

Indian libertarian

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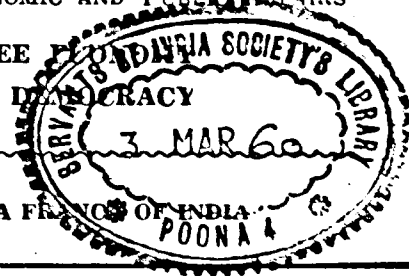
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EDITORIAL

THE RUSSIAN DICTATOR IN INDIA

PRESIDENT Eisenhower was in India for five days, the longest in his recent tour in any one halt and to all appearances the most important from the standpoint of world diplomacy.

Mr. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party and Prime Minister of the Soviet Union stayed in India as many days as Eisenhower.

As expected, he addressed a joint session of Parliament, visited important centres witnessing Soviet Aid in Indian industry and agriculture like the State Farm at Suratgarh in Rajasthan and the Bhilai Steel Plant, held talks with the Prime Minister—all rounded off by a joint communique.

The incidents of the Russian leader's tour will have been familiar knowledge to the public by the time this is in print but the long term consequences and implications for the future of India and her relation to the Soviet Union will take time to reveal themselves. Meanwhile, it is worthwhile noting the hopes raised by the visit as a whole for the solution of Indian diplomatic and industrial problems.

One acute anxiety in India at the present time has been the aggression by Red China on our northern borders and the future course it may take. There is a deadlock now, with the Chinese maintaining their unreasonable claims to huge chunks of Indian territory and refusing to withdraw their troops from Longju and Ladakh.

The latest reply from the Indian side sent a day before the arrival of Mr. Khrushchev showed a firm line by Nehru in regard to the Indian claim on the border line but showed a certain backsliding in inviting Mr. Chou En-lai to come to India as an honoured guest to discuss minor changes.

It is reported in reliable circles, (journalistic and other), who were in touch with the Soviet Delegation accompanying The Soviet Chief that he assured Nehru of Russia's sympathy for the Indian case and that he would do his best to persuade the Chinese leaders to soften up and settle the dispute amicably with no loss to India. But he seems to have pleaded for time, as the Chinese were obdurate and not easily amenable to persuasion even by Russia! It was noted that in the Tenth Anniversary of the Chinese advent to power, they asserted that every piece of military equipment shown in the parade—planes, tanks, gun carriages etc. was made in China! This was a hint to Russia that China could stand on her own legs in world diplomacy!

Khrushchev declared himself satisfied by his visit. He praised India's nonalignment policy in international affairs with its insistence on world peace.

Nehru too has affirmed his satisfaction with the Soviet leader's attitude and assurances.

Khrushchev expressed his desire for India's joining the Socialist camp but added that it should be India's free choice!

He promised further industrial aid to India. An offer of Rs. 180 crores for expansion of the Bhilai Steel Plant to enhance its productive capacity from 1 to 2.5 million tons a year in the Third Plan and for a number of other industrial units was made and an agreement signed before the two Prime Ministers. There was a hint of further Aid later on. In fact, senior press correspondents feel that Khrushchev has gone the length of underwriting the Third Plan itself! This is motivated by the desire to speed up Indian industrial and military power vis a vis China's! It seems too good to believe!

Khrushchev did not frown on India's taking Aid from the West. He approved of it so as to increase the pace of Indian industrialisation, particularly in heavy and basic industries.

In a word, Khrushchev has produced an impression in Nehru's mind that he could be relied on to help India in the dispute with China and in her industrial progress.

While this prospect is reassuring and is a triumph of Indian diplomacy seemingly, the uneasiness in our minds that India is trusting too heavily those who should not be trusted cannot be repressed altogether. For, Soviet Russia is also the leader of international communism. Khrushchev is also the chief of the world communist parties led by the Russian communist party! His moves are ultimately inspired by the strategy and tactics whereby the underdeveloped ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa are to be inveigled into the orbit of world communism under the Russian leadership! To rely so heavily on Russian assistance for vital things like defence against aggression against Russia's own

partner in world communist mission and for industrialisation is dangerous in the extreme.

By helping India to start more and more industries in the public Sector is to enhance the pace of socialisation in the Indian economy and the pace of entry into the world socialist camp!

MR. MIKOYAN IN OSLO REFERS TO INDIA'S ATTRACTIVENESS TO RUSSIA!

In Oslo, Mr. Mikoyan, the Soviet Deputy Premier addressing a meeting of Ministers and students is reported to have asked as to why Russia is pleased with India? It is because Nehru is a socialist and is industrialising his country in the socialist way and not the way of the capitalist! This should be a warning to Indians as to what hopes the Russian leaders are cherishing in their advances to India.

M.P.'S PROTEST AGAINST INDIA'S INVITATION TO CHOU EN-LAI

A joint resolution sponsored by Jana Sangh, PSP, Swatantra and Ganatantra parties protested in Parliament against the Prime Minister's invitation to the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai to come to Delhi to talk about border problems. This was felt to be a retreat from the declared policy of not negotiating with the aggressor until he vacates from Indian soil.

The Jana Sangh, PSP and the new Swatantra party have reiterated in their recent sessions their stand that India should not enter into negotiation with Red China until she withdraws her forces from Indian soil.

While re-stating clearly and unequivocally India's rights with regard to all the disputed points on the border, with historical and treaty documents and evidence from custom, the Prime Minister has added an invitation to Chou En-lai to come to Delhi for talks. His point is that he has not retreated from the earlier policy but that talks may be more successful in explaining India's case better than long range and laborious exegeses of history and tradition.

The Chinese are a proud race and may reject the idea of coming to Delhi for talks. But Chou En-lai is also known to be a suave diplomatist and can speak soft language on occasion, hiding his aggressive designs. He stole the thunder from Nehru in the Bandung Conference years ago. On India's Republic Day on 26 January he feted India's Ambassador in Peking and spoke nice things about his country and China's desire for friendship with her! He had not so long kept the Indian Ambassador waiting for weeks for an interview during the exchanges about border incursions at Longju and the inner Ladakh outpost of Fort Khurnak!

So after all, he may come to Delhi. If there is no surrender of essential positions in the course of the talks, perhaps there is no harm done if they are held.

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To forestall Khrushchev's pressure, Chou En-lai may even prefer to make any concession of his own accord, as he seems to have done to Burma in his Agreement with that country last month! This would deprive the Russian leader of any credit for the harmony effected between India and China!

CHINA'S AMBITIONS.

It looks as though China is not satisfied with a limited sphere of influence in Asia, east of India.

We heard of her interference with Egypt and Syria by permitting the Syrian Communist make an anti-Nasser speech at the Red China's Tenth Anniversary celebrations last year. Nasser was furious and withdrew his envoy from Peking but matters were patched up later.

It is reported that China has given small arms to the Algerians in their war with France! This is invading Russia's sphere of influence! The rivalry between Moscow and Peking for world leadership seems to be sprouting in these moves of China.

PROSPECTS OF THE 'THIRD YEAR PLAN,' THE BUDGET AND THE PRICE LEVELS

While it is possible for the Prime Minister and his supporters to rejoice that their foreign policy of making up to communist Russia is paying off in terms of checking China and of getting substantial Aid for industrialisation, the prospects for the householder in the coming years are becoming grim and bleak. The President's Speech at the opening of the present budget session of Parliament did not contain a single reference to the suffering being caused to millions of ordinary people by the continued and relentless rise in the price levels of essential commodities like food grains.

The budget will be revealed on the 1st March on the day the Indian Libertarian brings out the first issue of March. It is still worthwhile making a rough forecast of the new burdens that are sure to be cast on the common man by the budget.

The total new taxation for the last Plan will amount to Rs. 940 crores, in spite of the assurance of Mr. T. T. K. the then Finance Minister that there would be no fresh burdens.

The new target of investment for the Third Plan is being stated to be around Rs. 10,000/- crores! This is twice that of the second Plan and more. The second plan itself was put through with the help of foreign countries and by severe controls of imports and by deficit financing on an unprecedented scale which might exceed Rs. 1300 crores by the end of the second plan. The cost paid by the people in terms of high prices and intense suffering and deprivation has touched the limit of tolerance.

But there is no realisation of this aspect in the Planners' mind, particularly the enthusiastic Prime Minister whose gaze is on the horizon and ignores the suffering of little men and women on the ground!

It is said that taxation to the tune of Rs. 2000/ will be contemplated for the Third Plan. How will the Finance Minister raise this money?

Interested parties are quoting statistics showing that the Indian tax levels are not so high in terms of percentage of income and capital and per capita production in other countries?

It is thought that a large new range of goods will be taxed by way of excise duties and by way of profits on goods produced by State industries. Indirect taxes will rise making goods of common consumption costlier still.

The prospects of relief therefore are completely nonexistent. The public should prepare their minds for a further period of back-breaking burdens, consoled only by the distant horizon of plenty, which they may not live to see.

The search for profitable lines of production to finance the Plan will lead to further extension of the public sector—that is, to more socialism and will rejoice the hearts of Khrushchev and Mikoyan.

THE TRIUMPH AND AGONY OF FRANCE

The colonial French in Algiers at last revolted against De Gaulle's policy of self-determination for Algiers, Moslem and French, in an integral destiny. Thousands barricaded themselves in the streets and defied the government. The paratroopers sympathised with them and did not interfere. De Gaulle arrested Rightist conspirators in Paris, donned the marshal's uniform and ordered the Army in Algeria to obey him, as marshal of France, as Chief of State and as one who bore the destiny of France! The troops obeyed and the rebels surrendered! Civil war was postponed and the unity of France was saved for the time being!

And now comes the news that the French scientists have successfully fired a test atomic bomb in the Sahara! "Hurrah"! cried De Gaulle and felt that France was yet destined to regain her glory and her claims for equality with the Great Powers recognised.

The future is yet uncertain. But De Gaulle has antagonised the Moslem States surrounding the Sahara. Ghana has frozen French assets in her country pending estimate of any damage done to her people by radio-active fall-out. Fall-out is said to have reached Egypt and Cyprus and even India at a certain level above 30,000 feet!

The inferiority complex of France is appeased and hence forth she will have to be reckoned with on equal terms by America and Britain. Strange that the terrible destructive weapon of the atom bomb should restore the spiritual pride of nations! Such is the modern world!

U NU IS RETURNED TO POWER IN BURMA

U Nu's party of the clean AFPFL has secured in the current elections more than 120 out of 140 seats

as against the 22 of the opposite faction of the stable AFPFL of his rivals who had ousted him.

General Ne Win will surrender power to U Nu as head of the victorious party. All honour to the General. He had cleaned up the administration and had showed much greater capacity to rule than the cantankerous, quarreling mutually jealous politicians.

U Nu had declared that he would, if elected, change the secular constitution to make Burma a Buddhist State. This might have tilted the scales in his favour, as the monks have a great influence in social life in Burma. It remains to be seen how U Nu will fare this time as Premier. There is the

intriguing rumour that U Nu will stand out of the Government and will not function directly as member of Government. This may be a short-lived proposal like his former entry into the Buddhist Vihara as a monk for a year!

U Nu is Burma's Nehru with his nonalignment and neutrality and pro-Communist leanings. General Ne Win had put down the communist bands but they may lift up their head again under U Nu! Burma's non-alignment will mean alignment with China as against India, in consequence of the recent border agreement with China!

The future is full of uncertainty.

Kerala Elections and After

By M. A. Venkata Rao

FROM a short term point of view, the victory of the democratic alliance in Kerala has been decisive, polling 94 out of the 126 seats for the Assembly. The Communist seats have been reduced from 65 to 29 inclusive of independents supported by them.

