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 Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Rationalist'
 INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
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 MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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Vol. VIII No. 21

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EDITORIAL

REVIVAL OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

THE Bhavnagar session of Congress took note of the revived activities of the Muslim League and other separatist Muslim groups like the Jami-Islami

Muslim association of this kind held a large meeting in the capital some time back attended by over 7000 delegates in which extreme demands were made on behalf of the Muslim community. They couched their demands in a tone of dissatisfaction with the treatment they were receiving under the egalitarian and generous constitution of 1950. They demanded in effect a special privilege for Muslims, a privilege they would enjoy under a Muslim theocratic State or Califate!

As usual, the Congress leaders passed a resolution calling on the majority community to be more generous to the minority and play the Big Brother! They promised to improve the appointment and other facilities to the minorities.

But there was no consideration of the meaning and justification of the notion of minority as such in a modern, democratic, republican constitution.

It is a misnomer to continue to speak of majorities and minorities based on birth and religion in a political context under a democratic set-up. In the eye of the constitution there should be no distinction between majority and minority for purposes of public life, voting, electoral representation, public

office, education and administration. The rule of law should prevail. Individuals irrespective of community, religion and caste should be treated on merit and assigned their rights and duties on an equal basis.

Muslims should be told that they should define their "minority rights" only in the sense of religious fellowship for purposes of religious observances such as sites for mosques. They have no political claims apart from what accedes to them as citizens in common with others. Only such a firm attitude shown consistently in Government and law and education will begin a better way to consolidate national patriotism in this country. But such a non-communal attitude is practically impossible to the present Gandhi-Nehru Congress party leaders who are steeped in the psychology of appeasement and special status to Muslims. The communal outlook is ingrained in the minds of Congressmen which is taken full advantage of by Muslims who stand to gain more by intransigence than by merger in national citizenship.

At a meeting in Madras (Gokhale Hall) tens of thousands of Pro-League Muslims shouted "Pakistan Zindabad!" But the meeting was remarkable for the bold way in which a few hundred Muslims resisted this pro-League attitude and called upon the Muslims to remain loyal to India. They were hooted but the majority had to leave. Nationalist Muslims condemned pro-Leagueurs openly.

This is a new departure in recent Muslim politics. It is to be hoped that such Indian Muslims content

with Indian national citizenship will be encouraged by all correct means and that they will not be let down later on in favour of the more obstreperous, anti-Indian, pro-Pakistani groups.

NEPAL

The Prime Minister was not well-advised when he again expressed criticism of the Policy of the Nepal Maharaja in dismissing parliament and the democratic ministry. We are not directly concerned with the internal affairs of Nepal. Nehru's judgment that the people of Nepal are prepared for full democracy has no better credentials than that of the Maharaja Mahendra Singh.

We have heard that the secret reason for the Maharaja's drastic action in dismissing Koirala and his colleagues was the secret resolve of the group to let the Chinese armies pass through to India without resistance, in case they advance into Nepal! This would put Nepal into the hands of the Chinese armies without a struggle and incidentally jeopardise Indian defence, if at all any defence preparations take action in that event.

Far from criticising Nepal for such a measure taken in the interests of defence and so favourable to Indian defence policy we ought to be grateful to the Maharaja.

But Koirala is a Nehru-made man and Nehru cannot transcend early associations in spite of the total change in circumstances. This is a grave failing in our policy-maker.

Mr. Gorwala has also heard of this account of the inward situation in Nepal explaining the King's ac-

tions. The explanation may be well-based. Time will bring out the truth before long.

Meanwhile, we note that the Chinese forces have strengthened their positions in the Chumbi Valley just north of Sikkim and Bhutan. They may make a southern move any day in strength.

Meanwhile Chou en-Lai has detached Burma from India. Pakistan has begun to toy with Chou's glittering support for her annexation of occupied Kashmir. Surawardy had negotiated a pact or at least understanding with China sharing Kashmir between them—Kashmir Valley to Pakistan and Ladakh to China.

We are likely to hear more of this move in the coming months—one more defeat for Indian diplomacy.

THE VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO INDIA

By the time this is in print, Queen Elizabeth will have spent some time in India. She will have taken the armed forces salute from the Red Fort on Republic Day along with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India. She will have no doubt worn the Crown which has the famous Kohinoor diamond inset in it. Indian efforts to get this famous diamond back into Indian hands have so far failed to materialise.

It is to be hoped that the Visit will pass off without unpleasant occurrences. There is a divided mind in many Indians about the propriety of the continued Commonwealth connection in the era of full independence. Even the acknowledgement of the position of the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth as purely symbolical without any political allegiance implied in it is irk some to national sentiment and is redolent of subjection to empire!

The grave fact that even the invasion of national territory by China has not elicited any sympathetic support by Britain has made the Commonwealth tie altogether chimerical and fruitless. The MacMahon Line was negotiated and fixed by the British after a series of treaties with Russia, Tibet and China. It was conceived in the interests of Indian defence. The least that was expected of the British Government in the Sino-Indian dispute was a categorical declaration of the rationale of the Indian Border Line and the expression of diplomatic support to the Indian stand.

It is true that a lone member of the House of Lords declared that the British Government should acknowledge the Indian northern border to be a Commonwealth border. But the British Government as such maintained a frigid silence.

Another source of vexation with Britain is the support given to the rebellious Nagas by British missionaries like Rev. Michael Scott. He was refused permission to see the Naga area but he had the temerity to go to Shillong and see Phizo's relatives. No doubt Indian officials have assisted him under the rose to make this contact. They could have prevented his entry in Assam, as was to be expected in view of Scott's intentions. That Indian officialdom under Mr. Nehru's lead have insufficient patriotism and sense of defence

The Indian Libertarian
Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by: Miss Kusum Lotwalla
 Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month
Single Copy 25 Naye Paise
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rs. 6 Half Yearly Rs. 3

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES
 Full Page Rs. 100: Half Page Rs. 50: Quarter Page Rs. 25
 One-eighth Page Rs. 15: One full column of a Page Rs. 50

BACK COVER.....	Rs. 150
SECOND COVER.....	Rs. 125
THIRD COVER.....	Rs. 125

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- * Publications of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum
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Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

is no new story but a depressing feature of the post-independence policies of India.

To talk grandiloquently of national integration while in actual deals, the Government succumbs to anti-national suggestions is not the way to achieve the goal of integration.

The whole question of Commonwealth relations has therefore to be re-examined after the departure of the Queen from a radical point of view. Meanwhile, we welcome the Queen and wish her a comfortable and interesting time in her tour in India.

We have to strike a *via media* between fulsomeness and needless stand-offishness. We have to retain our national identity while according respect to the Head of the Commonwealth—a respect that has no component of loyal allegiance in it.

EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM

The Education Ministry of the Union Government has a scheme for National Service for students before they are allowed entry into college after the school leaving course. They are to spend a year in camp doing village cleaning and other work, learning to sing the national song etc.

This is a most unheard of anti-educational idea. We have heard of military training after college course or at certain ages (twenty to twenty-five) for all. But to interrupt education at the age of eighteen (or thereabouts) and made to waste their precious time in ill-regulated hazy activities of dispersal of energy under political direction smacks too much of totalitarian indoctrination. Serious students and teachers have expressed their condemnation of the scheme. It is to be hoped that it will be dropped.

Instead we can have a universal military draft for all able-bodied young men at a prescribed age.

The German Youth Movement was entirely voluntary though aided by Government by way of provision of hostels and travel facilities.

So too, Indian students could be enabled to have a Grand Tour of India in instalments at discreet stages of their scholastic career. They should be accompanied by historians who could explain the historical and cultural significance of the great historical and political monuments of the country.

The Ministry has also announced a scheme to teach national consciousness to students. The details as to how they propose to do it are yet lacking. Here again too much preaching is bad and has a contrariant effect. National consciousness is something that should be inculcated indirectly through suggestion by teachers and elders in the course of ordinary education and daily life.

Otherwise we shall have huge waste of public funds on wild-cat schemes which will offer a held day for exploiters and partly dependents to make money without any decent return for it.

Also, we have a number of problems in developing a national outlook in the course of the teaching of history and other cultural and social subjects like art and political and social science. These require new solutions. How are we to teach Muslim and Hindu events in history without developing antagonism today between the two communities? How is Hindu admiration for Shivaji to be reconciled with Muslim admiration for Aurangzeb?

In Chitaldurg, they propose to erect a statue of Tipu Sultan in front of the Fort gate. He conquered the Fort from the Nayaks of the place. The descendants of the Nayaks today are protesting at the proposal while Muslims are using their influence with the secular Authorities to have their way. The problem needs careful solution in terms of current nationalism.

Republican Or. Socialist Pattern Of Society ?

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THOUGH the Constitution describes the nature of our Government as a democratic republic, little attempt has been made by official leaders and writers in general to analyse the implications of the idea of a republic. The people have but little realisation of the spirit of republicanism. They have some notion of democracy as government by elected representatives on account of the general elections held every five years. And the functioning of legislatures at the Centre and in the States have conveyed some idea of democratic government and administration.

But the notion of republicanism has made no headway in the popular imagination no less than in the official mind. The ruling party and the intelligentsia in general have paid no attention to it commensurate with its importance as the goal of public life and indeed as a supporting attitude of the people in their daily avocations *vis a vis* the Government.

It is useful in the month when Republic Day is observed to dwell in contemplation on the meaning of republicanism and the type of society it envisages.

Mr. Nehru (speaking at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education) referred to the need for having a clear goal for education. He mentioned the Constitution as embodying such a goal in outline and added that Parliament (meaning himself thereby) had specified the socialist pattern of society as the goal of life and education. He declared with his usual cocksureness that there is no other goal for progress.

So did Mao Tse Tung sometime back. And now after the World Communist Parties Conference in Moscow (to which Indian communists like Mr. Dange had gone), Mr. Khrushchev has issued a statement wherein he clarifies beyond the shadow of any doubt that the goal of communism remains the conversion

of the world as a whole to communism—way of life and pattern of society and government. Coexistence means a form of intense struggle for this purpose! Though war is ruled out, Mr. Khrushchev makes it unambiguously clear that the aim of world communism led by him and his country is to support all wars of national liberation in all parts of the world and that there is no alternative whatever to the socialist pattern of society!

