

to a ruthless dictatorship for long years.

So the United States will have to keep close watch for another opportunity for a better organised and stronger move on the part of the Cuban democrats able to make a better showing when she will have to go all out in assistance in the cause of defence and freedom—her own as well as those of other free nations. This is a world responsibility that history has placed upon the United State as a "punishment" for her long years of isolationism! No nation can now live for herself alone, whether small or big! The sooner our leaders in India learn this lesson the better for us. Then will India arrive at maturity and emerge out of her illusions of panchsheel and pacifism.

LAOS.

The international conference on Laos is meeting in Geneva. This very fact that this important matter of Southeast Asian security is being discussed outside the UNO is ominous. No doubt it is a continuation of the conference of 1954 at which India played a notable part and helped (unwittingly it may be) the communist world to retain a foothold in Pathet Lao, a piece of territory adjoining North Vietnam and China and penetrated by pro-communist Laotian elements. All these years, this fragment of Laos has received help from China and North Viet Nam and has built herself up as a solid communist fighting unit. Recently the communist world gave large scale supplies to their guerilla forces who made good use of them and penetrated into the country close to the capital and cut it into half! President Kennedy contented himself with warning Russia that America did not like her action in giving supplies etc.

But the jungle operations went on and America failed to act. Their side in Laos failed to show fighting temper. Today Laos is as good as lost to the Reds.

The Reds are agreeable to the idea of neutral Government knowing full well that neutrality gives them opportunities of subverting the country from the seats of Government.

That is how Czechoslovakia and Hungary fell to the communists.

So the Americans are now falling back on shoring up the neighbouring States of Thailand which is a SEATO member and South Vietnam where a pro-American President is in power. But he is going the Syngmann Rhee Way and is unpopular on account of his dictatorial ways. Americans are trying to shore him up with economic help as well as with military assistance. This will give something to the common man who may be persuaded to resist the infiltrating communists.

IT IS A PRECARIOUS HOPE!

So the American statesmen are turning to India to fill the military vacuum in Southeast Asia and set a firm example of anti-communism, economic development by Seven League Boots and cultivation of national unity and social cohesion imbued with love of freedom and independence, and readiness to fight for them.

But our leaders Nehru and Menon are not very apprehensive of Communist penetration but give the local Communists free scope as being good nationalist democrats! They criticise them only in so far as the communists might impinge on their monopoly of power. They are opposed to them only in an electoral sense but not so as a philosophy, polity and humanist or inhumanist economy, and lackeys of a world power.

South Vietnam and Thailand are already honey-combed with communist Chinese elements. So we shall see the next acts of the drama even before the Laos's question is stabilised. It is likely to be stabilised as a country under communist influence. The Austrian type of neutrality that the Americans would feign see in Laos cannot be had there in the absence of the experience and anti-communist psychology of the Austrians. There are no middle class in Laos to set a value on freedom. The upper class princes and military aristocrats are too few and their following are too much of a servant class to show any fighting spirit. The poor under Communist influence can be galvanised with hope and be made to fight for their innings. The rich and their servants have only class fears to inspire them, which feelings are not good inspirers for a strong life-and-death action!

The masses in Sikkim, Bhutan, West Bengal and Assam may have the same mentality favourable to Communist machinations!

QUESTIONING THE INTEGRITY OF BORDER AREAS

At long last the amendment to the Criminal Law making propaganda in favour of the enemy occupiers in the Northern borders and questioning or

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by : D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6 ; 3 \$ (U.S.A.); 12 S. (U.K.);

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

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

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

BACK COVER..... Rs. 150

SECOND COVER..... Rs. 125

THIRD COVER..... Rs. 125

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

Write to the Manager for sample copy
and gifts to new subscribers.

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

throwing doubt on the integrity of Indian areas so parts of the country punishable was passed by Parliament. It was much too late. The only members who opposed the measure were Communist party members like Bhupesh Gupta. This is only natural as the Communists have no national sentiment. They have sold themselves to the foreigner in the shape of international Communism. They are obliged by their ideology to support the invading enemy even as against the interests of their own country.

This has opened the eyes of many people throughout the country to the danger of the presence of the CPI in the country. Many people ask as to why the party should not be banned and declared an outlaw.

Democracy cannot mean a suicidal association. If conspiracy for robbery of banks and deceit of insurance companies can be proceeded against by the police under the ordinary criminal law, it stands to reason that the much more serious danger of the fifth column of world powers like Russia and China acting inside our country and deceiving our people should be proceeded against drastically and rendered helpless to harm the nation in the hour of danger.

The plot now seems to be to win the confidence of the people by organising national fronts with national parties so as to sail under national colours, and to help the invading columns of Chinese when they enter the country.

RUSSIAN MAPS

Russian Maps in the Russian World Atlas re-issued in 1957 have again shown Sikkim and Bhutan as belonging to China. Russia has not given any answer to Indian queries in this matter!

We have been deceived by these Map tactics by

the Chinese who issued maps from 1949 even since they came to power showing large parts of Assam and Ladakh as lying within their national boundaries. It is to be noted that the educated minority in the region of the

In these circumstances to rely upon Russian friendship to keep the Chinese back from further advance into our country through the Himalayan Passes would be unwise.

Here again, time is against India. The crisis requires that India should make Nehru and V. K. K. Menon resign their posts. But democracy under present conditions acts too slowly to effect this result in the coming elections. The social law tells us therefore that India will lose her national freedom unless she gets rid of these leaders and instals more realistic leaders who can rally the people to fight the danger with open eyes and patriotic zeal.

Social history has laws too, even as physics has.

Indian eminence in spiritual philosophy cannot rescue her from the operation of the iron laws of history.

India had martial spirit but she let Muhammad Ghori sack her seventeen times!

The Mahrattas succeeded in over-throwing Moghul rule but they succumbed to the British for lack of unity and solidarity. Leaders out of power today know the danger but they lack the will and the means to undertake sacrificial whirlwind campaigns of Truth and propaganda to enlighten the people as a whole. So the inevitable must happen, unless a miracle happens and a strong new Leader emerges from the womb of Time to save the country!

Rabindranath Tagore And Humanism

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE birth centenary of Rabindranath Tagore fell on the 8th of May. It was fittingly celebrated both in India in the principal cities under both official and non-official auspices and abroad in London, New York, Bonn and other metropolitan centres. For Tagore had achieved world fame as early as the opening years of century with the conferment on him of the coveted Nobel prize for literature. He became with Gandhi one of the typical great men of India during the liberation movement enhancing India's prestige with the proud modern nations and functioning as a powerful indirect argument for Indian Independence. For, a nation that could produce such shining examples of human eminence, each in his own field, even after hundreds of years of foreign rule, should (it was felt everywhere in educated circles) be granted national independence to make its own contribution to the sum of human good.

Tagore achieved eminence in many fields—music, poetry, short stories, novels, pioneering work in education and rural reconstruction, drama, what corresponds to opera by way of dance-drama-music, creations, social and religious reform as a Brahma continuing the famous tradition of the Brahma Samaj using the Upanishads and popular mystic hymns for themes for discourses, which was enriched by the example of his father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. The Brahma Samaj set the example of Hinduism, as a living force without its age-old, superstitions of caste and untouchability, image worship and ceremonial ridden individual and family life. It was much too intellectual and refined to develop into a mass movement. The inspiration of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa on the other hand did develop into a mass movement aided by the life and work of Swami Vivekanand but then it gathered again all the old

orthodoxies under a blanket justification of symbolism so that the position reverted to orthodoxy again in the eyes of the ignorant majority, supported tacitly by the educated minority on the ground of liberalism and toleration.

From Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Prime Minister Nehru and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan who spoke on Tagore on the occasion of the centenary in Delhi, Hyderabad, Shantiniketan and other places, speakers have spotlighted one feature of the Poet's work more than another that is pertinent to the contemporary social and political situation in India today as well as in the world as a whole. And it is the trait of humanism or universalism that dominated the outlook and emotional quality of Rabindranath. He was no doubt a nationalist but one thoroughly imbued with an internationalist philosophy and sentiment.

Tagore's lectures delivered in the United States (some of them before learned audiences like those of Harvard University) afterwards collected and published under the titles of *Sadhana* and *Personality* give a singularly attractive exposition of the creative ideas of the Upanishads in a human setting freed from all sacerdotal and eschatological elements. They present a humanist version of the Vedic tradition ready for use in life in all its many-sided spheres—art, religion, social service, nationalism or social fraternity, incentives and sublimations of morality, the recipe for the most useful attitudes to meet and resist evil etc.—all imbued with a broad humanitarianism that makes his national sentiment pure and spiritual in temper and entirely devoid of all narrow fanaticism and chauvinism.

Humanism comes to the modern person in two forms—one animated by spiritual philosophy purifying old world religion of all its dross of orthodoxy and dogmatic ideas. It retains the view of Man as a spark of the Divine, an incarnation of the infinite spirit in biological shape. Some thinkers of this school would like to retain the idea of immortality of the soul as a possibility to keep the doors of the future open. Indians of this school would retain the idea of re-incarnation as an ethical postulate as offering a series of opportunities in life after life to realise the full potentialities inherent in the human being as an embodiment of the infinite spirit or consciousness.

Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Tilak, Radhakrishnan, Gandhi would all more or less belong to this group of modern Indians. Tagore was a most articulate member of this school offering his own independent interpretation of the living thoughts of the Upanishads and Vaishnava lyrics stressing the meaning and mission of Man on the planet as a process of universalisation—i.e. expansion of sympathies from the individual centre through the family and neighbourhood, clan, tribe and nation to humanity as a whole, indeed to all living beings in the cosmos. This is morality and religion in their living meaning—all else is stimulus and symbol—means and not ends in themselves.

