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EDITORIAL

DR. M. VISVESVARAYA IS 100 YEARS OLD ON 15TH

DR. M. VISVESVARAYA'S stepping into his hundredth year on the 15th September was declared in Bangalore in a truly national spirit partaking the character of a popular festival, in which all ranks of the people took part spontaneously. The Prime Minister graced the occasion "with his presence and tendered the nation's meed of praise and tribute to this great son of India, who deserves his title of Bharat Ratna so literally. His service to the nation in the last fifty years is many-sided and memorable. The memorial to Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of Westminster Abbey in London, says—"It you ask for a memorial to the work of the man that lies buried here, look around! "The same can be said of Dr. Visvesvaraya but his monuments lie all over the whole country. He devised new engineering systems for the sanitary service of Poona and a number of other municipalities as an engineer. He gave Hyderabad a new system of drainage and flood control and water supply after her disastrous floods in the river Musi. His engineering device in the control of water flow through the sluice is used in most Dams and water reservoirs in India and abroad.

He helped build the Sukkur Dam in Sind. He built the famous Krishnarajendra Reservoir in Mysore as its Chief Engineer.

But it is as a nation builder that his final work is to be reckoned. He passed to the stage of national reconstruction as Dewan of Mysore which he modernised in the short space of seven years. There is not a sphere of life and administration which he did not touch to fine issues.

An estimate of his many-sided work in this regard is inserted among our articles this issue. Practically every paper of importance in the country has carried an account of the work of the engineer statesman in the last fortnight.

One remarkable feature of the life and work of Dr. Visvesvaraya is his enthusiastic modernism. He has been truly called the mahatma or apostle of modernism—a passion for industry and science, method and thoroughness in work, scrupulous sense of public service and integrity, a consciousness of the national value of hard work, a zeal for improving national income, a regard for neatness and smartness in appearance and turn-out, an appreciation of team work as well as individuality, an appreciation of democratic virtues necessary for the evolution of the nation etc.

Incorruptibility and an exalted sense of purity in public administration is a special characteristic of this great man. It has given rise to a number of anecdotes of a kind rare in the annals of public administration. One of them is about his use of official candles paid for by Government while he was at work on official files and candles paid for by him personally for work not connected with Government work, while residing in traveller's bungalows!

U.N.O. MESS IN CONGO

The mess in Congo continues to baffle the wisdom of the UNO and its Secretary General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld had made a good name for tactful and impartial handling of the international issues referred to the UNO so far—in the Middle East and elsewhere. But in the Congo, it cannot be said that he has enhanced his reputation so far.

He began well enough, drawing upon small African and Asian Powers for military contingents to police the Congo and calling upon only small neutral European nations like Sweden and Ireland to assist with troops.

He appointed Indians as chief military and civil assistants, General Rikhye and Mr. Rajeswara Dayal to represent him on the spot.

But the problem developed complications from the very moment of the conferment of independence on the State by the Belgian king and government. Congolese troops revolted against their Belgian officers and ran amuck killing Belgians *en masse* in the capital. But attacks soon spread from military to civil personnel and even women and children. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Patrice Lumumba, could not refrain from referring (in uninhibited terms) to the previous period of tyranny and the ill usage of his countrymen by the white colonial masters even in his inauguration speech in the presence of the Belgian king, whose generosity was instrumental in the grant of independence so soon after the demand was made through popular demonstrations.

Mr. Lumumba has kept up that record by frequent, contradictory impulses and decisions characterised by lack of mature consideration and tact.

The prime object of the UNO was to help the new State to maintain order, taking the place of the Belgian military and police units in the interior as well as in the

capital. Next it aimed at developing a network of essential administrative services to maintain a modern social framework, while the new Government was assisted to get on its feet economically through wise and many-sided aid from the nations of the world. The *indirect object* was to prevent the area from becoming a cockpit of cold war strife between the blocs and so prevent the cause of international peace foundering in the African Front.

Africa as the arena of white imperialist exploitation for over a century is a sensitive spot of international struggle between international communism and the free world. It is one of the main features of the communist strategy for world conquest to foment trouble and disaffection in the colonial empires of the West and turn it to its own favour.

Russia is already very much of a *Presence* in Africa. The newly independent State of Guinea on the West coast is already under Russian influence under its leader Mr. Toure. It opted out of the French Community taking full and unexpected advantage of General De Gaulle's offer, whereupon the French withdrew all French personnel from the country abruptly and stopped French financial Aid completely. Guinea thereupon accepted help from Russia and her satellites like Czechoslovakia, who sent buses, policemen, hospital staff of nurses and doctors and even administrators in some lines! Even the Afro-Asian Conference on which Indian fellow travellers (like Mrs. Rajeswari Nehru are serving with its headquarters in Cairo) were on the spot consolidating communist influence!

Guinea was one of the small African countries that had sent a military contingent to the UNO Mission in Congo but has later withdrawn it when a rift began between *pro* and *anti* communist affiliation among the leaders of the Congo—Lumumba and Kasavubu and Tshombe.

The trouble began with the delay in the withdrawal of Belgian troops from Katanga which is the mineral treasury of the Congo. The President of the federal unit of Katanga was influenced by the Belgians to demand "independence", so that they might retain their rights in the mines under his aegis. The Katanga has a different set of tribes and are attached to Tshombe as their *Chief* and owe but little allegiance to Lumumba who is not a tribal chieftain.

But Mr. Dag succeeded in persuading the Belgians to withdraw completely, which they did though rather slowly and belatedly. Even yet they seem to have left a few military officers in the area to *lead* the local Katanga forces under Tshombe! Mr. Dag has protested against this recently to the Belgians.

President Kasavubu represents a different set of tribes and only agreed to collaborate with Mr. Lumumba in the last stage of forming the Government. He seems to be *pro*-West and *pro*-UNO, while Dr. Lumumba is *pro*-Russia on the whole.

Ghana led a move for obtaining full influence over Congo under the slogan of Africa for Africans to lead to a Pan-African United States. He offered help to Lumumba to fight the dissident elements in Katanga and Kasai by military operations. But later Dr. Nkrumah seems to have thought better of it and to have realised the wisdom of leaving it to the UNO.

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Meanwhile the Federation of Mali (consisting of the Senegal and Soudan States formerly under the French) split up and the Mali troops were recalled.

Meanwhile Dr. Lumumba got jealous (under Russian influence perhaps) of the growing influence and authority of the UNO within his jurisdiction and decided to oust it, short-sightedly as it turned out. He called on the UNO to leave Congo—which it ignored. He dismissed the President and the President in turn dismissed him. The UNO occupied the Radio and Airfields to prevent the competing leaders from inflaming the people and instigating civil war. In fact, the civil war is on now, the tribesmen favouring their own chiefs fighting in a confused way under local group leadership. We hear of hundreds of innocent people in the interior being killed in this blind fighting. The Lumumba forces had come to the border of Katanga (a few hundreds) but they were persuaded to disarm with news of orders from Dr. Kasavubu the President!

One of the objectives of the UNO intervention was the prevention of intervention by the Great Powers which are parties to the cold war. But this objective has been defeated by Russia who has sent a dozen and more airplanes with technicians (or soldiers with technical competence) to transport Lumumba's troops to fight in Katanga and other rebel areas.

Mr. Dag has complained of this unofficial intervention outside the UNO and has asked the UNO to decree that such non-UNO action should be eschewed by the Powers. But Russia is not likely to agree. Just as Russia has secured influence in Cuba, she will do everything to secure preponderant influence in Congo as well, UNO or no UNO! This is the danger. The United States representative Mr. Wadsworth has already declared that the USA will not tolerate an eventuality like this penetration of communism into Africa in defiance of the UNO.

As Mr. Dag fears, this may be the thin end of the world war that is so dreaded by everybody today.

Meanwhile, the fantastic drama goes on in the Congo. Dr. Lumumba was attacked by hostile Congolese in his own residence and had to seek the refuge of UNO troops! The President still retains influence. A new military coup has been staged by a Colonel who has prevented the parliament from meeting. He seems to be anti-communist. Today there is no recognisable Government in the Congo. The President's nominee Mr. Leo seill claims his right as duly appointed Prime Minister! The question whether the unitary constitution is to be revised on more federal lines remains to be settled.

Meanwhile it is the part of wisdom for the UNO not to seem to decide constitutional questions for the Congolese. How to leave the Congolese political groups and leaders free to settle their political battles themselves without distortion by the intervention of the Communists from abroad, while maintaining the framework of law and order and administration in the country is the baffling task of the UNO.

The African nations are not satisfied that Mr. Dag has behaved impartially in this mess of problems and have grown cold to the UNO. The UAR has withdrawn its military contingent. Ghana has second thoughts. Tunisia and Morocco are silent.

The next moves in Congo are full of difficulty and contain the seeds of war and confusion in a menacing manner.

LEGISLATION AGAINST ANTI-NATIONAL PROPAGANDA

At long last the Government of India has proposed legislation to check communist propaganda in the northern border areas. It was known that communists were busy in Kalimpong and UP areas near the border creating a pro-Chinese bias among the ignorant people calling them *Liberators*. They were trying to paint the invading Chinese armies in the rosy colours of liberators and benefactors who came to free them from oppression by Indian capitalists and politicians like Nehru and Pant and Rajendra Prasad! They were performing a softening service so that when the Chinese advanced, the Indian people would lose the motive to defend the country and may be induced to take the softer course of welcoming the enemy with garlands in the national fashion!

This is *treachery* and many observers, politicians and others, had drawn the attention of the Government of India both in Parliament and outside to the need for counteracting this sinister propaganda by the Indian communists and to prevent it as far as possible.

The Government have proposed a law to punish such propaganda in the border areas, calculated to make the people apathetic to the dangers of invasion and to direct their loyalties against the country and in favour of the enemy.

While welcoming this move on the part of the Government of India (though belated), we may suggest that the law may be made of universal application in all areas of the country and not merely in northern border areas. For there are elements in the South as well, who preach disaffection to Indian loyalty and direct the people's loyalties in favour of new States to be carved out of the Union. *Moplastan* and *Dravidistan* are examples of such anti-Indian propaganda. Legislation should be supported by counter-propaganda or rather education through Radio, school and college, drama and literature, *culture camps* etc. In the alternative, private, political and cultural agencies like *sahitya parishads* and theatre companies can be assisted by grants for the purpose. In Tamil Nad, the Dravida Munnetra Kalagam has penetrated the Film world and stories and pictures favouring Dravida loyalty and independence outside the Union are put out continually. There is no counter-movement to check this stream of anti-national influence. Creative thinking on behalf of the nation is sadly lacking. There are one or two associations trying to fill the gap on behalf of integral all-India unity, which deserve Government assistance.

INTERNAL DIVISION IN THE CPI

We should not exaggerate the internal divisions and controversies in the Communist Party of India, one faction apparently favouring nationalism and leaning to Russia and the other favouring internationalism and favouring China. In the last resort, they will obey the Kremlin. They have no independence of action.

Foreign Policy -- Panchseela and Mandala, Non-Interference versus Balance of Power, Nehru versus Kautilya

By M. A. Venkata Rao

It has been frequently claimed by the Prime Minister and his supporters in justification of his foreign policy that it is but a continuation and application of India's cultural tradition. Strangely enough, it has been allowed to pass without challenge by scholars who may be supposed to have heard of the true Indian tradition of Real Politik as enshrined in the sastras beginning from the Code of Manu. The genuine political tradition of our country is contained in the various works on Rajadharmā or Rajaniti, the fullest and most authoritative of which is the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* was tested in the furnace of actual experience in the days of Alexander's invasion. It triumphed in the founding of the Mauryan empire and its career as a stable force over almost the whole of India with the addition of Afghanistan. It was the omission to maintain control over the Western Mountains and Passes that proved the crucial weakness of the successor empire of the Guptas leading to invaders entering the plains of Aryavarta.

India's present foreign policy symbolised in the *mantra* of Panchsheela is more in alignment with the buddhist doctrine of unqualified *ahimsa* than with the central living tradition of Indian politics through the centuries. One of the emasculating forces in Indian history after the great empires of the Mauryas and Guptas was the influence of the non-violent teaching of the Buddhist monks. The profound peace prevailing for centuries over the vast area from the Punjab to Bihar sapped the military tradition of the *kshatriya* classes. The example of the Buddha and the easy life in the innumerable *viharas* throughout the area tempted many a fighting family to give up training and the *dharma* of their *kulas*. Many a prince and warrior abandoned the sword and sought the ease and comfort of the *viharas*, following the Buddha himself.

