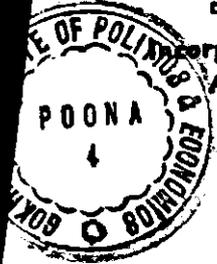


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Indian Libertarian



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EDITORIAL

THE COMMONWEALTH, GREAT BRITAIN AND E. C. M.

GREAT BRITAIN has raised a veritable hornet's nest around herself, by her proposed plunge into the European Common Market. This issue almost dominated the deliberations of more than 100 delegates belonging to 13 nations and colonial territories of the Commonwealth who met at Accra. The Canadian Minister for Trade Mr. George Hees particularly was very vehement in his denunciation of this very idea of Great Britain joining 'The Six'. He warned that such a step would "transform beyond recognition the Commonwealth image." He further reminded England that Commonwealth owed its strength and stability to "Tradition, Trade and Trust". The Australian Delegate Mr. Lake spoke in the same strain. Our Finance Minister Mr. Morarji Desai seemed to assume fatalistically that Britain would inevitably join the E.C.M. He therefore, tried to make the best of the situation. He stressed the importance of preserving even through the E.C.M. the Commonwealth Trade patterns and preferences like the entry of food-stuffs raw material and manufacturers duty-free into England from the Commonwealth countries and preferential tariff advantages. He also wanted that the import quotas fixed by some of the E.E.C. countries should be done away with and Common Tariff should be the average of tariffs of the member-countries. All

these different points of view were faithfully reflected in the communique issued at the conclusion of the Conference. In effect, the strongly worded communique bluntly told Great Britain to make a choice between maintaining existing Commonwealth relations and forging a new link with E.C.M.

The British view-point was that there was no occasion for this sudden outburst of temper, since the British Government's representatives had discussed the problem about one month back with the representatives of the Commonwealth Governments in their Capitals. Under the present circumstances the British Government could do no more than reassure these countries that they would be consulted at all stages of negotiations that Britain would be having with E.C.C. countries in this regard.

It is reported that these demands of the Commonwealth countries are looked upon in European countries as an attempt to impose on them the Commonwealth Trading Conventions and as such they are keenly resented. These European countries are particularly unable to appreciate the stand taken by India at Accra. Even in India, it is pointed out, business and trade interests are not unduly alarmed at this step taken by Britain, as could be seen from the statements issued by the various Chambers of Commerce in India. The Central Minister for Trade and Commerce Mr. Reddy has even gone to the extent

of saying that Britain's ties with 'The Six' would not unduly affect India's overall trade and that 'trade might even increase in certain items' if E.C.M. developed in a particular direction. It is highly significant that the British High Commissioner for India at Delhi recently clarified that 'Britain was very conscious of the special case of Indian Textiles' and further pointed out that European countries' attitude towards developing countries like India had always been favourable and it would help solve any such ticklish problem that might arise in future. Canada and Australia being the greatest exporters of farm products to Britain will certainly be hard hit, but as one delegate at Accra put it, Great Britain could be depended upon not to let any Commonwealth country down. What is required in all these cases is the exercise of a little patience and perseverance in negotiations with E.E.C. through Britain.

Great Britain, it must be remembered, is no longer an imperialist country. She is therefore entitled even as other members of the Commonwealth to set her house in order. Moreover, she is also required to play her role as a European nation especially at this juncture when economic and political security of Europe seems to be seriously threatened. If therefore, behoves all Commonwealth countries including Great Britain to put their heads together and to think out-coolly a solution of this tangled problem. Indignation, be it ever so righteous, expressed in overstatements will carry them nowhere. They must realise, in the words of Lester B. Pearson, that "the strength of the Commonwealth lies precisely in the undefined but genuine recognition by its members of the value

of each of such an association with the other and of common interest in the preservation of a system which includes us all."

FAILURE OF INDIA'S FRONTIER POLICY

If Nehru's Foreign Policy has proved barren and bankrupt, his Frontier Policy towards the neighbouring countries has been harmful and disastrous to the best interests, safety and security of our country. By her size and strategic position in Asia, India should have by now attained to a position of political influence and authority, at once compelling and unchallenged among her neighbours but to the dismay and despair of every Indian patriot the prestige of India has never stood so low as it is today in Asia.

Pakistan was born, of course, out of hatred and ill-will for India and for a time she took up an extremely truculent and fighting attitude towards India. But she was laid low by her defeat in her Kashmir misadventure at the hands of our Military forces. The weak-kneed policies of our Government thereafter in almost all disputes that arose up between the two Governments gave a fresh lease of life to Pakistan's intransigence. And she is today causing us a constant headache and endless troubles.

Mr. Nehru's mauseating habit of meddling with the internal political problems of other countries has cost us the age-long friendship of Nepal. The fraternisation between King Mahendra and Gen. Ayub Khan during the former's recent visit to Pakistan is both a danger-signal and a warning.

If Nehru had been wise enough to so frame his Home Policy as to consolidate and strengthen Democracy within India rather than prop up artificially his new-fangled Socialistic Pattern, Pakistan and Nepal would have come under the powerful democratic impact of our country and the people in these countries would have been spared the present experience of dictatorial regimes. In that event, India's prestige would have gone up among these neighbours as well as the Big nations of the democratic world. America would not have then any reason to look up to these border countries as *Buffer States* between the Communist and Democratic Blocs and to bolster them up with military aid to our great chagrin and disappointment. We would have also in Pakistan and Nepal close allies in the task of jointly fighting back the Chinese hordes on our borders.

But then what would be the fate of the Holy Mission of Nehru, the world political Messiah?

DEVANAGARI OR ROMAN SCRIPT?

The Chief Minister's Conference held last month on national integration expressed its opinion that it was desirable to have Devanagari as a script for all Indian languages. Soon after, Mr. Subramaniam, the Education Minister of Madras, has gone on record as having said that the Roman script should be adopted instead of Devanagari. It is now reported that though President Rajendra Prasad is generally in favour of Devanagari, he is not opposed to the Roman script being accepted for this purpose, if approved by

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both the North and the South.

Indian scholars who have carried out some considerable research in this field hold that comparatively speaking the Roman script is more economical in time and energy than Devanagari which takes up 60 per cent more time than the former to write a passage. Devanagari involves greater muscular effort of the hand whether in writing, typing or in press-composing. All these factors have an important bearing on problems such as removal of illiteracy, number of questions to be set in examination tests and answering them within the given time, which in a way determine also the standards of education, economy of time in public administrative offices and private firms. On all these counts, it appears, the Roman script can hold its own as against others.

Prejudices, of course, die hard but they should not be allowed indefinitely to stand in the way of our reaching a rational and enlightened solution of this problem. The Roman script besides its above-mentioned merits will serve as a powerful factor of national integration and will also greatly help international co-operation and understanding. It may also be pointed out that adoption of this script for all Indian languages will be in line with our adoption of International Numerals, Decimal Coinage and Metric system of Weights and Measures.

BASIC EDUCATION, A FRAUD

The Indian Planners are nothing if not dogmatists and faddists. Some of them are fond of Russian Models and some others, of Gandhian Experiments with Truth. "Naya Talim" or Basic Education was one of Gandhiji's fads. He insisted on educating the child in all subjects through the medium of vocational training. But being utterly unscientific and thoroughly unpractical it proved to be an abject failure, as foretold by all educationists.

Children trained in Basic Schools learned neither the three 'R's nor any useful vocation properly. Production of coarse Khadi and other unsaleable articles by the school-going children in rural areas, was a stupendous waste and a heavy burden. But our Planners have no desire to learn a lesson from this bitter experience. The greater their failure the more determined they become to experiment with the careers of our younger generations, 'The Builders of Tomorrow'. They are now reported to be thinking of extending Basic Education to cities and towns also.

It is therefore refreshing to note that Dr. Zakir Hussain the Governor of Bihar and at one time, an ardent votary of this scheme, has now come out with an open demand that Basic Education is "by and large a fraud and it should be scrapped in the interest of education."

A DEDICATED SERVANT OF HUMANITY PASSES AWAY

As we go to the Press, the news has arrived of the sad demise of Dag Hammarskjöld, the U. N. Secretary General, on September 18, 1961, in a plane-crash that took place in the course of his air-flight to his destination Ndota in Northern Rhodesia where he was to meet Mr. Moise Tshombe, the Sessionist leader of

Katanga for cease-fire talks.

Mr. Hammarskjöld is now no more. But his spirit of selfless service and unremitting toil in the cause of the United Nations will ever remain and continue to inspire his successor to the post which he held with such dignity distinction and brilliance. He showed a remarkable objective outlook and a deep sense of duty in handling the Congo affair, though attacked by the extremists of the Right and the Left. These qualities always stood him in good stead when he had to deal with a series of political crisis beginning with Suez and ending with Congo.

He was a man of wide cultural tastes. Music and literature equally claimed his attention. He held several honorary degrees including a Doctorate from the Cambridge University. He inherited the qualities of a Public Servant from his old family of Swedish nobility, he himself having been born of a Swedish Conservative ex-Prime Minister.

This tragedy will, of course, will be mourned by the whole world and particularly by those who are engaged in bringing peace to Congo and such other troubled spots. He will surely live in the memories of men as a dedicated servant of Humanity and World Peace.

HERE AND THERE

The Chief Minister of U. P. Mr. C. B. Gupta has appealed to the people to evolve an Indian pattern of Democracy. The Congress, he seems to forget, has already evolved its own pattern of "Permit—quota—licence Raj" broad-based upon the will and support of the dominant majority caste in each State as in Andhra, Mysore and elsewhere. He may be pleased to refer to the book "India The Most Dangerous Decades" by Harrison for a further elucidation of this point.

