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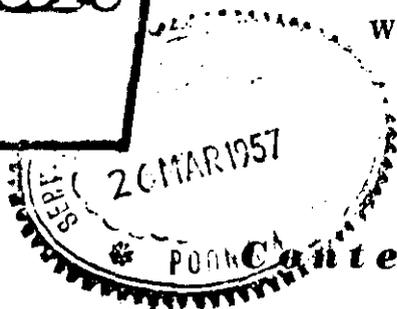
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Editorial

NEHRU'S DAMAGING CONFESSION

THE Prime Minister made a remarkable confession of errors, unwittingly no doubt, in a recent election speech. He said openly that in the present discussions in the Security Council, Britain took revenge on India for her championship of Egypt as against her in the Canal dispute. He went a step further and said that ruling circles in England had never accepted the independence of India wholeheartedly, and were waiting for an opportunity for injuring Indian interests and sully her fair name. This was what many of his critics had been warning him of since August 1947, not all of whom could be tarred with his handy brush of communalism. There were secular humanists like Mr. Lotvala, among these critics, who cannot be accused of communalism in any shape or form. This outburst of the Prime Minister against Britain's role in the UN discussions on Kashmir is an unconscious self-criticism which is so damaging to his reputation for expertise and insight in politics.

He should have known that an imperial people like the British will not be cured of imperialist lust for power so easily. He should have known what so many of his critics were saying from the beginning, that his over-eager forgiveness of the British past and uncritical recommendation of the British connection to the detriment of India's interests, betrayed lack of realism and practical common-sense and foresight. In continuing the membership of the Commonwealth, he should have taken care to secure reciprocity and fairness in trade relations and relations with Pakistan. The British partiality for Pakistan is no matter that has emerged today suddenly like Athena from the head of Jove with full panoply of armour. It is but a straight-forward continuation of the pre-independence policy of the British towards the Muslim League. And it has been in evidence in every matter of dispute with Pakistan. This matter of the favour of the British to Pakistan, and to those of the Muslim nations that consent to remain within the British sphere of influence, like the States of the Baghdad Pact, namely Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan, could have been foreseen by any student of world politics. For Pandit Nehru to fulminate against this as some kind of iniquity the like of which is totally absent, in his own calculations, argues a strange lack of self-criticism and simplicity, which are grave defects in a foreign minister.

His Critics Were Right

The second point that calls for comment in that remarkable self-revelation of the Prime Minister is the surprising identity of the policy, now emphasised before the Security Council, and that urged on him so earnestly by his critics, like Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerji, which Pandit Nehru denounced, when recommended by them years ago. They urged that India should ask for the withdrawal of Pakistani

troops from occupied Kashmir in the West and in the North. Pandit Nehru denounced this proposal as war-mongering and communalism. But now his representative V. K. Krishna Menon has been saying this in sheer self-defence.

Appeasement Has To Stop

But there is also a rumour that India would be prepared to cede Pakistan occupied Kashmir in return for the dropping of the demand for plebiscite! It is highly probable that India has made this proposal to Britain and the USA. This is just the kind of self-stultifying weakness and vacillation that has earned for Pandit Nehru the epithet of Prince Hamlet, and is responsible for his opponents not taking his words seriously, particularly Pakistani and British opponents. After the way in which he succumbed to the suggestion of Partition, after swearing against the idea in towering wrath, it is not surprising that his decisions and proclamations are not taken seriously.

Public opinion must be alert on this question. Either we are entitled in law and morality to reject the plebiscite proposal, on the ground of Pakistan's non-fulfilment of conditions attached thereto or we are not. If we are right, there is no reason why we should concede it now, simply because Pakistan has threatened to make a scene over it. Pakistanis seem to get away with anything simply by threatening to create trouble. This is wrongful appeasement. If we concede a plebiscite, without valid grounds now, we may have to concede a series of further claims such as that a corridor from Lahore to Dacca, whenever it suits Pakistan to create trouble.

Chanakya Is Even True Today

Classic Indian diplomatic tradition, from the days of Chanakya, recommends that independent states should regard their neighbours as potential enemies, and seek alliances with States beyond them. This is the idea of the *mandala* or balance of power that arises inevitably under conditions of international anarchy. The present Indian policy, under Pandit Nehru, rejects the wisdom underlying this tradition, which is also the tradition of the West, and seeks to maintain a new and unheard of policy of non-involvement. There could be something to be said in its favour, if it were really one of non-involvement in practice. But it is not. Non-involvement would require that India should have abstained from taking sides in the dispute between Egypt on the one hand, and the Anglo-French on the other. But we went hammer and tongs at the Western Powers, and used language of unheard of intemperance, in public, in condemnation of their action against Egypt. We could not have stronger language if it is India that was attacked. Indeed, through all these years of Pakistan's continuing aggression against Kashmir, and occupation of a

part of it, India's spokesman has not used language against her comparable in venom and intensity. This is involving ourselves in an international dispute on the side of Egypt and against the Western Powers. Britain is training our Armed Forces, and is selling us aircraft and warships, and assisting us through the Colombo Plan, whereas Egypt is doing nothing to help us in any way. Egypt has not said a word in our favour in our quarrel with Pakistan. Our championship of Egypt is, therefore, purely one-sided.

Befriending Wrong Nations

It may appear that our championship is really in line with the *mandala* theory, because it amounts to having an alliance with the neighbour of our immediate neighbour Pakistan, who is hostile to us. But further consideration reveals the defect of this view. Whom we have to take as our neighbour potentially hostile depends on the nature of the ring of neighbours. History tells us that the whole of the Islamic region, from Algeria to Indonesia, is potentially hostile to India. We have only to recall Islamic history to be convinced of this truth.

The ring of neighbours we have really to conciliate is that of the Western Powers, Britain, Italy, France.

Pan-Islamic Danger

The French Minister M. Mollet has recently warned the world of the menace of Pan-Arabism. The country has every historical reason to remember this development in Islamic lands. India has suffered for centuries for neglect of the danger from this area of the world, and present policies ignore both the history and psychology of Pan-Islam. In fact, Islam is unfavourable to nationalism in the strict sense. For under Islamic theory, every Muslim is a brother, irrespective of geography and race. Muslims easily mix with each other though they might come from the ends of the earth. The barriers of race, region, language and nationalism melt before strong leadership. The consolidation of Muslims, across the barriers of State and nation, is a development that can happen sooner than is dreamt of in our Horatio's in foreign policy.

Today there is a division among Muslim States, some belonging to the Baghdad pact and others to the Arab League. The line of division is furnished by British influence, and the estimate of the Northern States under the leadership of Turkey of the imminence of the Russian danger to their security. But this division is likely to fade in favour of consolidation under the lead of the West sooner than later. King Saud of Arabia has already expressed himself after his return from America, that President Eisenhower's Middle East proposals are worth considering. Egypt cannot hold out long against the West's proposals. The Baghdad pact may be revised, and new proposals acceptable to all Muslim States may be made. Then the hour of Islamic unity will arrive under the aegis of the West, motivated by security from Russian aggression or influence.

Endangering India's Security

If we continue to encourage Egypt's pro-Russian intransigence, we shall have alienated ourselves still further from the West. Further, we shall have laid ourselves open to peril from the Communist bloc.

Today India, is under pressure from Russia and China on the North and North-east, especially after the Chinese annexation of Tibet. The only way in which we could meet this menace is by entering into alliances with the Western Powers. Alliance with the free West is less dangerous to our independence than alliance with Soviet Russia or Soviet China. The Soviet States are built on the basis of a doctrine of inevitable world war and world revolution. The bloodbaths in Poland and Hungary, in recent months, show the nature of the military alliance between Russia and her satellites. They have no real independence in any sphere, military or economic, or even cultural. They are just provinces disguised under native rule through puppets.

The great sources of danger to India are, therefore, Islamic States and Communist States. India, under her present wrong-headed leadership, despite of all history and diplomatic wisdom, is ignoring these dangers, and is favouring just these potential enemies of her freedom and independence. The sooner the intelligentsia of India realises this totally unnecessary and perilous unwisdom of this foreign policy the better for the security of the country.

When Government Takes Over

WHEN a Government takes over people's economic life, it becomes absolute, and when it has become absolute, it destroys the arts, the mind, the liberties and the meaning of life of the people it governs. Men who are fed by the Government will soon be driven to the status of slaves or cattle.

—Maxwell Anderson in *The Guaranteed Life*

Prosperity Cannot Be Achieved By Govt. Edict

THE nations of the Western Union want prosperity and there are many who think this will be provided for them by the State, using the individuals as pawns. Never was there a greater error. Prosperity can never be achieved by Government edict, but only by the loyal efforts and hard work by millions of men.

—F. M. Lord Montgomery

The Sham Of Paternalistic Government

THE modern preachers of paternalistic government permit themselves to be intimidated by circumstances. Blinding themselves to the inevitable growth of despotism, they craven-like, seek, through Government assurance they can for ever count upon a full stomach and a warm cloak or, perhaps the sinister-minded amongst them think, by playing upon our fears, to become the masters of our lives.

—General Eisenhower

Some Reflections on the General Elections

by M. A. Venkata Rao

THE present writer had the unexpected opportunity (or trial) of being called upon to stand as a candidate for the Lok Sabha literally at a week's notice. It was a call for which he was little prepared, but all the same accepted the challenge involved in the offer, and filed his nomination papers at Bangalore City. He has been in the thick of the campaign since February 1. It is worth-while recording his reactions to the actual conditions of the campaign as they revealed themselves from day to day in so far as they have a meaning for our democratic hope (and fate) in the coming years.

