

# Indian Libertarian

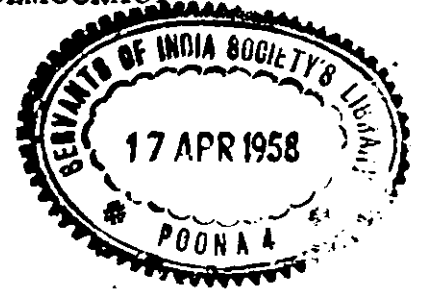
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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY



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## Letters To The Editor

### WHY THIS INACTION ON THE PART OF NEW DELHI?

Dear Madam: Speaking at New Delhi, Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed asserted that the Jammu and Kashmir Government would not hesitate in taking strong action against Sheikh Abdullah. But the trouble was that New Delhi was the centre from which subversive activities were directed in the State. In a way it was a broad hint that the New Delhi Government was inactive. Why is this so?

As against this statement of Bakshi Saheb is the statement of Union Defence Minister, Menon that detention or arrest of Sheikh Abdullah was primarily the responsibility of Srinagar Government. The common man in India is baffled at these diverse and conflicting statements.

Intelligent persons in the country can point out to the invisible and Hamlet-like person who is restraining the authorities to take action against the Sheikh. This inaction of New Delhi must end.

Bombay J. B. Motwane

### COMMUNISM AND LOTTERIES

Dear Madam: Communist Russia applies a double-standard to lotteries. Lotteries in bourgeois countries are called a source of enrichment for astute businessmen. In the Soviet Encyclopaedia (Volume 25, Moscow, 1954, page 240). A campaign is in progress, just at the moment in Russia, to sell tickets for a new large state factory. Although the purchase of lottery tickets has been declared voluntary, *Isvestia* reports in its issue of Feb. 2, 1958 that in Moscow there have been grave violations of the instructions that the sale of tickets is to be entirely voluntary. Quotas for the distribution of tickets have been presented to a number of enterprise and institutions in Moscow. In many cases, subscriptions for lottery tickets have been organized, here and there they were even forced on people. The State lottery and the State mass-subscription loans in Russia constitute a substantial source of state income. The extension of maturity dates of bonds

by twenty years involved the freezing of two hundred sixty billion roubles loaned to the State by the public. This is one of the examples of communist disregard for the right of the people who, in good faith, subscribed to the state loans.

Bombay Sumant S. Bankeshwar

### STOOPING TO CONQUER THE SHEIKH

Dear Madam: It is surprising that the present Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State should have offered, on a silver platter so to say, the premiership of the State to a declared traitor and rank pro-Pakistani Sheikh Abdullah. There are also news appearing in the so-called nationalist press that the Sheikh should not be further "offended" by calling him names for fear of India losing him altogether. This is wishful thinking and NOT democracy. This stooping to conquer the Sheikh is not only weak-kneed but also betrays how far from democratic tradition and democratic ways are both the people and the press.

The Sheikh has forfeited all rights, to be called an Indian, since he started his offensive against India and for Pakistan. The Sheikh talks of his being "betrayed" by the Prime Minister and does not find anything wrong in the wanton and open tribal attack on the people of Kashmir, the raping of Kashmiri women, and the loot and arson indulged by the Pak raiders even on the Kashmiri Muslims. To his Islamic logic all that the Pakistani raiders did was justified as they wanted "to free the Kashmiri Muslims from the accursed Dogra (Hindu) regime." The question is why he did not then join the Pak raiders? The answer is simple. He was NOT then in the good books of the Pakistani leaders, today he is. While he was pampered and raised to the skies as the symbol of Indian secularism, by the gullible Hindus, his sole aim was to get as much money for himself and for the Kashmiri Muslims as he could from the Indian exchequer. His loyalty was always for a Muslim nation, Pakistan.

The correct and proper treatment for the Sheikh is send him to jail again, to cool his heels and chew his Islamic cud. And he has deservedly earned that treatment by his numerous speeches since his release.

Poona —S. S. Apte

## CHANGES IN THE ARAB WORLD

**E**VENTS in Arab Asia are moving fast towards their dramatic issue—namely an all-Arab federal Union under the present Arab man of destiny—President Nasser. The Egyptian charge of a plot by King Saud to assassinate Nasser has developed today into a *coup* whereby Prince Feisal, the younger brother of the King Ibn Saud, has been enabled to assume enhanced powers, adding to those of prime minister and foreign minister, and those of police and army ministers. It is said that consequently King Saud has been forced to reconcile himself to the alignment of his country with Nasser's union of Arab states—Egypt, Syria and Yemen. Now only Jordan and Iraq remain yet out of the Nasser bloc. It remains to be seen how long they can remain independent of the Arab movement. Nuriy Said now recalled to function as chief minister in Iraq as so often before faces a more difficult task than ever before to keep the people contented and well in hand and loyal to the Iraqi regime.

### IRAQ & JORDAN WILL SOON SUCCUMB

The new middle class forming itself out of new developments, financed by the oil income, is more open than ever to the influence of pan-Arabism. Modernism cannot breed loyalty to ancient royalties and the artificial dynasty of the Hashemites coming to the throne, carved out by the British out of the wreckage of the Ottoman empire in 1918, has not yet had much time to grow into the soil and stabilise itself. The old class of the pashas, deprived of the old military and judicial function under the old regime, has long since sunk into an idle rich absentee landlord class, little interested in the uplift of the *fellaheens*.

The neighbouring little State of Jordan is even more brittle, half of its new population consisting of refugees from Palestine, of whom a sizable sprinkling come from the educated middle class steeped in Leftist ideas, and totally hostile to monarchs of old. Jordan has not yet time to stabilise itself under its living since its foundation. The promise of replacement given by Egypt and Syria when the king dismissed Glub Pasha has not been fulfilled. It is now partly supported by Iraq. The chances of the Jordanian and Iraqi populations being kept out of the Pan-Arab movement of Nasser are, therefore, very little. The oil wealth flowing from America and Britain cannot long help these independent States at the eastern periphery of the Arab world.

### WORLD WAR III IN SIGHT

Secretary Dulles has stated on the announcement of the Saudi Arabian *coup* in favour of Prince Feisal, that the new man in power is not known to be anti-American and that there will be no need to rethink American policy in regard to Saudi Arabia. But by the time this is in print, it would be clear that the Secretary's statement was one of mere wish-fulfilment.

For the new prince is Nasser's man, and Nasser is the last man to let the *status quo* continue in regard to the oil resources of Saudi Arabia. As soon as the new set-up is re-established, U.S.A. will have to come to terms with Nasser as the master of a vaster empire than before for terms on which she may continue to draw oil from the old oil wells. And if Nasser is, in any degree, subordinate to the Russians, the ultimate sovereignty over this oil will pass on to them. At the same time, the British oil wells in the Kuwait and other Gulf areas, and the American and British oil wells in Iraq, will also come under pressure from the Arab (cum-Russian) new masters. If Nasser is firm, and shows clear subordination to Russia, and resists being bought up by the West, there is nothing for it but to fight. America will have to follow the Franco-British example and dig in and get physical possession of the oil wells. Depending on the international situation at the time when this situation comes to ripeness, World War III will be definitely in sight.

### WHERE STANDS INDIA?

Another development that is almost inevitable is the showdown between the new Pan-Arab composite State and Israel. If the West back Israel in a defensive war, the Russia will back the Arabs. Then also the little war will be swallowed up in the big ultimate war. It remains to be seen how long war will successfully be avoided by the Great Power rivals while wrangling with each other on these Arab issues. These are not merely Arab issues. They are bound up with the future of liberty and the future of mankind. They are also of profound importance for us in India, for we shall have to reckon with the Arab world after the world rivalry is resolved one way or another. And if in the meanwhile we take the side of the party that is on the whole on the side of liberty and higher civilisation based on liberty, we shall have a chance to survive in independence after the world conflagration, or even if it is avoided as by a miracle. But if we take the side of intoxicated dictators, who have no patience for the pedestrian tasks of slow nation-building through education and hard industrialisation, based on training in modern skills and team spirit and the habit of disciplined work, we shall rue the day when they rise against us as soft prey, as so often in the past when ruder peoples came down through Khyber Pass and settled down to enjoy the wealth of the country after easy conquest!

### PAN-ISLAM ON THE MOVE

Pakistan celebrated her Republican day on 23 March. The main feature of the celebrations was the participation of Turkish, Iranian and Iraqi military contingents. This is symbolic of the new desire for union blowing through all the Islamic countries of which Nasser's Pan-Arabism is at present the dynamic centre. But the earthquake has other centres—one in North Africa and the other in Pakistan and the countries of the Baghdad Pact. It will take some

time more for this branch of the movement to emerge into practical politics.

The appeal of Islam is stronger to Muslim peoples than the sentiment of nationalism and by the time the Pan-Arab movement comes to fulfilment, the deeper swell of Pan-Islam will come to view and will begin to exercise its natural influence to include and expand the Pan-Arab achievements. Whether in all this excited transformations of the Islamic peoples into new political contignations, they will be led into peaceful and prosperous ways of life is exceedingly doubtful. But they will have the satisfaction of political expansion and having a sizable place in the Sun!

### BORDER TROUBLES WITH PAKISTAN

We have had some more border troubles last month and perhaps by the time we go to press, we shall have some more.

On the Assam border, East Pakistan military groups crossed the border river in boats and carried away seven Indians with some loot. On the West Bengal border, Pakistani soldiers opened fire on a border town and kept it up for hours. A cease fire was arranged, but the Pakistanis broke the agreement and opened fire again.

It is tedious to have to refer to these irritating (and humiliating) details, in which invariably our Government have evinced their great and surpassing devotion to Buddhist non-violence. As befits the great teachers of non-violence to the West, our Government consistently refuses to deal with these deliberate exercises in provocative violence indulged in as a pastime by our Pakistani "friends" on the same level. This time the Prime Minister has declared in Parliament that the affair is "serious" and will no doubt send another diplomatic protest which will as assuredly have the same destination as previous Notes from Bharat, viz: the Pakistani waste paper basket.

There is no doubt the Pakistani intentions to provoke India into reprisals, which she will broadcast to the world as India's aggression. To be afraid of such tactics is the measure of the hopeless situation into which we have fallen by our failure to do our duty in terms of self-defence promptly as and when attacks are made.

### TIT FOR TAT

If Pakistani troops kidnap Indians, the correct answer is for Indian troops to repay the compliment and kidnap Pakistani citizens. If Pakistani troops fire into our border, our troops should instantly reply with deadly effect into their border. There is no need for Indian officials to move about in desperation from office to office in Pakistan in quest of "information". We want no information from Pakistani offices. The places attacked have "information" enough until an aroused public opinion in India forces the Nehru Government to give up its "nerveless", unmanly unpolitical policy of softness and weakness towards Pakistan, there is no hope of a change for the better in the relations between our two countries can never improve.

### A PATHETIC CONFESSION

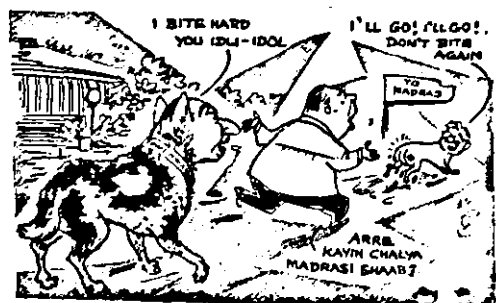
After the spectacular confession of the Prime Minister in Parliament that he has not been able to

persuade Pakistan to give up her steadfast and bitter hatred of India, it is for the people of India, to ask him to resign and instal in his place some one who has better ideas on this matter. The Prime Minister should not play the role of the "dog in the manger". Nor should the people be mesmerised by the legend that there is no substitute for Nehru. Even Vinoba Bhave, the Gandhian *chela*, said recently that the cry—*—who after Nehru?* will be answered by the "living force of India". The country will throw up more competent men if the democratic doorways are kept open by the holders of power and the people are not perpetual support of their rule.

### DR. RADHAKRISHNAN AND PAKISTAN

Dr. Radhakrishnan our Vice-President has shown a remarkable flair for diplomacy. As our Ambassador at Moscow in Stalin's time, he was favoured by that dreaded Man of Steel with several interviews at which our philosopher spoke to him unreservedly on freedom and democracy and the evils of absolutism. The great Stalin is said to have complimented the Indian philosopher as the first man to speak to him as a man on the human side of power and politics!

Dr. Radhakrishnan in his present visit (March) to the U.S.A. seems to have elicited a remarkable piece of information from President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. They seem to have assured Radhakrishnan (which Dulles mentioned in public later) that America has not (and has no intention to do so supplying Pakistan with bombing planes This may be true (and if Pakistan has not acquired bombers from other sources), the spreading fear that Pakistan will bomb Indian cities on a sudden and unannounced attack (like Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour) may receive abatement. Even so, the real way to re-assure our people and remove the temptation from Pakistan's desperadoes is full preparedness, both with anti-air craft guns, fighters and bombers of our own. More than the equipment, the armed forces must have full and unfettered instructions and initiative to reply to any attack in kind with deadly effect. It is only this knowledge that will keep the enemy forces in check. The country will not tolerate and forgive any shilly shallying on the part of the civilian authorities in this matter confusing the borders of armed forces in this vital matter. No Buddhism or Gandhism or other effete philosophy should be allowed to enter into this sphere of defence. Public opinion should assert itself clearly and decisively on this matter. We find that the Defence Minister is going about making appeals and exhortations to the people. But it is the Government that seems to need such prodding to be on the alert.



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

# INDIA AND ISLAM

By M. A. Venkata Rao

ONE of the historic failures of the Indian people has been the inability to come to terms with Islam in spite of close association with it on her soil for nearly a millenium. It may be said equally to be a failure of Islam. Of course; there is a measure of unreality in referring to them as entities apart from the peoples in whom they live and move and have their being. But as a matter of actual influence over the generations, we find that these views of life, incarnated in traditional ways of life as they are, in their respective adherents have a distinct moulding effect on actual behaviour. It is as if individuals become symbols, and means of self-expression for views of life that are accepted mostly by social heredity i.e.—influences of society on individuals from birth. The way in which Islamic and Hindu views of life have survived generation after generation, substantially unchanged, giving rise to characteristic types of thought, feeling and behaviour, is something wonderful. But in these days of rapid change, both in the environment and in ideas of life and nature and of world contacts and communications, it may be that crystallised forms of culture like Islam, and other religious systems, will change and become malleable. They may suffer a sea-change or disappear altogether in the minds of men as factors influencing actual behaviour.