Mr. Khrushchev, the confirmed Communist that he is, sometime back said that he did not believe in a Paradise above but wanted to bring it on this Earth below. We do not question his undoubted ability to create a Hell in the Outer Space above by his Atomic Explosion Tests, but we may be excused if we doubt his ability to bring Paradise down below. For aught we know, Communists always believe in creating Hell but Paradise never.

"Democracy" and "Socialism" are two simple Nouns. But we often hear about "Basic Democracy", "Guided Democracy", "Democratic Socialism". To this plethora of qualifying Adjectives have been now added "Arab" Socialism or "Co-operative Socialist" Democracy by the President of U. A. R. How one wishes Nouns like 'Democracy' and 'Socialism' were studied and understood more thoroughly in their original meanings and the Adjectives were shown their right places along with the 'neutral' countries which use them!

The Governor of Maharashtra in a speech remarked that Hindi advocates secretly loved and thought in English. It is high time Government banned this sort of "Romance" imported from the West along with the English language.

The Education Of The Electorate

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE characteristics of the electorate everywhere determines the quality of democracy and its actual influence on affairs beneficial or otherwise.

In our country today, we have very large constituencies consisting of voters given political rights on an adult basis irrespective of property, education and sex. For the Lok Sabha, we have constituencies running into lakhs of voters and in rural areas, they are spread over several townships. To contact them would require ample funds for conveyance and ample leisure. Only men of means can contemplate candidature for Lok Sabha or men favoured by parties with large funds to "invest" in the enterprise of capturing power.

The strategy to be adopted to win a majority in such circumstances will have to take into account a number of psychological factors even where sufficient funds are secured.

The strategy depends on the psychology and economic standing of the voters as well as their scatter over a large area.

It would be useful to record the outstanding features of the mind of the voters in a city as revealed to the present writer in the course of his campaign for a seat in Lok Sabha in the last elections. They will resemble similar electoral districts in other parts of the country in urban constituencies.

One of the outstanding impressions left on the writer's mind in the course of his contacts with individual voters both educated and uneducated was the surprising degree of cynicism that they displayed. They said frankly that in their deliberate opinion, one candidate was as good or as bad as another and that parties made little difference to the final outcome in good administration!

One of the educated voters, a prominent lawyer, cut the candidate's appeal short with the curt remark "Stop that stuff. All parties make promises and claim to be better than their rivals! But I am voting for you as an individual because I know you. We want informed and reliable persons in Parliament."

Another graduate said that he would not vote for any candidate at all, for all parties and candidates would be the same in effect. They stand for their own personal advancement and parties only aim at power and the opportunity for exercising patronage among their own supporters.

A cigarette and *pan* vendor asked "Why should we vote for you to enable you to become one of the 'high and mighty', travelling to and from Delhi First Class? We shall not see your face after the elections and we shall remain as uncared for as ever!"

A farmer asked whether he or his party would reduce taxes. He answered the question himself and

said that *no government would do so*. In fact, he felt that new governments would impose new taxes in order to favour their own groups. Whether Maharajahs or elected Ministers, there is no respite from tax burdens to the farmers and other producers. And so, these elections are a costly farce. People's governments are in the fashion these days and so the world goes on until the fashion changes, as in Pakistan, as we hear."

It is clear that a large number of voters of all ranks feel helpless and ineffective in the democratic system. Their vote coming at long intervals and giving no control to them over the representatives ultimately chosen to govern the country give them a feeling of frustration and futility. The doctrine of people's government, of the sovereignty of the people does not enthuse them. It makes no difference in their lives. The class of representatives and the rulers chosen by them to form Ministries become a new class to take the place of the old white bureaucrats. In the exercise of power, they do not find any difference between the old and new system, except that a number of hypocritical claims are made by the new men to serve the people but they "serve" the people at *greater cost* and with less justice and integrity.

The individual voter feels lost in the vast machinery and numbers involved, he does not feel that his individual vote counts for anything.

Hence there is the greatest difficulty in bringing him to the polling booth. Large proportions of the middle classes and the educated lower middle classes enjoy the holiday given to offices and factories and spend it in recreation or mid-day siesta or visiting relatives and friends. Only a few can be persuaded to take the trouble to vote if a conveyance is furnished. Such offer of conveyance is contrary to electoral law but it is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. All parties furnish such convenience to the extent they can afford. It is an open secret. If the workers of parties seek to report the malpractices of their rivals, squabbles and fights often break out. Even the breaking of heads and murders are not out of the reckoning.

The coming elections are likely to engender more bitter feelings and to cause greater disturbances of law and order than previous ones. The Congress will go all out to retain power, larger numbers of communists will enter the fray and the Jana Sangh men are not pacifist or timid in emergencies and they are extending their influence to new areas and consolidating their hold in their original districts and States.

There is great need to dispel the cynicism of the ordinary voter and to give him a sense of purpose

and importance in participation in the electoral process. Most of the voters complain that the candidate is remote from their lives and is indifferent to their interests.

It is important therefore that parties should take care to nominate candidates who have a *sense of rapport* with the bulk of the voting people in the constituency.

The other day, a Swatantra party organiser was boasting that a high official, a director of medical services, a doctor of wide popularity during his term of service would be given a party ticket. He was confident that he would sweep the polls. He may but he has to reckon with the fact that there is a social and intellectual gulf between the eminent doctor and the bulk of the electorate. The ranks of voters do not want high qualifications like M.R.C.P. etc. but want a person who *identifies himself* with them, with their joys and sorrows and their grievances and is willing to give time and energy to act as an effective liaison between them and the ranks of government.

In fact, most of them are thinking not so much of the general policies of government like socialism and five year plans but of their individual needs. They expect members of parliament, whether of Lok Sabha or of the State Assembly to use their influence to get jobs and promotions and seats in college to their sons and sons-in-law and nephews! Or they want them to assist in the securing of trade licences or quotas or permits, if they are businessmen. These are no doubt illegitimate demands on the part of voters but they are in their minds while voting or joining a party. Corruption is condemned in the abstract but everyone seeks to get a more than equal share in the loaves and fishes of office! Of course, there are genuine cases where the representative is expected to secure justice to his constituents if it had been denied in any case owing to negligence or owing to the influence of rival party men in positions of power or advantage.

One way to remove the sense of frustration debilitating democracy at the roots today in our midst is to get the voter to keep in touch with his representative after election. He should demand of him that he should keep in touch with his constituency and that he should visit his constituency in the intervals of parliamentary sessions and inform his supporters and others of what was taking place in the legislatures. He should explain the policies of the party in power and of the criticisms of the opposition. It is this contact between voter and representative during off-session periods that creates a sense of reality in parliamentary government in the multitude of voters.

During sessions, voters should communicate by post with their candidate in the legislature. On important occasions, they can send delegations to him to explain local reactions to Bills on the anvil of parliament.

Rousseau foresaw this difficulty in representative democracy. He said that the British voter was free

only on the election day once in four years.

But with our large populations, we cannot go back to the direct democracies of Greek days. All we can do is to increase contacts and communication between primary voter and representative through modern means of communication, supplemented by increased intimacy between them during off-sessions, when direct meetings in the constituency may take place. The indirect information obtained by voters through the newspapers and photographs and radio can acquire direct face-to-face primary, personal character and vitality during these exchanges between voters and representatives.

The second snag in the electoral process that any candidate comes up against is the fact of caste. It is natural for voters of any caste to feel a kinship with a representative of their own caste and to vote for him. But it has been the writer's experience that in this matter, it is the candidate and the party managers who are the greater sinners against nationalism and democracy. They deliberately appeal to caste feelings where they help to secure the favour of their candidate. It is not the uneducated voter who is primarily responsible for the havoc done in his name and for the eclipse of broader nationalist motivations during elections and in the democratic governance generally.

It has been found that where an appeal is made straight to the national and democratic consciousness of the people, caste barriers *have been crossed* to a considerable and encouraging extent. The present writer received a few hundred votes even from Muslims, after a straight appeal, in a single speech in a predominantly Muslim locality! It is wrong to assume that Hindu will vote Hindu and that Muslim will vote Muslim, that Brahmin will vote Brahmin and Non-brahmin, Non-brahmin and so on. It is the sacred duty of the candidate and his supporting party *not* to appeal to sectarian motives but to have faith in human nature and the higher feelings of nationalism and democracy even in uneducated, unsophisticated voters. It is a mistake to think that formal education confers any superiority on the graduate. The unlettered person can understand ethical motives better and generally reacts to ethical appeals better than the educated classes. The ignorant persons lack information about the world but they are shrewd judges of character and can judge who is a better representative to speak for them in parliament. The feeling of *participation* in a human and classless way with the lives and hopes and fears of the masses is what counts in the electoral process and this can be conveyed to the uneducated more easily than doctrines regarding democracy.

But the voter also needs some basic information to vote intelligently and to have the right expectations about democratic government. The constitution and the fundamental rights should be understood by all voters whether literate or illiterate. The role of the press, the distinction of party from government, the responsibility of Ministers, the difference between delegate and democratic member of parliament and the duty of voting using his best judgment—such infor-

mation should be imparted to the voters. It is best done by non-party Voter's Clubs, one for each Assembly constituency, which ought to develop into a primary face-to-face association, cutting across wealth, office, birth, education and political power. Such Clubs run on non-party basis should develop into *basic cells* of the national democratic organism. They will take the sting out of the party boss system.

Patriotism demands that some educated persons should come forward to form and develop such Voter's Clubs all over the country.

Particular attention should be paid to remove or at least mitigate the cynicism and frustration of the individual voter.

The voter should be informed that in view of the vastness of the country, it is impossible to establish a *direct democracy*, as in Greek City States and in the Indian republics of old in the days of Chanakya and Chandragupta Maurya.