When invaders entered deep into the country, Buddhist monks and teachers even welcomed them in the name of non-violence!

It is true that the highest morality was acknowledged to be non-violence—*ahimsa paramo dharmah*: non-violence is the supreme duty. But political tradition also taught that it was the highest duty of the ruler, whether king or aristocratic group or *ganarajya*, (popular assembly) to maintain law and order internally and push back the invader. It was declared to be his specific duty to maintain sufficient force well equipped and always in proper training and readiness for instant action to repel invaders and to suppress internal rebels and conspirators.

The Raja should maintain this *danda* or punitive force. The *danda* should not sleep. It should be specially vigilant when all the citizens are asleep at night or wrapped in false security unaware of the preparations of enemies! It is this *danda* that makes all enjoyment of life and its goods possible for the citizens of the State. Indian politics did not renounce the use of force in any unqualified

way. On the contrary, it laid the duty of employing force in a methodical, efficient way to suppress evil doers and repel invaders. It kept a whole class apart for this duty as a vocation, the class of *kshatriyas*; it was their caste or class duty to be perpetually prepared for war and war-like action. They should educate themselves to use force and steel their nerves for shedding blood and to maintain cool defence when attacked. They should familiarise themselves in time of peace with all sorts of weapons. They should study the art and science of warfare. They should know the various *vyuhas* or battle designs suitable for different types of ground, weapons, vehicles or mounts like the horse or elephant or chariot. They should be expert in the defence of forts, the building of bridges and all the work of sappers and miners. Their weapons and commissariat should always be ready for instant mobilisation. The highest duty of the soldier was to fight, employ force and engage in *ahimsa*, in contravention of the supreme law of *ahimsa*. This *ahimsa* or violence of the State was justified by the supreme purpose that animated it—namely *ahimsa* to the people of the country whose salt the soldiers and king ate all the time. Force to repel force—was the motto and not peace at any price and non-violence at any price:

First principles are laid down in the vedic scriptures no doubt but *second principles* are also laid down showing how first principles should be modified in action for sheer survival and the peaceful realisation of the good things of life. It is a matter of sheer ignorance to point attention to supreme laws and neglect the secondary precepts taught to apply them with effect in life. There is no ethical tradition in the world more universal than the Indian but at the same time it should be realised that there is no tradition either which lays down such minute and specific rules prescribing action in specific situations—apparently contradicting supreme values! Both should be taken in a *samanvaya* or synthesis if we are to derive any valuable guidance from Indian tradition in today's problems.

In strong contrast to *panchsheela* which only prescribes non-interference as a principle on the part of States, Kautilya (even the Code of Manu) gives a blue-print of the balance of power or *mandala* or sphere of States in alliance, neutrality and hostility or potential hostility. The doctrine of the balance of power that we can see exemplified in all modern European history through the centuries is already found full-fledged in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, the chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya.

In addition to the old precepts of *sama*, *dana*, *bheda* and *danda* (conciliation, gifts, dividing the enemy and finally the application of force major or *danda*), a policy of balance of power is given in detail for the guidance of statesmen, known as the *mandala* theory.

The whole body of this political craftsmanship shows a keen realisation of human nature in its recalcitrant phase

but it does not lose sight of the finer aspects and values of life in its preoccupation with the hard requirements of defence. It is laid down that force is not an end in itself. It should be used only for defence and repulsion of counter-force making for the destruction of the State or the injury of its people.

It is also shrewdly ruled that the statesman should regard his enemy as capable of becoming a friend one day under other circumstances and the friend as one day capable of becoming his enemy! Be prepared and be perpetually on your guard—is the burden of the advice that the *sastras* give to the prince or ruler.

The first rule of the Mandala or balance of power principle is to treat the State's neighbours as possible enemies. The State should seek first of all to arrange for full information of the doings and intentions of the rulers of one's neighbours. A recent historian of India has expressed his opinion that one of the weaknesses of Indian rajas throughout the centuries has been an insufficient realisation of what was going on just beyond the borders of the country. The country was so vast—practically a continent in extent and variety that the energies of rulers (of the 64 kingdoms) were fully occupied in mutual defence and attack. They neglected foreign affairs beyond the borders of the country. Today we have a Prime Minister (and Foreign Affairs Minister) who claims exceptional knowledge of foreign and international affairs who yet neglected to keep in touch with the developing danger across the Himalayan borders. His mind is so full of European and World affairs, the cold war, communist versus free world, war and peace between them and of the need for liberating the remaining dependencies of European nations, of the Middle East and Islam etc. that he has no time or inclination to keep track of India's own borders and defence needs!

The other day he confessed that our Intelligence system failed completely in Assam. It had failed completely in Kashmir too. He consented to take action against Sheikh Abdullah only after public protests against his treachery and the supine inaction of the Prime Minister himself!

It is laid down in the *mandala* theory that the State should even invade a neighbour if he is allowing groups hostile to him and his country to gather strength and prepare for hostile action against it. The Chinese were preparing for hostile action against India ever since they entered Tibet in 1951. But our eminent expert in foreign affairs did not move his little finger. He was absorbed in watching Russia and America and Britain and France in their global entanglements! He had no thought for India's defence from Chinese aggressors!

The second precept of the Mandala theory is to cultivate friendship and understanding with States on the other side of neighbours, even military alliances. They should move to attack our neighbours if they should attack us!

There was no squeamishness about military alliances in our *rajyaniti*. Violence, organised and efficient, in the hands of experts has its place in social life. Nothing is ever good or bad absolutely.

The Code of Manu Lays down that we should resist violently even if *acharyas* and one's own father or uncles or other respected elders should approach with intent to harm with weapons in hand.

Occasions may occur as in the American civil war when

fathers and sons may have to fight each other on opposite sides for principles held dearer than life and kinship affection!

Today or tomorrow we may have to fight with close relatives on opposite sides for preserving the Unity of India which is being so shamelessly and heartlessly bartered away by our ruling party chiefs for preserving their own lease of power.

We have no allergy therefore to violence and war as such. Life and nature have a place for violence. So has human society. But human life should transcend cruelty and violence and to prepare for that glorious future, *sanyasis* are enjoined not to use violence for even self-preservation. For them *ahimsa* is *parama dharma*—the supreme obligation. But not for rulers entrusted with the security of millions. If the ruler is so spiritually inclined that he is averse to using force even for the defence of his State and people, he should resign and retire to the forest for lonely contemplation and the *sanyasi's* life.

If the leader who has come to be in charge of the destiny of a vast country, whose innocent people trust to his wisdom and capacity for their welfare, he should not indulge in his private philosophy or morality to the detriment of his plain duty—the duty dictated by his *svadharma* or station in life. Even failure in the discharge of one's own duty or *svadharma* is better than success in the fulfilment of the duty of another. This is the Gita's and Manu's precept whose wisdom needs pondering by our Congress leaders today. The supreme value of non-violence even to the detriment of security of nationals is a disabling survival from the one-sided philosophy of Gandhi. Nehru has adopted it, strange as it may seem, for one so Western in temperament and training. This non-Indian (so far as practical politics and traditional wisdom go) element in Nehru's *panchsheela* and allergy to military alliances seems to have a different ancestry—possibly the innermost desire to favour the present Russian communist Experiment. It defends itself with the flag of ancient Indian culture with the accent on Buddhism, Jainism and Gandhism.

But there is no justification whatever for regarding it as an application of Indian political wisdom distilled from the experience of ages.

Today the Mandala Policy would suggest to us the extreme necessity to watch and guard ourselves against our neighbours—Pakistan and China and Russia. When Khrushchev and Bulganin entered India by air over the Hindukush, they restarted history with a Moghul invasion.

We have today to watch both land frontiers across the Himalayan and the sea and air frontiers from possible invaders. We need armed forces larger than any we have had in the past.

The only answer to the military situation is to give military training to the whole adult population fit to bear arms and to have sizable regular Forces in all sections—ground forces, air, sea and under-sea or submarine forces with detachments in charge of training civilian personnel all the time.

In defence crises like the present with the Chinese aggressors on our soil, a universal military-mindedness should be inculcated. This is not a time for singing the songs of *ahimsa* or worshipping the Buddha or Maha-

(Continued on page 18)

Khrushchev and Disarmament

By M. N. Tholal

IN a statement issued the other day, Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya made certain observations which, with their implications, do not appear to have any basis in well-known facts of the international situation. He may be right when he says that Mr. Khrushchev seems to have realised that his performance in Paris went too far ahead of his intentions. That may indeed be true, for it could not have been part of his intentions to knit the western allies closer together, or to tell them that Dr. Adenauer is after all right in his estimate of the Russian Communists led by Khrushchev. It could not have been his intention to make the American people more anti-Russian and to make for foreign policy of either of the two main American parties more anti-Russian than that of the other. He could not have read with delight Truman's comment on Paris that an insult to the President is an insult to the whole American nation. He might well have expected this anti-Eisenhower former President of the USA to seize the opportunity of having another dig at the American President, rather than line up behind him. So there is much to say for Rajaji's conclusion that Khrushchev seems to have realised that his performance in Paris went too far ahead of his intentions. Bullies are always trying to see how far they can go with impunity, and when they realise they have gone a little too far, they have no hesitation in retracing their steps. Witness, for example, the Russian *volte face* on the Congo issue in the UNO after all kinds of threats which, if executed, would have led to world war. Is that the performance of a peacefully minded nation—these recurring bluffs threatening world war?

WHAT KIND OF PEACE?

But when Rajaji proceeds further he is on unsure ground. Mr. Khrushchev wanted to tell the world, he says, that he had seen their (the western) mind, that they had no intention to reach a positive treaty at the summit and that he was not going to wait for a slow breakdown, but "In exhibiting his clarity of vision, he overdid it and made himself useless for the peace he desired." The use of the phrase "clarity of vision" for that great propagandist and bluffer suggests that Rajaji thinks that Khrushchev is not only sincere but also right in his interpretation of the American attitude.

In judging men and states we have to depend on their past as our guide and if that past is running into the present—i.e., what is true in the past tense is also true in the present continuous—then our judgment is based not only on their past but also on their present character. And what is the past of Soviet Russia? Despite Churchill's warnings, Roosevelt handed over Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc., to the Russian sphere of influence, and we know the result. All these countries are now under the iron heels of Soviet Russia, which has imposed upon them minority governments

supported by Russian arms. Is the world not entitled to ask Mr. Khrushchev, whose heart bleeds for the negroes of Africa, if the Poles and the Czechs, East Germans and Hungarians, Bulgarians and Rumanians are worse than the Baluba tribesmen of the Congo? And if that is not so, why does he not order his tanks and armoured cars in those countries to come back home and leave those people to fashion for themselves governments of their own choice? It is perhaps not out of place here to ask Mr. Khrushchev what kind of peace he wants in the world. The peace that reigns in Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria? If not, why not?

Mr. Khrushchev has been repeatedly saying that Russia does not believe in interfering in other people's affairs. Is there any country in the world, friendly or unfriendly, with which Russia does not interfere? India, according to Mr. Khrushchev himself, is a friendly country. Why then does Mr. Khrushchev want to have a party of his own in India? Why does Soviet Russia finance the Communist Party of India to the extent of Rs. 20 crores annually? The sum may be exaggerated or it may be an under-estimate, but it is well-known that the proceeds of the Russian Communist literature now flooding the country are retained by the Communist Party of India. On top of that the thousands of Russian technicians in India are stated to be passing on their salaries to Indian Communists. (And we dare not protest even! Is India an independent country?) Is it illegitimate to say that all these paid agents of Russia, running into hundreds of thousands, are also Russian spies? So that is the kind of Government the USA has to deal with.

THE IRON CURTAIN

As for lack of intention to reach a positive treaty at the summit, it is pertinent to inquire—the issues being so grave—what is the use of an agreement which is not fraud-proof, or which leaves loopholes for sudden, devastating attacks? It is worse than useless for either side. But in the character of the two countries which matter in this connection there is such a vast difference that a treaty which is fraud-proof for USSR may not be so for USA, because the USA is an open country and the USSR has its well-known Iron Curtain. The fact of the matter is that Russia insists on retaining its Iron Curtain—why should you want to peep into my bed-room? asks Mr. Khrushchev!—and at the same time claims to be an ardent advocate of disarmament. He cannot have his cake and eat it too.