## ISLAM AND HINDUISM CONFRONT EACH OTHER

But today it is an undeniable fact that Islam and Hinduism confront each other as social systems charged with political meaning and have a great influence in determining the forms of clash and conflict between their historic societies. While the political aspect has to be dealt with by leaders in government, clarification of issues by thinkers is of the first importance, not only with a view to the long-term solution of the human problems involved, but also to help politicians to take correct decisions based on the reality of the forces confronting them. Ideas become more dangerous when embodied in masses of men taught for ages to be different from others and to regard them as a legitimate prey of aggression and absorption.

One of the most pathetic scenes in contemporary politics in our country is the helpless confession, frequently made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Parliament and outside, that he has been unable to come to any understanding with Pakistan. Somehow, in spite of a continuous returning of good for evil, and steadfast refusal to be provoked, even by the most humiliating of insults (through border raids and the like), our leader has been unable to evoke the slightest response by way of friendliness from Pakistanis. Pandit Nehru has a flair for history. He has even written a history of the world. But he has been unable to use any of his historic learning to understand Islam and the Muslims as a people. The way, in which the Muslim

Leaguers refused to amalgamate with Indian nationalism in recent history, ought to have set our leaders thinking about the larger implications of the faith and ideology confronting them. But it did not. Our intelligentsia, too, has failed us today. Until sufficient numbers of thinking people, equipped with a competent knowledge of the subjects necessary for the task, study and reveal the fundamental elements of Islam, as a social and political institution, and its drive as a social force, deriving its inspiration from its religion, we shall not be able to come to any tolerable terms with Pakistan and the world of Islam generally. *Failure to understand and deal with Islam was the real ultimate reason for the Partition of India.* Similar continued failure will lead to greater disasters in the not-so-distant future, when Islam succeeds in attaining political expression in modern form as a single vast federation, uniting all the historic branches of her people from Gibraltar to Indonesia. *World forces are propitious for this consummation.* The clash of Russian and Western systems of power is unthinking, unwittingly helping this process of Islamic consolidation as a byproduct which will out-last present world rivalries. In that new era India will be ill-prepared for grasping the realities of the situation if the present type of leadership continues, leadership ill-equipped with insight into history, religion and the contact of forces on their own soil.

Hence from this point of view, the stress laid by Mr. Lotvala on research on the origin and characteristics of Semitic religions, the source of their fanaticism or the closed type of mind they display, the historic career of Islam and the peculiar amalgam of religion, race, social customs, attitude to other peoples, conversion by force, attitude to women, attitude to the world as a field of enjoyment, the personality of its prophet and all that constitute Islam as a social force with a tremendous impact on the world—research into this world phenomenon is a necessity for an intelligent understanding of the contemporary world and for the basis of a sound policy capable of avoiding the failures and catastrophes of the past and present periods of our history. Mr. Lotvala is practically unique in his prescience this subject among publicists today.

## A SURRENDER TO FANATICISM

The characteristic attitude of our present leadership to this question is one of ignoring the religious aspect as if it did not exist and falling back upon "secularism" or generosity hoping that the other side will respond. In effect it is a surrender in principle to the claims of the other side to it. This is based on a superficial desire to avoid trouble and escape the trouble of understanding the deeper sources of motivation of the opposing side. The expression of failure made by Jawaharlal Nehru in the matter of reconciling Pakistan ought to be enough warning that the methods employed so far in dealing with Islam need to be changed for others based on deeper understanding than is contained in the policy of surrender and appeasement.

Feroze Khan Noon said in his remarkable three-hour

oration in the national assembly at Karachi the other day that India is *Islam's greatest enemy!* It should not be dismissed as a mere expression of fanaticism. We should enquire calmly as to why a Muslim Prime Minister should make such an extravagant and ill-natured statement. We have to conduct our enquiry at two levels—one that of Islam as a religious and social system and the other that of the Muslim peoples with their political ambitions in the emerging world of tomorrow. Perhaps as our enquiry proceeds, we shall discover the living links between the two levels of religion and politics.

Mr. Noon is not far wrong in his implication that Islam and Hinduism (as the characteristic religious system of India) are hostile to each other. We have to discover the secret of this hostility in the interpretation of nature and life that each religion carries in its essence. The opposition between these world-views can be resolved not by the breaking of heads nor by forcing conformity on one or the other through extra-rational means of fear and reward but by experience as interpreted by reason.

Islam, along with Judaism and Christianity, has inherited a view of God as supreme person, who has created the universe by a fiat. He is also the law-giver and judge. Those who acknowledge his position and do his will are good people who will be rewarded with heaven on the day of judgement, and those who disobey his commands will be sent to hell to suffer everlasting pain. In addition, Islam includes respect to the prophet as the last infallible revealer of God's will in the faith. God and the prophet sum up the law and the prophets, according to Islam. These ideas, in themselves, need not entail any fanaticism or closed mind. But we have to enquire what addition to these basic tenets in Islam have been responsible for the fanaticism or claims for infallibility or dogmatic finality (to use Dr. White-head's phrase) that have been characteristic of its career through the centuries.

#### THE CORE OF FANATICISM

For Islam it is not enough that you believe in God as creator of the universe and law giver and judge. You must also believe in the infallibility of the Koran as the Divine Book as revealed to the prophet Muhammad. It is a religion of *the Book*. The description of the deity and of nature and of man given in it is infallible and the last word. It cannot be questioned even in interpretation. There is only one standard interpretation given by the prophet or his successors—the caliphs. To doubt or offer a rival interpretation is the supreme and unforgivable sin. Further, the believers belong to God and the unbelievers go to hell. Belief in the Book is the sole gateway to salvation. Here we touch upon the source of fanaticism in Islam.

#### WHERE HINDUISM SCORES

It is similar with Christianity. Only believers in Christ, as the son of God and the sole redeemer, can go to heaven. Believers in other religions cannot go to heaven or attain salvation. When Radhakrishnan's book on the Hindu way of life appeared, a conference of foreign Christian missionaries met at Ootacamund and declared (while welcoming Radhakrishnan's re-statement of the essentials of the Hindu Faith), that *salvation can come only through the name of Jesus Christ*. One may have a high image of God and have sincere faith in Him. One may be animated by the highest morality. But if one has no faith in Muham-

med or Christ as the sole messenger or son of God as the case may be, he cannot hope to escape hell! He must burn everlastingly in an eternity of pain! It is here that Hinduism in its highest forms scores over its rivals. The Rig Veda has the famous hymn—*Ekam sat viprah bahudha vadanti*. Reality is one—wise men proclaim it in diverse ways. The Indian sages realised the inadequacy of all human ways of grasping, defining or indicating it. Hence they accord freedom to all intelligences to describe their experience of the supreme in their own way. There is here a supreme loyalty to the integrity of experience and reason that is unique in the history of the world.

#### THIS MONOPOLY IN RELIGION IS THE BEDROCK OF INTOLERANCE

With this conviction of the right of every human being to approach God in his own way, and travel at his own pace and under the guidance of teachers of his own choice, and with images of the supreme appealing to him in the first stages of the journey, India early took up a rational, inclusive, tolerant philosophy of life in religion that permeated all her social and individual life. Education and modes of worship, and respect for individual variation attained unique levels of truth and elevation in India as a consequence of this insight. *Islam and Christianity cannot tolerate this toleration for if they did, they will become only one of the religions whereby men can attain salvation*. But they claim to be the *sole true religion* while proclaiming all others to be false!

According to Hinduism, all religions are true in their own degree and efficacy if pursued sincerely and single-mindedly with a view to reach God. If pursued wrongly for power and worldly influence, all are capable of becoming bad and leading to wicked results. Here is the vital difference between the two. On many planes (1) The idea of God and its consonance with what science tells us of nature and man, (2) on its effect on character (3) on its effect on social morality, (4) on its effect on politics and the kind of political power it engenders naturally etc.

That Islam and Hinduism are hostile hypotheses about ultimate matters admits of no doubt. It is for us to decide between them as between *two competing hypotheses* to account for the same phenomenon impartially on the sole basis of experience and reason and ethical consequence. If we approach the problem with conclusions already accepted, intent only on finding reasons to support them, all *shall not be true to reason and experience*. We shall not be philosophic or scientific in the true sense. And the problem will remain unsolved as before bedeviling the politics of humanity in the future as in the past and present. It may be that much in the two systems will have to be given up or refined to bring up old ideas into conformity with the best scientific ideas of nature and life. It may be that the *core* of religion will remain or it may be that it will be so transformed that worship of the ultimate will seem ludicrous and unnecessary. That is why in Indian tradition, *worship* (Karma) merges its contemplation (Jnana) as the higher response. The failure of Hinduism to *assimilate Islam* in this level of the vision of the ultimate reality is due *not to her inferiority* but rather due to the failure of the representatives of Islam to rise to Hindu level of approaching the Supreme which is all

inclusive and catholic. *Hinduism has a place for Islam but Islam has no place for Hinduism or any other religion.*

### ISLAM AND VIOLENCE

This claim to final superiority in faith has led to the political practice of conquering other lands and people. Did the prophet lay upon his people the duty of conquering the world for Islam? This is a question of interpretation of Islamic texts. Also what is it in Islamic social history that made Muslim leaders think that it was their duty to conquer the world for Islam? If the first effort at conquest had been frustrated instead of being crowned with brilliant success, (the inheritance of the Roman world of the Feringhees falling to them like ripe apples) would it have brought out other and more peaceful elements to the fore? Also, the historic accident that the founding of Islam coincided with military events, (the prophet himself having had to fight,) must have had something to do with the militancy of Islam as a social institution. Also, ideas used for *action in war* must necessarily stress decision and the closed mind and the dismissal of wider views.

### INDIA NEEDS REVOLUTION OF POLICIES

Today, the revival of Islam is inextricably mixed

up with the revival of militarism and empire and the glory of earthly power. The ecstasy of God is mixed up with the intoxication of temporal power charged inevitably with aggression. *The first victims of such aggression are likely to be Indians*, if geography and history and ideology have anything to teach us. It is the part of wisdom to keep this eventuality in mind and study the deeper psychological and other ingredients of Islam to detail. Indian thought has given in the *Bhagwad Gita* the great gift of *teaching how to fight without fanaticism*. A study of the opposite types of Islamic and Hindu warrior would be most illuminating.

? We should also study the historic instances of the mutual contact and influence of Islamic and Hindu cultures of which we have some record—the *Din Ilati* of Akbar, the *Bhakti* movement of Kabir, the Sufi movement, Sikhism, Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj. \* Peoples come into conflict naturally in the competition for the earth and its fruits and project their antagonisms into the realm of ideology. Will a change of ideology influence them to change their objectives in politics? Religion is a way of affirming individual and social self-assertion for historic peoples. Today it may be nationalism or communism that performs this function. *Sound policy for India requires a just evaluation of these elements of religion and nationalism.*

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## UNTIMELY CLOUD OVER INDIA

*The resignation of India's finance minister should draw attention to the damaging and dangerous consequences of the Mundhra affair*

JUST how large a hole has been blown in the economic and political prospects for India, and for all of free Asia, by the wretched Mundhra affair? Clearly one cannot yet tot up all the damage; events are still unfolding. On Tuesday, Mr. Haridas Mundhra, the lone-wolf Marwari business man whose speculative activities set off the whole chain reaction, was arrested and charged with forgery in respect of share certificates; and the resigning finance minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, made his personal statement. On Wednesday Mr. Nehru was hard pressed in a sharp parliamentary debate. Now that Mr. Justice Chagla's public inquiry is over and its findings published, battle is joined in earnest. Politicians of both the left and the right have acquired fresh ammunition; indignant civil servants are in a mood to fight all comers; there are hints of more revelations to come, some of which can be expected when Mr. Mundhra appears in court. And if the Indian elephant, already stumbling as it thrusts through the jungle along its chosen track of democratic progress, is now seized with internal spasms, the smaller animals of Asia will once more compare its tribulations with the roars of triumph which are all they hear from the red dragon in Peking, and draw their own conclusions.

For the second time in two years, India has lost an able finance minister in unhappy circumstances. In 1956 Mr. Deshmukh left because his Mahratta emo-

tions were stirred by the controversy over linguistic state boundaries. Now a judicial inquiry has fixed upon Mr. Krishnamachari the constitutional responsibility for improper use of public funds, and a reluctant prime minister has accepted his resignation. It is a serious loss. Throughout a difficult year and a half, "TTK" had carried a great part of the strain imposed by India's struggle for development. He introduced unpopular taxes and defended unpopular retrenchments. He contrived not quite to frighten the business men to death, not quite to lose ground to the doctrinaires whose pie-in-the-sky eloquence naturally has more popular appeal than the harsh reality of a planed-down Plan. He banged into other politicians' heads the fact that India needs the foreign investor. He induced America, and even western Germany, to come to the rescue of India's "socialist-pattern" programme.

A very large share of the same burden has been borne by the overworked men who head the civil service. None of them has been under more strain than Mr. H. M. Patel, the principal secretary of the finance ministry, who has now been enmeshed in the Mundhra affair together with his minister. One deduction widely drawn from the facts brought out in the Chagla inquiry is that these top civil servants are wont to exercise more initiative than the general public realised. But, if that has been so in the past, it



now seems unlikely to continue. Mr. Patel's evidence was that his minister had approved the purchase by the state-controlled Life Insurance Corporation of a million pounds' worth of shares in the largely speculative Mundhra companies, the avowed purpose being to relieve a depressed stock market. Mr. Krishnamachari denies having given any such explicit authority, and the Chagla inquiry provided the unedifying spectacle of a clash of evidence between the minister and his chief permanent official.