The next best thing is to have assemblies of representatives and in order to keep the assemblies manageable for business and effective discussion, it is necessary to limit their number to around 500 for the country as a whole and around 200 for the state. And the necessity has its own advantages to countervail the disadvantage, namely we can have a selection of the abler among the rank and file who will act as representatives to think for the people and develop an expertise instead of being gramophone records or more delegates. It is also impossible to convey all the differing opinions of tens of thousands of voters. The members should listen to all opinions and form his own views and arrive at a *consensus* that may include an element of value in important aspects of the matter under discussion.

The voter should be informed that he should regard the vote as an element of sovereignty which he should put into action as in *sacred duty by the nation*. He should not disregard it as of no avail. Avail or no avail, he should use his vote as a matter of duty. Every people obtain the government they deserve and if the voter does not exercise vote, the opinion of others will prevail and he has himself to blame.

Also, the voter should *never sell* his vote or otherwise misuse it. He should form the habit of using it in favour of the *best candidate* offering himself for election, best to represent the constituency as a whole and not a section of it, not a sect of caste or kinship group or the following of a local leader who has become prominent on other grounds.

A candidate from a high family in the last elections stood as an independent for the Lok Sabha and was supported by the communist party. His only claim was that he could see Pandit Nehru at any time of the day without a formal engagement for an interview! A business magnate paid his election expenses in the hope that such a person could obtain for him permits and quotas and licenses which could compensate him for his outlay many times over! The candidate was also a sort of comic poet and brought cinema stars, male and female, to gather huge audiences for him. And he did succeed in getting 45,000 votes though he hailed from a different part of the country and did not know the language of the voters!

The frustration of the voter could be overcome by pointing to the opportunities for rising for them in the local bodies which they could later use as stepping stones for the Lok Sabha or Assembly. Participation in Voter's Clubs will restore the human touch and fill the void to a great extent.

The Belgrade Gradient

By M. N. Tholal

THE leaders of the 25 "non-aligned" countries, who met at Belgrade in the beginning of September, have been following the beaten track and have called upon the American President and the Russian Premier to make the most direct approaches to each other to establish peace, despite the fact that two such direct approaches between the two, far from furthering the cause of peace, only aggravated the international situation and the prevailing tension. It is, however, gratifying to find that their appeal stressed the need for a peaceful solution to the problems in dispute in conformity with the UN Charter. (But how can those who do not believe in the principles underlying the UN Charter conform to it?) Farther than that the conference of the non-aligned countries was not prepared to go, for understand-

able reasons, which may be summed up in their desire not to annoy at least one of the parties.

For example, they did not refrain from bringing up Cuba, a fact which appears to suggest that they were not afraid of annoying the democratic Americans. But the very fact that they specifically referred to Cuba and Algeria and refrained from referring to any of the Russian or Chinese colonies, or even to the resumption of nuclear tests by Soviet Russia, suggests that they were mortally afraid of criticising Soviet Russia or China. A body which is afraid of one of the parties to the dispute—for whatever reasons—can hardly command the respect of the other, or of impartial persons, though it certainly can ingratiate itself with the party which it refuses to criticise. But that is not the way of promoting

the cause of peace or lessening international tension. For that purpose the neutrals or the non-aligned have to be really impartial and not only try to appear impartial, as those assembled at Belgrade have been doing. To seek to appear impartial while they are blatantly partial can neither add to their stature in the long run nor serve the cause which they allegedly have at heart. They can only invite the contempt of one of the parties to the dispute as well as of all impartial and dispassionate people in the world, even though their leaders, for diplomatic reasons, may not give expression to their feeling of contempt.

STRAINING AT GNATS WHILE SWALLOWING CAMELS

The only service that the non-aligned can truly render the cause of peace is by being forthright in their utterances and resolutions. Straining at western gnats while swallowing Soviet camels may be good diplomacy, insofar as it gives to each partly what it can take in good part, but if one of the parties cannot even take milk-and-water stuff and is for that reason not served it, the cause of peace is not served thereby. A bully knows how far he can go with impunity and if he finds that his bluff and bluster and threats are succeeding, he will indeed go a long way, even to the point of no return. That thus is the shortest route to war and the Belgrade Conference leaders have been pursuing it! To confirm the bully's belief that he can go a long way without rousing the ire of those who cry "Peace, Peace" is to encourage him in his ways, and that again is exactly what the 25 non-aligned have been doing, wittingly or unwittingly, mainly because their masters at home, the people, are too ignorant to understand what their leaders are up to. I shall not be surprised if some of the 25 leaders assembled at Belgrade share their people's ignorance in regard to international affairs.

Among the chief non-aligned leaders, two were prominently those whose countries have suffered grievously from Russian and Chinese aggression—Marshal Tito and Mr. Nehru. Marshal Tito, although a Communist, had to seek American aid to thwart Soviet Russian designs. Mr. Nehru, without the patriotism of Tito, has had to content himself with declaring that war with China would develop into a world war, thus suggesting that he would have to seek American aid if the Chinese add to their depredations and annexations on the northern frontiers of India. It is indeed strange that even after personal experiences of a most sombre kind, both these leaders were afraid of calling a spade a spade or even criticising the aggressors or their allies, thus showing indirectly that it is neither the cause of peace nor of their country which they have at heart but only a desire to strut on the world stage in the garb of peacemakers.

Some of these leaders in fact would have been nowhere except in the wilderness—and that group includes Mr. Nehru—if the western nations had not, in conformity with the U N Charter, freed their countries not as a result of successful armed revolt, but out of generous impulses born of democratic

instincts. For these leaders to train their guns on the retreating colonialists and to keep mum about those whose colonialism remains as brutal as ever, is not only the height of ingratitude. It undermines the very foundations of peace and bears the impress of a spirit of vendetta which cannot be traced to any moral source. (Desire for flattery can hardly be called moral.) Nor can the object be found to be any other than blackmail allied with that of self-glorification, prompted by the ignorance of their countrymen in regard to political and international affairs.

PLAYING THE SOVIET GAME

Trading on the ignorance of one's countrymen for personal glory may be good power politics in pursuit of the personality cult, but it is as far removed from the cause of peace as the North Pole is from the South. All that the non-aligned can really do is to throw the weight of their honest opinion on the side of the right, sure in the knowledge that it will ultimately tilt the scales in favour of peace, and even Mr. Khrushchev and the Communist Party of Russia will have at long last to recognise that they are a power to be reckoned with, a moral force not to be by-passed with contempt. If they do not do so, they are, wittingly or unwittingly, only playing the Soviet game. After all, what do Mr. Khrushchev and the Communist Party of Russia want except that the world should be afraid of them and concede in fear what they threaten to obtain as a result of war—world subservience? They want that the people of the world should be afraid of them even as the people of Russia are afraid of them, and be unable to open their lips even to utter a few words by way of criticism. (They seem to have succeeded so far as Mr. Nehru is concerned.) Insofar as the Belgrade Assembly has shown that it is afraid of Soviet Russia—and it has shown that to a great extent—the Russian leaders have reason to be pleased with its performance. But was it the intention of the Belgrade Conference to persuade the Western powers to be and to proclaim themselves afraid of Soviet Russia, even as it indirectly proclaimed itself afraid of Soviet Russia? If that is so, it was not asking for the end of colonialism, but for its extension all over the globe. It was not asking for peaceful co-existence. It was asking for the annihilation of the powers believing in liberty and democracy and opposed to the tyrannous regime in Soviet Russia. But that was not their intention. Neither Mr. Nehru nor Mr. Nkrumah would like to see the end of their dictatorship in their own country, although neither of them seem to realise that the methods they are pursuing are likely to bring about that undesired or undesirable objective. It is indeed strange that people who rely on American aid in the present like Marshal Tito, or in the foreseeable future like Mr. Nehru, should be silent regarding the misdeeds of a bloc whose aggression they have suffered from or have good reason to fear. When Col. Nasser denounces Britain and France, one can understand the reason. His country has suffered at their hands. But Mr. Nehru does not denounce those at whose hands India has suffered. He denounces those who are the country's benefactors. I am not afraid of proclaiming this truth from the housestops, even as I am not afraid of proclaiming and proving

Nehru's Amoralism

By A. Gopalakrishnamurthy, M.A., LL.B.

NEHRU, normally, does not moralise, as much as Gandhi used to do. But, platitudinous declarations of international and national morality are indeed

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to the hilt that all the major ills India is suffering from (including the partition) are the handiwork of Jawaharlal Nehru. I can prove that to any honest mind.

HELPING THEMSELVES?

The Belgradites doubtless consider it good self-seeking diplomacy but it is the duty of all those who hold their democratic principles dear to expose the utter lack of morality underlying the game they are playing. After all, if Mr. Nehru cannot feel for the hundreds of millions of people under the Soviet heel, his declarations of faith in democracy and against colonialism of any kind can only sound hollow in the ears of all those who know what is to be under the Russian heel. The Belgrade Conference has turned Nelson's blind eye on Soviet Russia, because otherwise Mr. Khrushchev would not have given Messrs Nehru and Nkrumah the welcome he did. Indeed he would have angrily disallowed their landing on Russian soil. But if personal welcome is all they want, at the sacrifice of the principles their people have been taught to hold dear, it becomes the duty of all right-thinking men in the world to expose the nature of their desires and to show how devoid they are of all those qualities which alone can qualify them to play a peaceful part in these dangerous times. Those qualities may not bring quick results, but they will bring peace in the long run. To blurt out the naked truth may not be considered proper for statesmen, but to make the worse appear the better reason is to mislead mankind into the abyss of nuclear disaster, and that in short is exactly what the Belgradites have been doing.