Tagore expounded this view of life in his *Upton Lectures* delivered in Oxford and published under the title of *The Religion of Man*. Typical addresses

on this theme have been published on this occasion of the centenary by the Americans under a Ford Foundation Grant under the title of *Tagore as the Poet of Universalism*. Universalism is only another term for humanism. Man as Man as displaying a common essence revealed in thought, feeling and action, in the search after truth, beauty and goodness or fellowship is universal to the core, in spite of all diversifying and conflicting factors that keep groups of humanity apart in the work-a-day world of economics and politics.

Our leaders recalled this aspect of Tagore's work and vision pointedly in their addresses on the centenary occasions. Dr. Radhakrishnan went so far as to declare unequivocally and without qualification that today nationalism had become obsolete and outmoded. With nuclear weapons in the armoury of the leaders of nations and space missiles ready for military use, it seems ridiculous to cling to national boundaries!

Rabindranath committed the same mistake in his provocative lectures on Nationalism delivered in the United States during the war of 1914-18. When Western nations were at death grips with each other and fighting for very life and sheer survival, it seemed ungracious and tactless for an Indian living under the protection of one of them to castigate the powerful social force and sentiment of nationalism that enabled such large multitudes to achieve the social solidarity so essential for defence. India, it must be recalled, has suffered century after century for lack of this defensive nationalist team or herd instinct in a sufficient measure.

The herd instinct has been developed in the course of evolution among animals and men to serve as a bond of social cohesion or unity with which to meet the enemy. Herds of cattle or even horses and deer are not attacked by beasts of prey when they are alert in herds!

As for misuse, every power can be misused. Reason is given to man by the same evolutionary process to concert measures to avoid the excesses of group spirit. Nationalism is not committed to Kaiserism or Hitlerism or Fascism. And all social organisation is not bad. Tagore himself praises the social affections that play so beneficial a part in the function of the family and social and professional solidarity and charity that look after the unfortunate members of society.

Dr. Radhakrishnan as a philosopher knows that the Buddhist thinkers committed the mistake of denying the very reality of the individual self, and of the external world in order to remove all speculative bases for selfishness and conflict. If the self and world do not exist (*anatta* and *sunya*) in reality but are only illusory appearances, what do we gain by selfishness which clings to worldly possessions? A strange way of ignoring reality. It is an attempt "to return to the womb," as the psychoanalysts say, in order to solve the problems of life!

If nationalism is obsolete as Dr. Radhakrishnan says, the unaccountable behaviour of the Indian Gov-

ernment (led by Nehru and V. K. Krishna Menon) in treating the Chinese aggression into Indian soil becomes intelligible!

It is natural for ordinary people untrained in logic or scientific method to go to extremes in stressing the value of any partially true idea. All ideas are only partially true. Full truth is only in the whole system of total reality of the universe from which man is yet far off. Meanwhile we should exercise caution and state all truths in forms that await modification by fuller knowledge.

If nationalism is obsolete, will Dr. Radhakrishnan recommend the appointment of Field Marshal Ayub Khan of Pakistan, as the Commander in Chief of India? Will he tolerate the attitude of Indian Communists that favours China at the expense of Indian territorial integrity?

If nationalism is obsolete, why is it that the lack of it in the Congo leaders and people is giving rise to such anarchy to the Congo after independence? If they are unable to establish social cohesion sufficient to support a stable unitary Government, (Kasavubu trying to aggrandise himself at the expense of Tshombe, of Lumumba's followers and others, each group prepared to assassinate the other to remove obstacles in the path of its own power), it is all due to a fatal insufficiency of nationalist sentiment in the leaders as well as in the rank and file.

The fact is that mankind is found at any one time at different levels of development and culture. Fully developed nations may find it necessary to curb the nationalist spirit and sacrifice their national sovereignty for the sake of world peace and world federation. European nations have found such a curtailment of national sovereignty in economic matters essential for their sheer survival in competition with the USA and the Soviet Bloc and have formed the European Common Market. And it is seriously proposed by their leaders to fuse this economic Union with a political Union! If the USA and the USSR and Britain succeed in sacrificing their national sovereignty to the extent necessary to establish world security under a system of world federation or collective security supported by the Rule of Law, the rest of the world can develop in peace, in spite of their deficiency in national sentiment and national cohesion! The Congo will not suffer so much in finding its feet in the turmoil of the cold war between the rivals for world mastery.

In India we are speaking so much about the evils of casteism, communalism, parochialism as evidenced by the Naga demands for independence followed by other hill tribes, by the Punjabi Subah demand, by the Vidarbha agitation, by the demand for a separate Dravida State totally independent of and outside the Indian Union. The sovereign remedy for all these fissiparous forces is the development of national sentiment. Only a stronger emotion can drive out a lesser one! The current remedy coming from Gandhian days is too superficial and will prove dangerously ineffective and will only whet the communal appetite by its appeasement.

The Indira Gandhi Committee's suggestion for the cure of Muslim communalism is the offer of more jobs to Muslims and "most-favoured-nation treatment" to them in everything; even in regard to punishment under the criminal law, it would seem!

No cure is suggested for Hindu communalism. If appeasement is the remedy for the one, it should be the remedy for the other likewise! Out of what National Fund of jobs and economic and political opportunity are the Muslims to be favoured with largesse?

If more than their legitimate share is given to one community, are you not rousing the sense of resentment in the other communities, who will have to work more for a lesser share of the reward? How is this social justice? This is not the way of national integration but surely one of national disintegration!

Hence Humanism cannot entitle us to ignore the fact that at one stage, nationalism is the next step in advance in the expansion of the social and individual consciousness into larger units of self-governing groups bound by a consciousness of kind. At the next stage, internationalism subordinating nationalism becomes the crying need of the hour.

Tagore had little realisation of the complications of these larger social problems. As a poet he described ideals and condemned defects in a moving language. That was his service. We need not only ideas but also people to touch them with emotion. Poets and saints fulfil this function. For this, we should be grateful. If we raise the deeper questions that confront Humanism or Universalism, as we must if we are to have an influence on the flow of events in actual life, we should find second principles to modify the application of universal principles temporarily. As Whitehead says, any attempt to put the Sermon on the Mount into practice suddenly without preparation of the minds of the people would end in disaster! Consider the effect of deciding on equal pay for all—for Minister, secretary, chaprassi and clerk etc,—as from a particular date in all offices!

The application of the principle of showing the other cheek to the Chinese Reds will only end in the enslavement of India! Gandhi was no doubt a Human Being. But so were Himmler and Eichmann! If plenty of jobs are given to people who are animated with extra-territorial loyalty, we shall only be facilitating their take-over of the country for foreign rule!

Rabindranath as the heir of the Upanishads and the Indian cultural heritage in general was a humanist of the spiritual school. He believed that what was distinctive of Man and was the source of his dignity and superiority to animals was his being the expression of the Infinite Spirit in a unique degree.

Rabindranath stressed social service and the way of action and that of appreciation and creation of beauty as the pathways for the realisation of the spirit in man and the fulfilment of his destiny.

Today (as always) we find another group of Humanists who turn to universal humanism from the stand-

(Continued on page 6)

Motilal Nehru

By M. N. Tholal

MOTILAL NEHRU was the first leader I came to know. My first meeting with him was in dramatic circumstances. I had non-co-operated from M.A. (Final) and joined the non-co-operation movement in 1921. After its suspension on the outbreak of violence at Chauri Chaura I joined the Independent as an apprentice. Its Editor, D. G. Upson, an Englishman preferred my articles to those of the senior assistant editor. The former appeared as second leaders while the latter, unknown to me, were thrown into the waste-paper basket. The man thus offended had acted as Editor, was a Congress leader and well-known to Motilal Nehru, the chairman of the Board of Directors, to whom he complained against the Editor. Motilal was a disciplinarian and refused to interfere with the Editor's discretion, but promised he would carefully go through the second leaders re-

(Continued from page 6)

point of naturalism or materialism or athiestic or agnostic scepticism. They too hope to make the best of human potentialities in the way of social equality and social harmony as the line of progress.

But they too are confronted with the problem of reconciling refractory groups of people who may defy their humanist appeal. Man's inhumanity to man is conspicuous in history. Apart from Hitler's gas chambers, we have only to remember how for centuries European slave traders captured African tribesmen, fettered them on ocean ships and sold them to cotton or sugar planters in the West Indies and South America and elsewhere.

We have only to remind ourselves of the shastraic status given to untouchables in our own country.

Why should one group of men superior in strength refrain from using weaker groups for their own selfish advantage?

Why should Man be good to other Men?

To say that because he is a Brother is not saying anything, for brotherhood is a metaphor in this context. Cannibalism of one kind or other—economic or political if not physical—seems to be inherent in human civilisation till today!

The central problem of humanism (whether spiritually or naturalistically oriented) is to prove that there is some element in Man as such that countermands such cannibalism but on the contrary demands mutual co-operation to make life decent for all, for the individual as well as for society, for the eater or exploiter as well as for the eaten or exploited!

Poets like Tagore point the way but analysis and reflection must pursue the path of science if our reason is to be convinced.

gularly to see if favouritism was rampant at the cost of the paper.

Soon after the Editor went to Amritsar to see the Guru-ka-Bagh atrocities for himself and from Delhi sent a telegram asking me to write the first leader, his senior assistant the second. Of the two copies of a pamphlet against Mrs. Besant written by one of her lieutenants, one reached my table and the other the senior assistant's. Both chose that pamphlet to write on. I attacked Mrs. Besant in my first leading article and the second leader supported her on the same day on the same issue. Motilal was naturally wild and sent for the Editor to find out if we had "all gone mad." On hearing he was away he sent for the Senior Assistant. On learning from him that I had written the first and he the second, he rebuked him saying Upson was after all right in throwing away his stuff in the waste-paper basket.