Will India's senior civil servants from now on abjure initiative and responsibility in any important matter? That is a sadly familiar pattern in many Asian and other countries where, because of a universal horror of responsibility, public administration is sickeningly sluggish. One doubts whether such procedures would meet the needs of the world's largest democracy in these years of urgency. And how long can the Indian civil service retain its present quality if its best men, already so inadequate in numbers, must face this additional strain on their spirit?

All in all, there is a formidable bill to be paid for Mundhra's million. Mr. Nehru has once again had to take the finance portfolio temporarily into his already overfull hands, on the eve of a budget and at a time of severe economic strain. The ruling Congress party is spattered with the mud of scandal; and if it tries to shake it off on to the civil servants, that will merely increase their resentment and reduce their value. The public has been made uneasy about the conduct of those in high places just when it had been brought to accept some painful belt-tightening on the strength of its faith in their integrity. And the problem of replacing Mr. Krishnamachari may prove a baffling one.

What successor could snatch up the threads of his negotiations for further financial help in Washington and Bonn? A more doctrinaire finance minister could very easily lose India its present prospects of foreign aid, and, indeed, panic foreign investors in general. A "sound" minister who lacked TTK's political skill vigour and status could equally easily lose all grip on an impatient public opinion; for public opinion has been led to expect near-miracles from the Plan, and has lately been squirming under the impact of new taxes, cuts in imports, and cutbacks in development projects. It would not seem easy either to bring Mr. Deshmukh back or to call Mr. S. K. Patil forward; and who else could fill the bill?

The prospect of an intensified foreign exchange crisis, a disenchanting public, a queasy Congress and a bruised and resentful civil service is a gloomy one indeed—and not only for India. A great part of the Asian world looks to India for proof that poverty can be successfully assailed without recourse to the communist techniques of slave labour, political dragooning, and the drowning out of sufferers' cries with fanfares of trumpets. And the democratic West needs a democratic Asia—just as Asia needs the West—if either is to survive in freedom.

Mercifully, there is one substantial item on the credit side of the ledger. Even among Indians who have been fascinated by the Mundhra affair in much the same spirit as British newspaper readers relished the Parker and Lynaskey tribunals, there has been justified pride in this evidence of the underlying integrity of their country's institutions. The pressure of a free parliament and press has led a senior minister to subject himself to a humiliating public inquiry. Mr.

Krishnamachari has not been accused of acting for personal profit; he is merely held responsible for ill-advisedly and improperly permitting the use, for an arguably constructive purpose, of funds which by definition should have been deployed solely for the benefit of insurance policy holders. The Mundhra affair may be a blot in India's copybook; but how many of India's neighbours could show a copybook clean enough for such a blot to be noticeable?

Britons, in particular, are apt to pay India the stiff compliment of judging events there by higher standards than they apply to other newly independent countries. To point this out is not to condone laxity or impropriety. But it usually takes an exception to prove a rule; one recalls how strong an impact on general opinion was made by Mr. Daiton's relinquishment of the Exchequer in 1947. The damage done by this whole sorry affair to the cause of democratic progress in India and elsewhere should not be underestimated. But it should also be recorded that Indian and foreign observers alike have seen a classic example of how the fierce play of the searchlights of a free parliament, a free press, and a free judiciary can reveal what even the most powerful politician or official would prefer to hide. A high price has had to be paid; bitterness will linger in the mouth as well as pride. But the respect for truth which is the bedrock of a free society can seldom be established without bitterness and tribulation. An episode that may do India grievous harm can also do it credit. —*The Economist*

#### ABDULLAH TRYING TO GET INDIA OUT OF KASHMIR

Srinagar: Is Sheikh Abdullah planning to launch a movement to force India out of Kashmir? People here would seem to think so.

His purpose is also to convince them of two other things:

(1) That Pakistan has given ample proof of its secularism by not squeezing the Hindus out of East Pakistan (he was conveniently silent about the Hindus in West Pakistan).

(2) That India's claim to secularism is all hollow. He has, however, not been able to adduce any facts in support of his contention.

*There is no denying the fact that a deep bitterness of spirit has got the better of Sheikh Abdullah's judgment. It is an unhappy experience for one who had imagined himself as the arbiter of destinies of his people to find himself deserted by those very people Sheikh Abdullah finds himself in that position today.*

It is this bitterness of spirit—combined with vengeance against those who, according to him, have brought his political eclipse by keeping him behind the bars for more than four years—which has sparked off the present wave of violence on the part of his supporters, who include the Plebiscite Fronters and pro-Pakistan Political Conference workers.

That is the only way in which one can explain the recent attacks on National Conference workers.

Sheikh Abdullah may, however, disclaim all responsibility on the ground that he did not tell his supporters to indulge in violence, and that, when the first attack was made, he was actually at home.

But the facts are against him.

The first attack followed close on the heels of his speech at the Hazaratbal Shrine and his followers had come to the mosque armed.



# Khrushchev Reaches The Pinnacle

By T. L. Kantam

**T**HE march of events in Soviet Russia since Stalin's death in March 1953 recall the struggles within the Politburo which followed the death of Lenin and the outcome has been the same—the emergence of a Second Stalin.

## PEASANT TO PREMIER

The Ukrainian peasant, who was the unknown head of the farm collectivization programme in 1953, has reached the pinnacle in the Soviet world in a quarter of the time that the revolutionary from Georgia took to achieve the same result.

How did Khrushchev accomplish this miracle?

## COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

On the morrow of Stalin's death, Malenkov was the undisputed leader of the party hierarchy. Yet, before a meeting of the Supreme Soviet could confirm him as Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Premier), a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was held in which he "resigned" as party secretary in favour of Khrushchev. At this time Khrushchev was not given the title of First Secretary, and ranked only fifth or sixth in the hierarchy. This was interpreted as the first indication of the adoption of the "collective leadership" doctrine, under which no single person would be allowed to hold all the reins of power in his hands as had Stalin. It also implied an intention to limit the party machine to a secondary role.

But Khrushchev, like Stalin, used the party as a stepping stone to power. Let us follow his upward march.

## FIRST STEP

The first step was the removal of Lavrenti Beria, chief of the Secret Police. In the first few months after Stalin's death, Beria steadily increased his power. This may have alarmed Malenkov. It certainly alarmed the party and the army. Beria had, therefore, to go. Thanks to the backing of both the party and the army, the operation was smoothly effected in the summer of 1953.

## PARTY ON TOP

The initiative was now taken by the party, under the leadership of the wily and more "ideological" Khrushchev. The party now moved forward to reassert its former position. "Collective Leadership" took on a new meaning, the control of the party over all branches of the State apparatus, in accordance with the traditional Leninist doctrine. The far-seeing Khrushchev formed an alliance between the party

machine and the political commissars and party "generals" in the army, whom the party had put there to ensure the army's loyalty.

During the nineteen months between the fall of Beria and that of Malenkov, the *bloc*, thus formed by Khrushchev, systematically undermined Malenkov's position, and down-graded the secret police. The fall of Beria was followed by his and his principal associates' execution in December 1953 after a secret trial.

## MALENKOV'S "RESIGNATION"

The stage was thus set for Malenkov's "resignation" at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in January 1955. At one time it was touch and go for Khrushchev but he won in the end. Khrushchev charged Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovitch and Shepilov with forming an anti-party group in Moscow, with ramifications all over Russia. Admitting defeat, they "confessed" that they indeed had plotted to upset Khrushchev and his programme. Marshal Zhukov's pledge of the Red Army's support clinched victory for Khrushchev, in return for which Zhukov was promoted as a full member of the Presidium.

Nothing like this coup of Khrushchev has ever happened before or since in the Soviet Union. In one lightning stroke, five (the four mentioned above and Pervukhin, (Economic Planner) out of the eleven members of the Presidium were thrown out of office. All the five were distinguished and famous communists, who had done more than any other five men for the present economic development of Russia.

## HISTORIC 20TH CONGRESS

Then came the historic Soviet Communist Party's Twentieth Congress in February 1956. The most spectacular development at this meeting was a denunciation of the cult of the individual and the dethronement of the once omnipotent dictator of the USSR, Joseph Stalin. Speaking with a confidence born out of consciousness of power, Khrushchev startled his audience and the world by asserting that Communists do not necessarily stand for the violent overthrow of the capitalist order; that "co-operation with social democrats" is possible and essential, and that the concept of "separate paths to socialism" was completely acceptable from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, thus in effect approving an erstwhile deviation for which many a dedicated Communist paid with his life.

## "GREATEST GENIUS ON EARTH"

The depths to which Stalin pushed and buried can only be fathomed by recalling the incredible heights to which he was raised during his lifetime. The "greatest genius on earth," "great architect of Com-

munism," "wise teacher and leader," "inspirer of our glorious victories"—these are but a few of the panegyrics showered upon him.

### EXIT SOVIET'S No. 1 HERO

Khrushchev now had only one rival left—Marshal Zhukov—the Soviet's No. 1 National Hero. When Zhukov issued instructions to his army Commanders to put the military first and the party second, Khrushchev retaliated by infiltrating the armed forces with more and better party agents. Khrushchev's propaganda machine attacked Zhukov for his foreign "adventures," and accused him of "insufficient appreciation of party principles."

Early in November 1957 when Zhukov, returned from a tour of Yugoslavia, he had to face a trial before the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Though the hero of World War II battled desperately, the odds were heavily against him, and finally he succumbed, muttering "I admit my mistakes. I give my promise.... to eliminate fully my shortcomings."

### THE FINAL STEP

Having thus disposed of Zhukov, Khrushchev was sitting at the top, but there was one thing lacking. He was not the *de facto* head of the State. Why should he not be the Premier as well as the First Secretary of the party like Stalin? Bulganin, who replaced Malenkov as Premier, was his nominee. Nothing more easy than to get him to step down, and so on March 27, 1958, just five years after Stalin's death, Khrushchev established his undisputed one-man control over the Soviet world.

### PUZZLE INSIDE AN ENIGMA

What are the portents of this latest shake-up in the Kremlin? Does it mean the end of "collective leadership" and return to the old ideological unity and dictatorial centralization of power built up by Stalin over many years? Will there be any change in Soviet foreign policy? These are difficult questions to answer and one is tempted to repeat the famous Churchillian quip that Soviet Russia is indeed "a puzzle wrapped inside of an enigma."

### NEW COURSE

It would, perhaps, be safe to make certain general observations. The period since Stalin's death was one of experimentation, in which new solutions to domestic and foreign problems were tested.

In the economic sphere, agriculture was lagging far behind the pace of forced industrialization, and had become less and less able adequately to feed the industrial workers. Malenkov's way of dealing with the crisis, which came to be known as the "new course," consisted primarily in increasing the incentives offered to the farmers—by reducing delivery quotas, raising prices and by tax rebates on the earnings from the individual plots of the peasants working on collective farms. Emphasis on heavy industry continued, but its pace was slightly slowed down. At the same time plans were drawn up for a "steep increase" in the output of consumer goods. The new programme was super-imposed on the old one, with the result that there was not only a substantial failure to meet the targets set, but also a great deal of confusion. The

machine and arms industries, accustomed to top priority suddenly found themselves in procurement difficulties.

A clear decision was, therefore, called for on the question how far the promise of more consumer goods should be allowed to affect the long-term pattern of Soviet investment. This was the issue over which Khrushchev succeeded towards the end of 1954 in forming a common front with the army. The programme of this front was to restore the clear priority for heavy industry at the cost of disavowing some of Malenkov's "new course" promises. Once the party and army came to an agreement, Malenkov's fate was sealed. Little wonder, he submitted without a fight.

### NO CHANGE

Under Khrushchev's one-man rule, we can expect little change in the basic approach to economic development in the U.S.S.R. A preponderant share of the national income will continue to be poured into industrial capital and heavy armaments, instead of being devoted to the needs of the population for better supply of food, daily necessities, clothing and housing.

### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Soviet foreign policy is an integral part of Communist policy as a whole. In Malenkov's "new course," the international measures were skilfully blended with propaganda propounding the desirability and advantages of peaceful co-existence. As pointed out earlier, Malenkov's successors abandoned the new economic policy at home. On the other hand, they have continued the "new course" in foreign policy because it gave them time to consolidate their position at home while wooing new friends and allies abroad. One of their main objectives appears to be to avoid war. They therefore decided on relaxation of East-West tension. In Europe, their main aim is to preserve the *status quo*—to perpetuate the division of Germany and to hold on to their European possessions.

With their European rear secure, they have been concentrating on extending their influence in other parts of the world, principally the Middle East and South-east Asia. There is no reason to think that Khrushchev's views on foreign policy will be any different. The tone of diplomacy may vary from time to time but the policies themselves can vary little.

### NEW TECHNIQUE PRESERVES BLOOD

Whole blood may now be kept indefinitely because of a new deep-freeze technique. Blood is sprayed onto liquid nitrogen and is frozen so quickly that salt in the blood cannot cause a harmful chemical reaction on the red blood cells.

A new portable refrigerator maintains the minus 320 deg. Fahrenheit temperature for 23 days with a single charge of liquid nitrogen. The blood is quickly thawed and reconstituted when needed.

According to the inventor of the technique, Dr. Harold P. Merryman of the U.S. Naval Research Institute in Washington, D.C., "it is as fresh as the day it was donated."

# India And The Middle East

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

**M**IDDLE East is a subject about which public opinion in India is very little affected. Big events, such as the United Arab State formed by Col. Nasser and the rivalry between the West and the East, specially USA and USSR, are not at all seen in their proper perspective. The reason probably is that there is a very great gap in our knowledge of the facts about the Middle East. The Middle East has bulked very large as a geographical expression, but about the political happenings in this troubled area, very little is known. And yet, the Middle East is right on our doorstep, and the main sea lane of communications, the Suez Canal and Red Sea with practically the whole of the trade of the Western world passes through the Middle East. What happens there is of profound consequence to India, as became apparent during the Suez crisis, and it is in the light of this importance that India's foreign policy, her policy of non-alignment and more positively, her adherence to what we like to call Panchashila, have to be examined. Any profitable discussion of the situation must be based upon a knowledge of facts, and such knowledge has to be fostered by an intelligent interest in the study of the many cross-currents in this area of the world so that we shall all be the better equipped to understand what is happening in the countries which are our immediate neighbours. That part today constitutes one of the troubled spots of the world with the oil and power rivalries of US and USSR on one hand and nascent, Arab nationalism that is fast developing into Pan-Islam on the other.