The dread possibility of communists returning to power again with popular backing has been removed and the democratic system has a chance to recover its lost prestige and to consolidate its hold on the people.

Congress has won 65 out of the 80 seats they contested. Together with the seats won by PSP and Muslim League, they have an absolute majority with 94 members in a house of 126 which with one nominated Anglo-Indian member makes 127 in all. The alliance can therefore enjoy a stable majority without fear of being turned out by a chance vote. Congress by itself has fifty percent of the seats holding in its own name—65 out of 127 seats. Its dependence therefore on its allies is not too great for stability and integrity. It can give a lead without unnecessary and unethical compromises.

The Action of the President in dismissing the communist Ministry has been justified by the poll. The six month period of Presidential Rule through a capable civil service officer (Mr. P. V. R. Rao) and sound arrangements for election made by the Election Commissioner should be thanked for the results in no small measure. If the communist government had remained in power and had consented to conduct the elections as in normal elections at the end of the parliamentary period of five years, the Reds would have repeated the Devicolam tactics. At a bye election in Devicolam, thousands of bogus votes were arranged to be cast for the communists through jerrymandering. More votes were polled than existed on the register! Such

corruption was effectively prevented by the Advisor regime.

The elections passed off with a minimum number of violent clashes, assaults and murders as contrasted with the record of the Reds in their tenure of office. There were some murders and assaults but the police rose to the occasion and on the whole they succeeded in maintaining order and preventing undue intimidation and violence on both sides. This is a pointer that in present circumstances, a responsible civil service or bureaucratic administration is preferable to a democratic one. But India has cast her choice in the democratic basket and must reap her destiny.

It is noted by thoughtful observers that if Presidential Rule were a live choice for a further period, the people would have plumped for it in no uncertain measure.

For the electorate was tired of political parties without exception. The communists were returned to power with the balancing votes of the Nairs who under Manno Padmanathan voted for the communists in disgust with the corruption and inefficiency of the Congress and PSP Governments who had ruled in the past. They were absorbed in feathering the nests of their own sects and friends and neglected both economic development of the State as whole and the special needs of the poorest classes on the other—the Ezhavas and Depressed castes whose hopes had been roused by the slogans of casteless and classless society proclaimed by Congress and PSP parties for so long. The promise was broken quite callously and shamelessly. The poorest were left alone and the middle and lower middle classes were not satisfied with the patronage of the few that was all that the ruling groups could do in the absence of a general expansion in economic activity on many fronts. The Congress and

PSP rulers proved bankrupt of statesmanship and constructive ability. This lack remains still and it remains to be seen how the new opportunity to the same sort of men will be used. Central direction by men like Dhebar and Sanjeeva Reddi as well as by Ministers in office like Nehru and Pant and the Planning Commission should take special interest in this problem State and initiate a tangible Plan of rapid economic development.

For the victory at the polls is not final and reassuring for all time. Though in terms of seats, the defeat of the communists may appear to be a rout, it is to be noted that in terms of the actual hold of the Party on the people, it is only a temporary victory, though the description of it as a Pyrrhic victory by Mr. Verghese of the *Times of India* is an over-statement. The communists actually increased their voting strength in this election from 23.79 lakhs to 34.73 lakhs—a gain of 11 lakhs! The percentage of votes polled, increased from 65.9 to 84.4 on account of the exceptional interest taken by all sections of the people. In fact, the liberation struggle (*vimochana samara*) of Mr. Mannoth Padmanabhan was really a popular upsurge against the communists—their philosophy as well as their governance and their unscrupulous defiance of all the decencies of normal life. Women were particularly incensed with the communist party cadres who too often indulged in assaults on them. The age-old respect for women that still survives to a great extent in the popular morality and code of respectable behaviour in our country was violently discarded by the communist cadres in accordance with their philosophy which rejects morality as a bourgeois prejudice. In fact, authentic cases of wives and husbands murdering their spouses to maintain party discipline have come to light and have shocked the people.

Communism is no respecter of private property. Cadres took to despoiling people of their harvests of paddy and cocoanut etc. glaringly in broad daylight!

The communist regime began by passing a rule instructing the Police not to interfere in disputes between employers and owners of property on the one hand and labourers on the other! In the early days of the rule of Nambudiripad, there was chaos in the plantation world. Managers were set upon and labourers were encouraged to strike for higher wages and for dismissal of managers who had taken action against them. In the towns too, cadres started behaving like a State within a State... They attacked the workers of Congress and PSP parties so as to paralyse competitive challenge from them to their hold on power. Congress offices were attacked in open daylight and in some cases workers were murdered! The police were paralysed.

Cases that were actually filed in the courts against the communist malefactors were withdrawn by order of Government in hundreds. The Govern-

ment could not or would not control their party cadres from running amuck.

The purity of administration and freedom from corruption supposed to be characteristic of communist regimes abroad were conspicuous by their absence in Kerala. Kerala communists were as corrupt as Congress and PSP when they ruled and worse. They enriched themselves as well as the party purse.

In the Amritsar Party Conference a few months after they came to power in Kerala, communists boasted that they had gifted a sum as large as twenty lakhs of rupees to the coffers of the Central Party!

They amassed money in all Government contracts and payments by creating organisations of poor labourers, nominally cooperative in some cases. They recovered a percentage of payments for the party fund!

The funds thus collected and added to by open collections from all parts of the country came in handy in the elections. The communists maintained, it is reliably learnt, over 9000 full time workers throughout the year as contrasted with the 200 volunteers that the Congress party could muster in the few months before the elections.

One reason why the Nairs under Mannath Padmanabhan voted for the communists last time was the vandalism of the Christians who were strongly suspected of having arranged the destruction of the most sacred temple of the Malayalis, the Sabarimalai and quite a number of shrines of lesser sanctity. The Christian members of the Congress Government were suspected of having connived at these desecrations and to have soft-pedalled the police investigation which in consequence became a nominal affair and failed to trace the criminals. The Hindu community in general was shocked at this desecration and the inability of Congressmen to safeguard their religious rights. The Kerala Hindus got a new meaning of secularism in this experience of theirs! So the Nairs resolved to give a chance to the communists!

Mr. Padmanabhan was flabbergasted at the extreme and incredible amorality of the Communists and realised his mistake. He realised that he had led people from the frying pan into the fire and had exchanged King Stork for King Log! He resolved to perform a penance for his tragic blunder and started his *vimochana samara*—libertarian struggle with the results we have now before us. The middle and lower middle educated classes of all communities and religions banded themselves together for recovering the elementary decencies of government and social life, for the safety of their hearths and homes and the protection of their womenfolk and their way of life and whatever properties and avocation they had.

It was this mass upsurge that made up the short-

comings in men and money and carried the alliance to triumph.

Every village and home was stirred and came out to the polling booth. The voting rose from 65 to 84.5 per cent of the electors—a record in India and even in most parts of the world.

The communists had a chance of consolidating their hold but they lost it, fortunately for the country's future.

But we should not hallo until we are out of the woods! For the snake is **only scotched, not killed outright**, as a cartoonist visualised it.

The communists have improved their voting support from 41 to 43 percent. This may help them to return later on in the general elections if the alliance Government turns out unteachable and sinks into its bad ways before long.

This hold is due to the clear **class war** that the Reds introduced into the governance and party work. They worked ostensibly for the **Have-nots**—the bulk of the Ezhavas and untouchables and unapproachables and unseeables for whom Kerala is more notorious than other parts of the country. The toddy tappers, bamboo workers, poor fishermen communities on the coast and industrial and estate workers were made to feel that they had in the Reds their whole-hearted **champions** and that the Government worked for them sincerely in contrast to Congress and PSP who only talked of equality.

The Catholics have a source of information in their international contacts and instructions from Rome about the iniquity of European communism with its capital in the Kremlin of Moscow. They reinforced the Padmanbhan battalions with their zeal.

The country needs rapid economic development. The State has plenty of natural resources, forests fit for rubber and tea, minerals and a dented coastline fit for fishery. The land is fertile but is fragmented into tiny holdings. The Kerala Land Reforms did not bring new opportunities to any one. It only redistributed ownership. Economic holdings should be allowed to be formed by a special scheme. Capital should be attracted from other parts of India. For this labour discipline is essential.

The practice of Red Unions and others competing with each other for total labour control and inducing strikes to gain influence over the workers of other Unions should be discontinued. Collective agreements and long period truce treaties should be negotiated with Government acting as moderator and umpire.

It is also necessary for Government to relax its rigid **doctrinaire, socialistic approach**. It should allow private entrepreneurs to start industries and large estates either on private property basis or on

that of **long term lease**. If lands in units of 100 acres or more are leased out for long terms like 20 years on a fixed tax or rental understanding, large plots of land can immediately be got under production. Private investors will reclaim jungle and plant coffee, tea, rubber or areca. Paddy land can also be offered in this way. Mr. Mohajan, retired Chief Justice has made this suggestion. Government under the influence of their **socialism** have rejected it but are contemplating starting large farms of the size of 30,000 acres like the Suratgarh estate in Rajasthan which is being formed under the guidance of Russian experts.

Thus is ideology **thwarting us**. Our official socialists do not seem to have learnt the wisdom of Lenin who under similar circumstances started capitalistic ventures under his (NEW) Economic Policy, justifying it on the ground of tactics of a temporary character.

Anyway, it is clear that the hold of communism on the people in Kerala **remains as strong as it was**—namely 43.5 per cent. The Congress has secured as many seats as it has namely 65 on account of the exclusion of competition among democratic parties so that straight fights were arranged in many constituencies.

The poor of all castes and parties want work and wages, not democratic freedom. The middle and upper classes can appreciate the meaning of freedom and legally and social decency to a certain extent but larger employment facilities for all under a **growing economy** is essential if communism is to be finally defeated in Kerala and the rest of the country as well.

Congress too in India as a whole polled only 45 per cent of the total votes. But on account of the split of votes among opposition splinter parties, it got the largest number among all, but **not the majority in the country as a whole**.

Everything remains to be done therefore to make the country safe for democracy. Kerala has given a temporary respite to the democratic elements in the country!

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Implications of Non-Alignment

By M. N. Tholal

MR. KHRUSCHEV has come and gone and left Indians rather disappointed with his visit. They had been hoping against hope that he will mediate in the Sino-Indian dispute and bring about a settlement between the two countries. There was, of course, little sense in that hopefulness, but those who do not want to exert their minds or to assert themselves, can hardly do better than keeping on hoping—even against hope. We kept on hoping for more than a quarter century that Mahatma Gandhi would obtain Swaraj for us, but when Swaraj was forced down our throats by the British Labour Government, Mahatmaji was found against the transfer of power!

Mr. Khrushchev has described the India-China dispute as a "regrettable difference between friends". On the eve of his departure he told newsmen that the *Tass* statement of September last "explained our position in regard to the regrettable differences between two friends". That statement had expressed the hope that India and China would solve the dispute by peaceful negotiations and had also indicated that the Soviet Union was completely neutral in the dispute.

RUSSIAN NEUTRALITY A POSE

That this "completely neutral attitude" is a pose rather than the truth is amply borne out by an analysis of what, according to Mr. Khrushchev, Soviet Russia stands for. Addressing members of Parliament on February 11, Mr. Khrushchev declared that the Soviet Union was strongly convinced that "disputable international problems" should be solved through "negotiations based on equality and not through pressure and dictat". If this is the strong conviction of Soviet Russia, there should be no room for doubt as to her attitude when disputable international problems are sought to be solved through armed force. There is no room left for complete neutrality in face of the attempt on the part of any country to solve international disputes by force. And, if complete neutrality persists in the face of refusal to solve disputable international problems by negotiations, then it becomes impossible not to conclude that either the professed complete neutrality is a farce or the strong conviction in the necessity of disputes being solved through negotiation is entirely lacking. Even Mr. Khrushchev cannot have his cake and eat it too!

