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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

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EDITORIAL

THE SAD DEMISE OF MRS. ELLEN ROY

IT was with a sense of great sorrow, not unmingled with horror, that we received the news of the cold-blooded murder of Mrs. Ellen Roy, the widow of late Mr. M. N. Roy, the great Indian patriot and founder of The Radical Humanist Movement in India, at her residence at Dehra Dun on 14th December 1960. The motive behind the murder is not yet reliably known but strong rumours have it that it was a political murder. The local Police assisted by detectives are investigating into the matter and it is hoped that they will leave no stone unturned to unravel the mystery of this murder of an outstanding worker in the cause of India's freedom and her cultural and social uplift.

Mrs. Ellen Roy was born in France about 52 years ago of an American father and a German mother. With her parents she went, as a child, to Germany and had her education there. Prior to her coming to India in 1937 when she married M. N. Roy, she was well-known for her left-wing cultural and political activities. She had been for some time working as the Secretary of the European Branch of the Peasants' International and also edited a journal published by the same organisation. Mrs. Roy shared with M. N. Roy the shifting fortunes within the International Communist movement as a dissident Communist and a Radical.

On her arrival in India, she whole-heartedly plunged herself into the Radical movement started by her

husband. Along with Mr. Roy, she joined the Congress with a view to bringing about a radical change in the Congress ideology and programme. Thereafter, during the War, the Roys and their followers broke away from the Congress and founded the Radical Democratic Party which was dissolved about the year 1950. Then they founded the Radical Humanist Movement with a Humanist, Cosmopolitan and Radical approach to problems political, economic, social and philosophical, confronting not only India but the entire world. Mrs. Roy was a faithful partner of her husband in every sense of the term. After Roy's release from jail in 1936, she nursed him back to health from a serious illness with loving care and tender affection. During the hectic political life of Mr. Roy at the time of the War, she stood solidly by her husband, accompanying him wherever he went, taking down in Shorthand every word that fell from his lips at public meetings, conferences and seminars. The rich Royist literature that is available today to all lovers of philosophy, rationalism, and sane political and economic thought, would not have seen the light of the day but for the unremitting toil and rare devotion that she brought to bear on the work of collecting Roy's speeches and writings. Even after the death of her beloved husband when she felt, as she very often expressed, lonely and forlorn, she stuck up to her husband's residence determined at all costs to carry on his lofty mission. Her personal contribution to Radical Humanist thought are rich, brilliant and varied. She continued to edit the **Radical Humanist**, a weekly journal started by her husband with

great ability and credit, till the last. Lately she was occupied with the collection of the unpublished works of M. N. Roy and with the M. N. Roy Archive Projects.

We, therefore, look upon her death as an irreparable loss to India and to the Humanist movement based upon the ideal of cosmopolitanism—not the present-day fashionable cult of internationalism—rooted in the essential dignity and freedom of man as an individual and also to the Indian renaissance movement of rationalism thought and cultural enlightenment. We, as Libertarians, have much in common with the basic spirit of this Humanist movement and as such whole-heartedly associate ourselves with the grief and sorrow felt all over the country at the tragic end of Mrs. Roy's noble and dedicated life and career. We hope and trust that the great cause for which she lived and at last laid down her life will be carried forward by the devoted band of Radical Humanists who are silently but surely influencing the political and cultural thought of the country in a much greater measure than is generally admitted and recognised.

NATIONAL UNITY

IN spite of the cultural homogeneity of India and in spite of the unity of administration under the Federal Constitution underlying the States' Governments, today we are seeing the painful spectacle that political consciousness among the literate section of the people is not strong enough to prevail against parochial party and other sectional interests in the hectic race for the spoils of the democratic system.

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The ruling cliques in Assam (Congress as much as others such as the PSP) have gone the length of **conniving at, if not originating, fratricidal riots** against linguistic minorities in order to have Assam for the Assamese exclusively.

States like Bihar have imposed domicile restrictions on applicants for jobs that make nonsense of **All-India citizenship**. In Kashmir, citizens from the rest of India cannot acquire property, or enter into its administrative service, in spite of qualifications.

Leaders like Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Pant and Dr. Radhakrishnan have taken to exhortations to the **general public to respect national unity!**

But the greatest offenders against unity are these very persons in power in Government and Party! An ounce of practice is worth several tons of advice. Example is better than precept. If persons in power show unmistakably, that they prefer merit to nepotism and partisanship in every instance of giving a job, or granting a promotion in the services, the people will respond in full measure.

There are justifiable complaints that there is no justice in the administration in any State nor in the Union Government. Provincialism is running riot. A knowledgeable official said recently that in a particular case, a Minister from Bengal filled up eight out of nine high posts under his patronage with Bengalis, passing over several candidates with superior merit from other provinces.

It is said with much truth that each Ministry in the Union Government is an empire by itself; a close preserve of the provincial hangers-on of the Minister.

Cultural homogeneity is a frail thing when confronted with such flagrant injustices in the ordinary business of life.

In spite of (or in addition to) preaching national unity to all and sundry, leaders would serve the cause more effectively if they set a better example of national loyalty rising above province and party, caste and religion.

There should be one standard of judgment and patronage applicable, without discrimination among all citizens, on the basis of individual merit and qualification irrespective of the group and locality to which they belong.

This is the only way of effecting a transition from tribe to nation.

In addition to meeting out justice to individual merit cutting across province, caste, religion and every other factor irrelevant for the performance of the job in question, the leaders in office should make up their minds to fulfil the rigour of the law to the last particle when it is contravened by influential groups in party or government.

The spectacle of refusing judicial enquiry even in cases of grave rioting, resulting in the death and injury of hundreds of citizens to shield party men or

officials guilty of exceeding their powers has demoralised the people. It has destroyed the prestige and moral influence of the ruling party. The result is cynicism. Their words of exhortation have no magic on account of the lack of moral integrity in the speakers.

Culture also demands that the wrong doers should be punished.

In Assam the high-ups who are suspected of having connived at rioting have escaped punishment and even inquiry.

In the Punjab, many smugglers and other wrongdoers have been known to be under the protection of men in power. They go scot-free!

The Punjabi Subah agitators use the Gurudwaras for subversive and violent activities and political conspiracy! They shelter behind the sanctity of the sacred places.

They behave just like those Muslims who misuse their mosques for political propaganda and conspiracy sheltered by the usage that sacred places should be beyond the policeman's entry.

Danda or legal punishment is not being meted out to offenders with impartial and fearless justice. Police and military power is given to governments to use without fear or favour against law-breakers in accordance with due process of law or law established. This is part of culture. There is no use blaming cultural homogeneity when it is not supported by the enforcement of justice. Under similar circumstances, national unity will break up even in well-established national democracies like European nations. Quislings could be found in every nation. Marx teaches that class solidarity is a myth and every nation consists of two nations in reality—the rich and the poor.

OTHER FACTORS WEAKENING NATIONAL UNITY

(i) The grant of a separate Statehood to the Nagas yielding to their war-like campaigns since independence is another disrupting Factor in the Northeast.

The other Hill Tribes have lost no time to claim similar independence or Statehood. Nehru and Pant have no doubt refused it to them but have offered greater District Powers. But the leaders of the Assam Hill tribes have not accepted the refusal of Nehru. They know in their heart of hearts that they have only to take up arms to get their demand accepted!

(ii) Punjabi Subah. The stubborn agitation of the Akali Sikhs for Sikhistan has begun to tell on Nehru's nerves. He has not the hardihood and firmness to continue the Government's refusal and resistance in terms of law and order and in terms of all India Unity.

If a religious sect like the Sikhs could be given a State for reasons of firm and violent and united demand, other sects like the Veerasivas, Vaishnavas, Sankarites, Ramanujites, Madhvaites can also make up their minds to demand State of their own! There is no end to this process of disintegration!

Exhortation to the public is of no use. The leaders in party and government should adopt unitary policies and resist disintegrating agitations and demands with steeled hearts and wills. Nothing else will safeguard national unity.

The mediation of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan who visited Master Tara Singh in jail has raised speculation that the Government are going to yield in substance trying to save their faces by some disguise and saving formula.

(iii) Manipur. Manipur is a tiny State or ex-State adjoining the Naga areas between Assam and Burma and East Pakistan.

It has been reduced to a District governed by a Government of India official. They demand their old-time status of autonomous Statehood. They are right, if even the Nagas could be given a State.

They waited in deputation on the Prime Minister who expressed sympathy with their aspirations. So they are going to get their State back!

(iv) Himachal Pradesh. This area too comprised several Princely States and had a legislative assembly. They want their Statehood back now and they cannot be refused if Manipuris are to have their State back.

(v) Coorg. Coorg was an independent State administered by British Chief Commissioners before independence. After independence and before the Linguistic Reorganisation of States, it has a government of its own. Now it is reduced to a district and the Mysore Government have alienated Coorg's loyalties by harsh government and lack of sympathy. They propose to destroy the cultural and social and economic unity and prosperity of the historic little people and region by proposing to cut it up into several parts by High Dam to take water outside the State to irrigate the lands of influential people in the Mysore district. The Coorgis in despair have raised the cry of **Autonomy and Secession from Mysore State!**

(vi) Dravidistan. Tamil non-Brahmins (a section of them) have been agitating for some years for a separate State fully independent of the centre. Nothing is being done to counter-act it! No propaganda, no punishment of excesses for inciting class hatred.

(vii) Berubari. The blunder of the Prime Minister in signing away the Area of Berubari ignoring the refugee inhabitants there has united Bengal against him. The West Bengal Assembly unanimously opposed the transfer.

But now Dr. Roy has been obliged to support the honour of the Central Government and of the Prime Minister and to support officially and in the Congress party the action of the Central Government. It won't do to let the Union Government down before international public opinion. President Ayub Khan has already commented on the weakness of the Indian Government if its writ does not run in Assam and West Bengal. India cannot allow him to get away with such an insulting statement.

But formal acquiescence will not heal the breach between the Centre and West Bengal.

It is right and necessary that the blunders and even "crimes" of the Prime Minister should be exposed. But he should be punished at the polls by voting him down. But so long as he remains in office, he should be supported, especially vis-s-vis the foreigners.