When I reached office the next day, I found a chit lying on my table: "Motilal Nehru wants to see you at once." The contradictory articles had already perturbed me and the chit made me nervous. The senior assistant, I thought, must be right, and I felt sure I was in for it. I had gone for Mrs. Besant for all I was worth. On my way to Anand Bhawan I thought out an excuse. After all, I was only an apprentice! But he had sent for me to pat me on the back which he did by saying he had been in search of writers for long, that speakers he had found but not one writer till then. "I must say you write very well indeed."

A TRUE DEMOCRAT

The senior assistant had to go. Upson joined another paper and when I went on a week's leave to join the wedding of one of my nieces, Motilal sent for the Acting Editor to know why the standard of the editorials had suddenly fallen and where I was. On hearing from him that I was on leave, he asked him to send me a telegram cancelling my leave and asking me to return at once. I was naturally annoyed and asked the Editor the reason for the telegram. He could have told me he was unwell and I would never have known the real reason, but he frankly related what had happened. Sundaram—that was his name—was indeed a rare soul.

Motilal was very fond of capable men and flattered and patronised them. Patronage of capable men—giving a man his due—is the hallmark of honest men, and I have often been able to distinguish the honest from the dishonest by the presence or lack of it in a man. A man who patronises flunkeys and flatterers is dishonest. Love of flattery soon drives a man to dishonesty. There is no way out of it. I liked Motilal and often went to see him after the Independent had closed down. I had refused to join Upson on his new paper on a salary very much bigger

than what I was drawing as an apprentice (but main leader-writer) on the Independent. I did not then consider Motilal Nehru a great man, although as a lawyer he had been famous. His greatness dawned on me by comparison when I later came to know the other leaders of the land—Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, Mohammad Ali, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, etc., etc. How they suffered in comparison, particularly in the eyes of one like me who had received his training from Englishmen! It was easy to find fault with them: it had not been possible to find fault with Motilal. There was obviously in the making of Motilal an extraordinary amount of self-criticism. He always let me—eleven years younger than his son—meet him on equal terms. I think that is the greatest tribute I can pay him. Mohammad Ali also did so but then he was all passion and emotion and almost always wrong. Malaviyaji, I think, felt amused at my nonchalance and my apparent unawareness of his greatness. Lajpat Rai was definitely offended. Sapru was unconscious of his greatness.

Self-criticism and sense of humour go together. When I had gone on a week's leave Motilal offered to take my place and promised the Acting Editor a couple of notes every day till I was back. He had actually written two by the time I came back. I asked Sundaram who had written them. "I have," he replied with a smile. "You haven't," I shot back. "Why," he asked, "Can't I write like that?" "I can't believe it," I said. Then opening his eyes as wide as he could, he said, "MOTILAL NEHRU. He said he would take your place till you were back." All the sentences in those two notes were well-guarded by modifying phrases and there was no loophole anywhere for attack. I had read and re-read them before I knew who had written them. There was no gainsaying it: he was great as a writer.

TOAST TO A "DRY INDIA"

My visits to him continued after the closing down of the Independent. He must have been wondering why I was visiting him. (That is a compliment I have not paid any other leader except Sapru, but then Sapru's drawing room was a meeting place for the elite of the town.) One day, when I was leaving him, he suddenly asked me, "Do you need money?" "Oh no," I replied, "I am a bachelor and putting up with my sister here." Obviously he was thinking of helping me—and that after having given up practice in the non-co-operation movement! He was always open-handed and helped people in distress. After that we became friendlier. The reason why I went to see him was political. I never came back from a visit to him without his giving me some food for thought by a chance remark. That is something which other leaders never did—for one thing, because they were not sure of their opinions, and, for another, because they were afraid of giving expression to their opinions even when they were sure of them.

The most striking trait of Motilal's character was his straightforwardness. When you come to think of it, it is not just one quality, but a combination of qualities. For, how many of us can afford to be straightforward? Only those who are behind the scenes what they profess to be on the stage. For

example, every one knows that many Congress leaders were and are fond of the bottle and that they drank or drink on the sly. Motilal took his evening peg in the presence of those who might be with or near him at the time. "If you think it is wrong to drink," he once told a fellow lawyer whom he discovered drinking on the sly, "give it up. If you don't think it is wrong, do so openly." In a country where drink has a very bad odour about it, he had to suffer for his conviction, but he went on his way fighting his battle against hypocrisy and converting others to his point of view, though not without suffering in popular esteem in the process. His toast in public to a "Dry India" was the joke of the year.

Himself straightforward, he liked straightforward people. One day he suddenly asked me, "What do you think of.....?" The query was about one of his favourite lieutenants and before I knew what I was saying I had blurted out, "He is a mealy-mouthed liar." The remark astonished and angered him, but only for a moment. Amusement succeeded anger and astonishment, and then he burst out with laughter that shook Anand Bhawan. On my way home I told myself, "You have made a fool of yourself again," but recalled with considerable satisfaction that anger had been quickly followed with approval, if not of my opinion, of my forthrightness at least. After that he often wanted my opinion about men and matters. I was then in my early twenties and consider it a great tribute to myself that I had earned the confidence and respect of a man like Motilal Nehru.

A MEMORABLE SCENE

When I was in my teens (with the century) Motilal was perhaps the most unpopular man in my community of Kashmiri Pandits. Reason: he had started giving English education to his daughter and was living in western style. Later others also started sending their daughters or grand daughters to Convent schools and among them were those who had been condemning Motilal Nehru. The funniest thing about it was that they did not give up condemning him even after following in his footsteps!

His sense of humour was notorious and his sayings were repeated by all those who knew him. A few minutes with him were enough to convince any thinking soul that here was a man who had thought out things for himself and, what is more, come to definite conclusions. Of inferiority complex, the bane of Indians, there was not a trace in him. The result was confidence in himself—any amount of it. Such a man would have shone in any sphere. Sense of humour is born of self-confidence. Perhaps the greater the confidence a man has in himself, the greater is his sense of humour. Any one who could say something witty or humorous was sure to be in his good books. A man of rare courage he once had a statement circulated by the Associated Press calling a Congress leader a "damned liar" with an offer indemnifying papers which published the statement. On receiving it there was rejoicing among Englishmen in the Pioneer office but I had, at the Editor's instance, to go to him to have the message confirmed before it was published. "Do you want the confirmation in writing?" I asked the Editor, and he replied

without hesitation, "No, no. His word is enough." Such was the esteem in which he was held by Englishmen in India. And then they gave a double-column headline to the message: "..... is a damned liar: Motilal Nehru's statement." No other message could have occasioned so much laughter for days in any newspaper office as that one did in the Pioneer office.

That leads us on to the man's integrity, his sense of justice and fairplay, which was at the bottom of the respect he commanded even among his opponents. Jinnah, differing from the Swarajists on the tactics to be pursued, yet agreed to vote down the Finance Bill more than once. That was Jinnah's tribute to Motilal Nehru. He once took me to a party he had given the Central Legislators. Jinnah and Mrs. Jinnah were there. Nonchalantly he thrust his arm under Mrs. Jinnah's and walked round the lawn with Jinnah and a few others following, and went on firing shots of humorous sarcasm at Jinnah which the delighted Mrs. Jinnah, as in duty bound, tried to put a stop to by saying repeatedly: "Stop it, Panditji. Stop it, please!" I think that was by far the most memorable scene I have witnessed in Indian political life.

IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION

It was after Motilal's death that the personality cult gained ascendancy. Reducing others to zero by hook or crook is part of the personality cult, and it naturally brings rancour in its train. What alienated the Muslim Leaguers and Jinnah was not the effort to gain independence for the country, but the effort to emerge as undisputed dictators. The U.P. Congress, in the pursuit of its "mass contact"

programme, employed Mullahs to denounce Jinnah because he did not offer "namaz" (prayers) five times a day or fast during the Ramzan. Indirectly what the U.P. Congressmen were denouncing was not Jinnah's communalism but his nationalism. In any case, it was hitting below the belt, which, I am positive, would not have been possible during the lifetime of Motilal Nehru. And it was this "mass contact" programme, conducted by Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, that gave rise to the demand for Pakistan. Jinnah's retort was, "All right. You want me to be a fanatic. I shall show you what I can do as a fanatic." And he did, wonder of wonders! Can anything beat that—Congressmen using the language of mad mullahs! One of the architects of that "mass contact" programme is still going about the country condemning communalism in all its forms!

His son wants flattery, but he himself flattered people in the service of the nation, and by flattery won them over to the national cause. "Panditji," complained Jinnah once, "You have robbed me of all my speakers and orators." His command over Urdu and Persian was an asset which he exploited to the full. Hearing his Urdu a Bengali Muslim leader once blurted out: "Panditji aap to Nabi ki jaban bolta hae." (Panditji, you speak the language of the Prophet!) But soon after his death his work was undone by his own son and his Muslim lieutenants drifted away to the League and other communal bodies, because the national ideal had vanished and loyalty to an individual had replaced loyalty to the nation. The fight for freedom was forgotten in the fight for the loaves and fishes of office that the 1935 constitution gave India. That was exactly what Motilal had prophesied in condemning the responsivists.

The Prime Minister And The Future Of Our Country—I

By S. R. Narayana Ayyar*

THAT sincere friend of India, Mr. Vincent Sheean in his book "Nehru—The years of Power" states that many had told him that "Panditji knows best"; and rightly adds, "they abdicate their democratic right to their own opinion.....It is clear that India tends more than before to entrust its fate to one man and thus incurs risks as great as they are obvious.....Many are filled with forebodings, which concern that normal, natural and inevitable event, the succession to Prime Minister's office." Lord Mountbatten also questioned the Madras Finance Minister about this aspect when the latter visited England. The same thoughts are being expressed by the Leaders in other foreign countries and by a number of our own countrymen. Such a trend of thoughts is not good for our country's future. Our Prime Minister, unfortunately, has served the country so well that after him, there seems to be, utterly no one

to steer the ship of State in a proper way in this ancient land of ours; and perhaps the proverbial deluge may come after him.

