on the people. Japan has shown the process of improved methods of agriculture without resorting to "Co-operative" schemes. Again in the U.S.A., this type of "Land Reform" does not exist and yet their production is the highest in the world. The Government could greatly help the farmer with loans, fertilizers, seeds and technical advice instead of playing havoc with the agrarian pattern, by adopting this revolutionary policy of forcing changes in property relations, which is euphemistically termed 'Land Reforms.' As Deshmukh observed in his Dadhaboy Naoroji Memorial lectures that if we had provided for ten more fertilizer plants like Sindri, instead of deciding to have a fourth iron and steel plant, India would have been well on the way to the solution of increased agricultural production.

"What is needed" said Mahatma Gandhi "is not extinction of rural landlords and capitalists but a transformation of existing relationships between them and the masses into something healthier and purer.....in India a class war is not only not inevitable but it is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence". Mr. Nehru's idea of proceeding with this scheme reminds us of Chinese collectives. The reason underlying this scheme is to take the wind out of communist sails. But it is seldom realized that these half-way measures can never be successful. It is impossible to run an economy without incentives. Russia has solved the problem of economic incentives by applying coercion which is out of place in India. The price Russia has had to pay and is still paying is terrible when measured in terms of human suffering and lower agricultural productivity than which obtains in the United States of America. A half-way measure can only lead to a full-fledged pattern, in a non-violent way no doubt, but involving the complete loss of economic freedom. Ironically enough, the strength of the Congress Organization is derived from millions of small landholders, whom it proposes to dispossess. The choice, today, is certainly not between communism and inaction. The Indian peasants noted for their independence, conservatism and the traditional attachment to land will not easily be herded together since it would reduce them to the level of wage-slaves.

Mr. Nehru has not offered a single good point in his replies to the critics of co-operative farming. Merely criticizing "certain quarters" as revealing "a lack of modicum of intelligence" does not lead the Prime Minister anywhere. In a brilliant speech, Mr. Masani has clearly pointed out that the Nagpur approach is a carbon copy of the Soviet system since it is "an insidious attempt to bring in collective farming by the back door". As Mr. Masani argued, the Nagpur approach suffers from several fallacies. The first fallacy is that a bigger farm produces more. It maybe a good example of gigantomania, but it is certainly not good economics. In this connection Mr. Aneurin Bevan's warning, fully quoted by Masani, in his historic speech for the defence of the liberty of the peasant, is apposite to the Indian situation.

"India cannot afford to make the mistake that Russia has committed because she does not possess empty space which could be called upon to make up for the failures and mistakes in agriculture as in Russia. India has to bring about an economic revolution in harmony with the needs of the countryside. The application of the principles of collectivisation, mechanisation and centralised control has proved a failure in the field of agriculture in the Soviet Union. The whole contryside in Russia seethed with discontent. The number of cattle in Russia today is less than before the revolution." Again, Mr. Masani drew the attention of the nation to Mr. Gomulka's experience in Poland who remarked that targets and voluntary co-operation cannot go together. That experienced administrator Sir Malcolm Darling stated: "In every state the path of co-operation is strewn with wreckage". "Out of this wreckage", said Masani "this great mausoleum of joint co-operative farming is to be

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THE FIRST SWAYAMSEWAK

By Sudarshan

SORROW, suffering and sacrifice.....yes, these were the only predestined characteristics of that inspiring life of Doctor Hedgewar—the founder Sarsanghchalak of the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh. And yet like any other supreme Liberator in the chronicles of human slavery, the Doctor—as he was popularly called—transmitted all his adversities into the very substance of spell, skill and success. The process of its transmission had been very simple and silent. Not that it was an easy task. It was not. The struggle he raged, was very fierce, from the beginning to his end. But fascinated as he was with the fine fervors of high patriotism, the late Hedgewar forsook all personal equations and dedicated his all, to the dictates of the National-self.

THE VARSHA PRATIPADA

The fact that he was born on the historic day of Varsh Pratipada—the day of the beginning of the Hindu chronological order—the Samvatsar —blends him with a halo of historical meaning. It appears as if the apostle in the person of Hedgewar was selected by the Muse of History herself. And it was, therefore, in the fitness of circumstances that the lot of giving a clarion call for the rejuvenation of the Hindu Rashtra fell on such a sublime soul. There was a call for upholding the cause of our nationhood; and a challenge for the vindication of the honour of Hindu Dharma. The call was responded: the challenge was accepted. The R. S. S. had been started.

R.S.S.—THE NATIONAL URGE

The pulls of pseudonationalism of the days of Khilafat agitation had suffocated the young Doctor. The atmospheric pointers were very clear to him. He foresaw the gravity of the dangers in the unwarranted tendency of the then leaders towards shilly-shillaying the real issues. There was, so to say, a crisis of confidence —of thought and action. It was under the impel of such basic needs that the R.S.S. was founded. It was a direct answer to the cry of our then doddering national urge. R.S.S. is a vivid reflection of the innermost passions of a born patriot; an objective screening of the psychological working of a master mind and a graphic modelization of an expert architect endowed with the art of national reconstruction. It is an immortal specimen of Hedgewar's deep human probes; keen political insight and a correct practical grasp of public affairs. R.S.S. is a true synthesis of what is fine in our social genius. It stands unequivocally for the evolution of such an order of fraternity which may prove as a beacon for all times and climes. In the words of the Doctor himself "R.S.S. is the greatest Havan-Kund in which Swayamsewaks plunge themselves like so many sandal sticks unmindful of which burns faster or first. They all burn without sound and smoke. Here, burning is the essense". So inspiring an elucidation.

HIS GREATNESS

And wherein lies his greatness? Is it in the fact that he idealogised once again the concept of Hindu Rashtra ? Or is it because he laid the foundation of such a big Sangathan as R.S.S.? No, certainly not. The magic of his greatness is hidden in the contents rather than his concepts; in the method rather than the men he moulded and more so in the Tantra (technique) rather than the teachings he preached. His method is simple and yet stupefying, dynamic but devoid of decorum. It is revolutionary in its results. The technique has worked out miracles. Out of dry dust, it created men of courage and character. It is singular. It is lively and powerful. It is unique, hitherto unknown.

Doctorji had no love for paper and pencil work, brimming with agenda and annual conferences. Therefore, from the very start of the R.S.S. he dispensed with the system of maintaining files and registers. Perhaps, it is this paucity of record that was exploited by interested parties, later on to dube R.S.S. as secret and underground. R.S.S. did not keep a record not because it had something to hide, but because it had nothing to write about. The mutual contact of Swayamsewaks being the real basis, and psychological regeneration the main aim, the only obligation for the Swayamsewaks was to daily assemble in open-air fields and participate in the Karyakrams (programmes) of the Shakha. The process has been maintained right upto now.

'SHAKHA'—THE LIVERY OF R.S.S.

Today R.S.S. has a net-work of thousands of its branches and lacs of Swayamsewaks scattered all over the country. But, very few still believe that the credit of all this goes to, what is popularly known in the R.S.S. terminology—the Shakha—the meeting place of Swayamsewaks. Shakha is the livery of Sangathan; the repository of the strength of R.S.S. The daily congregations are its very life-breath. They provide Swayamsewaks the avenues of mixing and understanding each other, thus fostering a bound of common love and affection. A sort of social personality is evolved. A corporate sense is developed. The threads of oneness are reared. The national-ego, hitherto lying dormant, is awakened. The Karyakrams—the physical, intellectual and psychological programmes of the Shakha invigorate the awakening. The whole process is surcharged with a new feeling, of underlying unity, mutual trust and a high sense of discipline, which instills

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A NEW RIGHTIST PARTY

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE Independent Parliamentary Group have announced the platform of a new rightist party which they recommend to the country as a whole. Meanwhile they will support its planks in parliamentary work by way of criticising the policies of the ruling party in the light of their principles. Industrial and commercial magnates of the country are understood to have taken alarm at last and to have made up their minds to support this move. Perhaps it is not too late in the day yet for such a move but they must lose no further time but go all out and spend without stint and mobilise all their talent for organisation if they are to develop a country-wide organisation before election time in 1961.

LIBERAL DEMOCRACY IS NOT ENOUGH

Meanwhile they should develop their platform in greater detail and apply their rightist principles to the concrete problems of economic and political life today in the country in a manner both self-consistent and progressive. The several points of the new policy they have announced are but broad *directions* of the way they wish to take the country. They just spell out the objectives of economic and political freedom. In a word, they but restate the essentials of capitalism and the democracy of liberalism prevalent in the nineteenth century. But this liberalism perished on account of its inability to extend the benefits of well-being to the poorer classes of the have-nots. Socialism swept the field and became the dominant climate of opinion and philosophy of progress everywhere because people were impatient of the self-enclosed imperviousness of the holders of economic and political power to the peoples' demands for equality and a greater share in the proceeds of machine-production.

If the new party wishes to make headway therefore in the face of the current powerful sentiment in favour of Leftist policies in general, it has to include within its programme items appealing to the masses. It has to counter-act the dense smokescreen of propaganda and prejudice that Leftist writers, journalists, politicians, labour leaders and adventurers of many kinds have created in favour of socialism. Editors of big newspapers are known to share leftist leanings so greatly that they believe that there is no alternative to socialism of the Marxist variety for achieving progress!

Judged from this point of view, the several points of the new platform announced by the Independent Parliamentary Group need much development and clarification before it can even meet the opposing point of view with any appearance of relevance.