LONGJU

The Chinese are reported to have evacuated the little post of Longju in NEFA on account of an epidemic. But Nehru is not prepared to occupy the place, though he had claimed that it belongs to India unmistakably.

The Prime Minister is frightened at the thought of renewed military clash with the Chinese. The leader, who preaches Fearlessness to the West vis-a-vis Soviet Russia trembles in fear at the mere thought of a clash on the border to reclaim our own piece of land, even when the enemy occupiers have left it!

The head of a government who is frightened at the prospect of using force to defend the borders of his country has no justification in occupying high office any longer. He should quit it without a moment's delay. The office of Prime Minister is not the hereditary right of any individual. It is granted by the people with a certain confidence in his capacity and willingness to defend the State. If he is unable to perform this function, he should quit in all honour and decency voluntarily in an orderly way.

GROUPISM IN CONGRESS

Groupism (as it is called) in the Congress party has exceeded all decency. Pradesh Congress members outside the legislature want to have a share in Power. They want to be in office at the time of the general elections.

(i) U.P. In the U.P. after a prolonged tussle, Dr. Sampurnanand resigned in disgust and Mr. Gupta who was twice defeated at the Polls has been installed as Chief Minister at the instance of the Prime Minister in his capacity as Congress leader! This is a bad example. The dissidents could have been asked to wait for the general elections which is but a year ahead. How can the new Ministry settle down to undisturbed fulfilment of their official responsibilities if the Damocles's Sword is but a few months ahead? Human nature being what it is, they will spend most of their energies in gathering support for themselves in the coming elections and will misuse official patronage and promises of future reward in winning support from the voters.

Democracy has been sacrificed to safeguard the prospect of Congress being returned to office in the elections. Mr. Gupta is expected to be more malleable or amenable to Congress (Nehru's) influence and more capable of winning the elections in face of stiff resistance! Dr Sampurnanand was too independent and besides was disliked by Muslims who are making resolute efforts to stage a come back in U.P. politics as part of their all India movement as connoted by the revival of the Muslim League and other communal, violent and virulent organisations like the Jamia-Islami.

(ii) Mysore. In Mysore, the dissidents who want to join the Government either in place of Jatti and

his colleagues or in addition as an expansion of the Cabinet were told by Nehru that they had better wait for the elections. But Mr. Nijalingappa and Mr. Hanumanthaiya are not to be silenced and deprived so easily. If the U.P. dissidents could be given the triumph, why not the Mysore men? The Congress President and Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastri have failed to persuade the dissident aspirants for office to cease from troubling. The latest signs are that the Cabinet will be expanded to include the persistent claimants before long. The Congress has long ago lost the capacity for any high-minded regard for the good of the people and the capacity to control its rank and file. The people will have to foot the Bill of superfluous Ministers and their establishments!

INDIA AND THE CONGO

The Prime Minister has shown once again in his speeches on the latest Congo situation that he is more neutral against the West and in favour of the Soviets than strictly impartial!

He has followed the Soviets in blaming the Belgians exclusively in staging a come-back unofficially. He has ignored the blatant interference of Russia in landing Planes and military personnel in the guise of technicians in support of Dr. Lumumba outside the UNO contrary to resolutions that the Big Powers should not do so directly. It is this that provoked the West to support Kasavubu and later Col. Mobutu to expel the Soviets. Both parties are to blame but the game was started blatantly by the Russians, who acted to use Lumumba as a Quisling, in defiance of the UNO by landing planes and men in his support outside the UNO mission.

RED PROPAGANDA THAT BACK-FIRED

Here is a comedy of errors, committed by some petty commissar, that gave the Red Police in East Germany days of sleepless nights and headaches.

Recently German farmers in Heizberg, in the Soviet occupied part of Germany, received official circulars, the contents of which made the farmers dump and confounded. They could hardly believe their own eyes. The circular stated:—

".....Farmers can, at any time, enter the agricultural production societies, and can, at any time, withdraw from them."

This news spread to all parts of East Germany like wild fire. At first, farmers in two's and three, appeared before the offices of the societies, and then a long queue presented itself in front of any societies.

But how came that he, a trusted communist "comrade," could issue such circulars and dare broadcast them to the farmers. His answer was simple. "Yes, I have issued them, BUT they were for "export"—for propaganda abroad, specially in West Germany to show how happy the East German farmers were in the collectives." Some petty clerk, in his office, had circulated them in East Germany by mistake. Of course, the petty clerk must have been fired. It was a case of Red propaganda having been back-fired.

Socialism and Inflation

By M. A. Venkata Rao

WHILE the people and those who are in close contact with them are demanding swift and effective action on the part of Government to bring about a lowering of the prices of essential commodities like food grains and cloth, official spokesmen on the highest levels speak only of holding the price line at the best. They are too fearful of dislocating current priorities and bringing trouble to those who receive benefit by any sudden reversal of financial policies. And so far as the supreme policy maker, namely, the Prime Minister is concerned, he is not convinced to the need to change his policies to give relief to the common man. He is content that the goals of rapid industrialisation cannot be attained without high sacrifices by the present generation. It is all in the game and must be borne patiently, if not with a grin!

In such a situation, it is but reasonable to demand that Government should subsidise the supply of essential commodities to those below a certain level of income.

Doing nothing to lower prices and refusing to offer relief by subsidised consumption for the many is a baffling position that the masses will not tolerate any longer.

Meanwhile critics should make it clear that even subsidies will not solve the problem satisfactorily. They are only a palliative, though no doubt necessary as a temporary measure. They have a way of becoming a permanent burden on the economy.

There is no economic alternative to the adoption of a long term policy of detente, reversing inflationary procedures decisively.

The stoppage of deficit financing altogether, the drastic curtailment of public expenditures, effective steps to increase agricultural production, a lowering of taxation levels on essential commodities and the stimulation of incentive to entrepreneurs even if it entails a modification of socialism for the time being—are all called for to halt the price line.

But even these are only temporary palliatives so long as the economy is dominated by the Government's Socialist Policy as embodied in its Five Year Plans and in its cooperativisation or collectivisation of agricultural operations being legislated for at present in many States.

Inflation and consequent high prices are inherent; it should be widely recognised in socialism of the Marxist variety adopted by the Government under the lead of the Prime Minister.

Hence neither holding the price line nor subsidies will be of any avail to counteract the distressing effects of inflation and high prices so long as current socialist policies are kept in force. It is socialism that is the head and front of the basic offence and should be attacked lock, stock and barrel if we are

earnest in bringing relief to the people and restoring the health of the economy.

Inflation consists in adding to the paper money in circulation beyond the restrictions of gold or other fiduciary backing in public expenditure beyond tax and loan resources. Prices will have reached a certain level of equilibrium by the operation of demand and supply, the demand being measured by the money supply in the hands of the public after taxation and savings, seeking purchase of goods and services. Any addition to the money supply by the Government in wrongful exercise of their monopoly of money issue (over and above taxes and loans withdrawn from public circulation) will increase the demand for goods and so increase their prices, gradually or suddenly. Inflation thus adds a powerful reinforcement to the trend towards high prices already initiated by high taxation and the proliferation of the bureaucracy and extravagant expenditure.

Such inflation can be indulged in by non-socialist governments as well. Democratic governments with demagogic politicians in charge sorely tempted to please the electorate and pressure groups by affording them "something for nothing" are prone to indulge in inflation in monetary policy more than other types of government.

But socialism is the worst offender in this respect, especially socialism of the variety we have adopted in India after the Soviet model (except for violence and formal regimentation).

For the differentia of such a socialism is the policy of nationalisation or centralisation of all economic power in the hands of the Government as a matter of faith.

Karl Marx pinned his faith on this pivotal recommendation on account of his principle of class war necessitating the abolition of the capitalist class. Nothing short of the liquidation of the class owning and managing capital can enable the working class, according to Marx, to step into its position of sovereignty which was essential according to him to assure the working class of the full benefits of machine production. All surplus value should accrue only to labour, for labour was the only source of economic value. The capital owners should be deprived of their share for this purpose which can only be done if their right to private capital is denied.

The state should take over all production, distribution, exchange and arrange for consumption by all workers in accordance with principles of mechanical efficiency. The full possibilities of mechanisation can be realised, according to Marx, only through such centralisation of economic power and privilege.

We are proceeding in significant steps along this road. The Reserve Bank, the Imperial Bank and Life Insurance are already nationalised. The State has reserved what it calls key industries—steel, trans-

port, communications, minerals, oil etc. for its own exclusive sphere in accordance with the Industrial Policy Declarations of 1948 and 1956. It is true that still we have a mixed economy with some place left for private enterprise within the limiting and regulating framework of the Government's plans and policies. But it is a diminishing sector while the public sector is an expanding sector. The conclusion of this process is the complete or almost complete destruction of the private sector entailing the abolition of the capitalist class and private property in the means of production as a matter of principle.

Such centralisation of economic power which is the essence of socialism naturally enhances the inflationary potentials in the country. Even ordinarily, Government spends more on goods and services of equivalent quality and quantity than private capital entrepreneurs. The building that could be constructed by private persons for say ten lakhs of rupees will cost something like 50 per cent more when it is Government that is the owner.

In addition to this tendency of all government expenditures to run higher than private, socialist governments release further irresistible forces making for higher payments for the same work or product.

For they control essential lines of production—such as transport, communications, minerals, cement, oil, sugar and many essential commodities and industrial raw materials. Private industry will have to reckon with the high prices brought about by Government management in raw materials and transport and later on in banking as well. Our Government is now being tempted to enter the banking field in order to have fuller control over the financial resources of the country, forgetting that it would effectively operate as a damper on them. If raw materials rise in prices, the cost of finished goods will naturally rise in relation to them in some proportion. If mixed economy disappears at some stage, the trend towards high prices and extravagant expense will receive reinforcement and confirm the inflationary trends already plaguing the people.