To say this, however, is not to assert that much cannot be said for the attitude taken up by Mr. Khrushchev. Howsoever friendly Mr. Khrushchev may be towards India, he cannot be expected to be more loyal to India than her Prime Minister and her Defence Minister. By their statements, which have been complementing and supplementing one

another, these two patriots had left no manner of doubt in any sensible person that they do not care two hoots for the area occupied by the Chinese troops. "Barren mountains where not a blade of grass grows" is not exactly the description of a territory which is dear to one's heart or for which one may be ready to fight even after the third or fourth plan has completed the process of self-reliance. To crown it all, Mr. Menon declared the other day that the Indian Government is not going to allow the Chinese to occupy any of her administered areas, and the Prime Minister has gone out of his way to defend his Defence Minister even after he had made that completely outrageous statement. So, even granting that Mr. Khrushchev is our friend and is in earnest in his friendship—which I cannot do except for the sake of argument—how can he possibly even try to do something for India without making his friends, the Chinese Communists, boil all over with rage, and that with the greatest possible justification?

The depth of the imbroglio in which we find ourselves as a result of the Government's foreign policy can be imagined by the legitimate fears finding expression in various quarters regarding Soviet intervention in the Sino-Indian dispute. Says the General Secretary of Jana Sangh in the *Jana Sangh* weekly: "Some people look to Russia in this regard. . . . Jana Sangh feels that in the first instance Khrushchev is not likely to use his influence against China, and, in the second place, even if he does, it will be more harmful to India's interests than Chinese occupation of parts of our territory. It will be a great diplomatic victory for Russia which will throw us headlong into the Communist camp."

MUDDLEHEADEDNESS

And then he proceeds to observe: "U.S.A. may also use similar tactics. Pakistan may be instigated to commit aggression and then to come to some terms at the behest of U.S.A. That will also have a demoralising effect on the whole of South-East Asia. The only honourable and desirable course open to us is to sustain our rightful claims on our own strength. It is therefore necessary that we refuse to negotiate until aggression is vacated. . . . China in the meanwhile will consolidate her gains while the Government of India will have by then pacified the deeply agitated mind of the people in this country. It will ultimately mean a *de facto* recognition of the status quo, as in the case of Kashmir. Jana Sangh is not prepared to tolerate this state of affairs. It has therefore demanded active steps to liberate the occupied territory, and it will continue to agitate till the Government moves to

vindicate India's honour and to restore *status quo ante* aggression".

It is not quite clear what "active steps" the Government of India can possibly take when "the only honourable and desirable course open to us is to sustain our rightful claims on our own strength". This is obviously not clear even to the writer's mind, otherwise he would have mentioned some of those "active steps". Having regard to our poor military strength as against the Chinese military strength, it should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that under non-alignment no "active steps" to "vindicate India's honour and restore *status quo ante* aggression" are possible without bringing disaster to India. Whereas—and that should also be equally obvious—under alignment no such active steps may be necessary. Indeed, the situation will change as if by the waving of a magic wand. Those who criticise Mr. Nehru on the stand he has taken with reference to the Sino-Indian dispute have no legs to stand upon so long as they adhere to the policy of non-alignment. They may do so for the sake of claptrap and attracting popular sympathy and for making Mr. Nehru unpopular, but they are doing the country no good whatsoever. With non-alignment as our creed, we have no business to demand active steps to drive the Chinese out.

Indeed, everything that Messrs Nehru and Menon have been saying by way of damning the worth of the territory occupied by the Chinese or regarding the difficulty of fighting on mountain tops or their determination not to allow the Chinese to occupy any part of their "administered territory", flows directly from the policy of non-alignment, which means a policy of friendlessness, which again, for a weak and puny country like India, is an open invitation to aggression so far as stronger powers are concerned. The amount of muddle-headedness that is being imported into the discussion of the gravest problem facing the country since she gained her independence twelve years ago is indeed surprising in those who stand for non-alignment and yet oppose Mr. Nehru's stand. No wonder there is a sudden halt after the mention of "active steps"—as if the brain had suddenly stopped working. As for Mr. Nehru himself, he has at least something to fight for—the policy for which he has stood for years and which has earned him a name in the world, although it stands self-condemned today together with the cult of personality which it seeks to promote in the international sphere.

NON-ALIGNMENT FOUNDED ON A LIE

Jana Sangh is not alone. The PSP takes a similar line. There is an element of dishonesty in declaring one's adherence to a certain course and then stopping dead short not in the middle but in the very beginning of that course, as if it is none of the business of the adherents of that course to chalk out their line of action to the bitter end. For the Prime Minister the bitter end is negotiation. He is

prepared to negotiate to the bitter end, which is obviously the consolidation of their gains by the Chinese. Indeed, our Prime Minister does not seem to attach much importance to the boundary dispute for, in its latest note, in reply to the Chinese Government's note of December 26, 1959, the Government of India, in spite of being "particularly shocked and surprised by this attitude and action of a neighbour whose friendship they have always cherished", conclude their Note with the observation: "Apart from the boundary question, it is important in the interest of both China and India and of world peace in general that the two Governments should leave nothing undone which could remove misunderstanding and restore the traditional friendship and cordiality between the two countries on a firm basis." The ground seems to be ready again for another campaign of "bhai-bhaism"!

This is obviously the result of the visit of the Russian President to India. He not only preceded Mr. Khrushchev but also gave a glimpse of his mind to Mr. Nehru, who, as I said some weeks ago, has all his eggs in the Russian Premier's basket. Yet there is no alternative except alignment; and those who are barking at Mr. Nehru while sailing in the same boat with him will soon realise the unwisdom or folly of their action, if they have not already done so in their heart of hearts. In this respect, it may be mentioned here, Mr. C. Rajgopalachariar is at least consistent; and consistency is the hallmark of honesty.

"Jan Sangh," we are told, "believes in the principle that international disputes should be solved by peaceful negotiations; but when one side uses force, there is no basis for negotiations. . . . If one resorts to them it amounts to putting a premium on aggression. A country following such a policy will never be able to defend her territory. It will invariably be a loser in any bargain." That is of course obvious. But what is a weak country to do if she swears by non-alignment? It is a weak country's non-alignment that puts a premium on aggression. It is an open invitation to aggression. The lie that we are a mighty nation has to be summoned to support non-alignment and for any one to counter that lie is to run the risk of being called unpatriotic.

AGGRESSION WILL CONTINUE

There may be no difference of opinion among the different parties and sections of the people (except the Communist Party) that the Chinese aggression should be vacated, but what is lacking is the earnest realisation that the aggression cannot be vacated so long as the stupid policy of non-alignment prevails. That should be as plain as pikestaff to any sensible person, but it does not appear to be so to any one in the country. Our lack of commonsense is historic and traditional. After all, our slavery, which lasted a thousand years, was due solely and simply to non-alignment.

(Continued on page 19)

European Socialism in Eclipse

By William Henry Chamberlin

I BROUGHT Back two predominant impressions from a recent trip of fifteen weeks to eight countries of Western Europe: Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Austria. The first was of self-sufficient well-being, reflected in full shop windows, cities and roads jammed to capacity with automobiles, resort centers crowded, and figures of GNP (Gross National Product), industrial output, exports, and accumulated gold and currency reserves all zooming to new heights. The second was that socialism as a political and intellectual force in Europe has gone into a deep eclipse.

Indeed these two impressions are closely inter-related. As people become more prosperous, they lose interest in socialist dogmas. And as they discard or at least abate such socialist practices as rationing, rent control, allocation of materials, state controls over foreign trade, and extension of nationalization, they automatically become more prosperous. Indeed, it is remarkable how the simple truths of classical economics, if given a chance to work, prove their validity in practice. Belgium, for instance, is the one country in Western Europe that has thoroughly scrapped rent control. It is also the only one where getting an apartment is not a major problem.

The British Conservatives, who came into power by a narrow majority in 1951 and have increased that majority in the elections of 1955 and 1959, were inclined to tread warily because of the formidable Labour Socialist opposition. It was with considerable heart-searching and misgiving that they first scrapped meat rationing and later carried out a limited decontrol of rents. But neither of these measures led to the dire consequences which lovers of state regulation foresaw. Meat prices did not go into the stratosphere. One does not see in London evicted tenants sleeping in the streets or in the parks. On the contrary, the British people today enjoy the widest range of food and consumer goods since the end of the war. And private building of apartments, stimulated by the partial rent decontrol, has picked up enormously and helped to alleviate the housing shortage.

On the other hand, Italy—where there is a vast amount of state intervention even though the ruling Christian Democratic Party is opposed to socialism in theory—is still close to the bottom of the European heap in poverty. One should not draw sweeping conclusions from this. Italy labors under a number of disadvantages: a too prolific population, a late start in industrialization, a tradition of conspicuous misgovernment in the southern part of the peninsula and in Sicily. But it can reasonably be noted that little good has come of the govern-

ment oil monopoly (ENI) and the government control of considerable segments of the economy through IRI (the Institute for the Reconstruction of Industry, which took over faltering industries in the time of the world depression of 1929-33 and has hung on to most of them). More encouraging are Italian moves in the direction of relaxing controls on foreign imports and encouraging an inflow of foreign capital.

The eclipse of European socialism can best be measured by taking a backward look—to Western Europe as it was immediately after the end of the war. Britain had rejected its war hero, Winston Churchill, as a political leader and swept the Labor Party into power with a big parliamentary majority. And it has been said that in Britain, where there is no written constitution, Parliament can do everything except change a man into a woman. The sky seemed to be the limit on schemes of social and economic reorganization along Marxist lines.

In France and Italy at that time, communists as well as socialists sat in coalition governments; this was also true as regards Belgium, although for a shorter time. In occupied Germany, American military government officials, naively misguided or worse, were forcing communists on German newspapers and radio stations.

AWAY FROM SOCIALISM

The political changes which one finds in Europe now are profound. The communists have long been cast into political oblivion. And, although they still rally the votes of a good many of the miscellaneous discontented in France and Italy, there is no more reasonable fear of a communist coup, or even of a first-rate communist riot.

The socialists are also at a low ebb. Three times running, in the two most industrialized countries of Europe, England and Germany, a socialist party and a moderate or conservative party have been the principal contenders in national elections. The result in the two countries was the same. The conservatives won three straight and, what is perhaps still more significant and unusual, they increased their majority each time. The membership of the French Socialist Party has declined from 350,000 to 50,000 and the diminished socialist ranks are riddled with factional feuds. In Belgium and the Netherlands, socialists are now out of the coalition governments which normally rule these countries.

Only in Scandinavia, where a mild brand of socialism has become a habit, and in Austria, where a permanent coalition of the evenly balanced moderate People's Party and the Austrian Socialists has existed ever since the end of the war, do soci-

alists have any direct influence on administration.

Europe's economic orchestra is now in tune. In all the larger countries, the men who make the vital economic decisions are in agreement on such points as the desirability of currency convertibility and free movement of men, goods, and capital across frontiers and in rejecting direct measures of state economic intervention in times of economic stress in favor of indirect measures, such as raising interest rates. It is fortunate that this is the case. For differences between the "Inner Six" (the close-knit European Economic Community of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) and the "Outer Seven" (the looser Free Trade bloc of Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries Austria, Switzerland, and Portugal) are much less significant than the economic differences that would arise in a Europe split between non-socialist and socialist governments.

CONSERVATIVE GAINS IN BRITAIN

I was in England during the last national election campaign and in Germany in 1957, while Chancellor Adenauer was building up to his third successive victory at the polls. Various factors, some national, some international in scope, have contributed to the political downfall of European socialism.