FORMAL DEMOCRACY NOT ENOUGH

1. The first point refers to the maintenance of the democratic way of life.

This is too general to make any meaning. For the present Government of Pandit Nehru too is democratic in form and procedure! Nehru gets all his policies passed through parliament by a majority of votes! The revolutionary land resolution passed at Nagpur in the recent Congress Session has been endorsed by Parliament. In effect, the resolution releases trends in agricultural relations that will destroy democracy in a short time. Co-operative farming will destroy individual holdings and so deprive the peasant of freedom to use his land in his own way. The fate of peasants in Russia, China and the East European States will befall the Indian cultivator and landowner.

The new party has to clarify that it will support the regime of peasant proprietorships.

CORRUPT ELECTORAL PRACTICES

Apart from this fact, the new party will have to take a stand ragarding the mal-practices in the electoral process that have reduced democracy to a farce. The Congress Party has used the illiteracy and ignorance of the electorate to impose candidates of its own and to get them elected on the strength of undemocratic factors like caste and patronage. The worst practices of Tammany Hall have made a home in the electoral tactics of the ruling party.

The way in which Pandit Nehru has achieved overwhelming personal ascendancy over the Congress leadership is profoundly undemocratic in *substance* but entirely correct in *form*. How will the new party develop itself to avoid this corruption is a question that needs reassurance to the public. New parties may make promises but what reasonable assurance can they give that they will fulfil them in letter and spirit and not follow their predecessors?

The pattern and targets of the Five Year Plans are being foisted on the country through foreign-inspired statisticians. The solid criticism made of them by every section of educated opinion in the country has been completely ignored. Every criticism that they will raise prices beyond endurance, that they will add to the inflationary pressures and lower the value of the rupee and destroy the stability of economic life, that they will drain money markets in favour of the public sector leaving next to nothing to the private sector etc.—have all come true. But the authorities are unruffled. The opposition of the experts and the sufferings of the people in all their classes do not express themselves in the counsels of Government. Govern-

ment are aloof and adamant and carry on merrily even more rapidly in the *same perilous direction.* Does democracy entitle the rulers to ignore facts and experience and the counsels of the expert?

The new party should therefore give their solution to this problem. They should not rest content with formal democracy. They should not consider that a majority in parliament will entitle them to carry out any policies they like in despite of economic wisdom.

The new party as representing the interests of the rich may follow the same way of flouting democracy in substance while being correct in form—but *in favour of the rich* even as the present Government does so ostensibly in favour of the poor!

This gulf between formal democracy and real substantial democracy has to be bridged by special measures. The new party will have to bestow thought on this aspect of the democratic problem and win the confidence of the people that they will not misuse the electoral process in favour of their class.

NEED FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM

From the days of the French Revolution, a growing dissatisfaction has made itself evident in Europe and America with political democracy. One man, one vote—is no doubt a great principle and had a great effect of release of idealism as against the privileged classes of the old aristocratic regimes. But it became woefully insufficient to meet the situation of the poor labourers in the age of industrial revolution. Political and legal equality and the freedom of the vote were insufficient to provide equal opportunity to the worker to rise in the economic scale.

Hence socialism and communism stepped into the vacuum and demanded economic freedom. The dynamic of communism consists in this demand for the substance of economic equality and well-being. The New party does not mention anything about this proved insufficiency of political democracy to satisfy the common man. Liberty for the rich is not enough.

FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

2. The second point concerns the protection of the liberties of the individual and the defence of the Fundamental Freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.

Here too there is much to be clarified.

The mention of the liberties of the individual raises at once the question of the Detention Act. This has been a blot on our Constitution or rather on the First Administrators of free India. Even in war time, Britain and America did not dare to destroy the liberty of the individual so glaringly. To take power to detain any man without trial and due process of law is a flagrant abuse of power and a clear denial of freedom. Will the new party remove this Detention Act from the Statute book? If they waver, they are no better democrats than Nehru and his set.

THE RULE OF LAW AND THE JUDGES

There are a number of practices indulged in by the present Government that make for a weakening of the rule of law. Judges are appointed to positions of profit after their retirement. They become ambassadors and governors. This is contrary to the convention demanded by the independence of the judiciary. Judges should not be exposed to this warping effect of future plums of office.

The Law Commission have exposed the unfair influence of the executive in the appointment of High Court Judges. Judges should be appointed only by the Judiciary. The executive should have nothing to do with their appointment and promotion.

The new partly should take an uncompromising stand on such principles of the rule of law.

THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY

Most of the Fundamental Freedoms have been hedged about by modifications and exceptions that deprive them of effective force and all but nullify them. For instance, the right to property is stultified by the amendment that courts of law cannot decide on what is fair compensation. It is left to the legislature which under the British parliamentary system that we have adopted means in effect to the executive. The first principle of law that the party to a dispute should not determine the law is here blatantly transgressed.

The new party have to declare their stand on this question. Even the socialists of Australia opposed such a proposal in their parliament when it was made there. But in India socialists have supported it. This deprives the right of property of its essential safeguard.

FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION

The Fundamental Right guaranteeing freedom of trade and occupation and means of living to individuals and groups is dehydrated by the special power conferred on the State to take over any trade or occuptaion partly or wholly *for a public purpose.* Everyday Governments are taking over private transport lines and today we have the Central Government engaged in taking over the entire wholesale trade in food grains without so much as a "by your leave" in parliament or local legislatures. Some 30 or 40 thousand wholesalers are thus dispossessed and perhaps before the end of the process, millions of retailers too will have been deprived of their trade opportunities.

Will the new party undertake to *reverse* this policy and confirm the traders in their occupation, regulating it where necessary without supplanting them altogether?

3. **The Right of the Citizen to his Property and the Peasant to his Land.**

It is not enough to mention the bare principle in this way. A table of contents is not a book. As Rajaji said recently, a box of colours is not a picture. It all depends on where you draw the

line and system of conditions under which the right is allowed to be exercised.

The socialist charge is that property in the means of production or capital has led to the class war and that this class antagonism cannot be removed by *charity*. Socialism says that personal virtues of individuals do not change large social situations affecting the whole of society or large masses of people like workers and peasants.

How does the new party propose to bridge the gulf between manufacturer and worker without transferring manufacturing power to the worker and his representatives? For betterment or rising wages and amenities do not remove the gulf between worker and master. The two classes will always confront each other with increasing bitterness. The iron law of wages is inescapable. Marx has to be answered on the level of theory too.

The charge that distribution as made by the capitalist process can never be fair and equitable needs to be squarely faced.

The social vocation of property has to be reestablished. The answer that capitalism makes for productivity is not enough.

Property today has acquired ill fame and is derided as *vested interests*. Are all forms of commerce and industry but forms of vested interests and do vested interests mean sheer exploitation? The claim that capitalism makes for property for all is not justified by its historical record.

The common man today has no patience with conspicuous consumption with the rich class and their extravangant expenditure, their large limousines, some of them sporting *more than one car*. At the slightest provocation, street mobs take to throwing stones on passing cars!

How will the new party teach such a populace the truth that a class society with *rising pyramids of wealth to the few* is the best contributor to the progress and well-being of the many?

It is no doubt good to be assured that the peasant will be confirmed in the possession of his land. But the entire point of the passionate cry of "land to the tiller!" is that the *landless should be given land*. The new party is silent on this demand. To ignore this demand is to play Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark!

Moreover, there is the enticing slogan of Marx that all property is theft or robbery! The opposite theory of Hegel that property is the first reality or condition of freedom needs to be elaborated in a convincing way by the new party—which is not an easy job.

The new party has to sketch new ways of helping the poorest to acquire the blessings of property both in the industrial and agriculturist sectors before it can make a beginning in the uphill task of winning support for their policy in the present atmosphere of socialism, backed as it is by the great name of Jawaharlal Nehru and the glamour of Russian achievements in science and military power.

DEMOCRACY AND PLANNING DO NOT GO TOGETHER!

The next three planks refer to the fair deal to the consumer and increasing satisfaction of his needs, the right of the individual to the fruits of his labour and enterprise and economic development through the provision of incentives to hard work, saving and enterprise and the exercise of essential democratic controls and planning.

These provisions are *but capitalism in functioning*. They acquire a meaning only if the kind of controls and planning in view are clarified. Present plans are Soviet and Communist in character. But what will be the nature and methods of democratic planning? Are democracy and planning consistent with each other? The former implies pluralist decision by independent enterprisers and the latter implies State co-ordination.

7. Mixed Economy.

The seventh plank supports mixed economy. But the present system is already one of mixed economy! How does the mixed economy of the New Party differ from the present Nehru brand of mixed economy? What is the principle that determines the boundary between the private and public sector? The public sector goes on aggrandising itself at the expense of private sector until it is squeezed out altogether. Will the New Party just freeze the present line and go on with it? This is a case of a vacuum in thought.

It has to be filled by a clear theory of the functions of the State in relation to economy.

Freedom demands some limit to the expanding sphere of state activity. The sanctity of private property can be defended only if the State is limited to its essential traditional functions of the defence of law and order and of national independence against foreign invaders.

The New Party have to think of the functions of the State in a radical way.

8. Social Justice.

The New Party says that social justice will be attained through the maintenance of the democratic liberties guaranteed in the Constitution.

As already pointed out, the democratic liberties of a liberal Constitution only assure equality of voting power and equality before the law. But this is only tantamount to the right of starvation to the helpless worker without property! He has no bargaining power. He cannot fight the employer unless he combines with others in trade unions. And the state has to determine the levels of wages to be extracted by the powerful capitalist class. It is the failure of formal democracy to abolish poverty and to provide freedom from starvation to the worker that has put the thunderbolt into the hands of the socialist and communist agitator.