In fact, complete centralisation will render all economic calculation of costs and profits or losses will become meaningless, since all prices will then be settled by government agencies without the operation of the free market. All incentive to economy and efficiency which consists in obtaining the best results in quantity and quality for ever decreasing costs by skilful management will be frustrated. The distortion in the economy will render even high salaries unsatisfactory as the costs of essential commodities will soar high. In Soviet Russia, the worker no doubt gets what appears to be a high salary from 400 to 600 roubles per month. But he does not get the benefit of it, since ordinary goods like shoes cost around 300 roubles, a lunch 15 roubles, a suit length of cloth some 700 roubles and so on. To get a comparable basis, students reduce costs to the hours they require for manufacture in different countries. The Soviet citizen has to spend much more by way of work and time than his confreres in capitalist countries to obtain the same goods! This is the result of socialist

economics. We are beginning to have this effect already, though the economy is not yet fully socialised. Food, sugar, cement, cloth, petrol and kerosene, steel and many other goods are subject to high excise duties which have pushed their prices up to present high levels. The Third Five Year Plan proposes to obtain Rs. 450 crores by the profits of Government industrial undertakings. That means that the prices of these goods will be boosted up for Plan Funds! Indirect taxation will become the standby of socialist economics reducing direct taxation to insignificant proportions.

In addition to this natural effect of socialist economy with its monopolisation of all economic activity, we have the further consequences of our adoption of the specific type of Soviet Planning. It is a feature of the Stalinist Plans that targets are set abnormally high, beyond the normal resources of saving and investment in accordance with the voluntary judgment out of earnings by individuals and companies. An abnormal speed of industrialisation is pushed through as an almost war measure. Further, an abnormally high priority is given to heavy industries and machine-building units, steel, oil and electricity, heavy chemicals, etc. in addition to grandiose High Dams for irrigation.

Such diversion of resources to long term and intermediate goods not susceptible of immediate consumption starves the common consumer of goods of daily use. His standard of living does not rise with the accumulation of production in heavy and military industries. This is another reason for inflation.

India has adopted this Pattern and consequently we are starved of consumer goods, especially food, cloth, housing materials, medicine etc. Planning and socialism of this kind are therefore inseparable from high prices and the temptation to incur more and more inflation (free addition to the currency by fiat). The Third Plan is twice the size of the Second and is scheduled to have deficit money of Rs. 550 crores. Resources failing, it is more than likely that it will be exceeded to reach something like the last Plan figure of Rs. 1200 crores. Some fear that it may exceed even this figure as the shortfall is estimated by critics at over Rs. 2000 crores!

The Soviets were motivated in this scheme of theirs by their antagonism of the old world consequent on their doctrine of class and imperialist war and the stern necessity for them of world conquest for communism. They had to give priority to military industry and industrial and technological self-sufficiency.

But we in India have no necessity for copying the Russian Plans and their distortion of the economy and the dictatorial suppression of the liberties of the people.

We can have a Plan oriented to priority to consumer goods: food, clothing, medicine, industrial raw materials—agricultural and mineral, housing, transport and priority to full employment by widely dispersed industries built on a small scale.

Heavy industries could be added gradually. We have no justification for any disabling motive for

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Fishing In Congo's Waters

By M. N. Tholal

IT is a little difficult to understand why Mr. Nehru has been dealing with the Congo at such length in Parliament and elsewhere, unless he wants to throw his weight about in a rather unabashed manner and emerge as a leader of African nations. On December 12, he made a long statement in the Lok Sabha on the developments in the Congo, although he himself admitted in the course of the statement, "It is difficult to understand what it (the situation) is." Why such long statements should be made on a situation, which Mr. Nehru does not fully understand, passes one's comprehension. If there is one man in the world for whom reticence should be the word, so far as the Congo is concerned, it is Mr. Nehru, because two of his men hold key positions in the Congo's U.N. Mission, and he should not appear to be trying to influence their judgment by holding forth on the Congo every now and again. But that is exactly what he is doing with the result that little importance is being attached to the reports of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in the Congo, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal. This is Mr. Nehru's own opinion, not mine. In the course of his statement he regretted that the UN had not considered the conclusions contained in the detailed second report of Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal about the Belgians. It was, according to Mr. Nehru, a "report from a person supposed to be an objective UN official, but the UN, the Secretariat, the General Assembly and, for what I know, the Security Council, did not even consider it because presumably they did not like the conclusions reached in that report."

(Continued from page 6)

achieving self-sufficiency in any line except for food. The Soviets had to aim at self-sufficiency because of their rejection of world trade till recently. We can plan without industry sacrificing the present generation of the people for future prosperity.

Inflation is not necessary for economic growth. It complicates an already distressing situation of high prices on account of high taxation (direct and indirect) and expenditure far in excess of normal savings and investment. We do not need forced investment at abnormal speeds.

We have therefore to mobilise public opinion against the present type of planning and socialism if we are to combat inflation. The present Governing groups are unable to halt or lower the general price level as they do not propose to abandon their socialist policies. Even in agriculture, they propose State monopoly Trading in food grains and cooperative farming. These will force prices still higher!

Inflation can be halted only if socialism is halted. All other measures are mere palliatives, ineffective and in some cases like rationing of food and cloth, positively harmful. Controls bring black markets and increase misery without producing the abundance, which alone can bring relief and lower prices.

Obviously, whatever the reporting person may be supposed to be, he is not being regarded as an objective UN official, thanks mainly to the very broad hints that Mr. Nehru has been throwing out from India, apparently for Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal's benefit, hints which Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal has seemingly been elaborating in his reports. That may, indeed, be an accident, and a case of two great minds thinking alike, but why should the Indian Prime Minister give the whole world the idea that Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal is an Indian Ambassador rather than an objective UN official? The fact that Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal's report has not even been considered by the UN officials is hardly a tribute to Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal and prompts the thought that the UN Secretary-General might be regretting his choice of that gentleman for the job of his Special Representative.

MR. NEHRU'S PROPOSAL

Mr. Nehru's solution of the Congo problem is an over-simplification of it. Let Parliament meet and decide, he says. An admirable sentiment, truly, had it come from the mouth of a man, who really believed in the sovereignty of Parliament. But we in India know how scant is the regard in Mr. Nehru's mind for the sovereignty of Parliament for nearly five years he hid the fact of China's invasion of India from her Parliament as well as her people. So when he talks of the sovereignty of the Congo's Parliament, we are almost led to the conclusion that there is something deeper in it than the character of sovereignty obviously inherent in a parliament, that he is trying to impart the stamp of justice to a proposal which may be far from just or fair. Let us have a look at his proposal.

According to Mr. Nehru the UN should take steps to enable Parliament to meet. How can the UN do so without coming into conflict with Col. Mobutu and interfering in Congo's international affairs? It is obviously stretching the argument too far to suggest that the prevention of massacres in the Congo by UN is also interference with the Congo's internal affairs. The first duty of the UN in the Congo is the establishment of peace and security there and that it has been trying to do to the best of its ability. The UN can certainly facilitate the meeting of Parliament as suggested by Mr. Nehru, but only in some respects. Facilitating it is, however, not the same thing as making it meet. It can help the meeting of Parliament but it cannot force it to meet at the point of the bayonet, without drawing its coach and four across the UN Charter. Neither the General Assembly nor the Security Council has the right to do that, much less the UN Secretary-General. And what is the use of Parliament meeting when its decisions cannot be enforced. Katanga is practically independent under President Tshombe and the area around Leopoldville is under the military control of Col. Mobutu. In effect what Mr. Nehru wants can only be done with the use of force by UN, which would be contrary to its Charter and therefore illegal.

WILD MAN OF THE CONGO

It is true that Col. Mobutu came in by a military coup, an illegal and an unconstitutional act. But then all military coups are illegal. So was that of Col. Nasser, Generals Mirza and Ayub, as well as that of Gen. Gursell in Turkey. The whole world, including India, recognised these coups as valid by recognising the resulting Governments.

A comparison of the present situation in the Congo with that obtaining in India before partition is not out of place, particularly with reference to Mr. Nehru's demand that the Parliament meet. The Indian Parliament met and yet there was partition, mainly because Mr. Nehru was so confident of his (Hindu) majority in the Indian Parliament that he forgot the need of a united front, and began declaring India's policy of non-alignment—which is really a policy of fishing in troubled waters for self-glory—without any reference to the representatives of 80 or 90 million Muslims who did not own allegiance to the Congress and whose allegiance was claimed by the Muslim League. It was the greatest piece of political folly on the part of Mahatma Gandhi to have selected this "wild man of India"—as the Britishers called Mr. Nehru—for the prime ministership of the country, thinking that he would always be able to control him. His declaration of the country's non-alignment without consulting the Muslim League, and even before the League had joined the Cabinet, or the Constituent Assembly was tantamount to driving the last nail in the coffin of united India. But nobody in the Congress seems to have realised this at the time. This only shows lack of political sagacity in Congress leaders. Could there be anything more amazing and absurd, and even immoral, than a Rightist body like the Congress, asking a Leftist to become the prime minister of the country, when the Leftists were a small minority in the Congress? We paid the price of our folly.

Similarly, Mr. Lumumba is "the wild man of the Congo," and as such draws much applause from the youthful elements there. The kinship between him and Mr. Nehru is obvious, and sympathy between the two natural. Even more natural is the splitting up of the country which is now staring the Congo in the face. The Congolese nationalists, like Indian nationalists, are very plausibly blaming the disunity on colonialists and imperialists, but the mills of God grind slow and they grind exceeding small, and all that the UN can do is, even as all that the British Labour Government could do in India was, to save the country from anarchy.

LUMUMBA'S TERRORISM

An obvious result of the meeting of the Congolese Parliament would be the reinstatement of Mr. Lumumba as Prime Minister. Mr. Nehru is presumably aware of this, and that is why he suggests that "political prisoners," including Mr. Lumumba, should be released so that they might attend Parliament. But if one is to believe Mr. Kasavubu, the President of the Congo Republic, Mr. Lumumba is something more than a political prisoner, by which is generally meant one suffering imprisonment for one's political views.

For, among the major charges enumerated against Mr. Lumumba by the President of the Congo are (1) usurpation of public functions (2) outrages to individual liberty, including tortures, organisation of hostile bands designed to devastate, massacre and pillage (3) inciting of soldiers to delinquency and (4) organising a military expedition against the province of South Kasai.