The Belgradites remind me of the exploits of the great dacoit, Man Singh. Thousands kept his whereabouts a closely-guarded secret. They were no doubt ensuring peace—for themselves. The police would never be able to catch Man Singh, they used to say, if they betray him they would lose their lives. They were not thinking of peace for the countryside, only of their own peace of mind. Messrs Nehru and Tito may well be thinking of peace for their respective countries, for at a word from Khrushchev China's armed millions may swoop down the Himalayas. That is the utmost that can be said for our short-sighted Prime Minister, who offered Tibet to China on a platter. Marshal Tito can also invite trouble for himself by offending Khrushchev, for he is surrounded on all sides by Khrushchev's captives. So it may well be that in the name of preserving peace the Belgradites have been helping themselves, presumably on the principle that God helps those who help themselves!

found in abundance with Nehru. But, of course, he does not moralise in a personal way; yet he does so rationally and internationally! That makes for the essential difference between Nehru and Gandhi.

Whatever might be the difference as between them, Nehru today is a recognised moralist of the world, politically speaking. To be a moralist may not be to be moral, even politically speaking; because moralism is a preaching philosophy, while to be moral is a practical philosophy.

Here my main and basic concern would be in regard to the morality of the practice of Nehru-politics. Nehru, no doubt, is a legend, and he does not discount lionising; as such he is being lionised.

Thus when Nehru speaks, to some Asia speaks; to others Africa hears and to a few, the world speaks. But, let alone lionising, Nehru is getting and may well continue to get world attention when he speaks for some time more. Why? Nehru heads a government of country which has 430 million people; and India is the gateway to Asia, as the Asian mind, as it is said. Besides, Nehru is considered a liberal democrat, indoctrinated to the urges of communism though intellectually a Communist. He is a force in Asia, a leader in Africa and a looming giant in the west.

Once, Nehru was a great propagandist of the right of self-determination for nations. He was and is a champion of the under-developed; and amongst the developed, he seems to be showing a complex now. Nehru, no doubt, is always one with complexes. With all that, he is slowly becoming a 'passing-show'—a pathetic figure, in conflict with himself and his environment—a queer mixture of the East and the West—out of place everywhere, and at home, nowhere.

Considering the instant issue on hand, Nehru was going to Belgrade for the neutral Summit and from there he was to go to Moscow. Before he goes out, he normally speaks. He speaks to educate his way out, to blaze a trail on his travel. So he spoke. He spoke of the much vexed problem of Berlin and of Germany. He feels more 'at home' when he talks of others' problems. Though he talked of Berlin and of Germany, he was not talking a problem, but the problem of Russia and Russia's leadership. He was moralising and rationalising the Russian stand on Berlin and Germany. Perhaps, he thought he was educating public opinion in India and the world. Perhaps, he thought he was anticipating the Neutral stand at Belgrade! Perhaps, not; perhaps, so.

The logic and the rationale of his stand was, to me, a poor mortal, stupifying. I thought I was a rationalist only before I followed up Nehru's logic and his rationalism on German problems!

Nehru said something like this: The problem of Berlin is connected with the problem of Germany.

RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT

“ Eros ”

by Ann Michaele

(We are indebted to the *New Zealand Rationalist* for the following article on 'Eros' by Ann Michaele. We are publishing extracts from that article and we request our readers to compare the sentiments expressed therein with the prevailing practices in India in regard to Sakthi worship which is prevalent not only in Bengal and Upper India but even in South India where the cult assumes various forms of Vaisnavism and Devi worship etc. Though the article has christianity in view it applies with equal force to Hinduism—Ed.)

THROUGH history it is “love”, in its varying forms, which has been the dominant emotion in man, and the emotion which above all others he feels moved to write about.

In the Dark Ages of European civilization the Germans, Anglo-Saxons and Franks were still warring tribes, battling for survival and supremacy among themselves. Untouched by Christianity, they worshipped in their unpretentious way the elemental deities who appeared to regulate their everyday existence. Life was relatively straight forward, and unembroiled in theological servitude, minstrels sang of the heroism of fighting men, and of the love and undying allegiance of the retainer towards his lord.

Surely among the extant literature of these so called “Dark” pagan days we have some of the finest and most natural expressions of human feeling.

While the clerics toiled laboriously over their verbose moral tracts, a group of people in France dared to write of the forbidden. For love, as a dominant emotion between human beings, had been anathematized by the church, which demanded that such powerful sentiments be reserved only for religion. So strongly did the theologians feel that the carnal could not be allowed to compete with the divine that it perpetuated through its pulpits, priests and confessionals the doctrine that love between man and woman was sinful. Marriage existed only for the purpose of procreation, and to consciously enjoy physical union was to transgress against holy laws. But an even fouler crime was to harbour any passionate sentiments towards one's marriage partner. That surely was incest and could lead only to the ultimate rejection of the soul by God.

Yet love between man and woman could not be stamped out, and if it could not exist openly, it could flourish underground. It was in these un-

natural conditions that there grew up an artificial code of love known as “courtly love”. A French princess led the new school of Provncal poetry and into the literature of the Middle Ages a fresh note was infused as the troubadours and poets in lightened mood rejoiced in their stolen fruits.

C. S. Lewis writes that “any idealization of sexual love, in a society where marriage is purely utilitarian, must be an idealization of adultery.” The new courtly code therefore presupposed an adulterous relationship. The lady, instead of being merely the chattel of her husband and lord, became in these changed circumstances a veritable goddess who showed mercy and favour to her knight as she felt inclined. In return her lover acted with all humility and courtesy towards her, ever ready to obey her slightest whim. (Queen Guinevere, hearing that her lover Sir Lancelot had hesitated momentarily before climbing into a tumbril to rescue her from captivity, refused to have any thing more to do with him.)

By including in their code the religion of Love, the poets brought into the open the antagonism between the two opposing ideals. For the Middle Ages, dominated as they were by the church, produced some of our most delightful parodies on Christianity. The worship of the God Amor at the court of Love included in its elaborate ceremonial a hierarchy of cardinals and lesser “clergy”, who conducted services at which the God was worshipped amid the beating of breasts, the singing of hymns of praise, and rites of confessional and repentance.

One twelfth century poem describes the service at a convent where in obedience to the “she cardinal” a number of sisters made public confession of their principles and practice in the matter of love. It soon became apparent that the convent was divided into two distinct parties, one of whom had admitted to their favours only clerics, and the other who had been kind to knights only. The cardinal pronounced emphatically in favour of the clerics as the only proper lover for a nun, and urged the heretical party to repentance. The Virgin Mary found her counterpart in the person of the Beloved herself, who was worshipped with passion and devotion at all times. The hymns addressed to her, the mercy sought from her, and the genuflexions made at her bedside were religious in the extreme.

The poet who declared that he would rather follow all the sweet ladies and goodly knights to

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Atheism And The Industrial Revolution

by F. A. Ridley

IN one of his essays, the French scholar Ernest Renan, remarked that the first *individual* human beings were found amongst the ancient Greeks, prior to whom he added, there were only gregarious flocks of human sheep grazing under the tutelage of "Sons of Heaven" and divinely appointed shepherds. Whilst a few scattered sceptics may of course have flourished—or more likely failed to flourish—in obscurity during the long ages prior to the initial appearance of Greek culture, there does not appear to be a record (or at least, none has survived) of any significantly critical movement in any earlier age. Hence the ancient Greeks (or Hellenes as they always styled themselves), may be regarded, with at least substantial accuracy, as the "founding fathers" of scientific and of critical human thought. And certainly the mental power possessed by such men as Democritus, the first, and from a materialist angle perhaps the greatest, of the great Greek thinkers who substituted atoms for gods in the creation of the Universe; and as Aristarchus of Samos who, seventeen centuries before Copernicus (who may actually have got the idea from him), first advanced the heliocentric theory and tried to estimate the correct size and distance of the moon; can only be described as absolutely phenomenal. Particularly since the ancient Greeks never possessed anything beyond a very rudimentary technical culture, as a modern Russian writer has noted, the dominating tragic cence of frustration which forms, so to speak, the bedrock of the basic disharmony between their advanced intellectual and their primitive technical culture.

Throughout the long pre-industrial era which stretched from the dawn of history up to the technical revolution that began in England about 1700, the basic material culture of even the most civilised races, was agriculture. Trade and commerce were always

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hell than go to heaven without them, was expressing the natural reaction to a system of conduct which sought to bind men, body and soul, to an unrealistic and unpractical ideal.

So the new poetry which centred around the code of courtly love became, in C. S. Lewis's words, "an extension of religion, an escape from religion, a rival of religion, and perhaps even the open enemy of religion."

The scriptures of the church, therefore had succeeded not in stamping out romantic love, but in bringing about a violent reaction among the upper classes, which produced in its turn a volume of colourful, witty and entertaining poetry whose influence spread gradually to Italy, the Continent, and England,

a minority pursuit even amongst the most advanced states such as ancient Athens, or medieval Florence, and it appears to be a basic law of human sociology that an agrarian society is always (at least I cannot think of any exceptions,) a religious society. Agriculture always depends upon the continued beneficence of natural forces or, in religious phraseology, on the Will of Heaven. It is at least quite certain that all the major agrarian civilisations of Asia, Europe and of pre-Columbian America, were all bound up with and were concurrently dominated by religiously-inspired cultures. In medieval Europe, the elaborate cathedrals arose in the midst of, and were created by, the pious hands of an overwhelmingly agrarian culture. In Africa, where the agrarian techniques have always been extremely primitive, the concurrent religious—or rather animistic cults—have also been of a correspondingly elementary nature. In agrarian societies in which the uniformity of nature is reflected in the traditional outlook of human thought, scepticism is looked at askance, and hereby represents the supreme crime. It was in medieval (i.e. agrarian and pre-industrial) societies that Ages of Faith were found, and amongst whom religious conservatism organised such ruthless repression of novel and "dangerous" thoughts as are recorded in the annals of the medieval Inquisition. Contrarily, it was in the towns and above all, in the trading centres of the classical and medieval worlds that critical thought and religious scepticism first made their appearance. As the Greek conservative *par excellence*, Plato, once shrewdly noted, the proximity of the sea provokes mental restlessness and arouses the desire to seek out the new horizons that beckon so alluringly in the distance. It was in cities, usually sea-faring cities like classical Athens and Alexandria or medieval Florence and Venice that the seeds of human scepticism were sown. Free thought did not begin in the countryside.