Coming after these declarations of world communist leaders, the statement of Mr. Nehru acquires a sinister meaning.

The Russian Government and world communism no doubt employ the term republic to describe their system of government. The Russian Government calls itself the United States of Socialist Republics.

But a close scrutiny of the system adopted by it shows that it is poles apart from any true meaning of republicanism. The primary implication of republicanism is the status of individual liberty enjoyed by citizens. No apologist of Soviet Russia has ever claimed that its citizens enjoy liberty in their private and public life. Nor does the Soviet Government itself do so, dismissing liberty in the Western republican sense as a mere "bourgeois prejudices" and not worth having!

In fact, it can be asserted with a large measure of truth that liberty or republicanism and the socialist pattern of society are contradictory in their nature.

When Mr. Nehru recommends the socialist pattern of society as the goal of education with such cocksureness, one is afraid that he has not realised the implications it has for freedom. He claims that he is a democrat but the socialist pattern will inevitably erode into the democratic foundations of the polity and end up in dictatorship, sooner or later.

Thinkers should, therefore probe into the meaning and repercussions of Mr. Nehru's socialist pattern of society and reveal its danger to liberty.

In fact, education is an end in itself in the sense that it should not fix any artificial social ideals as the sole end of life and aspiration. Life is an end in itself. There is no one national or social purpose to be realised by all social institutions. There are as many social purposes as there are individual citizens. Education should teach students to think sanely about life and society in the light of reason and experience and not indoctrinate any particular social pattern as the best for man everywhere without an alternative. In the past, several ideals like the greatest happiness of the greatest number and the greatest possible realisation of capacity on the part of the greatest possible number of people and so on have functioned as incentives for social progress. But these goals do not commit society to any favoured pattern.

In such a context, it is necessary to develop the main features of free or republican government and society versus the much vaunted socialist pattern in some detail. Only a brief indication can be attempted here, leaving it to future articles to go into fuller detail.

The first feature that strikes any student of liberty

or democracy is that in a socialist pattern, freedom to the individual becomes a diminishing factor. Freedom requires for its exercise and actualisation in daily life a variety of situations. J. S. Mill preaced his celebrated essay on Liberty in the last century with a citation from Von Humboldt that freedom needs a variety of situations for its realisation. Abstract or theoretical possibility of free action is of no use, if all alternatives are barred by coercion or government monopoly.

A socialist society bars all alternatives in all walks of life by extending government monopoly. In economic life, it advances, gradually as in India or in Britain under the Atlee Government all means of employment by nationalising private industries and by expanding the public sector and restricting if not promoting new private industries.

The government combines political with economic power by such centralisation of all production, distribution, exchange and financial power. The evil of the concentration of economic power in the hands of private industrialists urged by socialists against capitalism is multiplied to the nth degree by socialist workers and salary earners of all grades and in every avenue of employment had that under socialism, their freedoms to choose alternative employment, to combine to put pressure by strikes and bargaining are reduced to nothing. This was the experience of British Labour under the recent socialist set-up under Atlee. "Variety of situations" so essential for the exercise of choice vanishes under socialism. The worker is confronted under socialism everywhere with the same, single employer or employing body.

This consequence of socialism was seen clearly by J. S. Mill himself:

"If the roads, railways, banks, insurance offices, the great joint stock companies, the universities, public charities were all of them branches of government: if, in addition, the municipal corporations and local boards with all that now devolves on them, become departments of the central administration: if the employees of all these different enterprises were appointed and paid by the government, and looked to the government for every rise in life; not all the freedom of the press and popular constitution of the legislature would make this or any other country free otherwise than in name. And the evil would be greater, the more efficiently and scientifically the administrative machinery was constructed—the more skilful the arrangements for obtaining the best qualified hands and heads with which to work it."

A calm consideration of the extent of the encroachment that the Indian government has already effected into private life will reveal how near we are to the state of affairs described by Mill in this remarkable prescient passage a hundred years ago.

Even an efficient civil service performing economic tasks better than the public, Mill points out, would be a deprivation of the opportunity and field of education for citizens to which they are entitled.

A republican society should avoid such an all per-

vading entry into private life. It would provide the maximum opportunities possible to the citizens to act and choose in the light of their own judgment and plan of life.

The socialist society plans for all but a republican society helps individuals to realise their own freely chosen plan of life and occupation.

There will be only one centre of decision in a socialist society but in a free economy, there will be as many centres of responsible decision as economic units owned by individuals (or groups of persons joined together voluntarily in companies and partnerships). The citizens of a republic will grow into full individuals accustomed to initiative and independent judgment, whereas those of a socialist state will lose such qualities by disuse and lack of opportunity.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is stated that as many as four-fifths of the population were self-employed persons in the USA. But today, barely one-fifth are so independently employed! University graduates even in the USA increasingly prefer employed salaried positions in government or big corporations. The American Way of Life with its sacred principle of independent livelihood is suffering erosion at an alarming rate, though officially America is opposed to socialism.

In modern societies, the employed class with fixed incomes doing work under direction with no occasion for independent decision is becoming a majority. This change in the economic composition particularly in the middle class transforms the psychology of society. Leadership becomes timid and unimaginative and self-distrustful. Safety first becomes the rule of life for all! No one will be inclined to take risks or responsibility. In offices the art of passing responsibility to others becomes a fine art. In a recent press conference, Mr. Nehru said that the spies in the Secretariat recently found out were mostly clerks!

Such employed persons will become envious of the large fortunes or windfalls that accrue to big business which risks large amounts in ventures and is sometimes rewarded handsomely. But the losses that also form the inevitable feature of entrepreneurship are ignored! As the class becomes a majority, politicians will begin to adopt their standards and outlook and will tax the upper echelons of business at an ever-increasing rate. Proposals to fix maximum incomes gain ground. In India, Dr. Matthai suggested Rs. 35000 per month as a reasonable upper limit when this question was in the air.

Progress requires some numbers of people with large funds that they can spare for experimentation. Inventors are often financed by such citizens with spare funds. Even Darwin and Macaulay owe a great deal of their success to the free funds they had inherited that gave them leisure and independence to pursue their scholarly avocations without depending on academic jobs.

Even in ordinary education, it is not advisable that the State-provided schools are the sole media of instruction. Officialdom cannot be trusted not to interfere with the content and spirit of education. Today in India even textbooks are nationalised and a

one-sided Gandhi worship and a distorted history of the freedom movement are being inculcated in government schools. An independent historian asked to write the history of the 1857 Sepoy Rebellion (by the Government of India) had to give up his assignment on account of the insistence of Minister Azad that the Hindus accepted Moghul rule and took part in the rebellion under the leadership of the Moghul emperor. The historian demurred and had his own version of the facts but he had to quit!

Dr. F. A. Hayek recommends the system of paying parents the cost of primary schooling for their children leaving them free to put their children into any one of a number of approved private schools. (A constitution of Liberty). In education, the principle of the paymaster having the right to call for the tune does not apply. Education should assist the natural self-realisation of the pupils as much as possible by their own effort. The educationist is like a gardener who offers a favourable environment for the plant to grow. He does not try to determine what the plant should be, beyond a point.

So in institutions of research. There should be a variety of institutions for the scholar to find a congenial patron, though the state might maintain a few research laboratories.

In taxation, too, socialism tends to lose all sense of limit. The principle of public finance shifts to redistribution of property to which there is no limit. Social justice comes to be interpreted to justify a radical redistribution of properties. Social security comes to form larger and larger proportions of the budget expenditures until it becomes cheaper for the many to provide their own security with the tax amounts paid by them, if released. Progressive taxation reaches meaningless levels a real reduction ad absurdum—sometimes reaching a rate of 97 per cent above certain brackets as in England.

Absence of free funds in the community in the hands of enterprising people leads to a shrinkage of inventions and new ideas. The "creative powers of a free civilisation" get atrophied. Socialism goes on merrily until the accumulated wealth and capital of the capitalist period are exhausted by profligate finance. Then will set in a period of stagnation and social and political decay.

It is much better to visualise these inevitable long term conclusions of the socialist pattern of society and change the prevailing socialist ideas by independent analysis and publicity. Republicanism needs far different policies than now popular.

DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM.

Democracy, this pride of Western man, is a political concomitant of capitalism. If capitalism should perish, democracy must also perish. And with every step towards the destruction of capitalism, democracy is hastening towards its own end.

—Hans F. Sennholz

"The control of the production of wealth is the control of human life itself".

—Hilaire Belloc.

Congress Deceiving The Country

By M. N. Tholal

WHEN the territory of a country has been violated and 12,000 square miles of it occupied by a neighbouring country, all other problems should pale into insignificance in the face of this major threat to the integrity of the country, particularly if it is coupled with refusal to recognise large chunks of other territory as belonging to the invaded land. Unfortunately, such is the Hindu mentality—India's history proves it beyond doubt—that the Chinese invasion of India and occupation of part of it, and threat of farther invasion and occupation of other parts of the country, has not roused us to the gravity of the situation. The premier political body of the country, the Indian National Congress, which falsely claims to have won independence for India when it should be confessing that Pakistan is its own creation, has at its annual session at Bhavnagar given ample proof of that unpatriotic and treacherous mentality. Among the resolutions it adopted is one on the Sino-Indian frontier which characterises the Chinese aggression as—mark the words—a threat to the “progress of world peace and cooperation and stability and strength of Asia”—there is no mention of the integrity of the country here—and, for election purposes as I shall show presently, “reaffirms the resolve of the people and the Government of India to maintain the integrity of its territory, effective defence of its frontiers, to repel aggression from whatever quarter and to bring about the vacation of aggression.”