The Major Impression

The major impression that has been borne in upon the present writer is that the Congress constitution-makers committed a grievous blunder, in transcribing adult franchise into the Constitution in 1950. The candidate has been obliged to encounter so many groups of voters, each two to five thousand strong in different parts of the City, who were completely illiterate—mill workers, stone-cutters from outside the State speaking Telugu and Tamil etc.

These groups were naturally under the influence of their leaders, who are only slightly more acquainted with political affairs, being petty contractors and artisans, who come into contact with better educated employers and their agents.

Now how is it possible to inform such a body of voters as to the nature of the policies put into force by the Congress Government? How is it possible to explain to them the totalitarian tendencies revealed, day after day, in several spheres of life and administration by the Party and Government in power? They only knew that five years ago candidates came to them for their suffrages but once returned, they never showed their faces to them again! This conduct on the part of members of the local Assembly and of the Lok Sabha at Delhi has created a cynicism on the part of the common man and his group leader that is hard to overcome in the course of the necessarily hurried visit that the candidate can pay to them in the course of the whirlwind campaign. The hardest part of the electioneering business is to inform the mass of voters of the bare fact of his candidature. It is impossible for any candidate to offer to all the members of his constituency (which in this case consisted of 10 lakhs of people of whom nearly four lakhs were voters) the essential data about his life and work, opinions on current problems and his ideas regarding the policies which he favours. Even if this were possible, it would be of little use, since most of them would not be able to judge them.

Hence voters of this class, who constitute the overwhelming part of the total constituency, have to be

tempted by other incentives. Obviously the most convincing of them is money. Group leaders or ward bosses, to use an American phrase, expect money for their trouble in herding their following to the polling booths. The rate seemed to range from a couple of hundreds to a couple of thousands, to judge from the hints that the present writer received both directly and through intermediaries. It was clear that some candidates belonging to the powerful ruling party and well-to-do ambitious independents had catered to this demand in some degree.

Democracy Is A Rich Man's Game

One independent candidate, who withdrew early in the race, told the present writer that his estimate of the funds required to assure success were in the neighbourhood of Rs. Fifty Thousand to overcome the initial advantage enjoyed by the ruling party with its Gandhian prestige and command of incredibly large funds. No wonder, for he was contemplating the bribing of ward bosses, who commanded the votes of illiterate workers. Even the permissible limit of Rs. Twenty-five Thousand makes the entry of the ordinary person into the ring of electioneering impossible. Judging from the number of posters and handbills and the number of workers engaged by some candidates standing for the State Assembly from smaller wards of the city, one comes to the conclusion that some of them have been spending very nearly the figure permitted. Obviously this democracy of ours is a rich man's game. Naturally, contractors, shop-keepers, small business men of various lines, come to expect some return from their membership of the legislature to recompense them for their lavish election expenses, which most of them cannot afford at all. Ambition and the lure of social influence (which can be made to pay in cash in some way or other) persuades some of them to spend beyond their means. This is unhealthy for democracy. An instance quoted by a candidate in private conversation throws a lurid light on this side of the matter. He said that a Corporator recovered his outlay on his election campaign last time by means of obtaining four house sites allotted to him at a nominal price, one in his own name and the other three in the names of a close relative. After a couple of years he sold them at a huge price netting a profit of forty thousand rupees!

Incidentally it may be noted that this profiteering in urban land values is glaringly unjust. It was the special merit of Henry George to have drawn attention to the iniquity and evil consequences of such annexation of unearned income on the part of urban land owners. It is this unearned income that raises the rent of land. Henry George showed with convincing clarity that the higher the rent, the smaller the fund at the disposal of the entrepreneur out of

which to pay wages and interest. The conclusion drawn by Henry George was that there should be no absolute and complete ownership of urban or agricultural land with the right to the annexation of unearned income by the holder.

The present writer is aware of a procedure whereby the Georgian principle was applied by Mr. M. A. Srinivasan when he was President of the Mysore City Municipality. In developing a new suburb, he ordered only conditional sale of land. The purchaser had to put up some part of the structure—at least a compound—within six months and complete the building within three years at the outside. If these conditions were not fulfilled, the Municipality according to the contract, resumed the land retaining part of the purchase money as a penalty. The result was that planned suburb sprang into existence and started its career within three years!

Precept And Practice

Another sidelight of the election experiences in Bangalore was the criticism of the voters directed to the expensive habits of their representatives in the legislatures, some of whom were ministers and others just members. One voter and ward boss was grimly sarcastic on the luxurious habits of *khadi* wearers whose simplicity of living was confined to the *khadi* cap. These white caps, he pointed out, had now built imposing houses for themselves. How they could manage it out of the allowances granted to legislators was a mystery. A Chief Minister insisted on living in a hotel in Delhi during his visit to the Capital which charged two hundred rupees per day!

A weaver who happened to see one of these new official buildings was amused by the sanitary paper in the closet which struck him as strangely incongruous in the Gandhians who make such a show of swadeshi and plain living etc.

He told the present writer that the candidates without distinction of party just aimed at their own luxuries and cared little for the voters who returned them to parliament.

Another aspect of election tactics that caused

genuine uneasiness in the present writer's mind was the extent to which practically every candidate, irrespective of party sought to mobilize caste feelings in his own support.

The Congress party chiefs were the worst sinners in this respect. They frankly asked Muslims to vote for Congress as a community. So also were Christians approached for a bloc vote. Promises of contracts, quotas, jobs etc. completed the argument for Congress.

Colossal Ignorance

Another reflection that forced itself on the present writer in the course of his campaign is the extraordinary ignorance (on the part even of educated persons like university graduates in business, lawyers and teachers) of the dangerous consequences of present policies and programmes like the Five Year Plans. They seem to have a lazy conviction that Nehru can do no wrong and that so long as he is at the helm of affairs, everything will go all right with the country!

They show irritation when the bubble of their ignorance is pricked. They are not aware of the danger of Pakistan's plots against India. They are not aware of the dangers of socialism of the Marxist variety.

But some unlettered weavers and shop-keepers have realised that their property and freedom are at stake. One of them asked the present writer—Why doesn't the State open brothels to make money? Why not, if they can start hotels and run buses and become shop-keepers in cement and rice?

Very few landlords realise the danger to their position that is approaching so rapidly. One felt that there is genuine scope for a libertarian social party with industrial and agricultural wings, if only the actual victims or near-victims of nationalisation and collectivisation could be mobilised in language intelligible to them.

Verily, democracy has come too soon for us and the catastrophe is enhanced by the communist outlook of Pandit Nehru, though his communism as the goal of society eschews violence.

MAHATMA UNMASKED

By J. K. Dhairyawan

.....

QUITE recently the erstwhile leader of the Congress and presently the leader of the PSP in Bengal, Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, has torn asunder the mask of truthfulness and spirituality from the face of the Congress High Command. Despite this, the Nehru-nominated Congress president, Dhebarbhai, and Mr. Nehru go on lecturing the country on the high principles that the Congress stands for and which they inherit from the Mahatma. In fact Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh has torn to shreds the pretensions of the Mahatma of being a saint and a man

wedded to "truth" and "spirituality". As a result of this exposure there has been a little stir in the dovecoats of the Congress High Command but there has been no denial of the exposure made. To say that it was "unfair" and "not correct" to mention the name of the late Sardar and the Mahatma after their deaths in the controversy is completely beside the point. But these Congressmen cannot deny the letter that Gandhi had written to Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh. And since they cannot say that the letter is a forgery the charges made by the Bengal leader stand.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, who was the former Congress Chief Minister of Bengal, has veritably thrown a sort of an atom-bomb at the Congress and its false and baseless pretensions to have "spiritualised" the politics of the country. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, in a recent statement, had maintained that the Congress High Command had brought pressure on him to resign from the Chief Ministership as he was determined to root out the twin evils of blackmarketing and corruption from the public life of the Province. This statement seemed to have offended the present Congress President of Bengal, Mr. Atul Ghosh, and a candidate contesting the present elections, that he challenged the Doctor to prove his charges against the Congress High Command and if proved he would withdraw from contesting the elections on the Congress ticket, and also withdraw the Congress candidate standing against Dr. Prafulla Ghosh.

Gandhi And Big Business

Mr. Atul Ghosh had not counted his host. He was perhaps judging Dr. Ghosh by the standards by which he must be judging the various unfounded statements made by Congress leadership, from Mr. Nehru down to Mr. Dhebhar and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Within three or four days of this challenge of Mr. Atul Ghosh, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh called a press conference in Calcutta. To the pressmen Dr. Ghosh produced photostat copies of a letter written to him by the Mahatma. In this letter Gandhiji had stated amongst other things: "Sardar Patel must have already sent you his message. According to that message you must take into your Cabinet Shri Badri Prasad Goenka or Shri Khaitan. This action on your part will be correct, not acting accordingly will be improper."

To those who know how Big Business and black-marketing and corruption go hand in hand, and that the two gentlemen mentioned in Gandhi's letter happen to be well-known representatives of Big Business, it need hardly be pointed out that by keeping these two gentlemen away from the Cabinet, Dr. Ghosh was taking the correct and proper step. But the great Mahatma had the audacity to write to him that his not taking these two gentlemen into Cabinet would be improper shows the Mahatma in the correct light. In the garb of a saint and an ascetic he was the champion of Big Business, with all its seamy sides. Dr. Ghosh's refusal to carry out the behests of Gandhi and the Sardar cost him his Chief Ministership within six months. Dr. Ghosh had to go the way that other great Congressmen and sincere patriots like Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Dr. N. B. Khare, and the late Mr. K. F. Nariman had to take for the simple reason that they could not carry out the improper and anti-national orders of the Congress High Command. And with such standing examples of the witch-hunt carried out by the so-called Mahatma and the Congress High Command, the country is made to believe that the Congress stands for high ideals and sound principles.