He cannot honestly advocate the Iron Curtain as well as disarmament. But that is exactly what he is doing and we Indians, in our political immaturity, swallow the inconsistency. With disarmament, Mr. Khrushchev, if he is honest has to say, "Come on, I have nothing to hide. You can even peep into my bedroom. Your inspection teams can go where they like, stay where they like, inspect any

place they like and satisfy themselves." That will be a downright honest statement to make for any Russian Premier, who really wants peace and disarmament, particularly if he has been boasting, as Mr. Khrushchev has been boasting, that Russia is preparing fantastic weapons, that he wants to see the world go Communist in his lifetime. We know the Communists do not believe in nonviolence and we know what is in their mind when they talk of liberating the world or the world going Communist "in our life-time". We really do not have to go to American statesmen for proof of Russian and Communist double-dealing. In their bravado they convict themselves out of their own mouths, though the slogan is peaceful co-existence.

It is difficult to understand what Rajaji means when he says that Mr. Khrushchev, by saying that he is convinced that Mr. Eisenhower did not know about the U-2 affair, in spite of the President's confession that he did, "resume his respect for Mr. Eisenhower's character as a gentleman and desires to resume the spirit of friendship." In other words, Mr. Khrushchev's estimate of Mr. Eisenhower goes up as the former is convinced that the latter was not speaking the truth over the U-2 affair! In reality Mr. Khrushchev is only suggesting that Mr. Eisenhower is not the great gentleman he has proved to be. He showed to the world what a great gentleman he is by refusing to tell a lie which he could have easily done without any possibility of his having been found out, and that would have been a sort of lie not uncommon in diplomatic circles. He is apparently cast in a different mould and spurned the common device of diplomats in difficult circumstances.

NATIONAL SECURITY

But what was or is there so uproarious about the U-2 affair for those who want peace based on disarmament with international control? What is there so outrageous about a spying adventure when Mr. Khrushchev has thousands of spies in every country and is himself talking of admitting spies in USSR on an international scale? No one who wants world peace can legitimately demand secrecy at the same time. The international law against spying is out of date at a time when countries can launch sudden, devastating attacks. National security always comes first, except in India. It is national security that naturally dictates foreign policy in every country in the world, except India. It is because we Indians have never realised the over-riding importance of national security that we have been slaves for a thousand years. We seem to think it is something debatable like the necessity of planning. With China already occupying 12,000 square miles of our territory and poised for another "big leap forward," we are as unconcerned as if China had occupied Pakistan territory, though even that should cause us serious concern.

The fact of the matter is that there is no common ground between those who give first place to consideration of national security and those who do not. It is true, as Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld says, that "the time has come for the common interest to take precedence over the specific security interest of any one party." But what is the common interest? Is the containment of Communism not a common interest? Is it not in the common interest that Russia and China should not be allowed to expand by force? Is not the USA's security interest the common interest? Where will India, or for that matter dozens of other countries, be, but

for the Russian fear of the USA? Those who abhor Communism and regard it as their Enemy No. 1, as Rajaji did once upon a time, should go down on their knees to thank God every day for USA. But for that great Power, Chinese armies would be marching all over Asia and the Russian armies all over Europe.

It is true, as Rajaji says, that A and B cannot each be slightly larger than the other, but A together with the rest of the alphabet except B can be larger than B, and likewise B together with the rest of the alphabet except A can be larger than A. Instead of saying, as Rajaji does, that the demand for security consists in being larger than the other in any contingency, I should have said that the demand for security legitimately consists in being larger than the potential aggressor. The specific security interest of Russia, for example, demands that she keep under her iron heels all her East European satellites—a wonderful way indeed of talking of peace and disarmament. Had the other nations been unquestionably stronger than Russia when she ravaged Hungary a few years ago, she would not have done so. It is that kind of aggression that we want to prevent. Not only that. Only a dishonest man can claim to be anti-colonial without including in his anti-colonialism the vacation of aggression by Russia in the East European countries and by China in Tibet.

It can be said that the phrase "potential aggressor" is rather vague and its application a matter of opinion. But how can there be room for honest differences of opinion in classifying the actual aggressors among potential aggressors? How can those who have no qualms of the conscience in robbing their own countrymen of their liberties, have any qualms in robbing other people of their liberties? The USA had the monopoly of the atom bomb for years and it could have ordered the USSR to vacate the East European countries—and there would have been nothing unjust in the order—but the USA refrained from doing so and preferred (foolishly) to trust Stalin.

AGGRESSORS TALK OF PEACE

Says Rajaji: "There is no solution possible if every nation, or each one of the two blocs, demands complete fraud-proof, force-proof security against the possible wickedness of others." The USA gave proof of her belief in co-existence when she had for years the monopoly of the atom bomb. The USSR gave proof of her untrustworthiness by abusing the western concession that East European countries remain under her sphere of influence. They are all slave countries now. It was because Roosevelt committed the Himalayan blunder of trusting Stalin that his party lost its ruling position in the USA. Rajaji perhaps wants the USA to trust Russia again. If the USA does so, it will be for the last time, for she will never again have an opportunity to trust or distrust her.

Despite recurrent proofs, most of us refuse to believe in the ruthless character of Russian and Chinese Communism and seem to think any agreement is better than no agreement on disarmament. Nothing can be more absurd. No agreement is far better than an agreement which leaves loopholes for Russian conquest of the world. And it is necessary to remember that Russian victory over USA will mean Russian conquest of the world.

(Continued on page 8)

Lokayata : Indian Materialism

By S. Ramanathan

(Continued from the Issue of 1st September 1960).

IN delineating the features of materialism that prevailed in India in prehistoric times, Mr. Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya has hit upon a novel method of investigation of the social background which gave rise to this doctrine. There is, of course, no authentic record of the structure of society of those days. But there are survivals even in present day society of the rituals practised by our ancestors. These relics are traced as far back as the Indus period and their influence has continued unbroken till to-day. Mr. Chattopadhyaya has propounded a theory of "uneven development and tribal survival" which yields him a rich harvest of interesting data to support his thesis.

As an instance of such data that Mr. Chattopadhyaya has unearthed. I may mention the practice of Gowri Vrata. This practice is still prevalent all over India. Its peculiar feature is that it is entirely a women's function. All males are rigorously excluded from having a glimpse of it even from a distance. Even male children are not admitted. When I was a child I insisted upon my mother taking me with her to the celebration. I cried and made a fuss about being left behind. But my mother would not yield to my importunities. She consoled me with the promise that she would bring me nice sweets to eat at night. She did bring me some of the offerings made to the deity but I did not relish them because they were only boiled rice balls mixed with cocoanut. The men to get angry at their exclusion

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"One cannot," says Rajaji, "plead for keeping a score of cobras or a dozen tigers as watch-dogs, whatever be the value of our sheep." The value of the sheep is to be judged by their owners or trustees. In this case it is well-known that the nuclear power has proved a very successful deterrent to the Russian and Chinese hordes. It is also well-known what value the Communists attach to their sheep. Keeping that valuation in mind, the nuclear deterrent, it will have to be admitted, saves the sheep of both camps. It is the nuclear deterrent which, in the last resort, is keeping China away from Pakistan and even Formosa, and to a great extent from India, for the Communist Powers know very well that the western bloc will not allow China to sweep across India with the help of its army of ten millions. And if the nuclear deterrent has not kept China away from India altogether, it is our fault. It is, in short, the nuclear deterrent which is thwarting Communist designs of world conquest. No wonder Soviet Russia is concentrating on eliminating it and sweeping it away from her path of world conquest, in the name of peace and disarmament. It is folly to believe in the aggressors' talk of peace, or in their proclaimed differences among themselves. More than that. It is suicidal.

and took revenge upon the women by circulating stories of obscene practices indulged in at the festival of women uncontaminated by the presence of the opposite sex. I never succeeded in fathoming the secrets of this womanly celebrations. But Mr. Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya has given us the benefit of a full description in his book on *Lokayata*. Here is a summary of the celebrations.

Recently all over India we celebrated the festival devoted to the god with an elephant head. It is known as Ganesa Chaturthi Vrata, beginning from the fourth day of the month of Bhadra (Aug-Sep). Although this festival is associated with a male god it is usually accompanied by a feminine function. The god Ganesa represents the advent of the sowing season. In the actual celebration of the festival, the male god quits the scene and the ritual is taken possession of from the second day onwards by a feminine deity called Gowri who is represented by a human being who must be a virgin. There is besides a bundle of plants which is the centre of the celebrations. The ceremony consists in the plants and the virgin being carried from one room to another. To dramatise the visit of the goddess Gowri in human form her foot prints are drawn on the floor with powdered rice paste. The question is asked of the virgin in every room "Gowri, Gowri, what do you see?" The virgin answers "I see prosperity, I see plenty". Next day cakes of rice and cocoanut kernels are offered to the deity and every woman places some cotton thread to the deity goddess. In the night all the girls sing and dance, keeping up late hours and visiting houses of girl friends. The next day again offerings are made of pancakes and each woman collects her own cotton thread which she placed before the deity on the previous night and ties sixteen knots on the thread, dyes it with turmeric, and ties it round her neck. This necklace is retained till the next harvest festival when it is removed and thrown into the river. On the day the necklaces are worn, the effigy of Gowri is thrown into the river or tank and a handful of earth is brought home from the bank and is scattered all over the house and garden. It should be noted that the entire ceremonial is strictly confined to women.

The fable connected with this celebration is given as follows: "Once upon a time there lived a very poor person. Driven by poverty, he went to drown himself into the river. An old married woman appeared before him. She persuaded the poor man to return home and herself accompanied him. With this old woman came prosperity to his home. Then came the time for her to depart. The man took her back to the river and the old woman gave him a handful of earth from the river-bank and asked him, in order to ensure plenty, to scatter this earth over every possession of his. He was also asked to repeat this every year in the month of Bhadra and in honour of Gowri.

The meaning of this ritual is described by Gupte as follows:

"The rationale of the ceremony suggests: (1) the alluvial soil of the river-side or tank as the original seat of the crops, (2) the old woman as the old season going out, (3) the young girl as the new season budding up ready to burst out, as the symbol 'touch-me-not' specially suggests, (4) the lay figure as possibly the dead body of the old season, the rice and the millets being just in flower at that time of the year, and (5) the food offered as the expected *bhadvi* new rice-crops. . . . But the loss of the spirit in the lay figure at midnight, the last day of the particular season of 'field-work', the drowning of the lay-figures into the bowels of the Mother Earth, the sprinkling of sand and the skeins with sixteen knots—are symbolical of the simultaneous death and resurrection of the season, celebrated all over the world by primitive races, found here stereotyped into a Hinduised form. The sixteen knots and the sixteen folds of the skein, turned into a necklace suggest the number of weeks a rice crop takes to grow."

The entire ceremony is centered around the desire for a rich harvest. Although the ceremony bears the name of a male god it is a feminine affair and is connected with agriculture which lays emphasis on the female principle. The mother right is historically connected with the early agricultural economy of India although it was violently suppressed in later days.

The data extracted by Mr. Chattopadhyaya from his survival of one of the ancient practices of our ancestors is a sample of the interesting research carried on by the author. This festival which begins by adoring a male god, namely, Ganesa, results in the installation and adoration of a feminine deity, namely, Gowri. This represents the historical fact of the discovery of agriculture resulting in the emergence of women as the leaders of society while the men receded to the background.

There is a humorous side to the celebration. Goddess Gowri who is worshipped in the ritual is said to have been secretly followed by her husband Siva who remains hidden under the outer fold of her sari. This is represented by a "lota" (a small metal pot) filled with rice and covered by a cocoanut. Poor Siva is reduced to a subordinate position and is obliged to sit incognito during the entire celebration!

WHAT DISCIPLINED ECONOMY CAN DO?

Germany's recovery has been noted by many, but the causes of it are not as widely recognized. Ludwig Erhard, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Economic Affairs, "an economist turned statesman," is largely responsible for this accomplishment. In a book entitled "The Social Market Economy" he describes his formula comprised of the following six ingredients:

The abolition of price control and other remnants of the planned economy,

Competition,
War on pressure groups and special interests,
Currency stability,
Rejection of the Welfare State, and
Rejection of Laissez-faire capitalism.

Patric M. Boarman of the University of Wisconsin, who wrote of Erhard's achievement in a special bulletin of the American Institute for Economic Research reported that despite the success of this economic disciple, "the hard core of his opposition" had not been converted.