FLIES IN THE OINTMENT

The resolve to repel aggression is indeed a noble resolve with which no patriot can possibly disagree, but it seems that the repelling has been postponed to the Greek calends. In any case Mr. Nehru has been making it pretty clear—and that too pretty frequently—that this repelling, if it is to be done at all, will have to be done by his successors in office, for he has been talking of the problem remaining with us for ten, twenty, thirty years and even for generations. And very understandably too, for before we repel aggression we should be prepared to take effective steps for the purpose, and for taking those effective steps the country has to make arduous preparations so that it may become stronger than China.

Now there is a fly in Mr. Nehru's ointment which Mr. Nehru pretends to ignore. And that is that China will also not be sleeping in the meanwhile and will be getting stronger and stronger to meet Mr. Nehru's (academic) threats and will be consolidating its position in the territory occupied by it. There are some other flies also in the ointment towards which Mr. Nehru is turning the proverbial Nelson's blind eye. One of them is that China, being a totalitarian state, can direct and concentrate the people's energies to meet Mr. Nehru's threats—threats which are to be implemented by his successors if and when they find it convenient to do so, for not even Mr. Nehru can bind down posterity—with the result that China, comparatively speaking, would be growing stronger

than India every day. The third fly in the ointment is—and it is absolutely shattering—that there is such a thing as the Sino-Russian Treaty of which Mr. Nehru must have heard, which binds Soviet Russia to come to the aid of China in case she goes to war with any country, and as part of the Treaty Russia has been supplying massive military aid to China, which is indeed unparalleled in the peace-time annals of history. So our preparations, of which Messrs Nehru and Menon have been talking so often, have to take into account that massive Russian military aid to China, even if Russia, on account of the parcels of Indian mangoes that Mr. Nehru has been reportedly sending to Mr. Khrushchev, does not deem it necessary to come to China's aid against India, whose policy of non-alignment has evoked the fervent admiration of Mr. Khrushchev times without number. Even a fool should be able to see that after that massive military aid, comprising the latest weapons—we are unable to find out the ownership of the planes that fly over our territory so high they fly: obviously the Chinese could not have manufactured them—it will be work of supererogation and absolutely unnecessary for Russia to come to China's aid and provoke a world war in order to fulfil the prophecy of Lenin that the way to Europe lies through Peking and CALCUTTA.

Let us therefore, be frank about the situation, even if Mr. Nehru and his colleagues cannot for obvious (election) reasons. There is no question of India trying or being able to repel the Chinese from the territory they have occupied. It will be folly to try it when we cannot. That was why Mr. Nehru was silent over the Chinese invasion for five years. Surely, he is not a dotard suffering from loss of memory regarding an act which continued for five years. Mr. Ram Subhag Singh, who has shown some sense in his observations on the Sino-Indian issue, presumed to suggest that Government may be asked to take steps to vacate the Chinese aggression. But Mr. Nehru naturally came down on his amendment which, as Mr. Nehru put it, was “quite astonishingly lacking in wisdom or sense” and showed “a type of irresponsibility which is just amazing.” It may take ten years or more, as Mr. Nehru says, and Mr. Nehru is far from being an astrologer. (In fact he does not believe in astrology and questions regarding the period required for our effective preparations against the Chinese should be addressed to Mr. Sampurnanand, who is an astrologer of a high order and is devoting considerable time to that branch of “science.”) Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, therefore, did very well to second the resolution of which he seemed, to begin with, to be a very strong critic. It is a pity that Mr. Nehru has to use such strong language before his chelas can understand him. Who can blame his flashes of temper—mostly cultivated—after that?

NEHRU'S VALID CONCLUSION

So let us be honest and be content with the very valid conclusion that Mr. Nehru reached as soon as

the Chinese invasion began six years ago, that it is no use thinking of repelling it. That also justifies his five-year old silence. There was, therefore, no sense in Dr. Ram Subhag Singh complaining that the gravity of the situation resulting from the Chinese aggression has not been realised in the country and that, while different states were arguing their cases with the Planning Commission for larger allotments, nothing was heard in the country about the need to take steps to get the aggression vacated. Mr. A. R. Antulay of Maharashtra ruined all his chances of promotion in the Congress hierarchy by moving an amendment demanding that steps be taken within six months to oust the Chinese aggressors. I do not know in which world he lives and whether he reads any daily newspaper, and has ever heard of the Sino-Russian Treaty or the tremendous military aid by Russia to China, stepped up lately. I hope he is not in league with the Communists, but a surer way of losing more territory could not have been suggested. Messrs Singh and Antulay should realise that what cannot be cured has to be endured. If we cannot repel aggression, as obviously we cannot, we have to put up with it, using the bravest possible words in view of the approaching elections. Indeed, the nearer the general election approaches the braver will become the words used by Congressmen to repel the Chinese aggression. It does not need much political wisdom to prophesy that.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

So it is folly to think in terms of repelling the Chinese aggression that has already taken place. Mr. Nehru committed the blunder of refusing American aid when it was offered to him to rescue Tibet from Chinese clutches. He thought that by letting China occupy Tibet he would transform China into a real friend. But he does not realise that there is no generosity in politics, certainly not in Communist politics, and besides, the Communist leaders could not have forgotten the military aid Mr. Nehru gave to Burma—against his own convictions regarding military aid,—to subdue the Communists in Burma. Has Mr. Nehru himself ever in his life been generous to his opponents, or even to his own colleagues? However, what is past is past. It is no use crying over spilt milk. But let us at least safeguard the future. China has blatantly refused to consider Bhutan and Sikkim as part of India. Mr. Nehru should know what that means. And if he is inclined to put his faith in any mealy-mouthed promise that Mr. Khrushchev might have made during his visit to India, let him remember those famous words of Lenin: "The way to Europe lies through Peking and Calcutta." Peking is already theirs, proclaiming as it were the truth of the prophecy of Lenin and how faithful and loyal the Communists have been to him. Calcutta remains. Does Mr. Nehru want to make a gift of that great Indian City to Communist China? He knows that his country cannot resist China alone. He knows that China is not alone, like India. How long will he go on deceiving his countrymen and to what end? Let him put his hand upon his heart and answer.

But it is not for Mr. Nehru alone to answer that question. Every educated Indian has to answer that

question. If Mr. Nehru in his wilfulness will not answer that question properly, we Indians can make him respond to that question to our satisfaction for it is only through the Prime Ministership of India that he can play the game he wants to play in world affairs. He has to hold on to it at all costs. For, without it, even his flashes of temper would be just "sound and fury signifying nothing," and he himself will be very near that quantum. Our peril is plain as pikestaff. Only the blind can fail to see it.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY AND AGENCIES PRESSED INTO SERVICE AT THE CONGRESS "TAMASHA" AT BHAVNAGAR

The way Government property and Government personnel and agencies were pressed into the service for the Congress sessions at Bhavnagar make a mockery of democracy and parliamentary government in the country. The Congress sessions was the affair of ONE of the political parties in the country, YET Government property and Government agencies were freely availed and used for the "tamasha."

Over 36,000 corrugated iron sheets were obtained "on loan" from the PWD of the Gujarat State. These corrugated sheets are in short supply, and very difficult for the needy citizens to get. In addition to these sheets, the organisers of the Congress sessions also obtained 180 tons of nails from the PWD. Whether this material will be returned back to the PWD or not is another question. More likely the material will go into black market.

Another example of how Government agencies were pressed into the service is the supply of pure, clean milk from Anand and Bombay in Government State Transport trucks and lorries. As if this was not sufficient, the Municipality of Bhavnagar has supplied free of cost over 5000 feet of pipes for laying the drainage system of the temporary township.

While all these years the Gujarat State Transport authorities had no money to replace the old and decrepit buses, brand new buses were ordered for the session numbering 2000. Where did the State Transport get this money all of a sudden?

Similarly all these years the small municipalities of Gujarat have been demanding fire extinguishers, but the Government pleaded paucity of money to buy them, BUT the PWD of the Gujarat State managed to supply a large number of fire extinguishers for the sessions.

While the Bhavnagar Municipality had lent the land for the sessions on a nominal rent, the Congress authorities were careful to charge the temporary Post and Telegraph Office Rs. 4000 for the short period.

And to top all this hypocrisy, there was an exhibition of Khadi and village industries, which was supposed to be run on "no-profit" basis, and YET the different States that had their Stalls were charged exorbitant rents for them. When one points out these cases of exploiting their power, the Congressmen have a ready answer. They state that it was the Government Departments that "voluntarily" offered all the material and the services! Can brazen-facedness and hypocrisy go further?

—J. K. D.

February 1, 1961

Collapse Of Foreign Policy

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

THERE are signs at last that our foreign policy is losing its flamboyant note and returning to the service of the interests of the country. On Congo, there has been an unusual silence and though this may be connected with the demand that Rajeshwar Dayal should be recalled by the U.N., it is probably realised that his position has been prejudiced by the incessant statements against the government in power, which our Prime Minister and Defence Minister have been making. On Laos, the Prime Minister has for once disagreed with the communist proposal, emanating from Cambodia and agreed with Canada that there should be a three power Commission of Inquiry. On Nepal, the earlier indignation against the King has weakened, though the Prime Minister still talks about the set back to democracy and is taking no action against the speakers and the Press for making statements, forbidden by the Law, against the security of a foreign government.

What has jolted our foreign policy is first Burma's agreement with China on its boundary, which not only compromises the McMahon Line on which we have been taking our stand but also concedes some land, which we claim to be ours. This is rather an unkind cut, as we have been nursing Burma, not only with the sacrifice of the interests of our nationals, but with cancellation of crores of loans and the grant of more crores as loans. Secondly, the report that Pakistan is settling her boundaries with China has struck us in two ways, first that China and the communist world are recognising the occupation of Kashmir by Pakistan and second that by settling the McMahon Line with other countries, China is isolating us in respect of the substantial area of 12,000 square miles, which it has occupied.

The last straw has been the statement of the Chinese Prime Minister that we are agitating the boundary dispute to get foreign aid from capitalist countries. The Prime Minister has indignantly repudiated this, overlooking the statements, first of Rajaji that we are obtaining foreign aid through blackmail in the East-West conflict and second, the numerous statements made by Ministers and officials, in India and abroad that without foreign aid, India will go communist.