He will indeed be a bold man who dare assert that the charges enumerated by the President of the Congo himself against Mr. Lumumba are pure fabrication. The President also said that Mr. Lumumba was arrested on a warrant delivered last September and the arrest was delayed because UN troops "arbitrarily in our eyes" prevented its execution. The list of the major charges must have been published earlier and our main news agency can hardly give even a plausible explanation for omitting from its messages from the Congo a summary of the same, which, considering their serious nature, render the release of Mr. Lumumba out of the question until he has been duly tried and discharged. No wonder the Congo President underlines the relief the country felt on Mr. Lumumba's arrest and it would appear that Mr. Lumumba's so-called influence in the country was based on terrorism. The Congo President's letter to the UN Secretary-General containing his charges was published two days before Mr. Nehru made his statement in the Indian Parliament on the developments in the Congo and he must have been aware of the charges enumerated by the President against Mr. Lumumba when he made his speech. It is not a little surprising that Mr. Nehru not only made no reference to the Congo President's charges against Mr. Lumumba but actually recommended his release! This can only be described as partisanship in excelsis, showing lack of the sense of responsibility in our Prime Minister. Those who know Mr. Nehru know only too well that those who flatter him can do no wrong in his eyes, and Mr. Lumumba not long ago referred to Mr. Nehru as "our great leader." That settled the matter so far as Mr. Nehru was concerned and nothing that the Congo President may allege or the UN Secretary-General say can alter that settlement.

"WHITE CAPS" FIND THEIR WAY INTO THE ENGLISH LEXICON

Believe it or not, the words "white cap" have, at last, found their way into the English lexicon. The latest edition of the Twentieth Century Oxford English Dictionary has thus defined "white cap":—

White cap is one worn by a member of a gang which is formed to exploit others.

What a left-handed compliment to the gentlemen of the white-capped fraternity, which includes our rulers. The notoriety of the "white-caps" seemed to have crossed the Indian frontiers, and has spread itself to the four corners of the world. "White cap" will now be a current coin in the pages of the English literature, along with so many other Indian words that have made their way into the English tongue such as "baksheesh," "bandobust," "gone phut," "samjao" and others.

—J. K. D.

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

Emotion And Reason

By S. Ramanathan

EMOTION is blind but potent. Reason has a clear vision but is barren. How to integrate the two so as to lead the full life is the task which the rationalists face all the world over. I have already dealt with the attempt of Sir Julian Huxley who leads the Humanist movement in the West and who has, in a sort of way, made a Rationalism a religion. I wish in this article to recapitulate the story of Rationalists in South India who have attempted the task of integrating emotion with reason. I am sorry this recapitulation will make many enemies for me in the South as well as in the North. But I do not mind. A lifetime spent in the service of rationalism has given me the courage to face all misunderstandings and representations. I must speak out the truth.

Rationalism in the south has had its origin in Tamil literature and in the ballads Sittars centuries ago. But I wish to write upon recent history. Rationalism began as a protest against the orthodoxy ingrained in the Gandhian movement. The Provincial Congress Committee of Tamilnad gave a grant of Rs. 5,000/- to a Brahmin patriot called V. V. S. Iyer to start a school. In that school discrimination was made between children belonging to Brahmin and the higher castes who were fed in the inner part of the kitchen and the other children belonging to the lower castes who were made to sit outside. This created an uproar and there was a split in the Provincial Congress Committee. Ultimately, those who opposed the orthodox practice started what was called the Self-respect Movement. The first Conference of this movement was held at Chinglepet which was very popular and attracted crowds belonging to all political parties. The Resolutions were entirely rationalistic condemning caste and religion. Some political leaders who tried to exploit the movement found it too radical and not to their taste. Two other annual Conferences were held emphasising the resolutions and the movement gained in popularity and began really to be a mass upsurge. I was the Secretary and speak from first hand knowledge. Had the movement continued in that same spirit it would have spread to the north and would have ushered in

vast reforms in the social structure of India and who knows Caste would have been abolished by now. Caste and religion are such live things in India today that any opposition to them creates an emotional crisis and at the time I speak of during the 20's and 30's of the century, caste and religion had not evolved the defence mechanism which they are now so skilfully using to-day. However, I am referring here to the might-have-been. The truth was that the Self-respect Movement did not confine itself to its original moorings and tried to expand and participate in politics, where passions hold sway and reason is obscured. The acknowledged leader of the movement is Mr. E. V. Ramsami who is by popular consent known as "Periyar" which is the Tamil rendering of the word "Mahatma".

Returning from a sojourn in Soviet Russia the Periyar started talking Communism. The Justice party, which ruled the province then, put him in prison. Strangely enough, coming out of prison he advocated the policy of the Justice party which was merely anti-Brahminism. The Justice party was by that time in the doldrums and Periyar easily gained its leadership. He re-named it "Dravida Kazhagam". The movement henceforward was known as the "Dravida Kazhagam" although in order to keep up the link with the past they sometimes hold conferences in the name of "Self-respect". But what is important to remember is that the movement now became political because it wanted to appeal fully to our emotional nature. But how far it retained its hold on rationalism is very problematic. The subsequent history of the movement is current politics in South India. The movement split into two on the very flimsy pretext that Periyar married a young lady. Third parties have nothing to say in a personal matter like this relating to the private lives of two consenting partners. But the real reason for the split is the anxiety of some of the younger leaders to form a political party of their own, since the old Justice party was now obsolete and exploit the mass support which they were receiving for their revolutionary talks on rationalism. The leader of this new movement is Mr. C. N. Annadorai. His party is called

the "Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam", popularly referred to as the D.M.K. party. This is a full-fledged political organization which participates in all elections to the provincial as well as local bodies. It has its representatives in Parliament also. The Dravida Kazhagam or the D.K. movement under Periyar is wisely keeping away from the elections and to that extent is able to be more rationalistic. While in their propaganda speeches and writings the D.K. party is able to speak frankly of its atheism and its opposition to caste, the D. M. K. party has to be halting and compromising at every step because it has its eyes riveted to the coming elections. Rationalists of the world are witness to this tragedy of two large groups of professed rationalists fighting each other like cats and dogs. It is true that no two people hate each other in South India more than the D.K. and the D.M.K. The sole object of the one seems to be the bringing down of the other.

I have given an objective account of what has happened to an attempt in South India of integrating Emotion with Reason. I have to say a final word on what is common to the two parties. There are three points where they come together as rationalists in spite of their antagonism in all other respects. They are their common opposition to religion, to caste and to Hindi. In regard to the first point about religion I have already mentioned the categorical atheistic tone of the D.K. and the halting manner of the D.M.K. Atheism will not win votes and hence the D.M.K. has modified its position to a belief in "one God". Indeed the leader went on record saying that he was at one with Islam in that respect. This admission of the supernatural is a fatal flaw in the D. M. K. make-up as rationalists. As regards caste both of them subscribe to the theory that the Brahmin created caste and hence deserves no quarter. But the D. M. K. is willing to concede that its opposition is to Brahminism and not to individual Brahmins. The D. K. is more thorough and wants all Brahmins to be liquidated but is obliged owing to political exigencies to support individual Brahmins like Nehru and T. T. Krishnamachari. Opposition to Hindi which imposed as a National language is the one point over which there is no difference between the two wings. But even here the D. M. K. being in active politics, is often led astray by political manoeuvres of the Congress while the D. K. is able to walk more steadily. Both the wings are anti-nationalists. They believe that India is one only in the sense that the world is one.

But the question for consideration is what is the true Rationalist to think of this phenomena of the double mass growth in South India in the name of Rationalism? Let us be clear on one point. There can be no trucks with politics and rationalism. Politics is too local, too emotional to stand an integration with Nationalism. In that matter the D. M. K. which is a political party is more to blame than the D. K. although the D. K.'s own political leanings are rather self-stultifying. But what have we to say of their anti-Brahmin and anti-Hindi and anti-national make up? I shall deal with this problem in my next article.

SPITEWORK

A young English girl went to a priest and said she wished to become a Catholic at once.

"But my child, have you been properly instructed?" asked the priest.

"No, I have not, but that does not matter; I want to be made a Catholic now."

"But it does matter," argued the priest. "You must have several months' instruction before you can possibly be received into the Church. May I ask what has made you think of taking this serious step?"

"Well," replied the girl, "I have had an awful row with my people, and I'm determined to disgrace the family."—(Catholic Herald Citizen, Milwaukee.)

— Voice of Freedom.

HOW BRAHMINISM BROUGHT FOREIGN RULE IN INDIA

The weakness of the nationalist movement is to be traced to the prejudice of the "spiritualist" philosophy. Wedded to this philosophy, the leaders of the nationalist movement are engaged in the impossible feat of reining in the horse on which they ride to reach their goal. As long as they remain true to their blessed philosophy, they cannot ask the masses to revolt against the miseries of life. On the other hand, the masses themselves still largely languish in passivity and demoralisation bred of the "spiritualist" culture. Fatalism paralyses all initiative in them. Prejudice does not permit them to tamper with "Paramatma's Leela". The superstition about Karma makes them reconciled to their lot, however intolerable it may be. Respect for authority renders them proof against the spirit of revolt. They have learnt the lesson of spiritual freedom taught by the Brahmins. In consequence, they have made a virtue out of their slavery. The Brahmins performed their God-given mission effectively but their success created social conditions which transformed India into the "White Man's Burden", brought her the "civilising mission" of the Western merchants.

— M. N. Roy ('Memoirs of A Cat')

A youth in Melbourne whose hobby was stealing cars was savagely sentenced the other day. He is compelled to go to church twice every month at least for five years. Would not prison be infinitely more welcome?

— Free Thinker.

Intolerance

By Chapman Cohen

THE question of how far the Roman Church endorses the policy of religious persecution is only a minor aspect of a much larger subject. This is, "Why should intolerance, with its consequent persecution, be so generally and so universally associated with religion?" This is not something that is peculiar to Christianity; it exists with nearly all kinds of religion. It is the first thing that strikes one who comes to the study of religion. Intolerance, the determination to suppress any one who acts so as to give offence to the gods, is one of the oldest, the most general, the least questioned manifestations of religious feeling.