These revelations made by Dr. Ghosh may be news to the younger generation of Indians but those of

us who have followed the sure and steady deterioration in the public life of the country since the advent of the Mahatma into politics they are but one more addition to the long list of petty bickerings, personal jealousies and the whims and fancies of the Mahatma that made and unmade political careers during his association with the Congress. It was these machinations behind the scene, by men like the Sardar and others of his type, that practically drove out Netaji Bose from the Congress, that made Dr. Khare leave it with disgust, that made the late Bhulabhai Desai, a broken-hearted man in the fag end of his life, and that also ruined the public career of the late Mr. K. F. Nariman. The steam-roller of the Congress High Command has crushed and finished the careers of some of the most able and sincere patriots, who stood up against this sort of tyranny and browbeating. And no one would doubt the veracity of the revelations made by Dr. Ghosh.

In spite of such startling disclosures none of the Bengal Congress men nor any members of the present Congress High Command has so far dared to contradict Dr. Ghosh, or to say that the letter that he has produced is a forgery. And as long as that is not done, the public has a right to draw its own conclusions about the Congress pretensions, that it stands for high ideals and sound principles of conduct in the public life of the country. From Mr. Nehru down to Mr. Morarjibhai and Mr. Dhebhar have ALL observed complete silence over these revelations. This is most significant and in a way proof positive that the Mahatma had written such a letter to Dr. Ghosh, and what is more, that for not carrying out the orders of the Sardar, Dr. Ghosh had to leave the Chief Ministership.

Sham Of Socialism

When today the Congress is crying hoarse over its objectives of "Socialism" and a "Socialist pattern of society" one can well imagine how honest are these pretensions, when it is remembered that the Congress High Command had recommended the inclusion of Goenka or Khaitan in the Congress Cabinet of Bengal. Even today the Congress Election fund comes from Big Business, when it talks of "Socialism." These disclosures also demonstrate how both the Sardar and the Mahatma were past masters in the art of ruining the public career of any man who crossed their path, or who did not toe the official Congress policies. One can excuse the Sardar, for he made no pretensions to sainthood or asceticism, but the Mahatma, who claimed himself as another St. Francis of Assisi should degrade himself to the level of driving a man of the character of Dr. Prafulla Ghosh out of the Congress because of his refusal to include the two men recommended by him, expose him as anything but a saint. This pose of the Mahatma, with his feet of clay, has been exposed a number of times before, but Dr. Ghosh has done a signal service today by his latest exposure of the true nature of the Saint of Sabarmati. If the founthead of the Congress could degrade itself to such low levels one can imagine to what extents other Congress men without the halo of Mahatmahood could go.

Neither Radical Nor Humanist

By "Vigilant"

"KASHMIR—A Moral Test" is the title of an article published in the "Radical Humanist" dated the 2nd February. After going through it and the arguments advanced by the writer against India, and the complete ignoring of the facts of the Kashmir case—namely the wanton aggression by Pakistan against the State of Jammu and Kashmir—one cannot escape the conclusion that the article was from a Pakistani paper and NOT an Indian one. The whole article is an essay in what is called "suppressio veri" and "suggestio falsi". Apart from the fact that the whole article breathes of anti-nationalism and anti-Indian bias, the question arises, "Are the Royists and the "Radical Humanist" really radical and humanist?" After going through the article, the conclusion is inevitable that the Royists are neither radical nor humanist but are pro-Pakistani and pro-Muslim. If a radical or a humanist can perform the acrobatics that the Royists seem to have done, to praise one of the most fanatic of religions and applaud one of the most closed forms of societies, they cease to have any claim to call themselves radicals or humanists.

India's Title To Kashmir

In discussing India's title to Kashmir, it says that the Indian troops were sent to Kashmir "to defend Kashmir against Pakistani aggressor" at the invitation of the Maharaja "who never represented the people of Kashmir." This is a half-truth, if not a lie. The Maharaja of Kashmir did appeal for help and also decided to accede to India. But the Indian armed aid was sent to Kashmir ONLY when the people of Kashmir ALSO called for it, as represented by their then acknowledged leader, Sheikh Abdulla. This side of the matter is completely lost sight of in the article. To say that there was no definite solution of the future of Kashmir at the time of the partition is also wholly untrue. If the future of Kashmir was not definitely decided in the partition agreement it was equally so with the 500 and odd Princely States that dotted the map of India. But these States were integrated into the Indian Union by agreements and negotiations. Pakistan could have done the same with Kashmir but Pakistan chose the method of war and annexation. Fearing some such thing the Maharaja of Kashmir, who happened to be a Hindu, and his population being largely Muslim, had a standstill agreement with both India and Pakistan. In spite of this agreement, Pakistan let loose hordes of wild tribesmen on Kashmir, aided and abetted by regular Pakistani soldiers. It was at this time that the ruler, as well as the people, appealed to India for military help and that military aid was gladly given by the Indian Government. That is the PLAIN AND UNDISPUTED FACT of the whole Kashmir issue, which both the Pakistani leaders and the writer of this article conveniently forget. The Indian title to Kashmir is at once legal, constitutional and moral. It is not in the mouth of Pakistani leaders to blame India for the military aid it offered to Kashmir. But when Indians calling themselves radicals and huma-

nists find fault with India one has not only to doubt their sanity but also their professions.

India's Grievance

That such a simple, straight forward case like Kashmir issue should be hanging for all these years before the UN without any solution, is India's grievance against the West. If in spite of the justice and soundness of the Indian case for Kashmir if our Prime Minister voluntarily offered plebiscite to the people of Kashmir it was his scrupulous regard for being absolutely correct and democratic that had prompted the gesture. This generosity of the Prime Minister should not be now used as a stick against India as Pakistan and the UN are doing. In fact the offer of plebiscite has been more than conceded when the Kashmir Constituent Assembly passed the bill of accession to the Indian Union. The point that the Western statesman and the "Radical Humanist" brush aside is the admitted fact of aggression on the part of Pakistan against a peaceful neighbour—a fact that has been confirmed by one of the UN observers as also by the UNCIP. If India, through the misplaced desire for friendship and appeasement of Karachi, on the part of our Prime Minister, did not so far openly press the point of aggression against Pakistan, it does not mean that the aggression has not taken place or that the fact could be overlooked.

Assuming a pose of simplicity and innocence, the "Radical Humanist" asks India to concede the right to the people of Kashmir to decide their future, and if need be, to vote for an autonomous State of Kashmir. Does the "Radical Humanist" think that the Indian people and the Indian Government are so gullible as not to see in this demand the very thing that Pakistan is asking for? Is Pakistan prepared to offer the right to the people of the tribal areas to form their own autonomous state? Certainly not. Again, why alone should the people of Kashmir be allowed this right and not to the people of other States within the Indian Union? The "Radical Humanist" knows that this will mean the end of the Indian Union and the end of the security and integrity of the Indian continent. Surely no Government in their senses would be prepared to do that.

Is It Radicalism?

Again the charge of the "Radical Humanist" that the partition was done on religious grounds is not exactly true. India has never admitted that fact, and the very presence of 40 million Muslims in India proves that. But even taking that the partition was on religious grounds how can any radical or a humanist support it and call it moral? The partition of India was done on account of the fanaticism of the Muslim League and the "divide and rule" policy of the British Government. But to every radical and humanist, the very idea of dividing a country on religious grounds should be abhorrent and unacceptable. But here is the strange exhibition of Royists, calling themselves radicals and humanists, and accepting the vivi-section of a country that was one entity, geographi-

cally, politically and even culturally, on the flimsy grounds of religion. Perhaps to the Royist type of logic, the fanatical and Islamic Pakistan is nearer to their ideal of radicalism and humanism than the more tolerant and cultured Hindu nation — a nation that has been in the vanguard of radicalism and humanism thousands of years ago when the whole world was steeped in barbarism, and when organised religions of the world, like Christianity and Islam, were practising and advocating religious totalitarianism in the name of the Prophet and Allah.

Not satisfied with supporting and justifying the partition of the country on purely religious grounds, the "Radical Humanist" goes further in its campaign of smearing India and Prime Minister Nehru when they champion the cause of a notorious Indian seditionist, traitor and a pro-Pakistani person like Premnath Bajaj who had been arrested for treasonable activities. If the newspaper reports are correct, he was found with a secret transmitter, with which he was communicating with Pakistan and other countries. Does the "Radical Humanist" expect the Indian Government to tolerate such anti-Indian activities and treasonable action on the part of its citizens? If Bajaj was arrested, he was arrested on sufficient grounds and his detention was rightly justified. But in attacking the Government of India and in defending Pakistan, the "Radical Humanist" has so lost itself that it goes to the length of defending an Indian traitor. And this is the paper that has the effrontery to give lecture in morality to the Indian Government and the Indian people.