Yet this ancient Bharata Varsha of ours has never failed to give birth to great Rulers, Warriors, Architects, Poets, Saints, Statesmen and Thinkers not only in pre-Christian era but even when the people were under the heels of foreign Rulers, though they were sincerely feeling—I do not blame them for this—that we were Kafirs and Heathens who were fit enough to be thrown into the everlasting fire in Hell. Yet it is in such a land that after Independence, we are depending for our very guidance, safety, unity and honour on a single mortal however great he may be. Such a position is neither creditable to our ancient culture nor to our great Leader.

We find that our Prime Minister himself has stated

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN
RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT

An Appeal For Unity

By S. Ramanathan

I HAVE frequently referred in these columns to the trend throughout the world to consolidate the movements variously known as "Rationalist", "Freethinker", "Secularist" and "Humanist" under the common banner of "Humanism". The renaming of the monthly organ of the Rationalist Press Association of London as the "Humanist" was the turning point in the whole process. There are many advantages in such unification. Obviously the multiplicity of names of the organisations endeavouring to achieve a common object often confuses the general public and especially the young new comer into the movement. This trend towards unification has therefore to be welcomed.

So far as India is concerned there are two organisations already devoted to this object: the Radical Humanist and the Indian Rationalist. Now a third one has been formed by Mr. Narsingh Narain (23A, Railway Colony, Sardar Patel Road, New Delhi) who has registered a Memorandum Association of "The Humanist Union" "under the Societies Registration Act. This Memorandum was given wide publicity by the "Humanist" of London and I have published extracts from it in the last issue of this journal. In this connection the following Resolution passed at the Second Andhra Pradesh Radical Humanist Convention held at Chirala, on the 16th April 1961, under the presidentship of Sri K. Subramaniam, has given the correct lead: "The Convention urges the Rationalists and the Radical Humanists of India to pool in their efforts and energies and to have a common Organisation, as is being done by sister Associations in other parts of the world".

The point for Humanists, Rationalists, Freethinkers and Secularists to consider is whether it is not high time that we, in this country, pooled our resources so that we might gain the strength to make a mark on the general public and win their support to our cause. A multiplicity of small Organizations will fritter away our limited energies while a large organisation will carry with it the power not merely to convince others but to act.

The question is not quite so simple as I have described above because there are differences in the objectives of these several movements and these differences are not merely nominal. Taking the Radical Humanist movement, which was inaugurated by Comrade M. N. Roy, it is a political movement in spite of its being wedded to a policy of partyless Government. Not only the Government envisaged

by that movement is to be partyless but the very movement itself is to be conducted without any organisation or at any rate with a loose organisation.

The principal reason why the Radical Humanist movement came into existence was the fact that Rationalists of Com. Roy's way of thinking could not belong either to the camp of Capitalists or to that of the Communists. Capitalism by its very nature is unable to sever its connection with religion. In spite of the wall of separation between the State and the Church erected by the American constitution there are ugly symptoms of religious revival in the compulsory slogan of 'Under God' and Bible study in Schools. Communism on the other hand, while it ostentatiously discards all religion, nevertheless is wedded to the creed of the Marxian dialectics which is itself a 'religion'. Communists will not advance one step further than the out-moded philosophy of Karl Marx. Comrade Roy had to steer clear of the Scylla of Capitalist religion on the one hand and the Charybdis of Communal totalitarianism on the other hand. Rationalism, therefore, or Humanism to give it its new name, has to offer an alternative leadership to the world which is suffering from the twin evils of Capitalism and Communism. Such a grand project cannot be achieved except through a powerful organisation. I therefore submit to the All India Re-union of the Indian Renaissance Institute which is due to meet at Dehra Dun on the 27th to 30th May that the Radical Humanists should discard the element of anarchism in their thinking which makes them apprehensive of all organisations as such.

Judging by the reactions of its members at this critical juncture of the tragic end of the life of the leader Mrs. Ellen Roy, it looks as though Radical Humanists are going to have some kind of live organisation. The future of the Radical Humanist movement in India is closely bound up with the effort to find an alternative to Capitalism and Communism.

The Indian Rationalist Association followed the example of the R.P.A. of London and avoided all politics in the hope that we shall have members from both the Camps of Capitalism and Communism and we shall grow into a mighty and numerous organisation. But that hope was falsified. The Indian Rationalist Association fell between two stools.

It is no use pretending that the Indian Rationalist

God And Mathematics

by Hyman Levy

'A mathematical proof' of the existence of God is examined by a professional mathematician.

AT the special request of Prof. C. A. Coulson, Rouse Ball Professor of Mathematics at the University of Oxford, the Reader's Digest has reprinted an article written in 1948 by Prof. A. Creasy Morrison, former President of the New York Academy of Sciences, in which the latter gives his reasons for his belief in God. Speaking for myself, I find it difficult to understand how a scientist could have been led, by the reasons he gives, to the beliefs he says he holds. I am indeed prepared to assert, without fear of contradiction, that no reputable scientific society would have accepted his arguments as valid, and worthy of publication in its journal. Here, therefore, I propose to examine only the first, and to him apparently the most cogent, of the seven reasons on which he founds his faith.

'By unwavering mathematical law', he writes, 'we can prove that our universe was designed and executed by a great engineering intelligence.' We propose to examine his 'proof' in a moment, but I must begin by stating quite frankly that although these words conjure up some kind of image in my mind they are otherwise quite meaningless to me. I know of no 'unwavering mathematical law' anywhere in the physical universe, except as idealized concepts in the minds of some people.

PROOF OF THE PENNIES

Mathematics is a humanly constructed language, admirably adapted to describe certain general regularities we succeed in disentangling from Nature, and to carry through certain kinds of argument

(Continued from page 1)

Association is actively functioning in spite of our holding six annual conventions and our continuing to publish our monthly journal. Our membership is more or less nominal. Members who once played active parts have gradually ceased their interest and do not even pay up their subscriptions.

I do not know how the new organisation set up by Mr. Narasingh Narain is functioning. But in the present atmosphere I do not expect to have a mass following in spite of his efforts to water down Rationalism by taking people who have religious affiliations.

It is therefore necessary to think of an amalgamation in terms of the resolution of the Second Andhra Pradesh Radical Humanist Convention. In the steps we shall take towards such unification we shall certainly not be dogmatic and exclude persons who really are of our persuasion. Neither should we be so colourless that our objective will appear to have no content.

which, at this stage of our evolutionary development we respond to as 'logically compelling'. Perhaps later in history, when our experience has widened, and our imagination accordingly becomes richer in conceptual possibilities, we may not find such proofs so compelling.

The history of mathematics is peppered with proofs and propositions that have been stepping-stones to more exacting proofs and more specific propositions. It is all part of our evolutionary history and underlines the dangers of dogmatism.

Here, then, is his proof. Ten identical pennies are marked 1 to 10, well shaken, and dropped into one's pocket. Of course they are idealized pennies, so that one cannot differentiate between them by the feel; it is an idealized pocket, so that every penny is equally accessible to one's idealized fingers, which have no special tendency to pick this one rather than that one; and so on. In fact, of course, we aren't going to carry through a real experiment but only imagine one carried through; not with real pennies, real pockets, and real people, but imagined ones.

The probability of drawing out first the penny marked 1 is, of course, 1 in 10. We then imagine it replaced, and the whole set of pennies ideally shuffled, so that everything is now as before. The probability of drawing out the penny marked 2 is now also 1 in 10, so that the probability of drawing out those marked 1 and 2 in succession is 1 in 100. We are asked to imagine this performance repeated, so that finally the probability in this imaginary experiment of drawing out in succession the idealized pennies marked 1 to 10, in that order, is 1 in 10 times, 10 times 10 ten times — that is, 1 in 10,000 million. The mind boggles at this minute probability.

This is not an 'unwavering mathematical law' found in the physical universe, but the effort of mind of a mathematician. How, then, can we rig up an experiment in Nature to reproduce this—exactly, if that were really possible; if not, then approximately? How many times would I require to dip my real hand into my real pocket with ten real marked pennies to give the whole thing a fair trial? 10,000 million times? No. After all, I might conceivably get the proper order on the very first occasion, and then not again after many thousands of millions of trials. So apparently I would have to repeat this thousands and thousands of millions of times and perhaps hope that the average number of successes would come out to be approximately 1 in 10,000 million!

Simply to do one batch of these trials—i.e. a 1,000 million of them—I estimate would take me about

2,000 years, so you can imagine what my trouser pockets would be like! But this is not a serious objection, because it would not be difficult to get a series of machines to do the experiment in a reasonable time to test whether on the average the sequence 1, 2, 3 . . . 10 occurs approximately once in 10,000 million times. The point I am trying to underline is not really concerned with the difficulty of doing the experiment, but with the fact that the 'unwavering mathematical law' was a human invention, and merely a rough approximation to the wavering reality. So much for the 'unwavering mathematical law' which is the starting-point of Prof Cressy Morrison's proof of the existence of God.

Now it is important to notice that the probability of drawing the pennies in the order of marking 1, 2, 3 . . . 10 is exactly the same as for any other order. If I ask in advance what is the probability of drawing the pennies in the order 7, 4, 2, 5, 10, 3, etc, precisely the same calculation will apply as before. There is nothing significant about the order as far as the probability of drawing it is concerned, except the fact that Prof. Cressy Morrison had his eyes fixed on his possible order in advance, viz. 1, 2, 3 . . . 10. After all, if the experiment is done once only, some particular order of pennies will emerge—is bound to emerge. It would be a complete confusion of thought to exclaim 'How amazing! The chances of getting that particular number grouping is only 1 in 10,000 million—and here it is! It must be a miracle!'