The first indication of change of policy was given by the resolution of the Bhavnagar Congress that the territory occupied by China would be reclaimed. Next came the statement from the Defence Minister, most surprising after his ardent partisanship with China in whatever it was doing, that its policy was "stupid," that "it cast doubts on the whole concept of co-existence" and that it imposed "military burdens on us which must militate against our rapid advance of economic and social democracy." And lastly, the Prime Minister has just admitted that there is no prospect of settling our boundary claims in the foreseeable future and that regarding the boundaries of Sikkim and Bhutan, China refuses to admit our interest. Matching this is the statement of the Prime Minister that our differences with the U.S. were narrowing down and will do more so as the new Pre-

sident is tuned in to India's needs. All this seems so undignified that a balance sheet of foreign policy since Independence deserves to be made.

We began with Kashmir, where according to Mr. Shiva Rao, we are spending 45 crores annually to appease the Muslim population and according to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, we are spending 150 crores on armed forces to contain that population. We then took over the administration of Pondicherry, without securing so far the de jure transfer. In Goa, we were repulsed, losing at the same time our trade and foreign exchange. In all disturbances in Egypt and the Near East, we ostentatiously arrayed ourselves against western countries, even while taking their loans and aid. When Hungary and Tibet were raped, our voices were muted, on the policy that communists can do no wrong. On Congo, Cuba, we were content to echo the communist tunes. We have accumulated resentment in capitalist countries, which even if concealed because of the urgency of the East-West conflict, is beginning to tell, as we ourselves are getting into difficulties. The tradition of this country for truth above everything else, has been imperilled, for the petty gain of limelight for our leaders and the monetary gains of aids and loans for state enterprises, which have not paid their way so far.

To our nationals in other countries, our foreign policy has been destructive of rights which they had before. From the very countries, we befriended, like Ceylon and Burma, they are being squeezed out by Registration taxes and other means. In Africa, the independence we are backing is boomeranging on our nationals, who being identified with foreign rulers, are being deprived of their means of livelihood. In fact, the condition of our nationals is better in South Africa, where they have at least the semblance of law to protect them. At the same time, from a false sense of our importance, the emigration of our workers to other countries, where in the past, they have risen to positions of wealth and importance, has been stopped, adding to our problem of overpopulation.

Our protectionist attitude is also recoiling on us. The Common Market is shutting the whole of Europe to our exports. In the Commonwealth and America, the communication of our trade, implied in our State Trade Corporation, is drying up goodwill and consequently our exports.

Our economic policy of government loans for State Enterprises, is creating a new bondage for the country. We have dissipated 650 crores of our sterling balances and added 2000 crores of foreign debt for State Enterprises, which have displaced foreign investment in equal, if not greater volume, without taxing and indebting the common people. In addition, the hundreds of crores of P.L. 480 funds available to U.S.A. for expenditure in the country, constitutes a loss not only of our economic freedom but also possibly of our political freedom. With all our talk of avoiding strings, we have only succeeded in strangulating ourselves, with commitments, we may not be able to keep.

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The Indian Libertarian Rationalist Supplement

Ellen Roy

By S. Ramanathan

ELLEN ROY'S tragic end has cast a gloom over the intellectual life of India. Not only Rationalists and Humanists but the general reader, who thinks of the country's predicament and the many problems in which we are involved, has been used to get help and sustenance from the clear vision and the fertile ideas of Ellen Roy expressed in her many articles to the Press. She was certainly holding aloft the banner of radical thinking unfurled by her husband Com. M. N. Roy. But it was not mere wifely loyalty by which Ellen Roy will be remembered. It is rather by the brilliance of her own specific achievements in radical thinking. She was a devoted wife and kept constant company with Com. Roy during his adventurous life in many countries. During the present writer's tour in Europe he met many professed Communists who had a high regard for Com. Roy's wife. At the time when the Communist Press was full of criticism and abuse of Com. Roy in the most foul language, individual Communists could be found in every country who had the greatest respect and admiration for Com. Roy. Such a contradiction in the attitude of the Communists is quite usual. Even though they are compelled to vote for the party line they have their own mental reservations and in private conversation express admiration and respect for those who differ from the party line. Formerly Roy was a member of the Supreme Executive of the Communist International, the ECCI. He was in sole charge of the direction of affairs of the Chinese revolution from the Head Quarters of International Organisation. But later on Stalin and Roy fell out as to the direction the Chinese revolution took and hence Roy was out of favour and he had to give up his place in the ECCI and was obliged finally to leave Russia and take shelter in foreign countries. He had to face most unfair and hostile criticism of the Communist World Press. When he came subsequently to India and was imprisoned by the British administration the Communist Press said that he was working in collusion with the British Imperialists and even his imprisonment was a pre-meditated affair calculated to increase his prestige among the masses of India. During all these troublesome times Ellen Roy kept close touch not only with Roy's life but also with the cause which he advocated. It is no wonder that Ellen threw herself into the task of continuing Roy's ideas after his death.

Ellen Roy devoted her life to the prodigious effort of publishing all the manuscripts that Roy left

at the end of his life. With that object in view she travelled abroad and collected data from many countries. It was a task for which she was fully qualified But it may not be continued after her death because there is no one qualified and interested enough to carry on that work. In that respect the country has lost a great deal because Roy's death was premature and he left many fruitful ideas not fully expressed.

Ellen Roy boldly came forward to edit the **Radical Humanist** journal founded by her husband. Let us hope that Mr. Sibnarayan Ray who has collaborated with her in carrying on that arduous task will continue the journal although Ellen Roy is no longer with him to share the burden. All those devoted to



Mrs. Ellen Roy & Mr. S. Ramanathan, Joint Editors of Rationalist Contribution, Trichy

Roy's memory are bound to help him in the undertaking.

The future of the Renaissance Institute built up by Roy is a different matter. It is a cultural centre, a research laboratory for new ideas, equipped with all the tools which an investigator in the realm of political thinking requires. What an investigator most needs is not merely the access to the books and periodicals but a living personality who inhabits the institute so as to inspire and actively guide his research. Whether such a personality can be found to inhabit the Institute at Dehra Dun is a question for anxious investigation by all Radical Humanists.

The bearing of Rationalism to Roy's version of the philosophy of conduct which he termed "Radical Humanism" is most patent. Roy's Humanism is based upon materialism which is now known as Naturalist Humanism. There is no difference whatever between Roy's Radical Humanism and Naturalist Humanism as defined by Corliss Lamont or Henry Hawton, both of whom are opposed to super-naturalism. There is no place for god, heaven or soul in either philosophy. That is why most Rationalists in the world to-day have no objection to join the camp of Naturalist Humanists although they feel ill at ease

with the strange company they have to keep of people who call themselves religious. But that is the way in which a movement grows. We have to talk in strangers and we have to struggle hard with the and convert them to our point of view. That is the way we march from strength to strength. Com. Roy was one of the founder members of the Indian Rationalist Association. At the suggestion of Dr. Paranjpy Roy was elected as one of our Vice-Presidents and he continued in that place of honour till his death. He was requested to open the Tenali session of the Indian Rationalists' Convention. He was unable personally to be present on the occasion, but his address was printed into a pamphlet and read on the occasion. Ellen Roy stepped into the place of her husband and supported the Indian Rationalist Association. She opened the Meerut session of the Rationalist convention and she presided over the Bombay session. A photograph taken at the Bombay session of Ellen Roy is published in this issue.

What the future holds in store for the Rationalist movement and for the Radical Humanists it is difficult to say in these troubled and confusing times. There is no doubt that they will sail together, each supporting the other, or they will merge into a common organisation.

What Is Materialism ?

by A. D. Howell Smith

*New physical theories have not discredited
the essentials of philosophical materialism*

IS materialism a metaphysical system? Metaphysics is supposed to be concerned with ultimates, with the nature of the substance or substances underlying phenomena. The term 'phenomena' is of Greek origin and means 'appearances'. Kant distinguished between 'phenomena' and 'noumenon' ('thing thought of', what was intuited under the veil of the seeming). The noumenon was the 'thing itself' (Ding An Sich).

Should we regard this Ding An Sich as matter or mind? Or is it a mere will-of-the-wisp of metaphysics?

The positivist looks askance at all ultimates. The quest for the meaning and source of space-time phenomena seems to him an idle attempt to transcend the limits of the human mind.

The majority at any rate of modern so-called materialists are phenomenalists, untroubled by the idea of 'matter' behind phenomena.

Reflection on the data of experience discovers only phenomena, interconnected by space and time, whose measurements, as Einstein seems to have proved, vary with 'the frame of reference'. The space-time continuum is a concatenation of events. There is no static here or now.

Phenomenal processes cannot be conceived as a totality with absolute past and future terminations.

Beginning and end are arbitrarily selected points of change within the processes.

MIND AND MATTER

One may say that the universe consists of extended structures of various durations, which change continually in an unbroken sequence. These structures can also be looked on as systems of energy. Since energy increases with the increase of mass, matter and energy must be different aspects of the same reality. What under one set of conditions is matter under other conditions is energy.

Mind is a quality of certain space-time phenomena, their inner or subjective aspect. Subject is what we are to ourselves, and object is what we are to others. We feel pain and pleasure. But another cannot share our feelings. It is from our behaviour that he judges our feelings to be comparable with his. Somewhere down the scale of life the subjective ceases to be inferable or even imaginable. And when we cross the borders of the organic it is hardly possible to surmise the presence of a subject. But we as subjects are universally confronted with objects.

The anti-materialist asks: 'How can thought be identical with operations of the brain?' The stomach produces gastric juice and the liver bile, which serve the purpose of digestion. The heart is a pump which circulates blood. But thought is not an acid or a fluid.

WHAT IS THOUGHT?

The mind is the seat of consciousness, which comprises more than thought. Prior to thought arise sensations and feelings. The five senses have their appropriate physical organs, which are controlled by centres in the brain. Seeing is a part of consciousness, and is a function of the eye as digestion is a function of the stomach. Feeling is a function of the nervous system, which the brain controls.