Roy's Past

But to expect morality and decency from the Royists, when one knows the various roles that the founder and the inspirer of the cult had played, is to expect for the impossible. The late Mr. M. N. Roy may be a very able and learned philosopher and a great thinker. But mere ability and learning are not synonymous with character and integrity. It has to be admitted that character and integrity were none of the "virtues" of the late Mr. M. N. Roy. How can Indians forget that while the Congress and the whole nation were carrying on the fight for freedom against British imperialism, during World War II, Roy not only opposed the "Quit India" movement but was paid for doing so by the British Government? These are facts that do not require any refutation. That the British Indian Government DID subsidize Roy was admitted on the floor of the Central Assembly. One can understand any one opposing the "Quit India" movement on grounds of convictions. But when those "convictions" are sold for a price, then naturally they are suspect, and can be interpreted as due to mercenary motives. Again it is on record that after this, Roy flirted with the Congress, put on khaddar and even donned the Gandhi cap. But all these theatricals of Roy failed to impress the Congress leadership. It was then that Roy turned into an opponent of the Congress. This past of the late Mr. Roy had to be referred to, since his followers have taken upon themselves the role of moral mentors, lecturing the Indian public and the Indian Government. In fact neither Mr. Roy nor his followers have any right to usurp that claim.

But the "Radical Humanist", with an air of superior wisdom and "righteous" indignation, comes out with an advice to India and the Indian Government. Says the article: "It is easy to condemn others when others are in the wrong; but it requires spiritual maturity to recognise one's own wrongs and courage to admit the same." We should like the paper to point out a single wrong step, or an act of moral lapse on the part of the Government of India over the Kashmir issue. If anything, India has been patient and forgiving to the point of weakness towards Pakistan over the Kashmir issue. And that is the fault, if any, of the New Delhi authorities. But it does not lie in the mouth of the "Radical Humanist" to lecture the Indian Government in morals, ethics and spirituality.

Let us recapitulate for the benefit of the "Radical Humanist" a summary of Indo-Pak relations climaxing in the attack on Kashmir. Throughout these nine years, Pakistan has not paid a single pie to India, legally due. It owes a partition debt of Rs. 500 crores which it had recently repudiated. On the top of this, at the request of the Mahatma, India loaned Rs. 50 crores to Pakistan in the very first year of partition. In addition, Pakistan owes crores of rupees by way of unpaid bills for coal, canal water and electricity. Over and above these debts, how has Pakistan behaved over the Sikh and Hindu minorities of West Pakistan? At the time of partition there were nearly 40 per cent Hindu and Sikh population there. Today there are hardly 5 per cent of these minorities in West Pakistan, the rest have been either murdered or forcibly driven out. The same story is true as regards East Pakistan. Over 60 lakhs of Hindus have been forcibly driven out of East Pakistan. The whole Kashmir issue is a standing instance of wanton aggression on the part of Pakistan against a peaceful and friendly State of Jammu and Kashmir. It was as an army of liberators that the Indian Army went into Kashmir to defend and protect the population against the depredations of the tribal hordes. To call the Indian Army as an army of occupation is to twist the facts.

When these are the undisputed facts of the Kashmir issue and Indo-Pak relations for the last nine years, it is only a perverted mind that can find and discover immorality, unethical and non-spiritual behaviour on the part of India or the Indian Government. But the radicalism and humanism of the Royist variety seems to be a peculiar animal that prefers to stand and support a fanatical, aggressive Islamic Pakistan than to defend the Indian Government and the Indian people, who have a clean and a decent record of behaviour. One expected the radicals and the humanists that the Royists claim to be, to see the morality, the ethics, and even the spirituality of the Indian stand on the Kashmir issue. But with their blurred glasses, the Royists have missed to see open aggression on the part of Pakistan but they smell the immorality of the stand of India over Kashmir, where India went as the liberator. One can convince a person who is open to correction, but one cannot convince persons who persist in blinking at facts. And that is what the Royists are doing. In a word the article in question is anything but radical or humanist.

REVOLUTIONISING INDIAN LIFE (Section II)

Annihilate Superstition (Part II)

By Dr. K. N. Kini, M.A. PH.D. (Columbia University)

Former Director of Public Instruction, Jodhpur.

10. God is considered to be a personal being in most religions. This conception of God as a personal being is untenable since it is impossible for any finite Being, however great, to create, preserve and transform (not destroy) such an infinite universe as containing millions and millions of stars, most of which are thousands of times bigger than one of the smallest of the stars, that is our sun, with their attendant planets. The Geeta considers God as Imperishable, Indefinable, Unmanifested, Omnipresent, Unthinkable, Unchangeable, Immovable and Eternal (Chapter XII, 4). What we in common parlance say sometimes, that is, God is Shakti or Energy, comes nearer the Geeta definition.

11. What we regard as God may be construed to be the total Effect of all the forces and energies of the entire universe, known and unknown to man. These forces and energies bring about the vast transformations that man see and experiences in the universe; and because he himself brings about a few changes in his daily life and then thinks that he creates some things, he conceives of a Creator to bring about infinite changes in the Universe. God is thus seen to be an idea of man conceived after himself. These forces and energies are self-acting according to their own laws, some of which we know, as for example the law of gravitation or the laws of electrical and magnetic forces and energies, and are not dependent on man's actions. When our ancient Rishis said "Thou art That" (Tat Tvam Asi), they meant by "That" the total effect of all the forces and energies of the universe, known and unknown to man. We may not have the proper receptors or senses to detect some of the forces and energies prevalent in the universe. Man may not have even enough intelligence to perceive their existence, that is, owing to the limited functioning of our nervous system.

12. As there has been much difference of opinion about God through the ages and as it is likely that these differences will remain as long as humanity will exist, it is best to take a common sense view of God as "That" (Tat), and utilise all the available and known (to us) forces and energies in nature to increase our comforts, joy and satisfaction.

Work Is Worship

13. Worship should therefore be construed as work done by us to make use of the natural forces and energies to enhance human happiness and to reduce human misery. Worship is now taught to be performing of meaningless rituals, whose efficacy, validity and reality cannot be tested, offering sacrifices of animals and also of goods so useful to man and wasting of time which should be properly utilised to increase production of things of everyday use to us, individually and as a nation. The clergy has been

working on the minds of the unthinking and ignorant multitude that if they do not offer sacrifices to limitless gods, they will suffer in this life; out of fear of enraging the gods, the credulous waste in worship, any amount of good milk, ghee, butter, fruits and cereals which should really go to feed children and give them strength and health. It will not be a bad affair if the sacrifices will be totally prohibited by legislation, for which a country-wide education of the people would be a proper prerequisite. The duty of the educated is clear. They should first of all give up superstitious belief themselves. Then they should put their firm belief in the natural law that unless we work, nothing material is achieved in this world and that, by working on scientific lines, we supply to ourselves all the useful things of life, which make life sweet. The Geeta says "whatsoever the superior person does, that is followed by others. What he demonstrates by action, that, people follow" (Chapter III, 21). Therefore, *the educated, who form now the Indian army to produce a social revolution in the country and whom the vast horde of the uneducated will surely follow, must demonstrate by their own conduct the futility of the sacrificial form of worship and the utility of the work-form of worship.*

Useless Rituals

14. Whenever I ask the uneducated simple folk what the meaning of the elaborate rituals they perform in the course of their worship is, they reply "What do we ignorant people know? Our priests tell us that this is the way of worshipping God and we act accordingly. If you educated people who know the Shastras ask us to do differently, we shall do so. We do what the superior persons ask us to do." The clergy is at present not interested in the material weal of the common folk but is interested only in getting something from them to eke out their own existence. The priests and the Swamis keep aloof from the masses just to show their superiority over them and to produce an effect of religiosity on these simple folks. Recently, a Head Master of a High School told me that when he invited a Shankaracharya to visit his school, the latter enjoined on him a number of restrictions as to how the people should behave towards him, with the result, he said, the management determined not to invite this dignitary again. Also he said that the school did not benefit in any way by his visit. The truth of the matter is that these so-called holy people do not wish to mix with the populace, do not desire to lose their ancient dignity and do not know the spirit of the times. Their interpretation of *dharma* (religious duty) is most primitive, dependent upon caste which is fading away. They still want the young boys to study the Vedas, while the latter wish to be engineers, doctors,

military men, industrialists, bankers, scientists etc., and live a modern life to suit the modern age. The educated should take the religious leadership of the masses from the clergy and assume it themselves, and encourage the younger folk in the belief that the best form of worship is hard work to increase the welfare of humanity.

15. Our top leaders have been giving a wide meaning to the ancient texts, which is a tremendous gain to the nation. Writing about *Vedanta* as emanating from the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gita, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari says* "Indeed, the *Gita* lays down in a unique manner the whole socialist doctrine by characterising work as a religious offering in the truest sense. The performance of one's allotted task is specially described in the *Gita* as an authorised and accepted form of worship."

The Clergy Should Help

16. The clergy should now come to the help of the whole nation in raising its level of economic backwardness and in driving the present most deplorable and heart-rending poverty of the masses by boldly declaring that *work is worship and worship consists of work*. The success achieved in the First Five Year Plan (1951-56), in which a sum of about Rs. 2,000 crores was utilised to enhance the material prosperity of the country, could have been even greater, if the clergy had taken the plan seriously and had asked the nation to work harder as an act of worship. The Second Plan (1956-61) is even more ambitious when about Rs. 5,000 crores will be spent in increasing food, clothing, housing, education, health and transport which are all most needed for the uplift and welfare of the masses. The Shankara-

* *Indian Inheritance*, Vol. I, page 175, Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan, Bombay.

charyas, Swamis and priests will do well to undertake tours throughout the country and preach to the people that they should offer their unstinted support to the efforts that are now being made to drive poverty from out of the land and to increase employment to the suffering masses.