Once we grasp this, the next step, which apparently has Professor Coulson's agreement, is indeed amazing. You bring together a biologist, a plant pathologist, a geneticist, a physicist, a chemist, an astrophysicist, etc, not of course in advance of the emergence of life on this planet—otherwise they wouldn't be here, and so could not know what particular grouping of atoms and molecules had emerged out of the primordial past—but after they have seen the final arrangement of living pennies as it were, and you ask them to state, each from his point of view, what factors were essential, in the physical-historical process, in order that life should emerge. If any one of these conditions had not been fulfilled, something other than life would of course have been the outcome (and the same amazing argument would presumably have been applied to it).

Having detailed these alongside all the other possible conditions one might imagine could have occurred, Prof Cressy Morrison, presumably with Professor Coulson's agreement, gazes in amazement and awe at the actual universe after the fact, and asks in effect: 'Is it really conceivable that these factors came together without deliberate design, out of this practically unlimited number of possibilities, to emerge precisely in this kind of living sentient matter?' Exactly as if he had gazed at the numbers on the pennies he had drawn, 7, 4, 2, 5, 10, 3 . . . and exclaimed: 'How amazing! The chance of getting this is 1 in 1,000 million, and here I have it.'

So Professors Coulson and Morrison are driven to the conclusion that the universe was designed and

executed by a Great Engineering Intelligence. No human being could possibly have sized up the situation, and so controlled the conditions as to achieve this, with all these odds against it!

The fact is, of course, that this argument has nothing specifically to do with the origin of life, as such. It could have been applied, or rather misapplied, to the coming into being of this sheet of paper out of the myriads of atoms and molecules that in primordial times constituted the flaming gases that were the Earth. And we have ourselves illustrated it in reference to the emergence of the grouping 7, 4, 2, 5, 10, 3, etc, from the ten pennies.

The difference lies in the fact that this latter arrangement has no special significance for us, but we, who are asking these questions, being ourselves living matter, are specially interested in the details of the process which culminated in ourselves. Something was bound to emerge out of this earlier phase. We were it.

The scientific problem still to be solved is the tracing of the detailed steps in the process. If, however, on the basis of this ignorance we speculate about all the other conceivable forms of aggregation that might have occurred, and group these speculations in terms of probabilities, we are really doing nothing more than express our ignorance in a systematic way.

There is nothing in this at which to be astounded, and it has no relevance whatsoever to any so-called supernatural intelligence. It is our intelligence that we are expressing.

—The Humanist

THE FAMILY PLANNING POSTER AND THE CHURCH

The wording on the poster that was removed from the London Underground trains, after protest from various religious people, ran: "If you are getting married and want family planning advice; if you are married and want to plan a family; if you want a family and cannot have one, the Family Planning Association will help you. Write to . . ." The wording seems to me harmless and helpful. A Transport Commission spokesman said: "Correspondence has made it clear that a considerable number of people consider this poster objectionable. Our principle is to try and see that nothing appears which is likely to be objectionable to any of our passengers." The record of the Church in opposing liberal reform is deplorable, and has perhaps contributed as much as any other factor to the decay of religious belief. Millions of people must ask themselves if a Church that can be so reactionary can really derive inspiration from an omniscient and benevolent God. And the Transport Commission may be asked to consider the ancient fable: "The miller, his son and his ass." The individualist.

Birth Control

We have great pleasure in reproducing a note sent to us by Mr. Ira D. Cardiff, a prominent author and Rationalist of America. His suggestion that we must provide an economic incentive to sterilization is quite welcome. Already, we understand, a sum of Rs. 5/- or Rs. 10/- is given by Hospitals in India to persons who have undergone the operation of Vasectomy. We support the idea that a larger sum be given to individuals of both sexes who undergo operations for sterilization.

Any number of Five Year Plans, however, ardently prosecuted, will not solve the problem of poverty in India. The Malthusian principle is absolutely true about India. While the production of commodities grows in arithmetical progression by the Five Year Plans, the population growth is by geometrical progression. We must guard against the certain danger of a population explosion in the world more than the problematic danger of an atomic explosion. Governments will do well to spend at any rate a part of the millions that go to swell their budgets in the guarding against the population explosion. We fancy that the offer of round about Rs. 100/- each will tempt many of the poorer classes of Indians to undergo the operation for sterilization. It is the poorer classes who multiply rapidly and contribute to the enormous growth of the population.—Ed.

RATIONAL PHILANTHROPY

Inspiration From Mencken

'Will the world wake up in time to extricate itself from the mess it is now in? I am afraid not. For too long the powers of religion, supported by the Jewized, Christianized, masses, have prevented a birth control system from being established, and now the stupid and the incompetent threaten to roll over the planet in a dark wave.

It is too late to find a solution which will satisfy the brain-softened humanitarians. Someone recently remarked facetiously: "We are going to have to start shooting people". It is a sad fact that we are closer to that extreme than we realize. How much better it would be if the world had listened to H. L. Mencken, who wrote more than twenty years ago (quoted from Twentieth Century Authors, page 944):

Personally I am in favor of offering the obviously stupid and incompetent cash in hand for their consent to be sterilized. That will bring them in by the million, and avoid the danger of giving discretion to public agencies, all of which are muddle-headed and most of which are corrupt.

Cash in hand to be sterilized! The world could not find a better way to spend its money.'

—R. E. Ward.

GOD'S GENTLE WAYS ...

Religionists depict their God as a kind and loving Father, caring for and protecting his flock. How they manage to reconcile such statements with actual facts is beyond all understanding. For example: A news item from Rochester, Minn., Nov. 18th, says that young Presbyterian minister and his six children were all killed when the car in which they were riding hit a bridge abutment. His wife was at home at the time. How can such a tragedy be explained in any terms that make sense to a human mind?

God, if He is the omnipotent ruler of the world controls all events. If he is omniscient he knew this was going to happen and could have averted it. A human mind would suppose that God knew that the minister was doing His work and if so, why would He destroy His servant? One might, perhaps, think that maybe the minister was a secret sinner that God wanted to stop his evil career. But, if we grant this, there still remains the problem of why did He destroy the innocent kids too? Additionally, why was the poor wife and mother subjected to such misery?

Tragic events like this occur every day. All such tragedies could be averted by an omnipotent God. All suffering, misery, poverty and crime could be ended if a God really exists. If He does exist, then he is an evil fiend to permit such happenings.

The rationalist, one who has thought such matters through has no such silly notions. He knows that such things occur because of natural, physical causes. He knows that some factor of a physical character, such as improper lighting, or a too narrow highway would be involved. Instead of depending on prayers or medals to avert danger he would see that the obstruction was eliminated so that it could not cause further damage.

Some day when all children are given rationalist education life will be planned on a commonsense basis and science will take the place of dogma - - engineers will replace ministers, and all that happens will be known to be due to cause and effect of a physical nature, not because of the whim of a God, good or bad.

—Liberal.

THE CAESARO-PAPISM OF INDIA

In no other country outside of Egypt and Tibet, has an organised priest-craft attained to such power as in India. This has left its impress on the whole social evolution of the enormous land, and by cunning caste division of the whole population pressed all events into iron forms; which have proved the more enduring because they are anchored in the traditions of faith. Quite early the Brahmans entered into a compact with the warrior caste to share with it the rulership of the people of India, wherever the priest caste was always careful to see that the real power remained in their hands, that the King remained the tool of their desires. Priests and warriors were both of divine origin. Both had the same objective and the law commanded "The two castes must act in unison, for neither can do without the other". In this manner arose the system of Caesaro-Papism in which the Union of religious and political lust for power found its fullest expression.

—Rudolf Rucker (Nationalism and Culture).

on 1st January 1961 that "I value the unity of the country more than anything else. More than Five Year Plans and the various projects.....I feel sad when I find that even after thirteen years of Independence, the people have not become pukka Nationalists." This statement is a confession that our Leadership has utterly failed on this vital issue posed before our country i.e. Unity, based on the love of our Motherland. It may be surprising to recall what he had stated on 25th November 1949 at Roorki that "some of our Provinces behave as if they are almost independent countries." Though he had realised even at that time that trend, it is unfortunate that all the subsequent actions of his party and even of himself have only encouraged this behaviour among the leaders of the Provinces. Now we have 16 Hindu Pakistans, with more in the making. They are openly exhibiting their jealousies and quarrels to the laughter of the whole world, about certain cities, river-waters and boundaries, as if they did not belong to one and the same country. As our Prime Minister once said at New Delhi, "whether it is a question of language, the type of education or the location of an oil refinery in Assam or somewhere else, people start breaking heads. It is amazing how this kind of disruptive thinking of problems, which must be decided calmly and dispassionately is increasing. It is a matter of deepest concern to me how in India these disruptive tendencies continue." Does this show progress?

Our Prime Minister has not yet realised that our Motherland is fast becoming "an Europe of Asia" about which I had written in 1953 itself. To add to this, we have "Linguistic minorities"—to call our own people as "minorities" is a tragedy—in every State, who are as apprehensive of their future as the minorities in Pakistan are. Hence none can dispute the fact that at present we have not even one thousandth of the unity, which we had before 1947. It is this basic fact, which induces our enemies to invade our Himalayas, shoot and insult our citizens and destroy our planes without ourselves taking any action against

them. All thinking persons—barring the political partymen—are in dismay at this downward trend of the "progress" of our land. They feel that all the dams, factories and laboratories etc., erected at huge cost are of no use, if the people have not been made to feel as one nation, with intense fervour for their Motherland, and if certain sections are allowed to have a loyalty to foreign countries.