Pursuant upon the line of reasoning set out above, one would not expect to find, and one does not in fact find, any mass-movement of rationalistic content at any period prior to the last two centuries, during which the Industrial Revolution has made its way from a primarily local (originally English) standing to a currently world-wide one. The heretics of earlier ages were usually few and scattered individuals whose only safety from persecution lay in their own insignificance and obscurity. This was particularly so with regard to the more extreme forms of religious heresy, around whom no mass movement ever assembled. Prior to the post-industrial French Revolution at the end of the 18th century, no mass movement of Deism had ever arisen, and prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917, no avowedly atheistic regime had ever been established. Hence, incidentally, the frenzied hatred which in particular, the Vatican has consistently dis-

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Divinely Inspired

by Julian W. Bournier

A thorough study of the origin of the Christian Bible, discloses, that it is composed mainly of fairy stories based on the ancient lore and legend of

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played towards that regime. (Most earlier revolutions were usually associated with religious movements). In brief, scepticism in a pre-industrial age represented merely lonely thinkers or isolated groups, who inhabited the religious underworld, one periodically illuminated by the fires of the stake. It is only with the advent of the Industrial Revolution that Atheism has been able to become a mass movement.

The last two centuries since the inventions of the pioneers of the Industrial Revolution, have witnessed a steady growth and expansion of an industrial civilisation founded upon scientific knowledge and techniques, at the ultimate expense of the immemorially ancient agrarian cultures of mankind and of their religious shadow—one might almost say, Siamese Twin. Show me an agricultural people, and I will show you a religious one! Beginning in this country in the wake of the English bourgeois revolution (mid-17th century), the Industrial Revolution first spread over Europe in the 19th century and is now spreading over the world in our own. Wherever the Industrial Revolution establishes itself, it needs must find and train workers who are technically competent and acclimatised to the deterministic thought of science in place of the illiterate peasantry brought up to revere the capricious forces of Nature. For whereas probably 90% of the human race were illiterate (and semi-starved in a scarcity economy), nowadays, universal literacy and a universal Welfare State are (failing an Act of God—or more probably a nuclear act of man), now historically inevitable, probably within another couple of centuries. This sociological phenomenon features the Industrial Revolution versus the gods—all of them! And again, failing some nuclear catastrophe, it is becoming increasingly clear that it is the gods who are on the way out. For, whereas in the 19th century it was only Christianity, the traditional creed of the lands where Industrialism originated, that was undermined, nowadays, this social evolution embraces all the former "backward" (pre-industrial) lands, and all their traditional religions. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that more atheists and sceptics have been made during the last fifty years than during the previous fifty thousand. In fact, so obvious has now become this mental phenomenon that even (as we indicated recently in this paper), the worldly-wise Vatican has now set up a Chair of Atheism, to study seriously what it had previously denounced as a mere aberration of lunatics only fit to be hastily burnt. As we then remarked, Atheism has now arrived. The gods are on their way to the museums.

—The Freethinker.

the Israelites, dating back to about the year 1,200 B.C. Little of an authentic nature is known regarding the authorship of the various parts, but it is generally recognized, by informed people, as the works of a large number of primitive Israelite priests, sages, psalmists, and scribes; few of whose names are known.

The new Testament dates from about the year 150 A.D. and is composed of stories of events that are supposed to have happened 150 years before it was written, and was compiled by the early teachers of Christianity. The personage, Jesus Christ, is of Greek origin and not Jewish as many suppose, and portray a character of which there were many, such as, Krishna, Mithra, Quirinus, Adonis, Appolonius and others, most of which were supposed to have been born of a virgin and were later crucified; all are mythical. The early Christians were called "Atheists" because they denied the ancient gods of the Greeks and the Romans.

Some of the stories in the Bible are mainly of a carnal nature, which includes incest; daughters bearing children after having sexual intercourse with their own drunken father; rape, mass murders, little children being torn apart by animals by orders from the Lord, war and slavery, and much more rottenness and filth. The miracles that were supposed to have been performed, such as, a man walking on water, feeding thousands of people with five loaves and two fishes, turning water into wine and so forth, are imaginary. The Ismailians of the Mohammedan faith, appear to be much more honest than the Christians with regard to miracles, as they hold that the "Philosophical Doctrines" should be reserved for the "Strong Minded", its mysticism for the "Fanatical", and the miracles for the "Ignorant."

Regard the present popular God "Jehovah", (formerly "Jahveh", an unimportant Babylonian sky-god) indubitably will as people become better informed, be relegated to oblivion along with the former gods of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and ignorant primitive man. The modern sciences have proven the falsity of the Bible story of the creation of the universe, which includes mankind and other animals, and all other forms of life. All life is a part of Nature and originated from a simple single cell which originated by an electro-chemico process billions of years ago. As for the existence of an omnipotent God! just what kind of a being would this be? one that would allow, during the experience of most of us a Christian nation to murder in cold blood six million Jewish people, a Christian nation to drop atom bombs on the poorer districts of congested cities, killing and maiming for life, hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and little children, a devastating war that killed or maimed

SIXTY MILLION people; "Would this be a God of Love, a God of Justice, a God of Mercy," that would allow such carnage?

Gods were invented to create fear in the minds of people, so that the many could be controlled by a few people and for the benefit of these few.

The atheist in discarding the yoke of superstition, religion, gods and fear, imbibes a consciousness of self-reliance and fearlessness, which recalls a quotation from a speech made by the famous British biologist, Julian Huxley:

"Evolutionary man can no longer take refuge from his loneliness by creeping for shelter into the arms of a divinized father-figure whom he has himself created, nor escape from the responsibility of making decisions by sheltering under the umbrella of divine authority. He must face the future unaided."

This facing the future unaided, makes a person un-apprehensive of a life after death, as one realizes that being a part of nature, that human life is analogous to all other forms of life, an electro-chemical process; and just as the leaf of the tree comes into being with the Spring and withers and fades away in the Autumn, so does the human at the termination of its life span, just sink into eternal sleep and is gone forever.

With this thought in mind, rather than the Biblical teaching of, "Blessed are the poor they shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven", let us substitute the following words of Robert Ingersoll:

The time to be happy is now
The place to be happy is here.
The way to be happy is to make others happy.

—Liberal (U.S.A.)

REPORT OF 'THE HUMANIST UNION', NAINITAL

Mr. Narain has sent us the first annual report of the Union from which we have culled the following interesting passages:—

During the last winter I had opportunity of discussing Humanism with a large number of people in different places. Humanism has a two fold aspect: a certain attitude towards some age-old human problems and a certain social commitment. It is easier to find people sharing that attitude than those willing to assume social responsibility. Our country is at present passing through a phase of general apathy towards every kind of voluntary work not connected with politics sponsored or aided by Government.

Humanism is concerned with social problems, but the prevailing mood in the country is to leave these to the legislature and the Government. Casteism and communalism are generally recognised as great obstacles to the progress of the country but platform oratory is about the

only means adopted at present to fight these evils. By our ideology and the composition of our membership drawn, as it is, from diverse religious and credal backgrounds, we are specially qualified to tackle these problems and make a useful contribution out of all proportion to our numbers, if we can get together a band of devoted workers, inspired by social ideals. This, rather than a large membership, would be our greatest asset.

The most urgent need for a Humanist movement in India is to lay a stable foundation, not to produce quick results. The Union must have a home of its own, however small. Without a proper headquarter the Union is not likely to endure for long.

In the minutes of annual general meeting there is a discussion on the merits of Inter-caste marriages and the part of the Humanist Union should play in bringing about such marriages:

Dr. Devaraja said that the Union must have some dynamic programme. He said that the Union should keep in touch with people who actually broke the caste and religious barriers in marriage and should make them feel that there is a fellowship to which they belong. Sri Jagannath Upadhyaya referred to a scheme which had been started at Varanasi under the auspices of the Humanist society. It was known as Inter-Marriage bureau. A point was raised whether it would be right for the union to promote inter-caste marriages as a first step towards the breaking up of social barriers. The Chairman observed that that would be narrowing down the scope of our organisation. The Secretary agreed with this but said that it should be open to members, in their individual capacity, to help in promoting inter-caste marriages, and further that the organisation should lend its support to any other organisation engaged in the task of abolishing caste barriers. He agreed with the Chairman that the Union could not itself have a programme confined to inter-caste marriages. Shri Syama Narayana also said that Union could not limit itself to promoting inter-caste marriages.

In connection with a remark made by Smt. Maya Chaudhary, the Secretary observed that in the West it often happened that one party to a marriage was a Humanist while the other was a Christian and that experience had shown that it is unwise for the Humanist to try to convert his or her partner and further that the children of such parents, as indeed all children, should be left free to choose their own affiliation on attaining maturity.

Sri Chandra Lal Sah stressed the importance of constructive work. He said that wherever there is an inter-caste or inter-religious marriage the Humanist society there should get into touch with the parties concerned and express its solidarity with them.