Prime Minister Macmillan in Great Britain proved himself a consummate political leader. He called the election, as the Prime Minister in office has a right to do under the British system, when all the auguries were most favorable. He spiked the guns of the Labor opposition by going to Moscow early in the year and starting a process of high-level negotiation which, whether wise or unwise, is unmistakably popular in Great Britain. He neatly exploited Eisenhower's visit to Britain early in September and the opportunity presented by a joint television appearance of American President and British Prime Minister.

But the overriding element in the Conservative victory was the relative ease of British living conditions after eight years of Conservative administration, compared with the bleak austerity from 1945 to 1951 when the Labor Party, officially committed to a socialist philosophy, was in power. In fairness, it should be recognized that immediately after the war, life would have been hard in Great Britain under any government. The economic wounds inflicted by the war could not have been healed overnight.

But what can reasonably be charged against the laborites and what cost them a good many "marginal" votes at the polls is that, in line with their theories of state planning and assured "fair shares" (which always proved to be very small shares), they continued rationing and other controls far beyond the time when austerity and hardship were really unavoidable. The most impressive proof of this was when the "conquering" Britons in the mili-

tary administration of Germany were living on meager unpalatable rations while the Germans around them, under Erhard's free market economy, could get as much food as they wanted. Another unhappy memory associated with Labour administrations is of scores of little frustrations and inconveniences; without special permits it was a crime for a man to repair the leaky roof of his own house or to build a garage.

So Conservative election posters showing the more comfortable, less harassed life of the present time, with the admonition, "Don't let Labor spoil it," found a receptive audience. One of the issues of the campaign was pointed up, perhaps unconsciously, in an article which Labor's prospective Chancellor of the Exchequer (British equivalent of America's Secretary of the Treasury) contributed to the British radical weekly, *The New Statesman*. In a very frank exposition of the theory that the government, not the individual, has the first lien on the taxpayer's income, Mr. Wilson wrote:

"Recent budget debates have sharpened controversy and provided what seems to be the acid test of distinction between the Tory and the Socialist. The Tory says that all income belongs to its recipient; that all state levies upon it are at best a regrettable necessity; that it is wrong to refer to a Chancellor's decisions as 'largesse, tax hand-outs,' or to suggest that the Chancellor is in any way giving anything away; what he is doing is refraining from withholding so much. Our approach is different. We say that all wealth is derived from the community; that the budget is an instrument not for perpetuating the unequal distribution of income and wealth, but for correcting it. We say, therefore, that a Chancellor in the happy position of being able to reduce taxation must apply the welfare test—where can I do the most good, add most to the total happiness?"

It is a safe guess that most Britons, like most other people, prefer the idea that "all income belongs to the recipients" to Mr. Wilson's conception that the business of a socialist Finance Minister is to share and redistribute wealth.

"NO EXPERIMENTS" IN GERMANY

In Germany, as in England, proved prosperity under a system of comparative free enterprise was more attractive to the majority of the voters than socialist appeals to class envy and socialist promises. One of the most popular slogans of the winning party in Germany, the CDU (Christian Democratic Union), was *Keine Experimente*, "No Experiments." Germany's spectacular recovery from the ruin and desolation of the war began from the time when a stable currency and a free market economy were established, and there was no desire to tamper with either of these bases of prosperity.

Chancellor Adenauer's commanding personality and his success in winning the confidence and respect of the leaders of the countries with which Ger-

The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

Caste System, Greatest Curse of India

By D. M. Kulkarni

IT is generally agreed among the thinking sections of Indian population, that the caste system, in the form in which it prevails among the Hindus today, is the greatest curse of India, and has proved to be a big stumbling block in the path of India's all-round progress. It is within the common experience of the administrators and public workers, that all welfare schemes undertaken by the Government, or social organisations, flounder on the rock of casteism which permeates inevitably, though imperceptibly, the very machinery set up to implement them. It is, therefore, that an urgent duty is cast on all well-wishers of our country to apply themselves seriously to the task of speedily eradicating caste, which is sapping all strength out of our national life, and has become, in the words of Prof. Sir Fredrick Bartlett 'one of the hard points of Hindu culture.' (quoted in "Caste and Race in India" by Prof. Ghurye).

EVOLUTION OF CASTE

All Orientalists and sociologists agree that this caste system, at least in its original, form resembled in material particulars, the class, or better still, the 'estates' system that prevailed in both Eastern and Western countries in ancient times. Regarding Indian Social Organisation during the early Vedic period, Pro. Max Muller observes in "Chips from German Workshop":- "There is no authority in the hymns of the Vedas for the present complicated caste system, at least in its original, form resembles claimed by the Brahmins and for the degraded position of the Shudras; there is no text to show that there was any bar to eating and drinking together, inter-dining and inter-caste marriage." He then concludes that "a Hindu who believed only in the Vedas, could be much nearer to Christianity than those who follow Puranas and Tantras." Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the great founder of the Arya Samaj movement and Vedic scholar also supports this view that caste system as such, with its extreme rigidity and exclusiveness, did not exist among the Vedic Aryans. It is thus clear that the present framework of caste based on birth and hereditary occupations, was slowly evolved in all its ugly features of irrational taboos and restrictions on food, social contacts and marriage, culminating in the most monstrous institution of untouchability, during the Pauranic period ending with

the 11th century A.D., when India divided vertically and horizontally by innumerable caste and sub-castes, fell an easy prey to the foreign invasions of the Northern hordes.

MAJOR OPERATION ESSENTIAL

This institution of caste and unlimited number of sub-castes, each one imbued with the spirit of exclusiveness, superiority and inferiority complexes, with its exploded ideas of racial and ceremonial purity, ilconceived and unfounded prejudices with respect to other castes, have brought about a complete disruption of Indian national life, and has created unnecessary strifes, dissensions in our body politic. It had made it very difficult, if not impossible, for the Indian nation as a whole, to pursue any scheme of social, economic welfare with a united effort and will, and with a singleness of purpose and devotion. The code of relative moral and social behaviours, the different sets of judicial principles, framed and applied by the Hindu law-givers like Manu and others, for different caste and strata of society, have led to the formation of distinct ethical and social groups, widely differing from one another in patterns of social behaviour and moral values. All this differentiation, deliberately made by the law-givers, has tended to create isolationism, cliquism as between castes, in practically all walks of life. The non-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra and in South India can all be traced to this same evil of castism, which, despite the legislative laws of the Government in this respect, is still stalking abroad in all its strength and fury. The high and the low, the King and the peasant, the Minister and the peon, the Indian National Congress and Village Panchayat, have all to humble themselves before the Almighty power of caste. It is a patent fact, that caste considerations to a great extent, determine the choice of even the Congress candidates in the General Election and also in the Elections of the local bodies. Ministers and Government Administrators, even while profusely mouthing high sounding phrases and slogans of strong denunciation of caste, have perforce to attend, guide, and preside over caste functions and thus directly encourage castism, just to be in the good books of the caste-leaders at the time of the Elections. These castes and sub-castes, whenever they have to come together, out of daily life's

urgent needs and necessities, do so, not out of a healthy spirit of camaraderie and social co-operation, but "mechanically" as Dr. Ambedkar has well put it. The same writer further says in his book "What Gandhi and Congress have done for the untouchables" that the caste system is not only "non-social but also anti-social". And as such, this institution calls for strenuous efforts on the part of all interested in the welfare of the country, to root it out completely and not merely be satisfied with make-shift arrangements which will not solve the problem.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE CASTE SYSTEM

Caste, besides being an obstacle to social and national unity has now proved to be a hindrance to our economic progress as well. The rigidity of caste with its professions and trades assigned to particular castes, has killed the initiative and enterprise of the people. Free mobility of labour, free choice of profession and division of labour which are quite essential for stepping-up production under modern industrial conditions are totally absent under this institution. This has resulted in colossal waste of human talents and potentialities. Besides, caste has fostered among the higher classes, a feeling of utter contempt for manual work which is inimical to the economic progress of the people. The specious argument that the caste alone preserves hereditary skills in handicrafts and arts, falls to the ground, when we see such skills being handed down from father to son even in social groups and communities which do not observe caste. The de-

gradation of sixty millions of untouchables to a position worse than that of slaves under the caste system, has entailed on our country huge economic and social loss.

ON TO A FREE AND OPEN SOCIETY

Thus considered from any point of view, rational, economic, social, political and even historical, caste system is the greatest evil the country is suffering from today and has therefore got to go. Too long have we tolerated it in our midst. Any more tinkering with the problem is fraught with grave danger to our very national existence. The caste-ridden society is a "closed" society, perhaps suited to the conditions of a by-gone age. But in modern "open and democratic" society which it is our aim to build up, it has no place. In the words of our Prime Minister Nehru, 'there can be no equality of status and opportunity within its framework, nor can there be political democracy and much less economic democracy. Between these two conceptions, conflict is inherent. Only one of them can survive' (J. Nehru, 'Discovery of India'). It is, therefore, up to the educated people to bring about an intellectual and cultural revolution in the country by propagating vigorously rational ideas about caste and exposing its evils on rational grounds, and at the same time by stoutly refusing to countenance castism and its mythical taboos and restrictions in any shape and form. This revolutionary work among the people coupled with political pressures exerted by the Government in a democratic way, on this institution of caste, will surely hasten its death.

A Humanist Looks at Buddhism (I)

By Ronald Fletcher

This is the first of two articles explaining and evaluating Buddhism from a humanist point of view

A RELIGIOUS doctrine cannot be understood in isolation from those social and historical circumstances in the context of which it has developed. Socially and historically, Buddhism is essentially a rebellion, a protest against a rigid and decadent Hinduism; and for this reason it is often called a 'protestantism of the East'. But, while protesting against Hinduism and rejecting much of it, Buddhism has carried certain elements of it over into its own nature.

To make this clear, it is necessary to indicate at least four features of early Brahminic Hinduism.

(1) Following the early Vedic period, the Brahmins gradually came to be the most influential and powerful class in India. They achieved this position chiefly on the basis of their claim to ritual expertise. The Brahmins were the priests who knew and practised those necessary rites and incantations by means of which the order of the un-

iverse and the order of society was preserved. Hinduism thus became elaborately ritualistic and dominated by priests. The Brahmins, however, were also responsible for much profound religious thought, and especially for the conception of spiritual monism: the idea that there was one spiritual reality which pervaded the universe (Brahma), and that each individual soul (the Atma) was a part of this reality and craved unity with it. Salvation was, indeed, just the achievement of this unity.

(2) This development of Brahminic power served to emphasize the caste system, which originally had been based upon conquest and a certain division of labour but which was now beginning to centre also about the distinction of colour. The Kshatriyas (the secular nobles), who had originally been the most dominant class of the community, now gave way to the rising status of the Brahmins (the Priests). Below these were the Vaisyas (the

common people among the Aryan invaders) and the Shudras (the subservient darker-skinned people).

(3) The doctrines of reincarnation and the law of Karma lent a moral and spiritual support to the caste system. A man's place in the caste system was now morally deserved; it was an inevitable outcome of his spiritual stature in his past lives. The caste system thus became extremely rigid. Any criticism of it was tantamount to a heresy against these two doctrines. The worth of individual effort in achieving salvation thus became of almost negligible importance.

(4) The combination of all these features gave a decidedly pessimistic cast of mind to the whole of Indian religion, indeed to the whole Indian people, which is only changing slowly in our own times. The human situation in the world was regarded as being totally deplorable; characterized by inevitable suffering. Life was conceived as an on-going wheel of desire and misery to which one was almost inescapably bound. Salvation was simply to be freed from this.