Yet nature, culture and our traditions have always placed before us the ideal of oneness of our Motherland. Our ancestors have fostered among us this ideal of unity by impressing upon us the fact that sacred rivers, cities, temples and mountains situated in every corner of India from Kailas, Kedarnath and Badrinath (alas! even these seem to be slipping away from us) in the Himalayas to Kanyakumari in the extreme South, should be shown reverence, as a matter of religious duty. It was in our Rig Veda—admittedly the oldest book of this world—we find the glorious statement that "Mother and Motherland are greater than Heaven itself." Again early in this century, the mantra of Vandemataram had united us. Yet in the year 1961 our P.M. is "sad" at the disunity in the country. I wonder whether he has ever found time, in the midst of his grave concerns about the conflicts all over the world, beyond our borders, to think about the reasons for the existing strange position, after we have become independent. It cannot be denied that he has had undisputed leadership of our land for the last 14 years and in fact he has been practically the uncrowned benevolent dictator of our land.

(To be continued)

* Mr. S. R. Narayana Ayyar who is contributing a series of articles on the above topic of the day is a senior member of the legal profession. He is the author of many books on current political problems and is well-known for the freedom and vigour with which he expresses his views.

DELHI LETTER

Where Is The Modern Aurangzeb?

(From Our Correspondent)

THE expected has happened and the Prime Minister has had at least to reject the demand for the Punjabi Suba. He had no option at the last meeting, for farther prolongation of parleys between the two would have been absurd in the context of the Congress Party's desire to ban communal parties. It should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that the demand for Punjabi Suba is pure camouflage, resorted to after Master Tara Singh had seen clearly that the demand for a Sikh state would only result in his languishing in prison.

A glance at the history of the agitation goes against Master Tara Singh. As soon as he saw that Pakistan was coming into being, he raised the banner of an independent Sikh state. He flourished his sword in the faces of the Cabinet Mission members, saying, "If you don't give it to me, I'll take it with this." After independence Master Tara Singh went about addressing meetings of Sikhs and asking, "The Hindus got Hindustan, the Muslims got Pakistan, what did the Sikhs get?" In his campaign for a Sikh state he found himself in prison time and again, and

he found there that his cause languished with him.

It is true that the demand for a Sikh state is no longer there. But it is being asked, "What is the meaning of the observation that a Punjabi Suba is necessary for the safety of the Panth?" Master Tara Singh still says that a Punjabi Suba is necessary to safeguard the Panth. How is the Panth in danger? From whom? Where is the modern Aurangzeb? Sant Fateh Singh refers to the path of sacrifice shown by Guru Govind Singh, and thereby draws a parallel between the days of Aurangzeb and present days. But how can a Punjabi Suba safeguard the Panth unless it has an army of its own? Obviously by talking in the manner he is doing, Master Tara Singh betrays that he contemplates an independent army of Sikhs for his Punjabi Suba, without which the Panth will continue to remain in danger. He may be counting on the "martial" character of the Sikhs, and seems to think that the thousands of ex-Army Sikh soldiers will come in handy when he raises the banner of an independent Sikh state in his Punjabi Suba.

There is a saying among Sikhs, "Raj karega Khalsa." (The Sikhs will rule.) There is nothing to suggest in the saying that the Khalsa (the Sikhs) will rule over a Punjabi Suba alone. Even an independent Sikh state will only be a stepping stone to a much bigger kingdom. Those who have ruled over Kabul and Afghanistan, and are recalling the fact with pride, are not likely to be content with a Punjabi Suba, to which Master Tara Singh is diplomatically limiting his demand for the present. The fact of the matter would appear to be that, with the passing of British rule and the departure of the British ruling race from India, the Sikhs have naturally begun to recall the days before the British, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh ruled over a vast stretch of territory in the north and north-west of India.

From personal observation I have been saying for sometime past that a Punjabi wants two seats in a bus, a Sikh three. Neither is really content with less. The Punjabi Suba demand has to be viewed in the context of the character of the people who make it. Pampering bullies is courting trouble. There is no doubt about discrimination against Punjab and distrust of Sikhs, but for both these Master Tara Singh's own utterances are responsible. He cannot have his cake and eat it too. To have all Sikhs as his followers he talks fanatical nonsense and then complains the Government and the Hindus do not trust him.

Even if Master Tara Singh is sincere today, the passions he has roused will throw him overboard, if he is content with his Punjabi Suba after getting it. There can be no doubt about that. The clever Master will then perhaps say, he cannot help it, his community wants an independent Sikh state and is determined to have it. How will it help matters even if he steps aside? Others will take the lead. The Government must now make it perfectly clear that it is determined not to yield on the question of Punjabi Suba, come what may. It is significant that Master Tara Singh has not replied to the question put by Mr. Morarji Desai, "How can the Punjabi Suba safeguard the Panth?" Mr. Desai might have added, "without an army of its own."

MUSLIM CONVENTION

Addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi on May 20, Maulana Hifzur Rehman said that despite the efforts made by national leaders there was among Indian Muslims today a feeling of "frustration, demoralisation and pessimism." Indian Muslims, he said, "have not been receiving proper encouragement to enjoy their constitutional rights," and the All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema, which is calling an Indian Muslims Convention on June 10 and 11, had felt it necessary that prominent and intellectual Muslims should meet in an attempt to bring to an end the dissatisfaction in the community, as it constituted the greatest hindrance in the way of national integration.

It is true, as the Maulana said, that if the biggest minority felt dissatisfied and frustrated, it was an indication of the ill-health of the country. "In these circumstances, in order to achieve national integration, it is most essential," he said, "that a proper place should be provided for the Muslims of India in the sphere of national activities, and also in the enjoyment of their due rights of citizenship and in all the schemes of national planning of social, cultural, educational and economic progress of the country on the basis of healthy traditions and mutual understanding."

The Maulana should know that in a democratic country a proper place is not provided to any particular community in the sphere of national activities. It is taken by its members. If the Maulana has communal representation in mind, he should know that its days are over. It is not true that Indian Muslims have not been receiving proper encouragement to enjoy their constitutional rights, except perhaps in the case of Urdu, the language of Muslims of the North, though that is no reason why Muslims of the South should disown their mother tongue in favour of Urdu. Indeed, such is the dearth of Muslims in the various national political parties, that Muslims have only to join them to come up to the top. Even then the Muslims generally refrain from joining them.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema, which is calling the Convention, is a body of Muslim divines entitled to interpret the tenets of the Holy Koran. In the days of the Khilafat and non-co-operation movement, it used to issue fatwas (directives) for the guidance of Muslims, pointing out what they should do in the light of the tenets of the Holy Book. The Maulana now says the Convention would be based entirely on a spirit of secularism. If that is so, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema would appear to be a body least fitted to call such a convention and his appeal, on its behalf, to all sections of the country to root out communalism is likely to fall on deaf (and not a little amused) ears.

The root of the matter would appear to lie in the popular belief among Muslims that Islam, while proclaiming equality and brotherhood among Muslims, denies equality and brotherhood to non-Muslims termed Kafirs. If that belief is held, Muslims would appear to have little right to claim equality with those whom they deny it, except on the basis "heads I win, tails you lose." If that belief is incorrect, it is for

the Jamiat-ul-Ulema to correct it. It is in this sphere that Muslim divines can do a lot to equip the Muslims of the country to take their proper place in national activities.

The Maulana said it was doubtful if members of the Muslim League would be invited even in their individual capacity. There is nothing to prevent them from holding a convention of their own. Indeed, already the Jamiat-e-Islam has been holding conventions of Muslims of groups of districts in U.P. and the move by Maulana Hifzur Rehman would appear to be a counterblast on behalf of the Congress to steal as much of the thunder of the Muslim League and the Jamiat-e-Islam as possible. This is suggested by the Maulana's statement that the dissatisfaction and the insecurity felt by Muslims were directly connected with the recent incidents at Jabalpur and Saugor. The approaching general elections cannot therefore be ruled out altogether as a factor contributing to the calling of the convention by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema.

PATRIOTIC ROLE OF ENGLISH

There has been trouble again in Assam and the firing on the Bengali-speaking people in Cachar resulting in the loss of about a dozen lives—excessive from all points of view—reminds one of the inaction of the Government officers when the Bengali-speak-

ing people were the victims of outrages by the Assamese last year. The fact that the Government of Assam did not deal firmly with the offending Assamese is indeed no argument for not dealing firmly, but at the same time tactfully and sympathetically, when the offenders are Bengalis, but tact and sympathy seem to have given way to the use of force in quelling the disorder. An inquiry has been ordered and its findings must be awaited, but what has happened is deplorable in the extreme and it is its impact on the emotional Bengalis that has to be weighed carefully. So far the fanatics of Assam have ignored the advice the late Pandit Pant as well as the Prime Minister and have got away with it, in view of the approaching elections, owing to which they can defy the Centre which, they know, is more keen on retaining Assam for the Congress than on anything else. It is to be hoped that West Bengal would again show the forbearance it did last year. What is at stake is the country's integrity, and it is surprising that Congress leaders in their linguistic and provincial madness should show such scant regard for what should be uppermost in their minds. In any case, as the Statesman observes, New Delhi must again tell the Assam Government that its linguistic intolerance will not be tolerated. This linguistic intolerance is the direct result of English being denied its patriotic role in the states, and it is not yet too late to retrace the narrow-minded steps that have been taken to replace English by State languages.

Book Review

Confounding The Pandits Of Planning

PROSPERITY THROUGH COMPETITION. By Ludwig Erhard, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Economic Affairs of the German Federal Republic, published by Thomas and Hudson, London—Price Rs. 25.

