

The Indian Libertarian

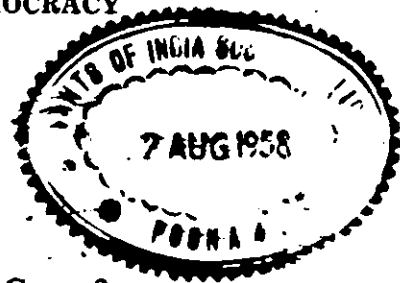
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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY



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Arya Bhuvan,
Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Letters To The Editor

THOUGHTS ON LIBERTARIANISM

Dear Madam: In my too-busy life I have still been searching through tens of millions of words for some true "Libertarianism." To me, that must embrace Economic Freedom, equally to every human being. And true Economic Freedom must embrace freedom to be on the earth, freedom to utilize and produce from a fair share of the natural resources; freedom to produce and occupy shelter throughout one's life; freedom to produce food and clothing materials; all free from predatory taxation vs. such "freedoms."

But under our tribute-levying taxation institutions against all of these freedoms, where is there any "economic freedom?" Our millionaires are wailing about taxes against swollen incomes. But, granting that such taxes are not "economic freedom," then what about taxes against the inalienable birth-right to occupy and utilize a fair share of God's earth, and against building and occupying shelter, and against producing food and clothing materials, simply to sustain life? If the producing activities are to remain subject to annual tax penalties, where can there be any "economic freedom," any "Libertarianism?"

Moreover, if all mankind be allowed equally, "economic freedom" (emancipation from profit-exactors) what is going to become of the fabulous incomes of our non-producing dividend-collectors? Does anyone imagine that these dividend incomes just grow without producers? Pursuantly, if millionaires and their stooges lambasting income taxes, and demanding "economic freedom", are willing to grant "economic freedom" equally to everybody, what do they imagine will become of their dividend incomes? To pursue the point further, are our exploiters really in favour of "economic freedom" 'libertarianism, equally for everyone, or for only profit-dividend collectors?

In just a few words: Until mankind discovers a concept of "gov-

ernment," taxation and money under which "government" will be merely a "service agency" selling its services to voluntary purchasers in a free market, how will there ever be any true "economic freedom" or genuine "libertarianism?" I will be glad to send free literature to anyone who will write to: Tolley Hartwick, 901 Alice St., Miles City, Mont., U.S.A.

In my probing around since during 1896, to discover a rational philosophy of government, taxation and money, and in submitting my humble writings, since 1920, to serious readers for criticism I have been somewhat dismayed at the dearth of profound students of these subjects. But few have the vision or the courage to try a new task, away from age-old grooves of thinking. Consequently to find original thinkers with imagination I have had to sift through thousands of mere parrot minds. With the same objective I have perused the INDIAN LIBERTARIAN, hoping to come across potential thinkers with a disposition to explore new vistas in the cosmos.

I feel a very firm conviction that the propagandists about "economic freedom" and against income taxes, who fancy that they can still amass unworked for incomes under universal, equal "economic freedom" for everybody, are indulging in incongruous thinking, or in bare-face sophistry. I am with them 100% as to "economic freedom" and libertarianism, but feel positive that under true "economic freedom" they will be automatically left to forego all their "unearned profits." Moreover the antidote for communism must be "economic freedom" ("Libertarianism") for everybody. That will disarm the communists both at home and abroad.

I think your Indian Libertarian is a fine magazine. I wish it and its editor fine success. Thanking you for everything.

—Tolley Hartwick
Miles City, Montana, U.S.A.

LIBERTARIAN FEATURE SERVICE

The Indian Libertarian is issuing a Libertarian Feature Service. It will be sent free to the Press and readers of "The Indian Libertarian" on request. Write to the Editor, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

PAKISTANI MILITARY WITHIN INDIA'S BORDER

IT is reported that emboldened by India's supineness in regard to previous recalcitrance on their part, Pakistani military elements have *actually entered* the Indian border areas in Assam and have entrenched themselves! This has been the culmination of over six months of continuous violation of our Eastern borders along West Bengal and Assam. It has also been established that Pakistanis have been in touch with the Naga rebels and have encouraged them with arms and offer of assistance.

Indian citizens on the border have been fired upon, harvests cut and carried away and cattle driven off. In fact there is nothing that Pakistanis have left undone by way of border insults, provocations and injuries to life and property on the borders of our country.

What has been the reaction of our Government to this chronic problem? A series of written protests and a series of negotiations with border officials with an occasional meeting of Government officials at the Secretariat level! Today our Secretary is waiting for the Pakistani Secretary to *discuss* the entry of Pakistani troops into our territory who is in no hurry to show himself! It is difficult to know if there is any historical parallel in any country in all the annals of the globe for such an unaccountable conduct on the part of a large power suffering insults and injury at the hands of small power without instant retaliation. It is this kind of *timidity* (miscalled statesmanship) that has allowed the Pakistani intransigence to grow from height to height of truculence until at last only a full scale war can bring the naughty country to book.

