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IN THIS ISSUE

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	PAGE		PAGE
EDITORIAL ... ..	1	Lokayata: Indian Materialism by <i>S. Ramanathan</i> ..	9
The Lengthening Shadow of Government by <i>M. A. Venkata Rao</i> ..	4	Delhi Letter ..	10
Neutral Nations' Claptrap-III by <i>M. N. Tholal</i>	7	Book Review ..	13
RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT ..	I-IV	Gleanings from the Press ..	14
		News & Views ..	14

## EDITORIAL

### ACTION AGAINST COMMUNIST PROPAGANDISTS DROPPED

**M**R. KENNEDY has triumphed over Mr. Nixon in the race for the President's office in the U.S.A. But it makes very little difference to the future of India, unless it be a little more Financial Aid than could have come from a Nixon Administration.

But symptoms of the psychological climate concerning both leadership and the intelligentsia within the country betoken graver consequences to the nation than our postures in external affairs.

One such token is the reported dropping of the proposed Bill penalising pro-Chinese propaganda by the Communists of India on the northern border areas. There is no official statement but an obviously inspired communication from the Delhi correspondent of 'The Hindu'. He says that the Home Minister has dropped the Bill as the Prime Minister was afraid that the measure might displease the Russians and the Chinese!

What was suspected all along has now come to the fore. Our country is being led by fear and by pro-communist leanings of Mr. Nehru deeper into the communist bloc. As months pass, we are confronted by some flash like the present news item showing how much farther in this direction the leader is dragging the country, as in a kind of tragic Greek drama! Events are happening charged with fateful

consequences to the future of the country, its freedom and prosperity, without the intelligentsia realising too often what is happening! Those who can guess on account of their exceptional knowledge of world conditions and of international communism are too weak politically to influence the course of events.

It is understood by the Home Minister that the sort of propaganda that members of the Indian communist party are making in Nepal, U.P., Assam and the Punjab is anti-national and blatantly pro-economy and deserves punishment by law. But unfortunately his Chief takes the line that we shall lose more by scotching Indian communists than we gain!

This reason for dropping the proposed actions is profoundly disturbing. Is it the case that (let alone Mr. Menon the Defence Minister), even the Prime Minister is a regular fellow traveller?

It is to be hoped that Members of Parliament will put questions in the present session on this subject and that political parties and the people in general will bestir themselves and demand an explanation from the Prime Minister. Popular agitation and public enlightenment on the issues involved should goad the Prime Minister into getting the Bill passed.

The example of President Nasser of UAR should be emulated in this matter. He has suppressed the Egyptian and Syrian communist party personnel effectively without glancing at Moscow with unmanly and anti-national Fear.

## THE P.M., THE PRESS AND MR. KHRUSHCHOV

Another of the small indications charged with big consequences in the last fortnight was an incident in the P.M.'s press conference at Delhi.

The Russian pressman asked whether the editorial criticism by The Times of India of the role of Mr. Khrushchov at the recent Assembly session in the UNO was not anti-Russian and damaging to the friendly relations between the two countries?

In the first place, is it right that foreigners should be allowed to ask questions at the Prime Minister's press conference? Such intimate relations are intended between the government and the people, leaders and popular press of the same country. In the USA and other countries, members of the foreign press are allowed to be present but not permitted to ask questions themselves.

It is time that we emulated this healthy example in India, especially as our Prime Minister is given to emotional and impulsive sallies leading him to utterances he might not have made in ordinary moods.

Further, it is worth-while asking ourselves what answer the Prime Minister should have made to the Russian pressman in keeping with the independence of the nation and the freedom of the press in our democratic set-up?

Surely he should have replied that in India we have a free press and that the editor was free to express any criticism of anybody in the whole wide world including Russian political magnates. The only stipulation is that the tone of the criticism should not fall below a certain level of dignity and decency.

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He might have added that foreigners especially those from countries with a regimented press (indeed a regimented culture in toto) should bear this freedom of the democratic press in mind and refrain from taking press utterances as representative of Government opinion.

This is what we expect from democratic statesmen in such contingencies.

But what do we find?

It must be said with dismay and anxiety that the Prime Minister replied like the leader of a communist country! He fell into the tone of the Russian questioner and agreed that the Indian editor erred completely in his remarks about Mr. Khrushchev and that such remarks do import a damage to the friendly relations between the two countries! He implied this by his evident emotional attunement with the Russian!

**His emotional attunement was not with democracy, free press or Indian national independence!**

This is what makes the incident so disturbing—the emotional hinterland in the subconscious mind of the Prime Minister—so favourable to the Communist dispensation!

## THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT-ELECT:

### MR. KENNEDY

By the time the journal is in the hands of readers, they will have seen many press comments on the American President-Elect. It is not possible to say anything positive about the way things will shape under the new President in the coming months and years. About India, the attitude of Mr. Kennedy was indicated last year when he issued a statement with the Republican leader Mr. Cooper that the USA should help India's economic development far more abundantly than at present.

During the campaign too he said that he would make India "show-piece" as to how underdeveloped countries should be assisted to develop sufficiently fast. They should be encouraged to preserve their independence even if they are neutral and preserve their democratic spirit and constitutions.

It is said that he would choose either Mr. Chester Bowles or Mr. Adlai Stevenson as his Secretary of State both of whom are favourable to India in the matter of Aid.

In politics, it is difficult to guess the lines of development from the present wishes and utterances of the President-Elect. For that policy will depend as much or more on Russia and China than on the leanings of the American or other world leaders. Moscow and Peking, as things are today, hold the initiative. Their moves on the chequer board of international politics display more of the rigorous scientific spirit, more of the Kautilian spirit springing as much out of mother-wit as of ideological and militant thinking in the hard schools of the Kremlin. And Russians are well-known for their proficiency in Chess in which they are world champions!

Mr. Khrushchov has welcomed the success of Mr. Kennedy and is glad that the Eisenhower "clique" is defeated. But he is reckoning without his host. Kennedy has declared himself in favour of raising American prestige. This involves a spurt in missile and rocket manufacture to surpass the Russian record! He is choosing Mr. Sinclair the Air Secretary who resigned from the Eisenhower Cabinet dissatisfied with Eisenhower's sluggish policy in military competition with Soviet Russia!

He has agreed to meet Mr. Khrushchov in a fresh Summit meeting but has also promised not to repeat Eisenhower's mistake and lose face for America again, if it does not deliver the goods! He has made contradictory promises. The actual policy will depend not on these promises but on actual moves made by Russia and China and the course of developments in Africa and Asia. Parliament may become a testing focus shortly, if Khrushchov is so minded as to challenge the Western Powers in that spot as before the Paris Summit.

The best wisdom consists therefore not to expect any spectacular improvement in world affairs on account of the success of Mr. Kennedy in the presidential race.

#### TROUBLE SPOTS IN THE WORLD SCENE

##### (i) Cuba

Little Cuba continues to defy and spite the United States. Encouraged by Russia and China, the dictator Fidel Castro has nationalised without compensation further banks and commercial concerns in the land belonging to American nationals.

Cuba has given a base for the States Navy by treaty. USA Navy forces can move in and out of the sea-coast base without consultation of Cuba authorities. Any move in routine operations on the part of US forces is immediately pounced upon as a threatened attack on Cuba; and Russia and China are notified of it. And Russia and China follow suit with the prompt declaration that they are ready to go to the aid of Cuba, if the US attacks, announcing in shrill, extreme tones that the US is playing its old imperialist game! The cold war is on and Cuba is the spot where swirls of hot vapour are playing as on the top of a volcano!

##### (ii) American Navy Alert in Aid of Nicaragua and Guatemala

It is reported that President Eisenhower has ordered certain elements of the US Navy to assume readiness to go to the aid of Nicaragua and Guatemala in accordance with Pan-American Treaty provisions, if they are attacked by communist forces. What communist forces are threatening to attack these Central American States?

The general public in this part of the world has no idea. This is an example of the swiftness with which grave events might happen precipitating world war before the leaders of the rest of the world could do anything about it.

##### (iii) Berlin

Khrushchov's anxiety to push the Western forces out of West Berlin and to assume full sovereign

power over the whole of East Germany (rendering its absorption in West Germany out of the Question in any foreseeable time) remains as strong as ever. This is another critical spot that might erupt into world war. Kennedy will be confronted with it before long as soon as he assumes office on 20 January.

##### (iv) Algeria

Algerian affairs are again coming to the boiling point. Offers of Aid by Russia and China to the Algerian rebel or national government leaders have stiffened their resistance. It has led President De Gaulle to make a further effort in promising a Referendum in Algeria, which has been welcomed by Kennedy. But this is anathema to local French leaders. Many of them have expressed themselves openly against this Move of De Gaulle. De Gaulle has with his usual promptness got many of them arrested. Many fled before official action.

Five or six regions are to be delimited to correspond to ethnic areas and a referendum is to be held yielding the basis for a Federal Union for Algeria. It will work only if the French agree, of which there is no sign yet. There is no way out except Partition between French and Algerians.

##### (v) Laos

In Laos the Prime Minister Prince has dismissed the Army Chief but this cannot be the end of the tangle. Groups have crystallised themselves in Laos into three—Rightist, Leftist and Neutralist. The US which had threatened withdrawal of Aid to the group that became neutralist thought better of the situation and have resumed Aid!

The situation will continue fluid so long as the Chinese refrain from active interference with the help of their Fifth Column, the Leftist group. This depends on the foreign policy move of China which will take shape after Kennedy takes charge.

##### (vi) South Vietnam

In South Vietnam, Mr. Dhiem is in sole charge but his palace was suddenly attacked by a group of his own Airmen! He has been ruling with dictatorial powers and has accumulated much discontent against himself. It exploded in the attack on the palace. It was warded off however by other loyal elements.

This is a blow to the USA which had backed Ngo Din Dhiem to the limit.

American influence needs buttressing here also! As indeed where in the world is it not in such need?

Mr. Kennedy has his hands full and American statesmanship is on challenge everywhere.