Our present foreign policy stems from a wrong reading of the history of aggressive Islam, as well as its modern version of ruthless materialist fanatic Communism. While at least some of our responsible leaders and a section of our press are slowly realising the dangers inherent in our pro-Soviet foreign policy, nobody seems to appreciate the menace to the freedom and democracy of India of Pan-Islam latent in Pan-Arabism which is no less dangerous than international Communism, if not more.

## A THREAT TO OUR INDEPENDENCE

Realisation of President Nasser's dream of building an empire of Muslims from Morocco to Indonesia will be the greatest threat to our national independence. The whole Muslim world is now looking forward to Nasser for leadership. Saudi Arabia also is now reported to have decided to join the united Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria.

Now that India is on friendly terms with both communist China and Russia, and because they know well that America is sure to come to our rescue, if they attempt to annex India, there is no immediate danger to our freedom, from international communism. But if we were to be attacked by aggressive Pakistan, no power bloc would intervene in favour of us. The only country which may be considered as our dependable ally is Israel, whose freedom is equally threatened by aggressive Pan Islamism. Under these cir-

cumstances, why should India hail Nasser's move to consolidate all Islamic countries under his leadership? Why should we support the aggressive Pan-Islamic policy of the ambitious Egyptian dictator against our ally Israel? Moreover Israel is not a theocratic fanatic State as the Arab nations, including Egypt are.

Further, although Pakistan was clearly an aggressor in Kashmir, Egypt has so far not supported India on the question of Kashmir. Our foreign policy must be strictly based on reciprocity and guided by enlightened national self-interest. The immediate danger to our freedom comes from Pan-Islam although our potential enemy is international communism.

Israel's action against Egypt in 1956 was unanimously condemned by all in India without making any attempt to know the facts. What are the facts? Was the Israeli action against Egypt, an unprovoked aggression on "peaceful and innocent" Egypt?

## DID ISRAEL COMMIT AGGRESSION?

Can we afford to forget the attack in 1948, of seven Arab nations comprising a population of 40 millions, on a newly established state of Israel, comprising a population of less than two millions, the bellicose outbursts of Nasser and his repeated threats to liquidate Israel, and dump all the Jews into the Arabian Sea, the repeated violations of the armistice line by Egypt and her Arab allies, Nasser's military pacts with Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and his establishment of a joint command with these countries, his piling up of arms and ammunition, the military aid from the communist countries, and his preparations for a final showdown with Israel which Israel could have ignored only at her peril?

Was not Israel continuously harassed by the Arab nations? Did not Egypt consider herself to be in a state of war with Israel? Can you even technically call the Israeli action in Egypt "aggression" when Egypt had considered herself to be in a state of war with Israel all the time? Was not the Israeli action in Egypt in 1956 just a counter-offensive and a continuation of a war—declared by seven Arab nations against Israel in 1948?

Mr. Nehru's fears, expressed recently, that Israel might again start war in the Middle East are totally unfounded. His whole pro-Egyptian policy stems from his desire not to offend the Muslim sentiment in India, and he is deliberately distorting facts in order to blacken Israel; his pro-Egyptian policy is only an extension of the age-old Congress policy of appeasing and pampering the Muslim minority in India, which led to the partition of the continent into Bharat and Pakistan.

If our leaders are not saints but diplomats, and lovers of freedom and democracy, we should cultivate friendship with Israel and the democratic countries of the West led by America, as a counterweight to the Islamic and Communist menace to the freedom of India.

# The Election In Russia

SOVIET Russia also has gone through an election—to “elect” the Supreme Soviet, sometimes compared to the Parliament in India and other democratic countries. The election in Russia has been however different from anything known in that respect to the non-totalitarian world, not only in that the votes polled have been of the highest percentage, but that not even one candidate put up by the Communist Party and what they call workers organisations has been defeated. The significance of this fact becomes fully understandable when one recalls that in a democratic country no ruling party can ever hope to have such a remarkably gratifying outcome of a popular vote. For instance, during the last General Election in India, despite the unparalleled popularity of its leader, the Indian National Congress not only lost constituencies but a whole State. The reason for the setbacks to ruling parties in the non-totalitarian countries, is simple. The ruling parties in democratic countries can boast of nothing comparable to what the Communist governments have, a peculiar political mechanism and the police,—to effect unanimity.

A glimpse of how “election” is organised in the Soviet Union or in any other Communist country can illustrate this distinction beyond a shadow of doubt. To begin with, it would be useful to remember that though every adult person in the Soviet Union has the right to vote, this is deliberately prevented from being reflected in the composition of the Supreme Soviet. For there is unequal representation for cities and villages, the latter numerically having fewer representatives than the former though sixty per cent of Russia’s population still ekes out its living from agriculture. This device was adopted to ensure the dominant role of the proletariat i.e. the city population. And then the Communist Party prepares a single

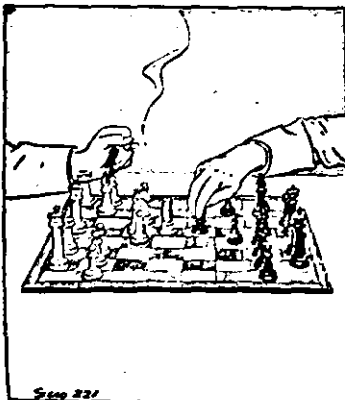
list of candidates and the voters are authorized only to say “yes” or “no” to the official nominees. In practice it has been seen that if an area shows the hardihood of rejecting an official nominee, it runs the risk of being dubbed and punished as a hotbed of “reactionaries” and saboteurs. As for the unusually high percentage of voting, the reason is again simple. Failure to record one’s vote is a criminal offence. These two provisions in Soviet constitutional practice bring in the police as the decisive factor in the Communist Party’s seemingly eternal popularity.

Mr. Khrushchev, who cleverly synchronized his unusually lengthy letter to a London weekly with the election in Russia, has among other things waxed eloquent on the superiority of what he would call Soviet democracy to capitalist democracy. His publicists and tireless apologists mention the role of trade unions in shaping the list of candidates put up for election. But they have conveniently omitted to mention that Paragraphs 126 and 141 of the 1936 Constitution itself lay down that the prerogative shall always remain with the Communist Party as the leading nucleus of all the workers’ organisation, whether State or social organisations.

It is curious how dictatorships of all hues come to adopt identical means to perpetuate themselves. Mussolini, for instance adopted the same procedure in Fascist Italy. There too it was the Fascist Grand Council that prepared the single list of candidates with the injection to voters to do no more than say yes or no to the candidates. We wonder if the Congress Party in India could not parade itself as the sole custodian of democracy if it would adopt a similar strategem. But it would cease to be a democratic party.

## DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



Experts say the number of possible ways of playing the first 10 moves on each side in a game of chess is 169, 518, 829, 100, 544,000,000,000,000,000. On this basis it would take all of the people on the face of the earth, playing without cessation 217,000,000,000 years to make all the moves.



Of the 40,000 Hungarians now in Soviet concentration camps as reprisal for the Hungarian freedom revolt, 30% are said to be young schoolgirls.



Historians say Nero, the Roman emperor, was near-sighted. When watching combats in the Coliseum he held a concave emerald to his eye. This is believed to be the forerunner of modern eyeglasses.

# Abolish Caste By Legislation

By S. Ramanathan

A manifesto demanding the abolition of caste by legislation has been issued over the signatures of S. Ramanathan, founder, Indian Rationalist Association and ex-Minister, Government of Madras, Sant Ram, President, Jat. Pat Thorak Mandal, Punjab, R. B. Lotwalla, President, Indian Libertarian Social Institute, Bombay, Kailash Chandra, Founder, All-India Inter-caste Marriage Association, Kanpur, A. Gupta, advocate, Patna, V. K. Pavithran, Secretary, All-Cochin Inter-marriage Association, Ernakulam and B. M. Singh, Calcutta.

Rationalists and Libertarians are requested to send in their signatures to S. Ramanathan, Indian Rationalist Association, 9 Broadway, Madras or to the Secretary, Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

## COLOUR PREJUDICE

**C**ASTE is the most important problem that confronts the people of India to-day. It is chronic in the South where caste animosities run deep. The ancient word for caste is *Varna* which means colour. Whatever may be its ramifications and the complexities of its manifestations, the problem of caste is basically related to colour, the differences in the pigmentation of the skin caused by variations in the climates in which people live. The caste problem, therefore, is not peculiar to India and at the present moment it is acute in all the continents of the world. It has assumed serious proportions in North America and in South Africa. Although the problem is world wide and has existed since the beginning of human history, it has assumed special significance in this country where it has ceased to be related to the natural prejudice based on the colour of the skin but has been elevated into a religion. Caste differences originally based on colour were sought to be exploited by certain people who for convenience in exploitation reduced it to a principle and divorced it from colour. They called that principle *Dharma* in those days. To-day it is the central doctrine in the Hindu religion. While originally the highest classes might have been fair skinned and the lowest classes might have been of darker hue, the practical result of the co-existence of people whose skins were of different shades of grey, living in neighbouring houses, coming across each other in the places, at festivals, in temples, in crowds, as shop keepers and customers, as masters and servants, with all the actual involvements of social inter-course, have tended to bring about an admixture of blood with the consequent admixture of colour. To-day, therefore, the percentage of people with dark skin in the topmost caste is the same as the percentage in people belonging to the lowest caste. With this disappearance of the differentiation in colour, normally speaking, caste should have disappeared.

## BECOMES A RELIGION

But the class of exploiters intent upon dividing the people and profiteering by such division would not allow caste to die a natural death. They revived it

on the fiction that merit is hereditary. Whatever may be the colour of his skin, a person born in the Brahmin caste, i.e., of a Brahmin mother, was said to be endowed with superior mental powers; similarly a person born in the Kshatria caste i.e., of a Kshatria mother, was said to possess superior physical strength and so on in regard to the Vaisyas and the Sudras. It is this erection into a religious dogma of what once was a mere colour prejudice that gives caste its present strength and resilience, its ability to survive the ravages of time, to withstand the onslaughts of political and economic revolutions. If caste were a mere social or economic structure, it would have disappeared long ago. Because it is a principle, a religion, it has survived through thousands of years of India's history. Its outward manifestations change. But the inner core remains for ever.

## AND IT STILL FLOURISHES

It is a common belief that such external features as the prohibition relating to inter-dining or to touchability are essential to caste. But history has proved that these distinctions have changed from time to time without materially affecting the structure of caste. If caste were merely based on such external features, it would have died out with the social changes brought about by modern means of communication. To-day practically all the castes including those branded as untouchables, inter-dine at the public restaurants. They all travel together in the same railway compartments. They bathe in the same tanks. In the cities they occupy flats or portions in the same houses. But nevertheless caste is not dying. On the contrary, it is becoming more and more rigid and is finding violent expression in all spheres of life, in schools and colleges, in the professions, in employment in Government and public institutions, in trade and commerce, above all in politics, in the elections, in the fight for the loaves and fishes of office and in the constitution of Ministers. It is a false belief sedulously inculcated by interested persons that caste is dying because of the growth of education which has brought about the growth of self-consciousness among the low castes, an awareness of the rights and privileges due to them but so long denied to them. Caste feeling is growing stronger

among the higher castes because of the sense of danger ahead and the possibility of forcible deprivation of privileges so long enjoyed.

### FOREIGN ADVENT BENEFICENT

Foreign advent was a liberalising force. The Muslim conquest gave the underdogs of Indians an opportunity to embrace Islam and escape from the thralldom of caste, though later it gave rise to the problem of Hindu-Muslim conflict. The British came to India to exploit the country. But they brought with them ideas of democracy and social equality which were foreign to the Hindu tradition and were enemies of the caste system. The imposition of the English rulers for selfish purposes did, as a matter of fact, opened out a window on the progress of the world, gave access to a knowledge of modern science and technology and paved the way for the growth of industries leading to the urbanisation of the country. Caste was on the decline during the British rule. But the exigencies of an international situation brought about by the World War No. 2, with its threat of the spread of Communism in India, forced the British to leave the country handing over power to the higher castes. With the advent of Independence, reaction has set in and caste is once more on the ascendant.

### POLITICIANS POSTPONE REFORM

Side by side with the longing for liberation from the foreign yoke, English education stimulated the desire to abolish the caste system. But these two liberal tendencies did not work in harmony. Originally the Indian National Congress and the Social Reform Conference were convened by the same persons and met in the same pandal. But soon there was a rivalry. While the Congress claimed priority for political freedom over social emancipation, the Conference claimed priority for the latter over the former. The latest phase of this conflict was evident in the divergence of views between persons like Rabindranath Tagore who emphasised the priority of the need for social emancipation, and those led by Mahatma Gandhi who laid exclusive stress on political liberty. Gandhi won the battle against Tagore with the tragic results we are all witness to.

### GANDHI SUPPORTED CASTE

In his earlier days, Gandhi believed in caste in all its crudity. But later on when that position became untenable, he changed his allegiance to the doctrine of *Varnashrama* which is the theory behind the caste system. He claimed support for caste in the *Bhagavad Gita*. He said that the famous stanza in the *Gita* where Krishna claims to have created the four castes based on *Guna* and *Karma* referred to *Gun*as or characteristics which could only be inherited and not acquired. He scotched the liberal trend in Hindu society which tried to make caste more elastic. We venerate Gandhi's memory as that of one of the greatest teachers of the world who in modern times gave fresh meaning to the message of Buddha—*ahimsa*—no violence and love. That element in Gandhi's personality is still of world-wide significance in this age of national hatreds tending to total destruction of humanity. But there is also a darker side to Gandhi's

personality. He lived his life in the light of his limited knowledge and in accordance with ideas which are dated. We are living in a new age and we should strike out new paths to traverse the new regions which are opening out before us. We should have the courage to differ from Gandhi and to go beyond him. After all, Gandhi was not a God. He was a human being and liable to err. Much of the charm of his personality was due his frank confessions of his "Himalayan blunders." The revivalist turn he gave to Indian Nationalism turned the people's attention away from science and progress and made them hanker for a return to an imaginary golden past. He mixed up politics and religion. The *Ram Dhun* he conducted at political meetings led to the division of the country and the creation of Pakistan. The undue importance he gave to the Hindi language, his attempt to foist it as the national language upon non-Hindi-speaking people, led to the present linguistic fanaticism which threatens to divide India still further.