Erhard was relatively unknown ten years ago, but he was given the job, single-handed, of bringing order out of the economic chaos of Nazi misrule, war and Allied occupation. He borrowed his economic theories from Walter Eucken and Wilhelm Roepke, and the result is described as neo-liberalism. Neo-Liberals reject not only the planned economy, but the "mixed economy," or the direct intervention of government into market processes—agricultural price supports, rent controls, etc. The market is regarded with respect as the only mechanism by which an advanced industrial society can solve its economic problem and preserve its liberty.

This formula applied to a war-devastated state whose already dense poverty-stricken population was swelled by the addition of 10 million homeless and property-less refugees, has yielded striking results. J. W. Lucas, Jr. of Cocoa Beach, Florida, drew this article to our attention, calling it the most thrilling economic story of this century.

Although there was opposition to Erhard's ideas from the Allies, the Socialists and quite naturally, the cartellists and monopolists, even these had to concede that, measured against the conditions which had to be overcome, the proof of the superiority of the "market economy" was convincing. Dr. Boarman states. The record shows that it was not currency "re-reform," nor American aid, nor the Korean War, nor the stimulus of post-war German demand, nor her sudden freedom from the burden of armaments, nor German "industriousness" which caused the revival, but simply the establishment of a functioning economic system.

Dr. Boarman further points out that the "the effects of Erhard's dose of free trade medicine (combined with a stable German price level) on Germany's international accounts have been startling. The trade balance, which was negative in 1950, turned into an export surplus which had piled up 6 million in gold and foreign exchange in Germany by the end of 1957, making her the chief creditor nation in the European Payments Union."

"Between 1950 and 1957, German real wages rose 40 per cent, with almost no labor strife", he wrote. Per capita consumption rose from 77 in 1949 to 126 in 1955, as compared with an increase from 96 to 107 in the United States; and in the same period, upwards of 4 million housing units were erected. The latter record was achieved with the help of incentives associated with the decontrol of rents for most new private construction."

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Inflation--Your Personal Enemy

(The Swatantra Party observed the 18th September as Anti-Inflation Day on which the Party leaders addressed meetings throughout the country warning their countrymen against Inflation generated by the reckless monetary policies adopted by the G.O.I. The following is a statement issued by the Swatantra Party exposing the dangers of inflation in a language free from economic jargon—Ed)

If somebody picks your pocket or burgles your home, you try to catch the thief and hand him over to the police. If the charge against him is proved, the culprit is punished according to the law of the land. This is done not only because thieving is personally immoral, not only because it is an offence against you, but also because theft endangers one of the most basic institutions of society, viz., property. When property is attacked, there can be no stability and without stability, there can be no progress.

There is another type of thief of whom all of us must be terribly afraid. This thief cannot be caught because he is invisible. You may bury your money in a secret place or put it in the safe deposit vault of a bank, or hide it in any corner of the world, but still this invisible thief will get at it. Of course, what he steals is not the money itself, but the value of money.

Let us see what this business of money is about? Our money in India—the rupee—is a medium of exchange. If you produce wheat and want to buy shoes, cloth, kerosene and other articles of use to you, you do not have to go in search of the persons who will exchange your wheat for these articles. You sell the wheat which you do not require to the trader who pays you in rupees. With these rupees, you buy cloth, kerosene and whatever else you want to buy. Thus money serves as a medium of exchange.

Money also has another important function. It indicates the value of every commodity. So you know that if you have got so many rupees in your hands, you can buy so many things.

Money has another function also. It is a link between yesterday and today, and tomorrow. You can save the rupees you do not want to spend, and you can invest them to make yourself more useful to the community, say on education, or on improving your land or your business. If you do not want to buy something today, you can keep the money and buy things tomorrow, or when you are old and when you are not able to earn. For all these good causes, there is one important condition. The value of money must remain the same. The value of the rupee fluctuates if the balance between the money in circulation and the available goods and services is upset. Then the difficulty starts. If there is more money than what is required, then the value of money goes down. In other words, the purchasing or the buying power of money goes down and you pay more for what you want.

Money is in the form of currency issued by the Government and credit created by the banks. This latter form is subject to strict control by the Government. When Government cannot get the money it wants through taxes,

through public loans and through small savings, then it begins to print extra currency. This is known as deficit financing. For instance, in the last five years, over Rs. 1,100 crores have been printed by the Government by way of deficit financing. This has led to a rise in prices because production has not increased to the extent that the extra money has been pumped into circulation. Therefore, more money is chasing comparatively less goods and services.

What are the consequences of this state of affairs called Inflation?

1. The fixed income groups suffer most. For instance, pensioners find that every month their pension amount buys them less and less. Widows who live by the interest of shares and other investments inherited by them find it difficult to manage their household. So also orphans who live on the income of investments find that it is difficult to carry on their education. The fixed income groups like the white-collared clerks and Government employees see that their milk bill, vegetable and the grocery bill and the bill of every other item which is required for their daily consumption goes up and up every month. These people find it difficult to adjust their budget.

2. Inflation creates distortion in the economy. Values of goods and services go out of proportion. There will be speculation, pushing up of prices and there will also be hoarding by producers anticipating higher prices. There will be profiteering by anti-social elements. In order to prevent these, there will be more and more controls which, however, cannot be effectively applied. Controls bring in their wake a scarcity psychology. Controls also increase corruption. They place power and patronage in the hands of the ruling party and the Government servants who will misuse them in many instances. The remedy for inflation is not controls but increased production. This can be secured by removal of controls and incentives to the producer.

3. Inflation shatters the confidence of the public in the currency. This affects the saving habit and without saving and investment, there can be no economic development.

4. When inflation goes out of control, the economic structure collapses and there will be political revolutions bringing suffering and misery on all people. Anti-religious, materialistic and God-denying ideologies like Communism and Fascism wait on such opportunities to impose dictatorship on the people.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

The remedy is that the Government should stop inflation whether through the printing of currency notes or otherwise.

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The Indian Libertarian

Rationalist Supplement

Rationalism Versus Gandhism

By S. Ramanathan

TAKE the liberty to offer some remarks on the "Message to fellow Rationalist" of Mr. R. B. Lotvala published in the issue of the 'Rationalist Supplement' of 1st August last. The lessons learnt during a life-time of active rationalism lived by one of the leaders of the movement are of special significance to every one in the movement and should serve as valuable guide in every day life. Mr. Lotvala has mentioned three factors which counter-act the endeavour of rationalism. They are: (1) Gandhism, (2) the vaunted 'spiritual glory' of India and (3) the innate weakness of rationalism in being devoid of an emotional appeal. I intend in this article to deal with the first of these factors, reserving the other two to be considered later on.

Mahatma Gandhi was a rare mixture of sincerity and self-delusion. Undoubtedly he was a reactionary. He put his faith not only in religion but in everything that was old in Indian tradition including the caste system, primitive industries and the way of life led by our ancestors in pre-historic times. But as rationalists we should not miss to take note of the virtue in Gandhi which was responsible for the great power he wielded during his life-time and his memory still wields to-day. That virtue was his transparent sincerity. He was incapable of conscious duplicity which is the hall mark of present day Congress politicians. Gandhi not only expressed in words what he believed in his heart but he also acted up to that belief. That does not mean that he kept fast to any one belief or that he did not change his opinions. As an illustration I may mention his attitude to the caste system. He began his life with implicit faith in the four-fold division and defended it against all enlightened criticism. But he failed to see that untouchability was inextricably bound up with caste. He spent most of his life in the attempt to isolate untouchability which he characterised as "a blot on the Hindu religion and which could be abolished without touching that religion. In regard to many other matters also he changed his opinions and often confessed to "Himalayan mistakes" which he committed. But whatever he believed in for the moment, his faith was thorough and unqualified. And he acted up to that faith. He did not have a double personality as most of his followers have. He did not suffer from any schizophrernia.

The tribute I have paid to Gandhi above has to be remembered when considering the condemnation I pronounce upon his opinion and his leadership. The fatal blunder that Gandhi committed was his mix-up of religion and politics. The policy of religious neutrality followed by the

British administration had produced beneficent results. Muslim as well as Hindu fanaticism were getting subdued and world Muslim opinion was revolting against the corruption inherent in the politico-religious hegemony of the Turkish Sultans. But Gandhi's Khilafat agitation fanned the dying embers of Muslim fanaticism in India and sowed the seed for the formation of Pakistan. *Ram Dham* sung by Gandhi at political meetings nurtured the Pakistan plant which yielded a rich crop of religious fanaticism before Gandhi met his death at the hands of a Hindu fanatic.

Gandhi's mind was tethered to the past. He always looked back to the hoary traditions of India's ancient civilisation and never looked forward to the glory of a future India more magnificent than the past. Historical circumstances conspired to place infinite power in his feeble hands. He used that power to push back the teeming millions of India who were hungering for a higher level of life and who were struggling to march forward to a new age and a new civilisation into the darkness of a past age with all its hardships, its miseries and injustices. All because he preferred the golden past, which existed only in his imagination, to the drab realities of the changing present and to the possibilities of a bright future. If the Indian people would be sensible and if they were gifted with a leadership which would look to their real interests without any attempt at exploitation, they would to-day leave Gandhi and his old world ideas to where they belonged, namely, to the limbo of the past history of India, without dragging them in to colour and to frustrate our present day activities. But, unfortunately for this country, our people are still not only ignorant and poverty stricken, but are also superstitious and put their faith in the nostrums advocated by their priests and political pandits. These latter have their own axes to grind and they find Gandhism a convenient mill which puts sharp edges to their ambitions. It is claimed by Pandit Nehru in so many words, and it is the faith that inspires the ruling party, that Gandhism would endure for a thousand years in India. Such were the words uttered by the Nazis in regard to their faith when Hitler dominated Germany. It is a well known phenomenon that greed blinds the eye to patent facts. The greed for power of the Congress party has clouded its vision and has rendered it invisible to the evil effects of Gandhism and to the incalculable miseries inflicted on the people by this false creed.

It is claimed by some that Nehru, on whom the mantle of Gandhi has fallen, is a professed rationalist and is soft-peddalling Gandhism and that in the new Nehru era, the

evils of Gandhism are getting restrained if not destroyed and that in course of time they may altogether disappear. It is true that the build up of mechanised heavy industries accomplished by Nehru is a direct negation of the Gandhian creed. If the claim were true that the 5 year plans are directed with the deliberate objective of discarding and transcending Gandhian re-action I do not mind putting up with the many vagaries of Nehru's rule. What is urgently necessary for the people of India is a heroic effort to overcome the handicaps engendered by the priestly domination they lived under for many centuries which resulted in their lagging behind the people of other countries in the field of science and technology and which has made them the poorest, the most illiterate and the most superstitious of all the people in the whole world. There is so much leeway to make for India to catch up with the rest of the world that any means are justifiable to accomplish that end. We must gain knowledge of science by hook or by crook. If the dictatorial and corrupt one party rule that India has to put up with is the prize she must pay for coming abreast of other nations of the world in the matter of civilisation and attainment of a higher level of life, I do not mind, and sensible people in India will not mind, living for sometime longer under the rule of the Congress party.

Unfortunately for this country the one party rule of the Congress is not only autocratic but is also reactionary. Pandit Nehru is not a genuine rationalist, neither is he even a liberal. He has his eye mainly on how to get on without risking his Premiership. He satisfies all clamorous elements as and when they give trouble. The orthodox followers of Gandhi will give trouble if they are ignored or relegated to the back bench. Nehru has not only to provide for the livelihood of the Gandhites, but has to fuss over them and occasionally to sit with them for ceremonial spinning. Of course, he spins with his tongue in his cheek. He has to bow down and render obeisance to Vinobha Bhave and other gods of the Gandhian pantheon so as to keep up his title to the Gandhian heritage. Gandhism cannot be made to decline under the Nehru regime. All the various features of the so-called constructive programme promulgated by the Mahatma are being given ample funds and free scope for growth and thus the day is made clear for a luxuriant crop of casteism, linguism and parochialism of all kinds. Under the very Five Year Plan which is supposed to bring in prosperity and civilisation to this country, provision has been made for the further development of Khadi, village industries, Harijan uplift, basic education, prohibition and Hindi which are the nostrums intended by the Mahatma to take back the people of India to the golden days of the vedas. Mechanised industries after the Soviet model form one part of the objective before the planning commission, the other part being the keeping alive of the opposite element indicated by the Gandhian plan of villagism, which is another name for casteism, for the revival of village industries is a powerful drive towards the revival of the caste system. The truth of the matter is that the mentality behind the Five Year Plan is not the gaining of a fixed objective but is just the marking of time and keeping afloat and maintaining political hold on India, while the world outside marches on. It is the policy of neutralism between two rival economic power blocs. While the heavy industries are planned with a view to satisfy the growing communist influence in the country, Khadi and allied activities

are promoted with the object of keeping the orthodox Gandhian school well satisfied. There is no intelligent appreciation that the one may lead to communist totalitarianism and the other may drag the people into the abyss of casteism and may endanger the hard won unity of India. "After me, the deluge" seems to be the motto inspiring Nehru's premiership. He does not mind the communists taking over when once his hold on the country slackens or India being overwhelmed by internecine warfare with the resultant Balkanisation of the country.