THIS is an English translation of the original book in German entitled: Wohlstand fuir Alle prepared by Ludwig Erhard in collaboration with Dr. Wolfram Langer. It is the modern Mahabharat of the economic recovery of West Germany from the ashes of the World War II to its pre-eminent position in the modern world as ranking third after U.S.A. and Great Britain. The book should make an exhilarating and interesting reading to any public man, and specially a Finance Minister of any free, democratic country, anxious to get a strong foothold in a world where the chilling winds of planning or a socialist pattern of society are blowing hard. That the book should come from Germany, the classical land of Marx and his Communism, a land known for its passive submission to the policies of a Bismark or a Kaiser or the Nazi dictator Hitler, is both a paradox and a revelation. The book is an open invitation to free enterprise and social market economy as it is a

ruthless exposure of all planning and State ~~control~~ on industry, trade and commerce. It is a complete debunking of Marx and his Marxism, or its pale, pinkish variety, democratic socialism, a system of government which we have placed before our country. And what is still more significant is that the author is not expounding or propounding some doctrinaire economic theories or policies. As his primum in the German Federal Government signifies, he writes from experience and actual results achieved in West Germany by following a policy of free enterprise and social market economy. Dr. Erhard, therefore, writes with authority, backed by the experience of West Germany, during the last decade, since she started her recovery on practically a shoestring. The test of the pudding is in its eating, and so the justification of an economic policy is its soundness to deliver the goods, namely a stable currency, the stepping up of national production, and the raising of the national

standard of living. All these three essentials of a correct economic policy for a nation have been amply proved by the advice the author of this book gave to the Federal Cabinet and the policies he laid down for their guidance.

NOT A MIRACLE

The rapid and quick economic recovery of West Germany, in the short span of 10 years has been variously described by economic experts, and learned pandits of various seats of learning. It is hailed as something of a "miracle", an economic "wonder" of the world, and so on. The erudite, but modest author of the books lays no such claims to any of these pretensions or professions. He disowns, and rightly so, that he has performed a miracle or wielded the wizard's wand. He has done nothing of the sort. He has allowed the forces of social market economy to function, and had given unfettered freedom to the practitioners of free enterprise to justify their existence. Having done this, the stream of natural economic forces has achieved what it is expected to do. His policies have given West Germany a stable and sound currency, a high rate of production, and a higher standard of living to the German citizen.

HUMAN BEING, THE CRITERION

In this connection, one must note that what Dr. Erhard means by market economy and free enterprise is not a return to laissez faire economy or monopolistic economy. It is free market economy without its accretions or hindrances. In other words, Dr. Erhard had a very clear conception between the State and the Nation in the strict political sense of the term. As he says on page 100 of book:

".....I have often repeated: the yardstick or criterion of what is good or bad in economic policy are NOT dogmas or points of views of pressure groups, But exclusively the human being, the consumer, the people. Whoever takes these reflections to their logical conclusions, must agree with me that in every national economy, vested interests exist. But these must not be allowed to determine economic policy and no useful synthesis can be derived from a conflict between these interests."

The above quotation shows how clear and free from any cobwebs was the vision of Dr. Erhard when he accepted the responsibility of guiding the economic destinies of his nation trying to get on her feet again. When I say that he knew the limitations of the State and the Nation, I mean that he understood that the State is therefore for the good of all its citizens; and not for any favoured class or sections of the nation. And what is more, Dr. Erhard seems to be a firm believer in the dictum: "That Government is good that governs the least." The result has been that there were no irksome government controls or checks on German industry, trade or commerce, nor have any sectional interests of the German nation been pampered or favoured by the Government. The trick of miracle has been achieved by Dr. Erhard by first dismantling the high priests of planning and prophets of gloom and controlled economy from their pedestals, and put them in their right place, the

lumber-room of the nation.

NOT A PATH OF ALL ROSES

Of course, the path of Dr. Erhard was not all roses and all flowers. There are, and were, the German counterparts of our Mahalanobises and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, who prophesied a gloomy future for the nation, when first Dr. Erhard enunciated the principles that would guide the economy, of his nation. These prophets of gloom were mostly in the Opposition, the Socialist opposition. It was a continuous and a long-drawn out, "battle" between these doctrinaire, exponents of Socialism, or Planned Economy and Dr. Erhard. He was a lone fighter against a horde of "enemies" out to drag him down from his responsible position and losing no opportunity to put him into the pillory, on any and every occasion, when things appeared not so rosy as the German people had expected, or when these opponents of Erhard imagined that economic collapse of Germany was round the corner. It is worthwhile to quote once again Dr. Erhard's words in reply to an opponent in the Government who referred to "the latest crisis of the market economy." Said Dr. Erhard:

"I believe we must not be dogmatic in our views. The last three-quarters of the year showed us how problematic the workings of a planned economy are. Figures can be made to prove anything, but these figures are washed away by the reality."

Again, the author's firm belief in his policies is seen when he spoke in defence of his free market economy:

"I am convinced, whether you believe me or not—and much I have said in this building has not been believed—that we can overcome the present stagnation through the market economy while the rigidity of planning will lead us deeply into trouble....."

And no man could have this robust faith in his economic policies if he were not also a firm believer in the soundness of allowing market mechanism to function, and not allow Government interference to rush in at the faintest symptom of stagnation or a little slower pace of production or a slackening in the pace of the absorption of the unemployed. There he was sure were temporary or passing phases in the running of free market economy. And what was more, he was more than convinced that all the make-shifts of subsidies, doles, price-fixation and deficit financing, the various tricks in the bag of the socialist "doctors" of economics, should be shunned like the plague by every Finance Minister, who has the good of his nation at heart.

MARKET ECONOMY & FREEDOM

Here is what Dr. Erhard has to say about freedom of enterprise and Government intervention in the spheres which are definitely outside the scope of a State which stands for liberal democracy and freedom and the dignity of the Individual:—

"I am firmly convinced that we shall retain free enterprise only for so long as the State protects

freedom.....As there is in the State, that is, in the political social structure an order based on basic constitutional law, which regulates the life of man and his relations with others, so there is for economy. Here responsibilities are clearly divided. The businessman is responsible for his own business; he can rightly demand that his activities should remain free from all State intervention, in fact that he may enjoy and exercise real freedom of enterprise and freedom of manoeuvre. I am at the head of those supporting the businessmen in this demand. The State alone must carry the responsibility for economic policy."

In one word, the economic policy followed by West Germany, under Dr. Erhard's guidance, had ended the jungle of official rubber stamps, permits, licences, concessions and favouritism. No opportunity is placed in the path of the Government officials for corruption and nepotism. The State does not issue orders or firmans to industrialists or to businessmen. In effect this policy had the desired effect of encouraging the German economy to go forward with the result of higher and higher production with consequent increase in National Income and national standard of living. Here is an object lesson and eye-opener to all the men and mice of planned economy and doctrinaire economists, who would like to erect dykes and dams in the natural flow of free market economy. The Federal German Government has laid down the broad basis of her economic policy which is within the frame work of democratic parliamentary Government. And democracy presupposes the right of every individual to have the opportunity of free pursuit of life, liberty, profits and pleasure.

In a planned economy, as years pass by, freedom and liberty are shrunk and the State becomes the Policeman, who regulates and guides every action of the individual from morning till night. And the most significant fact is that planned economy, like the mirage, pursues in vain the object of bettering the financial position of the people which always eludes it. In the end, planned economy or the pink policy of social democracy, results in the complete collapse of both democracy as well as the economic structure of the nation. Planned economy leads ultimately to a totalitarian regime.

It speaks volumes of the intellectual integrity and political honesty of Dr. Erhard to have stuck to his "guns" through the critical period of 10 years through which West Germany had to pass before it emerged out of the shambles of world war II. It is easy to become wise after the event. But Dr. Erhard was wise and confident to know and understand beforehand, that his policy of free enterprise and social market economy was bound to pay good dividends by way of the economic recovery of West Germany as well as retain the frame-work of freedom and parliamentary government. Today Dr. Erhard stands amongst the very few world Economists like von Mises and Ropke, who have been advocating market economy as against planned economy as well as State intervention. To them Economics is a live, social science, NOT only concerned with figures and statistics or socialist cliches or slogans. Economics is the

science of living, and as such, the pursuit of economic policy has to take into consideration, the human being not only as a purely economic animal but also a social ethical and cultural animal. Man is the measure of things, and any economic policy that aims at bettering his lot has to take man as a whole, not by parts.

Dr. Erhard has proved by actual results the soundness of his economic policies by the shining and living example of West Germany. Dr. Erhard's book "Prosperity through Competition" is an economic classic that stands in a class of its own. It is a direct answer to Marx and Marxism and as such should be read by every person—a Professor as well as a student of Economics—to get a hang of the real science of economics. The book has blown sky-high all the frauds and myths of Karl Marx and his litter of communist hot-gospellers. One has not to go searching far for the truth of this statement. One has to see the prosperity and contentment of the people of West Germany and look over the frontiers of the Soviet-occupied part of East Germany for misery, poverty and regimentation of the people. Here is a visual exhibition of Market Economy in practice side by side with Communist regime. To sum up, Dr. Erhard's achievements in West Germany, one has to quote once again from the book. It gives in a nutshell the remarkable allround recovery of West Germany:

"Our production today is nearly two and half times that of the best pre-war year. Our industrial potential has multiplied six times since the currency reform. Our exports estimated at DM 36 milliard for the current year, put us in the third place in world trade. Gold and foreign currency reserves have risen, from nil in 1948 to today's total of DM.23 milliard. It is gratifying to record that in the same period it was possible to treble the social services as well as to build more than 4 million houses since 1949, the year when the first Federal Government came into operation".

Truly a creditable record by any standard, and the book gives an over-all picture of the Herculean efforts put in by Dr. Erhard to keep West Germany to the straight path of market economy as against planned economy and all the bunkum of socialism. Dr. Erhard has really confounded the "pandits" of planned economy with their patent nostrums and quack remedies. The book is a justification of the efficacy of free enterprise and market economy. If Marxism has been proved to be "the God that failed", free enterprise and market economy have been vindicated by Dr. Erhard and West Germany. Here is a warning and a food for "second thoughts" to our own Indian planners, who are in a haste to catch up with the advanced nations of the world, and who have unhappily fallen into the booby trap of planned economy.