### BACK TO THE PAST

The greatest disservice Gandhi did to the masses of people inhabiting this sub-continent was his fanatic revival of the dead industry of the spinning wheel, which is wholly out of place in modern industrial life. The philosophy behind this revivalism is that it is good to go back to the so-called spiritualism of the past and avoid the evil materialism of the present. What was this golden past?—people living in isolated villages, each village sub-divided into separate clusters of huts, each such cluster inhabited by separate castes practising its own individual industry allotted to it by the caste rule. The craving to go back to such a past by Gandhi was intimately connected with his rejection of modern machine civilisation which was fast destroying caste. Modern technology and mechanised industries create the cities and subvert the caste system. What other way is open to an advocate of caste than to ask people to abandon the cities, boycott machinery and go back to the villages to spin and to practise village industries so as to make it easy for them to fall a prey to caste? If, therefore, we disapprove of caste we have to give up not only Khadi and the allied village industries but also the mentality responsible for the revival of these dead industries which were the outward expression of the caste principle.

### BOLSTERING UP KHADI

The industrial build-up of India under the Five Year Plans inaugurated by Pandit Nehru with their emphasis on mechanised heavy industries is therefore a deliberate turn back from the Gandhian ideology. But the exigencies of politics have compelled Pandit Nehru to compromise with the orthodox Gandhites and two hundred crores of the poor man's money is being wasted under the Second Five Year Plan for the purpose of bolstering up Khadi and other dead industries. All this money is intended to restore the dominance of caste rule in this country. The irony of it all is that the very people responsible for effecting this restoration talk glibly at public meetings of the necessity to abolish the caste system! If we sincerely desire to be saved from caste rule, we must urbanise the villages, bring the amenities of roads, bridges, motor transport, electricity, water supply,

drainage, schools, hospitals etc. to the rural parts and transform the country into a vast garden city worked by the power of modern science and technology with machinery, automation and other latest devices.

### **FREEDOM NOT FOR THE MASSES**

No problem more important than caste faces post-Independence India. The power that has been wrested from the foreigner has not percolated to the masses but has been dammed and misused by the castes which have always occupied a privileged place in the hierarchical structure of Hindu society. Unless and until this obstruction to the flow of liberty is removed, political freedom will be a chimera. The self-same people who insisted upon the priority of political freedom to social freedom in pre-Independence days and asserted that social freedom would inevitably follow in the wake of political freedom, now obstruct the achievement of social freedom by raising the new slogan of economic advancement. Social progress is side-tracked by the cry for economic betterment. The Five Year Plan is the new rage and it is now asserted that we should concentrate upon the economic upliftment of the people to the exclusion of all else. The theory is advanced that social freedom will follow in the reform of economic freedom. Even as social reform was side-tracked under British rule with the cry of priority for political freedom, social reform is again side-tracked in post-Independence India by the new slogan that economic reform should have priority over social reform. But the fact is ignored that the same reactionary social system which prevented political freedom from percolating to the masses will also prevent economic freedom from reaching the people.

### **CASTE DEFEATS FIVE YEAR PLAN**

The Five Year Plan is a piffle compared to the mighty potentialities of the war against caste. The protest is raised all over the country against the defects in the Plan frame, against the widespread corruption and nepotism practised by those entrusted with its implementation. All these various failures can be traced to one universal source, the original sin of caste. Government appointments go to the sons and sons-in-law of those who constitute the appointing authority. Government contracts go to the cousins, nephews and kinsmen of the contracting authority. Licences and privileges are distributed only to caste men. In such a set-up no amount of skill in planning and no amount of expenditure money will bring fulfilment to the Plan. We should create the atmosphere for the success of planning. Such an atmosphere will not come into being unless and until caste is abolished.

### **SHOUTERS NOT SINCERE**

Mere verbal condemnation of caste does not help but only accentuates the problem. The people who are harangued know in their hearts that the shouters are not sincere. Those who are loud against caste on the platforms do not really want caste to go. They wish merely to remain on the safe side by mouthing convenient slogans. The real remedy must have some relation to the nature of the disease. Mere platform oratory that caste is an evil and that caste should go

will not make it go. Caste is too deeply entrenched in the lives of the people. The uprooting of caste involves the uprooting and the transplantation of every individual family in the country. Such a transformation involves a social revolution. Any such revolution entails heavy sacrifice. If we are serious about abolishing caste we should not shrink from paying the price. Revolutions are in the nature of wars and in war we cannot count the cost. In warfare valuable young lives may be lost in thousands, even millions. Nevertheless wars are fought because the objectives to be gained are believed to be worthy of attainment even at such heavy sacrifice. What war is more important for the attainment of happiness by the people of India than the war against caste? What sacrifices will be too great if the millions of people in this country find a way to overcome the curse that has infested their lives for thousands of years? All other problems pale into insignificance before this problem of problems.

The methods we advocate for abolishing caste do not involve violence or warfare. There will be no shedding of blood. But we do not pretend that we shall not hurt the sensibilities of people long inured to certain habits of thinking and to certain expectations in life, especially in the intimacies of family life. Our remedy will hurt certain classes of people who take a pride in their birth, in their so-called social status, of belonging to certain families, to certain superior groups, to certain "high" castes.

### **AMEND THE CONSTITUTION**

We insist upon certain alterations in the legal set-up which are necessary for the attempt to abolish caste to succeed. First and foremost is the need to amend the Constitution which, as it stands, is heavily weighted in favour of caste. Part III of the Constitution which relates to "Fundamental rights" puts caste on the same pedestal as race, religion, sex, place of birth and other features which should not be discriminated against in any system of natural justice. The Constitution seeks to abolish "untouchability" and "titles" but it ignores the evil in caste. On the contrary, the Constitution has given recognition as well as protection to caste. We urge that in Article 15 the word "caste" should be eliminated and in Article 17 the word "caste" should be substituted for the word "untouchability" in both the places where it occurs.

Let us recognise once and for all that there is no untouchability whatever apart from caste. Caste itself is only a graded system of untouchability. It is the tragic failure of Gandhi to recognise this truth which has led to the confusion and the social conflicts prevalent in India to-day. It may be that there would be no Hindu religion if caste is abolished, and if the religion does get abolished in the process of abolishing caste, the people of India should not flinch from such a state of affairs.

Though a lot of propaganda is being carried on that India is a Secular State, there is no frank recognition of that fact in the Constitution. The word "secular" does not find a place anywhere in it. In the preamble to the Constitution, we insist that the word "secular" be inserted after the word "sovereign" and before the word "democratic" so as to put an end to the quibbling indulged in by certain eminent persons that India is after all Hindudom.



## ABOLISH ENDOGAMY

Endogamy is of the essence of caste. This is admitted by all scientists and scholars who have investigated this problem. Caste can be abolished only by prohibiting endogamy. To-day every marriageable youth in this country looks for his or her mate within his caste, a narrow restricted circle. Endogamy is the rule within this restricted circle which is a small minority and a choice from among the vast majority of the people around is denied to youth. We propose that this endogamy be enforced which widens the choice of a mate to the entire population, barring only that small part to which he or she was formerly restricted.

### BY LEGISLATION

We demand the enactment of a special Act to prohibit marriages between persons belonging to the same caste. We dislike the word "prohibition" and we frankly recognise the justice of the criticism that may be levelled against our proposal that it would curtail the liberty of the individual citizen to seek his or her own mate in marital life. But our reply to the criticism is that our proposal does not in any way diminish the quantum of any existing liberty. On the contrary, it increases that quantum. On the most liberal estimate, the strength of a community within which marriage is now permissible is about one thousandth of the population. As a matter of fact, therefore, there is a social prohibition against the choice of one's mate from 99.9 per cent of the population. While we seek to prohibit the choice from one thousandth of the population, the present caste system prohibits the choice from 99.9 per cent of the population. Which is the greater prohibition—the one against point one per cent that we propose or the one against 99.9 per cent that now obtains under the caste system? Which is the greater restraint on love and individual liberty?

While we frankly dislike even this point one per cent prohibition, we would urge the youth of India to consider it as a war measure and put up with it for one generation; for the next generation of children born in this country, if our measure is adopted, would be born of parents of different castes and would themselves be free from caste. A desperate situation invites a desperate remedy. If the country is in danger, the youth has to flock to the field of battle and shed their blood. India is in great danger at the present moment, not from a foreign external enemy but from an inherent internal social tyranny, which has heaped shame upon our people, and has brought down our devoted heads the contempt and ridicule of the whole world. Indians as a race are looked down upon and treated as inferiors in the comity of Nations because we have tolerated caste in our history for thousands of years. We shall not be able to hold up our heads and walk erect before our fellow human beings unless and until we shed the caste system. No price is too big, no sacrifice too great for the achievement of such an objective. The remedy that we propose, although irksome and acting as a restraint upon our liberties for a short while, will ultimately liberate the roots of our lives from the hateful virus which has poisoned our social fabric during many millennia.

We demand of the Government and the Parliament of India that they should take early steps to pass legislation as indicated herein and immobilise the many fissiparous tendencies of communalism, linguism and regionalism that threaten to smash India to smithereens.

We call upon the people in all the States to hold public meetings and pass resolutions reiterating this demand.

We appeal to the Press to co-operate with us in this patriotic effort by affording due publicity.

We invite all who support the cause to append their signatures to this manifesto.

(Cut here)

*Signature*

*Address*

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# What Is Libertarianism?

**T**HE PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY has been the concern of mankind from the very dawn of his existence. As he battled for life and life's betterment, he must surely have faced constant threats to his liberty, just as he was confronted with the tides, the tornadoes, and pestilences of all sorts. All these must have been a part of man's experience from time immemorial.

Prior to any carefully reasoned contemplation of such obstructions, mankind must have battled them intuitively. He must have battled for his liberty, without having any deep sense of what liberty really is, just as he battled for his existence among the forces of nature without knowing precisely and formally the laws of natural phenomena.

## MAN'S NATURE IS ATTUNED TO LIBERTY

The biological nature of the organism of man is in harmony with liberty. Biological research has revealed that there exists an extreme diversity between one person and another. Among these infinitely variable qualities evidencing the nature of man is variation in his knowledge and wisdom or in his ignorance and foolishness. Liberty tends to enthrone knowledge and wisdom: the absence of liberty tends to enthrone ignorance and foolishness. Biological research brings into focus the independent unitary nature of the human organism. Persons are born alone as distinctly separate units one at a time. They likewise die one at a time as separate units. All their acts in between are as separate units as well, even in their cooperative endeavours. An aggregation of any sort fails to blend even two persons into one unit, so long as there is life in each. Even in panic or any like phenomenon where the herd seems to operate as a unit, it is entirely individual persons who do all the acting, however much their apparent concert. Every collective is an illusory construction.

## LIBERTY DEFINED

Liberty stems from *liber*, which means to be free. The definition we would propose is:

**LIBERTY IS THE ABSENCE OF COERCION OF A HUMAN BEING BY ANY OTHER HUMAN BEING: A CONDITION WHERE RESTRICTION IS AT A MINIMUM.** This definition may lack logical precision. But it is the most practical definition we can offer. A condition which is characterised by the absence of coercion is liberty. Conversely a condition in which there is coercion of a human being by another is slavery. As to the latter part of the definition, we do not say it is a condition where there is *total* absence of "restriction", because liberty is related to the limitations of action one person may suffer at the hands of another person. In as much as society consists of fallible humans, *total* absence of 'restriction' is an impossibility. But restriction should be at a minimum.

## MORALS VERSUS LIBERTY

It is improper to describe liberty in terms of good and bad: in other words, making liberty mean only "good" acts. If we do so the determination of what is good would then have to be a socialized one in some degree. And for us libertarians to define liberty in such a way that we must accept a socialized concept of morals before we can classify an act as one of liberty would mean the abandonment of our faith in the formulating of our own language. Liberty is not a synonym for good: any act of liberty may be either good or "evil" as another person judges it.

The concern of morals is to judge acts as either good or evil, right or wrong—moral or immoral. Such a judgment has neither place nor meaning except for acts of choice. A person cannot do right except in a situation where there is also the option of doing wrong. In other words, moral considerations have no place except where liberty exists. A stone is confronted with no moral consideration, because as far as we know a stone is wholly without choice and merely rolls here and there with the impact of the forces of its natural environment. A stone can do no right or wrong under its own guidance, because it makes no choices—it is incapable of liberty.

It follows then that no problems of morals can ever be resolved by removing liberty, in a degree either large or small. To assert that a person or a society of persons can be made moral by removing their liberty is akin to the policy of the doting mother who said that she was not going to let her child go near the water until he had learned to swim. Thomas Davidson expressed it this way: "That which is not free is not responsible, and that which is not responsible is not moral. In other words, freedom is the condition of morality."

But liberty will be allowed in society only insofar as there is acceptance of the conduct of others. Acceptance may be because of either agreement with the act or tolerance in disagreement. Tolerance in disagreement demands acceptance of separate domains within which a person is allowed to make his mistakes, if he does so with what is his rather than with what is somebody else's. Here some moral code to guide our acts, insofar as acceptance can be attained, is a route to peaceful coexistence with one another. And for that reason the moral code becomes the concern related to the question of maximizing liberty, because in the absence of such agreement we shall surely take liberty away from one another.

## THE RIGHTS OF MAN

Human rights are not the sort of rights prescribed by a political body or by the toleration of one's neighbours. What might these human rights be?

1. The right to life. The most basic human right is the right to life itself. It is a right evidenced by the way people act. It is evidenced by the way a person struggles to preserve his own life.

2. If one has the right to life, he then has the right to sustain life with his own time and means, so long as in doing so he does not infringe on the same right of others.
3. If one has the right to thus sustain his life, he then has the right to have whatever he is able to produce with his own time and means.
4. If he has the right to whatever he is able to produce, he then has the right to keep it for any period of time—the right of private property, he has thus earned.
5. If he has the right of private property, he then has the right to exchange it, sell it, or give it away on any terms acceptable to the recipient. No third party, be it one person or any combination of persons, has any right to intercede in the process or dictate its terms.