It is therefore urgent and necessary for all rationalists to keep alive the fight against Gandhian reaction without being lulled into slumber by the false promises of enlightenment and progress, sometimes made by the Nehru administration. Who is there in India who will give battle to Gandhism if not the Rationalists? All the political parties support Gandhism in varying degrees. The P.S.P. accuses the Congress of not being sufficiently Gandhian. The Jan Sangh advocates religious politics; only it should be the Hindu religion that is favoured. The Communists play a waiting game. They count on the Congress disintegrating after Nehru when they expect India to fall into their lap like a ripe mango. I need not dwell upon the irrational and reactionary implications of Gandhi's teachings of which Indian rationalists must be fully aware. The only danger is that we may relax in the hope that the lapse of time and the sweet words that Nehru sometime utters may improve matters. If we guard against this one danger, rationalism will automatically go all out to fight Gandhism for it will be a veritable fight for survival. Gandhism will survive only on irrationalism and rationalism can survive only by anti-Gandhism. Where the one is the other is not.

IRREVERENCES

"IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD," and at the end may be the H-bomb.

The materially most profitable idea ever invented is that of sin.

If Christians genuinely believed in heaven and hell, they would try to love their neighbours and enemies without the help of napalm and hydrogen bombs.

The high priests of the Christian religions have undoubtedly the divine right to bring, from time to time, the eternal truths and values into line with the results of heretic and atheist research.

The first ship to take slaves to America was named Jesus. More is hardly needed to judge correctly the value of Christian ethics.

It is strange how much many people are prepared to sacrifice for their gods, and how little for their fellow human beings.

The "free world" seems to be turned more and more into a military organisation for the propagation of the various Christianities.

What is the teaching of religion in schools but brain-washing of defenceless children?

—Freethinker

The Impossibility Of Omnipotence

By Numa Clive Negri

FROM the time of Plato to the present day, philosophers and theologians have almost invariably endeavoured to establish or disprove the existence of God in one of two ways. They have either assumed that there is no such thing as God, and then sought to prove the contrary, or they have followed the precedent of French law and begun with the hypothesis that God does exist and have then tried to prove that he does not. In both cases the arguments employed have, of necessity, been suasive rather than logical, and as a consequence the results have been far from satisfactory. More conclusive results can, however, be obtained if we precede any inquiry into the existence of God with an inquiry into the linguistic validity of the *concept* of God.

In this connection it is necessary to define the word 'god.' Theologians may, of course, hold that God is sublime and therefore indefinable. This is irrelevant since we are asking for a definition of the word 'god,' not of God.

Apart from certain proper nouns, the only word which may justifiably be regarded as indefinable are those which we use to denote sense-data. All other words are either definable or meaningless. Now God is not a sense datum, and the word 'god' is not a term used to describe or identify a sense datum. On the contrary, it is, in addition to being a proper noun, the name of a philosophical concept. Accordingly it must be definable. Of course, the word 'god' has several lexicographical meanings. It can mean simply an object of worship or merely a super-human being. But in modern Western theology, Christian religion, and indeed in philosophy, it is clearly understood to mean an omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent force or being.

Now the important feature of the above definition is 'omnipotent'. We can disregard omniscience and omnipresence because they are necessary adjuncts of omnipotence. What then, we may ask, is meant by 'omnipotence'? There is no doubt about this; it means all-powerful. That is to say, capable of doing everything and anything. This is in accordance with the theological and religious conception of God. God, the theologians inform us, is the supreme creator, the all-powerful ruler of the universe. He, and he alone, is capable of accomplishing anything. But the point the theologians have overlooked is that philosophically and semantically speaking the word 'omnipotent' is nonsensical.

Omnipotence is concerned with actions. And actions can be divided into two distinct classes; namely, those that are reversible, and those that are not. Naturally in order to be omnipotent it is necessary to do not merely everything possible, but literally anything. This means that the omnipotent being must, if he is truly omnipotent, be able to perform all reversible and all irreversible action. But, and this is the important point, if he can perform an action which is irreversible it follows that he is not omnipotent because to be omnipotent he would have to be capable of reversing that 'irreversible' action, and if he

could reverse that action it would not be an irreversible action. In other words the paradox means that, to be omnipotent it is necessary to be able to reverse all actions, but if one is capable of reversing all actions one is incapable of performing an irreversible action. And if one cannot perform an irreversible action one is not omnipotent.

It may, of course, be contended that there is no such thing as an irreversible action. Certainly it is difficult to think of any action that would be irreversible if one had unlimited power. But the definition of omnipotent is all-powerful: i.e. capable of doing literally anything. Consequently the omnipotent being must be capable of realizing or creating a group of irreversible actions. And so the paradox remains, for if these actions are, in fact, irreversible, the omnipotent being will be unable to reverse them, therefore he is not omnipotent. And if he can reverse them, they are not irreversible actions, therefore he is obviously incapable of realizing irreversible actions, which again means that he is not all-powerful. In effect this means that the term omnipotence is as nonsensical as, say black-whiteness.

Now, as we have already seen, omnipotence is an essential feature of a god. Anything which is not omnipotent cannot be a god. And if the word 'omnipotent' is nonsensical, if it is impossible to be omnipotent, it follows that there can be no such thing as God. Q.E.D.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS MODERNISED

By An American Friend

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me—except wealth, power, pleasure, fame, knowledge, sport, travel, security, friendship, longevity, etc., etc. . . .
2. Thou shalt not make nor bow down to any graven image—only venerate statues and symbols.
3. Thou shalt not take the Lord's name in vain—use it profitably.
4. Remember the Sabbath day—was Saturday—to keep it holy—wholly free from work, games and entertainment.
5. Honour thy Father and Mother—on their respective "Day."
6. Thou shalt not kill . . . time—only cattle, pests and Communists.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery—Keep our food-stuffs pure!
8. Thou shalt not steal—only swindle.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness—when it does not further your interests.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's ox—nor his Cadillac, nor anything that is thy neighbour's—unless of course his name is Jones.

The Golden Rule—"Do, or you will be done by."

—Freethinker

What is Atheism ?

By F. A. Ridley

AT a service in Westminster Abbey in memory of that colourful and controversial politician, the late Mr. Aneurin Bevan, a bishop of the Established Church made a reference to Atheists and Atheism that should be of interest to the readers of this paper. The cleric in question was the Bishop of Southwark, the Right Reverend Dr. Mervyn Stockwood, and his remarks were made from the august pulpit of the Abbey in the presence of what it is the fashion to describe as "a large and distinguished gathering."

If only the Bishop had not said it! But he did. He actually went on record with the astonishing remark that Mr. Bevan was not an Atheist in the ordinary (extraordinary?) sense, since he had a 'profound respect for 'the Mystery of Life'." Now we are already painfully familiar with the fact that theology which deals in heavenly mysteries, is not always explicit even on the subject of earthly ones or even comprehensible to the theologically uninitiated. But precisely what does the Bishop mean by the term the "Mystery of Life" and why should Atheists take up an unrespectful attitude towards it? Dr. Stockwood, as an ordinary educated man, even if not as a theologian, must know that a mystery is, at all times and places merely something beyond the comprehension of the science of its particular time, e.g. America was a "mystery" before Columbus; now it is just another continent. At present, let us say, the Abominable snowman is still a mystery, but it will cease to be one and become merely another species of monkey (or mirage) when the people now looking for it in Himalayas finally succeed in running it to earth. There are, it is true, "mysteries" like, let us say, the Holy Trinity—which all theologians, including presumably Dr. Stockwood, describe as the greatest mystery of all—but this is likely always to remain a mystery since it is, by definition "Incomprehensible" and does not exist in any comprehensible form. But life certainly exists, and if there is a "mystery" of life, this can only mean that its causes are still unknown.

LIFE AND THE UNIVERSE

We at least now know, as does the Bishop of Southwark (though the founders of his religion did not) that we live in an apparently illimitable universe of which life is, though perhaps only exceptionally and under rarely recurring conditions, one of the attributes. As Sir Harold Spenser-Jones, the former Astronomer Royal, has suggested, life probably recurs periodically throughout the Universe as a perhaps abnormal condition (cf. *Life in Other Worlds*). There are, of course, various theories already in existence to explain both the origins of the Universe and of any life that it contains: viz. The steady-state theory, the picturesquely named "big bang" theory and others. If any one of these could be scientifically proved to be true the Mystery of Life would be a mystery no more any more than would be the Loch Ness monster, if someone were

to identify it as, perhaps, an escaped walrus! So far, it is true (or so I understand) that the origins of the Universe and of life, are still not definitely known. But they may be in the future. Then why should one "revere" this then outmoded "mystery" any longer? And incidentally, Dr. Stockwood or his successors will have to find a new definition for Atheists and Atheism.

It really is both surprising and disheartening that, addressing a University-educated bishop in this Year of Grace 1960, one should have to make the elementary explanations set out in this paragraph. As it is, his Lordship's own definition leaves us with no option but (in Disraeli's expression) to "expatiate on the obvious" and to indicate that the term "reverence" is irrelevant to Atheism. Naturally every intelligent person, believer or unbeliever, takes an interest in the problem of the origin of the Universe, in which he lives and whence life (including his own) derives. But the term "Atheist," in any case, denotes a particular mental attitude to which "reverence" is totally irrelevant: an Atheist (as the original Greek implies) is a person "without God"; he has no need of that hypothesis. Atheists, or at least most Atheists, do not set out to disprove logically the existence of God: a negative proposition does not lend itself to that kind of proof. God and gods are merely ideas in the human mind; ideas, the social, historical and intellectual origins of which have been exhaustively discussed and are now known with reasonable accuracy. Chapman Cohen used to demonstrate so forcibly, there is no longer any need to discuss whether god exist: we know that they do not precisely because we know what they actually are, and how they originally arose as figments in the imaginations of primitive peoples, figments dictated by their knowledge, or lack of knowledge, of external phenomena. We respectfully suggest to the Bishop of Southwark, that he takes a look at, let us say, Grant Allen's masterly *Evolution of the Idea of God*, or at Chapman Cohen's own remarkable pamphlets upon this theme before laying down another definition of Atheism, whether in Westminster Abbey or anywhere else.

—The Freethinker

DOGMA AND COMMON MAN

The Common Man loves dogma
(It hurts too much to think)
And so with creeds and "isms"
He's easy to hoodwink—

"Myra Buttle"

FLIGHT FROM THE EARTH

The hero who can scarcely read and write
Longs for interplanetary flight
To get away from thought's infectious bite.

"Myra Buttle"

The Canal Waters Swindle

(From Our Correspondent)

THE signing of the Indo-Pakistan Canal Waters treaty brings to an end the 12-year-old artificial dispute on the sharing and distribution of the Indus basin waters. The treaty envisages the undertaking of a colossal project costing about 1,000 million dollars and involving the building of replacement and development works in Pakistan to utilise the waters of the western rivers, instead of letting Pakistan depend on the eastern rivers as at present. Towards the cost of these replacement works (which will make Pakistan absolutely independent of India) India will be contributing over Rs. 83 crores and Pakistan only Rs. 64 crores; the others, including the USA, UK, Canada, West Germany, Australia, New Zealand and the World Bank contributing Rs. 333 crores.

It is not quite clear on what principle India is contributing to replacement and development works in Pakistan. When the World Bank made its recommendations on the subject six years ago, it had suggested that India should pay Pakistan a sum of Rs. 60 crores to enable the latter to build its link canals in place of the Indian canals now carrying waters to it. Secession was of their own seeking. It was not forced on them by us. They had been agitating for Pakistan for years and should have known the economic consequences, as well as the irrigational consequences, of their actions. Every one is expected to suffer the consequences of one's follies or actions, but in this case it seems to have been unanimously decided that it is India which is to suffer the consequences of the fanatical Muslims desire for a state of their own. What is even more surprising is the fact that, as a result of higgling and haggling over the Rs. 60 crores suggested by the World Bank six years ago, the Indian contribution to the construction of link canals in Pakistan has gone up by 23 crores—at the rate of Rs. 4 crores annually. It is just possible that it was this annual increase of Rs. 4 crores that frightened our Prime Minister into agreeing to the World Bank's proposals! But what is more probable is that the World Bank's representatives caught our Prime Minister in a good mood and got his assent to their proposals. . . . Mr. Nehru can always be depended upon to be generous at the country's expense—never at his own or that of the Congress Party.