THE MIDDLE WAY

Jainism (a way of salvation through extreme asceticism) and Buddhism—both emerging in the sixth century BC—were protests against many of these features of Brahminism. Both objected to the efficacy of priests and the reliance upon ritual for the achievement of salvation. Both objected to the rigidity and inhumanity of the caste system and emphasized that salvation could only be attained by the moral and spiritual effort of the individual.

In this context, what were the main teachings of Gautama Buddha?

The first thing to note is that, when beginning his spiritual search, Gautama Buddha did try the ways of salvation offered by Brahminism and Jainism. He submitted himself to the asceticism and intellectualism of Brahminism, but found he could not comprehend their conception of 'Nirvana'; their 'realm of nothingness' had no reality for him. He also tried Jainism, but in his extreme ascetic practices, found no experience which transcended ordinary human limits. Tired of seeking salvation in these ways, he abandoned his thirst for salvation leading to his doctrine of 'the middle way', and in so doing experience the revelation. Though it was true that suffering was caused by the desires of the body, it was also true that suffering was caused by the intense desire for salvation itself.

It was the intensity of desire—whether bodily or spiritual—which caused suffering, and therefore the cessation of suffering could only be attainable by the elimination of both kinds of desire; by following a moderate life of discipline between the two extremes. 'The middle way' is not to be thought of, then, as in any sense a moral compromise, but a way of life avoiding the extremes of both bodily and spiritual desire. In the context of this view,

the essential teachings of Buddhism seem to be as follows.

The Buddha had no use for philosophical speculation, or for knowledge, for its own sake. To know was not enough. Knowledge was of use only with reference to the control of desire. What is interesting here is the Buddha's view as to what is essential and what non-essential in religion. He claims explicitly that he has not proved whether or not the world is eternal; whether or not the world is infinite; whether the person who has attained Nirvana exists or does not exist after death; for these questions are of no profit to a man and are not essential to religion. What he does claim to have elucidated is the origin and nature of misery and the way to achieve its cessation. This is of profit to a man, and is essential to religion. On the basis of such knowledge a man can move towards the attainment of calm, wisdom, Nirvana.

THE ILLUSION OF SELF

Again, the Buddha rejects the efficacy of devotion either to gods, or to priests, or to ritual for the purpose of achieving salvation. In this he seems positively atheist, claiming that no god exists to whom man can appeal for help. Salvation depends essentially upon self-control. No man can attain Nirvana excepting by his own inward meditation and his own self-discipline. No other being, and no unreflective observance of ritual can do it for him.

The doctrines of reincarnation and the law of Karma are retained in a modified form. The Buddha still believes it to be true that a man's thoughts, feelings, and deeds have a determining influence upon his nature, and upon his future lives, but he believes that, by his own spiritual effort, a man can achieve that state of mind whereby he can escape rebirth. The emphasis, again, is upon individual effort. His conception of reincarnation is difficult (to my mind incomprehensible), but it includes an interesting analysis of human psychology. No element of human personality, the Buddha claims, has permanence.

Our experience of the 'self' as a distinct and permanent entity is illusory. Our experience of 'self' is simply a focus of conscious awareness attendant upon five interrelated elements: the body, conscious feelings, perceptions and our conceptual knowledge of them, vague sub-conscious impulses rooted in the functioning of the body, and our conscious reasoning and evaluations. While these elements are together in the world the 'individual' has existence, but this existence is always transitory and changing, always in a state of flux, and the 'self' is no more than an awareness of it. But at death all these elements dissolve, and the 'self' has thus no permanence.

Somehow, however (and this is what I cannot understand), the Buddha believes that the character of the self makes its impress within the womb of another, and thus another earthly existence comes into being with the continued characteristics of a former life.

Everything in experience—all the elements of the world and of our own individual natures—is transient and changing. Nothing possesses abiding reality. In this world of our perceptions our desires lead us to form attachments to people, objects, situations, even to our 'selves', and we therefore desire the permanence of them. But such attachment is illusory, ill-advised, and inevitably entails loss and sorrow. No aspect of our experience in the world can give that abiding satisfaction which our desire leads us to believe and hope that it can.

The human situation is therefore characterized essentially by suffering; and suffering is further enhanced by intense desire—even the desire to avoid it. The only way to eliminate suffering is therefore to remove desire. The Buddha then offers an 'eight-fold path' which leads to the cessation of illusion and suffering; with the emphasis that this path is not a set of beliefs or dogmas, but is a way of life which a man must practise for himself. The Buddha, therefore, as a religious leader, does not claim to offer superhuman help to men in their predicaments. He only indicates the way which, as a man, he himself found effective. The living of this way is each man's own responsibility.

The eight-fold path states that, in order to attain a state of mind freed from desire and suffering, a man must seek right belief, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right means of livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness, and right meditation. In all this there is an emphasis upon non-attachment, and the teachings of the Buddha contain many injunctions of avoidance. For example, a man should avoid a belief in the existence of the self; he should avoid anger, pride, self-righteousness, ignorance, and the desire for rebirth—whether in this world or out of it.

A final teaching is that, in this world of suffering, a man should be sensitive to the sufferings of all other men and all other sentient creatures. Buddhism thus entails an attitude of sympathy and benevolence, a feeling of compassion for all creatures, a feeling of universal love.

How, then, should a humanist assess these teachings? Do they contain elements of value which he can accept? Are there some points about which he must be in fundamental disagreement? I shall try to answer these questions in my next article.

—'The Humanist'

(To be continued)

A tyrant must put on the appearance of uncommon devotion to religion. Subjects are less apprehensive of illegal treatment from a ruler whom they consider god-fearing and pious, and they do less easily move against him, believing that he has the gods on his side.

—Aristotle, Politics

BOOK REVIEW

*THE DESTINY OF MAN by Dr. J. T. Cornelius, M.D., Ph.D. (London).

Under the above title is published a series of 7 articles by eminent scientists and writers bearing on the Thesis of Sir Julian Huxley which he develops in his article on 'Man's place in Nature'. Sir Julian states that man's dominant position is due "entirely to his improved brain and mind—and to a second mechanism of heredity over and about the genetic system of his chromosomes, a mechanism for transmitting knowledge and ideas instead of material particles like genes."

He further states that "natural selection can determine the direction of change but has no goal: it pushes evolution blindly from behind. Psycho-Social selection pulls it forward in front, it always works towards goals of some sort, though these may be only partly conscious and are often poorly conceived."

Thus man in society becomes "the agent of evolutionary process on this planet". He affirms; "The getting up of values and the exercise of moral judgements is an inevitable consequence of the new experience of man, his capacities for framing and expressing concepts for rational and imaginative thought. Values are natural products of Psycho-Social evolution and can influence its future course".

He concludes that man's true destiny is to achieve greater fulfilment, and his main aim, a further realisation of his possibilities and their fulfilment implies the enrichment and enhancement of life. He observes that the idea of the welfare state must be supplemented by that of the Fulfilment Society.

The central doctrine of Huxley's humanism is based on the concept of evolutionary fulfilment by the use of scientific methods with belief in human possibilities.

These constructive ideas which explicate the implications of Biological discoveries by one of the eminent Biologists of our times, deserve the careful study and attention of Indian Rationalists, especially of those who feel the need for a satisfying philosophy of Religion and who believe in a Supra-national State of World Unity for mankind, as nationalism is getting out of date in the present Atomic age.

It would be interesting if readers of the *Indian Rationalist* could contribute articles on these fundamental concepts of Huxley's after reading this booklet relating to a new field of speculative scientific thought.

*THE DESTINY OF MAN by Sir Julian Huxley, Sir Charles Darwin, Bishop J.W.C. Wand, Lord Adrian, O.M., Rebecca West, Father T. Corbishley, S. J., Sir Charles Snow—Published by Hodder And Stoughton—2 sh. 6d. copyright 1959 Sunday Times.

many had recently been at war also contributed to the political downfall of the German Social Democrats. Still another factor was the vague, cloudy program of the Social Democrats in foreign affairs, which suggested the possibility that, if they should come into power, they would break or dangerously loosen political ties with the West without gaining any real prospect of German reunion in freedom.

Still another special national problem, the protracted guerrilla war in Algeria, made for the return to power in France of General Charles de Gaulle. A series of weak Cabinets, the result of the many squabbling and internally divided parties, had brought matters to such a pass that de Gaulle was generally recognized as the only alternative to such undesirable prospects as military dictatorship, anarchy, and civil war.

It was only a government like de Gaulle's, stable and mildly authoritarian, that, in all probability, could have imposed the regime of order and sanity in French economics and finance. Here again, old-fashioned economic common sense has worked wonders in giving France a stable currency and replenishing gold and dollar reserves which had been depleted almost to the vanishing point at the time when de Gaulle took over power in the spring of 1958. Foreign trade has been considerably liberalized and France, as a member of the European Economic Community, has assumed the obligation to expose its industry to the increasingly free competition of the other members of the Community.

SOCIALISTS WITHOUT A CAUSE

Far from being a wave of the future, socialism in Western Europe now looks more and more like an obsolete relic of the past. For Europe today, having turned away from the rationing and controls and state planning and state meddling which were cha-

racteristic of the time immediately after the end of the war, is riding the crest of a wave of prosperity. The Soviet Union may continue to send rockets to the moon and adjacent planets. But there is no serious prospect that in any foreseeable future the Soviet standard of living will come anywhere near the American. On the other hand, there are several European countries—Great Britain and Germany, France (especially if it can shake off the incubus of the Algerian war), prosperous little Belgium and Switzerland, always true to the principles of economic individualism—that could quite conceivably within the next decade rival America today in terms of per capita consumption of food and consumer goods, in housing, even in motor transport.

Intelligent socialists are more and more willing to admit the need for rethinking their principles if they talk "off the record and not for attribution." A prominent British trade-unionist, an old acquaintance of the writer, made these remarks on the eve of the recent British election:

"Very few workers give a pin now about nationalization. Just as a matter of prestige and consistency the Labor Party put in a proposal to re-nationalize steel and motor trucking; but if they lose the election, and I'm afraid they will, you will probably hear no more about it. We don't sing *The Red Flag* any more at Labor meetings and there isn't one person in a thousand in the Labor movement who would know the words or the tune of the *Internationale*. What the workers in Great Britain are interested in is not socialism in the Marxist sense; it is more social equality—the sort of thing you have in America—more chance, for instance, for the poor boy who is bright and capable to go to the best schools and colleges."

(To be continued)

DELHI LETTER

Where Do We Go From Here?

(From Our Correspondent)

It is generally recognised that it will be difficult to improve upon Mr. Masani's summing up of the popular reaction to our Prime Minister's invitation to the Chinese Premier to visit Delhi in the phrase "national humiliation". But this national humiliation has been there ever since the Chinese incursions began five or six years ago. It is now beginning to be realised that this national humiliation is implicit in the national policy of non-alignment. What greater national humiliation can there be than the silence of our Prime Minister for full five years regarding Chinese incursions into India? What greater national humiliation can there be than our Prime Minister's admission that we cannot send our planes

to reconnoitre over our own territory for fear of their being shot down by the Chinese?

We are apt to lose our temper with Mr. Krishna Menon but he has only been clarifying the statements of his boss and preparing the country psychologically for the settlement—surrender, to be precise—that is in sight, so that when it is announced it should not come as a great shock. Unusual adjectives do not fall from one's lips in a mood of absentmindedness. It should be apparent that the use of the adjective "administered" before "areas", in the much-criticised statement of Mr. Menon that we are not prepared to hand over any of our administered areas, was not only deliberate; it was

premeditated. Mr. Nehru was, therefore, perfectly justified when he defended Mr. Menon and asked his critics to denounce the Prime Minister rather than his Defence Minister. Mr. Menon is nothing if he is not his master's voice and how can the master let him down for being his voice?