### THE HOPE OF LIBERTY

Liberty ebbs and flows, never being fully gained and never being fully lost. All history, suggests, in any event, that complete and universal liberty is a

star beyond our reach. This being so, it should give a hope and purpose for the Libertarian to live by. If he sets as his star the mere furtherance of liberty rather than its full attainment for the entire world, he need never lack hope and purpose in life.

You cannot repress liberty. If you repress liberty in one place you are likely to stimulate it elsewhere, for man seems to will to be free however much he fumbles the means of its attainment.

Nor you can institutionalize liberty. You can only institutionalize its encroachments. Institutional devices for the purpose of protecting liberty always seem to have a way of enslaving its presumed beneficiaries, sooner or later. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the core of liberty, and its hopes, lies deep in the heart and soul of individual man—something institutions can never give, something we cannot delegate to any institution.

No libertarian can employ other than purely voluntary means to further the cause of liberty. The Libertarian method is education, persuasion and demonstration. In that way, others may be led to reform their conduct on behalf of liberty.

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# The Personality Cult In India

By Lal

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I ENDED my last article with the profound observation that neither casteism nor provincialism, neither linguism nor communalism, which Mr. Nehru is always condemning, is a fraction as harmful as the cult of personality which is now in full swing in India. I added that with all their communalism, Mr. Jinnah was on the best of terms with Malaviyaji and the two were found confabulating in the lobbies of the Central Assembly; they had the highest respect for each other, they who should have been poles apart.

If I succeed in establishing the proposition that all those evils which Mr. Nehru so loudly and so frequently condemns are not a fraction so dangerous as the cult of personality he himself pursues, then it will follow, as the night follows day, that by condemning all these "isms" day in, and day out, Mr. Nehru is drawing a red herring across the track of his own cult, so that the people may not think of it and come to the only possible conclusion that Mr. Nehru is a dangerous Prime Minister to have and the sooner they dethrone him from his place of power the better it will be for the country. In fact, if I succeed in establishing the thesis beyond all possibility of doubt, Mr. Nehru's condemnation of casteism, provincialism, linguism and communalism will be like the thieves cry of "Thief, thief" to mislead his pursuers.

I have sometimes lamented the absence of concentration in the country on the causes that led to the vivisection of the land and the foundation of Pakistan, which, when all is said, was one of the greatest disasters in our history. If we do not learn from our

failures, we shall never learn. As a matter of fact, the causes which led to the establishment of Pakistan are in operation again, within ten years of the division of the country, and if we do not try to remove them, we may soon be in again for another division of the country. Far from being academic, a study of those causes is therefore of immediate interest, unless we are to say again, as Congressmen said in and about 1947. "We were unable to foresee events or anticipate the future". Those Congressmen are again unable (I should say, extremely reluctant) to foresee the future, as they are too busy pleasing Mr. Nehru and trying to get something out of him. After all, they have been to jail so many times and feel they should go all out to get their reward.

Our battle for freedom developed into a battle royal between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. Why? In the answer to that question lies hidden the mystery of the creation of Pakistan. It was within the bounds of possibility that fanatical Muslim leaders, like the Ali Brothers, could have risen in India and swept their co-religionists with them into communal warfare with the Hindus. But that did not happen. Only an ignoramus can believe that Mr. Jinnah was a fanatic or even a staunch Muslim. In fact, propagandists paid out of Congress funds set apart for the Mass Contact programme moved among Muslims in U.P. condemning Jinnah for not wearing a beard like a true Muslim, for not observing the Ramazan and for not saying his Namaz five times a day. This was hitting below the belt and naturally made Jinnah bitter against the Congress. It is possible that, had he

brought this to the notice of Gandhiji, the latter would have put a stop to that kind of propaganda against Jinnah, but the latter was too proud a man to make a request of that kind to Gandhiji or any one else.

#### JINNAH AND NATIONALISM

Legitimate pride cannot be regarded as a vice. In fact it is generally regarded as a virtue, because it prevents a man from stooping to low tactics. The 1920 session of the Congress at Nagpur was the last Jinnah attended. He was there heckled by delegates and visitors for not referring to Gandhiji as a Mahatma. He agreed to do so, but when the crowd later insisted upon his referring to the Ali Brothers as Maulanas he refused. Many moderate leaders had already left the Congress. Jinnah was in fact the last to do so. The fact that the Khilafat was one of the issues on which he left the Congress should have gone in his favour, but it didn't. Nevertheless he continued to hold the Mahatma in high regard until some years later when he paid a visit to his Ashram.

The visit was by appointment but, when he reached the Ashram at the appointed time, Gandhiji was talking to a foreigner. The only chair in the Ashram, the story goes, was occupied by the foreigner talking with Gandhiji. Jinnah kept pacing the verandah up and down for a few minutes, to the amusement of the man in attendance, and then, flying into a rage, asked him to tell his Mahatma that Jinnah had come and gone and also tell him that he did not know how to keep appointments. The attendant ran for his life and informed Gandhiji, who looked at his watch and said, "Why didn't you bring him in at once? Do so now". Taking leave of the foreigner, Gandhiji welcomed Jinnah, but all that Jinnah said to the Mahatma was: "Mr. Gandhi, you do not keep your appointments and you have no arrangements for receiving gentlemen here. This is the last time that Mr. Jinnah has come to see you".

Every one knows that after this incident Jinnah never went to see Gandhiji at his place for political talks of any kind and that in the forties it was Gandhiji who had to go every day for nineteen days to see Jinnah at his place. Jinnah was more of an Englishman than an Indian and was inclined to be cosmopolitan in outlook. When his only daughter married a Christian, all that he said to himself was "None of my business," and gave her a few lakhs as dowry and a beautiful bungalow in Bombay to live in.

He had another reason to fall out with Gandhiji. The latter once wrote to him and addressed him as Shri Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah wrote an angry letter to Gandhiji asking him to stop using that form of address so far as he was concerned. Gandhiji replied by addressing him as Janab Jinnah. "Are you trying to make fun of me?" asked Jinnah in another angry letter asking Gandhiji to address him as plain Mr. But Gandhiji, equally obstinate, replied by addressing him as "Quaid-e-Azam". In reply Jinnah wrote to Gandhiji: "You are incorrigible." But the Muslim Leaguers took up the title of address used first by Gandhiji for Jinnah, who then came to be known as Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

#### GANDHI DROVE OUT ALL INTELLIGENT MEN FROM CONGRESS

It is well-known that Gandhiji practically drove all leaders out of public life. Jinnah himself was in the shade after the Khilafat agitation which swept the Muslims off their feet. Indeed, he left for England

and practised law there, taking up cases in the Privy Council. It is stated that Churchill tried to persuade him to go back to politics and organise the Muslims against the Congress. The frustration in Congress ranks after the failure of their movement induced him to return and for a long time he was leader of the Independent Party in the Central Assembly. He resolutely disapproved of Gandhiji and his methods, but saw that there was no chance for a nationalist opposition to Gandhiji. Egged on by the bitterness created in him by constant Congress Press attacks and the criticism of Congress propagandists, paid from the funds set apart for the Mass Contact programme, he began consolidating the Muslim League.

There can be no denying the fact that Gandhiji rose to supreme power through practice and propagation of the cult of personality. "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai" had replaced "Bande Mataram" and "Bharat Mata-ki-Jai." This little change signified a great deal. It signified the rise of the cult of personality. Jinnah never bowed to any man and the standard-bearers of the revolt against this cult he could find only among Muslims. He found them and the battle began between Jinnah and Gandhi. And we know the rest.

—Organiser

#### March of Science

##### CHEMICAL MILLING

Milling of metals with chemicals for U.S. industry that are lighter, cheaper and stronger, is now possible.

A variation of the etching process in which acids eat away parts of metal that are not protected with an impervious mask, the method permits a considerable, paring of weight from airplanes.

In addition, chemical milling permits reduction of metals in out-of-the-way places that machine tools cannot reach.

##### INDESTRUCTIBLE CELL

An almost indestructible dry-cell battery, about the shape of and a little thicker than a man's wristwatch has been developed that will make it readily adaptable for use in the transistor circuits of radios, hearing aids and navigation systems.

The little batteries can easily be recharged, and banks of them can be hooked in series or paralleled to build up additional power as needed. Each cell delivers nine-tenths of a volt.

##### REDUCES ENGINE WEAR

The introduction of a short magnesium rod into the crank-case of automobile engines is reducing engine wear and prolonging the life of cylinders, pistons and sparkplugs, according to Winthrop A Johns, who has sold more than 700,000 kits to motorists in the United States.



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

# Nehru Is Crying For The Moon

By Kishore Valicha

MR. NEHRU has once again been busy reiterating his desire for cordial ties with Pakistan. Needless to say, this will come as no surprise to any of our readers. It has become almost a habit with Nehru to reiterate his desires for friendly relations with a country which is declaredly against us.

Pakistan is today held together by a very important religious factor. The iron clasp of Islam, reinforced by a fanatical hatred for the Hindus, unites Pakistan into an aggressive and ever-present danger to India. It is this factor alone that can explain the time-honoured enmity of the Muslim to all that is Hindu. Pakistan, to all intents and purposes, receives aid from the U.S., partly to guard itself against the communist danger. But it is a flagrant fact of international politics that a scandalous amount of money is wrought from the U.S., under what is now quickly becoming the 'communist' threat. Hardly a Muslim in Pakistan is conscious of the communist danger, whether external or internal. The basic emotional category of the Muslim remains as ever a hatred for the Hindu. *Jehad* and other fanatical religious categories flow from this basic trait.

## SWADESHI FORM OF DEMOCRACY

In such a context, that Nehru should talk of his emotional attachment to Pakistan, and should keep reiterating his desire for cordial relations with the Pakistani people, sounds strange. And, at any rate, Nehru's personal emotions and conditioning of the mind have no place on the floor of the Parliament. That he should be free to advertise his emotional attachments to Pakistan, on the floor of the Indian Parliament, without a word of protest from Opposition members shows the kind of democracy we have in India. It is a democracy of a certain sort, but by no means the genuine article. Gandhiji's "spiritualized" politics, together with Nehru's "secularized," politics have made of the average Indian a species of sheep and goats.

The facetious evidence is alarming. The very thinking of Pakistani politicians is warped. On March 3, Choudhuri Mohammed Ali, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, called India a "persistently bad neighbour" and blamed India for the build-up of armed forces in Pakistan. He said India was getting huge economic aid from foreign countries and releasing her own resources for the build-up of defence. Against whom is this defence build-up, he asked, and added that it was against Pakistan. While all the time Nehru keeps mouthing his emotional attachment to the Pakistani people.

Very few in India appreciate the full significance of all that is happening in Pakistan. Mr. Mirza has virtually liquidated the Muslim League and the Republi-

can Party is his own creation. The Republican Party is a party only in name. Mr. Mirza is a virtual dictator and has the whole huge army under his thumb. He can do almost anything he feels like. Mr. Mirza has also Ghulam Ali Talpur behind him and through the latter he has full control over the police. In the Punjab the rule of the landlords prevails. In Sind the zamindar is omnipotent, except for occasional uprisings by the Haris, which are forcibly suppressed. It is not hard to visualise the danger to India that will be an almost direct outcome of the President's rise to dictatorial power.

## PAK SABOTAGE IN INDIA

The various moves at sabotage within India by Pakistanis also spell the hatred for Hindus and the natural animosity that the Muslim bears towards the Hindu. In Jodhpur, for example, on March 5, four Pakistanis raided Sherwala village in the Atta Bisalpur area and killed a man, abducting his wife. The man's brother, who tried to stop the escape of the raiders, was attacked and his nose cut off. This is the form in which the Muslim expresses his feelings towards the Hindu. Historically, it has been so. Today, it continues to be so. Is it then sensible to believe that we can stop the tide? We think it foolish even to attempt to do so. It is an irrational departure from *real politik*.

Yet Mr. Nehru retains this irrational hope and continues indeed to work to that end. As he put it the other day in Parliament, he wishes to have amicable relations with Pakistan and he will go on working towards that end. It is strange to hear the leader of the nation make such unbecoming statements which can only mislead the people.

Under such circumstances, the most that we can do is to reiterate our disapproval of such purposes. We consider it alien to our interest to keep attempting the impossible. It is both a source of danger because it lays us open to attack and causes in the Indian people a false sense of security and a source of misplaced effort.

## INDIAN INTERESTS ABOVE NEHRU

If Mr. Nehru is emotionally attached to the Pakistani people, is it not advisable then that the sooner he give up the high office that he is holding the better it is for the good of all concerned? This sounds like a tautology. For the satisfaction of the meanest intelligence, let us however put forward the logic of our stand. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is the Prime Minister of India. As Prime Minister of India, it is incumbent  
(Continued on page 21)

## Bakshi Questions "Where Does Mridulla get money for Anti-Indian Propaganda?"

Addressing a press conference in Bombay during his recent visit to the City, Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, said that any attempt by Pakistan to invade Kashmir was bound to fail, as miserably as the former attempts. In 1947 Pakistan had made her first attempt, it failed. A second attempt met with a similar fate. Bakshi stated that if Pakistan again attempted to invade Kashmir, that challenge to our sovereignty would be sternly and firmly met with by the Indian people, including the people of Kashmir.

Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union was com-

*(Continued from page 20)*

upon him to look after the interests of the country. In other words, any failure to safeguard the interests of this country is a neglect of his duties. Pakistan is inimical to India, both as a historical deduction as well as existing political conditions bespeak. India has to accept Pakistan as a source of imminent danger. India has then to guard herself against Pakistan. Nehru has failed to do this. Nehru, therefore, and very simply, has failed. Consequently, he ought to resign. Nehru, it is quite possible, has failed because of his ignorance of the history of Muslims in India; he has failed probably because of his personal attachments and predilections. Nevertheless, he has failed. Let him resign.