In a cold war of attrition Mr. Nehru cannot be expected to last long. Irritation born of disputation soon produces in him the gentlemanly desire to have done with the damn thing. After all, one cannot go on quarrelling for ever. And the result is surrender. The reader must be aware of what happened to Mr. Nehru's refusal to negotiate with China until the aggression on India was vacated—on the same principle—i.e., after all, one cannot go on quarrelling for ever! It is this firm refusal to stick to any principles that is at the bottom of India's difficulties. Where the

governing factor is the mood of the moment, anything can happen!

Or can it be, it is being asked here, that the Indian contribution of Rs. 83 crores towards the construction of link canals in Pakistan—Mr. Nehru once referred to the sums involved as "astronomical figures"—is the result of Pak propaganda (after Pakistan had herself in 1948 denounced the Indo-Pak Agreement on Canal Waters) that India was going to cut water supplies to harm Pakistan and desolate millions of acres of land in Pakistan?

With the signing of the Treaty, India also concedes 80 per cent of the waters of the Indus system to Pakistan and abandons important projects on the Chenab in Himachal Pradesh which would have benefited a large area in Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. Had Pakistan been serious about cultivating real friendship with India, she would have agreed to the Indian plan involving a five-mile tunnel, which would have brought the Chenab waters into the Ravi in Chamba district. A few miles of link canals could bring this water from the Ravi into the Beas and enable India to continue supplying Pakistan its full quota of 10 million acre feet. But Pakistan insisted on having its canal works all in Pakistan—a very legitimate ambition which became absolutely illegitimate when Pakistan wanted them at others' cost, particularly at that of India.

PAYING PRICE OF ISOLATION

The Treaty also makes it clear that there would be unhindered flow of waters of all the rivers which pass through Kashmir into Pakistan, thus removing Pakistan's doubts and suspicions that India's position as an upper riparian in Kashmir posed an economic threat to Pakistan. How illegitimate these doubts and suspicions were is obvious from the fact that at partition the Pakistan canals used 6 million acre feet of water and India nine million, allowing 93 million acre feet to escape through the canals and flow into the Arabian Sea. Besides, the Indian Government's acquiescence in Pakistan building a dam at Mangla in that part of Jammu and Kashmir State which is now in the forcible occupation of Pakistan but in law and justice belongs to India, amounts—despite the relevant clause in the Treaty—to a *de facto* recognition of Azad Kashmir as being part of Pakistan. As a local weekly remarks, it makes nonsense of the repeated declarations of the State Government, the Defence Minister and others to get back the alienated parts of Jammu and Kashmir State, but then whoever took these declarations seriously?

It is easy to see that Pakistan has been benefiting from her alliances with NATO and SEATO and CENTO countries—why should it not—while India has been paying

the price of her isolation. With so many countries contributing towards the cost of Pakistan's link canals development works, Mr. Nehru felt persuaded to do likewise. That is a legitimate inference and the best that can be said about the course the negotiations took. With a volatile Prime Minister at the head, Indian representatives naturally cannot take a strong stand on any issue, being naturally unable to guess the twists and turns his varying moods may take, stemming as they do from a desire for personal glory rather than the good of the country whose first servant he claims to be.

Where the moving spirit has nothing to do with patriotism, it is difficult to grasp the elementary political lesson that there is no generosity in politics, that appeasement only whets the appetite of the appeased, and to think otherwise is mere wishful thinking. In the evenings the drawing room of the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru used to become a political debating room and issues were discussed threadbare without regard to personalities by those present, who included eminent professors of Allahabad University and journalists and politicians. And almost every day on every issue the general conclusion was reached under the subtle guidance of Sir Tej, that there is no generosity in politics and those who have not got that great truth burnt into their minds are childish wishful thinkers seeking anything but the good of the country. But our Prime Minister never learnt that elementary political lesson and it may be presumed that he is now too old to learn it. Learning it makes a man hard-boiled and Mr. Nehru is too emotional to reach that stage. It may be said that his temperament resists the assimilation of such truths, and the country will therefore go on lamenting, like him, the consequences of his actions.

DHEBAR TO RETIRE FROM PUBLIC LIFE

The former Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, is understood to have expressed a desire to retire from public life, during his recent visit to Rajkot. Mr. Dhebar is a sincere patriot who has mistaken the Congress for the country and Mr. Nehru for the Congress. That he is fed up with the corruption inside the Congress has been well-known for sometime. Even more well-known is the fact that he does not run after office. Indeed, it is a pity that he should not be able to see any alternative to Congress leadership except retirement from public life. He should know that the country is much bigger than the Congress and that, if he is unable to see anyone who can claim his allegiance better than Nehru, he can stand on his own legs. What matters is that he should fight for the right irrespective of his misplaced devotion to personalities and not place himself at the disposal of interested parties with an axe to grind.

What we need in this country, above everything else, is a body of men who have no axe to grind, except that of the country, and who are brave enough to condemn the mightiest in the land whenever the latter go wrong. A factor which comes in the way of patriots like Mr. Dhebar is inferiority complex which not only disables them from judging men aright but also underrates their own ability to pronounce judgment on matters of moment. Those who suffer from inferiority complex cannot make good leaders. They can only make good camp followers. If Mr. Dhebar

does not find it in himself to form an opposition party within the Congress—that is what he should really do like Motilal Nehru and Das in 1923—he can join the Swatantra Party and help Rajaji in popularising the concepts for which they stand in common. It is time for Mr. Dhebar to begin thinking in terms of the country—what is going to the dogs—and not in terms of loyalty to Jawaharlal Nehru.

ASSAM INQUIRIES

A spokesman of the Congress High Command has confirmed the reported decision of the High Command to hold a party-level inquiry into the role of leading Assam Congressmen and others in the recent disturbances in the State. The initiation of the inquiry is expected to take a week. This is good news, so far as it goes, but much will depend on the person entrusted with the inquiry. The nomination of the personnel often reveals the intentions of the nominating authority, whether the inquiry is intended to be a serious one or only for purposes of whitewashing the whole affair.

It is being recalled in this connection that after the initial charge made by the Prime Minister against the PSP, spokesmen of several parties and newspaper representatives laid the responsibility for the disturbances squarely on the shoulders of Congress leaders who wanted to oust the Chaliha Ministry. Since all major parties have been implicated in the holocaust, it behoves them to follow the footsteps of the Congress and appoint their own inquiry commissions to find out the role their partymen played in the disturbances. It is believed here that this will be done. Mr. Asoka Mehta has already left Assam, no doubt as a result of Acharya Kripalani's threatened resignation. Indeed, since the Congress inquiry will cover the role of non-Congressmen, it becomes incumbent on non-Congress parties, particularly those who have been blaming Congressmen for the disturbances, to prove the charges with a regular inquiry. Incidentally, the truth will come to light

(Continued from page 10)

That means, among other things, that it should stop wasteful expenditure on non-developmental items. For instance, one of the Estimates Committees of Parliament has pointed out that of the Rs. 1,044 crores raised by additional taxation for plan projects during the Second Plan, only Rs. 439 crores are being used for plan-expenditure. The rest are being used for non-developmental expenditure. In other words, the money raised in the name of the Plan has been wasted on non-productive expenditure, a growing bureaucracy and the pomp and luxuries of the minister. For instance, the Controller and Auditor-General has pointed out that a Cabinet Minister (the Defence Minister) used three planes to travel from Delhi to Calicut for holiday. For the last lap of the journey from Cannanore to Calicut, a special plane was brought from Jodhpur. It was also said in the press at the time that Rs. 55,000 were spent on preparing the air-strip in Calicut. There are many examples like this. This shows how public money is wasted for the pomp and luxury of those in power, the ministers and the Government servants. This helps to accelerate inflation.

a result of the findings of these various inquiries, complementing and supplementing one another, and also cancelling perhaps the partiality inherent in party reports.

SWATANTRA CAMPAIGN

The Chairman of the Swatantra Party, Mr. N. G. Ranga, warned the country at a Press Conference at Bhopal the other day that the country was moving in the direction of "collapse, chaos and disintegration." He could not say how soon disintegration would come about but thought that Mr. Nehru "should be able to tell us that." Mr. Nehru will doubtless feel inclined to throw much of the blame for the approaching disintegration on the Swatantra Party—the greater their success against the Congress the larger will be their share of the blame for disintegration. The Congress is certainly responsible for the disintegration, as Mr. Ranga says, but only in a negative way, for, as everyone knows, the Congress has not been functioning since Sardar Patel's death. It has only been registering Mr. Nehru's decisions and having his 'darshan' at its annual sessions. Since the number of job-seekers and promotion-seekers will always far exceed those thinking of the country, Mr. Ranga may rest assured that there is no fear of democracy raising its head in the Congress. The people have lost their faith in democracy and for this loss of faith Mr. Nehru has been primarily responsible, hoping of course that it will do him no harm.

It is good to see that the Swatantra Party has started organising meetings. It celebrated "anti-inflation" day on September 18 with well-attended meetings all over Northern India.

INTELLECTUALS AND RESURRECTION OF FREEDOM

It is not true that the masses are vehemently asking for Socialism and that there is no means to resist them. The masses favour socialism, because they trust the socialist propaganda of the intellectuals. The intellectuals and not the populace, are moulding public opinion. It is a lame excuse of the intellectuals that they must yield to the masses. The intellectual leaders of the people have produced and propagated the fallacies which are on the point of destroying liberty and Western Civilization.

They alone can reverse the trend and pave the way for a resurrection of freedom.

—Von Mises ('Socialism')

Where there is respect for reason there also, is respect for freedom. And only respect for freedom can give final beauty to men's lives.

—Prof. H. G. Laski

Book Review

THE FREUDIAN ETHIC. An Analysis of the Subversion of American Character By Richard LePiere. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 299 pp. \$5.00

WHAT CAUSES change in social values? It is impossible, says the author of *The Freudian Ethic*, to trace such change to a simple or singular cause; new patterns of thought and behavior are probably the result of a complex of influences. But, that the ideas promulgated by men of intellectual enterprise do have a bearing on the complex of values, sentiments, and beliefs of a period is a certainty. The current vogue attained by the teachings of Sigmund Freud, the Viennese psychoanalyst, indicates that they have had some influence in shaping the Western ethic during the past half century.

For nearly two hundred years previous to the advent of Freudianism, Western social customs and beliefs emerged from what Max Weber, the German sociologist, called the Protestant ethic. He used the word "ethic" to designate a people's character or ideals of character rather than a code of morals. He called it the Protestant ethic because it coincided with the Protestant movement, not because the Reformation alone accounts for the change in social manners and thought. Though the Protestant religion, by doing away with entrenched habits of thought, did provide a favorable climate for the acceptance of the new ethic, so did the Industrial Revolution that began about the same time.

SELF-RESPONSIBLE MAN

At any rate, the Protestant ethic rested on a concept of the nature of man: he is endowed with free will and can therefore be held accountable for his acts; he is a reasoning animal and therefore capable of mastering his environment and changing it to suit his circumstances. Since man, in this view, is self-reliant and self-responsible, the worth of the individual, to his fellow men and in the sight of God, is measured by his accomplishments. The good man is not one who passively submits to the hardships of nature, or to ritualistic compunctions, but is rather a man of action, strongly motivated, and has both the courage and the confidence to seek the satisfaction of his desires.

This view of man's nature is inherent in the capitalistic mode of production, the elements of which appeared in Western Europe long before the Protestant Reformation. For capitalism, with its market place techniques, rests its case on the presumption of free will; it presupposes individual enterprise, with the rewards of enterprise following automatically, and the capacity and the willingness of the individual to abide by his promises. But capitalism, and the Protestant ethic, can function only in a climate of freedom; the individual cannot be held responsible for his acts unless he is free to choose his course. He must be free not only from undue political restraints, but also from inhibitory customs and stultifying class distinctions. Since he is to be judged only by his achievements, he must not be encumbered with rituals that enthrall him nor hindered by political yokes.