OUR HELPLESSNESS

And as for the much-criticised invitation to the Chinese Premier, it is obviously a concession to the Russian leaders, made after talks with the Russian President but before Mr. Khrushchev's arrival, so that it may not appear to be a concession to Mr. Khrushchev or a result of his "mediation." After all, we have to listen to Russia if we expect Russia to plead on our behalf with China. We do not seem to realise it, but our position is hopelessly helpless, as a result of our foreign policy. Every one rules out war as "criminal folly" under non-alignment, without apparently realising that what remains is conciliation, appeasement, surrender—call it what you like—and more and ever more of it. It is still time we realised that non-alignment places us at the mercy of the Chinese and the Russians.

It is true that our Prime Minister started with saying that there was no question of any negotiations until the Chinese aggression was vacated. But, surely he could not have started with a declared willingness to surrender the forcibly occupied territory. His readiness to surrender the territory that was being occupied by the Chinese was implicit in the silence that reigned on Mr. Nehru's lips for five years so far as Ladakh was concerned—even while he was making several speeches a day.

The Prime Minister has declared that he is not going to have the Chinese evicted by force from the areas they have occupied. As, on all accounts, war with China would be criminal folly, the Prime Minister's declaration cannot be seriously challenged. It is sheer folly to expect China to vacate the aggression when the aggrieved party is itself un-animously declaring from the housetops that it will not use the force at its disposal to evict the aggressor, nor seek any one's help to do so. Indeed, the Chinese have declared that any attempt on our part to evict them from Ladakh will be met by their advancing in NEFA and we have made no retort to that. That not only shows the helplessness of our position but also reveals the fact that the Chinese are aware of it. And our position is that we have not only said good-bye to Ladakh but told the Chinese as much. We journalists have not been saying so out of a sense of patriotism and in order not to encourage the Chinese in their aggression. But, surely, the Chinese are not so dense as not to be able to put two and two together and come to conclusions that are staring everybody in the face.

RUSSIAN LEADERS' SUCCESS IN INDIA

It is true that we can refuse to negotiate; and it is here that our foreign policy appeared to demand clarification in the mind of our foreign and Prime Minister himself. Refusal to negotiate with China

will not change the *de facto* situation, but it will worsen our relations with China and, because she is a Communist country armed by Russia, with Russia too. If permitted to continue, this refusal would bring about a reversal of our foreign policy which has to all intents and purposes been pro-Russian, ever since Soviet Russia with her veto came to our rescue in the Security Council over the issue of Kashmir. Our Prime Minister has been denouncing the cold war born of the western determination to prevent farther Russian expansion. He has been denying the existence of international communism and condemning NATO, CENTO and SEATO, without condemning the Warsaw Pact, although the fact that members of the Warsaw Bagdad Pact—without the permission of other members, makes it infinitely worse than NATO, CENTO and SEATO. That we are pro-Russian therefore admits of no doubt. This was proved by our refusal to condemn the Russian armed intervention in Hungary in 1956 when we condemned the Anglo-French intervention in Egypt in ringing tones.

Negotiations with China were therefore bound to come sooner or later, and following them the surrender of territories occupied by China. Since the need of promoting Sino-Indian friendship has been stressed in the latest note to the Chinese Government, the cessation of cold war between the two countries through a meeting between the two Prime Ministers is obviously the first step. In this connection it is worth while noting that Mr. Khrushchev's opinion that the Sino-Indian dispute is a difference among our friends has been translated in Mr. Nehru's letter which specifically calls for attempts to promote friendship between the two countries. Those who remember that only a short while ago Mr. Nehru referred in Parliament to China as "the enemy" and that he is now promoting friendship with that enemy will not be inclined to dispute the proposition that the Russian leaders' visits have been successful. They came to promote Sino-Indian friendship and had good reasons to feel satisfied with the success of their mission.

But the question is: Shall we trust China again? Can a Communist Government be trusted? How long can we continue to pay the price of non-alignment? Those who have not been able to object to the activities of Russian agents in India will hardly be able to object to the activities of Chinese agents. Our Government has not shown any guts in dealing with Communists at home and Communist Governments abroad. Since there is no generosity in politics, China may be expected to take the fullest advantage of the growing "friendship" between the two countries to pour men and material into India to disrupt the state from within. We have no such fears from the western powers and therefore the choice between the two should be easy to make, provided our patriotism is a living and active "ism." But Kashmir stands between India and the West. Since it is the West with which we can really be friends, a solution of the dispute should be taken up in right earnest.

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

The question in fine is: "If we have to choose between the two aggressors, as we have to, whom should we choose to be friendly with? Particularly if, from the democratic point of view, something can be said for the aggression by one of the two parties. With whom are the prospects of friendship enduring? We cannot defy both the blocs and it is because of this admitted fact that we have had to yield to China. "After me the deluge" seems to be Mr. Nehru's policy. There can be little doubt in any sensible mind that we shall sooner or later have to come to terms with the western powers and Pak'istan. One breach of trust will be followed by another until the most violent pro-Communist turns to the West in sheer disgust. But the part of wisdom lies in foreseeing the obvious and not in hoping against hope and trusting the treacherous Communists, for, with every breach of faith, the country is likely to lose something of real and great value. In our hatred of those who refused to support us on the issue of Kashmir we should not fly into the arms of those who, we know, are only interested in swallowing us. Is it not time for us to place our hands upon our hearts and ask ourselves if we have any democratic right to be in Kashmir proper after we annexed Hyderabad by force?

In this connection it is significant to note that Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain was there at the airport to receive him when the new Ambassador of Pakistan arrived in New Delhi. And a few days later the new Ambassador said that what we needed was ten Narayans to solve our problems. Many in New Delhi would like Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain to be more pronounced in his views. It appears from his extraordinary visit to the airport to receive the Pakistan Ambassador that he is in favour of alignment with the West. What is needed at the present juncture is for politicians in the country not in the Congress Party to take courage in both hands and declare the faith that is in them regarding the road to which Mr. Nehru is taking the country.

Acharya Kripalani was not stating the whole truth when he said in Calcutta the other day that India had been "betrayed by leaders of the present Government." He was perhaps referring to Mr. Nehru's assertion in the Rajya Sabha that no ground existed for useful negotiations between India and China a week after he had extended the invitation to the Chinese Premier to visit India. The answer to this question is: "Well, we can at least think things out realistically, fearlessly and honestly. If we, like him, rule out war as well as alignment, which would make war unnecessary, what is the alternative that is left to us? What good would taking counsel with uncommitted nations of Asia and mobilising their opinion do to us? Why should uncommitted nations invite the Chinese wrath on their heads to please us? One of them, Burma, has taken advantage of China's involvement with India to settle her own border question to her advantage, backed of course by her threat to turn to the West. The Acharya says: "It

is too late in the day to talk of abandonment of the non-alignment policy." But is it ever too late to abandon the road that leads to ruination?

KERALA MINISTRY FORMATION

The credit for the solution of the Kerala ministry-making tangle goes to the Muslim League. It has to be admitted that the Muslim League, in the discussions regarding the formation of a coalition cabinet in Kerala has shown a decree of patriotism which was not expected of it. Bad as the formation of political parties on a religious basis admittedly is, one cannot honestly enter into an alliance with a religious party for election purposes and then refuse it a seat in the Cabinet. What would have happened if the Muslim Leaguers had held the balance of power in the legislature between the Communists on one side and the Congress and the PSP on the other? Obviously the attitude of the Congress High Command would then have been different. The Congress objection to including a Leaguer in the Cabinet rested on party rather than national grounds. The Congress counts on the Muslim vote in the elections and recognition and encouragement of the Muslim League Party would have amounted to losing the Muslim vote to a rival. The Congress stand on the issue would not make Congress popular among Muslims and the Kerala Muslim League has shown the path to Muslims of other states. India's foreign policy is bound to be more unpopular among Muslims than among Hindus, and the Congress, it appears, is bound to lose the Muslim vote progressively in time to come to those who are anti-Communist. If the recent elections to municipal bodies in U.P. are any indication, those who emphasise the need of countering the Red menace are likely to appeal more to the electorate than those who follow the example of Lord Byron's heroine, who, like Mr. Nehru,

"Saying I shall never consent, consented."

These famous words of Lord Byron would appear to sum up the policy of the Government of India not only in relation to the forthcoming negotiations between the two Prime Ministers of India and China but also in regard to the demands that the Chinese Premier would no doubt adumbrate in those parleys.

Book Reviews

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CASTE.
Author G. K. Pillai, Kitab Mahal, Publishers,
Allahabad-3 (India) Price Rs. 5.00.

This book is an attempt to trace the origin and development of Indian Caste System. In the very Preface, the question is posed "The professions bring people together, but Jati keeps them apart. Why?" And the author seeks to solve this riddle which has driven many scholars to despair, and boldly comes out with his own explanations and solutions, which, though they may not carry conviction to the reader, will undoubtedly open out before him some vistas of thought on the subject. The author, at the

outset, examines both the historical theory of the Aryan conquest of India and their conflict with the original inhabitants called in the Vedas by the name of "Dasyus or Dasas," as also that of the divine origin of Chaturvarnya from the different parts of the body of the universal creator, as described in the famous Vedic hymn "Purushasukta". The reader will find chapter I of the book very instructive and illuminating in this respect. From a wealth of quotations from the Vedic texts, the author shows that the term "Dasyus" did not mean slaves but it meant nothing more than "rainbearing dark clouds", which the Vedic sages called upon the Gods to pierce and destroy, so as to give them light. As for the "Purushasukta", the author concludes from the context of the succeeding verses that "Purusha" meant only a circle and "Viraj" meant a square and the whole hymn was only a mathematical formula of converting a square into a circle, the four Varnas being the four strips of a circle required for erecting a sacrificial altar. He points out that his interpretation is in keeping with the then prevalent practice of using the names of four Varnas to describe the four groups of houses in 'Shilpashastra' and to classify lands according to their colour. "There was" says the author, "little religion in them. However, it is a hymn which Manu manipulated to establish caste superiority." In the opinion of the author, there are no facts historical, scriptural, or anthropological to warrant the conclusion that the Aryans were foreigners. On the other hand, they were a mixed breed sprung from the Dravidians and Mundas, the aboriginal tribes of India and the word 'Arya' derived from the word "Ara" (Plough), was a nick-name given to them by the proud Mundas. As is the case with some mixed breeds, Aryans in course of time surpassed their parent stocks in merit, ability and talent. The author also does not believe as many scholars do, that Shudras were the slaves of 'Dwija' Aryans. They were common artisans and skilled workers who stuck to their old religion of "Black Magic" as distinguished from the Vedic religion of "White Magic" evolved by the Aryans. 'Chaturvarnya' at best, was an academic classification of professions followed by the people and had nothing to do with colour distinction.

After disposing of these theories of Aryan conquest, enslavement of Shudras and colour distinction, the author is at great pains to prove that aboriginal totemism of the Mundas and the Dravidian tribes led to the creation of castes with their taboos on inter-dining and inter-marriages. Ancestor worship was its foundation and it was nurtured in the kitchen where offerings of food were made to ancestors and members of other totemic groups were not allowed to enter for fear of food being polluted. Modern Hindu worship of family deities by offering oblations and marriage restrictions on the ground of Gotra among the Brahmins particularly have a striking resemblance to totemism and ancestor worship of the ancient Indian tribes.