This is the logic of our stand and we stick to it. The sooner this country understands this basic logic and the sooner our politicians apprehend the first principles of responsible statesmanship, the sooner will this country be on the road to a safe evolution of democracy and ordered government.

plete in law and in fact. He said that Sheikh Abdullah, since his release has been preaching violence. He has been organising a Razakar movement. His speeches have been highly provocative. Fortunately, he has not succeeded in his efforts to enlist mass support in Kashmir.

Asked in view of Sheikh Abdullah's performance before his arrest in 1953, and after his release in December 1957, he could be relied upon, if he changed his present stand, Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed said: "My personal opinion does not count. But Sheikh Abdullah's role after his release has been so anti-Indian and anti-Kashmir that we cannot trust him easily."

Referring to the charges that he had made regarding the use of Indian money in the anti-Indian and pro-Sheikh Abdullah campaign and the important role played by Miss Mridulla Sarabhai, he once again reiterated his charges. He stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, father of Miss Mridulla, in which he had denied my charges and repudiated my statements that she received funds from the Sarabhai Trust for her anti-Indian propaganda. It may be that the Ahmedabad millionaire was right that she did not use the Sarabhai money. His question to the Ahmedabad millionaire was where did Miss Mridulla go to earn the huge amount of money in publishing anti-Indian and pro-Abdullah literature? It would be interesting to know the source of her huge income, how she could afford to waste thousands of rupees monthly for this unpatriotic propaganda, and whether she was paying any income tax at all. He had promised Mr. Ambalal to answer his letter. This is his public answer to his letter.



**GRADUATION.**—Helen Keller took an active part in school life and was graduated in 1904. As a student, she wrote her examinations on a special type-writer, and had private conferences with her instructors instead of taking part in recitations. Her progress amazed all those around her.



**VIBRATIONS.**—As the years passed she developed her remaining three senses to an amazing degree. She perceives through vibrations, and can identify trees by the different sounds the wind makes blowing through their leaves. She can determine the age and sex of people just by "feeling" their footsteps.



**SCENT.**—Her highly developed sense of smell compensates for eyes that cannot see. She can identify flowers and fruit by their fragrance alone. From smell she gains a sense of distance. "It is surprisingly wonderful," Helen Keller has said, "to have eyes and ears in one's soul. There is no darkness."  
(Continued.)

## **ON THE NEWS FRONT**

### **PAK-PORTUGAL PLOT TO COMMIT SABOTAGE IN INDIA**

London: It is reliably learnt here that in the files of the Portuguese Ambassador here, maps of Bombay, with strategic places marked as fit for bombing, were found. In this connection it is further stated that there is complete agreement between Lisbon and Karachi as to their co-ordination when Portugal starts bombing Bombay and other places to harass India in the North by attacking military targets, industrial centres and irrigation projects, so as to completely bring to standstill, if not disrupt the industrial and agricultural life of Bharat.

Regular exchange of notes take place between high ranking military officials of both Portugal and Pakistan, in furtherance of this plot of sabotage against India. Two new and modern airfields are getting completed in North Goa—one at Panjim and other at Dabhol to accommodate modern high-powered American bombers. It should be noted that USA has been supplying these types of planes, both to Pakistan as well as to Portugal in India.

Big photos of Salazar and Iskander Mirza are being seen prominently displayed in towns in Goa and in shops and places of residence.

All details of a Pak-Portuguese axis against India are complete. When these countries would start their shooting war is only a matter of time and strategy.

### **PAKISTAN LOSES ITS SIGNED CONSTITUTION**

Karachi: The copy of the Pakistan Constitution, signed by members of the Constituent Assembly, has been lost, according to Mr. Farid Ahmed of the Nizame-Islami Party.

Mr. Ahmed, who was bitterly complaining about the grievous fall in standards of public morality and administration in the country, told the National Assembly: "Your Constitution is lost, you will be lost and your country will be lost one day."

### **"DAWN" HARPS BACK ON "OTHER METHODS" TO SOLVE THE KASHMIR PROBLEM**

Karachi: In an editorial on the Kashmir problem, *Dawn*, the Karachi English daily, said: "A solution of the problem of Kashmir will have to be worked out by other hands (than Prime Minister Noon's) and by other means."

Continuing the paper said: "The Government of Pakistan should now make it quite clear to the Security Council that it must take up the matter again at the earliest possible opportunity and proceed to take strong action against India under the Charter. In saying so we do not forget for a moment the attitude of the United States and Britain having definitely veered round to pro-Bharati position over the Kashmir issue since the matter was last debated in the Security Council."

"There is little chance that any further progress will be made in that forum. Nevertheless let our so-called allies come forward openly and say that they have abandoned the cause of the people of Kashmir and

decided to underwrite the aggression of their new found patron, Mr. Nehru.

Concluding the paper stated: "Prime Minister Noon spoke some brave words on the floor of the National Assembly the other day and almost in so many words threatened to change the country's policy if the Graham mission failed and the Anglo-American bloc to whose star we have hitched our wagon, did nothing about it..... A solution to the problem of Kashmir would have to be worked by other hands and by other methods.

### **PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT GETS A RUDE SHOCK—A SERIOUS MUTINY IN THE PAK AIR FORCE**

Calcutta: Over 200 officers and rank and file of the Pak Air Force have been arrested by the Military Police, and taken into state custody, states a report from Peshwar, which reached here today.

Owing to anarchial conditions in the country, the corruption in the governing ranks, and the deteriorating economic conditions in Pakistan, made some of the officers and rank and file, decide upon a plot to capture power and overthrow the government. However by ill luck news trickled down to high authorities, and the plot was nipped in the bud. Pakistan Government took all precautions that these arrests and detention of the Pak Air officers and men should be kept a secret, but they have failed in their attempts.

All these days the feudal elements in the Pak Government were snugly believing that they were well saddled in seats of government, but the daily deteriorating conditions in the country, the suppression of free opinion, the corruption in high ranks, both amongst the Ministers and high officials, all these pent-up feelings of the oppressed people found vent in the discontent amongst the Air Force men and officers. This has completely unnerved the Noon Government, though for all practical purposes Iskander Mirza continues to be the virtual dictator of Pakistan.

This discontent in the Armed Forces has been there for a pretty long time, and their first open symptoms were detected in the Air Force. Sooner or later, this wave of discontent is likely to spread throughout the country. However for the present, the Pak Government have managed to scotch the trouble in time.

### **E. PAKISTAN GOVERNOR FAZLUL HUQ SACKED**

Dacca: East Pakistan Governor, Fazlul Huq, has been dismissed by the Pakistan Government, and Hamid Ali, Chief Secretary of the Government, has been asked by the Central Government to take over as the Governor of the Province.

Reports reaching Dacca late last night from Karachi indicate that Huq has been dismissed from the post on the recommendation of the Awami League coalition cabinet of East Pakistan.

Prior to his dismissal Huq dismissed Atur Rahiman Khan from the post of Chief Minister. It is not clear yet whether Atur Rahiman Khan continues as the Chief Minister or Abu Hussein Sarkar, who was sworn in before Huq, who is now dismissed from the post of the Governor. A competent source, however, maintains that Sarkar continues to be the Chief Minister.



## PAK'S UNIQUE RECORD—TWO GOVERNMENTS SWORN ON THE SAME DAY!

Dacca: The 21-months old East Pakistan Government was defeated in the legislature over the Budget proposals, but since the Cabinet, headed by Attur Rahiman Khan, did not tender its resignation, Governor Fazlul Huq dismissed the cabinet. In place of the former cabinet, a cabinet, headed by Abu Hussein Sarkar, was sworn in by Governor Huq. In the meanwhile the Governor-General of Pakistan Iskander Mirza dismissed Governor Huq, and appointed Mr. Hamid Ali as the Governor of the province. Hamid Ali, in his turn, dismissed the short-lived Sarkar Cabinet and in its place replaced it by a cabinet headed by Attaur Rahiman Khan.

This is surely a record in constitutional history set by the so-called "largest Islamic state in the world." It has certainly no parallel in the democratic history of the world. This is an "Islamic" conception of democracy and constitutional propriety.

## KASHMIR, AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDIA SAY SHIA MUSLIMS

New Delhi: The All-India Shia Convention held here, declared that Jammu and Kashmir State was an integral part of Indian Union and that the State's accession to India was "final, and irrevocable, legally and constitutionally."

The Convention, in a resolution, appealed to moral conscience of the world to condemn Pakistan for its aggression and its latest "crude attempts at subversion and sabotage by depositing bombs in mosques and temples in Kashmir."

Nawab Tajmul Hussein, M.P., who presided over the convention, said that a large number of Kashmiri Muslims were Shias and "we owe them a duty which we must not evade." The Shias, he pointed out, had accepted the accession of Kashmir to India.

Continuing he said that Sheikh Abdullah, of all persons, was not entitled to raise the plebiscite issue since he had formally endorsed and accepted the accession.

## REVOLT IN "AZAD" KASHMIR FORCES

Srinagar: The Pakistani Government has sentenced several high-ranking officials and men of the "Azad" Kashmir Force to long terms of rigorous imprisonment for "having revolted against the continued occupation of Kashmir by Pakistan according to report reaching here across the border.

The report said that a large number of persons have deserted the "Azad" parts of the State "to join the people's growing agitation against the execution of the Mangala Dam."

## TWO PAKISTANI SABOTEURS SHOT DEAD

Amritsar: Two Pakistanis were killed in an armed encounter on the Indo-Pakistani border with the Punjab armed Police some 20 miles from here.

According to official version, four Pakistanis were entering Indian territory, late after midnight, and when challenged, they opened fire, which was quickly returned by the Indian Police. After nearly half an

hour's firing two of the Pakistanis dropped down dead. The other two escaped.

The Indian Police later recovered a letter from one of the dead persons which indicated that they were agents of the so-called "Azad" Kashmir Government. It mentioned that preparations were being made in the Pakistan held area of the Jammu and Kashmir State "to conquer the other side of Kashmir."

## LIAQUAT MURDER FILE MISSING

Lahore: A frantic search is being made in the provincial Civil Secretariat for a file pertaining to the assassination of Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan.

The file is required by Mr. Justice Shabbir Ahmed in connexion with Mr. Gurmani's defamation suit against *Time of Karachi*. It is reportedly missing.

## SARDAR PATEL'S SON QUITS THE CONGRESS

Dahyabhai Patel, the only son of Sardar Patel, has resigned from the Congress and joined Maha-Gujerat Janata Parishad. He has agreed to contest for the Rajya Sabha on the M.G.J.P. ticket.

## V. K. KRISHNA MENON'S "NO" TO CONGRESS—P.S.P. PACT

Trivandrum: The Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, is opposed to a Congress-P.S.P. understanding against the Communists in future by-elections in Kerala, it is learnt.

In spite of this opposition, the Kerala Congress is, however, understood to have obtained the formal approval of the High Command for such electoral understanding.

Mr. Menon is a member of the Congress Liaison Committee appointed by the A.-I.C.C. for Kerala.

It is stated that Mr. Menon's view is that the Congress being a national organisation should not seek alliances and understanding with other political parties.

## 35,000 ENGINEERING GRADUATES NEEDED DURING PLAN PERIOD

New Delhi: India will need additional 35,000 engineering graduates and 60,000 diploma holders during the Second Five-Year Plan, according to the studies made by the Planning Commission in co-operation with the Man-Power Directorate, Ministry of Home Affairs.

Earlier, the Engineering Personnel Committee, appointed to do a comprehensive study on the subject, had estimated the additional requirement during the Second Five-Year Plan as 26,500 engineering graduates and 55,000 diploma holders. Calculations showed that there were 31,000 engineering diploma holders in India at the end of 1955.

Existing engineering institutions in the country are expected to turn out an additional 20,000 graduates and 30,000 diploma holders during the Second Plan period.

Expansion has already been effected at a number of engineering colleges and schools but the increased supply of personnel would be available only towards the end of the Second Plan period.

In order to meet the increasing demand for skilled workers consequent upon the expansion of industries, the Ministry of Labour and Employment has prepared a pre-employment in-plant training (apprenticeship) scheme. Nearly 7,000 apprentices are to be trained during the Second Plan period.

This apprenticeship scheme is intended to supplement the trade apprenticeship courses already in operation in industrial establishments.—U.P.I.

## SPIRIT THAT LEADS TO TOTALITARIANISM

Madras: C. Rajagopalachari declared here today that the Prime Minister's remark of a cold war being carried on in the south on the language issue showed "the spirit which leads to a totalitarian tendency."

Addressing a largely attended public meeting here this evening on the "Union official language", Rajagopalachari said "the Prime Minister's remarks about me in Parliament are not so bad as some of you think. They are quite good. I appreciate all that he has said about me. Having said that, he says that something has happened to me and that I am leading a 'cold war' a historic phrase that will not be easily forgotten. It means that he finds it difficult to bear this criticism. If I have used arguments outside of reason, I can understand a man objecting. I have been pointing out that difficulties involved and I want him to think it over. I want him to suspend article 17 of the Constitution relating to Union language and rethink the matter, as the Bengal Assembly has said."

Rajaji added "but the Prime Minister considers it 'cold war'. I can only guess, I am afraid, that this is the spirit that leads to totalitarian tendency.

"If criticism in a matter like the language issue is taken in this light, then I am afraid that democracy is crumbling. This cannot be called cold war."

—U.P.I.

## COMMUNIST CATECHISM

Q. *What does it mean when the peasants starve*  
Ans. Leftist Trotskyite deviation.

Q. *What does it mean when the peasants prosper and workers prosper?*  
Ans. Rightist Bukharinite deviation.

Q. *What does it mean when both peasants and workers starve?*  
Ans. Correct party line.

Q. *What does it mean when both peasants and workers prosper?*  
Ans. Horrors of Capitalism!

Q. *Where was the garden of Eden?*  
Ans. Perhaps in Russia. In the garden of Eden, Adam and Eve had very little to eat and nothing to wear, yet they thought that they were in heaven. Where could it else be except in Russia?

—Sumant Bankeshwar

## QUACK ECONOMICS OF NEHRU GOVERNMENT

New, Delhi: Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Director of the National Council for Applied Economic Research, said here that the Union Budget for 1958 had failed to tackle the main problem facing the country. It did not indicate how the necessary resources for financing the second Plan were proposed to be raised.