So far as Christendom is concerned, until very recent times the right to persecute was hardly ever questioned. Roman Catholics might resent Protestant persecution, as Protestants might resent that of the Roman Church: but hardly anyone questioned the position that the suppression of heretical opinion was the first duty of the true believer. The Roman Church, on one side, elaborated the most minute rules for the detection and punishment of heresy, and developed the most brutal methods of torture known to any system. On the other hand, Protestants were agreed that it was the duty of the civil power to root out heresy, even at the cost of death of the heretic. As usual, whenever Christians agreed upon anything, it was nearly always upon something that was either idiotic or damnable.

From this primitive mental condition, Roman and Greek civilization were almost free. Roman life, as Gibbon has said, was nearer complete emancipation than the Greek although there was not, in either case, anything in the nature of the systematic legal persecution such as existed under Christian rule. If anyone questions this, he need only compare the freedom and the quality of the discussions of the gods, such as meet us in either Greek or Roman literature, with the horror with which Christians shrank from anyone who questioned either the being or the conduct of their deity. Here, again, the growth of Christianity meant a reversion to a lower level of life and thought. The thought becomes more primitive, the spirit more intolerant. It heralded, as Gibbon somewhere says, that triumph of barbarism and religion over ancient culture which was to prepare the way for the "Dark Ages." Religious persecution was not an act of intolerance. It was an expression of the highest religious and social duty. If Christianity be true, that attitude is logical and impregnable. If it be true that one cannot be a good citizen in the absence of Christian or religious belief, if—as was held for long by all believers, and by a very large number of Christians today—to reject the belief in God is to weaken morality and destroy the basis of social life, and if, in addition, the avowed unbeliever is one who endangers the immortal welfare of all around, then his removal is as justifiable as is the destruction of the germs of an epidemic disease.

The only escape from this conclusion is to admit

that it does not seriously matter whether a man believes in the gods or not. And what Christian can, or dare admit that? It would be a confession that his belief is a more or less amiable speculation that no one is the better for holding or the worse for rejecting.

As a matter of fact, the decline of the spirit of intolerance has always taken place as a consequence of the weakening of religious belief. Historically it is not true that Protestantism was either based on the belief in freedom of inquiry or the wish to attain it. What was claimed was primarily the right to differ from the Roman Church, but it was at one with the Roman Church on the duty of true Christianity to suppress all that was against it. All over the civilized world toleration in religion is only an expression of the growth of unbelief. The real actions of the greatest churches were finally described by H. C. Lea, in his series of books dealing with actions and qualities.

On the one side, the Church legalized and moralized brutality. On the other, it legalized and moralized intolerance and persecution. And just as the brutality of its legal methods reflected itself in social life, so intolerance became more than it would have been otherwise in things that were outside the scope of religion. The godly were not ashamed of being intolerant, they took pride in it. Not to listen to the other side became a mark of strong character. Remember that for many generations the people of Europe lived under a rule that made honesty of thought and speech two of the greatest offences that any man could make. The Church had compassionate words for the thief, for the murderer, the wife-beater, the drunkard. There was but one unforgivable offence, disbelief in religion accompanied by honesty of speech. It did not persecute hypocrites; they were beyond its reach, even if it had troubled about them. It was the man who said honestly what he believed that suffered. The brave and mentally honest men who doubted were weeded out, the coward, the liars were sure of getting to heaven. That state of things is not yet ended. The Church has made hypocrisy so much a part of our public life, men who stand forward in public life are not alarmed at not telling the truth about their religious opinions.

This is part of the price we have had to pay for the existence of the Christian Church. But the great, lasting evil worked by the Church was not on the dead, but upon the living. As with a disease, it is not the one that kills but the one that maims that does most harm. So with the Church and heresy, it was not to those who died at the stake that the chief evil was done, but to the mental type that remained. We owe it chiefly to the Church, that so much of our social life today is riddled with insincerity, and hypocrisy. It was the law of the Christian Church which damned the honest thinker and crowned the cowardly conformist.

—Frithinker

" If I Were a Millionaire "

By Andy Vena

I PROBABLY never will be, to be sure. Yet many a man has heretofore legitimately "come by" a large and unexpected fortune. It does happen. A lucky sweep-stake ticket.....discovering unsuspected mineral wealth on a piece of property...an idea or invention that "clicks".....etc. The trouble with too many rich is that they are over-powered by the desire to merely BE very rich; to HAVE great wealth—and get still more of it—merely for the sake of having it. Whereas I would like it for the purpose of doing useful things with it—constructively using it to promote and advance Great Causes for the benefit of my fellow men and to be sure, for the pleasure and satisfaction found in a good job well done. Since you definitely "can't take it with you" where ever you think you're going—and probably won't need it when you get "there"—I think it's poor choice to let a great fortune outlast its owner so that he finally has to leave it to somebody. Having provided for reasonable comfort and security for me and mine for the remaining years of life, I would if I were a millionaire, want to see my wealth in use, working, benefitting somebody. The pleasure of doing something useful with a million dollars is, I think, greater than merely possessing it.

And one of the Causes, I'd want to plant my money into, to make flourish and bring to blossom, is the Free-Thought Movement in America. It's a pitiful fact that the best Causes and Movements do not always receive the kind and degree of support they merit and need. Many an inheritance has gone to a bunch of worthless, greedy, waiting relatives, or other parasites, instead of to a more worthy beneficiary—often against the real wishes and intentions of the deceased benefactor.

Now if I were a millionaire I'd pour a great portion of it into a wonderful monument I could be proud of while I lived and which would do my name pride after I passed away. No, not a stone statue of myself in the park, or an impressive mausoleum in "the marble orchard" (cemetery), but a substantial endowment to a liberal, secular, freethought society for a building to house it, like the Thomas Paine Memorial Building which we of the Friendship Liberal League have in the "dream stage"; a large auditorium for forum lectures, educational movies, dinners, Etc., equipped with modern air-conditioning (not just a "heating system" of sorts), good acoustic conditions, a good loud-speaker system (especially to accommodate the hard-of-hearing); good seating facilities; an extensive freethought library open to all; a reading room for the studious; a fund to pay for good lecturers; a radio broadcasting station for secular talks, debates, music, social discussions, Etc.; a press for our own periodicals, stationery, posters, pamphlets,

Etc.; a fine Home on a tract of farm land just outside the city limits for aged freethinkers and liberals who, in their time, have done their bit in the battle of liberation of man's mind from the shackles of ignorance and superstition, and where they may spend their remaining years with complete peace of mind in congenial surroundings and in the company of like-minded men and women, where they could occupy themselves with intellectual pursuits, hobbies, raising vegetables, live stock, and otherwise finish out their lives pleasantly.

Then if I still had enough money left I'd start League chapters in other cities patterned after the mother organization. I would probably die "broke" myself, to be sure, but I would have enjoyed a piece of real heaven right here on earth together with worthy fellowmen before passing on to physical oblivion. Such a "monument" would, I believe, do so much earthly human good that other millionaires would join it, contribute to it, and keep the Movement snow-balling along.

What's that you say? Pipe dream? Improbable? Improbable, yes, But not entirely impossible. There are many millionaires extant, one of whom might one day find it in his heart to be an "angel" before he dies, so to speak. Anyway, I can dream, can't I? (And how!).

—Liberal

To The Memory Of

Mrs. ELLEN ROY

A past president of the Indian Rationalist Association, who met a sad end on 14th December 1960. She was the wife of a great man, but in her own right also, she was great, an American born, but an Indian and a Humanist at heart.

Lokayata - Indian Materialism

(This is the 5th article in the series)

By S. Ramanathan

TWO important features of the Tantra practices are the inveterate hatred of caste and the search for science. The first feature stemmed from their origin from the lower castes and the second from their firm grip on material reality and repudiation of any pretence at idealism, mysticism or spirituality. Importance is given in Tantric texts to characters called Chandali, Dombi, Rajaki, and Savari which names indicate that the gods hail from the lowest of the low castes carrying on the most despised professions. Originating from the lower castes, the doctrine was no respecter of the caste hierarchical system. Besides it gathered recruits from other religions; Islam, Christianity as well as from Hindu Brahmins. The classic statement which represents the real stand point of Tantrism was made by Anandagiri in Sankara Vijaya:—"All the males belonging to the various castes should be (treated) as one caste. This is one creed. All the females belonging to the various castes should be (treated) as one caste. This is the other creed. There is no sin in their mutual union or separation. There is no rule as "Such a man is the husband of such a woman".....All the castes being but one caste, the institution of marriage is a fiction."

Sahara Pada in his *Dehakosa* says, "His first revolt is against the orthodox system of the four-fold division of colours (chaturvarna) placing the Brahmins at the top. The Brahmins as a caste cannot reasonably be recognised to be the highest of men—for the saying that they dropped from the mouth of Brahma is a myth invented by a section of clever and cunning people. If, on the other hand, a man becomes Brahmin by religious initiation (Samskara) then even the lowest of men may be a Brahmin..... The Brahmins take earth, water, kusa grass and recite mantras and perform fire-sacrifices in their houses—in vain do they offer ghee to the fire, for thereby their eyes will only be affected with intense smoke. They become holders of single-fold or of three-fold sacred threads—but this is of no avail unless truth is realised. Deceived is the whole world by false illusion—none does know the all-excelling truth where both religion and non-religion become one. The devotees of the Lord (Isvara), again anoint the whole body with ashes, wear matted hair on the head, sit within the house and light lamps and ring bells seated in a corner, take a yogic posture (asana) with their eyes fixed: they whisper religious doctrines into the ears (of the credulous people) and deceive them thereby. The widows, the mundis (women taking the vow of fasting for the whole month) and others taking different vows, get themselves initiated by these devotees who do it only in greed of money (dakshina)."