This is another case of a vacuum of thought.

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THE FIRST SWAYAMSEWAK

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in every heart, intense love for the Motherland —the Bharatmata.

THE FIRST SWAYAMSEWAK

An apparent distance between the Leader and his followers is generally visible in any social or political organisation. The behaviour—rather the nature—of the R.S.S. founder was perfectly above the board in this respect. The foible neither touched nor troubled the Great Doctor. And today, if he commands the exclusive Shraddha of the Swayamsewaks, it is not because that he is the founder of the organisation but because he is the ideal Swayamsewak. Mansa, Vaacha and Karmana — he was the Swayamsewak—first and last. • The ego of a leader or a founder could not, even for a moment, prevail upon him. It was, of course with the attainment of these qualifications that he could churn the cream of the nation and let inspire hundreds of potential workers to break away from the youthful moorings and work in far-off places in our far-flung country. Doctor Hedgewar proved to be the best leader because he had been the best follower himself, not of anybody else but of his own convictions. He never uttered a word which he did not himself believe and practise. In his personality, it was a very rare concurrence of Path and Pathik—of Faith and Follower. And little wonder, if such a nobility of character became the idol of millions of Swayamsewaks in the country.

And today! Doctor Hedgewar—the immortal pilgrim of Hindu Rashtra is no more with us. He left us some eighteen years back and became one with the mission itself. The country is in a critical state of transition. It is not only divided but deluded also. On the historic occasion of this Varsh Pratipada, let the memory, zeal and idealism of that great Doctor instill hope and courage and inspire us all towards that nobler goal—the Hindu Rashtra.

A NEW RIGHTIST PARTY

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As they are then, the planks announced by the New Rightist Party are totally insufficient to appeal to the disinherited classes. It is likely to be condemned out of hand as the Party of the capitalist exploiters unless a case is made out for the conclusion that the liberty of investment and enterprise granted to the wealthy will develop a social system wherein the poor can rise in the economic and social scale and attain a sufficiency of well-being in a measurable period of time.

Thus the platform announced is only an aspiration and needs a full social philosophy for its support containing the elements of truth in socialism without its shortcomings in economic insight.

NEHRU - AN ANACHRONISM OF OUR TIMES

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as an individual, some literary attention. So it should not be surprising if he disturbs India's calm development by academic discussions on utopian concepts and schemes of socialism.

Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind. Mr. Nehru has sown suspicion in the minds of Indians about America, and today one may find any man in this country expressing in quite a blunt way, what a sense of decency has prevented the guilty Indian leaders from speaking out. It was interesting for me to hear one Indian state that the spirit of colonialism is always in the blood of the westerner. He went on to say that like the monkey with the two cats, America by promising gains to catch wanted to get control over both Pakistan and India. Like all abnormal fears, the fear of Ayubkhan as a modern Aurangazeb, who by military means would re-establish a Muslim empire over India, seemed utterly ludicrous to me. The U.S.A. which is the leader of the democratic nations should never be suspected of such treachery. The man I refered to was not a communist. He was not even a patriot, and did not participate even in the liberation of the country. He moved about in conservative circles, and now abruptly he declares that the Russian army represents the "might of the East". Mr. Nehru, he says, is no mad brahmin, and has gone to Moscow only to woo this fine power for the benefit of India. I do not think that it was in fear of the west, nor in search of protection that he went there. I thought it was in accordance with his attraction for Marxism and friendly feelings towards Russia.

It is also believed that India is on the verge of party dictatorship, as in the communist countries and in alliance with the Indian communist party—(i.e.) dictatorship of the congress party, which by an amalgam of historical forces has come to absolutely dominate the political scene. I could not understand why the word dictatorship is used, but obviously no importance is attached to the elections here as the situation here is not different from other Asian countries like Russia and China, where a single party decides the fate of the nation. Of course, the presence of other parties indicates the existence of democracy, but what use is it if the elements of democracy are absent and its mere principle is asked to operate.

Mr. Nehru can lead his followers to socialism in his own country, but why should he interpret American policy as anti-Asian after declaring himself a neutral in the world ideological battle. Why should he taunt American foreign policy and fight its proper applications to the various troubled regions of the world? This is again the anachronomistic survival of an ancient ill feeling to every westerner. But independent India has a mission to perform in the world with the United States, if only it can see it, dispensing with anachronisms.

FREE WILL AND THE MARKET PLACE

By Frank Chodorov

FREE will is the starting point of all ethical thinking and it plays an equally important part in the business of making a living. If man were not endowed with this capacity for making choices, he could not be held accountable for his behaviour, any more than could a fish or a fowl—an amoral being, a thing without a sense of morals. So, if man were devoid of this capacity, his economics would be confined to grubbing along on whatever he found in nature. It is because man is capable of taking thought, of making evaluations and decisions in favour of this or that course, that we have a discipline called economics.

In making his ethical choices, man is guided by a code believed to have the sanction of God; and experience has shown that the good life to which his instinct impels him can be achieved only if he makes his decisions accordingly. The Ten Commandments have been called the word of God; they can also be described as nature's way of applying means to ends. Thus we say that nature in her inscrutable ways has determined that water shall always run down hill, never up; that is a natural law, we say, because it is without exception, inevitable, and self-enforcing. Therefore, when we decide to build ourselves a house, we set it at the bottom of the hill so as to avail ourselves a supply of water. If we put the house at the top of the hill, nature will not co-operate in our obstinacy and we shall not have any water in the house; unless, of course, we discover and make use of some other natural law to overcome the force of gravity.

That is to say, nature is boss and we had better heed her teaching when we make decisions or we shall not achieve the ends we desire. But, her teaching is not freely given; we must apply ourselves dilligently to a study of her ways to find out what they are. The prerequisite for a successful investigation is to admit that nature has the secret we are trying to uncover; if we begin by saying that in this or that field nature has no laws, that humans make their own way without reference to nature, we shall end up knowing nothing.

If, for instance, we discard the Ten Commandments, declaring them to be mere man-made conventions changeable at will, we end in chaos and disorder—evidence that we are on the wrong track. Likewise, if we declare that God in his infinite wisdom chose to disregard economics, that in ordering the world he overlooked the ways and means for man's making a living, that in this particular field man has to work out his own formulae, we will end up with a poor living.

"ECONOMICS" WITHOUT PRINCIPLES

And that is exactly what has happened in the study of economics; many experts in this field are of the opinion that nature can tell us nothing about the business of making a living; it's all a matter of human manipulation. That is why economics is so often a meaningless hodgepodge of expediencies, leading us to no understanding and no good end. I might add that the incongruities of ethical life, such as divorce, juvenile delinquency, international friction, and so on, are largely the result of the current conceit that there is no warrant for ethics in nature, no positive laws for moral behaviour; but that is another subject.

I shall try to present some evidence that nature has her own rules and regulations in the field of economics, indicating that we had better apply ourselves to learning about them if we would avoid the obviously unsatisfactory results from relying on man's ingenuity. Come with me into the laboratory of experience, which is the source of much understanding.

THE FIRST PIONEER.

Let us cast our mind's eye back to the time when there was no Madison, Wisconsin, or any other city west of the Alleghenies, when only the seed of a later social integration was planted here—when a lone frontiersman decided to settle on this spot of earth. The primary consideration which influenced his decision was the possibility of making a living here. He selected what later became Madison because the land was fertile, water was plentiful, the forests abounded with wood for his comfort, meat for his sustenance, and hides for his raiment. This was the workshop from which he could expect good wages for his efforts. Without benefit of economic textbooks, he hit upon a couple of economic laws: (1) that production, or wealth, consists of useful things resulting from the application of human labor to natural resources; (2) that wages come from production.

These laws, these precepts of nature, are still in force and always will be despite the efforts of some "experts" to rescind them. Often the yearning for manna from heaven obscures the fact that only by the application of labor to raw materials can economic goods appear, but the yearning is so strong that men ask government to play God and reproduce the miracle of the wilderness.

Government, of course, can produce nothing, let alone a miracle; and when it presumes to drop manna on its chosen people, it simply takes what some produce and hands it over to others; its largess is never a free gift. And as for wages, they still come from production, even though there are sectarians who maintain that wages come from the safety vaults of a soulless boss. The consequences of disregarding these two dictates of nature are too well known to call for discussion.

Returning to our first pioneer, his initial wages are meager. That is because he is compelled by the condition of his existence to be a jack of all trades, proficient in none. He produces little and therefore has little. But he is not satisfied with his lot for, unlike the beasts in the forest or the fish in the sea, man is not content merely to exist.

And here we hit upon a natural law which plays a prime role in man's economic life: He is the insatiable animal, always dreaming of wages and means for improving his circumstances and widening his horizon. The cabin built by the pioneer to protect himself from the elements was castle enough in the beginning; but soon he begins to think of a floor covering, of pictures on the wall, of a lean-to, of a clavichord to brighten his evenings at home and, at long last, of hot-and-cold running water to relieve him of the laborious pumping. Were it not for man's insatiability, there would be no such study as economics.

NEIGHBOUR ARRIVES

But the things the pioneer dreams about are unattainable as long as he is compelled to go it alone. Along comes a second pioneer, and his choice of a place to work is based on the same consideration that influenced his predecessor. What wages can he get out of the land? However, as between this location and others of equal natural quality, this one is more desirable because of the presence of a neighbour. This fact alone assures a greater income, because there are jobs that two men can perform more easily than can one man alone, and some jobs that one man simply cannot do. Their wages are mutually improved by co-operation. Each has more satisfactions.