17. The Dalai Lama and the Panchan Lama, the highest religious leaders of Tibet, spent two months in India recently and visited most of the industrial, agricultural and defence works of our country. It is certain they will utilise this knowledge in increasing the material prosperity of their own country. Our top clergy should also visit all these concerns and see for themselves how the nation has been striving by hard work to increase its prosperity and then give a helping hand to the Government by securing public support and cooperation to an even greater degree by preaching the Gita doctrine "Work is Worship" and "Worship means work."

(To be Continued)

ECONOMIC AND SPIRITUAL CASE AGAINST SOCIALISM

"The economic case against socialism is generalised in the fact that it creates and perpetuates deficits. The spiritual case against it is that it preaches and practices the idolatry that man is made for the State.

"I have tried to impart perspective to an economic and political scene in Great Britain the like of which has no precedent in history. Our prisons are overcrowded. As a community we are ill-fed, if not actually underfed, and those best qualified to judge, have repeatedly warned us that the dire consequences of this malnutrition will present a problem of the gravest magnitude. Misery and frustration are rampant as the direct result of the pernicious housing shortage.

—Cecil Palmer in *The Ill-Fare State of Britain*

DID YOU KNOW . . .

by SCIO



The population of every country in Europe, except East Germany, has increased in the past ten years. East Germany's declining population is caused by the flight of refugees—more than two-and-a-half million—to the West.

India's more than 50,000,000 acres of land under irrigation exceeds that of any other nation.

The largest clam in the world is found near the Philippine Islands. It reaches a size of 5 feet and a weight of 500 pounds.

IS PAKISTAN A STATE?

By P. Y. Deshpande

UNITED Nations Organization is a global body composed of the national states as its members. All member states have to subscribe to the U.N. Charter which embodies principles of liberty, equality and universal justice. These principles have been further elucidated in the charter of Human Rights adopted by the U.N.O.

Since Pakistan is a member of the U.N.O. it may seem absurd to raise the question: Is Pakistan a State? Even so, it is pertinent to raise this question if we want to understand the real genesis of the Kashmir problem which has attracted world-wide attention, a result of the recent resolution of the Security Council.

What Is A State?

A State, like the relativist physical world, is an entity with four dimensions, just as length, breadth, thickness and time are the four dimensions of the physical world so also the geographical, historical, social and political factors constitute the four dimensions of a modern State. Like the dimensions of the physical world, these four dimensions of a State are so interlinked as to constitute together one integral whole. To dissociate any one of them from the others is to destroy the whole basis of an entity called a modern State.

Geographically, historically, socially and politically Pakistan was an integral part of India up to the 15th August 1947. The Machiavellian genius of British Imperialism deliberately manufactured conditions and forged such a political dilemma before the Indian national leaders that they were forced to accept the partition of India as the price of freedom from alien domination. The natural four dimensional State of India was artificially cut up into two states, India and Pakistan. This was an offence against geography, history, human society and politics, i.e. against the very natural and organic laws of State formation. Dissociating parts of India from its natural and organic whole was a man-made atrocity against the four dimensional entity called the Indian State. The dissociated and truncated parts of India now called 'Pakistan' constitute not a State but a political vacuum deliberately brought about to serve the ends of British imperialism at the cost of both India and Pakistan.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Consequently, Pakistan's foreign policy is a dictated policy of Powers that seek to fill up the political vacuum that is Pakistan. Nature abhors all vacuum, not excluding the political one. Foreign powers may go on trying to fill up the vacuum called Pakistan for any length of time; but this cannot transform what is essentially a vacuum into a modern political State. It can only play the role of being a constant thorn in the side of India and a breeding place for political

pestilence in the form of foul and filthy power politics.

Pakistan's shameless attack on Kashmir was deliberately inspired by British imperialists to extend the area of this political vacuum. The State of Jammu and Kashmir legally acceded to India and this accession was supported by the popular leaders of Kashmir, thus imparting an ethical content to a mere legality. India drove back the aggressors and saved Kashmir after it became an integral part of her territory. If India agreed to a cease-fire and sought the intervention of the U.N.O. it was mainly to obtain relief by peaceful means from the horrors of aggression, fondly hoping that the U.N.O. would do justice to her and Kashmir. The recent Security Council resolution has, however, revealed the stark reality to all Indians that it was a grave mistake to have agreed to cease-fire and sought the intervention of the U.N.O. It was exceedingly naive on the part of our Prime Minister to have handled the Kashmir issue in the way he did. He failed to see that Pakistan was not a State but a political vacuum controlled by alien powers and the aggression on Kashmir was an alien inspired plan to extend the area of this vacuum to the grave detriment of India. To have thought in terms of a cease-fire and a reference to U.N.O. for the purpose of protecting Kashmir from the shameless aggression was to have fallen a prey to the machinations of alien powers interested in expanding the political vacuum around India for their own ends. India was then in a position of driving away the aggressors beyond the borders of the whole of Kashmir. It was India's natural, legal and moral duty to have done so. We failed in this duty because we failed to evaluate Pakistan as a political vacuum controlled by alien powers. And so long as we continue to persist in this folly our foreign policy will continue to lack the strength of reality.

The Need For Intergration

Pakistan is not a State and could not be so except on the basis of sincere and friendly relations with India, that is to say, on the basis of an integrated polity for foreign affairs, defence and communications for both India and Pakistan. The Govt. of India must recognize this reality and shape its policies accordingly.

Pakistan is not a State in any sense. After nine long years of existence it did not and could not complete its constitution and hold elections on the basis of adult-franchise. It will never do so. Because it was never intended to be a State but a mere political vacuum to prevent India from being strong and progressive. It is a political vacuum fraught with grave dangers for the stability and prosperity of India. India cannot afford to allow Pakistan to remain a political vacuum if she wants to survive as a free and independent nation. India must take firm and posi-

tive action in this direction. Foreign affairs, defence and communications of India and Pakistan must be integrated. It is a challenge to the genius of both, the people of Pakistan and of India. If the present leaders of India and Pakistan have commitments to the contrary, the people of Pakistan and India must throw them out of power. India and Pakistan can not have different and opposing political destinies. They are destined to have a common political future. It would be a crime against geography, history and the social and political being of both India and Pakistan not to recognize this reality and work wholeheartedly for an integrated policy for defence, foreign affairs and communications. It is only on this basis that Pakistan will cease to be a political vacuum that it is today and become a State alongside of India. Religious and communal passions must not be allowed to interfere with the historic task of accomplishing such an integrated policy. This way lies peace, freedom and prosperity for both India and Pakistan. It is not a question of liquidating Pakistan as an independent State. It is a question of transforming a dangerous and destructive political vacuum into an integrated statehood.

Our Foreign Policy

Our foreign policy as conceived by our Prime Minister, although essentially independent, is wholly unreal. It has the inevitable tendency of creating poli-

tical vacuums all around India by leaving everything at loose ends left to be tied up by other people. This inevitable tendency results mainly from the inability of our Prime Minister to evaluate Pakistan as a political vacuum dominated by alien powers. To ignore this stark reality is to build our foreign policy on quick sands. It is like building castles in the air, a game very popular among innocent children. Our Prime Minister's love for children seems almost symbolic. Not being a child, he clothes his castles-in-the-air with the high-sounding platitudes of world peace through non-alignment and 'dynamic neutrality.' The proof of the pudding lies in the eating thereof. Similarly, the proof of our earnestness for world peace lies in establishing, by all means, peaceful and friendly relations with Pakistan on an unshakable basis. To ignore this basic fact is to run away from realities.

Our unreal foreign policy has landed us into avoidable troubles over Kashmir. It has made us friendless in world politics and dangerously vulnerable from all sides. In refusing to recognize the one basic reality of Pakistan as a political vacuum, we have drifted away from all realities. This drift, if not halted with the grim determination of political realism, may soon reduce India herself into a political vacuum. India must shake off her senile tendency of indulging too much in fondling her political infants raised to the pedestal of national heroes. Such senility and imbecility may cost us our hard-earned independence and democratic statehood.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

THE private Empire of Rockefellers has an agreement with the *Government of Soviet Russia* (believe it or not) with benefit and obligations for both sides.

In the first World War the Germans were materially aided by the Rockefeller interest with oil thus bringing almost to the verge of defeat. To turn the tide it was necessary to make the U.S.A. enter the war on the side of Britain. (We will not discuss the fact that the *Lusitania* was not sunk by the Germans but by a British submarine.) As the price for this help, Britain gave Saudi Arabian oil territory and other concessions in the Near East to the Rockefeller interest.

At the conclusion of World War I the British seized the Russian oil fields in the Caucasus and sought to set up independent republics in Georgia and Azerbaijan, which were given recognition by the Supreme Council of the Allies. That would have given Britain control of Baku oilfields and the Batum-Baku pipeline, thus setting up a dangerous competition to the Rockefeller Foundation-subsidized Labour Party. (Fabian Socialists) in England served the Rockefeller Empire well by raising an insistent demand for the withdrawal of British troops from the Caucasus and prepared the way for its capture by the Communists. It was a victory for the Rockefellers which by treaty gave them control and influence over Russia's oilfields as a reward.

These deals also protected their valuable concessions in Saudi Arabia at the cost of the security of the United States and the rest of the world.

The obligation of the Rockefellers was to help the Russian Government to conquer the world and weld it into a united Totalitarian world.