The problem of Germany is connected—not with the fate of the German people—with two great Powers. Both of them are sticking each to that part of Germany under its control. They do not want to leave. That is a fact. As a realist, let me recognise a fact as a fact. So, two Germanys is a fact. Let us recognise the fact; we may or we may not recognise them for diplomatic purposes. But let our diplomacy recognise facts.

There is philosophy, politics, diplomacy, in it and more too. That appeared to be the logic of the hour. Was it for the West? Or, was it for the Germans he spoke for, or he spoke to, or he spoke at

The rationale of Nehru stand on Germany is the quintessence of irrationalism. It looked like Berkeley or Samkara. It happened that the real was unreal and the unreal was real. It looked like mere politics. It looked like Chauvinism. It looked, just like himself—Pandit Nehru.

The Nehru-fact seems to be a dangerous fact. Applying the same logic: Peking-China is a fact. Both are insisting. Both are facts. Let us recognise facts as facts.

Apropos: there shall be two Chinas, just as there shall be two Germanys.

Does Nehru accede to this? No.

But take another fact: There is poverty. There is riches; there are poor-people and there are rich people. They are facts. If we recognise facts as facts, then what follows? That is not the way to recognise a fact. Fact is to be rationalised or rationally-alised to truth, to human needs, to politics ends and to philosophical purposes.

But, when Nehru commits the folly of oversimplification of logic and rationality on the German issue, he 'missed the bus'; he misled the world; he confused the Indian stand and he committed, an international Himalayan Blunder!

How to amend for it? Indian democracy must assert itself. The real India—India of the Indian people—should articulate, should speak. It should say, that it stands for self-determination of the German people; Germany belongs to Germans; and that Germans alone, by plebiscite under neutral aegis, should determine what kind of a Government should the German people have. That is democracy that Indians would like to tell the world. It may not be Nehruism. But it is the articulating aspiration of the Indian mind; the Indian Mass.

But, when Nehru rejected it by preaching the 'two-Germanys stand, he ceased to be a moralist, he ceased to be moral, and he became amoral. That begins the end of democratic Nehru and marks the beginning of a totalitarian Nehru.

Let democrats beware, be they Indians, Germans or others!

HOW TO MAKE PROHIBITION 'A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT'

Dr. Naravane, the Prohibition Minister of Bombay, observed the other day that Prohibition should become 'A People's Movement'. Mr. Morarji Desai has also likened a complaint against arming the Executive with excessive legal powers to enforce Prohibition, as being an attack on personal freedoms, to a probable complaint against punishing the thieves on the same ground. Another Prohibition Crusader Mr. Shriman Narayan recently contended that Prohibition tended to increase the economic welfare of the nation. These statements irresponsible and irrational as they may seem to many, are not without a modicum of truth. Dr. Naravane is not unaware that he can always count in the next General Elections on the "Popular" vote of the growing brood of bootleggers and owners of illegal breweries who are carrying on merrily their lucrative trade in Bombay, in the form of a popular movement. Shriman Narayan, the Gandhian economist, can now pat his own back with the thought that a host of street-urchins and even criminals have considerably improved their economic condition by taking to this "Cottage Industry". Mr. Morarji the purist will surely cheer up at the sight of these anti-social elements being absorbed in increasing numbers into this honourable trade. This will enable him to employ his Police Force thus relieved, in the sacred cause of terrorising the whole nation for the sake of a few 'sinners'.

White Cap—Neera—Police Raj ki Jai!

WINE AND GODS

The Mysore Vidhan Sabha roared in laughter as even the Gods were not spared in the House, now witnessing a battle of words on the prohibition policy with the Opposition mounting its tirade on the comprehensive Bill.

The elderly Independent member for Bhalki, Mr. B. Shyam Sundar, quoted verses from many books to drive home the point that wine had its place in literature, scriptures and so on.

"Even our great Gods were drunkards. It is said in the puranas that once Brahma the Creator was drunk so much that he ran after his own daughter," he said.

Mr. C. M. Armugam: "It is a well-known convention that persons not present in the House should not be dragged in here. So Brahma can't be brought in..."

The Speaker: "Nor is he outside. Don't worry" (laughter).

—Indian Express.

Nonalignment Or Pusillanimity ?

(From Our Correspondent)

OUR Prime Minister has been addressing Press conferences once a month almost regularly, but he would do well to reconsider his decision to face the Press so often as that. For, to be candid, he does not have the requisite temperament, the requisite self-control and the requisite equipoise to face the Press for more than an hour without his putting his foot into it. Knowing him fairly intimately as I do, I have in fact often been wondering at his humorous sallies and admiring the amount of self-control he has been able to display, for that is something quite extraordinary for him. Nevertheless the age-old temperament reasserts itself often enough, and it did so more than once at his Press Conference on September 17.

For one thing, he went so far as to tell the Press that he was "rather envious" of Lord Russell, who was jailed recently for his part in organising a big ban-the-H-bomb demonstration in Central London, adding that he admired very much Lord Russell's attitude. The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Bernard Welby-Cohen, who happened to be in Calcutta the following day, told a reception in his honour: "I am sorry to find here that there should have been this direct criticism of an affair that is essentially a matter for the internal conduct of England." Back in London the Lord Mayor said he would have been "failing in his duty as 'Chief Citizen of London' if he had not rebuked India's Prime Minister for his remarks supporting the British philosopher and anti-nuclear campaigner, Early Russell. Sir Bernard was obviously right in administering the rebuke to our Prime Minister, because, as it seemed to him, "it was much out of place and contrary to all the practices and customs of the Commonwealth that the Prime Minister of one Commonwealth nation should make such comments about the internal affairs of another Commonwealth nation."

Sir Bernard put it rather mildly. What Mr. Nehru did was nothing short of encouraging a resistance movement against the British Government, and that on an issue regarding, which there is hardly any difference of opinion between the two main parties in the land. Even if there were, Mr. Nehru's observations would be inexcusable. It is true that Mr. Nehru claims to be a pacifist. But then he should try out his pacifism in his own country where God has given him pacifists (pretenders?) for his countrymen. Here in India, under the guidance of Mr. Nehru, the military expenditure has been mounting every year—I do not say wrongly—and if we do not produce atom bombs, we do not also give up the confident hope that some of those who produce them will be found on our side in case of conflict with China. Who can after that say that Mr. Nehru does not believe in the "nuclear deterrent"? But then Lord

Russell is a handstrengthener of Mr. Nehru and feels in duty bound to strengthen his hands, Commonwealth or no Commonwealth.

THE DURAND LINE

Nor does it seem likely that our Prime Minister would have made the statement he did on the Durand Line, except in an off-hand manner. This seems to betray an unstatesmanlike gloating over a neighbour's difficulties which is likely to be exploited by one of the parties to the dispute or its supporters. To refer to the Durand Line as a "complicated matter" is to invite Pakistani wrath and references by way of retort to the MacMahon Line. So far as righteousness is concerned, there would appear to be little to choose between the two. If the Durand Line is a complicated matter, so is the MacMahon Line. For those who take their stand on a moral basis, it is not a question of an internationally recognised frontier in which respect the Durand Line scores over the MacMahon Line—but of the desire of the people in the neighbourhood of the Line and what they want. Mr. Nehru seems to forget self-determination altogether whenever it does not help him rise in international stature. He forgot it even in the case of Tibet and thereby invited Chinese invasion of India. Pakistan has not repudiated self-determination for the area, in dispute.

NONALIGNMENT

At his Press Conference the Prime Minister made many sensible observations, but in regard to East Germany he made a statement which goes to the root of the matter and exposes the hollowness of his stand on international affairs. "So far as East Germany is concerned, it is obvious that Great Power rivalries are involved," he said, adding, "In theory many things may be right but in practice they are not feasible." In effect, he said, self-determination may be right in theory for East Germany, but in practice it is not feasible. Presumably it is not feasible because Soviet Russia is intransigent in the matter. But what is the duty in regard to such matters of those who claim to be non-aligned? Should they practically support this intransigence by saying, "It can't be helped"? Should they throw the weight of their opinion—for what it is worth—on the side of what they consider to be right? If they do not adopt the latter course, the whole moral basis is knocked out of non-alignment and is replaced by fear—fear of Soviet Russia which they seem prepared to do nothing to mitigate or liquidate. The Conference of the non-aligned at Belgrade was dominated by this fear. Algeria was mentioned and colonialism condemned there. Cuba was mentioned and attempts at colonialism there were condemned. But no mention was

made of any of the East European nations under the Soviet heel. This is indeed a very queer sort of non-alignment. It is clearly based on the theory that criticism should be offered only of the actions of those who can take it, and those who feel enraged by criticism should be spared. This may be all right for those who are manouvring for positions of international fame and glory. But the question arises if that is all they want to do.

RAIDS ON GURUDWARAS

The Punjab Police on September 15 raided several major gurudwaras and without resistance on the part of "proclaimed offenders" or their supporters arrested some of the former. The Government claim that the police entered the gurudwaras to search for and arrest some desperate Akalis armed with grenades and fire-arms. None were found that day, but the following day the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee surrendered to the Police at Amritsar some fire-arms and ammunition in the Golden Temple. This surrender was demanded a few days earlier but the SGPC refused to comply. Later, fearing a police raid, the SGPC changed its mind and surrendered some fire-arms. Master Tara Singh, it appears, was not in favour of the surrender but was persuaded by his old associates plus the police raids in other gurudwaras to change his mind.

The Akali Dal has described the raids as "unprovoked acts of sacrilege" while Sant Fateh Singh has called them "barbarous acts", and even the Maharaja of Patiala, who has been one of the principal mediators, has seen fit to see the Home Minister to protest. The fact of the matter would appear to be that the Akalis had so far succeeded, mainly through bluff and bluster, in defying the law in the matter of surrendering absconders, whom the gurudwaras had been offering sanctuary in the belief that they were immune from police raids. The Akalis have in fact all along been proceeding on the assumption that they were a privileged section of people and the Government has certainly been confirming the same by acts of omission, until the raids called the bluff.