Others come, and every accretion to the population raises the wage level of the community. In the building of homes, in fighting fires and other hazards, in satisfying the need of entertainment or in the search for spiritual solace, a dozen people working together can accomplish more than twelve times what each one, working alone, can do. Still, the wage level of the community is rather low, for it is limited by the fact that all the workers are engaged in the primary business of existence on a self-sustaining, jack-of-all-trades basis.

At some point in the development of the community it occurs to one of the pioneers that he has an aptitude for blacksmithing; and if all the others would turn over to him their chores in this line, he could become very proficient at it far better than any of his reighbours. In order for him to ply this trade the others must agree to supply him with his needs. Since their skill at blacksmithing is deficient, and since the time and effort they put into it is at the expense of something they can do better, an agreement is not hard to reach. Thus comes the tailor, the carpenter, the teacher, and a number of other specialists, each relieving the farmers of jobs that interfere with their farming. Specialisation increases the productivity of each; and where there was scarcity, there is now abundance.

SPECIALISTS WITH CAPITAL

The first condition necessary for specialisation is population. The larger the population the greater the possibility of the specialization which makes for a rising wage level in the community. There is, however, another important condition necessary for this division of labour, and that is the presence of capital. The pioneers have in their barns and pantries more than they need for their immediate sustenance, and are quite willing to invest this superfluity in other satisfactions. Their savings enable them to employ the services of specialists; and the more they make use of these services the more they can produce and save, thus to employ more specialists.

This matter of savings, or capital, may be defined as that part of production not immediately consumed, which is employed in aiding further production, so that more consumable goods may become available. In man's search for a more abundant life he has learned that he can improve his circumstances by producing more than he can presently consume and putting this excess into the production of greater satisfactions.

RESPECT FOR PROPERTY

Man has always been a capitalist. In the beginning, he produced a wheel, something he could not eat or wear, but something that made his labors easier and more fruitful. His judgment told him what to do, and of his own free will he chose to do it. That makes him a capitalist, a maker and user of capital. The wheel, after many centuries became a wagon, an automobile, a train, and an airplane—all aids in man's search for better living. If man were not a capitalist, if he had chosen not to produce beyond requirements for immediate consumption—well, there would never have been what we we call civilization.

However, a prerequisite for the appearance of capital is the assurance that the producer can retain for himself all he produces in the way of savings. If this excess of production over consumption is regularly taken from him, by robbers or tax-collectors or the elements, the tendency is to produce no more than can be consumed immediately. In that case, capital tends to disappear; and with the disappearance of capital, production declines, and so does man's standard of living.

From this fact we can deduce another law of nature: that security in the possession and enjoyment of the fruit of one's labour is a necessary condition for capital accummulation. Putting it another way, where private property is abolished, capital tends to disappear and production comes tumbling after. This law explains why slaves are poor producers and why a society in which slavery is practiced is a poor society. It also gives the lie to the promise of socialism in all its forms; where private property is denied, there you will find austerity rather than a functioning exchange economy.

(To be continued)

TOWARD A POINT OF NO RETURN

By Robert C. Tyson

THERE ARE many great industries in this land and though each of them has its own accomplishments of which to be proud and its own special problems about which to be perplexed, there are some problems that are common to all our industries and to all our individuals.

One way of thinking about such problems is in terms of a "point of no return". I was once a passenger aboard an airliner flying across the ocean. It actually happened to be a speedy and quite uneventful trip. Nevertheless, when someone said we had passed the point of no return, it gave me a bit of a pause. It meant we were committed to continue onward, for good or ill. To turn back had become impractical, if not impossible.

There was time for conjecture as we flew on and on and the words, "point of no return", kept coming back into my mind. It could be that the phrase had applicability and significance to the affairs of individuals, of nations, and indeed of the civilizations that have come and gone across the pages of history. All of us as individuals can recall certain decision we made—perhaps long ago—but which, once made, irrevocably and inexorably dictated much of our individual destinies. And nations, too, can make fateful decisions as one once, for example, was made at Munich. Are we in this land of ours perchance also marching toward a point of no return? It can be a disquieting thought.

In just our own life spans there have been profound changes in the political, the economic, and the social institutions and attitudes of America. I shed no nostalgic tears at the passing of the so-called "good old days" as such. I seek, instead, for the central theme of this evolution. Its outward manifestation is perhaps the ever-growing power and costliness to our central government, with corresponding subordination of the authority and dignity of state and local governments and of individuals. But even deeper than that is perhaps the increasing public acceptance of the notion that it is proper for the majestic power of government to be employed, either directly or indirectly, to compel vast redistribution of our incomes or, as Kipling once said, "by robbing selected Peter to pay for collective Paul".

A DISTURBING EVOLUTION

This represents a far greater change in what we might call the politically acceptable than most people realize. In your hearts there must be an uneasy feeling that something is wrong about having the minimum you must pay to, say, an office building janitor dictated in far away Washington. There is something grimly humorous, too, about describing the taking of up to about 90 per cent of an individual's honestly earned income as a fair tax. There is something both saddening and disquieting in the fact that, in the midst of the biggest peacetime boom with the highest peacetime tax rates ever experienced, no significant progress could be made in reducing an enormous federal debt, and we are now confronted with the prospect of inflationary deficits measured in the billions. Perhaps you are concerned that the social and legal frameworks seem to compel the leaders of our labour unions to seek dominating political power; that superior individual and corporate performance are tax punished, while inefficiency is sheltered and idleness subsidized; that increasing numbers seek and get government subsidy or special privilege at tax-payers' or consumers' expense.

I could, as could each of you, give further instances of the wholesale resort of the American people to the political means of getting something for nothing from each other. But rather I want to uncover, if I can, the underlying processes of this evolution. I think there are at least three of them that interact with each other and have potentiality of becoming self-stimulating spirals to spin us toward some point of no return.

One of them I am compelled to describe, however impolite it may be, as the "give-away spiral." The second process I have already noted as the "rob-Peter-pay-Paul nostrum". The third process I think of as "institutionalized inflation."

THE GIVE-AWAY SPIRAL

The give-away spiral, once it is initiated, is nurtured by ordinary human nature. Once a moral principle is broken to gain the favour of any group, then other groups enviously and competitively seek similar privilege on threat of withholding political favor.. The grantor of privilege, having sacrificed the moral defense previously acceptable to all, automatically becomes self-entrapped. He cannot or dare not withdraw the privilege, for privilege once granted is soon regarded as vested right by its recipient; and resentment of its withdrawal outweighs prior gratitude for its receipt.

This is well illustrated in the story of an officeholder that comes to mind. The officeholder, seeking re-election, was walking down the street when he met Joe, one of his constituents. After a greeting, he said, "Joe, I know you are going to vote for me next week." Joe replied, "No, I don't guess I will." The Officeholder said "That would really be ingratitude. Don't you remember two years ago when I got you on the special relief roll, and don't you remember last year when I got that son of yours a job in the Post Office?" Joe answered, "Yes, I remember you done those things, but what have you done for me lately?"

The point is that the grantor of privilege is condemned to go on and on giving more and more to politically significant groups merely to retain favour previously acquired. But each new grant diminishes the relative value of all prior grants,

(*Continued on Page* 22)

A PROFILE OF COMMUNITY PLANNING

By Gopala Iyer Jayachandran

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I.

PLANNING is the ordeal of any community which desires economic progress with limited resources. Scarcity compels certain priorities which, in its turn, calls for careful allocation of various resources between competing wants. Planning implies in the first instance, utilisation of available resources to the maximum advantage of the community. But it is a mistake to claim too much for planning. Because a planned economy fails to secure economic stability or independence if attempted, irrelevant of negative conditions influencing such an operation in plural ways. Moreover, planning cannot achieve anything and everything; it can only economise resources at its disposal to aggregage satisfaction.

Mankind has reached a stage of civilisation and acquired a pattern of behaviour in which life has became bewilderingly complicated. A community cannot solve the problems facing it under these circumstances unless a compendious and none the less comprehensive unifying statement of the entire situation is attempted, which is at the same time intelligible to the non expert mind and impressing upon it the salient characteristics on the one side, and the disorders and remedies of the existing system, on the other, so that the chance of revolving a planned community life is best assured.

I have, here, two sides of the picture of Community Planning to depict. One its economic aspect, and the other the cultural, and finally to show, of course in my own way, how their peculiar combination produce successful community life through a process of planning. I think it would not only be convenient but also better to our understanding the gravity of the problem the question imposes if we approach it by noticing the analytical relationship as exists between the economic and cultural aspects of community planning. Moreover such a method enables us to make an assessment of their relative merits in procuring the pattern of a community life.

II.

The spirit of community planning is social action and mutual co-operation. Democracy is the fertile land on which alone these two public virtues could be hoped to be grown and gain fruition. A planned community is made to function more efficiently with the life of the community manifested in the enthusiastic approach of the men composing the community. Communiy have needs; as well it possessses the will and capacity to get fulfilled these needs. But how to get these fulfilled? Here comes the question of community planning. The community's potential capacity to produce is the vital factor. If the economic life of the community subserves to a process of planning, the potential production is left undersigned, free and unchecked, the energy of it will enter vain criticism, intelligence perversed, enthusiams shuffled and thus leading only to frustration and despair. Negatively speaking, community planning should not invade the field of the spirit and begin to seek to control the thoughts and beliefs, the art and religion of the people composing the community as against their will. The hallmark of community planning is its compliance with the spirit of the community and the purpose being its active pulsation with the organised creative will of the community.