##### (vii) Turkey

The military leadership in Turkey (i.e. General Gursel and his national Committee) which is superior to the Government Committee appointed by them for routine functions, have shown restlessness. They dismissed 14 of the 37 members of the Government Committee suddenly. The Constitution Committee consisting of professors have sent in a constitutional

report. They have drawn up a fully democratic constitution incorporating elements from The Universal Declaration of Rights of the UNO with freedom of the press and fundamental rights of the most liberal kind. But this is a paper constitution if the Military Dictators do not have the will to surrender Power and to foster needed liberal, humanistic tradition in letter and spirit. But they have inherited Kemalism which is nothing but dictatorship under a mask of democracy! Truly democracy is a delicate plant and cannot be made to order! It needs not only right leadership but also the right national psychology and general education to man the administration and democratic party machinery in sufficient fulness and with the right quality of patriotism and integrity. These are commodities hard to find in Eastern countries! Why, even France, the home of modern European democracy, is faltering under the stress of modern class war doctrines and the reluctance to give up nationalist imperialism. The dead hand of the past is thwarting her.

The future of Turkey is thus a Big Question Mark.

### THE SEARCH FOR FUNDS IN INDIA: THIRD PLAN PROPOSALS

The Third Plan follows the Moscow-Peking pattern embodied in the Second Plan under the inspiration of Sri Mahalanobis and has won the imprimatur of the Prime Minister. In our country today, it is not necessary that Policy, however grave in import and consequence, should be based on proved data. Nor is it necessary that the intelligentsia should have approved of it in various forms, official and non-official. It is only necessary that it should receive the blessing of the Supreme Leader who is more than a prime minister, as he himself claimed once in public!

The total investment and outlay for the Third Plan is fixed at Rs. 10,200 crores. It does not matter if we have not digested the loans and deficit finance and foreign obligations of the Second Plan! We have to jump higher irrespective of economic Pact and Pos-

sibility and the limits of human nature in the mass and in groups!

So an hectic search is on in influential quarters for gathering Funds for the Third Plan by hook or crook!

So we have the first idea of producing profits from State industries. How? By raising the prices of products.

Also, excise duties on commodities produced by private enterprises are also to be raised further and extended to new lines.

Government industrial profits are supposed to yield Rs. 450 crores.

New Taxation is budgeted to yield Rs. 1650 crores. It is worth noting that out the Rs. 1120 crores of new taxation in the last Plan period, more than half to the extent of Rs. 600 crores were spent on non-Plan expenditure! The public do not even have the satisfaction that the money raised by squeezing their blood (as it were) is spent on creative enterprise that may make things better for their children in the next generation. It is spent mostly on current fireworks.

The official secularism of our Government is a curious thing. Secularism in the Western sense means aloofness of Government from religion. But our secularism does not disdain the moneys obtainable from private religious institutions like Mutts! So we have a Bill coming whereby the surplus funds of Mutts are to be legally annexed to Government's disposal—Plan expenditure!

Another brain-wave in this direction is inviting private investments in the capital funds of Public Enterprise, the Government retaining control with 51 percent of ownership.

It remains to be seen how the public will respond in the absence of conditions assuring fair and free competition and efficiency. At present, the tale of public undertakings is one full of inefficiency and losses and nepotism and favouritism and indifference to economy!

## The Lengthening Shadow of Government

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE present era, especially since the 1917 October Revolution in the USSR, has come to be dominated by Leftist ideas. The central characteristic of Leftism of all varieties today is an unquestioning belief in the omniscience of Government. Socialists hold that Government is the general agency of society for doing good in every field of social life—education, religion (by regulation or disparagement), economic life, constitutional matters, philosophical ideas, moral notions, sports and what not.

This is a trend that naturally and inevitably results in communism in society and State. When Senator MacCarthy was harrassing officials in the USA with

his charges and suspicions of pro-communist activities, Mr. Chodorov, a leading libertarian thinker told him that there was no need to make charges against particular officials. All of officialdom anywhere, given their head, will bring about communism unwittingly by making governmental power omni-competent and all-pervasive, leaving no field of life at all to private life, neither art nor culture, neither religion nor morality! It is the nature of bureaucracy to aggrandise itself to the limit and usurp the sovereignty of the people and destroy democracy as such.

The influence of Leftism in the world is so overwhelming that even educated people are unable to

think of an alternative to socialist theories and programmes. They seem so natural and normal that any suggestion going contrary to them are rejected out of hand as reactionary and pro-capitalist. Motives are attributed to critics as being influenced by capitalist bribery! All thinking, according to Marxism on social matters, (even on scientific matters), is motivated directly or indirectly by the economic motive of class interest. There is no possibility of objective thinking according to orthodox Marxism, thinking inspired by reality as it is and verifiable by independent persons anywhere. That is why we find that Soviet Russia controls even the substance of scientific thinking, the ultimate ideas supposed to be the discovery of scientists. Lisenko is an example who tried to sustain official doctrine (in despite of scientific evidence) in obedience to official dictat. Even novelists and poets are subjected to dictation as to how they should deal with their subject matter! The aim is Partism in every intellectual activity—including even history which is re-written to suit the changing ideology of the men in power!

This way lie the stagnation and death of culture and civilisation.

Even in the United States which retains such a large measure of free world ideals, thoughtful observers are noting the ever lengthening shadow of Government.

The Rev. Ermund A. Opitz, a writer in the Foundation for Economic Education of Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, has dealt with this topic in a leaflet of that name. He points out that the government of the United States has been steadily encroaching on private life for years now. He instances the fact that in 1947 the federal government contributed as much as half the entire budget of all university expenses. And if lower levels of education were included, the percentage of government expenses would extend to 90%!

Mr. Chodorov and Mr. Read and others have shown how nearly a third of the income of the people is annexed by governments at various levels and how a tenth of all employees in the nation belong to government service.

Under the name of welfare, federal expenditures are constantly increasing, even republican party presidents like Mr. Eisenhower having to spend federal moneys on welfare like old age pensions and to retain the vast price floors to support agriculture and enrich farmers at the expense of the country! The sums involved are astronomical and free competition has been excluded effectively since before the war in this field ever since the Agricultural Adjustment Administration Act of the New Deal President Roosevelt. And democracy anxious to cater to voters has failed to return to private enterprise and risk-taking in farming, in spite of the national philosophy of free, private enterprise to which all classes of Americans except communists pay tribute in conversation and writing.

How far the trend has gone in colouring the thought of educated persons in our country as well, thanks largely to the example of Prime Minister

Nehru, was brought vividly home to me in a recent conversation with two persons—one a high railway official and the other a professor from Patna, just returned from a doctorate training in the USA in economics and labour welfare. Both repudiated the wisdom of returning public enterprises started by Government (on account of the unpreparedness of private industrialists to start certain lines of industry on their own). I pointed out that the pre-independence administration to Mysore under able Dewans like Dr. M. V. Visweswaria and Shri Mirza Ismail had inaugurated the practice of returning successful government concerns to private shareholders and joint stock companies. This policy releases public funds for re-investment in new concerns of a pioneering nature. It also educates citizens in economic responsibility, integrity and the management skills needed for success in industry. Such educative influence is part of the idea of statesmanship in the old days before Leftism overwhelmed all public policy and private thinking.

The two gentlemen referred to above reacted strongly and refused to concede the wisdom of the policy proposed. They thought that it was necessary for government to retain economic power to prevent concentration of power in the hands of tycoons! They forgot that their view involved a concentration of both economic and political or police power in the hands of the same governing groups! This is worse in every way!

#### THE LENGTHENING SHADOW OF GOVERNMENT

Birlas and Tatas cannot imprison citizens and harm to the extreme extent that government can! Those who offend the governing groups will have to pay dearly for their temerity and independence of mind in one way or other.

The sufferings of the millionaire Mr. Jain is widely attributed to some such cause, in addition to malpractice. Malpractice is not sufficient reason for our government to take action. Witness the many Mundhras walking about with head erect in the country, though many people know of their illegal activities! Many smugglers and dacoits are said to enjoy the protection of persons high up in the ranks of power and authority, strange as it may seem!

Now that the general elections are throwing their shadow over the country's political life, we hear of political murders here and there and attempts on the part of men in power, party and government to intimidate opposition leaders.

It is to be hoped that statisticians will study and show to what extent government power has penetrated beyond healthy limits in India. What is the percentage of national income annexed by government by way of taxes? What is the extent of the proliferation of the bureaucracy? It is said that from an expenditure of Rs. 35 crores on the Secretariat in 1947, we have today the astronomical figure of Rs. 250 crores on Central Government staff!

Committees and delegations are becoming innumerable and incessant. Everyday we hear of new bodies of the bureaucracy being formed at the public expense.

The control of Government even over spheres not taken directly under official auspices and management is also extending. Indeed Government intervention in private industry and commerce is so all-pervasive that even the government have been constrained to appoint a committee to estimate how much of all this is necessary and how much super-erogatory! The number of forms to be filled up and the number of offices to be negotiated with by businessmen has grown to fantastic proportions. A World Bank official was constrained to advise the Government of India that this ubiquitous and vexatious control of enterprise and management should be decreased in order to give the much-needed elbow-room to them in the interests of efficiency. Economic freedom seems to be a term absent altogether in the vocabulary of officialdom!

After the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and Life Insurance, Government are reported to be anxious to annex fire and general insurance as well. They are reported—(as they are advised by fellow travelling "economists"—) to be preparing to nationalise all banking!

Though they have left the private sector in other fields like textiles, sugar, cement and steel theoretically free, these are controlled to such an extent that they are hamstrung and for all practical purposes they are as bad as government-owned industries. Their prices are controlled and their every activity is under the regulation of government.

There is a great danger in such omnivorous state control of industries. It gives room for corrupt practices by the ruling party. It appears (it is learnt from a sugar cane expert and retired director of agriculture) that by raising the export price of sugar by one anna per maund, the sale proceeds rose to 21 crores of rupees! It is anybody's guess as to how much of this windfall was contributed to party funds! The ruling party can thus use the price-fixing machinery and power to enhance its funds.

To prevent this, earnest democrats have been urging the party and government to rescind the legal permission given to companies to contribute to party funds. Such a practice does not exist anywhere and is explicitly prohibited in the United States of America.

The Swatantra Party has taken a strong line on this matter and is propagandising the need to abolish this baneful legal permission for companies to contribute to political parties. The joint stock companies use other people's money. They should not have the right to subscribe shareholders' moneys to political parties. This is tantamount to interfering with the voting independence of the citizen as well as to taking unfair advantage of supreme power.

It is learnt on reliable authority that in Australia price fixing commissions are presided over by High Court judges protected against undue official influence by the sort of conditions that are thought essential to protect the independence of the judiciary and the Auditor-General. Thus price fixing is lifted out of the realm of party politics and temptation.