And what is thought? The most highly developed mind, a Newton's or an Einstein's, possesses no data of thought that cannot be traced to data of sense. Abstract thinking is built up of verbal signs, all of them derived from sense impressions. Unless we deny that sense data are received and integrated by the organs of sense from an environment objective to them, and are converted into awareness in the brain, we must grant that the brain organizes sense data into thought, and controls the bodily expressions of feeling and thinking.

If the human mind is a spiritual entity, alien to matter, this must be true of sub-human minds. We cannot follow Descartes in regarding all creatures other than ourselves as unconscious machines. His logic would lead us to the camp of the behaviourists, who either deny consciousness or refuse to take into account as an explanation of any animal functioning.

If the mind and brain are two disparate substances, how can we explain the effects of drugs and lesions? Drugs alter character as well as injure the body. A lesion of the brain may turn an honest body into an arrant thief, whose good conduct is restored by surgery. Physical decay may change genius to idiocy.

Locke denied the existence of innate ideas. Prior to communication with the world of sense and informed minds the mind of the baby is like 'white paper'. But without ideas a mind cannot exist. A foetus has no mind. The rudiments of mind come with first sense impressions. It is ideas that constitute the mind. Locke confuses mind with the physical basis of mind.

IDEALIST THEORIES

Philosophical materialism is simply the idea of the universe as an evolutionary whole, of the continuity of all phenomenal transformations, of the linking, throughout time and space, of the organic with the inorganic. The materialist has not reached his *Weltanschauung* by intuition, but as the fruit of long induction, based on masses of well-tested facts. The antithesis of subject and object is implied in action as well as thought.

Idealism argues that the mind creates ideas out of its own substance, which has contact with an infinite and eternal mind (God). There is no non-mental world to provide the raw material for ideas.

A contemporary of Queen Anne, Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, denied that the mind had a non-mental environment. Matter was only the sum total of sense impressions. True, the world does not cease to be when we fall asleep or die. The infinite mind, the creator of all finite minds, continues to maintain

in his consciousness the matter that is lost to us. We are thinking God's thoughts after him.

In Berkeley's opinion man is not part of God, though wholly dependent on him. Thus he avoided pantheism, which would be scandalous in an Anglican bishop. Man has, or rather is, a soul. Do sub-human animals possess souls? Shall we draw the dividing line between mind and matter at the vertebrates? If invertebrates are brought into the same category of soul as the vertebrates, must we not go further? Is the vegetable world only a mirroring of God's thoughts in ourselves? If soul, or some rudiments of mind (let us say 'potential mind') can be assigned to every order of living things, does the barrier between the organic and the inorganic remain rigid? Unless we merge all things, including ourselves, in God as God's modes of consciousness—the pantheism of Hinduism—we must regard all phenomena as substances distinguishable from God. Berkeley's idealism, and indeed all forms of idealism, is impossible for a consistent evolutionist.

MODERN MATERIALISM

The idealist says that when we see one object red and another yellow these colours are creations of our minds. But why do objects appear differently coloured? Because, say the physicist, their different composition causes different light-waves to reach us. We notice changes in them because, not only we, but they change.

Conceptions of matter are not what they were for the physicists of less than a hundred years ago. Atoms are no longer thought of as a sort of minute, hard, impenetrable billiard balls, but have been transfigured into complex systems of energy.

The electron is not a conceivably measurable substance. It is described as an electric charge, not a substance carrying an electric charge.

We can form no mental picture of an electron. We find it almost impossible to think of 'waves of probability' in no space-filling medium, or none with definable properties, since the 'ether' of pre-Einsteinian physics has disappeared from science. But we can devise mathematical equations that permit us to experiment with sub-atomic phenomena. If the atom is material, its constituents cannot be immaterial, as certain idealists argue. How could we make atom bombs out of what does not belong to matter?

The earliest exponents of materialism in Europe, Democritus and Epicurus, resolved the whole universe into 'atoms and void'. We have learned very much since then of 'the nature of things'. But modern materialism is in harmony with the old cruder formulations. The materialist strives to 'see life steadily and see it whole'. One may speculate about inconceivable modes of being in other worlds. But the plodding, testing, experimental work of science is the only way of progress, and the materialist—an unfortunate name—seeks no other way. The anti-materialist, religious or irreligious, must think in terms of space-time phenomena, however much his imagination may transfigure the cosmos.

— The Humanist.

Humanism, Science And Rationalism

By R. C. TRAILL

PRIMITIVE man in tribal society is surrounded on every hand by superstition, and he practices magical ritual which, ostensibly to him, controls his environment for his benefit. It does not of course have any such effect, but we should not therefore condemn it as useless: while having no objective effect on nature it does have a subjective effect on him, and maintains the tribal structure without which he would be just an animal on a level with other animals. The tribe, and the beliefs that hold it together, are all that he has to preserve his human status.

As the tribe emerged into a class society, magic and ritual were taken over by the priestly caste, and put to use to maintain their special status. Such a society is well represented by ancient Egypt.

A rational, naturalistic attitude to the world was first developed by the Ionian Greeks; Cornford writes: "The Milesian system pushed back to the very beginning of things the operation of processes as familiar and ordinary as a shower of rain. It made the formation of the world no longer a supernatural but a natural event. Thanks to the Ionians, and to no one else, this has become the universal premise of all modern science." To later Greeks, especially those concerned with maintaining the structure of the principal city states in Greece proper, based as they were on slavery, such ideas were disruptive, and a theistic view was actively encouraged.

Christianity developed out of Judaism, which had helped the struggle of Jewish nationalism against enslavement by neighbouring powers; and carried this struggle forward into the new conditions under the Roman empire, until it was astutely bought out by Constantine. Neither religion contributed appreciably to science, but they did contain important humanitarian ideas otherwise unknown at the time, such as the Sabbath day of rest, and the commandment against murder.

In Britain, catholicism, the religious counterpart, companion, and upholder of feudalism, was replaced by a militant protestantism, which for centuries rightly regarded catholicism as the enemy of its new-found liberty and individualism. Though modern science was born soon after the rise of protestantism its real development awaited the rise of industries following the industrial revolution. Rationalism arose at the same time; by making man the centre of interest it inherited the mantle of humanism, and by using the results of science and criticism as tools it became more firmly established theoretically, and can justly lay claim to the title of scientific humanism. This is not to suppose that rationalists as such are scientists, though a large proportion of scientists tends to take up a rationalist position, in their scientific work at least, and very often in their private beliefs.

While the defeats it has suffered in the battle of ideas has caused religion to retreat everywhere it is

still very strong and officially encouraged because it is still needed to give support to powerful people (even our so-called secular Federal Government managed to give material aid to the British and Foreign Bible Society by making land available free for its Canberra offices). And seemingly any religion is better for this purpose than none, for the protestant militancy that once defied Rome has given place to a complacent acceptance of the flirtation with Rome by highly placed persons in the state.

What of the future of rationalism, or scientific humanism? We shall continue to affirm the place of man in the centre, not indeed of the universe as in the middle ages, but of our purposes, so that what is of benefit to man on earth will be good to us, and what is of no benefit will be rejected. But we must mean by man not just one class or nation, or even a group of nations, but all human beings on the earth. Before the last century it was possible to maintain that only a few could benefit from the limited resources available, and that the majority must needs go without but with the expansion of economic life brought about by the industrial revolution, and the scientific revolution of to-day, it becomes more and more apparent that we can extend the world's benefits to all. This change in outlook made the birth of rationalism possible; and, when we have learned how to complete our new industrial revolution, it will make possible also a true humanism in which each man is really free to develop himself to his own ends.

How such a practical humanism is to be achieved is a political matter, and rationalists will not all agree on the steps we should take. This then must set the boundary to what we, as a movement, can achieve under present conditions, though it need not set a boundary on our discussions. We are however agreed that it must be achieved by the use of rational thought, based on the best available scientific evidence, and free from the shackles of religious prejudice, which, rooted in the past, tries to hold us back in the past, to prevent change, in the interest of this or that group; and to frustrate the expectations of millions in the benefits that science and industry could heap upon us.

—The Rationalist

BELIEF IN GOD, A VAIN, EMPTY THING

"Is there a single one of the teachers of the Brahmanas versed in the three Vedas who has seen Brahma face to face?"

"No indeed, Goutama."

"The talk of these Brahmins turns out to be ridiculous, mere words, a vain and empty thing. Is this not a case, Vasettha, of a man falling in love with a woman whom he has not seen?"

—From "Buddha and his Dhamma"
by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

After Nehru, Who and What ?

By Sumanth Bankeshwar

EVER since the question "After Nehru, who and what?" was posed to the public, none has come forward offering himself or suggesting others for the post of Premiership. The question has remained unanswered, with no one expressing his willingness to step into Panditji's shoes. It is no honour to Panditji that there is no one ready to shoulder his responsibility in this big and great country. Are we all with one exception a damned set of useless and worthless people?

Dazzled by the spectacular 'achievements' of the military regime in Pakistan and the widely advertised imaginary achievements of Red China, India is in a questioning mood. The Democratic socialism of Pandit Nehru has failed miserably. He is too democratic to apply the stick and too socialist to offer the carrot with the result that the wretched donkey of his democratic socialism does not move. His economic thinking appears to suffer from this type of contradiction. Economic confusion is the breeding ground of totalitarian ideas. The people of India are now impatient for progress. Quick progress being the supreme objective of our people now, they are slowly losing their faith in the delicate and slow-growing plant of Democracy. The current mood of our people is favourable to Communist as well as military dictatorship. Nasser's revolution in Egypt, General De Gaulle's take-over in France, General Ayub's revolution in Pakistan and the Communists' revolution in China have all driven home the conviction among our people that dictatorship is the master remedy for all political ills our country is afflicted with.