So much for the Akali allegation that they are second class citizens and are being discriminated against by the Government of India. They seem to believe in raising the bogey of repression to secure greater and yet greater concessions from Government. Apparently the greater the concessions from Government the greater will be the bogey of repression raised by the Sikhs until the independent Sikh state of their dreams has been formed. In the diseased stomach the appetite grows with eating. If the police raids have extinguished the last remaining chances of a settlement, they would appear to have done no mean service to all concerned. The facts that the raids have been made and firearms surrendered without resort to force and without running into violence or resistance is proof positive of the bluff and bluster that constitute the Akali threat.

In fact the Prime Minister has done no service to the country by what has often seemed to be his

shilly-shallying. He must be realising now that his garlanding of Master Tara Singh in public some years ago was a short sighted act, even like the receptions at the airport of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah when he was Prime Minister of Kashmir. Mr. Nehru does not wait for second thoughts to correct or amend his first thoughts and rushes into emotional action which does not subserve his purposes in the long run. Flattery can also make matters worse. The initial reaction is always favourable as expected by the flatterer, but the remote reaction need not be so and is generally not so. For example, both Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Master Tara Singh chips of the same bloc as they seem to be—could have naturally come to the conclusion that by his extraordinary performances the Prime Minister was proving that he was afraid of them. In the case of Master Tara Singh, what could public garlanding once in a while do against the daily evidence of power residing in the hands of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon? In any case the non-violent raids and the non-violent surrender of arms by the Golden Temple authorities have proved the correctness of Sardar Kairon's stand that Master Tara Singh and Company may safely be called Messrs Bluff and Bluster. (The language is mine, the idea approximately that of the Chief Minister of Punjab.) That of course goes against any concession being made by Government to the Akalis, for despite their protestations of peaceful intentions the sanction behind the present tactics of Master Tara Singh and his followers is far from non-violent. It is the hope of widespread violence, following the natural consequences of indefinite fasting, in the heart of the Akalis, and the fear of the same in the heart of the Government that makes the Akali threat serious. Take that away—and Sardar Kairon is taking it away—and what remains is sound and fury signifying nothing.

JANA SANGH BRAVADO

The Jana Sangh has made public its 20-page election manifesto through Mr. Balraj Madhok M. P., chairman of the Delhi Jana Sangh. It promises to "pilot the nation to a safe heaven", although Mr. Madhok confessed at the Press Conference called to publicise the manifesto that the Party had not given detailed thought to a number of the objectives set out in the manifesto. Under the circumstances, the promise to pilot the nation to safe heaven must be considered premature, even as the modus operandi of the party is generally considered amateurish.

Indeed it seems that the manifesto has not been critically considered at all. For example, it lays stress on border defence, particularly on the vacation of Chinese aggression and the freeing of "Azad Kashmir", while in relation to new incursions it promises retaliation rather than the registration of protest notes. Apparently the risks involved in retaliation have also not been considered, for, pressed to elaborate the point, Mr. Madhok said a Jana Sangh Government would break off diplomatic relations with China and "drive out the Chinese from Ladakh by a proper military action short of war". He promised similar treatment regarding "Azad Kashmir". When mili-

tary action is taken, it should be taken with the confidence that retaliation would be effectively met. No military action taken can be confined to certain limits, because the party taking the initiative wants to do so. Its extent obviously depends on the retaliatory measures that the other party takes, and which the party that has taken the initiative is bound to counter, unless it is prepared to be the laughing stock of the world.

When the Chinese invaded India—the Nehru Government called the invasion an incursion—the Chinese Government was aware that in the matter of Kashmir the Government of India was at the mercy of its ally, the Soviet Government, which had voted Security Council resolutions against India, and that therefore the Indian Government was not in a position to offer opposition to Chinese advance. The occupation of 12,500 square miles of Indian territory was the price the Indian Government had to pay for the Russian veto, and it was to hide this simple fact that Mr. Nehru kept the Chinese invasion a closely-guarded secret for years, hoping that by the time he revealed it the obvious connection between the two would not be obvious, and the Russian veto in the Security Council would be as good as forgotten in this context at least. That was what Mr. Madhok may call “proper military action short of war”. The Soviet veto was in fact a signal to the Chinese to extend their borders at the expense of India and approximate the same to those shown in Chinese and Soviet maps. For Mr. Madhok or any one else, to talk of “proper military action short of war” is pure deceptive non-sense, if it is not the product of a half-baked mind, and if it is not meant to be, as seems to be the case, mere bravado.

Book Review

THE CRITICS OF KEYNES

Ricardo, said John Maynard Keynes, “conquered England as a completely as the Holy Inquisition conquered Spain.” But what of the great Lord Keynes himself? His “inquisition”—if the strange comparison be allowed—did not stop at national boundaries; indeed, its conquests have virtually encircled the entire globe.

Henry Hazlitt, one of the original anti-Keynesians, has lived to see the inquisition relax its grip on at least some nations of the world. His *The Failure of the “New Economics,”* published last year, has actually succeeded in making it intellectually respectable to oppose the Keynesian analysis. In the course of writing *The Failure of the “New Economics”* Mr. Hazlitt was impressed by the number of brilliant short discussions of the *General Theory* that he came upon. These were scattered through learned journals dating back to the nineteen thirties, or they consisted of single chapters or a few passages in books that are sometimes not generally available. It occurred to Mr. Hazlitt that it would be a useful idea to assemble them all in one place—and the result

is a fat anthology, *The Critics of Keynesian Economics* (Van Nostrand, \$7).

Since Keynes's theory is rooted in a rejection of the famous “law of markets” which was first formulated 150 years ago by the French economist Jean Baptista Say, Mr. Hazlitt begins his anthology with an excerpt from Say and with a “restatement” of Say's Law by John Stuart Mill. It was the contention of both Say and Mill that production creates its own buying power. Since, in the last analysis, it takes a good to “buy” another good (even though the exchange may be facilitated by the use of money), Say's Law amounts to a truism. The “Law” does not, of course, insist that markets will be “cleared” automatically merely because the purchasing power released by production (in wages, interest, dividends, and outlay for services and materials) is there to soak up the production. Men make mistakes in judging what consumers want, and there can be a lag in the operation of Say's Law until a mistake in judgment has been corrected by a new equilibrium of economic forces. But the truism remains: it takes a good to buy a good.

What Keynes did, in effect, was to deny that mistakes in judgment on the part of producers would be self-correcting in time. Once a depression had started, he saw a “liquidity preference” constantly impeding the translation of savings into new investment that would produce new and different goods capable of “clearing the market” as the older (and unwanted) goods were sacrificed at cut rates. To get the economy off dead center under “liquidity preference” conditions, Keynes proposed subsidizing consumers (either through government “made work” or through the artificial maintenance of high wages). The subsidy naturally entailed an inflated money supply, or a high rate of taxation, or a combination of the two.

Dig Holes, and Fill Them

It would be physical impossibility, of course to be fair to twenty or more searching commentaries within the space of a single short review. At the risk of perpetrating a wild injustice, let us concentrate on the contribution of Joseph Stagg Lawrence—a contribution which, in Mr. Hazlitt's words “is one of the most hard-hitting as well as one of the least technical criticisms of Keynesian economics and policy.”

Lawrence is both a satirist of no mean dimension and a brilliant utilizer of statistics in a common-sense way. His list of “new order aphorisms,” derived from Keynesian literature, is a sardonic reminder that, if Keynes is right, the way to economic health is to dig holes in the ground and fill them up again. Doubting that Keynes had any idea of what he was talking about when he conjectured that savings and investment must always and everywhere tend to get out of whack under modern economic conditions, Lawrence reminds us that the investments of life insurance companies are in the hands of competent

professionals; that social security contributions are promptly spent by the government; that corporate savings are reinvested by the very managements that make them in the first place, that banks live by feeding out credit as they take in money; that the great bulk of savings made by those in the upper fifth of income brackets "is usually invested directly"—and so forth and so on. In short, the "hoarder," the pathological addict of "liquidity preference," is not usually a problem.

In Lawrence's opinion, Keynes's *General Theory* adds up to a "dignified rationalization of the conduct of the drunken sailor and the fabled grasshopper." Applied by governments seeking "full employment and cyclical stabilization" of what von Mises has called the "Santa Clause fable" makes shovelling the *sine qua non* of effective modern statecraft. It does not require pages of differential equations to tell us that pyramid building is of dubious economic value—or that modern governmental substitutes for pyramids are what the late Isabei Paterson called "deadend appliances." Pyramids toil not, neither do they spin. In the nature of things they are not "goods" that can be used in "buying" other goods. To give "purchasing power" to the man who works on a pyramid must ultimately involve filching from somebody, somewhere. Admittedly Say's Law does not make connection with the inflationary "monetary policy" that is normally needed to hide the theft from the populace. Nor did Keynes ever stop to think that pyramids are in themselves hoardings of a sort. The only difference between a miser's hoard and a pyramid-builder's hoard is that one is expressed in gold, the other in stone. Both exist outside the stream of commerce.

—Condensed from the review by John Chamberlain in the *FREEMAN*.

Gleanings from the Press

Communist Bid To Capture The Congress

From time to time reports appear in the press Communists abandonning their party to join the Congress. This development has been anticipated for some time; for nearly two years, Mr. S. A. Dange, their leader in the Lok Sabha, has been urging the progressive elements in the Congress against 'right-wing reactionaries'. Fresh evidence is accumulating to indicate that the Communists are carrying out their plan of mass infiltration into the Congress, with a view ultimately to capturing the party machinery and through it the Government of the country.