This is an example that we should get adopted in our country in the interests of democratic health.

A strong and insuperable objection to such unlimited exercise of power by the Government, particularly in economic affairs, is that the practice extends the sphere of violence operating on the citizen in society.

The Libertarian leaders like Alfred Jay Nock Frank Chodorov, Leonard Read in their important books (they ought to be better known in India) *The State—Our Enemy, One is a Crowd and The State—An Ideal Concept*: have taken the position in regard to the nature of the State and Government that they are violent in nature and function. It is their duty to exercise violence on persons who break the law. Their duty to protect innocent citizens—their life, liberty, property and dignity as men—entitles them to use force and coercion to check the unruly. They have legitimate police power for this purpose. Of course they should exercise this power in accordance with the rule of law.

Violence impinging on human beings is inherently evil. As Mr. Read demonstrates elaborately in his *Government—An Ideal Concept* every individual is endowed by nature with a certain quantum of energy which flows spontaneously only at the impulse of his own personal will and desire. Any threat or application of force thwarting him from doing what he wishes is something that prevents the free self-expression of his energy motivated by his own aims. It is only self-determined activities that bring joy and fulfilment to human selves.

Alfred Jay Nock brings out in his suggestive and original book—*The State: Our Enemy* that the essence of the State's activity consists in violence and coercion which is inherently evil as thwarting human nature. But it has to be tolerated only to prevent the employment of force and coercion by other individuals against the spontaneous activities of citizens. Force is justified only as counter-acting force.

Mr. Nock demonstrates how such a view of the State did not animate even the best champions of American independence who were more concerned to make use of King George's power for their own purposes to enrich themselves by tariffs and government favour to their trades, industries and agricultural ambitions in virgin territory. They were animated not so much by the sheer love of liberty as rather by the hope of using State coercive power for their own private gains.

His point of view is supported by the practice of pressure groups in free countries who develop elaborate and costly lobbies in Congress and Parliament to get concessions and favours in quotas, permits (or franchises as the American expression has it).

Deprecating such misuse of State power even by democrats, libertarians advise that the State should be relegated to its proper and specific function of maintaining law and order and securing the defence of the country from invasion. It should have functions and powers strictly limited to such securing of justice. The rest of the individual's life should be

( Continued on page 7 )

# Neutral Nations' Claptrap--III

By M. N. Tholal

**I**N the course of his speech in the U.N. Assembly sponsoring the five-nation resolution, urging renewal of contacts between the heads of the American and Russian Governments, Mr. Nehru said, "It would be an intolerable position if this great Assembly cannot deal with these matters because some people are angry with each other." Nobody had ever suggested that the Assembly could not deal with these matters because some people were angry with each other. But what some had suggested, and very properly too, was that it was no use suggesting renewal of contacts between angry people so long as their anger has not evaporated, because a meeting between angry men can easily make matters worse. It does not require a prophet or an astrologer to foretell that. It can make matters worse even if only one of the parties is angry—as happened during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in Bombay when the Mahatma danced attendance on Jinnah for 18 days. Mr. Nehru was one of those who were angry at the two meetings each other, and very rightly too, as events showed.

The Assembly can certainly deal with these matters, but it would have been the height of folly for it to deal with them in a perfunctory manner. And Mr. Nehru and other sponsors of the resolution have themselves admitted that they had not given much thought to the resolution and had put it forward simply because they thought something must be done. They did so without obviously giving much thought to the probability of their suggestion making international tension much worse. Was it a tribute to the August Assembly or to themselves that the five sponsors should have come forward with a resolution on the most vital problem that ever faced the world without giving much thought to it? Does it show any sense of responsibility in them?

## ROLE OF ANGER

"The Prime Minister of Australia, I greatly regret," said Mr. Nehru, "has done very little justice to himself in proposing his amendment or making the speech he did." Yet the Australian amendment was incapable of doing any harm. The same cannot be

*(Continued from page 6)*

completely free to be led as he thinks best. Even welfare should not be made an excuse for State interference. This doctrine of Limited Government needs to be studied and popularised in India at the present grave juncture. The task needs much penetrating thinking from many points of view. Libertarian literature, American and Indian and British, will be of much benefit to thinkers and party leaders in the opposition.

The Swatantra Party could do with more use of the material available in libertarian books and the monthly journal *Freeman* issued from Irvington-on-Hudson, New York and the *Indian Libertarian* issued from Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

said of the resolution sponsored thoughtlessly by the five neutral nations. Every one will admit that harmlessness is the primary and the greatest criterion of a resolution dealing with such a serious and vital problem as is facing the world today.

"Anger," he said, "may be justified, nevertheless it cannot override major consideration." It should not, admittedly. But it does, and that is only human. There is some political justification for it too, because swallowing justified anger can only give proof of weakness to the adversary which, if mistaken, can make matters very much worse indeed, if it does not start a world war. And does it lie in the mouth of Mr. Nehru to deprecate anger? Is there an angrier man in the world among its leaders? Was it not his anger—"flashes of temper" which he boasted of in writing on himself under a pseudonym—that had a great deal to do with the unfurling of the banner of Pakistan by his own father's lieutenants and the consequent holocaust and the division of the country? Did not the unfurlers of that flag say, with particular reference to his flashes of temper, "no gentleman can work with him"?

Anger apart, in his own speech Mr. Nehru gave another reason against the advisability of his thoughtless motion being adopted by the Assembly. "This great country, the USA," he said, "is engaged in a great election, and it is not convenient for them to enter into these basic talks." That, indeed, should have settled the matter—against his resolution. But, he proceeded to observe, "Even so, if nothing is done now to arrest the process of deterioration, then it will become more difficult even at a later stage to have those talks." Mr. Nehru reminds one of the late Mr. Rash Behari Ghosh, a celebrated lawyer of Calcutta, who was fond of the bottle and used to forget which side he represented, and in his forgetfulness he would begin arguing for the opponent, until he was reminded by his juniors that he was presenting the case of the other party, upon which he would turn round to say that that was the case of the other party and proceed to smash it. Only in Mr. Nehru's case there is no smashing the case of the opponent, only its misrepresentation as well as justification and abuse for the opponent.

## MISREPRESENTATION

Even granting that it will become more difficult—he should have said 'may'—at a later stage to have those talks, does the situation demand that something should be done now, with the ostensible purpose of arresting the process of deterioration, which may only end in accelerating the process? The fact of the matter is that the solution of the problem demands not only integrity but patience also. Mr. Nehru said there was passion behind the resolution. Passion will be there wherever Mr. Nehru is, but he has seen what passion and impatience have done in India—rent the land in two and landed the country in the greatest tragedy of her history. And he is now working in

the international field with those self-same instruments, forgetting the proverb that haste makes waste. The world has had enough of Mr. Nehru's passion. It is high time he showed signs of political maturity and of statesmanship, bearing in mind the saying, "rois rusn in where angels fear to tread."

Then Mr. Nehru proceeds to misrepresent the Prime Minister of Australia. "Let us consider," he said, "what the effect would be if the advice of the Prime Minister of Australia was followed. It would mean this renewal of contacts should not take place." How does Mr. Nehru jump to this conclusion? Before doing so, he had already quoted the Australian amendment to show what it wanted. And the portion quoted was: "Believing that much benefit for the world could arise from a co-operative meeting of heads of governments of these four nations....." If the heads of governments of the four nations—the USSR, USA, UK and France—meet, do not the heads of the Governments of the USA and the USSR meet automatically? Can the two avoid meeting when the four meet? It is, indeed, surprising that Mr. Nehru should have gone to such absurd lengths in opposing the Australian amendment. But then, when you have no case, the best you can do is to misrepresent your opponent. And that is exactly what Mr. Nehru was doing.

"A negative view prevails," he said, "that we should wait for some future occasion.....for some kind of a summit conference, but this Assembly realises that it cannot be held for the next few months....." The very reasons which make it impossible for a summit conference to be held during the next few months, apply also to the renewal of contacts suggested in his resolution between the two. As Mr. Nehru himself said earlier, "This great country, the USA, is engaged in a great election and it is not convenient for them to enter into these basic talks." Why should have Mr. Eisenhower invited an exhibition of shoe-waving at him, particularly when he knew that his successor would have his own way of dealing with these matters; when he knew that he could not bind down his successor even if he belonged to his own party, much less if he belonged to the other? Indeed, Mr. Eisenhower might have done a distinct disservice to his country and the world by agreeing to run the risk of another failure with Mr. Khrushchev in the mood he was at the time—the mood to which he gave the greatest possible publicity that was in his power to give. The more Mr. Nehru argued the case for his resolution, the more absurd he made it look. But that kind of thing is bound to happen when some one sponsors something absolutely absurd. That, however, did not prevent Mr. Nehru from observing that the Australian "position is not only completely an untenable position but it verges on absurdity and I am surprised that a man of high ability, the Prime Minister of Australia, should put this forward." Emphasis and vehemence take the place of logic where the facts are unhelpful to Mr. Nehru. The more vehement he is, the surer you may be that he has no case to present.

#### "FULL-FLEDGED FELLOW-TRAVELLER"

"Charge and counter-charge, accusation and counter-

accusation," said Mr. Nehru, "we have had plenty of them.....but the fact remains that if we are to deal with serious questions, it is not by accusing each other or bringing counter-accusations in reply." A very very goody-goody (if rather foolish) sentiment deserving the applause of all thoughtless people, but how is any one to deal with serious questions without considering the pros and cons, i.e., the charges and counter-charges, the accusations and the counter-accusations? It is the charge and counter-charge, the accusation and counter-accusation which constitutes the problem. They are the essence of the problem and to refuse to consider them is to refuse to deal with the question even in a perfunctory manner. To say that, is for a judge to say he will not bother himself with going into the merits of the case. But that is nothing unusual for Mr. Nehru, in whom impulse and sentiment and passion have always been paramount.