The Tantrikas were the real progenitors of scientific enquiry in India. This subject is dealt with by Rav in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*. The Universities at Nalanda, Udantapura and Vikramasila became important centres of cultivation of Tantrism with Alchemy as an integral part of it. The growth of tantrism in Bengal is closely related to the school

of Sittars which developed in the southern Tamil country. Eighteen Sittars are mentioned in Tamil Tantric works but many more seem to have flourished in the South. Boger and Pulpani lived in Bengal and later in the South and wrote in Tamil. The Sittars wrote mainly on medicine, alchemy and chemistry. They were vehement against the caste system. There was an exchange of scientific information between China and India through the school of the Sittars. The Tantrikas mention the use of scientific instruments and the performance of experiments. Says one author: "Those who teach without being able to perform experiments labour in vain." It is remarkable that this extremely modern scientific attitude was adopted in the ancient Tantric period when the Sruti and Smriti held sway.

According to Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya this proto-materialism of the Tantrics which was archaic and mixed up with ritual practices and had technology later acquired a philosophic form in Sankya School and became the strongest opponent of Vedantic Idealism.

NEHRU MUST RESIGN, DEMAND OF DELHI

NEW DELHI: For the first time in recent history, the Capital held an all-Party meeting to voice the public resentment against the policies pursued by the Prime Minister. The provocation for the meeting is the decision of the Prime Minister to hand over Berubari to Pakistan, in the teeth of opposition of the whole nation barring Congressmen. The people of West Bengal, as well as their legislative assembly, have strongly objected to the action of the Prime Minister. Apart from emotional and sentimental reasons, there are practical and cogent reasons why Berubari should not go to Pakistan. All the objections raised in the Bengal legislature are valid and real.

The public meeting, with one voice, demanded that Mr. Nehru should tender his resignation. The personal whims and the matter of the personal prestige of the Prime Minister should not be allowed to come in the way of the security and national self-respect of the country.

The meeting was attended by a sole Congressman, Mr. Aney, a Congress M.P., by the PSP speakers, the Hindu Sabha leaders, represented by Prof. Ram Singh and Mr. Brajesh, M.P., the Socialist Party and the Workers and Peasants Party men as well as some Independent leaders.

The speeches made were more in sorrow than in anger, but they left no doubt as to the national mind and national pulse, with regard to this latest whim of the Prime Minister. All speakers were unanimous that the action of the Prime Minister was dictatorial and anti-national.

The speakers stated that the handing over of Berubari was an act of cowardice and appeasement of Pakistan.

The Hindi daily paper, "Navabharat Times" has given a prominence to the public meeting.

Interference With Nepal: Berubari Bargain

(From Our Correspondent)

IT is indeed unfortunate that Mr. Nehru should have considered it appropriate to attack the Nepal King's action while initiating the foreign affairs debate in the Rajya Sabha on December 20, the more so as he himself admitted that he did not know what reasons lay behind the action of the King and "it is difficult to say anything about vague charges." On the same day on which the morning papers reported the speech of Mr. Nehru in the Rajya Sabha, the Statesman carried from its staff correspondent in Kathmandu the news that Government officials who searched the deposed premier's residence discovered in cash in the safe Rs. 1,08,000 in Indian currency and Rs. 11,000 in Nepali currency. Earlier a cache of arms was found in Mr. Koirala's house. The news at least suggests that the Indian Prime Minister would have done better if he had waited for fuller information before launching his attack on the King of Nepal, which is bound to lead to a deterioration of relations between India and her northern neighbour. It is recalled by the same correspondent that Dr. Giri, who resigned from the Koirala Cabinet some months ago, had stated that the overhaul of the administration contemplated by the Koirala Government was based on "whims rather than on any scientific methods."

One thing emerges clear from the dismissal of the Koirala Cabinet and its detention by the King of Nepal, and that is that if Nepal goes anti-Communist as a result of the King's action, as seems likely, India stands to gain rather than lose from what has happened there. The Chinese threat is not such a small affair—and the Indian Prime Minister's own words can be reproduced to prove its magnitude—that it can be regarded as having no bearing on what the Nepal King has done or on our own reactions to it. To play down the Chinese threat is one thing but to refuse to take it into consideration in our estimate of the situation resulting from the Nepal King's action is quite another. The refusal shows to what extent Mr. Nehru is prepared to go in the pursuit of his hocus-pocus of non-alignment. It will not be surprising if this hocus-pocus transpires to have been at the bottom of the Nepal King's action. What is more unfortunate is that our Prime Minister's criticism of that action can be regarded as interference with the affairs of Nepal, thus strengthening the grouse of those in Nepal who have been alleging that India has been interfering with her affairs. "We have not at any time," said Mr. Nehru, "sought in any way to interfere in Nepal over the last ten years or so since Nepal became free from the old regime." He should have continued following the old tradition, rather than permit himself to make observations which can only worsen relations between India and Nepal.

COLONIALISM

One factor which must be welcomed, according to Mr. Nehru, was the resolution passed recently by the UN on colonialism. "It is a good resolution," he said, "and I have no doubt that it will have some effect in spite of delays and obstructions." It is true, as he said, that world opinion is being built up which will make it more difficult for any colonies to continue. But what is Mr. Nehru's own contribution to the building up of this world opinion? Can it in any way help in the liberation of the East European satellites of Soviet Russia to affirm that they are not colonies of Soviet Russia? And can this partisanship in any way persuade the western imperialisms to liquidate their colonies? Mr. Nehru is doing a distinct disservice to mankind by denying the colonial character of the Soviet connection with her East European satellites and of Chinese overlordship over Tibet. Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha did well to point out in the Rajya Sabha that, while India condemned colonialism in the West, she remained silent over Tibet. He might have gone farther and named the East European countries, quite a dozen of them! And what of the Russian Empire itself extending to the Pacific Ocean? How can Russia have any claim over Siberia, thousands of miles away from her?

Mr. Nehru referred to "an acute crisis (in the Congo) in the failure of the UN which represents the world community." Surely the UN has not failed yet in the Congo, except in failing to carry out his wishes. The PSP leader (leader also of the Opposition) deserves to be congratulated on asserting that Mr. Nehru's picture of developments in the Congo was "one-sided," because he had refrained from criticizing the other side, while rightly attacking the Belgians. If Mr. Nehru wants to command respect the world over, he should persuade himself to be less of a partisan, no matter what praise and what flattery he receives from some quarters. He is losing his detachment steadily and that cannot add to his stature as a world statesman. It is to be hoped, however, that his disapproval will scotch the proposal that, apart from the UN forces, an African force should be constituted from various countries in Africa who agree and that should go into action. "It is not clear what such a force can do in these circumstances," he said. It can only, he might have well added, persuade the African countries who do not agree to send a force of their own to oppose the proposed force. What is really to blame is the desire to use force to get things done as one wants, and that tendency should be curbed by all lovers of peace.

THE BERUBARI ISSUE

Congressmen have had to support the Prime Minister on the Berubari issue because, as one of them

put it in the Lok Sabha, the implication of rejecting the bills would be the overthrow of the Congress Government. Mr. Nehru himself gave the real reason for moving the Bills for consideration when he said it was desirable that India should "put an end to the incidents on the border which had occurred largely because there was some disputed territory." Incursions across the border, he admitted, had been a "frustrating experience." Superficially, therefore, there appears to be an element of blackmail in the Nehru-Noon Agreement. The need for that Agreement may be said to have arisen owing to the necessity of moving troops from the Indo-Pakistan border to the Northern border to check Chinese incursions, of which Mr. Nehru was then aware, though Parliament and the country were not.

This is a point which Mr. Nehru naturally could not make in Parliament. Bearing that in mind Mr. Nehru rightly said, "We have to take other factors also into consideration and try to do what is in the larger interests of the country." The other factors also presumably include the Bagge Award which India disputed—a fact to which Mr. Nehru apparently referred when he said, "Apart from the acquisition and transfer of bits of territory, there was the advantage of Pakistan abandoning its claim altogether to certain parts of India. I would therefore like the House to take all the facts together and examine the matter in the light of the continuous scheme of things, the continuous history and legacy of partition, which we all want to put an end to."

There was, therefore, little point in the West Bengal Communist leader, Mr. H. N. Mukherji's observation that the impending transfer of half of Bebubari to Pakistan went against "the grain of political decency" and was unacceptable from "the legal, political, moral, emotional, ethical or any other point of view" or in the question he posed, "What possible logic can there be in the claim of Pakistan for territory inhabited almost entirely by people belonging to a community which, according to the principle of partition, could never be in Pakistan?"

PRIME MINISTER'S PRESTIGE

It was argued during the debate that consulting some Bengal officials was not consulting the Government of Bengal. But surely, the Government of Bengal was in touch with the officials it deputed and whom therefore Mr. Nehru and his assistants consulted. If the Bengal Government did not keep in touch with those officials, it was obviously its own fault. The opinion in Bengal is so vehement against the cession of half of Berubari that Dr. B. C. Roy had to seek refuge in almost denying touch with his own officials. He might not have sought closer contact with them, thinking that was the best he could do under the circumstances, if he was not to be disowned by his own followers. For him it seems to be a case of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds—the only possible political manoeuvre in a contingency like that.

Under the circumstances the point made by the Jan Sangh leader, Mr. Vajpayee, that, instead of telling Pakistan that cession of territory was not pos-

sible under the Constitution, Mr. Nehru was asking Parliament to give away a bit of territory to which Pakistan had never laid claim, loses much of its force. So does the contention that the Nehru-Noon Agreement related to the Radcliffe Award, whereas the Supreme Court had clearly held that the transfer of Berubari would mean cession of territory not connected with the Award. In judging the agreement, as Mr. Nehru said, we should remember that the partition of India was itself an illogical thing. But it is good to hear from Mr. Nehru's own lips that "it will be a wrong doctrine to lay down that the prestige of a Prime Minister, whoever he may be, should at any time override the interests of the nation." Let us hope that he and his followers, including the home Member, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, who only recently made such a fuss over the Prime Minister's prestige in U.P., will remember these words and not forget them as mere rhetoric suited to the occasion. The Prime Minister's prestige has been playing a great part in the recent political history of the land and it is to be hoped that the country has seen the end of it.

NADIRSHAHI IN C.P.