PRAISE WHERE PRAISE IS DUE

One word more. The book is also a vindication of the policy advocated by the "Indian Libertarian", under the intelligent and inspiring guidance of its

founder, Mr. R. B. Lotwala, the 'Recluse and Prophet of Deolali'. If Mr. Lotwala has now been completely vindicated by his criticism of the Mahatma and his methods, right in the heyday of Gandhian "hysteria" in the country, this book "Prosperity through Competition" has fully justified also the stand taken by Mr. Lotwala against ALL planning and State intervention. If Mr. Lotwala's country and countrymen have not been intelligent enough to profit by his criticism and advice, he must be more than glad to see his economic ideas successfully worked out by the intelligent German people and demonstrably proved to be sound to the whole world. And what is more creditable, Mr. Lotwala has the intellectual integrity to plough his lonely furrow and refuse to trim his sails to suit the prevailing popular winds.

—J. K. Dhairyawan

Gleanings from the Press

LOGICAL COMPLEMENTS OF THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT

The necessary logical and psychological complements of the Criminal Law Amendment Act passed two weeks ago are fairly far-reaching. First, Menon must go. Second, serious military preparations on the northern frontiers must be undertaken. Third, the policy towards the defence of other threatened countries must change.

It is believed that India was responsible for sabotaging the Bangkok meeting of SEATO in March, where an attempt to save Laos was to have been taken up. Now India figures in the supremely ridiculous position of "neutral" chairman of a commission appointed to sanctify the subterranean conquest of that country by the very enemy who is at this moment attacking her own territory.

When one aggressor attacks two intended victims at the same time, it does not require the strategical genius of a Napoleon to see that one of these victims does foolishly to sabotage the defence efforts of the other. But that is what India has done and is doing to Laos and South Vietnam, and in fact to all the other non-communist countries of Asia.

After sacking Menon the Government of India's next duty is to abandon the nauseating humbug of "neutrality" in favour of her enemy and against her allies. If it does not, every Congress candidate in some election must be made to answer the simple question.

Is China in illegal occupation of our territory? Does that constitute aggression? How long has it been going on? Are you satisfied with what the Government have done to get them out? If not, why have you voted for the Government in debates on the subject?

In fact the record of the Government in this matter is so abject that in no other country could it hope to survive an election. Any opposition party would be confident of an easy victory on this issue alone and would win it.

But it should not be thought of in party terms. It is a matter of national survival. A Government with such an abject record on this most fundamental matter of all must change its whole policy before the election, or be thrown out.

—Mysindia

News & Views

MILITARISM RUN MAD

"What was going round the world today was perturbing. The whole world went mad when a man put into space returned safe to the earth, I do not rejoice at this achievement of man. On the other hand I became cold, absolutely cold at this. It made very little difference whether a dog or a monkey or a man was put into space. That is not the real spirit of science. It is militarism run mad."

—Dr. C. V. Raman

Nobel Prize-winner and Famous Indian Physicist

SCAPE-GOATS OF "COLLECTIVE" FARMS

Farming failures are behind the dismissals of the Prime Minister and the Communist Party leader in Kirghizia, a State in the Soviet Union.

The purged Party chief, I. Rasakov, was personally criticised by Khrushchev for "failure to prosecute the criminal incompetence" of Party cadres. One leading blunderer, who had bought butter from the shops to cover up the State's production deficit, has been appointed as the Interior Affairs Minister. "It was like putting a wolf in the sheepfold", Khrushchev had censured.

Rasakov had to admit that the Republic had failed to meet the increased sheep, milk, and wool quotas.

CHINA FOLLOWS RUSSIA IN FOOD MUDDLING

China is believed to be melting used silver on a massive scale to pay for food imports from non-Soviet countries.

Chinese silver worth £ 17,000,000 has been sold in London during the last seven months, and the present rate is about £ 1,000,000 a month. Chinese officials claim that the metal is newly minted but the "Financial Times" points to the lack of evidence that the Chinese minting capacity is adequate for sales on the present scales.

Silver sales, however, could not sustain China's currency needs for meeting long-term foreign currency needs. China is calculated to need £ 150,000,000 a year to pay for her grain imports for the next three years from Canada and Australia.

With these stark realities of currency and food bungling, India has, with open eyes, decided to follow the 'socialist pattern of society'. No wonder our "beggar's bowl" goes round the world collecting alms.

SOCIALISM AT DISCOUNT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

London: A pronounced swing against Socialism in a nation-wide Town Councils elections in England and Wales deprived the Labour Party of the bulk of gains it had made in comparable contests three years back.

With only a few results to come from 373 towns which polled, Labour suffered a net loss of 216 seats. When the same seats were contested in 1958 the Party had a net gain of 295 seats.

A number of big towns and cities swung from Labour to Conservative or other anti-Socialist controls. But in the yearly contests since the tide has flowed with the anti-Socialists, with the result that Labour before the current contest had suffered a net loss 727 seats and forfeited control of 24 councils.

When Socialism and Communism are thoroughly discredited in all parts of the enlightened, civilized world, India has thought it wise, under the sole inspiration of the P.M., to go down the slippery slope of Socialism. That is the national tragedy.

COMMUNIST FIRM TO ELECTRIFY J. AND K. STATE

Shrinagar: Ganz, a wellknown Hungarian firm, has offered to help execute the Rs. 2 crores Hydroelectric project on easy credit terms. Disclosing this, Ganz's Indian associate, Amarnath Dhar, said the Hungarian firm had submitted the drawings and designs for a 15,000 kw power plant. Ganz is already collaborating with the J. and K. State in the execution of electric power houses at Ganderbal and Mahora.

After allowing Russian pilots to fly over the Sino-Indian borders, we are handing over the J. and K. State, the key frontier province of the country to the tender mercies of the Communist technicians and engineers. A case of tightening our security measures on the frontiers!

MORE AMERICAN ALMS IN OUR "BEGGAR'S BOWL"

New York: Two grants, totalling 800,000 Dollars, to the Indian Government constitute the largest allotment to a government in a new financial assistance announced on 10-5-61 by the Ford Foundation.

The grants are for the establishment of a central training institute in India, and for setting up of "laboratory" villages to test and demonstrate new construction and design techniques in rural housing. Both are to be administered by the Government of India.

For this large-hearted and generous gift from the American people the Nehru Government has hardly any thanks. Our Prime Minister is, however, lavish in his criticism of any and every action on the part of the U.S. Government, whether it be in Congo or in Cuba, or even in Timbuctoo.

RS. ONE LAKH AND A HALF DOWN THE DRAIN OF VINOBA MADNESS

At the recent "Sarvodaya Sammelan" Rs. One lakh were spent by the Government of India for the furtherance of Gandhism, and specially for catering to the whims and eccentricities of Vinoba. His

righthand man, "J.P.", made one of the most original statements at the Sammelan, that the Sino-Indian border dispute should be solved by an arbitration! Arbitration between whom—Vinoba and Mao-tse-Tung, or between "J.P." and Chou en-Lai?

A veritable town was built in the village of Unguntar in the West Godavari district, Andhra. An area of 100 acres was enclosed for the Sammelan. A Railway station was specially built for the occasion. All trains—even the Mails and Expresses—were required to be halted at this temporary stop for the convenience of the so-called delegates. A sum of Rs. One lakh was spent on the electrification of the town, which was a seven-day wonder. The whole country was connected with this remote village with telephone, telegraph and teleprinter lines to give publicity to the stunts of an eccentric fellow.

Of course, the occasion did not go without the exhibition of the usual blackmarketing and profiteering on the part of the white-clad fraternity. Six hundred rice bags were commandeered from the villagers at the rate of one bag per each acre of land for feeding the delegates. However, the rice that the delegates got for their food was not fine rice, collected compulsorily from the poor villagers, but bad and uneatable, rice with worms and insects. In addition to the GOI's contribution for this "jamboree" the Government of Andhra added Rs. 50,000.

India still continues to be the land par excellence of naked fakirs, humbugging 'sadhus', and pseudo-Yogis standing on their heads, with the P.M. leading with his daily "shirshasan".

THE FLIGHT TO FREEDOM CONTINUES

The flight of the German people from the so-called German Democratic Republic, under the Soviet control, continues. A large percentage of the people are young, and drawn mostly from the professional classes, such as doctors, teachers and engineers.

During the years 1950 to 1960, 2.5 million persons have escaped from the tyranny of the Communist regime to seek asylum in free West Germany. In 1960 alone, the figure was 225,000. Thus the average number of refugees per week was 4,000 during the last 10 years.

At the last session of the Communist Party in East Germany, Ulbricht is reported to have deplored the flight of persons, specially from the professional classes. He attributed this to the petty pinpricks on the part of lower Communist functionaries. As a result, several concessions have been announced to persuade the people to stay on, but without any effect. The flight to freedom continues as usual.

A COMMUNIST OR A COMMUNALIST?

A communist worker of Yeotmal, Jamboo Dhotre, was arrested recently at the instance of the Pusad Police. It is reported that members of a minority community have alleged that Dhotre was trying to stir up a communal riot during the electioneering campaign there. A warrant under Sections 117 and 153, I.P.C. was issued against Dhotre. He has been taken into custody by the local Police.

—A News Item in Marathi.

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.

ASK FOR A FREE CATALOGUE OF OUR PUBLICATIONS AND PRICE-LIST

LIBERTARIAN PUBLISHERS,
1st Floor, Arya Bhavan,
Sandhurst Road West, BOMBAY 4.

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

Have you tried the Cow Brand flour manufactured by the Duncan Road Flour Mills? Prices are economical and only the best grains are ground. The whole production process is automatic, untouched by hand and hence our produce is the cleanest and the most sanitary.



Write to :

THE MANAGER
THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS
BOMBAY 4.

Telephone : 70205

Telegram : LOTEWALLA