Community planning must, no doubt, be a democratic planning. But surely it is not that kind of planning which can reasonably be expected to be effectively controlled in a democratic set-up where series of governments emerge, in successive periods of short interval, and regulate the business of the country working on the basis of fragmented authority, and of parties with uncertain tenures being wedded to different views and attempting to reconcile all kinds of contrary interests and purposes. But community planning is a continuous process, depending greatly on the breadth and consistency of conscious efforts that move the community as a whole to great actions for its success. Often it loses its value and strength if diverted from its perpetuation in a line of action, that is marked with specific purpose and policy into another by the changing of political power into different hands, which are generally recalcitrant to continue the policy of the government functioned prior to their emergence, and which can therefore, influence the working of such a plan, but in mostly undesirable directions.

III.

Unless we democratise our entire economic system through communal efforts it will surely strangle our political democracy. That state of society where the producer is responsible to the consumer, and finance being the servant, not the master of production, should be the aspiration of community planning. If our community planning is to work democratically, the persons who hold the key positions in it must be "of the people" in the sympathies which move them, the standards which guide their judgement and in the interest which they serve. If, in a country like ours, the community is to control the economic field, the decentralisation of economic planning is essential. If it is admitted that much room should be given to the system for private initiative and experiment, as is consistent with a reasonable efficiency, the need for a liberal central plan is

evident. Inevitably the distance between the individual citizen and those who plan for the supply of his needs, should be minimised as far as possible, by recourse to planning at the community levels, however co-ordinating it with its central theme. Uunder such conditions there is healthy opportunity for community control and decisions to manifest themselves in a decisive form, expressing in themselves the logic of assuming such controls and decisions.

A perfect feasibility of collective control by the community over the resources that are subject to the plan is an essential pre-requisite of community planning. When publicly defined and expertly approached, community planning enables the full development of individual personality by creating a condition whereby everyone is made free to contribute what is best in him to contribute. Naturally such freedom is practicable only on a basis of social justice and economic equality which are unattainable without economic liberty: the significant features of community planning. If community planning should breathe in itself the right of self-expression of those that are economically weak, the community that aspires for economic betterment and social advancement should ceaselessly strive to establish economic liberty and equality. A complete equality of income may be obnoxious to a process of economic reasoning or an idealisation of economic principle; but something like an equality of opportunity is clearly an actualisation of economic thinking and surely is not an idea empty of experience. Evidently the aim of community planning is only to procure aggregate welfare of the community and never to secure profit for a section of its people.

IV.

Community planning, then, can do much in associating the people with the formulation of the general plan. Even more can possibly be done in the execution of the plan once it has been formulated. A true democracy must energetically defend and expand the democratic achievements fo the people. It must strengthen people's democracism and enhance the political, social, economic and cultural activities of the people by drawing more and more fresh forces and talents in building the country and in increasing its phases of advancement on a rapid stride and enlarged scale. I find no good reason why the agents of its execution should have ample connection with the central planning authority rather than be the responsible bodies of the areas in which they carry out their work. In either case—in planning or in execution—the condition of community control is a lively, positive and effective participation in self-government by the communal body. Our government which assumes a positive role in guiding and assisting the community project works, has been shifting its focus to the towns and villages where immediate intervention in positive public activities have been proving effective. We need not be sceptical of the feasibility of developing a genuine spirit of local Government in this country, because with the transition to positive government, the means of changing and developing the conditions of local life are for the first time in the hands of the people.

Though welfare is not a conception, unique in meaning, but a familiar one. It is multifarious and infinitely varied a term, embracing a wide range of political, economic and social implications. An interpretation of the communal welfare as an objective function of the aggregate amount of want satisfaction secured by all members of the community, is not only clearly understood, but also seems to provide a reasonable solution to the problem which we are struggling to solve through our efforts at community levels, than obviously to attempt to personify the community by attributing to it as an entity any subjective welfare which might be regarded as more or less independent of the individual welfare of the members of the community. If welfare is the sole aim of community planning then fair recognition should be given to the importance of food and shelter, the two eminent factors, essential to any corporate endeavour. They must be the foundation on which the whole structure of welfare is to be built.

Thus community planning requires a twofold control, a regulation of the provision of necessaries whose supply is not unlimited and advantageous utilisation of manpower that will earnestly perforce it to fruitful action, which the community is competent to perform, by directing the available productive resources of it (community) into such operations. That is towards which the Community Projects in our country are believed to be greatly concerned with and busily engaged in.

V.

Community planning is primarily the result of human adjustment for the synthesising of the economic means with the cultural and moral ends of the life of the community. That there is an inherent relation between the cultural and economic aspects of human life is manifestive from the tendency for these two movements to coalesce and reinforce on another. A negative statement of the question gives us rather the true picture of the situation. Community planning is the meeting place whereat the freedom of the economic life negotiates with the freedom of cultural life. Where the control of culture is exercised in fact by economic powers which are themselves exempt from political control, economic freedom negates cultural freedom. When the SPIRITUAL life conflicts with the material life, the purpose of democracy is frustrated. This, I believe, is the gravest aspect threatening head of the progress and pattern of any economy with which community planning is confronted and it is demanded to give a solution to overcome the situation.

VI.

The logic of the community planning, as I see, chiefly emerges from its economic basis, albeit

it has a cultural superstructure, essential for the human existence to obtain satiation from its perpetuation. Without material resource we cannot live. If without adequate material resources, the personal life of every one in a community must remain stunted and stagnated, it follows, the community has necessarily to embark on a policy that could obtain the desirable adequacy. Thus the economic activities of a community are the indispensable basis for its cultural life. The *raison d'etre* of community planning is to set free as well as design the personal and cultural life of the community and its members. And the necessity for this lies in the fact that freedom and organisation are the lifeblood of all culture and the conditions of the good life. We, Indians, are trying to establish such a society through community project and such other frontiers, that would supersede our existing societies by covering the entire country with a network of local communities founded on a truly social basis. And we earnestly believe that these new foundations could, without violence or detestation, supersede the existing structures by sheer effect of their evident superiority in terms of the promotion of human welfare.

Now, if the economic life of the community is excluded from its (community's) control and direction, hardly can such a community secure for all its members the means of realising the cultural freedom, which it is the business of the people living in such a community to make possible. The means of exercising such a freedom are really limited in scope and extent in a democracy where the chances of economic successes are not impartially distributed. We are driven to the obvious conclusion, that the realisation of good life depends upon relative wealth; the factor of such relativity being the *prima facie* condition or organised action calling for co-operative endeavour, community planning which embodies in itself these two public virtues, has more hope to give us in obtaining such a relativity resting on economic equality, social justice and cultural spontaneity.

The phrase "Community Planning" now has come into use to define the Indian rural development. This does not mean that a planned community would vote for its leaders, who would then act representatives of the electorates of all grades. Rather community planning is a function of social democracy whereby every member of the community would become legitimately and adequately represented in the formulation of the plan when effectively associated and given an ardent opportunity of continued participation in the actual implementation of the plan.

There are stages in the growth of community planning, from necessary implementation up to total participation. The sanctions of an expanding community are, the fundamental nature of community patterns and behaviour, the fear of private thriving, the consent of the majority of the members of the community and the prestige of community control directed toward common welfare. The strength of these sanctions is thought to justify an experiment in efficiency measured through promotion of human welfare.

VII.

The theory of compulsion has been expressly separated from the policy of integrating community activities, but a voluntary participation enthused by a spirit of co-operation will take place that of compulsions and aversion in the conditions of what is called "Community Planning". However, a kind of this planning involes *correlation* of social ideas and integration of economic activities of the community. Once these ideas and actions are effectively correlated and integrated through a process of community planning, these may give the community a sphere of direct economic control; and these may leave at the same time a wide field for private initiative and enterprise to function, however, not allowing it (private enterprise) to reach a point of profit which may put the interests of the community in jeopardy and nullify the working of the plan. All these conditions may be regarded as aspects of community planning in a country influenced by the ideas of social democracy.

Every community embodies a pattern which is an outcome consolidated into a social habit and the result of a double process of the adaptation to a physical environment and a moral atmosphere and of acceptance of the environment to certain human notions of value. Truly, Community Planning to become an accomplished fact cannot overlook the human notions of value that govern the mind of the community. Because every social pattern is both an endorsement of some values and a negation of others; every community values some human qualities high and others a little or not at all.

VIII.

Indians deeply resent any economic progress that is founded on ethical bankruptcy or spiritual servility. The Americans, Englishmen, Germans and the Russians have likewise their own standards and notions of human value, and conceptions of human life. Naturally in conformity with the principles governing the mind of the community, it (community) provides some opportunities and withholds others, hails the possession of some qualities, and hurls down others which have proven to be contradictory to the general view of the community; makes assertions and Warrants exclusions to achieve the plans as contemplated in anticipation with full confidence reposed on the integrity and fertility of the community's ability.

Community planning is the conscious outcome of the fact that every pattern of living involves limitations and it is a method of assessing widespread openings for achievement and accomplishment of the community's felt-needs and ideological cravings for a better living. A perfect community will remain ever incompatible so long as man, the author of the plan, is im-

perfect. It will only be a dogmatic assertion if any planning is claimed to be perfect. It would be imperfect and it is very simple logic to claim a reversal.

IX.

The philosopy of community planning is essentially the psychology of group-thinking and overtly the physiology of changing environments. Environments change because the patterns of living change and the limiting conditions prescribed to men in communities by their environment constantly urge them to adopt their patterns of living to the extent to which they do not agree passively the patterns into which they were born. The conditions of environment are dynamic in their origin and growth. This is partly due to the growth of group thinking and group-activities in the proximate posterity of a century and partly owing to the manifested aversion of communities to remain within a fold of static conditions and stagnant living.