INITIATIVE AND ENTERPRISE IMPLEMENT THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

In America, the Protestant ethic found expression in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution

which tried to implement it, in the homilies of Ben Franklin, and in the moral values enunciated in the MacGuffey readers. But, this propaganda was effective only because of the high degree of initiative and enterprise exercised by Americans in the building of a nation. They explored the West, instituted new technological and organizational methods, exploited new inventions, and altogether subscribed to the idea that man is a self-reliant and self-responsible being. They asked for no favours from society, but rather held to the notion that they, individually, made society what it was.

Along came Freud, toward the end of the nineteenth century. Putting aside his novel ideas on the composition of man's psyche, ideas which have no basis in empirical knowledge and might well be placed in the category of pure fantasy, and putting aside the therapeutic value of his psychoanalysis, which there is no objective way of judging, we come to his notion of the nature of man, of which he made much in his writings. This is his principal contribution, if it may be so called, to sociology. The human being, according to Freud, is biologically ill-equipped to face the world into which he is born. Though Freud does not tell us what kind of world he could face with some hope of finding the happiness to which he is entitled, and which he craves, one surmises from Freud's writings that it should embody the warmth and comfort of the womb. But, the world is not so constituted, the new-born babe experiences a traumatic shock even at birth, and from then on, until death relieves him of this unhappy existence, he suffers from neuroses induced by the conflict of his nature and his environment. Accordingly, we are all neurotics in various degrees.

ADJUST AND CONFORM

Society is always at fault, says Freud, though he refrains from pointing out that society is composed of people, the neurotics; from his usage, society becomes something greater than the sum total of its parts. Very little can be done to correct the faults of society, so that the best the individual can do to make his struggle through life bearable is to make his peace with it. This is the doctrine of adjustment, so popular these days, not only with Freudians but also with many who have been unconsciously influenced by Freudianism—the psychologists, the educationists, the social workers, the do-gooders. It is a doctrine of negation, discouraging initiative and enterprise, and removing the hope of a better life through action. It robs the individual of all the dignity with which the Protestant ethic endowed him.

Though the Freudian idea of the nature of man—or, in fact, any of his ideas—cannot be validated by scientific investigation, it has been made valid by faith. It is this faith in Freudianism that has given rise to the Freudian ethic, now being institutionalized in the West, which promises to replace the Protestant ethic. Thus, we find in every field of endeavor an inclination to modify society to the end that the conflict between it and the individual be mitigated. In the management of the home, parents are inclined, thanks to the propaganda of the Freudians, to relieve the child of any responsibility to his

family or even himself; this is the doctrine of the permissive home. In education, Freudianism has implemented "progressive" education, in which the child is not subjected to any of the disciplines of learning and is permitted to do very much as he pleases in class. In jurisprudence, the tendency is to blame society for the crimes committed by individuals, especially in the case of juvenile malefactors; in negligence cases, it is customary to award the injured person some recompense from society for his injury, even though the fault may be entirely his own. Our whole system of social security is based on the Freudian ethic, and so is our rubric of political controls. Society owes everybody some sort of a living, regardless of any contribution he may or may not make to the national welfare. As a result, the nation is drifting into a state of mendicancy, and the American character is deteriorating.

A CONVINCING RELATIONSHIP

This is altogether a devastating and frightening book. And withal, it is well-written, easy to read, and holds the reader's attention throughout. Even though the author warns us several times that this change in the pattern of American thought and behavior cannot be entirely ascribed to Freudianism, the case for causation is quite convincing. Yet, this reviewer suggests that perhaps a more basic cause must be located in our democratic political system, and that the changes wrought in the name of democracy found support in this novel idea of the nature of man. Thus, "progressive" education came into vogue because of our tax-supported schools; democracy called for universal education, and because of the natural differences in the capacity of youngsters, educating everybody meant a lowering of the standard to fit the minds of the mediocre—which is in line with Freudianism. Thus, too, with social security; the politicians found it a good way of getting votes, and after the system became institutionalized, the Freudians made much of it. Anyhow, regardless of whether Freudianism is causative or not, it certainly has contributed to the deterioration of American values, and if it continues to exert influence, it will bring about a stagnant society.

—Frank Chodorov in 'The Freeman'

IRISH

Pat realized it was time to start saving money. He decided that he would not use the bus anymore when returning from his work. He ran behind the bus, arrived home gasping, and said to his wife, "Darling, I saved three pence this evening by running behind the bus."

"You're a fool!" said his wife. "Why didn't you run behind a taxi and save five shillings?"

Tit - Bits

BANK ROBBERY

The Palai Central Bank had given an advance of Rs. 17 lakhs to the wife of a Director. The landed property against which this advance was given is today worth just four lakhs!

A certain business firm called United Traders was given an advance of Rs. 16 lakhs. The firm has gone out of business and the property left is worth only three lakhs!

Another director has taken Rs. 4 lakhs. A Delhi doctor has gone off with 16 lakhs and settled down in Switzerland.

Even the officers of the Bank were having a share in the loot. One branch manager increased his salary on his own with retrospective effect and drew a lump sum of Rs. 70 thousand and the Board of Directors connived at this robbery.

CHARITY ABROAD

After having met all needs for hospitals in the country "We" are opening a 400 bed hospital in Congo.

In spite of the war of independence in Assam, our prestige in the international sphere is mounting higher and higher every day just like the cost of living here.

THE FIRST DICHOTOMY

Madras has decided to have Tamil and English only for all administrative and educational purposes. The national language of the Indian Union has been simply ignored. In northern India (except the independent Ahom Republic) there will be only the national language as Lohia has successfully hatched English. So in course of time the southerners will not be able to understand us nor we them.

Thirty years ago, a Labour M. P. summed up the Government of India in these words:—

"Robbery. Jobbery. Snobbery."

Thirty years later, the summing up is truer than ever before. It is only an illustration of the French proverb—*"Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose,"* i.e., The more it changes, the more it remains the same thing.

The Government of India has been toying with the idea of manufacturing small motor cars in the Public Sector.

Considering the past achievements of State-run industries, it is a safe bet that the cars may be small but the price will be big.

Did You Know

By Scio



The golden eagle is often called the king of birds. It packs enough energy in its powerful diving attacks to kill full-grown deer.



New cheese factories in Nepal process yak milk. Experts say the plump golden wheels of yak cheese compare with the finest grades of Swiss cheese.



U.S. scientists have successfully isolated the substance in blood that dissolves clots and have tested it with spectacular results. It is intended for use in treating thrombosis.

'Anti-Inflation' Day Celebrations

DEPOSE PARTY IN POWER, RAJAJI TELLS PEOPLE.

ONE MILE LONG GRAND PROCESSION TAKEN OUT AT MADRAS ON ANTI-INFLATION DAY

Madras, September 18: The "showy and lavish" Five-Year Plans of the Government gave rise to inflation and should be scrapped, and this could best be done by removing the party in power, declared the founder-leader of the Swatantra Party, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, here today.

Rajaji had no doubt about this being done. He had full confidence in the capacity of the people to do the right thing at the right time, he said.

He was addressing a huge meeting at the Tilak Ghat held in celebration of the Party's "Anti-Inflation Day" this evening.

Mr. M. R. Masani, General Secretary of the Swatantra Party expressed the view that the price-line could not be held by imposing controls. Unless they produced more (especially consumer goods), avoided wasteful expenditure on projects that were capable of yielding results only at a far distant date and stopped inflation, prices would continue to rise and people, mostly the poor and the middle class and the fixed-income groups, continue to suffer miseries.

According to Mr. Masani, the present "unbridled" rise in prices could be attributed to the following: (1) deficit financing, (2) pumping money into circulation through bank credit such as overdrafts, (3) investment of resources that did not exist, (4) investment to things which are not capable of yielding quick returns, (5) spending money on non-productive schemes and (6) levy of extra duties on the primary necessities of life.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said the Five-Year Plans were prepared by the present Government (the ruling party) "not with any intention to create miseries and troubles: but because of their ignorance and ambition to launch on schemes beyond their capacity."

Inflation, he pointed out, was an evil difficult to tackle by even big and well-to-do nations. How could a poor country like India manage it? Certainly, it would result in terrible losses and unbearable difficulties.

The Swatantra Party's Madras unit took out a grand procession with men on horse-back and bands, starting from Napier Park, Mount Road. A mile in length, shouting anti-inflation slogans and carrying posters and banners along with the Party's flag, it took two hours to reach the Tilak Ghat, Triplicane Beach.

RANGA CONDEMNS DEFICIT FINANCING "DISASTROUS" PLANNING

Bhopal, September 18: Mr. N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party, told a Press conference here today that the inflationary trends arising out of the "unimaginable deficit financing" indulged in by the Indian

planners were producing "disastrous effects" on the Indian economy.

Mr. Ranga said such trends were making the rich people richer and the poor poorer.

The value of money had been constantly diminishing. While there was an increase of 22 per cent in the currency, the rise in the prices had been ranging between 40 and 50 per cent.

Mr. Ranga is currently on a ten-day organisational tour of Madhya Pradesh.

SWATANTRA PARTY SEES NO HOPE OF PRICE STABILITY

Bombay: Prominent leaders of the Swatantra Party unanimously held in Bombay on Monday that the present inflation in the country, which according to them had reached a danger point, was mainly due to the Government's "ideological planning."

They were addressing a rally at the Indian Merchants' Chamber Hall held to observe "Anti-Inflation Day."

Mr. Homi Modi, treasurer of the Party, was of the opinion that the Government, with its "ideological obsessions" and the "illogicality of its policies" was not competent to hold the price-line.

Mr. K. M. Munshi said that he had found from personal experience that black-market was the result of controls. He was particularly referring to the food controls obtaining while he was the Union Food Minister.

He warned that if the current mode of planning was allowed to continue, it would lead to the "destruction of the common man and of freedom. If the Congress Party is allowed to remain in power for another five years" he said "there will be no individual freedom, no fundamental rights left in India"

Mr. A. D. Shroff said that as a result of inflation, the Indian rupee had begun to depreciate. He believed that inflation would continue as long as the "ideological planning, the controls and the vicious system of licensing" continued.

Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya who was in the chair, said that the Swatantra Party was not against planning, but only against its abuse.

Mr. P. Mody proposed a vote of thanks.

SWATANTRA LEADER DEMANDS ANTI-INFLATIONARY STEPS

Bangalore: Mr. V. P. Menon, former Secretary to the Union States Ministry, expressed here today the view that if Prime Minister Nehru and the Union Government proceeded with the Plan in the manner they did so far, a situation would arise in the country by the end of the Third Plan period, if not earlier, corresponding to the one Germany faced in 1923.

The Swatantra Party leader, who presided over the

meeting organised by the Mysore State Swatantra Party to observe the "Anti-Inflationary Day," felt that they had to secure the sanction of the people to mend the ways of the Congress Government or with the consent of the people to end the present rule.

Mr. Menon remarked that he did not see any prospects of the Government ever controlling prices.

Gleanings from the Press

THE POMPOUS PEDAGOGUE

While it is gratifying to note that the Prime Minister has realised the urgent need of ascertaining the extent to which the operation of the economic system, evolved by the Planning Commission has resulted in the concentration of wealth in certain sections of the people, it is extremely unfortunate that Mr. Nehru has entrusted the task of evaluation of the results of planning to the same person whose statistical schizophrenia has been chiefly responsible for the failure of two plans.

While we are not interested in discussing the intellectual attainments of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, nor do we consider it worth-while, at the present time, to throw light on his achievements—and exploits—as an 'economist,' we shall be failing in our duty if we do not point out that one of the major causes of the failure of the two Five Year Plans has been the learned professor's jugglery of figures. We are painfully reminded of the fact that it was the gross inaccuracy of data and statistics collected by Prof. Mahalanobis and blindly relied upon by the Government that led to the colossal failure of our food policy and caused untold suffering to millions of people in our country. And we must say without fear of contradiction that it would be a grievous error if the same blundering statistician is entrusted with the delicate task of ascertaining the extent to which the economic system of the last ten years had benefitted the various sections of the society.

Apart from the fact that the twice-bitten people of this country could not be inclined to accept the verdict of the Mahalanobis Committee, the action of the Government in entrusting this work to a set of proven theoreticians, presided over by a pompous pedagogue, is apt to create an impression in the public mind that the men at the helm of affairs do not really mean to find out the whole truth.