But caste in the Vedic and Aupanishadic period

never conferred privileges on any group or caste. Even Shudras are known to have been baptised into becoming Vedic sages. It was only during the later Pauranic period of the Brahamin Rulers like Pushya-Mitra and others that the Vedas went into the background and he revised Puranas and Smritis came to the fore and through the insidious propaganda carried on through them the Brahmins raised themselves to the position of supremacy over other castes which having lost their fluidity became rigid and hidebound. The author, however, pays due tribute to the Brahmins for keeping the torch of learning burning bright and to the Shudras for retaining their technical skills. He, therefore, calls upon particularly the Shudras who form the majority of the population to shed off their ideas of pollution, unapproachability and other signs of inherited totemism still in evidence in the kitchen, the temple and social life and exhorts them to play their glorious part worthily as skilled workers and technicians who really more than the priestly order go to make a nation great and not to waste their energies in trying to baptise themselves into Brahminism which, in itself, is a relic of the dead past. The one remarkable feature of this book is its great emphasis laid throughout, on the common racial origin, common nationality and common culture of all Indian castes, the Brahmins and the Shudras as also of the aboriginals.

Though many of the author's interpretations and conclusions might not be acceptable to Vedic Scholars and Orientalists, that need not detract from the merit and value of this profound and scholarly thesis and it will richly pay the interested reader to closely and attentively go through this book. The book should find an honoured place in the vast literature on this subject of perennial sociological and historical interest.

—D. M. Kulkarni

INDIAN CURRENCY by I. M. Kapoor, M.Sc., Econ. (Lond) F.R.E.S. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad-3. Price Rs. 6.00

The "Indian Currency" by Mr. I. M. Kapoor is a new addition to the often lacking part of the Library shelf in Economics, viz., Indian Monetary Study. The book as the author himself has acknowledged in his introduction, is a historical review of all the facts of the Indian Currency from its genesis to its present day status. A few suggestions has been made in the later part of the book regarding the views of the author and the measures to be implemented to keep the Indian Rupee at its traditional place of honour.

The first part of the book covers the periods from the early origin to the days of 1893 and further up to the Five Year Plans. The history of the Indian currency up to this period is of only academic value and contains nothing so serious to an anxious and curious mind which is typical of the modern day.

The section dealing with the position after independence has been of interest for a critical student of this subject. The different points of view and

the several occasions where wrong steps have been taken, the Government of India in taking decisions have been cleverly pointed out by the author. At the same time due credit has been given for the right steps and measures taken by the Government of India in their currency policies. The following in line of the devaluation of the Rupee with the devaluation of the Sterling in time; and the announcement of India's own independent intrinsic value of its Rupee at the time of the formation of the international monetary fund are some of the instances in view.

The author duly appreciates the emphasis laid on agriculture in the First Five Year Plan and admonishes the Government for not giving equal importance for agriculture in the Second Plan. Though he is in favour of the industrialisation of the country he pleads for a recovery in agriculture before aiming for industrialisation. Further, Prof. Kapoor strongly puts forward his idea that India's currency policy has touched its rock bottom when the deficit financing and the drawing of the currency resources has begun to play their part unduly in the national scene. In his view the Government of India has committed a grave mistake in following this ambitious planning of rapid industrialisation by relying mostly on deficit financing and on the public sector rather than on a calculated development of expansion of the economy hand in hand with the progress of the private sector. The statistics quoted in favour of his arguments are extremely instructive and paves the way for the future rectification and guidance. According to him the First Plan has given at a ratio of 50: 50 between private and public sectors while the Second stands at 61: 39 between them.

The author vigorously pleads for the foreign aid being restricted due to the monetary policies followed by the Government "The American Government may take us at our word as regards our policy of neutrality and may therefore continue to give its aid and assistance in the form of loans. Yet in view of our declaration that we aim at the socialistic pattern of society, and our dependence solely in Russia in the matter of Kashmir dispute, we should not be surprised if the American people, feeling "Once bitten twice shy", begin to hesitate to help our private sector or subscribe to our Government loans".

In the appendix as well as in the chapter dealing with the Five Year Plans an attempt has been made regarding the suggestions for the Third Plan which is in perspective now. Innumerable suggestions have been made by the author for the quick collection of the Small Saving Scheme in our country which has to be the main source of finance for the Third Plan. But all these suggestions are such that they can be applicable only in an advanced country with an educated people who are conscious of their role in the development of this country. The author's sentiments regarding an honest and sincere administration is an appreciable point.

Each chapter has been followed with suitable

questions to enable the students to make their task easy in their preparation for the exam. The publishers also are to be congratulated for the nice get-up of the book. On the whole the book is a good addition to the already available text books in Indian currency for the B. A. Classes of the Indian Universities.

—B. Ramakrishnan

Gleanings from the Press

Our Prime Minister's prowess in the formulation of heroic intentions in the matter of dealing with the Chinese incursions leaves nothing to be desired. But they have failed to produce any results in the quarters intended as they carried within themselves the germs of Hamletian evasion. One cannot blow hot and cold in the same breath by mouthing simultaneously stirring patriotic calls to national defence and emotional exhortations about the superiority of Panch Sheel and peaceful negotiation. Mr. Khrushchev has declared in his address to Parliament in Delhi that "the Panch Sheel principles have forced their way in history and this is in no small degree the merit of peace-loving India." The merit of peace-loving India in the form of Panch Sheel principles that have forced their way in history is illustrated in the successful occupation of several thousand square miles of Indian territory by Chinese invaders. It is evident that Mr. Khrushchev rejoices in this and assigns to India the role of further incense-burning at the sacred shrines of Panch Sheel and Non-alignment, leaving the Chinese in occupation of the Indian territory which they already hold. Who can dare prophesy that Mr. Nehru will not fall in with the spirit of Mr. Khrushchev's encomium, overcome as he is by the 'bhair-bhai maha mantram' in the performance of his duties as the main priest at the temple of Peace and Panch Sheel?

—Swarajya

News Digest

FLIGHT FROM COMMUNISM

Macao: Scores of Chinese peasants have escaped to Macao to take refuge under Portuguese territory. Although Chinese communist gunboats have been chasing them, nearly 200 villagers have fled to Macao in different groups. During 1959, well over 1650 fishing junks abandoned Chinese territorial waters and the number of escapees is alarming. If life under Communism is so glorious as Mao Tse-tung paints it to be, he should explain why this mass-exodus is taking place year after year.

PARKINSON'S LAW AT WORK

In 1939, the total number of employees in the Government of India from assistants to under-secretaries was only 590. It rose to a little over 2,000 at the end of the war. Today, their number is more

than 7,000. There were only 20 under-secretaries in 1939; there are 550 now.

In the Central Secretariat at present there are as many as 40 secretaries, special secretaries or officers of that rank, 30 additional secretaries 135 joint secretaries and nearly 350 deputy secretaries.

At least five Central ministries have grown so large that each of them is now bigger than the entire Government organization 20 years ago. They are the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Finance, Home, Transport and Communications and Works, Housing and Supply.

The third five year plan is hoped to increase the number of Central Government employees to at least twice the present figure. It will be difficult to spend Rs. 10,000,00,00,000 otherwise. At least five men should be employed to do the work formerly done by one and of course with one-fifth of the former efficiency.

CHINESE OCCUPY CHUNTAN, LADAKH

Jammu, Feb. 13: It is learnt that the Chinese have occupied the salt area in Chuntan in Ladakh. The people of Zaskar area in south Ladakh, who had been using salt from Chuntan have been refused salt from there by Chinese military men. Those who went there to get salt were beaten up. It is further learnt that a considerable number of unknown people in the guise of Buddhist Monks have entered in Zaskar area from Tibetan side. Some people belonging to far off areas of Zaskar have conveyed this information to the responsible men in Machial famous for sapphire mine in the Paddar area of Tehsil Kishtwar, Jammu.

I have also learnt from some people coming from Kishtwar that some Buddhist Monks have been seen in Paddar area during the last few days. They are suspected to be communist spies.

DISBAND THE PLANNING BODY

Bhopal: Mr. Minno Masani, M.P. and General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, here demanded that the Planning Commission should be disbanded because, being an "extra-constitutional body responsible to none," it had become a "terror both for the Ministers and the popularly elected legislatures" of the country.

The Commission, he said, was no more an "expert body" but was a "political body" which had become all-powerful to overrule decisions taken by the elected Governments.

Mr. Masani, who was speaking on "decentralisation of power in a democracy," said that under the cloak of democratic planning, the Central Government was gradually taking away all the powers from the States. He warned that if this increasing encroachment on the rights of the States by the Centre was not checked in time, either by the State Governments themselves or the enlightened political opinion, the State Legislatures would be reduced to "mere local bodies."

SWATANTRA PARTY CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE MEETING AT BANGALORE

The organising committee of the Swatantra Party held a series of meetings at Bangalore from the 5th to the 7th (inclusive) of February. Members from different States numbering 16 out of 22 had come for the session. The committee considered a draft manifesto of the Party to be presented to the next ALL India Convention to be held at Patna in March. The statement develops the 21 points of the objectives already published with the approval of the Bombay Convention held in August last. It also settled the Flag—a blue background with five stars, a near imitation of the UNO Flag.

Sri C. Rajagopalachari, supreme leader and founder of the Party, attended the session. Prof. Ranga, party chairman presided. Mr. M. R. Masani the newly elected general secretary led the deliberations.

Messrs. K. M. Munshi and Kamakhyā Narayan Sinha, Vice presidents J. M. Imam, B. V. Narayana Reddy, Jinaraja Megde, B. Ramachandra Reddy, Venkatakrishna Redd'ar, Prof. M. Ratnaswamy, B. D. Patel, Sardar Vasanth Singh, S. K. D. Paliwal and R. Agnibhoj were some of the other members present. In addition to shaping the general manifesto, the committee passed a couple of resolutions enunciating the Party policy on the Chinese aggression and on the relation between students and politics.

The committee felt that the policy of non-alignment had little meaning now in the light of Chinese aggression and pleaded for consultations with other nations of the South East Asia Region with a view to forge a common defence. A similar proposal made by Mr. Hanumanthiaya at the Bangalore Congress session was rejected by Mr. Nehru as importing a kind of **Third Force**, which to him was anathema, impracticable and unwise. But here is the Swatantra Party backing it.

With regard to students, the committee resolved that students above the age of 18 may be admitted as members but that they should not be organised on party lines.

The principal items of the new party's sessions in Bangalore on this occasion were the speeches delivered by Sri C. R. and Sri K. M. Munshi. They addressed college audiences and the law association and the Rotary club. Summaries of some of these are given elsewhere.

The star function of the week was undoubtedly Sri Rajagopalachari's address to the general public in Subashnagar. The audience was one of the biggest ever gathered in Bangalore for a political meeting, exceeding 20 thousand persons rivalling Gandhi and Nehru crowds in the past. It was a visible demonstration that the new party is winning the attention of the general public on a large scale threatening genuine rivalry to the Congress.

Sri C. R. developed this thesis of free economy and free society in his characteristic lucid and persuasive way with many homely examples.

He said that the present policies and attitudes of the Congress government were ushering in a totalitarian system destroying freedom. He said that social justice should not be sought in such a way as to lead to the atrophy and death of individual freedom. He said that socialism does not create wealth which is done only by individuals and voluntary associations. He opposed cooperative farming as leading to lower production and the loss of freedom by the farmer and his family.

He pointed out that in the last resort socialism and democracy could not go together. They were in his opinion, a contradiction in terms. He set himself against the whole contemporary fashion of Leftist thought and pleaded for a democratic alternative for socialism and state interventionism. The state has to enter only to correct anti-social tendencies and may pioneer large scale industries for which the public may not be ready.

The audience was mostly middle and lower middle class in composition. There was no labour in any, appreciable degree.