"We are out to achieve something," said our Prime Minister, "and if we want to achieve something, we have to recognise the facts as they are and deal with the problem as it is,"—that is to say, as revealed by the charges and the counter-charges which go to make the problem. "We should not merely satisfy ourselves," as he rightly said, "by making charges and counter-charges." we should go into them, and for going into them we have to proceed on the basis of certain fundamental principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations. But Mr. Nehru gives the go-by to all these principles when he says the Eastern European nations are not colonies of Soviet Russia. He seems to have no objection to their being Russia's camp-followers, while he objects to African tribes being used as camp followers by former European colonial powers. The fact of the matter is that the moment Mr. Nehru proclaims that the Eastern European nations in the Communist bloc are not colonies of Soviet Russia or her camp followers, that moment Mr. Nehru gives up all pretence to neutrality and declares himself a full-fledged fellow-traveller. There is no escaping that position and it is high time Mr. Nehru realised it. It may be, as it seems to be, a *quid pro quo* for Russian support of India on the Kashmir issue in the Security Council, but for which India and Mr. Nehru would have been in a very tight corner. But is one to understand that the Kashmir problem has become a halter round our neck, binding us irrevocably to Soviet Russia because, but for her support and power of veto, the problem may be resuscitated any moment to our great discomfiture. If that is so, the time would appear to have come to decide whether we are to allow the Kashmir problem to wean us from our democratic mornings and make us forswear for ever the very basis of our Constitution which we are supposed to hold sacred, incidentally becoming the sappers and miners of International Communism, digging the foundations of democracy the world over.

#### COLD WAR

On top of the Kashmir problem, which almost threw us into the Russian camp, comes the threat from the North to which we have no answer after Mr. Nehru's handing over Tibet to Communist China,



# The Indian Libertarian Rationalist Supplement

## The Innate Weakness Of Rationalism

By S. Ramanathan

I PROPOSE in this article to consider the last point raised by Mr. Lotwala as being one of the three factors operating against the growth of Rationalism in this country. That relates to the innate weakness of rationalism itself as a doctrine and its failure to attract the mass mind. This question must be of importance to all rationalists in India whether they have formally enrolled themselves as members of the Indian Rationalist Association or not. This innate weakness is not only true in India but in all countries the world over. When we look at the progress of the various rationalist organisations in the west the conclusion is forced upon us that these organisations are not making any headway. It is true that some of them like the R.P.A. in London have functioned for very long and have done quite a lot of propaganda by publishing books, leaflets and magazines. Their propaganda has certainly been successful. Their voice has reached the masses so that the educated westerner, whatever religious denomination he may belong to, whether he be a catholic or a protestant or a Presbyterian or Unitarian or what not, he is no longer a Christian fundamentalist believing that the Bible is the word of God and everything in it is absolutely true. The European is religious only in the sense that he believes in the social implications of Christianity. He goes to church, he observes the festivals, he is attached to his family, he observes what is called "morality", all in the hope that thereby he follows his religion. The contradictions and absurdities in the Bible have long been exposed by rationalist propaganda. But the fact that he has given up his Bible has not meant that he has given up Christianity. On the contrary, while he has been on the one hand forced to admit the inconsistencies and the errors in Biblical teaching, he has constructed a Christianity of his own which does not exist in the Bible. This imaginary christianity he defends against the onslaughts of the rationalists. The more his religion is attacked by the votaries of reason the more tenaciously does he cling to the religion which exists not in the Bible but in his imagination. From the rationalist point of view we have to admit that rationalism has failed to step into the place of Biblical Christianity. It is true that church attendance has greatly depleted of late and there is an increase of unbelievers who belong to no religion. But this vast mass of unbelievers are not members of any rationalist organisation and do not think and act as a coherent body. They may be the products of ra-

tionalist propaganda. It is true that our publications have had an effect and have dislodged the original faith. But we have not succeeded in taking the place which religion has vacated in their hearts. We still remain a small body, a microscopic body of militants. We are a drop in the ocean.

Looking at the situation in India, the prospects before rationalism are bleak indeed. Let us be frank with ourselves and let us confess to our faults. A number of attempts have been made in recent times to build up a live rationalist organisation and they have not borne fruit. While it is possible in India to-day to collect vast sums of money for the promotion of any religious or pseudo-religious object, to build a temple, to celebrate a festival, to maintain a sadhu or other religious pretender, it is very difficult to collect funds for the rationalist organisation. But this does not mean that we put our faith in our religious scriptures or that we are ardent worshippers of the various idols in our temples, or that we believe and are lead away by the words of our sadhus. It is none of these. We are a nation of sceptics. We do not believe in our gods and our priests. Nevertheless we maintain them. We spend our money on them. At heart, we are unbelievers. But in actual fact we are worshippers. There is thus a dualism in our nature which has resulted in a duplicity in our conduct. That is the problem in India. It is not different from the problem, which faces the rationalists in Europe and in the Western countries. We have not succeeded in putting our rationalism in the place of the religions which we have successfully assailed.

It is the realisation of this weakness of the rationalist movement which has led Sir Julian Huxley and other distinguished rationalists of England to start the Humanist Association. Humanism is less militant than rationalism. It does not concern itself with the negative work that rationalism has been doing of leading a frontal attack against the many superstitions involved in the religious faiths. It acts on the belief that there is no use in attacking the old religions unless you put a new one in its place. Sir Julian Huxley says in so many words that man is a religious animal, that in the course of revolution, in the long history of mankind from prehistoric times, man always had some religion or other. Religion therefore is as necessary for the health and well-being of mankind as food which satisfies hunger and as sex

gets obsolete and is replaced by another which in its turn may become obsolete in due course and will be replaced by yet another. According to Huxley, therefore, the current religions like Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam have all become obsolete and should be discarded in favour of Humanism which is the new religion of this scientific age of the mid-twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

What are the tenets of this new religion of Humanism? They may be simply stated as putting humanity in the place that God occupied in the old religion. There is nothing supernatural in this world. Every phenomenon can be dissected by the scientific method of experiment, observation and inference. There is nothing "spiritual" which cannot be dissected by the scientific method. Man is the master of his own destiny. He can help nature, he can subdue nature. He can help in his own evolution into the higher man of tomorrow. Service of humanity in the true scientific spirit is the essence of humanism. Humanism in short puts humanity in the very place where the older religions put God.

This new move of Sir Julian Huxley and others have won the approbation of Bertrand Russell and many of the rationalist leaders in the world. Even the journal of the R.P.I. of London has been renamed "the humanist" in token of its change over from Rationalism to Humanism. Apparently this move has created a split among the old guards in the rationalist movement among whom some still swear by the former creed and maintain their connection with the World Union of Freethinkers. The National Secular Society founded by G. W. Foote is an instance. But there is unity and concord between the rationalist organisations and while the older rationalists maintain their individuality, they co-operate with and collaborate with the new humanists in all matters which are of common interest.

This attempt to change the name of Rationalism to Humanism and making of Rationalism into a new religion instead of being just anti-religion, will not mean anything unless the masses are brought into it and rationalism becomes a way of life of the common man instead of being of a select few of the upper intellectual circle. So far as India is concerned, I shall confess that even the upper intellectual circle which in other countries belongs to the rationalist organisation has in this country refused to belong to the Indian Rationalist Association. It is not a question of positive refusal, but one of indifference and neglect. The first Rationalist Association of India started in Bombay did not spread to other parts. So a second attempt was made, this time from Madras. It has flourished for a decade and has held six conventions. It has published a monthly journal for five years but was obliged finally to incorporate itself with the 'Indian Libertarian' and continues to be published as a monthly supplement. This arrangement has been rendered possible owing to the generosity of Mr. R. B. Lotwala. But we have openly to admit a certain lack of stamina on the part of the Indian Rationalists and their failure to build up a live organisation. Is it due to the innate weakness of rationalism as such or are there any special causes leading to this sorry state of affairs? This is a matter which deserves the close study and anxious investi-

gation by all rationalists in India of whom there are so many, whether they are formally enrolled as members of the Indian Rationalist Association or not.

Mr. Lotwala says that we have to integrate our reason with the nature of man which is essentially emotional. To quote Mr. Lotwala "Emotion divorced from reason is irrational: but reason without emotion is barren". How exactly to give free play to our emotional nature through a Rationalist organisation, is our problem.

This has been solved to some extent in South India though Rationalists in the North may not approve the methods followed by the South. But looking at it objectively the Rationalists in the South have achieved something although the result may appear to be fantastic. It is possible in the Tamil Districts of South India to hold a mass meeting attended by not merely thousands but by many lakhs of people and expose the priestcraft inherent in Hindu religion. Such a feat is impossible in the North where talk against Hindu religion will expose the speaker not merely to ridicule but to violence. How is it that it is possible for any Rationalist to gather a crowd in South India to denounce the Hindu religion? It is because he declaims not only against God and religion but against the priests who are Brahmins and against the Northern exploiters of the South. The propaganda of rationalism in the South is based on emotion and has led to a movement of hatred against humans, against northerners and against the Hindi language. I shall deal with this phenomenon in my next article.

#### THE NEED FOR EXCELLENCE

I am afraid a deterioration has crept into our standards of performance which is as much a Threat to our nation as any fifth column or subversive force. Today, too often and in too many instances, achievement is measured by the "average" rather than the best. The importance of excellence has been minimized.....

Excellence is rebellion against the common place. It is a rejection of any doctrine propounded by Government labor, or management, which justifies the lowest common denominator as the measure of the work man should do. Excellence is an attitude which gives importance to ideas as much as to material things. It excludes expediency as a way of life. Excellence is reverence for truth. And most important of all, excellence is striving for intellectual growth.

Gilbert W. Chapman.

#### WHAT IS INDIVIDUALISM?

"Individualism is a mature and calm feeling, which disposes each member of the community to sever himself from the mass of his fellow creatures, and to draw apart from his family and his friends, so that, after he has thus formed a circle of his own, he willingly leaves society at large to itself. Individualists owe nothing to any man, they expect nothing from any man, they acquire the habit of always considering themselves as standing alone, and they are apt to imagine that their whole destiny is in their own hands. Individualism is of democratic origin and threatens to spread in the same ratio as the quality of conditions". —Alexis de Tocqueville.