The years following the achievement of Independence in 1947 were for India a period of anxiety and heavy strain. Gandhiji's assassination within a few months of the event was in particular a most disastrous blow to the country and the new Government. For the Communists the tragedy had a different significance: the biggest factor which had effectively

barred their way into the Congress for many years was at last out of the way. There remained, however, his chief lieutenants—Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shi Rajagopalachari and Acharya Kripalani—all suspicious of communist moves. Moreover, a period of some years after Independence was necessary for the communists to live down their reputation for betrayal of the freedom movement during the war.

But in the last decade in India there has emerged a combination of new circumstances which seems to justify the present optimism of the communists that the future is very favourable for the spread of "democracy". The resistance which the communists encountered through all the years of Gandhiji's leadership of their infiltration and for some years thereafter has disappeared from within the Congress. They can afford today to come into the open and publicise without reservation their intentions of capturing the Congress Party machinery. The vital question today is whether the Congress will wake up at this stage to the growing danger of its being transformed into a communist-run organization for the furtherance of their aims and policies.

B. Shiva Rao in SWARAJYA

News & Views

'SUTTA AND PAGREE' IN THE LAND OF LENIN

London: Some Russian people are buying houses and cars, not from their earned money but from "speculation, embezzlement and other dishonest means", Moscow radio reported in its home service recently. In a talk of Communism and Personal Property, it is said that were still people in the Soviet Union, who suffered from a "private property-complex." "Certain parasitical elements try to transform personal property into private property, that is to say, live at the expense of others. They profited from their ownership by carrying goods and passengers at "speculative rates", and by renting their homes to other people. Moscow radio said personal property under socialism was created exclusively from the people's earned money. Private property was personal property used for gain. It mentioned a recent case where a woman and her son had rented out their two flats for 28 years!

The Financial Express

CAN A "RED" LEOPARD CHANGE HIS SPOTS? — NEVER!

A NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO has made its appearance.....The programme chalked out in the manifesto is primarily for Russia. It is the claim of the Russian rulers that the Russian experience has universal application and validity and that the road that was followed in Russia will be the road that all

other people will follow in their march towards socialism. "The high road to socialism has been paved and it will be taken sooner or later by all peoples." It seeks to spell out for the world as a whole the broad strategy of "socialist revolution and the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Socialism has triumphed in Soviet Russia completely and finally. The next task is to build up communism...The distinction between socialism and communism as two different stages of social growth is an innovation in Marxism. It was invented and popularised by Stalin. ...The inequalities, the oppression and the cruelties that were rampant in his regime were defended on the ground that they were necessary to ensure the development of socialism into communism.

—Freedom First

It is significant that after all the mistakes and frauds of the last 40 years Khrushchev and his lieutenants have to fall back on Stalin's lies. As for the promise that in 20 years the Soviet Land will be flowing with milk and honey it is the same old story of the PIE IN THE SKY—NO jam yesterday, no jam today, jam tomorrow.

COMMUNISTS INFILTRATE AMONGST THE ASTROLOGERS

Nobody will be amazed to see that the Indian "commies" have now infiltrated amongst the astrologers. Having realised that religion, and also astrology, are more common and deep amongst the Indian masses, the Indian agents of the Kremlin are for-publi-shing "astrological" forecast in their papers."

Recently "Blitz", the cry to—communist yellow "rag", published a forecast by a "wellknown" astrologer—B. Jagannath.

Knowing the company Karanjia of the *Blitz* keeps, it is no wonder that this discovery of an astrologer by him should "predict" an attack by Israel on UAR, a state whose dictator is a friend and pay-master of Karanjia.

To those who know the Pan—Islamism, it is the other way round. It is the Muslim fanatic Nasser that had once tried to wipe out Israel, and and says so, in his public utterances even now.

Another "forecast" of Karanjia's "astrologer" is that Soviet Russia will democratise its way of life, and hit the moon in 1962! Of course, it does not matter to Karanjia that a famous astrologer B. v. Raman has predicted the doom of International Communism in the near future. And the funniest thing is this "famous" astrologers of Karanjia chose a communist godless weekly like the *Blitz*—Yellow—cum Red Journalism of Karanjia. *Blitz*, the crypto-communist tabloid published from Bombay has been found by the Lok Sabha to be guilty of a "gross breach of privilege" and it has been decided to summon the Editor of the weekly at the bar of the House.....

This is the first time that in the history of the Indian Parliament that a journalist has been called to

the bar of the House and reprimanded for committing a gross breach of privilege. That his dubious distinction should go to a magazine peddling the communist lies in itself is not without significance

....It (*Blitz*) is an unscrupulous mixture of yellow and red journalism which thrives on sex, sensationalism and lies, pandering to the base instincts of its readers.

—“Freedom First”

“RED” GERMANY PLANS DEPORTATIONS

Washington: The USA Government officially stated recently that the East German authorities, with Soviet backing, were planning the arrest and mass deportations of East German citizens living on the borders of the Soviet sector of Berlin and Germany.

The deportations will be accompanied by the "freezing" of all the movement of the people in the area during the operations, and the temporary closing of the remaining exits from East Berlin into West Berlin.

BONN'S 20-CRORE LOAN TO INDIA

New Delhi: The West German credit of 170 million DM (Rs. 20.24 crores) to India for which an agreement has been recently signed here, is completely untied.

The Indian Sterling balances which stand at Rs. 136 crores will go up by Rs. 20.24 crores. According to Government sources, the credit has come at an opportune moment—just on the eve of framing the import policy for the October-March licensing period.

The interest on the loan is 3 per cent. It is repayable in 20 years, no repayment being due in the first seven years.

BERLIN ISSUE IN A NUTSHELL

The source of the world trouble and tension is Moscow, not Berlin. And if a war begins, it will have begun in Moscow not Berlin.

—President Kennedy in "Economist" London.

East Germany is the only area in the world where the population shows a precipitous downward trend, not because the birthrate is falling, but because those who are able to walk prefer to run away.

—Thought

The question of the struggle for a peace treaty with Germany is not only literally for peace treaty with Germany; because the moral and legal rights are on our side. *This is a question of the struggle for acknowledgment of our greatness.*

—Khrushchev

People do not leave their hearths and homes for glamour and shopwindows.

—Nehru

The Soviet dictator is so drunk with power, so inflated with arrogance, that he will start a war over

Berlin, he will certainly, even if he is appeased on Berlin, resort to arms elsewhere.

W. H. Chamberlain in New Leader.

Letters to the Editor

MIRAGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK

Sir,

Henry C. Wallich must be a very clever man to write a book about *Capitalism*, a thing that so far has no existence, and like Democracy, may be a very good thing. That which Wallich takes for granted as capitalism is of course False Debtism. False Debtism is the result of Taxation, which destroys Purchase Power so as to create a Loan market for Banker's counterfeit money. All money in existence today is Taxed, and therefore not of its face value by the amount of the Tax.

Only Taxless money can be money. Man cannot be free in a Tax State. He is a Bank Slave. The Free Nations are like capitalism, a myth. The so called Free Nations are using False money, values, and false accountancy. These so called Free nations are all financial colonies of the World Bank. The World Bank is acting as though it was a multi-headed King over all nations whether called Free or otherwise. Nationalism is the only enemy that the operators of universal prefabricated False Debt are afraid of. Hence their efforts to create Revolutions, Strikes and Wars against Kings, Queens, Presidents and Directors, the reason being their fright lest national Governments issue Bank Debt Free money and operate a Taxless System.

'State ownership and nationalism are hangovers of the past' says Mr. Eugene Black. He is right, but he might have added, 'so also is private ownership' since Taxes have created a situation in which whole nations, people, and their Total output are claimed as a Bank asset paying interest upon non-existing money. For Banks do not lend or create money. They create credits called Bank overdrafts which are of course counterfeit money. Taxation and Bank Loans have destroyed every nation on Earth in turn. The operators of the False Debt System have created Poverty, War, Revolution, Strikes and murder to get their own ends. They have created famines by their extortion and greed. Until the people realise that their products are stolen by Taxation, and their sweat a symbol of Slavery to Banks, it is difficult to see how the Personal Sovereignty of man can be once again established, and freedom from false debt put the users into coma. No nation or people can borrow themselves out of Debt. Neither can one nation lend another money when it has no money itself and is using a false measure of accountancy, i.e. Bank Credits at interest.

Devon, England

G. T. Olarenschaw

Swamis and Social Reform

Sir,

The Bishop of Bloemfontein in South Africa is reported to have urged his people to break

through the colour bar and disown the Government which violated the Christian ethic. Bloemfontein is the capital of the Orange Free State, perhaps the most Boer and boer in South Africa. Such a strong statement coming from the Bishop of that Province has a very special significance, though he is not the first Bishop in South Africa to take such a bold stand in public.

The action of the Bishop is in strong contrast with the attitude of the *Matadhipathis* in India towards the caste system which is as wicked as racialism in South Africa. Few, if any, have been known to take the lead in social reform in India and to denounce the caste system, with its hierarchy of contempt. The bulk of the people in India are still orthodox and respect the Swamis who, if they wished, can promote social reform more effectively than laymen or the State. Social reform in India has made such progress as it did in spite of the Swamis than because of them. If the temples were opened to the Harijans, it was not because of the Swamis, but the secular State. Religious scholarship need not be a bar to a social reform. The Indian Swamis will do well to expose themselves to modern ideas and take the lead in social reform and second the efforts of Government rather than stand aloof or silently obstruct. The example of the Bishop of Bloemfontein is well worth following by the *Matadhipathis* in India.

Bangalore

—P. Kodanada Rao

"Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law no court can save it."

—FREEMAN

ATTENTION !!!

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