A sheer activity alone, in consonance and pulsation with the changing conditions and circumstances will carry the community into a better state than its posterity. But this can happen only where communities are in contact with widely different attitudes and patterns of living. A community, which has this opportunity, will evolve into a system of life either by physical forces created within its own sphere due to its contact with extraneous elements or by the impact of human forces imported from outside. Thus the advent of white men on the Indian soil had pronounced effects on the political, social and economic life and institutions of our people. We hardly felt the modifications in our patterns of living, in the beginning, because we found it very hard at initial stages to adapt ourselves to changing conditions and contacts. We survived the social revolution begotton of our western contact and fairly we were able to synthesise the western concepts with our Indian tenets and maxims of life that govern our existence. We understood the weakness in the western outlook upon life and human notions of value and were in a position to assess the greatness of Indian way of life and approach of matters that concern a great deal with human happiness and dignity.

A reconciliation of man's dignity and human happiness was rather an outcome of man's progress in one practical branch of science—the knowledge of himself. The rationale of ideologies were oblivion the psychological inferences, and the significance attached to reasoning was rather shifted to the technique of thinking in arriving at truths and formulating principles on human notions of value. The Indian way of thinking has provided a magnificent interpretation to this particular fact of human history.

X.

Civilisation has grown too complex for each man to be able to realise himself without let or hindrance, leaving uncontrolled his desires and impulses. In one sense it is human selfishness that makes some co-operating efforts necessary. At the same time, unconnected individual efforts set in the direction of obtaining personal happiness would soon break down. Concerted action is the wage of mankind for the realisation of those very ideals which are the fullest expression of the most developed human personalities. The task of the community will therefore be the removing of these hindrance which human selfishness would place in the path of fellow beings, and the setting up of those agencies that will allow human actions to be so co-ordinated as not to run to waste both these aims being all the time tested by the ultimate end of the planning process, the recognition of social dividend accruing out of the capital attempt at community level, as the ultimate and enduring value.

What is more important is to realise that a healthy community must give to all its members the fullest possible scope for the free expression of their distinctive personality. Material inventions and expansion, growth of learning, moral and spiritual development—all these to carry any value must be expressed in terms of human personality. Assumingly, therefore, the organisation of the body politic should expressly eliminate in all its forms the idea that there is a 'common welfare' or 'general interest' which can only be attained by the deliberate sacrifice to that welfare or interest of section of the community. No man or class exists for the convenience of another man or class; nor should it obviously cause inconvenience to the existence of other. No community can flourish in which some of its members are, as it were the rungs of the ladder by which others ascend to prosperity or acquire culture. The *ipso facto* recognition of the importance of the individual, and the organisation of community in such a manner as will give each individual his fullest possible chance of development—physical, aesthetic, moral, spiritual. This must be the basis of any healthy community and the starting point of all sound planning, thought and process. To wind up the foregoing argument in a gripping sentence we can say that community planning should not decry but espouse the cause of individual perfection in a society conglomerated with rival and conflicting wills and desires, and contrary purposes that are desideratum to find a natural compromise.

This means, therefore, that only through others, with the help of others, can individuality be expressed. Now, the intensely complex action and reaction of that multiplicity of separate individualities "moving differently to the attainment of different desires" in Mr. Laski's phrase, will cause indescribable confusion and chaos unless there be some co-ordinating authority, able, if not to direct all these energies into appointed channels, at least to see that the paths do not get hopelessly congested, corroded or choked. Personality, then, is a fundamental society fact and no system aiming at solidarity and social virtues can endure which deliberately ignores them. No organisation of the society is

sound which sacrifices, to the alleged interest of one section, that which makes life worth living to another.

XI.

All systems tend to ignore the fact that society is largely, after all, a complex of conflicting wills and desires and that the function of the community life is not so much to express a general agreement or "general will", to quote Rousseau's famous phrase, as to allow those conflicting wills and desires to express themselves with the minimum of mutual interference. The most casual observer of any society cannot fail to observe what is so obvious as to be a truism that it is made up of men who are at the same time extraordinarily alike and equally significantly different. This contrast is as marked in the mental and moral as in the physical aspect of life. Similar as we all are in all bodily essentials, no two of us are identical in size and looks—not even twins are absolute duplicates. However universal certain passions and instincts may be, their manifestations vary enormously according to many circumstances which we term education, environment, heredity, religion and particularly that elusive element called personality. This personal manifestation of humanity being the social product of the aggregate behavior of mankind largely determines the scope and progress of humanity in all its conceivable walks of life. Ultimately we cling most to that complex of emotions, feelings, thoughts, desires, tastes, aspirations, which we call ourself.

XII.

The human community is the power behind every economic ambition, intellectual aspiration or social accomplishment. The inner unity and substantiation of things must be recognized in any vital procedure. These are the confluences in human ambitions and aspirations crystallised, as it were, in human experience. Central in them, a creator of confluence, as it were, is the community. The community as a sustaining, many-functioned organic pattern of life, is rural in spirit and substance. In India, it belongs to rural culture, philosophy and life. This conclusion is based on the observed fact that the continuity of rural life in India, with reference both to its inner coherence and its persistence as a whole has been far greater than the often shattered, fragile continuity of the Indian city. True, under British Raj, both in numbers and in context, Indian rural society has suffered a severe decline. It has been markedly uncreative, sterile, restrictive and a monument to human defeat.

Not only were rural regions losing influence functionally and culturally in their effect on the nation as a whole; they were declining also in their inner value and significance. The lost vitality and significance is being under slow recovery with the inauguration of Rural Reconstructions Programmes since Independence. In the complpex pattern of transition in which rural life to-day is involved, changes should not always be judged as aspects of progress; but the changes which are being set mostly in the right directions are extensive. Progress may seem small, but the instruments at least are at hand. It is a widespread social erosion, deep in some places, shallow in others. The organic intelligence of the community survives only in a culture when there is continuity, stability and human relevance. We have assumed during the history of our experiments since Independence, a kind of moral laissez faire in the belief that the life of good will and freedom will predominate in fair competition with other aims. This is true with most village communities of our country dedicated in the first place to democratic friendliness and quality. It is a way of life, the condition of survival. This is the inner structure of progress and peace. The progress of India depends on the restoration of human context to the basic social relations.

XIII.

Until progress can be built by means such as this, economic development will be in jeopardy in spite of super impositions from above. Our economic and social programmes have a major contribution to make to human survival. That contribution is the age-old custom of organic communal adjustment within the contexts of urban and rural life. The economic life of the community is complete with a modern technology and intelligence, nevertheless differentially oriented to the needs both of large scale production wherever it may be necessary and of efficient small scale industry distributively controlled. At the same time we cannot ignore the intimate associations that are central in the community.

The community life is a massive structure of directives and reactions. Their tensional equilibrium is the mark of integrated community life. These revolutions are the nucie from which a response develops. They are essential to a planned community life, and promotive of communal aspirations. As the perfection of the individual and the wholeness of the community are identified on both intellectual and philosophical planes, if they are not conterminous in all other ways, so the integral community and the integral response are mutually dependent. An integral response cannot evolve except on a basis, of communities. The community, on the other hand, cannot progress unless the response is appropriated to the integrity of the community. This lack of balance and of imbalance within balance is the problem, cannot but be reckoned in carrying out our Rural Reconstruction Programmes.

TOWARD A POINT OF NO RETURN

(Continued from Page 17)

thus calling for their renewal and enlargement all over again. As an example, in every one of the past five Congressional election years Congress has increased social security benefits. This is not to condemn those benefits, but to show how the spiral, once initiated, increasingly becomes self-stimulating.

(To be Continued)

A STRAW IN THE CHINESE WIND

(By M. N. Tholal)

****

NO other event, since we gained our independence in 1947, has shocked us Indians even half as much as the Chinese aggression in Tibet resulting in the flight of the Dalai Lama. The *Hindustan Times* cartoonist Ahmed depicts the situation as well as our feelings faithfully in a representation where Mother India is weeping and Mr. Nehru is offering a floral wreath to "that nice man" (Dalai Lama) over the kneeling figure of gigantic Mao strangling the former.

The event could have come much earlier, but for the fact that the Chinese anticipated that the Dalai Lama would come round and accept the position assigned to him of an obedient Raja. Any one who did not anticipate it must be said to have been living in a fool's paradise. Having abandoned Tibet to the tender mercies of the Chinese Communists, we have of course no right to interfere with Chinese plans of reforming the ancient land as they like, but the event underlines the role the Nehru Government is playing—that of sappers and miners of Communist imperialism and of deadly opposition to Anglo-French imperialism. Who can have forgotten Nehru's half-hearted condemnation of Soviet Russia when it invaded Hungary towards the end of Otcober, 1956? And now there is no question of even half-hearted condemnation of something which makes our blood boil (what a highly moral position to be in!) because Mr. Nehru's peculiar knowledge of history has convinced him that Tibet has always been Chinese. This conviction incidentally shows Mr. Nehru's scant regard for facts, which is perhaps an indispensible part of what constitutes his moral approach to international problems.