# Humanism And Shelley

By Denis Cobell

THE poetry of Percy Bysche Shelley held much that a humanist would approve of; Shelley was, all his life, opposed to the adoption of fixed ideas—as are all thinking people today. He was sent down from Oxford at the age of nineteen for writing and circulating a pamphlet entitled *The Necessity of Atheism*. Mary Shelley tells us that her husband was eighteen when he wrote *Queen Mab*, and in the notes to this poem Shelley puts forward some very potent criticisms of Christianity—undoubtedly a result of having read Locke. A passage from these notes is worth quoting:

A book is put into our hands when children, called the Bible, the purport of whose history is briefly this: That God made the earth in six days, and there planted a delightful garden, in which he placed the first pair of human beings. In the midst of the garden he planted a tree, whose fruit, although within their reach, they were forbidden to touch. That the Devil, in the shape of a snake, persuaded them to eat of this fruit; in consequence of which God condemned both of them and their posterity yet unborn to satisfy his justice by their eternal misery. That, four thousand years after these events (the human race in the meanwhile having gone to perdition, unredeemed) God engendered with the betrothed wife of a carpenter in Judea (whose virginity was nevertheless uninjured), and begat a son whose name was Jesus Christ; and who was crucified and dead, in order that no more men might be devoted to hell fire, he bearing the burden of his father's displeasure by proxy. The book states, in addition, that the soul of whoever disbelieves this sacrifice will be burned with everlasting fire.

During many ages of misery and darkness this story gained implicit belief; but at length men arose who suspected that it was a fable and imposture, and that Jesus Christ, so far from being a God, was only a man like themselves. But a numerous set of men, who derived and still derive immense emoluments from this opinion, in the shape of a popular belief, told the vulgar that if they did not believe in the Bible they would be damned to all eternity; and burned, imprisoned, and poisoned all the unbiassed and unconnected inquirers who occasionally arose. They still oppress them, so far as the people, now become enlightened, will allow.

Shelley goes on later to ask, "If God has spoken, why is the universe not convinced?"

Compare the following verses written by Wordsworth and Coleridge, two fashionable contemporaries, with those from Shelley.

First, from Wordsworth's *Funeral Service*:

Man is a grass that springeth up at morn,  
Grows green, and is cut down and withereth  
Ere nightfall—truth that well may claim a sigh,

Its natural echo; but hope comes reborn  
At Jesu's bidding. We rejoice, "O Death,  
Where is thy Sting?—O Grave, where is thy  
Victory?"

Then from Coleridge's *The Knight's Tomb*:

The Knight's bones are dust,  
And his good sword rust;  
His soul is with the saints, I trust.

And from Shelley's *On Death*:

This world is the nurse of all we know,  
This world is the mother of all we feel,  
And the coming of death is a fearful blow  
To a brain uncompassed with nerves of steel;  
When all that we know, or feel, or see,  
Shall pass like an unreal mystery.

I think the reader should notice a distinct difference between the first two and the last verse. They are all concerned with the subject of death, but only Shelley's verse reveals his beliefs in life on this earth, as opposed to the dreams of the other poets about a life beyond the grave. Shelley was, to a certain degree always a pessimist, but he was one great poet who did not allow his aesthetic temperament to inculcate the rationale of life.

Shelley's repugnance for Christianity was not merely a negative axiom, he was outspoken upon many matters of social and individual injustice in the manner that humanists are today. In November 1817 we find him protesting against the execution of three artisans in Derbyshire for a small insurrection. He writes in the preface to his long poem *The Revolt of Islam*:

The poem which I now present to the world is an experiment on the temper of the public mind, as to how far a thirst for a happier condition of moral and political society survives, among the enlightened and refined, the tempests which have shaken the age in which we live.

In Shelley's day the pendulum of life had swung towards the acceptance of immovable doctrine in politics and religion; although he toured the continent of Europe chiefly for health reasons, he would undoubtedly have come up against personal persecution if he had remained in England. As it was, his writings attracted much attention from those who disagreed with him, and there was frequent difficulty in having them published.

One of Shelley's early poems *To Wordsworth* shows his admiration for the "rock built refuge" but continues:

.....thy voice did weave  
Songs consecrate to truth and liberty,  
Deserting these, thou leavest me to grieve,  
Thus having been, that thou shouldst cease to be.

A critique of Wordsworth's *Peter Bell* reached Shelley at Leghorn in 1819 and suggested to him the writing of *Peter Bell the Third*. This poem is not a criticism of Wordsworth's poetic qualities, for Shel-

ley still admired them, but it depreciates a man of genius who, as Mary Shelley writes, "quite the glorious calling of discovering and announcing the beautiful and good, to support and propagate ignorant prejudices and pernicious errors." Peter Bell the Third is a cynical poem that takes long and deep laughs at the consideration of death, the devil, sin, grace, and damnation; it contains many of Shelley's views with regard to the errors into which the wisest have fallen.

Shelley did not believe that evil was inherent in the system of creation and he thought that mankind had only to will that there should be no evil and there would be none. In his preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, described as "A Lyrical Drama in Four Acts," Shelley writes, "I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon, than to go to heaven with Paley and Malthus. But it is a mistake to suppose that I dedicate my poetical compositions solely to the direct enforcement of reform." Farther on in the same passage he writes, "My purpose has hitherto been simply to familiarise the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence; aware that until the mind can love, and admire, and trust, and hope, and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness."

In remembering Milton in this same preface, Shelley reminds the reader that this protestant was also a bold inquirer into religion and morals. Shelley was a great poet who sought justice and reason in his work and examination of other poets. He enjoyed poor health and lived a short life, but fulfilled the laws demanded by his conscience, in his respect of human beings and the reproof of erroneous, degrading ideas that were common in his time. In later life he came to recognise God as a spirit within the universe, but he denied God the Creator an existence: his reverence for Christ's personality was coupled with his admiration of Plato, upon whom, much of Christ's teaching was founded. Shelley may have been forgotten by humanists, but he is a source of logic and reasoned thought on many topics worth considering. I think he is at his finest when writing of a child taken to see an atheist burned. He writes in *Queen Mab*:

His death-pang rent my heart! the insensate mob  
Uttered a cry of triumph, and I wept.  
Weep not, child! cried my mother, for that man  
Has said, There is no God.

—'Freethinker'

## SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT JEWELS AND STONES

For at least the thousandth time, we were treated recently to another article dealing with the awful misfortunes which follow people who insist on wearing well-known but "ill-tarred" jewels like the Hope Diamond, or the famous Koh-i-noor. The last one the subject will be written up at least another thousand times—appeared in the *Sunday Graphic* (7/8/60) and was written by Miss Ursula Bloom. It deserves

mention because the one thing which this distinguished writer has missed giving us is evidence.

It is a long article, packed with statements all proving that there was a "Jewel that Killed Seven Kings," the title of Miss Bloom's article. This Jewel was the Koh-i-noor, but it appears that, though it was worn by Queens, it never did them a ha'p'worth of harm. Only the Seven Kings were destroyed.

The curious thing is that you had to be a King before it killed you. For example, the Earl of Dalhousie who brought the Koh-i-noor to England from India kept it in his waistcoat pocket and escaped unscathed. Queen Victoria wore it and she lived for 81 years; and in turn, Queen Alexandra, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth II, have all worn it, and it certainly did not kill them. But the unfortunate original owners in India had a heck of a rotten time, all due to the malevolent jewel! I don't believe a word of it.

It appears also that there is a Russian ill-luck diamond called the Orloff, and we are told that "it killed off those who wore it" which Miss Bloom immediately denies; for she says that Prince Orloff who bought it gave it to the Empress Catherine. Well, Orloff lived till he was 72, and Catherine died at 67, neither of them "killed" as Miss Bloom so pathetically asserts.

But it was Queen Marie-Antoinette who wore another diamond and of course she died on the scaffold. We always understood that it was not because she wore the diamond that she died, but because of what might have been the beginning of a great epoch, the French Revolution; a movement which got out of hand. To "prove" her case Miss Bloom quotes "a soothsayer"! She naturally gives us no names, no dates and no authority whatever. But I am sure that the readers of the *Sunday Graphic*—following of course the Editor who is responsible for the article—will find in "the soothsayer" a sufficiently reliable witness that it was not the guillotine which killed the poor Queen but wearing the Regent Diamond. It was terribly unlucky!

Is it any wonder that our national journals publish idiotic astrological prophecies, read avidly by their millions of readers who would be astonished if told that all that these and similar superstitions had literally nothing to do with life? Don't they know that all such superstitions are mere relics of our primeval ancestors?

—'Freethinker'

## THE SINNER

Of such strong wickedness I am composed,  
Such Devil's riot runs within my blood:  
Come! look upon your handiwork and laugh  
Oh! unknown Pow'r who fashioned me from Mud!  
Behold th' unnatural vices grown within  
The tangled garden of my scarlet shame.  
The tares and weeds sown there ere I was born.  
Oh! so-called God of justice! say, am I to blame?

L. Jarratt.

although the USA had assured the fullest support to India in preserving Tibetan autonomy—no answer except keeping all our eggs in the Russian basket in the hope that Russia will dissuade China from any further advance in the NEFA region. Between the Scylla of Pakistan and the Charybdis of China, we have lost our soul, which we need not have done if we had the courage of our convictions and translated them into practice. And now we are fretting and fuming against the Powers that brought us to this predicament and in our cantankerous desire for revenge we seek to play the Daniel-come-to-judgment, even after declaring that the East European nations are not Russian colonies!

We may have succeeded in deceiving some nations, but how long can we expect them to remain the dupes of our propaganda? And as for the much-condemned cold war, what was the massing of Indian troops (more than once) on the Pakistan border, if not cold war? (The Pakistan Prime Minister at the time charged India with having done that, and India did not contradict the allegation). And what were some of the speeches of Mr. Nehru on Chinese aggression only a few months ago, if not cold war speeches? Of course Mr. Nehru was justified in making the speeches he did, and even in massing Indian troops on the Pakistan borders, but that leads us and Mr. Nehru not to wholesale condemnation of cold war and its approaches, but to their justification by showing that his actions were justified. If Mr. Nehru's condemnation of cold war is wholesale—as it appears to be—then he stands self-condemned. He has not been wanting in brinkmanship where Pakistan was concerned, howsoever emphatically he may have condemned John Foster Dulles. Mr. Nehru can argue that his cold war was justified, while that of the

western nations is not, on the ground that the East European nations are not Russian colonies—and therefore there can be no objection to some other nations in the neighbourhood sharing the same fate and enjoying the same status—but, apart from the ridiculous nature of the proposition, that argument makes cold war respectable under certain circumstances and his wholesale condemnation of it ridiculous. Incidentally, since the East European nations are not Russian colonies and are fully self-governing, is Mr. Nehru working for the same status being enjoyed by his country vis-a-vis China?