The Congress Government's dealings with the Maharaja of Bastar remind one of the ways of the Political Department of the British Government of India. The British had at least one excuse. Their rule, they said almost openly, was broadbased on the loyalty of the Ruling Chiefs and landholders and without it they could not remain in India. But the Congress Government is not a foreign government depending on the loyalty of a select few. It is broadbased on the will of the people. For Congress ministers to adopt the ways of the political agents of yore is therefore the height of high-handedness and demonstration of authority for the love of it.

Our Congress ministers, who swear loyalty to the Constitution, apparently forget their oath after assuming office. On November 17 last Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, accused the Maharaja of Bastar of "extremely objectionable and irresponsible activities" and ordered him to leave the district in which he resides within a week, and to see him at Bhopal to consider where he may settle. Dr. Katju's notion on "extremely irresponsible and objectionable activities" can be gathered from the fact that he was unaware that he was laying himself open to the same charge while writing that letter to the Maharaja of Bastar. What does Dr. Katju think he is? A Nadir Shah over and above the Constitution of the land?

It seems necessary to emphasise that those who swear loyalty to the Constitution of the land should be asked every now and again to repeat from memory at least the Preamble to the Constitution. The Maharaja called the bluff and refused to carry out the order and the Governor had to fly to Jagdalpur to see the Maharaja. The matter is now before the Government of India. The Maharaja's courage has incidentally reminded that people of the kind of Government they have. In the first general election the Congress lost all the reserved seats in Bastar District—nine out of a total of ten. The Congress Party

had its revenge on the Maharaja by having all his property put under the Court of Wards on the ground that he was insane! The Maharaja was promised the return of his properties if he joined the Congress—and thus showed some signs of sanity. He joined the Congress and with his co-operation the Congress won all the seats in his district in the second general election. When the promise, which included a seat in the ministry, was not kept, the Maharaja resigned from the Congress as well as the Assembly. In the by-election that followed the Maharaja's man defeated the Congress candidate. Scheduled castes and tribes have 95 reserved seats in the State Assembly out of a total of 289. The huge procession of Adivasi Seva Dal staged before the AICC meeting at Raipur startled Congress leaders and it is alleged that Dr. Katju's letter to the Maharaja was the result of a telegraphic request from the AICC. Congress supporters and contractors have been fattening at the expense of the Adivasis, who have many grievances against the Congress Raj. If the Maharaja was insane, why was he given a Congress ticket and permitted to contest the election? And now the Governor himself has testified that he did not find the Maharaja either insane or lacking in manners. Several companies of armed constabulary have been rushed to Bastar to overawe him! The whole thing is sickening and part of election tactics, now that the general election is only sixteen months away.

Book Review

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT INFLATION

Reviewed by John Chamberlain

For years Henry Hazlitt, emulating the Dutch boy of the fable, has been trying to plug the ever-widening hole in the dike that has been holding back the waters of inflation. He has not only had to thrust a finger into the hole; he has, as is evident from his *What You Should Know About Inflation* (D. Van Nostrand, 151 pages, \$3.50), felt compelled to get into the hole virtually up to his neck.

What You Should Know About Inflation is good, sober stuff, much of it as incontrovertible as Newton's Law of Gravity. Mr. Hazlitt is strong on precise definitions, but when a definition won't do by itself he knows how to assemble statistics in the best modern manner to show the relationships and operational characteristics which make a distinction pertinent.

Dogmatically, he maintains that inflation is due to one thing and one thing alone: it results from an undue expansion of the money supply (or, in modern usage, of paper and bank credit). The increase in the money supply is what causes a rise in prices and in wages as the extra cash in pockets and bank accounts provokes a spirited bidding for existing goods and services. The idea that inflation is a result of a "cost-push" is unsound, for there can be no cost-push if the credit does not exist to support

it. A rise in wages or in prices without an antecedent or supporting increase in the money supply would simply serve to cut off business and to provoke unemployment.

Mr. Hazlitt presents this as theory and as logic. But, lest the theory and logic be suspect, he also includes an eye-opening table. In 1939 our money supply (floating cash and bank credit) amounted to \$64.7 billion; in 1959 this figure had jumped to \$251.6 billion—an increase of 289 per cent. During the same twenty-year period there was a wholesale price of 138 per cent. The reason why the price rise didn't gallop out of sight was due to the ability of the American industrialist and businessman to expand production and to make technological innovations. The rate of industrial production during the two decades of our inflation tripled as the money supply quadrupled. The difference between the rates of expansion is what accounts for the price rise.

DOES INFLATION INCREASE PRODUCTION?

Mr. Hazlitt is quite aware that Professor Seymour Harris, among others, thinks the inflation caused the increase in production, and was therefore a cheap price to pay for a more fruitful economic system. Since it is statistically demonstrable that both the inflation and the increased productivity occurred within the same time span, there might be reason to think Harris has logic on his side. But some of Mr. Hazlitt's tables would tend to dispute the point.

In 1944 the federal government fed \$95 billion into the economy for purposes generally related to fighting the war. The inflation represented by federal borrowing certainly "caused" the war production. But in 1947, when the federal government was spending only \$39 billion—a drop of \$56 billion within three years—there was a substantial increase in employment, wages, and prices. Predictions that there would be eight million unemployed if the federal government stopped "supporting" the economy by spending at wartime levels simply failed to materialize. In the light of what has happened to production in periods of contraction in federal outlays, what becomes of the Seymour Harris theory that inflation is necessary to spur a lagging economy?

To make the question even more relevant, Mr. Hazlitt reminds us—in another statistical display—that the inflationary pump-priming of the nineteen thirties failed utterly to mop up the huge pools of unemployment. One reason why "easy money" fails to bail out an economy is that businessmen, in times of inflation, have to borrow more money to sustain the same volume of business that they are doing already. The dollar figures attached to goods and services change, but the realities underlying the figures may not jump sufficiently to give the economy the needed spur.

SOME FALLACIES EXPLODED

Having established the broad outlines of his primer, Mr. Hazlitt turns to some specific fallacies of inflationary thinkers. First, there is the theory, advocated by J. Kenneth Galbraith, that the cost-push troubles of an inflationary period should be attacked by "selective" price fixing in industries like steel and

automobiles. But Mr. Hazlitt observes that selective price and wage controls add to shortages of the very things whose production the government wishes to encourage. Profit margins in controlled sectors lag behind the margins in uncontrolled "luxury" production. The result is a distortion of investment. To get things in hand again, the government is forced to extend its areas of control—and we are on our way to a more or less totally managed economy.

Well, why not? Again Mr. Hazlitt has the appropriate answer: In an economy in which there are some 9 million different prices, and some 40 trillion interrelationships of prices, total management would lead to fearful messes. Nobody knows enough to set 9 million different prices, or even a small proportion thereof. And even if it were possible to "administer" the totality of an economy with economic wisdom, the price in compulsion would lead to a serious deterioration in the moral character of the citizens.

Another specific fallacy which Mr. Hazlitt attacks is the theory, set forth on frequent occasions by the late Summer Slichter of Harvard, that a little bit of inflation is all right. Professor Slichter talked in terms of a controlled 2 or 3 per cent price expansion during a given year. But Mr. Hazlitt notes that a promised 3 per cent rise would cause such spirited bidding for goods and services that the inflation would soon outpace the intentions of the controllers. Labor unions would add 3 per cent to the demands they already had in mind; industrialists, racing to beat the price rise, would over-stock on inventories.

In other words, if you wish successfully to inflate by a small degree, you must hide your intention—i.e., you must lie to the people. Thus Sir Stafford Cripps denied at least a dozen times in 1948 and 1949 that England intended to devalue the pound. He had to do this to forestall "sure thing" gambling in the pound. When the British government finally set a price for the pound, it made Sir Stafford a twelve-times liar. But Sir Stafford had only done what any statesman bent on "controlling" the price level must do.

GOLD STANDARD—GOLD MORALITY

To protect the people against the fraudulent expropriations caused by inflation, Mr. Hazlitt would like to see a return to the gold standard, which used to act as an automatic check against the vote-buying proclivities of politicians. Much of Mr. Hazlitt's discussion of ways and means of resuming specie payments for paper money is technical. But the best part of it is moral; indeed, the argument suggests that if one is to have a gold standard, one must have a gold morality to go with it. To maintain a gold standard even for the short run requires, first of all, that the conversion rate be set at the natural market level. But to keep it going in relative perpetuity demands congruous policies of a fundamentally moral nature. The government must cease to regard the people's income as its own to be dribbled back to groups in conformance with political pressures. It must return to budgets that remain reasonably in balance. There must be lower taxes, less governmental competition with the exercise of private volun-

tary social power, and an end to the use of the banking system to buy and peg U.S. bonds at a fixed rate. The legal reserve requirements of banks must be increased from 25 per cent to, say, 40 per cent, to make inflationary borrowing impossible, and the Federal Reserve must not use the rediscount rate to promote an artificial easy money atmosphere. All of this would necessarily depend on a revival of integrity that would make any individual or group ashamed of "gimme" raids on the federal treasury.

Given present standards of public morality, it is difficult to believe that we are likely to return to the gold standard in the foreseeable future. But that does not mean that Mr. Hazlitt is wrong in either his economics or his morality.

- Freeman

Gleanings from the Press

TYRANNY OF CRUDE CENSORSHIP

Recently, possibly alarmed at the sight of lawlessness, in discipline and rampant growth of other vices among the youth of this country, the Sarvodaya workers have started a crusade against obscene cinema posters and advertisements. The Indore campaign has whetted their appetite for moral reform in this sphere, and they propose to launch soon a bonfire of obscene cinema posters throughout the country. With Dr. Lohia's campaign against English language, and the Planning Commission's determination to implement 'prohibition' throughout the country, the latest move of Acharya Bhaye and his followers may go a long way towards freeing the country of all 'vicious Western influence'!

The argument of indecency and obscenity is very specious indeed, and has often been used by censorious authority to mutilate and even prohibit the publication of works otherwise hailed as masterpieces of art. 'Public morality in danger' is the cry of those who arrogate to themselves the moral authority of the community and find perverse pleasure in subjecting their fellow-beings to their own moral tyranny. The campaign of Sarvodaya workers, though limited to cinema posters, would soon extend logically to the pictures and stage shows, appropriate scenes from which are displayed in the posters and advertisements; the seemingly innocent campaign against indecency would then make all art wither under the tyranny of crude censorship which, in this country, at least, still continues to judge pieces of art by out-moded puritanical standards.