But the kind of people who attended is the kind that leads public opinion on the whole. This class it is that defeated the communists in the recent Kerala elections. But they need further ideas in support of free economy if they are to be disabused of the inevitability of individual enterprise for economic growth and the provision of plenty for all. Rajaji dealt with ultimate principles in a homely fashion and made a profound impression on the vast audience.

(Reported by M. A. V. Bangalore)

MR. K. M. MUNSHI'S ADVICE TO BUSINESSMEN IN ADDRESS TO ROTARY BUSINESSMEN'S CONFERENCE, BANGALORE ON 5 FEBRUARY 1960

Mr. K. M. Munshi former leading personality in Congress and now a leader of the Swatantra Party addressed the Business Men's Conference organised by the Rotary Club on 5 February. He had come to attend the meeting of the Central Organising Committee of the Party of which he is a member.

He began with advising businessmen to maintain high standards of honesty and integrity in their dealings. He instanced the loss of our export trade in footwear on account of the bad work of the shoe manufacturers of Agra.

Mr. Munshi described himself as "an articulate opponent of the Government" which he said was going the way of communist regimentation. In any plan of development, businessmen should be allowed to function freely. It was essential to remember that freedom and material advancement should be adjusted in such a manner that the former was not lost sight of.

The businessmen should be aware of the need to save the three freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution namely the freedom to pursue any occupation, freedom to pursue it without any restrictions and freedom to dispose of one's income. There should

be absolute freedom to increase production since otherwise there will be neither welfare nor happiness.

Increase of production, increase in capital formation, initiative in industries and arresting inflationary tendencies were the guiding factors to improve the economy of the country.

The present policy of the country was only repressing consumption and was not an incentive for increasing production. It is difficult to say whether the present policy would improve future generations. Stateism, controls, heavy taxation, mounting public debts, State intervention in the economic and social life of the country, inflation without increased production and bureaucratic hold on the country were some of the factors arresting the progress of the country. They take away the creative enthusiasm of businessmen. The choice before them was freedom or regimentation. If present policies continued, businessmen would be "slowly, steadily and without any doubt be squeezed out." They should therefore resist it in an organised manner.

Mr. B. D. Jatti, Chief Minister of Mysore, who inaugurated the conference replied that the restrictions imposed by Government were necessitated by Planning and left ample room for businessmen to pursue industry and commerce effectively. He said that for the malpractices such as adulteration of goods and black marketing which were indulged in by some businessmen, "even confiscation of property and life imprisonment" would not be too heavy a punishment.

(Communicated by M.A.V. Bangalore).

THE SWATANTRA PARTY AT MYSORE CITY

After the Bangalore meetings, Prof. Ranga, Chairman of the party and a number of other members visited Mysore city and addressed a meeting there at the invitation of the local committee.

At Bangalore, Mr. Masani had stated that in case of obtaining power, the party would re-introduce private enterprise in the life insurance field, either by de-officialising them or by permitting the starting of new units by private enterprise.

At Mysore, Prof. Ranga clarified the freedom policy of the party a little further.

Prof. Ranga criticised the Congress Government for trampling on individual liberty. By its negative policy, the Congress was putting all sorts of restrictions on the avocation of peasants. The arbitrary price control imposed by Delhi and obeyed by State Governments, irregular supplies of iron and steel, the monopoly of the State Trading Corporation making cent per cent profits had all enslaved the kisans. The Government has been frightening them with legislation for introducing cooperative farming, thus making officials and losses their rulers.

Regarding taxation, Prof. Ranga declared that the Party would not impose any new taxes if it came to power but would make every effort to reduce existing tax levels.

This would be achieved by pruning the administ-

ration and cutting down wasteful expenditure. The Party would organise cooperatives free from State control and party bosses, make the panchayats true fullfledged institutions, stop inflation and the corrupt influence of bosses on civil servants, lay emphasis on dharma and afford full opportunities to artisans engaged in various spheres.

Mr. Agnibhoj, Madhya Pradesh M.P., equated corruption and cooperatives with Congress and characterised the rule of the Congress as fascist in character.

Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddi made a frontal attack on the economic policy of the Government. He criticised the extra-constitutional role of the Planning Commission that was destroying both State powers and individual liberties. The Government was further mortgaging the future of the country by its huge foreign debts.

Mr. Jinaraja Hegde also spoke in the same strain and appealed for support to the Swatantra Party.

C. R'S SPEECH AT BANGALORE ON FEB. 6TH. INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

Lokamanya Tilak Said: "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it."

Our individual freedom is our birthright and I propose that you should accept that challenge that we shall have it.

The autocratic authority of the British was transferred to the Congress in 1947. It was given to India and was handed over to the Congress. Swaraj had now to be taken by the people from the Congress. This was a continuing process. This was the programme of the Swatantra Party. Socialism was a cloak, a deceptive mantle for the totalitarian Congress Party. The Congress Party interests were camouflaged by socialism. The Congress was working for socialism to get total authority in the country. The goal of the Swatantra Party was that every citizen should have security, liberty and none should be enslaved by poverty, ignorance or by the State.

CREATION OF NATIONAL WEALTH

The Swatantra Party desired that the rights and opportunities of the individual should be properly safeguarded. In all spheres, freedom should be their first anxiety and care. The truth was that poverty could not be wiped out or reduced by robbing one and distributing the booty among five others. If they took away the wealth from one man and distributed it among five people, they would get five votes. Unless national wealth was increased in the country as a whole, there was no point gained by robbing one of his wealth and distributing it among others. He was not saying what Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had not said. Their first object should be to create wealth. For that they wanted some capital, men who knew how to create wealth, and men who had the initiative. They could not create wealth by robbing people who had it by Government orders or laws. Capital was the savings of the people who would invest it in producing wealth. If the authorities forgot this fact, they would indulge in excessive taxation and expropriation of property to find capital. The Swatantra

Party was therefore opposed to State ownership of all means of production and distribution, which was the creed of Socialism. Socialism would not increase production. It would destroy freedom.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Swatantra Party held the view that the taking over of business or production by the State should not be for party advantages or for intimidating people. We should not relax our drive towards social justice. The Swatantra Party is not against social justice. The Swatantra Party does not want that social justice should be forgotten or cut aside. In our anxiety to do social justice, we should not relax our vigilance over individual freedom. If I wish to catch a train with my wife, I should not get into the train, leaving my wife on the platform; I and my wife should both get into the train. We should do social justice without depriving individual freedom. Individual freedom in a free country is as dear as one's wife. Of course one can reach the train earlier, if he leaves his wife behind. But it is no good going to the train leaving your wife.

In all countries where there was a drive towards quick social welfare and justice, there was the danger of a drift to totalitarianism. Even those who helped them with financial assistance in order to improve their material welfare quickly, would sometimes prefer an absolute totalitarian Government to democratic Government. A foreign country like the United States, in giving money, would like to deal with an absolute Government rather than with an unreliable democratic country. In their anxiety to distribute wealth and lift up the people they should not forget that there was great danger in drifting totalitarianism. Our Government is actually drifting into the totalitarian group. They do so because they want to achieve this equitable distribution (of wealth) as quickly as possible. If you look into the proposal for co-operative farming, it involved the taking away of the ownership of individual. In order to produce more paddy, they want to take away the lands from the poor and distribute it to co-operative societies. More paddy will not be produced that way. Only, the field will have been lost."

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

Rajaji said they all knew the difference between socialism and social welfare. They all wanted social welfare but not socialism. Socialism was not the right medicine for the disease of poverty. When the country was poor, socialism was the wrong medicine. Socialism meant individual work for the State but he would have no sense of freedom. If, in democracy, they should have individual freedom, socialism and democracy could not go together. If only they were ready to give up democracy could they adopt socialism. These two incompatibles were imagined to exist in Russia and China. When they took in socialism, they had to turn out democracy from India. There was no room in the bottle for both these things.

"I tell you with all the confidence that I possess, "That democratic socialism is a contradiction in

terms. It is like asking for a black-white man or a white black man. The value of personality, private conscience and private judgment, these are the things that we should save. If any society loses all these things, it is not a free society but a slave society. The nation's good is best served if the individual's initiative is maintained."

National wealth, was made by individual wealth and individual wealth could be made by providing incentives. This is what the Swatantra Party stood for.

CENTRALISATION OPPOSED

"India as a whole," added Rajaji, "is Swatantra at heart. All people in India have this sense of Swatantra rooted in them, it is a national temperament. In Communist countries, it is not a national temperament and the tyranny of the Government was there. But we do not want the tyranny of the Government. We should reconcile our hunger for social justice as we are anxious to preserve individual freedom. We should not accept regimentation as our way of life. We should set free individual energy and not put it under restriction. Regimentation kills the vital energy of the individual."

Under Congress rule all power was centralised. Power was taken away from the States to the Centre and from the individual to the State. If all the blood in the body went to the head, the man would die. The head should control things but not draw all the blood to itself. Collective planning meant totalitarian centralisation. Planning started only in Communist countries. Here planning will lead to the Communist State. There was not the fear of outside Communists, but that of Congressmen becoming Communists. This must be resisted. The powers of the Government must be used to protect the weak and prevent exploitation. There is no dispute about this. The dispute is how much interference should be allowed. The Government has tasted blood and it wants more and more powers. This must be resisted. That is why there should be another party that must work for getting the blood to the other parts of the body.

The Swatantra Party had among its aims and objectives the revival of the spiritual outlook and the sense of spiritual values in our country. Our country and the people had been famous throughout the ages for the importance attached to spiritual values. Under Congress rule their sense of spiritual values was gradually going down. Day in and day out, the Congress Party and all its minions in the country spoke about raising the material standard of life of the people and nothing else.

Through the community project they had planned, people in the remotest areas were being made to lose spiritual values. There was an increase of dishonesty and corruption. It was no good witnessing this spectacle. They had to prevent a disaster. In the name of progress, more value was being attached to materialism rather than to spiritual values

and it seemed as if the Government was trying to abolish religion. The Swatantra Party stood for the preservation of the individual's religion and maintained that no discrimination should be made against him on account of his religious faith.

The greatest and most comprehensive issue of the Swatantra Party was whether we should be swaadheena or paradheena. I appeal to you all to give your support to the Party. I do not want the Congress to be destroyed. I want the Congress to sit in opposition.

Until Gandhiji's death, the Socialists were a minority party in the Congress itself. Gandhiji resisted socialism all the time. He (Rajaji) also had been working to build up an opposition to it and now that party had been set up. We believe that we are only carrying on what Gandhiji had been doing. It should not be left undone because Gandhiji is gone.

—"Hindu"

(Continued from page 8)

Jan Sangh, we are further told, "considers the question of Tibet's independence as intimately connected with the defence of India's borders.... Any proper understanding of the Chinese peril and of our own interests would have led the Government of India into refusing to recognise Chinese suzerainty over Tibet or to relinquish our rights there in favour of an imperialist Government. Whatever the difficulties a retracing of steps is necessary if we want to safeguard our frontiers and secure to Tibetan people their free and sovereign existence." Quite so. But that again cannot simply be done under non-alignment. To support non-alignment and feel enraged at the natural consequences of non-alignment is not exactly a sign of wisdom. Our Prime Minister is climbing down step by step and every downward step naturally calls for bravado and claptrap, which we are ever ready to applaud. All this refusal to negotiate so long as the Chinese do not vacate aggression was transparent eye-wash which should not have deceived any one—except of course those who are willing and anxious to be deceived.

ATTENTION

Scholarships granted to Post-graduate students in Economics, who are able to undertake research in Free Economy from Libertarian point of view. Send full particulars of age, qualifications and occupation etc. to:

The Secretary,
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I, Govind Narayan Lawande, hereby declare that the particular given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

G. N. Lawande.

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