This public condemnation of one's own guilt is a good herring across the scent, but how long can we expect it to work? Mahatma Gandhi succeeded with the trick in India but Mr. Nehru is operating in the international field, and people outside India are not afraid of Mr. Nehru as the Indian people were afraid of Gandhi. Have we come to believe that propaganda will for ever prevent the truth from enlightening the minds of the people of the world? More than that, have we reconciled ourselves to the consequences of the success of our own cantankerous moves on the chess-board of world politics? Do we realise that there is no limit to the price that we shall have to pay—in terms of sacrifice of all that we hold dear—if we go on keeping all our eggs in the Khrushchev basket? Already we know we cannot protest to Russia against her subsidizing an Indian party. We cannot protest to Russia against her scientists and technicians, who are flooding the land on deputation to India, passing on their salaries to the Communist Party, because that party is subservient to Russia. Are we in a position to protest against anything that Russia or Mr. Khrushchev does? The answer to that seems to be entirely in the negative. And we are an independent nation!

(Concluded)

## Lokayata: Indian Materialism

*(This is the fourth article in the series)*

By S. Ramanathan

THESE are two contradictory views held on the Tantra practices that have been prevalent in India since the earliest times. One view holds that they are very immoral, obscene and should not be spoken of in civilised society, because they consist of sexual promiscuity and perversion. Another view holds that there are mystic meanings attached to these practices and beneath what appears to be the excrescences of obscenity is the pure gold of spirituality which ennobles the participant and brings him bliss which is otherwise unattainable. Both these extreme views are wrong according to Mr. Deviprasad Chatopadhyaya, who holds that the tantric practices originated as agricultural magic among primitive people and since agriculture was the occupation of women, naturally women played a predominant part in those practices. Since the process of plant growth was a mystery to the early inhabitants of this country, agriculture was considered a magic. Since in the progress of civilization agriculture as a method of food production gained in im-

portance, it having produced more food than hunting or animal breeding which were the occupation of the men, women gained a predominant position in society. So much so, agricultural magic practiced by women gave rise to ancient religions in which the women were the priests. This practice of women becoming the priests was so universally insisted on that if by chance men had to act as priests they had to wear womanly dress and grow long hair. In short the male, as male, could not discharge the functions of the priest. They could become priests only by changing their sex. Tantricism was always kept as a secret practice and the participants in the cult were prohibited from conveying the secret to the uninitiated.

Let us now find out what is the central point in this secret doctrine. It is nothing other than realizing the womanhood in one self. It is a discipline calculated to transform One's personality and consciousness into that of the female. This is the

yogasadhana which is called Satchakrabheda. There are said to be two nerve cords running parallel to the central nervous system which is named the susumna. The object of the yoga discipline is to draw the sakti coiled up at the bottom right up to the top which is the brain along these cords. Seven padmas or lotuses are located at different places in the spinal cord. Triangles and lotuses with which the tantric practices abound represent the female genital organ. Mr. Chatopadhyaya goes on to laugh at the highly puritanical modern Buddhists who utter the magical prayer many time a day "Om Mani Padme Hum" meaning "Om, the jewel in the Lotus—Amen" because they are unaware of the sexual obscenity implicit in these words. The seven lotuses on the susumna cord are the seven seats of womanhood inherent in every human being. The object of realizing this womanhood is by yogasadhana which is attained by the control of breath and other means so as to arouse the coiled sakti which is at the bottom and to carry it upwards to the brain which is Sahasradala Padma i.e. lotus with thousand petals. As Bhandarkar observed "The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundari (a name of the Tantrika female principle), and one of his religious exercises is to habituate himself to think that he is a woman. Thus the followers of the Sakthi school justify their appellation by the belief that god is a woman and it ought to be the aim of all to become a woman." As is said in the Sahaja Songs: "Discard the male (purusa) in thee and become a woman (prakriti); thou wouldst thus be of one body and placed in eternity. Love and sex only after (thou become) female (prakriti) by nature.

Thou shouldst, O male, become a woman...

"He who knows the practice of the female and the behaviour of the male..."

The question may be asked as to why so much pain was taken by men to become women and why the happening in the entire world was attributed to the female principle. The explanation seems to be that the productive activity of nature which is so evident in the beneficent processes of agriculture is dependent on the reproductive function in which the women

plays the dominant part. That explains the desperate effort made in the tantric practice to become women and in arousing the latent femininity supposed to be inherent in every man. This belief was based upon ignorance of the physiology of human reproduction. It took ages for humanity to understand that the male also plays a vital and necessary role in the process. There are still some Australian and American aboriginals who believe that the women get children directly from mother earth and place the new born child on the ground. This is a custom prevalent among many primitive tribes even to-day, the idea being that the earth is the real mother of the child. Mr. Chatopadhyaya quotes the practice during Durga puja of hanging vegetables which grow out of the body of Devi sakambari. The habit of taking out purna kumbha or purna ghata owes its origin to this belief that the female is the real author of all production. "In purna Ghata or purna kumbha is placed five varieties of corn seeds. An earthen vessel filled with water is placed on it. Rice mixed with curd is put into the vessel. Round the neck of this vessel is tied a piece of red thread. Its open mouth is covered with five varieties of leaves. Then an earthen-plate with rice and a betel-nut is placed on the leaves. On the plate of rice, again, is placed another fruit, preferably a green coconut with its stalk intact." The vessel is the female womb, that this womb is with baby. It is a symbolic significance of human reproduction. This is intended to ensure the multiplication of fruits, plants, and leaves. We are thus back to the magical belief that the productivity of nature is ensured by the imitation or con-tagion on human reproductivity.

The Holi festival, in which even our political leaders are indulging nowadays, was originally intended to promote fertility and was characterised by the most licentious practices. It is the regular saturnalia of India but the rituals of the festival have an agricultural bearing. It was believed that the operation of the divine generating power which brings about the fertility of nature, of animals and of women is stimulated not only by act but by speech and that is why obscene jests and speeches formed part of the ritual of the Holi festival.

## DELHI LETTER

# China Bamboozling India

(From Our Correspondent)

**T**HE White Paper placed on the table of the Lok Sabha on November 14 makes doleful reading from the Indian point of view. It shows again that Indian friendship with China is one-sided and reciprocity is far from the Chinese Government's mind. The Government of India has warned China against further violations of Indian ground and air space and has declared that she is determined to observe utmost vigilance about the protection of her frontiers and take action against all intruders, whatever their origin. The Chinese attitude, as disclosed in the note, makes it plain that the Government of India

will have to act up to its professions, if it wants itself to be taken seriously by the Chinese Government.

The understanding between the Prime Ministers of the two Governments, referred to in the White Paper, has been observed by China neither in the letter nor in the spirit. The Chinese outlook, as disclosed in Mr. Chou En-lai's television interview on September 5, given publicity only recently, would appear to be as intransigent as ever. In that interview Chinese claims on Indian territory were repeated with the usual talk of willingness for a "fair and reasonable

settlement". After that the outcome of the Rangoon meeting of officials of the two countries on the boundary dispute can be easily imagined. The Chinese attitude as shown in the White Paper and underlined, as it were, by the Chinese Premier's television interview, makes a mockery of all talk of friendship and the sooner the Indian Government realises it the better it will be for the country's integrity.

Of particular interest is China's explanation regarding intrusion by 25 Chinese armed soldiers into Indian territory across the MacMahon Line in July this year. The Chinese version is that some working personnel felling bamboos had lost their way due to inclement weather, whereas, apart from the personnel carrying arms slung from their shoulders, the area concerned is situated at a height of between 12,000 and 15,000 feet and is about seven miles south of the MacMahon line, where there are no trees or bamboos. Perhaps the Chinese Government chose bamboos as their pretext because of the subconscious feeling in their mind that they are bamboozling us. The Chinese Government does not take the trouble even to offer plausible excuses for the intrusion into Indian territory of its armed personnel, and that should reveal the seriousness of the situation to the Government of India. It cannot be said that our Prime Minister has not been, howsoever inadvertently, encouraging the Chinese in their attitude on the issue of Chinese aggression. 'Aggression' boiled down to 'dispute' and 'dispute' to 'controversy'—the word which our Prime Minister used in his speech at the United Nations Assembly in referring to the quarrel with China. Our protestations of friendship with China after her occupation of 12,000 square miles of our territory in Ladakh can have only one meaning for the ruthless Chinese mind, and that meaning is plain.

### POLITICS OF CLAPTRAPMANSHIP?

In a moving speech at the Diwanchand Information Centre in New Delhi on November 8, Acharya Kripalani said that the unity of India was an ancient and living reality and linguism could not be allowed to jeopardise that unity. But what is to prevent it? Linguism is only a vote-catching device. We have seen that the Assam Government has had to bow before it. As Acharya Kripalani himself pointed out, when Mr. Nehru went to Assam he talked of imposing a punitive tax, but the Assam Congress ministers told him they would be dead in Assam if they did anything of the kind. But the fact remains, as he said, that "linguistic badmashi was the doing of educated people and more than 80 per cent of the people had nothing to do with it." It is thus not a regional demand, but a class demand, the demand of the class interested in jobs. But what makes their demand irresistible is the fact that that class supplies the workers and the volunteers for any campaign. It constitutes the intelligentsia and no attempt is being made to instil patriotism in it. Our leaders have been taking things for granted, because secularism and democracy have been enshrined in the Constitution. But the Congress Government, as Acharya Kripalani pointed out, is not seeing to it that the Constitution is respected all over the land.

A valuable suggestion in this connection came from the chairman of the meeting, Mr. D. R. Manekar. He said that all political parties should come to an agreement not to exploit language or caste in the coming elections. The non-exploitation of caste is a tall order, because it is a deeprooted malady, but we should not go on increasing the number of maladies we are suffering from. Efforts can and should be made to prevent political parties from exploiting the language issue. They can at least try. Those who refuse to enter into such an agreement will at least stand exposed. Some time ago an attempt was made to forge an agreement among political parties to prevent the exploitation of student for political purposes. But Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia, leader of the Socialist Party, refused to enter into any such agreement saying that the students of today were the leaders of tomorrow. Neither Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia nor the Socialist Party can be said to have gained in stature as a result of their refusal to line up with the general demand. Men like him should be made to realise that claptrapmanship does not pay in the long run, but unfortunately the rank and file of our politicians suffer from a goody-goody inertia and refuse to join the debate on national issues with all the emphasis at their command. That is at bottom a kind of cowardice, this inhibiting fear of displeasing people. That is also at the bottom of Mr. Nehru's dictatorship. Where convictions count for nothing, national degeneration is only a matter of time. Mr. Nehru is taking us along the primrose path of Communism and we are unaware of it! Incidentally Acharya Kripalani recalled how he advised at the time of the publication of the report of the SRC Commission that it should be adopted in toto but Mr. Nehru himself rushed to the radio to give expression to his "surprise" and "wonder" and "the whole thing went into the melting pot", as the Acharya said. Mr. Nehru can always be demanded upon to open Pandora's box in his rash moments. In this instant he thought he could prevent the disintegration of Hyderabad, but he was mistaken. The SRC Commission put its seal on it finally.