The success of democracy in India, encircled by countries ruled by Military dictatorship and Communist dictatorship, will depend upon our ability to resist the totalitarian ideas spreading from across our borders and our ability to promote an economic revolution over a short span of years, preserving our democratic debut in tact. Democracy in India is now on trial, facing increasing pressure from the challenge of communism on one hand and military dictatorship on the other.

It is not difficult to forecast the future of India after Nehru. As India is young politically, there seems to be only one of the two developments after Nehru; a military rule or a communist regime, following complete chaos on account of a mass uprising. The people of India having lost their faith and con-

(Continued from page 8)

The whole key to our foreign policy is in our internal policy. Let us live within our means, with projects we can finance ourselves or with private foreign capital which is now becoming surplus from the recession in most countries and is all too ready to find new markets. At the same time, the pathological desire for limelight on the part of our leaders must no longer be permitted indulgence in the affairs of other countries, when our own affairs demand all the attention we can give them.

fidence in their political parties and leaders, and consequently in Democracy too, might turn to the army to clear up the mess made by politicians or go Red.

The heterogenous Congress party will disintegrate into its respective components after Nehru. The extreme left will join hands with the Communists, the rightists might align themselves with the Swatantra Party and the rest with the P.S.P., with the opportunists of course shifting their loyalty frequently as a particular situation demands.

After Nehru, a loose and unstable ministry with little prospect of carrying the country forward might be formed. It is at this stage that the Communists might try to take over by their clever manoeuvres and united front tactics. In the circumstances, our politically conscious and patriotic army might intervene to save the country from disintegrating and utter ruin and to bring the nation back to sanity. That our armed forces are patriotic and self-conscious of their potential role in shaping destiny of the country is clear from the revolt of the E.N.A. and the R.N. mutiny.

When the politicians go mad with lust for power, when the nation is threatened with external aggression and internal disruption and is unprepared to meet such a threat and when the nation is on the verge of complete and utter ruin, a strong military rule inspired by patriotic and democratic spirit might become imperative, not permanently but till the nation is brought back to sanity. The motive of the army must not be to impose its dictatorship on the people, but to unite the country and restore democracy after liquidating all anti-national and anti-social disruptive and totalitarian forces, and cleaning the Augean stables cluttering the country. It must then plan for true democracy, hold free election and hand over power to the party which wins at the polls.

With all the essential requirements for a dictatorship obtaining here—economic confusion, the sharpening of class distinction, the fall in our standard of living to a level exciting pity and evoking the charity of richer countries, mounting mass unemployment, soaring food prices, wide-spread poverty, ruthless scramble for office of politicians, their ever changing shifting loyalties, their intrigues, dissensions and conflicts as the recent developments in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Mysore demonstrate, wide-spread corruption, nepotism, inefficiency, waste, red-tape and indiscipline, meaningless agitations and stupid Satyagrahas by idle politicians, a sharp fall in public esteem for all politicians, especially for holders of ministerial office, contempt for politicians, public apathy, nefarious activities by black marketeers, smugglers and hoarders, anti-national activities by agents of foreign powers, threat of external aggression and internal disruption—the way is already open for a dictator and the army might supply one not after Pandit Nehru but even during his regime.

The recent happenings in some of the Assam, African and Middle East countries are a warning to both the politicians and people of our country.

Is There A Soviet Colonialism ?

COLONIALISM has come to mean the seizure and the domination of a smaller or weaker nation against the will of the majority of its inhabitants by the military force or the political agents, or both, of a larger and stronger power.

There are and have been different degrees of colonialism. The most enlightened colonialism pursues the political, economic and strategic goals of its policy by fostering a certain degree of consent to colonial rule. It fosters consent by advancing education, economic development, public administration and civic order more effectively than the indigenous authorities did. Enlightened colonialism is self-liquidating because it inculcates in the colonial peoples a familiarity with the techniques and the desire for self-government.

At the other end of the scale of desirability in colonialism is the policy of colonialism in perpetuity. This brand of colonialism does not respect local tradition, but tries to eliminate it in order to deprive the people of their roots and to make them permanently submissive to the dominant power. Colonialism in perpetuity seeks irrevocably to locate authority in the capital of the colonial power. It uses as its agents local citizens who have completely transferred their allegiance to the colonial power. It makes no provision for the evolution of self-government. On the contrary, it in effect incorporates the colonized country into the colonizing power in all but name—and sometimes in name.

Without attempting to judge what degree of colonialism the Soviet Union practices, it is safe to say that there is a highly developed Soviet colonialism. The examples of it abound.

1. The Soviet Union in 1945 incorporated the independent Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by overrunning them militarily. The consent of these three Baltic people to their transformation into citizens of the USSR was never given—nor ever asked.
2. In Hungary, the anti-Communist Smallholders Party received 57 per cent of the vote in 1945 and the Communist Party received only 17 per cent. Marshal Voroshilov (later President of the USSR) as chairman of the Allied Control Commission compelled the Smallholders to include the Communists in the government and to give the Communists control of the Ministry of the Interior and the police. With the support of Soviet troops and officials, the Hungarian Communists used the police power to destroy the anti-Communists political parties. In May, 1949, the Communists received 95 per cent of the vote. When the Hungarians rebelled in 1956 against Soviet and Communist domination of their country, Soviet tanks crushed them.
3. In Bulgaria in August, 1947, the Communists under Moscow's instructions executed the fa-

mous leader of the Agrarian Party, Nikola Petkov. According to the British Royal Institute of International Affairs, "after Petkov's execution the mopping-up operations for the final destruction of all non-Communist political forces were quick to follow. By the summer of 1948, not a single Bulgarian democratic leader remained at liberty. Some were tried for 'economic sabotage' and 'reactionary propaganda' and were given prison sentences. Others were arrested and interned without any trial." Moscow has completely controlled Bulgaria ever since.

4. In Czechoslovakia, the Communists under the shadow of Soviet guns got 37.9 per cent of the vote in May, 1946. In March, 1948, a Communist coup d'etat was masterminded by the Soviet Ambassador, Pushkin. In May, 1948, the single Communist list presented to the voters received 89 per cent of the ballots—but 800,000 Czechs still left their ballots blank in protest.
5. In Poland, as in other Eastern European countries, the Socialists were forced by the Soviets to make common cause with the Communists. Wladyslaw Gomulka, a Communist who believed that the Party could succeed only if it were more responsive to Polish conditions than to Moscow's instructions, was purged and put under house arrest in 1948. When the 1956 upheaval in Poland called Gomulka to power, Khrushchev tried to crush him. The attempt failed because the Poles were determined to fight, and Khrushchev felt he could not afford another Hungary. Since 1956, Moscow has exerted economic and military pressure to prevent the Poles from acting with genuine independence.
6. In East Germany, 22 Soviet Army divisions keep the Communist regime in office. Several hundred thousand East Germans flee to West Germany every year. The 1953 East German revolt was put down by the Soviet military forces.
7. In North Korea, the Soviet Union in 1950 instructed the North Koreans to attack South Korea. The resultant war devastated the country. The USSR and Communist China have not been very energetic in the reconstruction of North Korea. The U.S. has amply aided the reconstruction of South Korea.
8. In Guatemala, the Soviet Union trained and aided the Communist regime of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz. When a revolt against Arbenz arose in 1954 the USSR sent Arbenz one shipment of arms. It gave him inadequate aid and he was deposed by the anti-Communists who had the enthusiastic support of all strata of the Guatemalan population.

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DELHI LETTER

China Has Given Notice: Menon Gives The Green Light

(From Our Correspondent)

AT a Press Conference in New Delhi on January 18 Mr. Nehru said that it was "wrong" on the part of Pakistan to agree to discuss with China the question of demarcating the "Azad Kashmir" border. Mr. Nehru has got into the habit of paternally describing other people's actions and methods as "wrong" and those of his own as "right" and "proper." For instance, at the same Press Conference he dismissed the Bastar issue by saying that "proper steps" would be taken to deal with it. For a man who holds the record for political blunders—and that is using a very mild word for his deeds—it is perhaps only natural for him to try to give the impression that whatever he does is always right and proper. Statesmen of other parts of the world do what they deem proper, but Mr. Nehru always does what is proper. And that makes all the difference in the world between Mr. Nehru and others, leaving infallibility as the undisputed monopoly of Jawaharlal Nehru.

There were persistent questions on this subject but the Prime Minister was reluctant to answer them because, as he sharply reminded a correspondent, its discussion in public did not help matters. It certainly will not help the Prime Minister who, since the death of his great father, i.e., as soon as he occupied the paternal gaddi, has been marching from blunder to blunder, mainly because he cannot anticipate what is staring him in the face. But let us not be uncharitable, for love of power—and love is proverbially blind—will not let him see what is staring him in the face. And now a place on the Summit, so affectionately offered by his friend Khrushchev, blinds him to the dangers his actions and policies are inviting for his country. But then what is the country weighed in the balance against JAWAHARLAL NEHRU?

CHINA'S NOTICE

He said that Pakistan's reported decision to discuss with China a border "about which they do not

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9. In Cuba, the USSR has urged Premier Castro into a succession of increasingly hostile steps against the U. S. However, the USSR has not begun to make up the economic losses to the Cuban people that have been entailed by the policies which it recommended to Castro.

These aspects of Soviet colonialism could all be discussed in much more detail. This short summary will, however, suffice to make clear that Soviet colonialism does exist and to identify some of the characteristics of Soviet colonialism.

— American Committee for Liberation.

know much" has caused India not serious concern but only some "irritation." And properly enough, inasmuch as there is little sense in feeling seriously concerned about a territory which India gifted away to Pakistan more than ten years ago and which has been repeatedly offered to Pakistan as the basis of an agreement on Kashmir. But what should cause our Prime Minister some concern is the fact that India is being isolated by China in her border dispute and China will soon be able to say that she has peacefully settled all her border disputes except the one with India, adding that India alone remains intransigent. In fine, India is being outmanouevred by China at every step.