NO CONCERN WITH RIGHT OR WRONG

Only a man utterly blind to the interests of the nation could have handed over Tibet to China in the manner Mr. Nehru did it by withdrawing Indian troops from there without giving reasonable time to Tibet to fill the power vacuum thus created or giving the world authority a chance to see that Tibet did not invite open aggression from a powerful and greedy neighbour ready to swallow it by virtue of its defencelessness. What is the United Nations for, if it is not to come to the assistance of the weak in their time of need? And what is our membership of the United Nations worth if we, overtly or covertly, encourage aggression by powerful countries? That became possible because Mr. Nehru is not in the habit of thinking from the point of view of the nation, but from that of his individual self. Any one who knows him can estimate the terrible effect on his sensitive mind of Peking Radio's castigation of him as the "running dog of American imperialism", in the year 1950. But is foul abuse of its leader to guide the nation's policy or upset it? If it does, it can mean only one of two things. Either that policy was not based on national interest—and nothing can be more inexcusable—or it was and yet it was twisted to suit the personal interests of the leader concerned. The change in India's policy following the Peking Radio's notorious condemnation of Nehru as the running dog of American imperialism was obviously in the interest not of India, as I shall proceed to show, but of Prime Minister Nehru's ambition to be the leader of a third powerless bloc mediating between the two power blocks. For, there was no question of his being considered impartial if the voice of the representatives of 600 million people in Asia and more than half as many in Europe condemned him, rightly or wrongly, as the running dog of American imperialism. Their praise was essential for the role he intended to play and hence the twist in policy as a result of five lying words! Our moral approach is not concerned with right or wrong!

Nehru is indeed only doing on the international plane what Gandhi generally did on the nationaal plane. Gandhi's fast to force the Government of India to hand over Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan while the latter was waging war with India was of a piece with Nehru's appeasement of Russia and China. By wrongful deeds such as these, Gandhi wanted to be recognised all over Pakistan as an impartial person, even though those Rs. 55 crores could only have been used to murder Gandhi's fellow-countrymen during the war with India. Nehru is doing likewise in an extended sphere with the opportunities that have come to him with the freedom of the country. For, far better than being really just and impartial is to seem to be just and impartial. What can it profit a man to be really just and impartial if he is condemned as a running dog of someone.

INDIA IN GRAVE DANGER

The problem therefore before us is to force Nehru to be really just and impartial. The Communists have got their hand on Nehru's pulse and their stethescope on his heart and both are telling them "Flatter him, flatter him and put him on the summit and he is your man", knowing full well that no one else matters in India. (That also in a democratic country is a monstrous position.) When things reach that

pass in a country it is indeed in great danger, for the floodgates of personal ambition are wide open and patriotism becomes synonymous with self-aggrandisement. Since 1920 when Gandhi secured the control of the National Congress, we have been witnessing the march of self-aggrandisement in a loin cloth and the retreat of patriotism in the country, barring a few years when Das and Motilal Nehru wrested the leadership from Gandhi. That is the essence of Gandhism—personal self-aggrandisement — and in that sense Nehru undoubtedly is a true disciple of the Mahatma. All Congressmen recognise the truth of this observation in their heart of hearts—woe betide those who say so openly !—and hence there is no protest by any Congressman even over the seizure and rape of Tibet by China and Nehru's connivance at the same even while posing as the arch-enemy of colonialism.

Sentimental whimpering over Dalai Lama'a fate aside, Nehru has placed India in grave danger by allowing Tibet to be seized by China. President Truman told him of the consequences to India of that ancient land's seizure by China when Nehru first visited USA as India's Premier but he did not listen to him because he did not agree with his estimate of the Chinese Communist rulers. He did not agree because that realistic estimate did not fit in with his own plans about himself ! Truman had promised him full American support of any action that India might take to preserve Tibet's independence and autonomy and prevent that country from falling into the hands of the Chinese. He is even reported to have offerd India nominal suzerainty over Tibet. Something may be said in favour of Mr. Nehru's rejection of the latter offer as an anti-colonialist, but the course which he adopted was much worse from all democratic points of view. For an anti-colonialist there can be no justification for allowing a situation to develop which can only result in aggression. Loyalty to the United Nations demanded reference of the case of Tibet to U. N. for whatever decision it might have taken in consonance with the wishes and independence of the people, safeguarding of whose interests should have been uppermost in his mind. But we know now how far in actual practice are the deeds of Mr. Nehru from his words. Indeed, they do not touch each other even with a barge pole.

FAITH IN APPEASEMENT

There seems no need to realise that by handing over Tibet to China, Mr. Nehru has produced one more claimant for a part of Kashmir, i.e., China for Ladakh, for Ladakh is culturally and politically more akin to Tibet than to any other part of India, even as Tibet is culturally and politically more akin to India than to China. What happens to Mr. Nehru's principle of self-determination when it comes to a question of the desires of the peoples of Hungary or Tibet or other Communist-dominated lands? Even granting that Tibet had been Chinese for sometime—it had also been Indian and Nepalese—did that fact confer any divine right on China to hold Tibet—a country with an area of nearly 600,000 square miles—in bondage for ever ?

Every country in its own interest likes to have a buffer state between itself and a powerful neighbour even though its rulers for the time being are personifications of self-denying virtues. For, what guarantee can there be that their successors will be equally ambitionless. But to agree to the demolition of an existing buffer state when the rulers of the most populous country in the world across it have been publishing maps showing large tracts of India as Chinese territory is, to say the least, a species of folly never before witnessed in the history of the world. Mr. Nehru has on top of it been foolish enough to declare his faith in appeasement. He will, it seems, have plenty of opportunities to practice appeasement at the cost of his country with China getting into her stride alongside Pakistan. And Mr. Nehru will then say, as usual, he was unable to anticipate events. Where national interest is not the guiding principle there can be no question of anticipating difficulties or events, even when they are staring you in the face. Mind is motivated by desire and the kind of desire that dominates Mr. Nehru is selfish and not national.

Nine years ago Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji pointed out in Parliament that through the undefined boundary of Tibet, China may play havoc with Nepal, while Mr. Frank Anthony underlined the fact that "for the most part Tibet constitutes a vast natural airfield and hostile plains operating from Tibet would have to cover a distance of 300 miles in order to bomb and destroy Delhi." The level-headed Hridaynath Kunzru said that the conduct of China in regard to Tibet could hardly be regarded as friendly to India, and Prof. Ranga observed: "These are days when we should be ready with the aid of U.N. and other forces to counter the menace of sovereignty of one country over another. Instead of that we go about accepting it, admitting it and apologizing for it. This beats anybody and everybody." Sri Purushottamdas Tandom felt that Chinese Government had behaved like a "goonda government", while Acharya Kripalani, during a debate on foreign affairs, put the matter in a nutshell when he declared in the Indian Parliament in 1954 :

> "I consider this as much a colonial policy on the part of China as any colonial policy indulged in by western nations. I say it is a deliberate act of aggression..... We are intimately concerned because China has demolished what may be called a buffer state. In international politics when a buffer state is abolished by a powerful nation, that nation is considered to have aggressive designs."

In the result the American estimate of China stands vindicated and the rape of Tibet is another defeat for emotional integration. As Mr. Dulles has been pointing out times without number, yielding to aggression at one place is inviting aggression at another. That is what Prime Minister Nehru is doing and time will show it.

A romance is sought to be made out of the Dalai Lama's flight to India. There has been a good deal of intrigued comment as to how the Chinese government managed to get wind of the flight as well as of its objective in advance of the Indian government itself. The theory of decoded messages is really not necessary, since the poor Dalai Lama had but a Hobson's choice in the matter. He could not have appealed to Khrushchev for asylum — since he is the only other person anywhere near the scene beyond ourselves. Nepal was ruled out for historical reasons, for the Nepalese were once guilty of invading the land of the living Buddha. By a simple process of elimination, the Chinese authorities must have arrived at the truth. Incidentally, it also gives the show away for we must have been taken into the confidence of the Dalai Lama from a very early stage in the tussle he has had with the Chinese authorities.

The fact that he has been on a laborious and leisurely trek for more than three weeks disproves the theory of a **precipitate flight.** For a historical parallel, we may recall the incredibly amateur and clumsy manner in which Louis XVII and Queen Antoinette rumbled through the entire length of France with a caravan of carriages and an unwieldly entourage that, for a wonder, remained unsuspected and undetected till almost the very end. And then it was an absurd accident at an out of the way village which brought the escapade to an inglorious end.

In the case of the Dalai Lama, my own theory is that the Chinese were eager to get rid of him and so must have facilitated his flight by calculated acts of omission rather than of commission. An imprisoned or liquidated Dalai Lama would have been a liability to the new order which is now under way there. His flight, while ridding them of a centre of disaffection and a rallying point of reaction, is well calculated to deprive him of some of his spiritual aura. With the Panchen Lama as a trump card in their hands, they could go ahead facing both ways, rallying the old guard and taking the youth in hand for indoctrinating them in the new style.

Above all, we are saddled with a liability or a handicap which is well calculated to stultify us. For Pandit Nehru who has waxed eloquent over the desirability of abolishing the old and outmoded ways of life, preferably with a broomstick, and has been a caustic and consistent opponent of priescraft is now in the painful position of having to speak with extra unction about the Dalai Lama in the hour of his doldrums. There is exquisite irony in that role which is thrust on him by the unkind fates. That is revenge enough against a sentimentalist who has been wearing his heart too much on his sleeve! The Chinese overlords get Tibet which is what they want, while we get one more legendary figure before whom to prostrate ourselves in reverence.