### AKALI ANTICS

Sant Fateh Singh, the Akali Dictator who is to go on a fast unto death on December 18, told correspondents at Amritsar the other day that the Dal was wedded to a policy of nonviolence and that it would adhere to it under all circumstances, but—yes, there is a 'but' in it—"the time may come when it may not be possible for us to control fluid elements which may resort to violence despite our advice to the contrary." The words are not only prophetic; they are meant to be prophetic. For, not content with that, he proceeded to observe, "Even if I lose my life during my fast unto death, the Akali Dal will not renounce its policy of nonviolence, but history may repeat itself and the situation may worsen like what happened in Andhra. We shall not be responsible for such consequences." There are many here who consider this envisaging of violence as a broad hint to the fanatical element among the Akalis to resort to violence after his death, and few who can honestly surmise that the repetition is inadvertently accidental.

His letter to Mr. Nehru makes poor reading. Even

a fast unto death (to move Government "to see reason and to accede to the principle of creating a unilingual Punjabi-speaking state purely on a linguistic basis, like all the other linguistic states of India") cannot undo the mischief created by the reminder and the question on almost every pair of Sikh lips:—"the Hindus got Hindustan; the Muslims got Pakistan: what did the Sikhs get?" Plausibly worded as the argument was to win over Sikh hearts—as it in fact did—it gave away the Sikhs, even as it antagonised beyond all possibility of reconciliation the Hindus of Punjab. That fact militates against the validity of the example of other states where public opinion was almost unanimous. Punjab stands on a different footing altogether, quite apart from the fact that it is a border state, that the Sikhs are a "martial" community and that their demonstrations have of late not been erring on the side of patriotism, giving every one an idea of the shape of things to come after Punjabi Suba is achieved. The slogan is too transparent to deceive any one.

Besides, it cannot be denied that fast unto death is a kind of violence or injury to oneself. Is violence to oneself nonviolence? The answer in the affirmative would be a contradiction in terms, not less so because the apostle of nonviolence was also in the habit of threatening to fast unto death and ostensibly carrying out the threat. Let us hope—since Sant Fateh Singh's idea of nonviolence seems similar to that of Mahatma Gandhi—that his fast unto death will be as sincere as those of the Mahatma, without culminating in any loss of life.

#### CHALIHA RIDING HIGH HORSE

Having got away with what they wanted, by the threat that otherwise the Congress would be dead in Assam, her Prime Minister is riding the high horse. No wonder, therefore, that he is found asking for more. No other conclusion can be drawn from Mr. B. P. Chaliha's statement at Dum Dum airport on November 19: "I don't know why Dr. B. C. Roy interferes with our affairs every now and then; This is embarrassing for me as well as for him." It is not quite clear how it is embarrassing for Dr. Roy. He must be unaware of his own embarrassment, for, in the alternative, he would not have been interfering with Mr. Chaliha's affairs. So the wholesale burning of Bengali houses in Assam is entirely an affair of the Assamese and Dr. Roy has nothing to do with it! Perhaps Mr. Chaliha does not realise his own effrontery or he is playing to the gallery in Assam. He should know what that kind of thing led to recently in his state. Dr. Roy had made the plain unvarnished statement that the Assam Official Language Bill varied even from the decision taken by the representatives of different language groups at their meeting with the Union Home Minister. Mr. Chaliha did not contradict the statement, which means that the Assam Congress Government is flouting the advice of the (Congress) Central Government as well as going back on its own commitment.

Asked if he agreed with Dr. Roy that, despite the passage of the Language Bill, the language problem had not yet been finally settled in Assam, Mr. Chaliha replied, "It is absolutely our business to see that we

come to an agreement. We have passed the Bill with certain objectives in view. Let us now face the situation in our own way." The Assam Government's own way has become rather notorious. But apart from that, if, as Mr. Chaliha says, it is absolutely their business to see that they come to an agreement, why did he attend a meeting at the Union Home Minister's house to reach an agreement on the issue? Mr. Chaliha does not seem to possess the elementary patriotic sense to realise that, but for Dr. Roy's tactful handling of the situation in Bengal in general, and Calcutta in particular, the whole of Eastern India might have been ablaze. In Mr. Chaliha's opinion there is no earthly reason—except "political pulls"—why the evacuees in Bengal should not go back to Assam when life in the Brahmaputra Valley is normal after the passage of the Language Bill. People who have come back from Assam recently are definitely of the opinion that life has not returned to normal in Assam and the pressure under which the Assam Chief Minister has been going back on his word and not listening to advice from the Centre, would appear to suggest that they are right. He seems to have found out that, with the approach of the general elections, the Congress High Command can be intimidated into giving him a *carte blanche* after his assertion that otherwise the Congress would be dead in Assam. The situation bodes ill for India's integrity.

#### KAIRON VS. GOLWALKAR

In a formal statement the Punjab Chief Minister, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, who recently praised the RSS chief, Mr. Golwalkar, for his stand on the Punjabi language controversy, has now criticised him for "whittling down his original statement, diluting it repeatedly and eventually changing its complexion altogether for reasons best known to himself." The reasons, however, are pretty well-known. The Punjab Jan Sangh leaders publicly started questioning Mr. Golwalkar's *locus standi vis-a-vis* Jan Sangh. "He may be the RSS chief," they said, "but he has nothing to do with Jan Sangh". This was too much for Mr. Golwalkar and he started appeasing the Punjab Jan Sangh leaders.

No one can credit Mr. Golwalkar with very high regard for Mahatma Gandhi, but, if imitation is the best form of flattery, he has certainly been flattering him—after his death. Just as Gandhi used to imply that he had nothing to do with the Congress—"I am not even a four-anna member of the Congress," he used to say—Mr. Golwalkar pretends that he has nothing to do with Jan Sangh and some unruly leaders of Jan Sangh took him at his word and refused even to consider his advice for what it was worth. The RSS, we are given to understand, is not a political organisation. After Gandhi's death, Mr. Golwalkar had to give that undertaking before he was released and organisation allowed to function. The undertaking had no legal validity. The Government had no right to extract it under the new Constitution and lost in the courts, but having given it, Mr. Golwalkar deems it fit to abide by it, verbally. That does not prevent Mr. Golwalkar from delivering political sermons to RSS rallies. It is only natural that he should forget what is, after all, only a pose. It is no



use being fanatical over linguistic issues, though no one can question the dictum that only those who own the Punjabi language as their mother tongue have the right to determine the script. Many have tried to condemn the Punjabis for disowning their mother tongue, but they say it is only a retort to the Sikhs disowning their motherland, say what they may. What to say of Punjabi, they retort, "we are prepared to sacrifice our lives to prevent Khalistan from coming into being in the garb of Punjabi Suba."

## Book Review

### THE SOVIET PARTY AND THE BODY SOCIAL

Reviewed by Erich Godhagen

**A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.** By John Reshetar. Praeger. 331 pp. \$6.00

The history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union provides striking illustration of the work of Nemesis. The Party which had set out to subdue the whole of society by fire and sword, which had destroyed its opponents and liquidated entire social classes on the authority of a presumed mandate of history, in the end became the victim of its own designs. By the 1930s it had been subdued by the dictator who, rising at first almost imperceptibly in its midst, converted it into an instrument of his will, terrorizing it and bleeding it white. "Indeed," John Reshetar reminds us, "it is an established fact that in no country have so many Communists been physically destroyed and morally assassinated and humiliated as in the Soviet Union." Those who rule by terror will almost inevitably be haunted by it. Perhaps no other single group in Soviet society was so exposed to the capricious wrath of the dictator; and when he died the loudest sigh of relief came from the upper echelons of the Party.

The Party was thus cast into a "dialectical" role; it was at once master and servant—master of society and servant of the dictator. And what a master it was! It was not a traditional ruling elite, content with the enjoyment of power and privileged. Animated with a Faustian creed, it set out in the manner of the legislators of Greek mythology to shape a new social design with the bloody tools of social engineering. It built a new industrial empire. It tore the peasants from their traditional ways, driving them to submit to an alien and oppressive mode of existence.

But the Party was more than a mere creator of this vast social complex. It has remained its animator as well. Its levers of power penetrate into the innermost recesses of the body social, controlling it, harnessing it to Party purposes and guarding, lest the manifold life of society burst the seams of the fixed mould.

The relationship between Party and society was reciprocal. In transforming society the Party transformed itself. The new tasks demanded new skills.

The fiery orator gave way to the calculating administrator, the idealistic visionary to the Tatsachenmensch, and the impassioned sloganeering that once moved men to heroic deeds turned into mechanical phrasemongering. For Marxism is a creed which flourishes best in a soil astir with social ferment, capable of kindling a faith whose ardor could match that of any religion. But nourished not by the timeless problems of the human condition—the perennial source of all supernatural religions—but by transient historical circumstances, its appeal fades once the social sources from which it springs have dried up. In 1917 Marxism-Leninism could move mountains, and during the next decade *The Communist Manifesto* could still serve in Russia as a powerful source of inspiration. But how many members of the Communist party today would derive inspiration and guidance from it? Increasingly losing their force as a living gospel, the sacred texts of Marxism assumed the character of historical documents—sacred, boring and often incomprehensible. The current urgent endeavour to breathe life into the desiccated ideological body bears witness to the seriousness with which the Party views this problem. For under the banner of ideology the Party could claim the full plenitude of power on which it insists; without it, its levers of power, stripped of sanctified doctrinal vestments, could still command obedience, but would cease to inspire devotion.