First of all Communist sympathizers must be planted into the U.S. Government to prepare it for this conquest. The communistic idea is the best tool for fooling the people with promises of benefits but at the expense of all personal freedom and a lower standard of living.

The Rockefeller Foundation subsidized Universities for teaching Communism such as Cornell, Columbia, Chicago, Harvard, Brooking, etc., In foreign countries, Universities were subsidized in London, Heidelberg, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Bucharest, Paris, Oslo, Beirut, Syria, Peiping and Tientsin in China.

Grants were made to Professors to train students to prepare and supervise the New Deal planned economy. The Rockefeller Foundation subsidized the Democratic Party in the Presidential election in 1932. This party left all former ideas behind and was compelled to carry out the Rockefeller New Deal of communistic planning which brought them closer to the communistic conquest of U.S.A. and the whole world. World War II was an important step in the Rockefeller objective.

Rockefellers Backed U.S.A. Govts.

However, in the last 10 years there has been an increasing discontent against the democratic planners and they were also called by their "right" names. This was when people asked for a change in government. And they got it. They had Rockefeller Government through the Democratic Party. There was a change in 1952. And what did the people get? They got a Rockefeller Government through the Republican Party. Yes, the Rockefellers have friends in both places. There is no difference in the fundamental politics of both Parties. It is the enslavement of the American people and the whole world under the Government of the Rockefeller Empire.

There has been some resistance against it as is the Taft wing of the Republican Party. But they have no chance as long as they are holding tight to their own pet privileges instead of seeing the common enemy. There is in fact not one member in both houses who has the proper picture of the situation. The candidates are fighting among themselves about trifles and the Rockefellers take the spoils.

The Enslavement

In foreign politics both Parties are generally in agreement under a by-partisan policy. Of course both Parties are dominated by the Rockefeller Empire which is dictating the U.S.A. foreign policy.

Any candidate that tries to oppose this policy is routed by the party bosses, who in turn are controlled by the Rockefellers. The Rockefeller Empire is the monopoly supreme, the power that owns and controls

practically all other monopolies with its resources and the money power of the present antiquated hoardable money. Its only competitors are the British Empire, the United States and Soviet Russia. The objective of this private Empire is a total supremacy over all States and private monopolies in building up a new Feudal Age, with phony freedoms but also the loss of all basic rights and liberties of the people. Its rights are above state laws. Independent nations are subject to its demands and orders. The Empire dictates war and peace whichever is to its benefit. The tool in executing this policy is the United Nations Organisation founded by the Rockefeller Empire through Rockefeller trained "experts from the U.S. State Department", who also have drawn up the Bretton Woods Agreement.

The Cause

The cause of this sad condition is the basic error in our (American) Constitution that permits private enterprises to own land and resources of raw material such as oil, minerals, metals, coal, etc. This has given some unscrupulous people the wealth and the power to conditions of enslavement and misery upon the people.

In 1910 the Rockefeller's fortune was estimated at 5 billion dollars. At the present time it might exceed well over 100 billion plus the control over most if not all the resources of the whole world. This accumulation of wealth has been brought about as a consequence of our human-created wrong land law which allows private possession of land and resources.

—Answer IV Quarter 1956.

The Mind Of The Nation

Nehru Needs Vim — Not Votes

"The Four-Power resolution is perilously like "collective aggression" or "a collective approval of aggression". It is our sacred duty not to allow any foreign troops on our sacred soil. The Big Powers have deliberately adopted a policy of hostility towards India....."

This was the gist of Pandit Nehru's speeches in Hyderabad, Trichur and elsewhere in his own words. The true, the not-so-true and the irrelevant have been woven together that it will be difficult for the layman to separate the one from the other. We thought that the Prime Minister would abide by his word and not make an election issue of Kashmir....

The strength of the Kashmir policy is hardly related to the bigness of the Congress majority. If anything, such a big majority may make it possible for Mr. Nehru to launch himself on a fresh round of bungles

in Kashmir. We repeat that if Pandit Nehru is serious about ending the Kashmir 'problem' he must in fact end it. We do not see why he should entertain the Security Council debate on Kashmir.....

Simultaneously the Jammu and Kashmir State should be fully and finally integrated with the rest of the country, and the oddity of *Ek Deshme Do Vidhan, Ek Deshme Do Nishan, Ek Deshme Do Pradhan* be finally ended.

However some of the statements made by the Prime Minister deserve the closest attention. He has raised certain pertinent questions. But it is not clear whether he has any answers to them.....The Big Powers are not friendly. This is true. But there they are. We cannot wish them out of existence. The question arises: How does the P.M. propose to deal with them?

We should think that the world is not so hostile as it is hard-headed. How can Pandit Nehru explain

Russia's disinclination to veto these resolutions? Russia vetoed only one resolution that of a UNEF for Kashmir—and that too because UN troops in Kashmir would mean UN troops on Russian borders! It simply abstained from voting on the other two resolutions, we opposed tooth and nail.

Obviously something is seriously wrong with the Government of India and the conduct of its foreign policy. We do not see how Pandit Nehru proposes to meet the coldness of small Powers, the hostility of Big Powers and the atomic artillery of Pakistan, with votes, and still more votes. Big noise is no substitute for a sound policy.

—Organiser

State Of The Nation On The Eve Of Elections

The next five years will decide which way the country will go. The First Five Year Plan went through largely because of the momentum of the administrative and economic systems inherited as patrimony from the British regime. The Second Five Year Plan will have to be financed largely through extra production, higher savings of the people and a broadbased system of taxation. What is more, all Congress chickens hatched during the past five years, will come home to roost during the Second Five Year Plan. Over a quarter of the Plan expenditure is on unproductive schemes.

Already some experts declare that there is no such thing as second Five Year Plan, for it is foundering on the rocks of internal and external finance. It is only when the results of the second Five Year Plan are known that the people will be able to assess as to how far they have benefitted under the Congress regime, and how far they have suffered. Thus the third general elections should provide a crucial test of Indian democracy. It is generally conceded that Mr. Nehru can raise a storm, but he has yet to prove that he can direct the whirlwind.

Today it is difficult for the voice of criticism to reach the people. For one thing Mr. Nehru commands universal popularity. For another the Congress propaganda machine acts like a steam-roller. Besides the Indian Press (unconsciously or helplessly) and the All-India Radio (unavoidably) play to the Congress tune. The administrative machinery is geared unconsciously to promoting Congress popularity, especially at district level and in the sphere of community development.

—“Insaaf” in *Hindustan Times*

Whither Asia?

Totalitarians are raising the slogan of One Asia once again while repudiating all that Asia stands for. Communism has no use for Buddha's message of non-violence, Jesus's message of love, Mahomed's message of brotherhood, and Gandhi's message of peace. Asia is in the danger of losing her soul, because her body is starved. And if she goes over with two-thirds of the land and half the population of the world and huge material resources to communism, the rest of the world will not be safe for long.

To make every Asian realize this common peril is the hard task before the West today—a task that

requires all the skill, the resources and the intelligence of her statesmen.

The issue in the West is freedom or slavery, the issue in Asia is life or death. They talk of bread and win over the masses and give them guns. Democrats talk of guns, lose the people, and yet give them bread. If democracies move fast and let Asians have the test of free and decent life, they will defend that way of life with their lives. An old Indian proverb says—“If the stomach is empty, the world is an illusion.” The realization of that truth can still save humanity's future. The world cannot survive ‘half free and half slave’, half contented and half hungry. Lincoln's words, uttered in another context, have added meaning for us today: “We cannot escape history. We shall meanly lose it, or grandly save the last hope on earth.”

—Shanti S. Tangri in *Thought*

Why This Double Standard By India?

. . . . The States in the UN think first of their interests, and only if their interests are not involved, do they consider justice. Since all states have a clear interest in averting world war, the UN has some value as a means to that end, but to other ends it has very little value indeed.

Since India is clearly aware of this sad limitations on idealism in world affairs, it is a pity she does not extend the arguments to other situations besides Kashmir. If America makes a well-intentioned but a feeble proposal to save the Middle East from being engulfed by Russia, Pandit Nehru opposes it. When Russia makes a proposal, designed to frustrate America's purpose and to further her own, Pandit Nehru supports it. Is he really deceived by the flimsy appearance of idealistic pacifism about Russia's scheme?

He ought not to be, for the situation is not new. It has been with us for the last twelve years, since the end of war. Throughout that period Russia has continued to make the same demand, for the withdrawal of American armed power from the old World.

It is surely obvious by now, after the continued efforts of the Russo-Chinese alliance to expand by force in almost every possible area along its frontiers, that this demand is not made with a view to improving the chances of peace. It is made in order to clear out of the way the one sufficiently powerful obstacle to Russo-Chinese expansion in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Russia has now made the same old demand in relation to the Middle East to evade her commitments. Probably she would, but she would not really need to. If America were to withdraw, the mere presence of Russia's over-whelming power just over the frontier would compel every nation in the old World accept Russia's domination, and step by step, to submission on the rule of the Comintern. THAT IS WHY AMERICA INSISTS ON MILITARY CLAUSES IN HER ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME.

—*Mysindia*

Indian News Parade

HOW "FREE" AND "FAIR" WERE THE ELECTIONS?