* * *

In the confusion of attitudes and platitudes provoked by the Tibetan crisis, Sri C. Rajagopalachari's contribution to the darkening of cousel has been characteristic of the man, though it has passed by without notice. Alone among Indian publicists, he has gone all out to the defence of our Prime Minister. If I were in Pandit Nehru's place, I would have exclaimed: "O God, save me from my friends!" For C. R. has in effect ascribed to him an ambidexterity for which however there is no compelling reason either morally or politically or from the point of view of our national interests. Going off at a tangent, C. R. has belaboured the Western nations for keeping up the cold war at the cost of our integrity and freedom. He has therefore justified our Prime Minister's tight-rope dancing as the only fitting answer to the challenge of the West! Seeing that the Western powers were nowhere in the picture of events in Tibet, this line of defence must seem a piece of far-fetched and refined subtlety. Whether Pandit Nehru's equivocal attitude is calculated to save Tibet or rehabilitate the Dalai Lama is a very open question. But if C. R's espousal of the Prime Minister's stand leads to **his rehabilitation** with the Pandit, it would not be amiss!

But a more pertinent conclusion to be drawn from the reactions of Asian politicians to the events in Tibet is that they are as a whole less concerned with the prospects of freedom than to use it as a stick with which to beat the Western nations. The Chinese action in Tibet debunks Bandung, Asian nationalism and other high-sounding slogans which have been whipping up a sort of frothy enthusiasm in the columns of newspapers. It is not a live enough issue with most of us; and that is the measure of our backwardness compared to western nations specially in a right appreciation of political priorities.

—**Libra.**

TIBET: THE STORY OF A BETRAYAL

(*Continued from Page* 6)

in flight to escape the persecution of the Communists, though the statement of China's State Council is to the effect that he is "under duress by the rebels". His rule has been replaced by that of a Preparatory Committee for Tibet headed by the pro-Communist Panchen Lama.

The fate of Tibet should open the eyes of all those who still are inclined to believe the specious promises of Communists.

A READER'S MISCELLANY

'The Tibetan deputationists from Kalimpong who waited on Pandit Nehru at Delhi presented him with white scarves.' —*News item.*

It remains to be seen whether the Prime Minister will find it possible to wear them like feathers in his cap.

* * *

'Unfortunately I am supposed to be one of the sights of Delhi.' —Pandit Nehru.

After the Tibetan episode, he has become a spectacle for the whole world.

* * *

'Politicians with ability to write fiction will find Kalimpong an interesting place.
—Pandit Nehru in the Lok Sabha.

* * *

'Today the Dalai Lama is in flight over the roof of the world—one remote nation is passing into limbo.' —*News Chronicle.*

* * *

'Pandit Nehru is concerned at Col. Nasser's efforts to rouse Islam against Iraqi communists, for he fears they may have repercussions among India's large Muslim minority.'
—*Comment in a British paper.*

* * *

'Black South Africans did not have a greater right to be here than—the whites—for both came in to settle there at about the same time.'
—Mr. Eric Loeuw.

* * *

'What matters most to the peace of Asia and the world was how India and China behaved to each other, and on the degree of co-operation they could show in mutual relations.'
—Pandit Nehru after signing the Panch Sheela with China.

* * *

'English as she is wrote in India: 'In his moments of inspiration, Pandit Nehru brings to bear on most *cogent* topics of public interest a *perspective of passionate ardour* for all that is good and beautiful.' —*Editorial in Thought.*

* * *

'Like everything else, architecture is dynamic.' —Sri S. K. Patil.

Like a pair of tongs, for instance?

* * *

'On the whole science makes man spiritually arrogent, but lierature makes him humble.
—Nizzim Ezekiel.

* * *

'A rationalist faith is one that measures up to criteria which we are in a position to justify reasonably.'
—*The Radical Humanist.*

* * *

'The crises in Asian countries, whether political or emotional, are just fodder for the cold war cannon of the Western nations.'
Sri C. Rajagopalachari.

* * *

'Marxist-Leninism teaches us that the change of the social and economic structure is determined not by what is produced but by how it is produced.'

* * *

'Students of social science must fear popular approval; evil is with them when all men speak well of them. —Alfred Marhall.

* * *

'The road to success is full of women pushing their husbands along.' —P. Delore.

* * *

'An exaggeration is a truth that has lost its temper.' —Kahlil Gibran.

* * *

'Fame is chiefly a matter of dying at the right moment.' —Elmer Rochy.

* * *

'Women cannot reason wrong, for they cannot reason at all.' —WilliamHazlitt.

* * *

'My philosophy is to make the most of all that comes and least of all that goes.
—Luke Pease.

* * *

'Slang is but language with its sleeves rolled up.' —Gracie Fields.

'This is the final test of a gentleman; his respect for those who can be of no possible service to him.' —W. L. Phelps.

* * *

'If you go to work at 10 a.m., you are an executive; at 9 a.m. you're a manager, at 8 a.m. you are a clerk. But if you go to work at 7 a.m. you're President of the United States.'
—Fletcher Knebel.

* * *

'Any one can sympathise with the sufferings of a friend; but it requires a very fine nature to sympathise with a friend's success.'
—Oscar Wilde.

THE DELUSION OF CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

(*Continued from Page* 9)

erected after three years." The issue involved is something more than opposing a mere imposition of a governmental measure; it is the preservation of the liberty of the peasant, who constitutes the backbone of the Indian race. Indeed, if the peasant is submerged in this flood of collectivization, it means the end of a liberal democracy. It is, therefore, in the perfect fitness of things that the most experienced and intellectual persons in our country such as Minoo Masani, C. Rajagopalachari, N. G. Ranga, Charan Singh, Hanumanthiya, Meher Chand Mahajan, K. M. Munshi and General Carriappa are opposed to this new type of dispensation which is sought to be forced down the throats of the people. Winding up his speech, with Gandhiji's saying that "we of the cities will do everything for the peasant except get off his back", Masani concludes that "this joint co-operative farming is invented by urban, doctrinaire people who have very little to do with them and is another attempt in a round about way to keep on the backs of our peasantry". What is needed is a liberal alternative to the Nagpur proposals.

NEWS DIGEST

ONLY 4 LAKHS?

A. P. T. I. message of January 15 says that Sant Acharya Mahatma (II) Bhaveji has so far received in Rajasthan 426,000 acres of land.

It would be more correct to say "sand" instead of "land."

For the next 50 years, Vinobaji will continue to be the biggest land owner in this country. There is no possibility of all bhudanized land being given away to landless people within the half-century.

CHINA'S ACHIEVEMENT

Those who yesterday 'found no flies' in China should realise that to-morrow they may find no livelihood in their own countries owing to Chinese dumping in their markets.

Although there has been little publicity given to Chnia's export outside the area immediately affected so far, it seems likely that we are now witnessing the beginning of what will become in 10 or 20 years one of the gravest problems facing many countries.

China's competition is "increasingly undermining India's entire export field; only a few years ago China was importing coal from India, while today she is exporting coal and is under cutting India in cotton textiles, oil seeds and vegetable oils, light engineering goods, bicycles an so forth."

Wherever one goes in South East Asia, in the Middle East, and increasingly in Africa, one can see fantastically cheap bicycles, textiles, excellent tinned foods, beer and many other things all originating in China. It would seem that the problem which is only beginning to loom on the horizon, will become far more serious within the next decade. A China, which can sell food, clothing and manufactured goods throughout Asia and Africa is a China threatening the living standards of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

PRAGUE HOME OF SCHOOL FOR AFRICAN REDS

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Vienna.—An unostentatious little school in Prague, Czechoslovakia, fields no football team and certifies no Phi Beta Kappas, but expects its graduates to shape the world of tomorrow.

Prague's "Institute for Economic Studies" in a well guarded building is a school for African Communists, which is now training 250 Negro revolutionists and has supposedly graduated an equal number into agitation and propaganda in Africa.

THE STATE AS TRADER

Mr. Nehru has of late expressed increasing resentment against those who criticize the, expansion of the public sector to the detriment of the private, and is displeased also with those who criticize the uneconomic working of State undertakings. Facts and figures prove that nationalized public utility services like telephones and road transport, have in many cases proved uneconomic as well as unresponsive to public grievances.

The State Trading Co-operation for instance, has failed to fulfil its declared objective of boosting our export trade: on the contrary, its handling of our trade in minerals (especially iron ore and manganese) and handloom products has resulted in a heavy slump in the volume of exports.

HOW TO MAKE BOMBS

The three-year course of study is said to range from Marxism-Leninism and "social sciences" to such practicalities as how to make bombs of everyday materials, the techniques of sabotage, subversion and spying and even the tactics of guerilla warfare.

Honour students have taken less than three years to graduate, and have been "hurriedly sent back to Africa," since the strategists of world revolution are obviously in great haste to have new centers of conflagration and crisis created on the Dark Continent."

The article said the students refer to their Alma Mater as "the School for the Overthrow of the State," and despite secrecy the nature of instruction at the "Institute for Economic Studies" has leaked out.

The student body is entirely Negro and in the choice of required aliases the students sometimes surprise Czechs by introducing themselves as "Frantischek Prochaska" and "Dino Garibaldi" or other revolutionary names such as "Lenin" or "Marat."

ENGLISH LANGUAGE VITAL TO WORLD LEARNING

MR. DESHMUKH'S APPEAL AT DELHI SEMINAR

New Delhi, March 4.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, said here today that the English language helped us maintain contact with world learning. The abolition of English as the medium of instruction would amount to intellectual suicide.

Mr. Dehmukh was inaugurating a seminar on "Work flow in University and College Libraries" organised by the Commission. Nearly 60 librarians and educationists from 36 Universities are participating in the seminar.

Mr. Deshmukh deplored the apathy of Indian students towards reading English books. He said that in a library in Bihar, 75 per cent. of books, which had been issued to students, were in the regional language and 95 per cent. of these books was fiction while 90 per cent. of the books in stock were however, in English.

Mr. Deshmukh said that the University Grants Commission would not like to replace books in English unless it was convinced that better books were available in Indian languages.

—*Times of India.*

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