John Reshetar, whose earlier writings—especially the history of the "Ukrainian Revolution" revealed him an able historian, has unfortunately conceived his task in narrow terms. His narrative unfolds in the outer confines of the Party's life without exploring the umbilical cords that link Party and society in a symbiotic community. The ordinary reader who comes to the book innocent of the subject is not likely to gain a clear notion of the methods and instruments used by the Party to exercise its rule, of the problems it encountered in imposing its will on industry, agriculture, the Army and the world of art, science and literature. Nor does the author offer a coherent outline of the anatomy of the Party. Surely an outline of the Party's structure should have fallen within the range of a volume whose blurb boldly proclaims it to be "comprehensive in scope and definitive in treatment."

It is a pity that Reshetar has chosen thus to delimit his task, for he is a competent scholar. Within the constricting limits, he writes with knowledge and insight. In discussing the difficulties attending the establishment of collective leadership in the Party, he writes: "It is doubtful whether there can be genuine collective leadership under Communism. Collegial authority in decision-making assumes collegial responsibility for failure. Yet, the Party, if it is to divest itself (as it must) of blame for failures, must perforce find convenient scapegoats. Individuals can serve as scapegoats, while the Party itself cannot." This is probably one of the many obstacles in the way of an enduring collegiate rule. All these obstacles may be sub-sumed under the heading that freedom is indivisible in Soviet society. Genuine collective leadership would sooner or later lead to the emergence of factions, each espousing divergent views. Soon the Party would be astir with division

and controversy. But pluralism restored to the Party is likely to spill over into society, unfreezing the enforced monolithic unanimity into its hitherto muted sectional, class and ethnic components, and thus eroding the totalitarian texture. By condemning society to "unfreedom," the Party has fettered its own inner life. —'The New Leader'

## Gleanings from the Press

### ENGLISH IN INDIA

The Constitution has laid down that English shall be the official language of the Indian Union till 1965 and the Prime Minister, taking stock of the situation as it has developed and recognising the feelings of fear and anxiety that prevail in many parts of the country about its displacement by Hindi in that year has given us a solemn assurance that English will continue to be an associate official language as long as non-Hindi-speaking people desire it. The Presidential Order issued a few months back seemed to be in general conformity with this assurance though there were not wanting critics who noticed the absence of a categorical re-statement of Mr. Nehru's declaration. But reports of certain measures taken by the departments of the Government of India to promote a knowledge of Hindi in their personnel and official purposes have again given cause for disquiet.

It is well known that Hindi has not yet developed into an adequate instrument for official purposes and though some may derive a fugitive pleasure from seeing it used by high dignitaries on ceremonial occasions, it is not yet fit to pass the rigorous tests of comprehension and expression that any official language must pass, particularly in a country so vast and diversified as ours. It should not be forgotten that the *sine qua non* of language is understanding and, then, communication. We cannot afford to give up English as the Union's official language for a long time to come. Much patient preliminary work has to be done before Hindi can be allowed to take its place. The proceedings of the Advisory Board on Scientific and Technical Terminology in New Delhi show us what has to be undertaken before we can think of replacing English.

Both Dr. C. S. Patel, President of the Indian Medical Council, and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji have just warned us against the dangers involved in a neglect of English studies. Dr. Patel urges that the teaching of English to students taking up medical courses should be forthwith strengthened if they are at all to benefit from them. Dr. Chatterji, addressing the Sahitya Akademi in Madras, has torn to pieces the elaborate arguments advanced against English and proved conclusively that while it came to us with the British, it has helped considerably to unite us politically and to enrich our regional languages. While all over the world the most nationally-minded countries are taking increasingly to the study of this truly international language, some of us seem to be ready, out of a mistaken sense of prestige or patriotism, to discard this precious key to modern knowledge that historical forces have placed in our hands.

Our linguistic prejudices must be curbed if we would not risk the unity that we have built up all these years. In any event, English is the language of modern civilisation and if we are to attain eminence, intellectually or otherwise, we must see that we retain it as the official language of all-India administration, the language of the Union Parliament and the medium of higher education.

—'Hindu' Weekly Review

## News & Views

### ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA BY REDS IN BORDER AREAS MLA AMONG THREE NAMED BY PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi, November 21: The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, today attacked the Communists for carrying on anti-Indian and pro-Chinese propaganda in the border areas and even named three Communists, including a West Bengal MLA, on being angrily challenged by Prof. Hiren Mukerjee to give "concrete instances."

Subversive and anti-national propaganda supporting the Chinese stand on the Sino-Indian border dispute, he told the Lok Sabha, was continuing despite his statement on the subject in the House in August last. It was, however, on a "somewhat less public scale and toned down."

Anti-Indian and pro-Chinese propaganda, Mr. Nehru said, was broadly in terms of urging that "China is right and India wrong, that the Chinese want a settlement of the border dispute, but the Government of India does not, and that, whatever the facts, Socialist countries like China cannot possibly commit aggression—an assumption with which probably most members here will not agree....."

### NEUTRALISTS ROUTED IN DIET ELECTIONS IN JAPAN — LIBERAL DEMOCRATS GET A MANDATE TO PURSUE THEIR PRO-WEST POLICIES

Tokyo, November 21: The Liberal Democrats, with 296 seats, are nine votes short of a clear two-thirds majority in the new Diet. But they are confident of securing support from some Democratic Socialists and independents to push through vital legislation needing affirmation by two-thirds of the House.

### JAPAN-U.S. TREATY

Sunday's poll confirmed predictions that there will be a polarisation of the political forces in this country. The Democratic Socialist Party, which is a middle-of-the-road organisation and stands for the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in gradual stages, has lost heavily; it was able to win only 16 seats as against the 40 it had in the last Diet.

Both the conservative Liberal Democratic Party and the radical Socialist Party have made gains—at the expense of the moderates.

Yesterday's election gives Mr. Ikeda's Government an overwhelming mandate in pursuit of its pro-Western policies which have been advantageous to Japan in the post-war era.

Following are the final results (The figures in brackets show the number of seats held in the previous Diet):

Liberal Democratic Party—296 (283); Socialist Party—145 (122); Democratic Socialist Party—17 (40); Communist Party—3 (1); Independents and minor parties—7 (2).

Mr. Ikeda said today that the overwhelming victory of his party showed that the new security pact signed with the United States was "appropriate and justified."

#### **KENNEDY ANXIOUS TO HELP INDIA SOLVE HER ECONOMIC PROBLEM WITHIN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY INCREASED AID FOR THIRD PLAN FAVOURED**

Washington: President-elect John Kennedy has told friends that he is determined to help India to ease the great poverty of its people. Mr. Kennedy, for years, has been associated with Senator John Sherman Cooper (Republican, Kentucky), a former Ambassador to New Delhi, in demands for massive programmes of aid to keep India afloat.

In Mr. Kennedy's view, the long-range struggle with Communism in Asia depends on how India solves its economic problems without recourse to totalitarian methods.

The President-elect is authoritatively reported to have placed India's economic development among the list of foreign policy priorities for his four-year White House term, which begins on January 20.

He is expected to authorise increases in foreign aid funds to India and to call on other industrialised nations to make a supreme effort to make certain of the Asian country's triumph as it struggles to build a workable economy within a democratic society.

Mr. Kennedy's goal is described in informed circles as an attempt to turn India into a "showplace" for his ideas on what the Western world should do for an Asian country determined to give ballots as well as bread to its people.

[It is to be hoped that our Prime Minister Nehru will increasingly realise the necessity of introducing certain essential changes in his Socialistic economic policies so as to make them workable within a democratic set-up—Ed.]

#### **CHANGE OF INSTRUCTION MEDIUM IN COLLEGES**

#### **A HAZARDOUS EXPERIMENT EMPHASIS LAID ON THE STUDY OF ENGLISH VICE-CHANCELLORS' SUGGESTION**

Madras: The view that a change in the medium of instruction in Universities without adequate safeguards would be a hazardous experiment in the present circumstances, and that in the case of scientific, technological and professional studies, such a change would be a retrograde step was expressed by the conference of Vice-Chancellors of South Indian Universities, held at the University buildings here on November 8 and 9. The conference also detailed the conditions that had to be fulfilled before a change in the medium of instruction could be sanctioned.

The Vice-Chancellors of Annamalai, Andhra, Karnatak, Kerala, Osmania Madras, Mysore and Shri Venkateswara Universities attended the conference,

which considered several questions of importance, with which the Universities of the South were more particularly concerned.

The conference was of the view that regional boards should be set up which should have complete autonomy as regards selection of books which should be translated, as also the terminology to be used in these books. While international terminology would always be applicable in all the languages wherever permissible, in respect of terms which could be translated in the languages concerned and which had been in common use in the said languages, an all-India terminology based upon the translations into Hindi would not be applicable and any such work should be essentially based on the regional requirements.

As regards Humanities, it was pointed out that some of these subjects were of a very complex nature and did not easily lend themselves to adequate rendering in regional languages without sufficient amount of preparation.

The conference was also of the opinion that with any change in the medium of instruction adopted emphasis should be laid on the study of English and on the maintenance of high standards in English. Even with a change-over to another medium, students must have the facility to consult books written in English for a long time to come.

The conference was of opinion that not only for science and professional studies but for all post-graduate study and research work, it would not be feasible to change the medium at present.

#### **FAMILY PLANNING IN INDIA**

A Scheme to organize family planning orientation camps throughout India has been started by the Directorate-General of Health Services.

One of these three-day camps, recently organized by Dr. Pannu at Najafgarh, was attended by about sixty persons from eight villages. Paying a surprise visit to the camp, Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, the Union Minister of Health, said that he was impressed by the wholehearted response of the village leaders.

Madras: Addressing the Burmah-Shell Club in Madras in July, Dr. S. Chandrasekhar pleaded for surgical or other permanent methods of birth control. Almost all couples, he said, wanted family planning but the appliance methods commonly employed were not effective. (Hindu, Madras, July 17).

The Government of Madras has approved twenty-one medical institutions in the various districts of the State as suitable for the conduct of surgical sterilization. An advance of Rs. 1,000 has been sanctioned for each of these institutions towards the inducement payment of persons undergoing the operation and to help panchayats (village councils) to meet the cost of popularising the scheme in their own localities.

Mysore: The Government of Mysore has sanctioned the purchase of twenty films on family planning to be used for propaganda purposes especially among the rural population.

There were sixty-five Government, and sixteen private medical institutions in the State giving family planning services.

## BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

Bakunin's Writings by Guy Aldred.

Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker

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