—Flame

News And Views

RUSSIA OPPOSED TO WESTERN COLONIALISM BUT NOT TO CHINA'S COLONIALISM IN TIBET

United Nations: While the Soviet Premier made a powerful plea in the United Nations General Assembly that all the colonies, mandated territories and other non-autonomous territories should be freed "at once" Mr. Valerian Zorin, the Soviet Deputy Minister declared in the Steering Committee of the United Nations that the charges of suppression of the Tibetan people were "fabricated" and what had occurred in the remote Asian land was "a reactionary mutiny". He urged the Committee to reject a proposal by Malaya and Thailand to include in the General Assembly's agenda an item

on Peoples' China's action against the Tibetan people. After hearing other members, the Committee however, voted later by 11 in favour, four against, and five abstentions, to inscribe the item on the Assembly agenda.

A MAJOR DEFEAT FOR RUSSIA. "FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN CONGO BARRED"

United Nations, September 20: The emergency session of the U. N. General Assembly today gave the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, a new peace-making mandate in the Congo after the Soviet Union had dramatically retreated from its bitter opposition to his policies. Observers thought this was a major defeat for Russia.

A key paragraph of the resolution called on all States to "refrain from the direct and indirect provision of arms or other materials of war and military personnel and other assistance for military purposes in the Congo, during the temporary period of military assistance through the U. N."

MR. EISENHOWER'S FIVE-POINT POLICY TO NEUTRALISE AFRICA INCLUDING CONGO MADE IN U.N.

United Nations: In his address, Mr. Eisenhower declared his five-point African policy: non-interference in the African countries' internal affairs; help in assuring their security without wasteful and dangerous competition in armaments; emergency aid to the Congo; international assistance in shaping long-term African development programmes; United Nations aid for education.

Such a policy, thought Mr. Eisenhower, could go far to assure the African countries of a clear chance for maintaining freedom and domestic tranquillity and making the progress they deserve.

CHINA PROTESTS TOO MUCH. QUIT-INDIA ORDERS TO ANTI-INDIAN CHINESE RESIDENTS

New Delhi, September 21: Through its Embassy in New Delhi, China is understood to have protested to the Indian Government against the recent quit-India orders served on a number of Chinese living in this country.

In particular, the Chinese Embassy, it is learnt, has requested the Government to reconsider its orders in respect of nearly a dozen Chinese.

Among those whose expulsion orders are sought to be withdrawn are a senior executive of a bank in Calcutta, a professor and two prominent business men of Calcutta.

Recently at the suggestion of the West Bengal Government, the Union authorities informed 36 Chinese living mostly in Calcutta and Kalimpong that their residential permits would not be renewed because their activities in India had received the Government's "adverse notice".

The Chinese, who have been asked to leave India, are alleged to have undertaken anti-Indian propaganda or indulged in other forms of subversive activities against the country.

Besides those who have already received quit notices, the cases of nearly 20 other Chinese at present are being examined by the Centre for similar action.

DEMAND FOR HILL STATE IN ASSAM LINGUISTIC CHAOS GROWING Apace

Shillong, September 21: The blue print of a new state demanded by the leaders of the Hill areas of Assam, was released here today.

The draft plan, prepared by the Council of Action set up by the Assam Hill Leaders' Conference, will be placed before the conference next month.

According to the draft, the new State will be named "Eastern Frontier." It will comprise the tribal areas of Assam which are presently known as the Autonomous Districts and the N.E.F.A.

The draft wants English to continue as the official language of the proposed State till the people are prepared to accept Hindi.

The demand for a separate State, may, however, be given up by the hill leaders if the Assam Government does not introduce the proposed Language Bill in the October session of the State Assembly.

(Continued from page 5)

veera or Gandhi in the sense of imposing non-violence on the people as the supreme practical policy. This way we shall perish before long. Our condition will resemble that of the helpless Congolese, if we do not change from *panchsheela* to *Mandala*, from non-interference as a pious declaration without sanctions to balance of power with teeth in it.

The crucial defect of *panchsheela* is its total lack of sanctions. Policy without sanctions is like the judgement of the law courts without policy power to enforce it!

The mere fact that we are members of a global alliance will deter the possible aggressor. China has refrained from entering Pakistani soil in Ladakh. Why? Because, to touch Pakistan is to touch America and China thinks twice before doing so!

Our *panchsheel* policy collapsed as soon as China took liberties with huge chunks of our territory in Ladakh. To persist in the claim that it has not failed is to create a baseless and dangerous illusion. Those who acquiesce in this illusion out of respect for the Prime Minister or out of regard for their worldly prospects under Congress, particularly members of the Congress party in and out of office, cannot escape responsibility for their grave and shocking conduct.

It is clear that the present policy of *panchsheel* is not in consonance with the realistic tradition of Indian politics nor can it be claimed with any show of plausibility that it has been a shining success. If India has been safe so far, it is more due to the preparedness of America than to our miraculous *panchsheel*! Indians should get their foreign policy revised as early as possible more in the direction of Kautilya and his *mandala* or balance of power buttressed by military alliance with the West, who are farther neighbours of our immediate neighbours.

Letters to the Editor

THE VERDICT

Madam,

"No parliamentary Government can endure without a strong opposition party, whoever may be in power for the time being. For this, if for no other reason, the people should strengthen the Swatantra party"....So runs the

editorial comment, in the leader entitled, "The Path of Welfare" in the issue of 3-9-1960 of *Swarajya*.

If the Voters' vote for the Swatantra Party, it is not for helping it to evolve. That may be an indirect achievement. It is because they are tired of this Congress Government.

The Congress party has dismally failed. Here is the verdict.

1. Its failure is remarkable on the Sino-Indo border front. Is there any other leader of any country in the world, save in ours who could tell the parliament calmly that 12,000 square miles of the Himalayan area are lost to the Chinese, (without a single shot being fired) and that in the process he kept the whole secret to himself?

2. Its non-alignment philosophy is pure nonsense, and is an illustration of insane misapplication of high principles for practical and practicable purposes.

3. Its communal and communist mindedness, the one a narrow idea, sedulously practised by groups in the fold of the Congress and the other indefatigably making for the slavery of the man, and developing the state machine.

4. The Congress party is faction-ridden, and gradually getting rotten.

5. Its indubitable corruptibility—Is it consistent with strict morals and high ethical considerations that no ban is imposed on companies for making donations during elections? Does it not show the desire of the Congress to win in the elections, even at the expense of ground principles.

6. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru behaves like a grand Moghul and impugns the rule of law, as do his lieutenants in the states. Shri Balakrishna Iyer, the retiring High Court Judge, Madras, indicates in his lucid, righteous and warm-hearted judgment in Allagiriswami's case, the way the sails are set in the Congress party for the achievement of ends.

7. He is an undemocratic wobbler.

8. He is anxious to perpetuate his party rule, with its unthinking brutish and brutal majority.

9. Swatantra party's challenge to the Congress Government to step off for 6 months prior to elections, was not an ingenious tactical proposal. It is the direct consequence of misrule and proneness to unconscionable delays, corruptibility in high places, and expensiveness of various kinds and earnestly responds for the vague and unexpressed feelings of the voters at large.

It is the only practicable proposal made by an eminently reflective mind keen on serving the country on the political stage, for that has to be righted first. To arrange for the President's rule, before elections makes for honesty and moral cleanliness and not even to examine the proposal indicates the waning idealism of the Congress. Jawaharlal is not the same person that he was before independence. Power has corrupted him and he has degenerated into a party leader and he cannot hope to get success for his party in fair elections.

Reason and righteousness deserted the Congress long long ago, and ineffectiveness in thinking and comfortable complacency have filled the minds of the high dignitaries also.

It is the above reasons which weigh with the voter, when the vote is cast for the Swatantra Party. The voter

is not itching to give any lessons to the Congress. He is not itching to give any lessons to the Congress. He Madras. —A. N. Chari

Dear Madam.

It is highly desirable that Ministers should resign during elections. Whatever be the conventions elsewhere, it is difficult for Ministers in India to resist the temptation to exploit their official positions to give them an undue advantage over their non-official rivals during elections. If elections should be, not only fair and free, but be so convincingly, it is necessary that Ministers should demit office before contesting.

Such resignations are not likely to hold up administration or—create a constitutional gap. Few Ministers will be able to give any time to current administration or the intiation of policies during their—election campaigns, for all their time will be taken up with election propoganda and canvassing. Their absence from their office desks is not likely to be felt as a deprivation. Constitutionally speaking, Government—orders are issued by the Secretaries in name of the President or Governor, with no mention of the Ministers. The Secretaries will continue to do the same in the absence of Ministers as well. Further, it is the Governor who governs, and the Council of Ministers only gives advice. He can—continue to govern without that advice, particularly when it is not available, because the Ministers are engaged in other work.

There is also the temptation for out-going Ministers to make last minute appointments and promotions to their favourites and embarrass their successors. It should be resisted or discouraged.

It is a healthy convention that Ministers should resign when engaged in election and put themselves on a level with their rivals for the favours of their electorate.
Bangalore —P. Kodanda Rao

Madam,

I received "The Indian Libertarian," issue of August 1, 1960. I am simply delighted! Your editorial discusses the problem: Is striking a *fundamental right*? Your result is: Striking is not a fundamental right. If you succeed in impressing your opinions on the social and moral legitimacy of striking to India's public opinion one may say: you did not live in vain. In all Western countries employees and workers became quite unable to distinguish: (1) a strike against an employer and merely against an employer, say the owner of a spinning mill or the owner of a weaving mill, and (2) a strike to extort their fellow-citizens though the strikers know that the fellow-citizens do not possess any influence on the decisions of the government, the administration of the town or the managers of public utilities.

In the year 1909 I saw the effects of a strike of the dustmen in New York. The dust lay on the side walk of Delancey Street (now Liberty Street) about 6 feet high. New York's health was seriously menaced. In the year 1920 I get sure reports about the strike of railway men, and other transport workers in Vienna. Victuals (at that

time very short in Austria and especially in Vienna) perished, hundreds of waggon-loads, the babies get no milk and children mortality increased. The strikers organized a service for milk transport, but it was not very effective. But the case was not simple considered from a moral point. Austria's note press had increased the amount of paper money (a forced currency) so considerably that prices "run away" and the housewives did not know how to feed the family. The intimate connection of price level and the amount of a forced currency was not known to workers and perhaps not even to the Bank of Austria. The ignorance in this respect in Western countries at that time and to-day is credible only to people that observe it and are trained in the primary of monetary theory or—expressed more correctly—in daily experience about the said connection. But the mentioned fact may explain the strike at that time and in these circumstances, but certainly does not excuse it. What the workers could have done in their situation should be investigated. I heard that there was a proposal of a leader to seize the victuals and to sell in them for a price sufficient to cover the cost of living. The clearing should be performed after the strike. But workers are somewhat dull in all matters that require some economical thinking. Therefore they continued striking till the railway paid the demanded wages. The Bank of Austria printed fresh notes, and you may imagine the effect. Concerns the column "Rupees," page 14, beginning with "35 50." The gold value of the Rupee diminishes from time to time. In April 1955 one Tola gold cost 93 Rupees. At the end of August 1960 the price was 134 Rupers at Bombay. Reports of the "Neue Zurcher Zeitung" (New Zurich Journal). If one of your friends understands enough German to read a book I would like to send to you "Die Arbeits—und Pachtgenossenschaften Italiens" (Translation: Agricultural cooperatives in Italia.) by Dr. W. D. Preyer. Printed at Jena 1913. Under the impression of the Russian evolution of 1905 there were many riots among the rural workers of Italia. A great part of the crops was burned. Three men, an official of a cooperative society for consumers, a priest and a teacher quelled the riots by proposing the rioters to take the estates of the great landed proprietors in lease. The thing worked very well and the situation of the workers was very considerably improved within a few years. After the first World War Mussolini ordered that all lease contracts of the cooperatives should be called in by the proprietors. He proclaimed: Improvement of rural workers condition is a matter of the state. Self help is not permitted under fascist principles. To-day the matter is wholly forgotten in Italy. But the experiences of this time still are interesting. What the workers did not know and what nobody told them was that. By a small increase of the annual rent, the coop. might have become proprietor of the estate. Example: The value of the estate may have been 10 millions of old gold lira, and the annual rent 5% = 500,000 lira. If the coop would have paid annually 709,525 lira instead of 500,000 in 25 years, they would have been owners from the first day of the contract. One of the dangers of the coop's is the possibility that they degenerate into a coop—capitalism or does there exist an Indian proposition to prevent it. How to prevent that I will try to explain in a letter this month or next.

Berlin.

—Ulrich von Beckerath

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