BALLOT PAPERS FOUND IN A NEWSPAPER OFFICE

According to a report published in the Urdu paper "Pratap" and the Hindi paper "Veer Arjun", New Delhi, bundles of ballot papers are circulating in Congress circles in the capital. According to these reports a certain gentleman visited the "Pratap"—"Veer Arjun" offices at about 3 P.M. on February 27. He handed in an envelope. On its being opened, a bundle of 100 ballot papers was found inside. The visitor further revealed that such bundles were moving freely in Congress circles. Immediately the Election Commission was informed by phone. A high officer arrived. After a look at the ballot papers the officer said that the same did not seem to be forged. He added that it was possible that they were the unused ballots of the last General Elections.

The two papers commented that the incident was a possible explanation of the sweeping Congress victories.

ALLEGED BANK DACOIT LET OFF TO HELP CONGRESS CANDIDATE

A Congress election meeting was held at Ram Mandi, Bhatinda District, Punjab, which was addressed amongst others by Sardar Hukum Singh, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, and Congress Parliamentary candidate from this constituency. Asked by a member of the audience as to why the nomination papers of Teja Singh Swantantra, the underground communist parliamentary candidate, were not rejected, since he was involved in a dacoity case in U.P., it was stated that on the date of the filing of the nomination papers, the Deputy Commissioner of Bhatinda was not only going to reject his nomination papers but he was going to arrest him. But Sardar Hukum Singh, the Congress candidate, was so large-hearted and broad-minded that he pleaded with the H.C. not to arrest him as his arrest would

affect his (Hukum Singh's) prospects adversely. On his request Teja Singh was not arrested.

—Organiser

JAGJIVAN RAM PAYS A HIGH PRICE FOR HIS ELECTION

According to "New Age" of February 24 Shri Jagjivan Ram, the Union Railway Minister has managed the withdrawal of his only rival thus ensuring his uncontested return to the Lok Sabha. It is true, as the rumour goes, that high price had to be coughed out for this deal? The public has a right to know the answer.

A 4.5 CRORES BRIBE TO THE MADRAS ELECTORATE

The Madras Government on February 24 announced a second round of enhancement in dearness allowances to non-gazetted officers of local bodies and teachers in the State who draw less than Rs. 300 a month. Together with the increase in D.A. allowance of Rs. 5 to 7 already given each of these, lowpaid employees will now get Rs. 12. or more than what they were getting before.

The two increases together will cost the Exchequer Rs. 4.5 crores.

ELECTION OFFICER ARRESTED FOR TAMPERING WITH BOXES

BELGAUM: News in the town after elections were over at Ramdurg, that an election officer, S. P. Ramchandra Rao, a prominent officer of an election centre, along with a colleague of his, were sitting in the PWD tampering with and exchanging the contents of the ballot boxes. A complaint about this incident was lodged by one of the members of the Lok Seva Sangh, Shri S. P. Pattam.

Shri S. P. Ramchandra Rao was arrested and a "panchnama" was made on the spot.

In the PWD office three empty ballot boxes were found. These ballot boxes were of Toddikutti.

On the spreading of these news great tension prevailed in the town.

—Hindustan Samachar

MOVE TO PREVENT THOUSANDS OF BOMBAY WORKERS FROM VOTING

BOMBAY: Though the Government of Bombay has announced a public holiday for March 11 when the voting in the areas of Greater Bombay take place special orders have been issued by the Municipal BEST Undertaking, Municipal Hospitals and number of Mills ordering workers to be present at their jobs without fail. Refusal to do so, it is stated, will be met with dismissal.

Hospital staff working in the Bombay Municipal Hospitals have been specially called for "Emergency" on that day. From 75 to 50 persons in each hospital are thus called for this "emergency" work. The BEST Undertaking has also notified that their workers will get only two hours respite for voting. This is insufficient looking to the distances that workers would have to travel to register their votes.

Attention of Bombay Government and Election authorities is drawn to these matters.

—Maratha

ONE CAN TAMPER THE BALLOT BOXES WITHOUT DISTURBING THE SEALS

CALCUTTA: A ballot box was opened without breaking the seal and then closed before an amazed Chief Presidency Magistrate, election candidates and presiding officers in a constituency here.

A representative of the Forward Bloc informed the election officers that the ballot box could be opened without tampering with the seal, and when challenged to do so he did it, without any effort.

A representative of the firm which manufactured the boxes was called and after inspecting the box he said that the defect could be remedied.

Mr. Jyoti Basu, West Bengal Communist leader, has sent a telegram to the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. Sukumar Sen, pointing out this incident and demanding the repolling wherever elections have been held.

—Times of India

NOT A VOTE WAS CAST

Rajkot: Not a soul turned up in the village of Uamedhi in the Dwaraka constituency to vote, and empty

ballot boxes were carried back by the Returning Officers.

This is the only polling centre in the country where not a single vote was cast. —*Times of India*

CONGRESS "SIMPLICITY" INDEED!

Mavlankar Leaves Rs. 90 Lakhs
NEW DELHI: It is a year since the demise of the Congress Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Shri Dadasaheb Mavlankar. A Commission was appointed by the Government of India to assess the Death Duty on the property and the monies he had left behind. It is reliably learnt that the Commission discovered that the late Mr. Mavlankar had left property to the tune of Rs. 90 lakhs behind him. If a proper Death Duty was to be levied it would have come to Rs. 35 lakhs. But before his death Mr. Mavlankar had created a Family Trust giving an income of Rs. 8 lakhs annually.

In Ahmedabad Mavlankar was greatly respected for his simplicity and rectitude. He was considered a real champion of the underdog. But when the people of Ahmedabad came to know that Mavlankar had left property worth Rs. 90 lakhs they were shocked. He was a greatly respected Congress leader. He had stopped his legal practice from 1939 and his earnings from 1947 were the emoluments of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. At the most the guess of the people of

Ahmedabad was that his property would not exceed a few lakhs but that it was Rs. 90 lakhs was a surprise. —*Maratha*

NOON ON "UNANIMOUS OPINION" AGAINST INDIA

LAHORE: The Foreign Minister, Mr. Feroze Khan Noon, declared here that there could be no modification of the Pakistan Government stand on Kashmir, which was demilitarisation of the State, induction of a plebiscite administrator, and finally, a plebiscite under "fair and equitable conditions".

Mr. Noon appeared to be confident that "India could not for long resist the force of world conscience." He claimed that there was "unanimous world opinion in favour of settling the issue peacefully." —*Times of India*

CONSPIRACY AGAINST INDIA

KANPUR: Mr. Nehru charged America and Britain with deliberately trying to humiliate India on the Kashmir issue and declared: "India will not change the stand on Kashmir by an iota under any threat from Pakistan or any other country."

Mr. Nehru warned the people that certain circles in Britain were again playing the game with India which they did ten years ago. These circles, he said, wanted to crush the freedom movement and weaken the Congress and the

national forces. They had been lying low for ten years but they were again raising their sinister head now disrupt the progress and advance of India. —*Times of India*

LAKHS OF PEOPLE LEAVE PAK-OCCUPIED KASHMIR

JAMMU: Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir told a representative of the UPI that over Four and a half Lakhs of Muslims have crossed over from the so-called "Azad Kashmir" area into Jammu and Kashmir territory since January 1949. The J. and K. Government have made arrangements for the complete rehabilitation of these refugees. Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed further said that these refugees were tired of the deteriorating conditions in the occupied areas of Kashmir and the reign of autocracy prevailing there.

There is complete chaos and anarchy in that part of the Kashmir State. Autocracy, disorder and corruption rule supreme there. The refugees were thoroughly dissatisfied with the conditions and therefore decided to flee to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Amongst the refugees there were some Government servants. They have all been found government jobs in Kashmir State and the rest of the refugees have been rehabilitated completely. —*U.P.I.*

WORLD NEWS

RED ILLUSIONS DESTROYED

Russia has, I think, destroyed the illusions of all but a handful of its fanatical partisans. The "Daily Worker" still runs nauseous headlines about the suppression of Hungarian Fascists. But its correspondence columns carry letters from disillusioned Communists who have remembered that Communism once had something to do with democracy and liberty.

—*Critic in "New Statesman and Nation"*

TURKEY BACKS IKE PLAN

STRASBOURG: Turkey "favour-

ably welcomes President Eisenhower's Plan for the Middle East," Mr. Basri Aktas, Turkish representative to the European Consultative Assembly stated here.

Speaking in the Assembly's general policy debate, Mr. Aktas vigorously defended the Bagdad Pact. If the Pact did not exist Soviet troops might today be standing on the shores of the Persian Gulf, he said. —*UPI-AFP*

CHIANG AGREES TO VACATE UN SEAT?

HONG KONG: A leading pro-Communist newspaper claimed

here last night that the Kuomintang might withdraw its delegation from the United Nations in favour of a "unified China" delegation led by Madame Soong Chingling, widow of the founder of the Chinese Republic, Sun Yat-sen.

The "New Evening Post" said this might be a result of secret peace talks between the communists and the Kuomintang which, it said, were now going on in Formosa.

The paper said it had been proposed that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek should become Vice-Chairman of a new unified Government and that Formosa should have regional independence.

Other proposals were that Formosans be given posts in a unified Government; Generalissimo Chiang continue to lead the K. M. T. army

which would come under the control of the National Defence Council in Peking; K. M. T. officials not wishing to stay in Formosa be allowed to go either to the mainland or to the U. S. and Roman Catholic Archbishop Paul Yu-pin be allowed to return to the mainland.

—Reuter

STALIN PLANNED WAR IN 1953

LONDON: Stalin planned to go to war in 1953 and only his death in March of that year saved a third world conflict.