As regards the Chinese attitude, Mr. Nehru's "impression" was that in the past when India referred to that portion of the border, China was not keen to discuss it and "we did not press the matter." Quite understandable was the want of keenness on the part of China to discuss with India territory in the occupation of Pakistan, territory which Mr. Nehru has amply made clear he is not anxious to recover. But Mr. Nehru indicated that another sector of their border which the Chinese were "not anxious" to discuss with India was the one touching Sikkim and Bhutan. After this Mr. Nehru should not be able to say that the Chinese have not given him notice of their intentions. In fact the Chinese have refused to acknowledge—that is what it comes to—that Sikkim and Bhutan are part of India. That is an aspect of the matter which does not appear to have received the attention it deserves from our (pseudo?) patriotic Press. Mr. Nehru is in the habit of ignoring inconvenient facts—a very good habit, indeed, for inviting trouble without making preparations to meet it. But is the Indian Press also, in its zeal to support the Prime Minister and earn his goodwill, to ignore inconvenient facts and lull the people to sleep soundly in the belief that all is right with India?

Making an assessment of India's policy of non-alignment at a meeting in New Delhi, Mr. Krishna Menon made the stupid observation that China's "stupid" policy underlying her incursion into Indian territory had given rise to doubts on the whole concept of co-existence and strengthened "the elements of reaction against progress." The Defence Minister farther said that China had "betrayed" India's friendship and made a "breach" in the relationship between the two countries. Surely our Defence Minister is highly exaggerating the situation. For his own Prime Minister has recently been talking in friendly terms of China, and the betrayal to which he refers never assumed the dimensions which could make a "breach" in the relationship between the countries. The Chinese action, he said, had created "an enormous

amount of conflict," but surely all that misunderstanding which could create a conflict was cleared by Mr. Khrushchev during his visit to India, after which it became plain to our Prime Minister that, to use the Russian Prime Minister's words, it was a friendly quarrel between two countries, and doubtless as a result of the same clarification by the Russian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, Mr. Menon's Prime Minister, referred to the Sino-Indian border dispute as a "controversy" in by far the most important speech he has recently delivered—and that too at the forum of the United Nations itself.

So all this talk of "enormous amount of conflict" between India and China is misplaced and cannot carry any conviction in China—for what is the hand-picked Defence Minister against the Prime Minister, particularly as the Defence Minister has no place in the country's politics apart from what is given to him officially by Mr. Nehru? Surely, Mr. Menon is not suffering from lapses of memory and could not have forgotten some of the major pronouncements of his Prime Minister on the subject. But let the reader take it from me—if he will not take it from the Prime Minister himself—that whatever Mr. Menon says is what Mr. Nehru wants him to say, not a word more and not a word less. He may of course dot the i's and cross the t's while drawing his coach and four through the Queen's English—a friend has remarked that that is because he is anti-British and not because of his ignorance of the English language—but that is all that he has the power to do. What Mr. Nehru does not want to say himself he makes Mr. Menon say. Surely our Prime Minister cannot go about the world insulting statesmen of the (western) world. But only a fool can believe that a minister can go about the world being rude to the great men of the world without the same coming to his Prime Minister's knowledge or without his putting his foot down on it if the same is without his consent or advice. The elections are nearing and someone has to go on talking of the enormous conflict between India and China lest the other parties steal the Congress stage thunder. So there is no essential conflict between what the Prime Minister says and what his Defence Minister says, for sometimes something is meant for the Chinese and the electors' ears and at other times what is said is meant for Mr. Khrushchev's ears, who also has to be kept pleased, for otherwise who will offer the Summit seat to Mr. Nehru? So Mr. Nehru has to keep many people pleased, including the Russian and the Chinese Prime Ministers, and, like the statesmen that they are, they understand that Mr. Nehru has to keep the elector pleased also. And they are quite content, for where else in this wide, wide world will they find another Nehru?

Mr. Menon noted during his speech that the Soviet Union had made no statement against India on the border issue. "I am certain," he said, "that when it comes to the issue, the USSR would do everything she can to resolve it." Here Mr. Menon is slightly mistaken, for the Soviet Union has made the clearest possible statement against India on the border issue by showing the territory claimed by China as Chinese territory in her maps repeatedly, despite Indian protests. The Soviet Union does not need to say that

she is bound by her treaty with China to come to her aid in case China goes to war with any country. Mr. Khrushchev is reported to have told Mr. Nehru as much while he was in India and that made Mr. Nehru give up talking of the "enemy" with reference to China, as in terms of the Sino-Russian treaty, if China is our enemy, Russia is also our enemy. So the USSR has really resolved the issue and it is somewhat surprising that our Defence Minister is unaware of the fact. Or is he only pretending to safeguard the non-alignment that is so dear to him?

Mr. Menon went on to say (on behalf of his Prime Minister) that whatever might be the apprehensions with regard to our neighbours, India could not involve herself in any military alliance. India could not, because of the border conflict, afford to modify her policy of non-alignment, according to Mr. Menon, and seek military alliances with any of the power blocs. That is of course giving the green light to China and a greener light is inconceivable under the circumstances. "The day this country has a military ally," said Mr. Menon "would be the day when the end of its independence would begin." That is all very well for propaganda. But every one knows that Mr. Menon and his friends had been referring to Iskandar Mirza and Syngman Rhee as American stooges, who could not be displaced because of American military aid to their countries, but we have seen how they went without any American pretending to shed a tear for them. As our Defence Minister, Mr. Menon should realise that the end of our independence has begun. It began the day when the order was given not to shoot on the advancing Chinese. "Our troubles with China," said Mr. Menon, referring to the occupation of 12,000 square miles of our territory by China, "have only thrown into relief the virility of our (non-alignment) policy." I have referred to the Oxford Dictionary which has confirmed my impression that virility is not the same thing as impotence, while my Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms clearly says that it is the opposite of impotence. If such is our virility during the defence ministership of Mr. Menon, one is inclined to wonder what our impotence would be like at a crisis face to face with the might of Sino-Russian armour just across the border. Let us hope Mr. Menon would not be found laying the Red carpet for the advance of the Red armies.

"All that we could contribute as a military ally," says Mr. Menon, "would be to convert our country into an arsenal." And what else should it be converted into, face to face with Sino-Russian might? Why does not Mr. Menon, with the permission of Mr. Nehru, disband the army? Has any one of his many generals ever told him that we are a match for China without military aid from any country? If not, are they all fools and idiots? If so, why does he not sack them all and import some from Russia? It would indeed be a very funny situation, were it not too tragic for words. Here are our generals lamenting the need of modern weapons to be able to cope with China in case of emergency, and here is our Defence Minister decrying the need of military aid from outside! The truth is we are neither neutralist nor sitting on the fence. We are sitting far behind the fence, prepared to recede farther at the

sight of advancing Chinese. If we do not non-violently, we shall have to perforce, for lack of modern weapons which our factories cannot produce until the former become outdated. Every one knows it in India as well as in China in fact all over the world, every one who matters, except perhaps our Defence Minister. But then he hardly matters. His is not to reason why, his is but to do and die—for his job.

THE AKALI FIASCO

The Akalis find themselves divided as a result of the fast of Sant Fateh Singh, which has ended happily for all concerned except Master Tara Singh. What follows will to a large extent depend upon Sant Fateh Singh. If the two—Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh—are unable to pull together, the Akalis will find themselves divided in two camps. Even otherwise, it will be difficult for Master Tara Singh to explain what he has gained by the imprisonment of thousands of Akalis. Master Tara Singh found himself between two stools. He could not see Sant Fateh Singh die, as that might have involved unpleasant consequences for his leadership. Mr. Nehru's statement on Punjabi Suba has been so clear that the end of the agitation without the Suba being anywhere in sight has naturally provoked the Sikhs into hostility against Master Tara Singh, who has for the first time been refused hearing by his own followers, who naturally feel that they have been betrayed by their own leader. Sikh politics is getting rather involved and it will require all the Master's ingenuity to unite the knots that have been tied by the breaking of the fast of Sant Fateh Singh under the advice of the Master himself. In any case almost every admirer of Master Tara Singh among the Sikhs seems to have turned critic overnight, and whatever the gains of the agitation they are not being calculated in terms of Punjabi Suba.

Gleanings from the Press

LIBIDO DOMINANDI OF PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

Is it that the libido dominandi is misleading Sri Jawaharlal Nehru? He is not by any means happy about the ways of Congressmen. Yet he sticks to the organization and is contributing to wrong courses by making things secure for the people indulging in them. He ought to listen to the better voice within him and cut himself off from the vulgarities and the sins of this organization which is living on its past history and on the advantages derived from holding office, the latter more than the former. But Sri Jawaharlalji's better voice is stifled by the desire which like all desires feeds on itself, to dominate and be important. He is cultured enough to see the vulgarity and the littleness of such domination. He has seen greatness intimately and knows what the real stuff of greatness is and how different it is from all that now surrounds and chokes him and his better sense. Money pours into the party chest for frustrating the law. It must disgust him. How is he going to spend the money or suffer others to spend it? The People's Representation Act may as well be re-

pealed and its cobweb barrage against corrupt practices brushed out. How is he going to write the story of his life through this ugly chapter? Of course words in plenty can be drawn from the rich mother-tongue of the British people and made to cover all the shame and ugliness by subtle phrase and counter phrase. But not many will be deceived. The pity of it is that one of the most cultured and sensitive of souls has to bear this organizational cross. If he dares to extricate himself, he could, and save his sensitive inner being from pain and canosity as well as help the country out of the sure ruin that corruption threatens it with. The great responsibility of a ruling party is to be a moral force as well as a political authority. A stage has been reached when words cannot avail to hide ugliness.

—C. Rajagopalachari
in "Swarajya"

News & Views

THE TRUTH OF THE "SPY-RINGS" CAN BE TOLD NOW

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD that the two spy-rings unearthed in Delhi were BOTH Communist. Surprisingly enough one of the rings had been at work for NINE years! A Russian Third Secretary has been found to be involved. But instead of declaring him *persona non grata*, and so ordering him out, New Delhi is just REQUESTING his quiet exit! Government seems to be more particular about the Russian face than about our own security and, of course, honour.