Dr. Lokanathan, who was speaking under the auspices of the Rotary Club, said that the taxes imposed last year were not yielding the revenue they were expected to do. What was worse, they had resulted in creating an atmosphere which was not conducive to foreign investments.

He said 72 per cent of the total expenditure on the first Plan had been met from internal resources and the remaining from deficit financing and foreign assistance. In 1958-59 more than 52 per cent of the developmental expenditure would be met from deficit financing and foreign aid.

While the recommendations of Mr. Kaldor in respect of new taxes had been implemented, his suggestion to reduce tax on personal incomes from 82 per cent to 45 per cent had not been accepted so far.

According to Dr. Lokanathan, the Government faced this dilemma because it did not have the courage to increase the incidence of taxation on 80 per cent of the population living in the rural areas. The land revenue constituted only a fraction of the State revenue while agricultural production accounted for 50 per cent of the country's output.

## SOVIET FARMERS' EXODUS TO CITIES

The situation has become so serious the ruling State Council and the Communist Central Committee have issued a joint directive "on prevention of the blind exodus of the rural population".

A seven-point programme for stopping the exodus was laid down. It directed:

1. Ideological education among the rural masses to persuade them of the importance of agriculture to the nation's industrial development. At the same time, farmers are to be advised that factories and mines in the cities are taking on no new help.

2. The setting up of "preventive offices" along the main railroads, with police and railway officials assigned to "persuade" farmers to return to their villages.

3. Peasants drifting into cities and mining and industrial areas are to be sent back and meanwhile prohibited from beginning. Stricter enforcement of household registration is to be carried out to detect new arrivals.

4. A halt in hiring new workers in all enterprises, industries, organisations, troops, social groups and schools without prior approval of higher authorities.

5. Areas which are large and have insufficient manpower may incorporate the newcomers into local agricultural co-operatives.

6. Peasants be sent straight back home, under escort.

7. Special organs are to be set up to deal with the situation.

## Symposium at Libertarian Social Institute, Bombay

A symposium was held under the auspices of the R. L. Foundation Research Department on Monday the 7th April, 1958, in which members of the Libertarian Social Institute participated.

In his presidential address, Dr. A. K. Das Gupta, Research Director, Libertarian Social Institute, pointed out that in the world today the most controversial question related to the field of economic theory. In simple terms, he said, the problem could be said to be whether it was possible or not for publicly-owned industrial organizations to fit into the mechanism of the market economy. The very fact that opinion was diverse on this subject suggested the scope for research and probing. Dr. Das Gupta said also that it was to such inquiry that the Libertarian Social Institute was dedicated.

Prof. G. N. Lawande, speaking next, said that it was imperative that we should clearly bear in mind that planning and free economy were absolutely incompatible. Planning leads inevitably to regimentation.

### MOST HEAVILY TAXED COUNTRY

Coming to the Second Five-Year Plan and the present foreign exchange crisis, Prof. Lawande said that our plan was far too ambitious. The main defect lay in the very design which over-emphasized heavy industry, without at the same time also developing consumer industries to cushion the large-scale deficit financing undertaken for the purpose of economic development. The immediate remedy, he said, would be to give full facilities for free enterprise to increase economic activity by reducing the present-day rate of taxation. India was the most heavily taxed country in the world, he pointed out. In Britain, for example, income tax came to only 45% whereas in India, which is an under-developed country, the rate is 84%.

Prof. Lawande referred to the recent proposal by Prof. B. R. Shenoy for devaluating the rupee with reference to the U.S. dollar. Such proposal, he said, assumed two conditions. First, that our exports

were in good demand, and, second, that other countries would not devalue their currency as a retaliation.

Prof. Lawande also pointed out that deficit financing could only be resorted to when the general level of prices was falling. It had no place whatever during inflation, he said. Furthermore, the safe limit, even according to competent Indian economists, was between Rs. 150 and 200 crores. But the Indian Plan, merely on the ambiguous results of the first Five-Year Plan, had launched on an over-ambitious deficit financing of Rs. 1200 crores.

### INDIA AND DEMOCRACY

Mr. B. S. Sanyal, speaking next, pointed out that communism was the basic problem before the country. The various 'isms' could be reconciled only with a proper approach. Socialism or communism was a direct attack on the freedom of the individual. Socialism or communism implied a society which was an organic unity inasmuch as the individual was subordinated to the State which, in turn identified with society. Free enterprise, or the democratic order, was a systematic unity in which the interdependence of the individual and society was well recognized. In India, democracy was a much misunderstood concept, he said. It was surprising that even the Prime Minister often said that poverty must be removed even at the cost of liberty. This was a very wrong political approach, Mr. Sanyal said. It is of the utmost necessity that Indians should realize that democracy is a dynamic system.

Mr. M. V. Balkrishna Rao, who spoke next, said, "The policies of the Indian Government were self-stultifying. Instead of advancing economic progress, they were actually hindering it by depriving the entrepreneur of all incentive. Socialism was an impossible utopia because socialism deprived us of the calculus for objective economic measurement." He also pointed out that the root of the matter was our plan. Unless the plan was curtailed or scrapped, the country would go from bad to worse."

Mr. S. S. Bankeshwar said that academic economists tended to ignore the practical dilemma that was faced by a party in power in any under-developed and backward country. The clash between the employers and the employees always brought about conditions when the party in power had to favour either one or the other. No economic theory of consideration could ignore this fact of practical politics.

### EXPLOITATION UNDER SOCIALISM

Mr. Kishore Valicha, speaking next, pointed out that it was of the utmost difficult to prove the extent of exploitation or the marginal productivity of any factor of production. In India, today, he said, the labourers were in the best of conditions, because of the pampering of the ruling party. Moreover, exploitation, the extent of which was underminable, did not get resolved under socialism. It was erroneous to think otherwise. Socialism equally exploited the labourers.

A vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. R. B. Lotwala, after which the meeting concluded.

### POINTED AND PERTINENT

We are in great danger today of breeding a generation brought up to think that Grandmother State has a bottomless purse and will hold its hand from the cradle to the grave.

—Sir Halford Reddish, Freedom First (London).

Our newspapers, like our Prime Minister, have a way of shifting their convictions in the light of calculated probabilities, ending by lending their active support to just the things they had previously condemned.

—Swarajya.

There can be no coalition between the Congress and the PSP in Kerala, because the PSP was a party and the Congress a national movement. —V. K. Krishna Menon, Thought, February 15.

Congress leaders have been suffering from obsessions of all sorts, the worst being the fond notion that there is no alternative to Congress. —P. R. Lele, Blitz.

Let all those who aspire to step into Prime Minister's shoes take note—Krishna Menon's unshapely feet are being shod into shape to suit them.

# Book Reviews

## Towards Responsible Government

**TOWARD RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT** An Economic Appraisal of Federal Investment in Water Resource Programmes. pp. 164. By Edward R. Renshaw. Idyia Press, 8342 South Kenwood, Chicago 19, Illinois, 1957.

Behind the smoke-screen of welfare, social justice, equality, liberty, etc, hides a single villain of the piece—the unscrupulous politician. No matter what 'ism' we live under, there is one privileged class of persons who stand above law—more often *de facto* than *de jure*. This class accumulates political power at every crisis, but never surrenders it even after the emergency is gone. Such politicians live like parasites on the economic activity of the community. The social costs of government tend far to exceed the economic advantage to the community. It is this central fact of political exploitation of the economy which leads, by virtue of its inherent logic of power, to a complete totalitarian state.

### THE FRAUD OF "WELFARIST" SCHEMES

Professor Edward F. Renshaw, Department of Economics, University of Chicago, proves this central defect of all welfarist socialist ventures, though it is not his intention to launch on an over-all attack on ideological grounds. His is a well-substantiated, methodical appraisal of Federal Investment in Water Resource Programmes, complete with statistical tables, graphs and

numerous references to relevant authoritative sources.

"Three years of analysis and sober reflection, however, have convinced me that there exists a need for changing our basic attitudes towards water resource development, . . . While large reclamation projects and huge dams have made an important contribution to our progress in the past, it is to recognize that as the best sites are taken, the construction of additional projects becomes increasingly costly. At that point where it becomes possible to supply the same end-products by less costly means, further development can only be accomplished by sacrificing progress itself. When this point is reached we should not delude ourselves as to the nature of the values involved, development can only be justified if monuments to rival the Pyramids are of value in themselves."

Ever since 1900 appropriations by the federal government for the development of water resources have gone up at an increasing rate. In 1954 appropriations amounted to \$14.3 billion. Expenditures by the major project-building agencies for the fiscal year 1958 are expected to be in excess of \$850 million (eight-hundred and fifty), a moderate increase over 1957, and an increase of over \$150 million compared with 1956. The question that naturally props up is: "Do expenditures in this area by the federal government represent the best use to which a limited amount of funds can be put? Can the transfer of resources from the private sector of our economy to the public sector be truly justified in the sense that benefits exceed costs?" (emphasis ours)

What is the extent to which the tax-payer bears the burden of subsidising these government ventures? The subsidy varies from about 40 per cent in the case of public power to nearly 100 per cent in the case of navigation, flood control, and basin wide irrigation.

### THE MORAL ASPECT

The moral point raised by Professor Renshaw is:

Inasmuch as the benefits which accrue from public investment are more localised than the tax base which supports expenditure, the return from a particular project need not be as great as could be obtained by investing the same funds elsewhere in the economy in order to make a public project appear justified from a purely local point of view. On the basis of logic alone, one would anticipate that local groups would bring pressure to bear upon Congress and the agencies involved in water resource development to construct local projects which would not be in the best interest of a nation as a whole.

Bulletin No. 58-3 issued by the Bureau of the Budget, November 13, 1957 admits that: "Uniform Government-wide policies or procedures for applying user charges, however do not exist. Variations in charges for similar activities exist between and even within agencies, resulting in hidden subsidies, inequities, and a burden on the general taxpayer. . . The President, however, on several occasions has stated his firm belief in the principle that, as a matter of equity, the recipients of the special benefits should pay for the full applicable cost of the special services provided, and that a fair market value should be obtained from the use or sale of Government-owned resources or property."

The author firmly establishes the conclusion that contemporary federal investment in both the Missouri and Colorado River Basins cannot be justified on the basis of the expected increases in land and water values exceeding costs.

Here then is a typical example of government negligence of national interest. However eloquent the politician may be in demanding nationalisation of public utilities, the way nationalised public utilities are run, whether in America or Britain or Russia or India, clearly indicates that public sectors are destroying the capital accumulated by the private sector. It is a national disservice to nationalise.

It is a pity that Professor Renshaw does not draw the fundamental conclusion that bureaucratic managements are in principle uneconomical, and MUST, therefore, be reduced drastically wherever possible. Under the market system

## ORGANISER

For National News and Views  
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'variations in charges for similar activities...between and even within agencies' could not take place. If there is 'imperfect competition,' who makes it imperfect? Either it is the politician conferring economic privilege through political protection or it is a temporary phase to be overthrown by technological progress or by the accumulation of capital. Professor Renshaw's book, therefore, proves a valuable vindication of the libertarian conviction that nationalisation is not enough. We should chain the politician.

—M. V. Balakrishna Rao

### BRITISH INFORMATION PUBLICATIONS

**The UK Dependencies in Brief**  
**The Commonwealth in Brief**  
**Britain in Brief**  
**Britain: An Official Handbook**

Publications of the Central Office of Information, London.

Very well got-up and suitably illustrated publications which will be of good help to students of economics and politics, especially of economic history. The first booklet is concerned with the affairs of those territories in the Commonwealth for whose good governance the United Kingdom is ultimately responsible. It contains information on Administration, Agriculture, Industry, Investment, Population, Finance, Exports, etc. etc. The second pamphlet is concerned only with the United Kingdom (including its foreign policy). It includes chapters on Asia, Atomic Energy, Baghdad Pact, Banks, Exports, National Assistance, National Income, etc., etc. The third pamphlet is concerned with the main aspects of

the relationship between the independent members of the Commonwealth. It comprises of various subjects like Ceylon, Pakistan, New Zealand, India, Rhodesia, South Africa, etc.

The fourth is a handbook, 530 pages in number and containing maps. Following its ten-year old tradition, it covers events up to the autumn of 1957 and thus contains up-to-date information. It is illustrated with 50 photographs, 10 maps and 15 diagrams. The text includes also a 37-page bibliography relating to each section of the book and it is fully indexed. It is a valuable work of reference and is lucidly and pleasantly written. As the Hindu put it, "For sheer comprehensiveness of information and clarity of presentation there is nothing to rival this official handbook." —K.D.V.

—K.D.V.

### THE INDIAN BUILDER

**THE INDIAN BUILDER** Journal of The Builder's Association of India, March 1958

As the very title of the journal suggests, **The Builder** is the mouth-piece of The Builder Association of India. The March issue of the journal gives us information about The Rihand Dam Project, Housing Problem in Bombay, Nurses Home for the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi along with other features.

The journal is got up on good art paper and proves an invaluable source of technical information to architects who must be upto-date. Of course, there is the all-knowing journalist who can make this grist to his mill.

—M. V. Balakrishna Rao

### WITH MANY VOICES

The point about India is that while there may be corrupt officials and corrupting businessmen, corruption is not a way of Government life as it is in some other Asian countries. There is corruption, but the moral climate of the Government is not a corrupt climate and that, of course, is important.

—A. M. Rosenthal, New York Times.

Admitting Communists into the Government is just like injecting sickness into one's body.

—Sjafruddin Pravinrangegara, rebel Premier of Indonesia, Times of India.

### GIFT BOOK FROM U.S.I.S. TO R. L. TRUST LIBRARY

The Secretary of the R. L. Trust Library Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, thanks the U.S.I.S. for sending the following books and publications as gifts to the Library.

Scholmer, Joseph: *Vorkuta Dramatic First Report on the Slave city in the Soviet Arctic.*

James, Daniel: *Red Design for the Americas: Guatemalan Prelude.*

Cookrudge, E. H.: *Net That Covers the World; Full and Authentic Exposure of the Soviet Espionage System.*

Brant, Stefan: *East German Rising. 17th June 1953.*

Barghoorn, Frederick C.: *Soviet Russian Nationalism.*

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