This is not to deny that pictures and cinema posters do not often appeal to the carnal appetite of the vulgar mob; producers and all do grow fat on vulgar taste and indiscriminate craving for anything that is sensational. The remedy lies not in bonfire of books and posters à la Savonarola or in empowering the State to decide for the people what books they should read and what pictures they should see, but in real aesthetic education, in the cultivation of real taste for things that are great and ennobling and beautiful, of carefully acquired sense of discrimination between what is ugly and what is beautiful. But that is the task of real education, the aim of which is so

much ignored in the scheme of basic education and the new-fangled ideas of educational reforms which are designed to produce only socially useful men, skilled technicians and administrative personnel—but not mature and 'whole' men with hunger for truth, love of beauty and passion for liberty and social justice.

— The Radical Humanist.

News & Views

CRIMINALS HAVE A PLACE IN THE CONGRESS!

Nagpur: In the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Mr. Keshav Patil asked: "Have persons, who have previous convictions to their credit for criminal offences, a place on the Development Councils in the State?"

To this query, the Deputy Minister, Mr. Tidke, replied: "Yes. If a person is once convicted for a criminal offence, it is quite possible that he may improve. There is no need to permanently ban a person who has been convicted."

LAW TO PUNISH CHINESE SABOTEURS IN INDIA

New Delhi: A Bill is before the Lok Sabha to punish Indian nationals or others who carry on a propaganda on behalf of Red China and her aggression on the Indian soil, or who undermine the safety and security of the country. The punishment for such anti-Indian activities may be upto three years hard labour.

HATED "ZAZIA" TAX—CONGRESS RULERS RAID COMPANIES' CHESTS

In the history of Independent India there have been few more shameless things than the Congress forcing through the provisions of the Company Law Amendment Bill, enabling them to take contributions for the Congress. They have exposed their nakedness further, by fixing a maximum: 25,000 rupees or five percent of the average profits, whichever is greater, and have turned down the Opposition proposal that the mischief should be minimized by publicity or allowing dissenting shareholders to contract out..... Yet the Party spokesmen maintained the pretence that these contributions.....from people who have every reason to dislike the policies of the Congress will be voluntary. (*Italics are ours*).

"MARIE ANTOINETTES" AS OUR FOOD MINISTERS

"If they have no bread let them eat cakes." This was the simple, naive answer the French Queen gave when she was told that the Paris crowd was asking for bread.

Free India that is Bharat, had a succession of Food Ministers. Mr. S. K. Patil is the seventh in the row. Mr. Patel, like his predecessors who held the portfolio, is turning his blind eye to the real problem on the food front. His prescription to solve the food problem is too simple, if not callous. He seems to

find time to have a joke at the expense of the starving millions.

"Do you know why there is rice shortage in the country?" He asked an audience, and without waiting for an answer, gave it himself. "It is not that there isn't enough rice in the country. You, fellows eat too much of rice."

Patil should have gone further and said that neither the British, nor the French, nor the Americans eat as much rice as the Indians. Why not follow their example? Eat more bread and meat and fruits. What Patil misses to see is that rice is the staple food of a majority of the Indian population. And when they have neither the money to buy the cheap rice nor is rice in ample supply, the Government stands to be blamed. Patil ended his peroration by asking the people to eat more vegetable and fruits, forgetting the naked truth that the poor fellows cannot afford these luxuries.

But one can't blame Patil. He is simply following in the footsteps of his predecessors. Didn't Munshi advise the people "to-miss-a meal" a day? Didn't he have the spectacular stunt of "Vana Mahotsava" to bring down rain and to increase the food production. And didn't he go after the fraud of a "Paniwalla Maharaj," who was expected to make the land gush forth with water, and fertilize the soil? Of course, this fraud of a Paniwalla Maharaj who didn't discover a single well is another matter.

These succession of Food Ministers had only a bumper crop of "stunts," and nothing more. The simple remedy for the food shortage is to increase the food production, and that is by giving food production the topmost priority. But somehow this simple remedy seems not to suggest these august personalities who hold the Food portfolio. The fact that for twelve long years the Congress rulers have not been able to solve the food question entitles them to be turned out of office at the next general elections. Will the people do it?

AMERICAN VIEW OF CHINESE AGGRESSION AGAINST INDIA

"Red China has embarked upon the Chien Lung line of the former Imperialist China," states the American expert, George Sokelsky.

"The Chinese Imperialism, at the time of the Manchurian emperor, Chien Lung, temporarily stretched itself right to the south side of the Himalayas. Here is the motive of Red China conquering Tibet, her infiltration into Ladakh, her penetration into Nepal, and her threatening of Assam and Sikkim."

Our Prime Minister Nehru calls these acts of aggression as, "petty incidents." A student of current and past history, indeed.

NO MORE STRIKES IN SOVIET-OCCUPIED GERMANY

In future the so-called trade unions in East Germany will have no say in the matter of wages or the hours of work.

As per Article 37, wages, and as per Article 66, hours, are decreed by the State, regardless of a formal 8-hour a day and 48-hour a week rule. Should the State think it advisable to increase the hours to 52 a week it can do so. There is no opportunity for

the workers to launch a strike, or even to register a protest.

A workers' paradise in action.

A WELCOME BOMB-SHELL

If there was a welcome bombshell, here is one. For much too long, the personality of the Prime Minister has put the personality of the President, the Party, the Parliament, and even the People, in the shade. Even though our Constitution is an amalgum of so many constitutions, our President has some of the powers of the American President, though it has been presumed that our constitutional structure is the same as that of Great Britain. Our Parliament's obsession with May's "Parliamentary Practice and Procedure" is at once pathetic, if not humiliating. In the circumstances, it was right that our President, as the Head of the State and as the conscience of the country, should speak up.

—Organiser

DR. THEODORE HUESS ON DEMOCRACY

Some observers of constitutional development see some parallels between the constitutional structure and their functions in new Indian Union and the constitutional structure in Germany.....I have come here to speak on the academic plane. But on that plane, federalism means respect for the traditions of historical regionalism, and democracy. According to sound common-sense, it implies a certain amount of liberty, the freedom of the individual decision, for instance, at elections to elect and select the man or the party, enjoying the voter's confidence. But the kind of "democracy," which offers for example, a "single balloting-list" no matter whether containing candidates "found worthy"—such a democracy is a rank fraud.

—from A Speech at Calcutta

KASHMIR IS AS GOOD AS SOLD OUT

"I reliably learn that our Prime Minister has agreed in principle that Pakistan has the right over the canal waters and over the sources of rivers flowing into Pakistan. This, in other words, simply means that our Prime Minister has agreed to the right of Pakistan over the whole of Kashmir. The principle is agreed to. The execution is delayed.

"Why should we not hand over Kashmir to Pakistan and be done away with the troubles, once and for all? Why should we unnecessarily burden the Army and the Exchequers by holding on to Kashmir?"

—Guruji Golwalkar in a speech

The impression left on the mind of the audience is that Mr. Nehru, in effect, regards the Soviet bloc as the paragon of all virtue, whether it is on disarmament or colonialism.

—Thought

"I would not be surprised if the Central Government borrowed money for "development" even from China."

—C. Rajagopalachari

As more and more countries are liberated, colonialism has become less and less a real issue, the Afro-Asian bloc in reality has become increasingly a racialist bloc

—Sal Tas, Swarajya

Letter to the Editor

WHO IS SAFE?

Dear Madam,

I take my Hat Off to Mr. M. N. Tholal for the Bull's Eye. He has scored in his article "Neutral Nations' Claptrap" which shows US and the others WHERE WE ARE HEADING FOR.

I must say that WE are just like the "Humpty Dumpty that sat on a wall and was NO MORE after the Fall."

Only our Fuddled and Bemused Rulers think that we are SAFE by following NEUTRALITY; but for Mr. Tholal and many other Sane and Sensible persons it is just the REVERSE.

If by chance (there are many chances) any EXPLOSION (Armed Clash) occurs between the East and the West, the Communists will IMMEDIATELY OCCUPY AND GARRISON the Neutral Countries on the pretext of "SAVING THEM FROM THEIR ENEMIES." And once these countries are OCCUPIED, "good-bye" to their INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM. All sensible Nations are AWARE that this is a Well-laid and READY PLAN of the two large Communist Nations, Russia and China, and towards that end they (Commies) have been working overtly and covertly for the past few years.

According to this plan, Russia is to OVER-RUN AND OCCUPY Europe, Middle-East and Africa, and China is to do the same in the Far-East and South-East Asian Countries, where both these GIANT OCTOPUSES have Spread their Tentacles, as recent Events have amply PROVED.

The Neutrals have become Absolutely NEUTRALISED and IMPORTANT (Neuter-Genders) and will be powerless to say or do anything when this happens.

From the signs of the times we can see that at present there is a KEEN COMPETITION between the Giant Rusky Bear and the Yellow Peril to Enlarge their SPHERES OF INFLUENCE everywhere in ALL CONTINENTS, in many cases, "ONE INTERFERING AND CLASHING WITH THE OTHER IN THEIR SPECIAL PRESERVES." I am SURE that this will result in "THE BIG CLASH" (refer my letter in your last year's issue) between these two Communist Giants.

From the LATEST EVENTS can any Sane person say that the East, the West and Neutral Nations ARE SAFE? No, definitely NO.

The Guru Russian and Chela Chini will 'Cut their Noses to Spite their Faces' and so in this Big Clash of the Commies the Neutrals will be the FIRST TO SUFFER DEVASTATION and RUIN.

If I can foresee this, why should a Sane Politician and Tactician not ANTICIPATE these Future Events by reading the "Writing on the Wall?" I am sure that this dark FUTURE is drawing Very Very Near and to a GREAT CATASTROPHIC CLOSE. God forbid that this should happen.

I request Mr. Tholal to write part IV of this "Neutral Claptrap" along these lines after deep thought and meditation.

Poona.

Homi N. Driver.

January 1, 196

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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