—LAL in the "Organiser".

THE TRAGI-COMEDY OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

There was another resolution on foreign affairs (before the Congress) which showed some novelty. This expressed the hope that the Government will achieve the vacation of Chinese aggression—by negotiations, it is understood, and declared that any future aggression will be repelled—this time, it is understood, by force, and presumably if it takes place, before the nations had fully disarmed.

The resolution was so worded as to suggest to high-power interpreters an appeal to Russia, in ideological terms of her dispute with China. This is a confirmation of the guess that the Nehru strategy in defending India against China is to rely upon Russia.

How disconcerted the Prime Minister must have been, then, when the Police reports about the Delhi spy-rings began to come in!

However the Congress dutifully passed the resolution asking Russia who is spying for China, to bring about the vacation of China's aggression!

—Mysladia

PEKING HEAPS MORE HUMILIATIONS ON INDIA

London: India protested to Peking six weeks ago but did not publicize the protest—against the re-

cent Sino-Burmese Treaty to extend its encroachments on Indian territory.

Prime Minister Nehru made no mention of it at Sardarnagar lest there should be excitement amongst the delegates. . . . so reports the "Guardian".

Mr. Nehru, the correspondent says, is angry with Peking. . . . Harassment of the Indian staff of the Embassy at Peking is daily mounting up, with the public flogging of the Ambassador's Personal Indian Assistant on some trumped up charges, and the arrest of the Ambassador's Chinese chauffeur and the Chinese cook.

—The Indian Express.

MORE PIN-PRICKS TO NEW DELHI FROM KARACHI.

New Delhi: Grave concern is expressed at the statement of the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Manzoor Quadir, that China has accepted, in principle, Pakistan's request to have the borders demarcated between the two countries. As Pakistan has no common border with China, Mr. Quadir's reference is obviously to the portion of the boundary of the State of Jammu and Kashmir now under the occupation of Pakistan.

—The Indian Express.

CONGRESS BRAND OF "SINCERITY"

"The question of indiscipline in the Congress is more serious and has to be tackled with firmness and courage. Resolutions are passed with overwhelming majority, but the people who vote for them do not have sincere faith in them."

—Sanjiva Reddy (in his presidential speech).

THE DECLINE AND THE FALL OF THE CONGRESS

The Rs. 20-lakh "austerity" sessions of the Congress is safely over. It is a different matter that less than 1,000 out of the 4,000 delegates cared to attend the plenary sessions, and the public attendance was so thin, that the open sessions had to be held in the small Subjects Committee pandal, leaving 1,50,000 seats pandal in silent emptiness, demonstrating the decline and the fall of the Congress.

—Organiser.

NASSER'S BID TO BECOME THE NEW "CALIPH" OF ISLAM

NEW YORK: A "Voice of Islam" broadcasting station will be established in Cairo within a year and the United Arab Republic is introducing Religious Attaches into its embassies as part of a powerful, new drive by President Nasser to spread Islam Africa-wide as a spearhead for political influence.

So reports "The New York Times" Correspondent from Cairo.

Nasser will follow up reports from the various African capitals of Islamic advances at the expense of Christianity, by pursuing the argument that Christia-

nity" is "European and Western" while Islam is the "natural" faith of free Africa.

The Religious Attaches in the UAR embassies will rank with the political, economic and military officers. They will consult on social, educational and cultural questions, which Islamic institutions might help to solve.

PLANNED CHAOS ON THE "COLLECTIVE" FRONT IN U.S.S.R.

PARIS: The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, is reported to have demanded the trial, as criminals, of Soviet Communists and farm officials who magnify harvest figures and agricultural reports.

Their expulsion from the Communist Party has also been called for.

Some speakers at the Party Central Committee session have acknowledged that certain Party and state officials faked the figures for last year's output.

Latest disclosures are that two major Soviet "grain republics" and at least three cotton growing states failed to meet 1960 quotas or pledges.

Mr. Khrushchev has planned a "top to bottom" re-organisation of Soviet agriculture, reports reaching here from Moscow said.

NEHRU'S NAME NOT TO BE EXPLOITED BY TRADERS—DOES THIS RULE APPLY TO CONGRESS ALSO?

Mr. Nehru has warned the public not to exploit his name or photo for the advertisements of their wares by any trader or business concern. He further warns them that it is an offence to do so. So far so good.

Of course, the Congress Party can both use his name and his photo during the next General Elections. Neither he nor the Congress have any objection to do so. In fact, both his name and photo would be used to boost up the morale of the voters.

A thousand crimes are excused, if they are done by the Congress, that is the order of the day in the Ram Rajya of Congress conception.

THE PARTY WITH THE CRUTCHES.

Speaking at a public meeting, Dr. Lohia characterised the PSP as a Party that always wants crutches to stand on their legs. It is a lame Party, without the ballast of any political or social principles. A Party that was responsible in reviving the Muslim League once again, can go to any lengths. It is better, in the interests of the healthy public life, that this Party disappears from the Indian scene.

RS. FIVE CRORES OF EGGS CONSUMED ANNUALLY IN BOMBAY.

Believe it or not, over FOUR lakhs of eggs are daily consumed in Bombay and about 30,000 hens are daily slaughtered to satisfy the palates of the citizens of the City. These were the disclosures made by the Agricultural Minister, Mr. P. K. Sawant, at the exhibition of poultry held here recent-

ly. He added the annual consumption of eggs in the City, in terms of money, is worth Rs. FIVE crores.

Some headache for the khadi-clad "kill-joys", who have been preaching a vegetarian diet and the banning of alcoholic drinks. It is likely that the "dry" law will be followed by another enactment banning the non-vegetarian diet.

HOW TO EARN MONEY?

"Money can get you a servant but not a social worker. Money can get you a woman but not a wife. Money can get you a good bed but no sound sleep." This was the gist of a sermon preached by one of the Ministers of Maharashtra before a gathering of village peasants, gathered for an agricultural show at Marathawada.

What the worthy Minister said is partially right. BUT, what he failed to tell the yokels is how to earn money. That is a "secret" the Congress Minister knows very well. But he kept that "secret" to himself.

THE "RAMAYANA" THAT DID NOT "CLICK".

A Koli villager of Banagasu was so much impressed with the "pravachan" of "Ramayana" that he immediately decided to go into exile along with his wife, after the fashion of Rama.

If Rama's Sita was kidnapped by Ravanna, the Koli's wife preferred to elope with two strangers during the exile. She was shrewd enough also to give the slip to her kidnapers, and managed to reach her uncle's house.

The matter is now being investigated by the Police. Pity the poor Koli. He did not know when he tried to walk in the footsteps of the hero of the "Ramayana" that there were no Police nor courts in the mythical Ram Rajya of hoary India. A version of "Ramayana" in modern times that failed to "click".

THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao addressed a Book Discussion meeting on Friday 13-1-1961 at Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore.

Name of the Book: 'The Constitution of Liberty' by F. A. Hayek.

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

India, Government of: Third Five Year Plan; Draft outline.

Seton-Watson, Hugh: Neither War Nor Peace.

Hemingway, Ernest: Old Man & the Sea.

Jackson, J. Hampden: Marx, Proudhon and European Socialism.

Masters, John: Bhowani Junction.

Weber, Max: Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

Semmel, Bernard: Imperialism and Social Reform.

Rao, V. K. R. V.: Modern India.

Hovet, Thomas: Bloc Politics in the United Nations.
Roberts, David: Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State.

Jhabyala, Noshirvan H.: Law of Torts.

Agarwala, Deoki Nandan: Text Book of Hindu Law.

Surve, G. C.: Monopoly Competition and Welfare.

Singh V. B. & Saran A. K. (Ed.): Industrial Labour in India.

Galenson, Walter, (Ed.): Labour and Economic Development.

Bhatnagar, K. C. & Others: Master Guide.

Wallace, Lew: Ben-hur.

Verne, Jules: Journey to the Centre of the Earth.

Nevinson, Henry W.: Essays in Rebellion.

Fucik, Julius: Report from the Gallows.

Webb, Sidney & Beatrice: History of Trade unionism, 1666-1920.

Thompson, Kenneth W.: Political Realism and the crisis of World Politics.

Postman, Leo & Egan, James P.: Experimental Psychology.

International Economic Association: International Economic Papers No. 8.

Boffa, Giuseppe: Inside the Khrushchev Era.

Langer, Susanne K.: Introduction to Symbolic Logic.

Green, John Richard: Short History of the English People.

Green, John Richard: Short History of the English People, Vol. II.

Rao, S. R. K.: Indian Money Market.

Jain, P. C.: Industry and Labour in India.

Jain, P. C.: Agriculture and Co-operation in India.

Hansen, Alvin H.: American Economy.

Hansen, Alvin H.: Monetary Theory and Fiscal Policy.

Todman, J. C.: Power Economy in the Factory.

Hiscox, W. J.: Factory Lay-out Planning & Progress.

Boring, Edwin Garrigues & Others: Foundations of Psychology.

Mukherjee, B. B.: Agricultural Marketing in India.

Bhalla, G. S.: Indian Statistics.

Patel, P. U.: Investment & Speculation.

Dutt, R. Palme: India Today and Tomorrow.

Wright, David McCord & Others: Money, Trade and Economic Growth.

Babson, Thomas E. & Banson, David: Investing for a successful Future.

Richardson, J. Henry: Financial Aspects of Social Security.

Samuelson, Paul A. & Others: Readings in Economics.

Fry, Roland: Manual of Commercial Correspondence.

Morley, Arthur & Inchley, William: Elementary Applied Mechanics.

International Economic Association: International Economic Papers, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

Bakunin's Writings by Guy Aldred.
Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker
God and the State by Bakunin.
General Idea of the Revolution by Proudhon.
What is Mutualism by Swartz.
Causes of Business Depression by Hugo Bilgram.
Challenge of Asia by Ralph Borsodi.
Education and Living (2 vols.) by Ralph Borsodi.
Socialism by Von Mises.
Human Action by Von Mises.
The Conquest of China by Sitaram Goel.

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