This is alleged in a high Russian quarter whose testimony as reported here today admits that the Stalin reign of terror was "far worse" than Mr. Khrushchev's original indictment of the dead dictator revealed.

The source of the new Stalin disclosures is "a privileged member of the Communist priesthood," described as a man of wide culture who had occupied for many years positions of responsibility in the Soviet regime and who "despite everything he had seen and suffered" remained a Communist.

His account of Stalin's last years, his ambitions and his blind desire for world power was given by this deliberately unnamed source to David Floyd, a "Daily Telegraph" special writer during a recent Moscow visit.

WORLD DOMINION

The source claimed that from about 1930, Stalin began to be concerned no longer with communism but with the extension of his personal power which he achieved through a reign of terror. Hitler, "whom he both admired and feared," stayed Stalin's dreams of conquest beyond Russia but when the war ended, the Soviet dictator found himself with advantages he could never have hoped for.

By the beginning of 1953, according to Floyd's informant, it was apparent that the explosion of war was near, preparations for war were obvious. All in high positions around him were convinced that Stalin was planning to go to war in the spring or summer of 1953.

—Nafen

CHIANG ON WAY FOR EXIT?

PEKING: Peking newspapers yesterday front-paged a report, said to have come from Hong Kong, of an American sponsored anti-Chiang Kai-shek movement on Taiwan,

The report, which was sent by the New China News Agency's Canton correspondent, linked the names of the philosopher, Hu Shih, and the Roman Catholic Primate, Paul Cardinal Yu Pin, both of whom were in the United States and "other so-called liberals" with the "pro-American anti-Chiang faction".

It said this faction and the "pro-Chiang anti-American faction" both in Taiwan and Hong Kong had been quarrelling for the past few months.

The report added that attacks on Chiang had centred round the fortnightly magazine *Free China*, which last November had published a congratulatory issue on Chiang's seventieth birthday, "but which contained some compositions full of rebukes and ridicule".

—F. P. Bulletin

Book Reviews

ANTI-CAPITALIST MENTALITY

by Ludwig Von Mises reviewed by Fred G. Clark.

BECAUSE of our interest in finding a rational explanation, it was only natural that when Ludwig von Mises finished his new book *THE ANTI-CAPITALIST MENTALITY*, (D. Van Nostrand, N. Y.) we were among the first to stand in line to buy a copy.

For those readers not familiar with the upper strata of economic writers, we might mention that von Mises is not only one of the greatest living economists, but also a qualified philosopher on human relations.

In his small, highly readable book we found what seems to be the answer.

Von Mises writes: "In a society based on rank, status or caste, an individual's station in life is fixed. He is born into a certain station, and his position in society is rigidly

determined by the laws and customs which assign to each member of his rank definite privileges and duties or definite disabilities."

From this general principle von Mises goes on to the next step of his logic. "In a society based on caste and status, the individual can ascribe adverse fate to conditions beyond his own control. It is not his doing, and there is no reason for him to be ashamed of his humbleness. His wife cannot find fault with his station. If she were to tell him: 'Why are you not duke? If you were duke, I would not have married you, a slave girl, but the daughter of another duke; that you are not a duchess is exclusively your own fault; why were you not more clever in the choice of your parents?' It is quite another thing under capitalism. Here everybody's station in life depends on his own doing. Everybody whose ambitions have not been fully gratified knows very well that he has

missed chances, that he has been tried and found wanting by his fellow man. If his wife upbraids him: 'Why do you make only eighty dollars a week? If you were as smart as your former pal, Paul, you would be a foreman and I would enjoy a better life,' he becomes conscious of his own inferiority and feels humiliated."

In essence the foregoing means that social systems which do not involve individual liberty and self-determination, furnish alibis for personal failure while under the freedom of competitive private capitalism, failures have no one to blame but themselves.

As an explanation of why some Americans hate the American way of life, this makes more sense to us than anything else we have read on the subject, because it explains the blind unreasoning prejudice that characterizes the people who want to change America into a country where people will not be allowed to fail — or to succeed.

It also explains, we believe, why this prejudice is incurable. To these people disapproval of success is a

defense mechanism essential to their self respect and, in many cases, without it their lives would probably be unbearable.

Even though these people represent a small minority they spread their poison to millions of other people.

Fortunately, however, this prejudice in normal people is curable.

It responds quickly to small doses of simple common sense.

But the task of counteracting the poison is an endless one, because there are endless cases of fresh infection.

We welcome, therefore, von Mises' new book as a valuable addition to an all-too-small body of literature.

—American Economic Foundation.

ANTIDOTES FOR DOGMATISM

Antidotes for Dogmatism—the ethics of compromise and the Art of containment. By T. V. Smith. Boston, Starr King Press. 117pp., \$2.50.

THIS volume might well be described as an "antidote for dogmatism, absolutism, and fanaticism." Although the author takes from Moslems, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants his examples of denying to others the right a group claims for itself, instances could doubtless be found among humanists that would be comparable. Indeed, among some religious liberals "dogmatic humanist" became almost stereotype a few years back, due to the excess in zeal and self-assurance of a few humanists. Adherence to "the scientific spirit and the democratic faith" should be a guarantee that humanists always will avoid the presumption of having final truth. It is an outmoded rationalism and a faulty science that jumps to the conclusion, "I have it, the truth!" at the end of a syllogism or an experiment.

While the book will help us understand the Catholic problem, it may be even more helpful in leading to an understanding of our own problem. "It is not that the Catholics are by nature worse than other sectarians," Smith writes. "They are only worse by logic." The ex-Fundamentalist-Catholic or Protestant—in our own ranks, unless he modifies his zeal, can be as sectarian.

The author wishes us to sacrifice clarity, in some degree, to unity and co-operation. He would have us practice "strategic obfuscation" when necessary. But he is no intellectual "softy". There is a limit to compromise and that is reached, first of all, at the boundaries of one's own conscience. Inwardly we can be completely frank and honest without harm to social growth and progress. Another limit to compromise is found where to compromise is not to contribute to progress or peace but to make way for more war or reaction: "This limit of tolerability is most surely marked by intolerance itself." Let humanists be tolerant, then, but stand firmly against the presumption that says, "We have the only, the absolute, truth."

As a writer, T. V. Smith has advanced in this volume. Like Jefferson's Gospel of Jesus, what is distilled here is but "a tender morsel," but for the quality presented the little book is not over-priced. In earlier volumes Professor Smith seemed often to turn a smart phrase for its own sake, but here every phrase counts and nothing of his usual sparkle has been lost. Though aimed largely at other faiths, it is medicine which we need, too.

EDWIN H. WILSON

—The Humanist.

THE ORIENT REVIEW AND LITERARY DIGEST. Edited by P Lal and Alfred Schenkuman. Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6. Re. 1-4. 12-B, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta - 1.

THIS well-brought out monthly should be more widely known than it is. The 'little magazine' is rare in India; not more than two or three come to mind immediately. Its scarcity is not due to apprehension of publishing hazards alone, though of course this is a major consideration. Good contributors are not traced easily in this country. Those who wrote regularly appear in almost all the periodicals, with the result that a tendency has grown towards the formation of a "set" of writers. It seems inevitable that the crystallization of a "set" should affect critical and literary standards, and even cause tendentious movement.

In the Orient Review and Liter-

ary Digest the difficulty is in a large measure overcome by its being a digest. The fare it offers has breath of appeal: a "non-partisan journal which concentrates especially on the background and cultural and philosophical contribution of the 'East'", it is not restricted to what is produced in India. The January-February issue contains, for instance, an interesting short story by a Burmese woman writer, Khin Myo Chit, and an article on the Social Order of Ancient Thailand by Kukrit Pramoj; in the issue for March-April—which is a Spring Books Number—extracts are published from Charles E. Gower's *The Folk Songs of Southern India* (1871), with songs to illustrate, and reminiscences of Tagore at Oxford by Shaheel Suhrawardy. The July issue is a Burma number, and offers, in addition to the regular features, a quick sketch of writing in that country. U. Khin Zaw writes on Burmese culture; J. A. Stewart translates Talaing folklore; there is a long short story by N.N., "whose real name commands respect in Burma's world of writing"; another story *Pagan Market* by Zaw Gai, has been translated from the Burmese by Kvwaw Htun. Good reading is offered in a translation of Premchand's *Godan*, by P. Lal and Jai Ratan, which is being serialized.

R. P.

—Thought.

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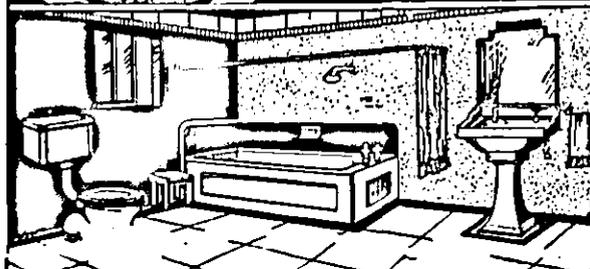
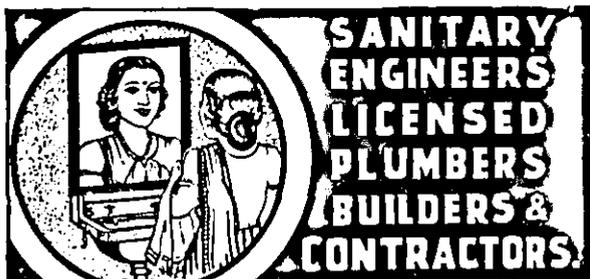
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