Now that Pakistan is better armed than ourselves and is full of a blind passion to fight India, we have to demand of our idealistic Government as to how they propose to settle this vexatious question which they have allowed to grow to such warlike proportions? If they had taken the advice of realistic advisers from the beginning instead of relying on the fantastic doctrine of buddhist non-violence in political matters, particularly in relation to Pakistan, they would have retaliated in kind from the very beginnings of such raids eleven years ago. If they had done so, the incursions would not have assumed such proportions as we find ourselves confronted with today. Reciprocity instantaneous and effective—(raid for raid, destruction for destruction) should have been resorted to as a principle. The situation should have been broadcast to the whole world so that all foreign nations would have realised the provocative character of our Pakistani "friends" across the border.

To find special correspondents of big papers from Delhi report *only now*, after a silence of eleven years, that New Delhi is baffled by Pakistani tactics and is speculating whether Pakistan intends war would be amusing, *if it were not tragic*. Big Dailies have played the Government's game of playing the Pakistani intransigence low and soft and have conformed to the official policy of Gandhian ignorance or innocence regarding Pakistan's ambitions, strategies and provo-

cations. They have kept the people in the dark so that even today when war with Pakistan might break any moment the country is not prepared in mind for any such grim eventuality. It is utterly unprepared just as it was not prepared for the disastrous Direct Action programme of Jinnah Saheb just before Partition. We have to recognise the indisputable Fact that Pakistan is a bitter enemy of our country and is waiting for an opportunity of attacking us. The only remedy for it is to be prepared militarily and economically. Prime Minister Noon of Pakistan recently let out the factor that makes for hesitation in starting operations against us, namely, lack of petrol! Well, if we do not have enough petrol within the country, we should store it in sufficient quantities and should have military-cum-economic alliances with powerful countries like America blessed with plenty of petrol and make sure of adequate supplies in peace and war. We may have to modify our foreign policy to this end if necessary. *Panchsheela* in the one-sided way of our Governmental spokesmen is not only worthless but also dangerous since it puts us into a condition of false confidence. We may negotiate such Pacts on paper but we shall be wronging the people grievously if we put trust in them and neglect more realistic defences and alliances. To suppose that in the sort of cold war between such great world powers as Soviet Russia and The United States of America that the world is witnessing today, we can maintain a strictly neutral stand is to misread the situation. *Neutrality is not an end in itself*. It is a means to national security. Neutrality deprives us of friends all round and leaves us dangerously alone in the jungle of international politics. But we are not content to be neutral even. We needs must interfere verbally by condemning one side and giving comfort to the other! And we are finding ourselves condemning the Western and comforting the Russian camps more and more as time passes.

In today's crisis in Lebanon, we find the Congress President Mr. Dhebar joining the communist party in condemning the action of America in landing troops in Lebanon. What need was there for him to express an opinion at all about the grave situation? Even the Prime Minister has restrained himself and has contented himself with warning that interference may bring war. Pakistan, Turkey and Iran have ingratiated themselves with America by approving American intervention as is natural to declared allies. But we neutrals should have taken a neutral line and refrained from any expression of opinion unless it be to ask the nations involving themselves in the fray to *respect our neutrality*. It is now time to study the law of neutrality and safeguard Indian interests that may be jeopardised in the event of hostilities in other parts of the world.

Also, we have to take precautions that Pakistan will not make use of the world alarm to indulge in further aggression on our country—depending on our deep aversion to military action even in the defence of national interests! It is not enough for Mr. Krishna Menon to ask that citizens should be prepared. He

should disclose his plan of preparation and ask the people to participate in it such as air raid precautions, national militia etc.

THE LESSON OF LEBANON FOR INDIA

It is necessary to consider the Lebanese situation from the standpoint of Indian interests. The Big Powers have their own interests there—oil and other. India too should have an interest in oil, for the oil wells of Assam afford only a tenth of our requirements. We need immense quantities of oil not only for civil purposes but also and more urgently for military use. What arrangements have we made for maintaining supplies in case of war even if we remain neutral and what if we are involved on one side or the other? It is to be devoutly hoped that we shall not be forced to fight on the side of the communist Powers, as so many fellow travellers are hoping for.

If the oil wells of the Middle East are put out of action in the early stages of war, as they are only too likely to be, where shall we get oil and at what rates? It is high time that our diplomacy got busy about such realistic questions instead of contenting itself with warning great nations and advising them on how they should behave in peace and war! Our authorities seem to be unaware how deeply foreigners are resenting the holier-than-thou attitude that we adopt in international matters. For instance when Mr. K. M. Munshi expounded the Indian view of spiritual democracy and moral idealism in London in the course of a public lecture, a questioner from the audience asked just how Indian idealism and morality was exhibited in the Kashmir dispute! Mr. Munshi's explanation that India was morally and legally correct in the Kashmir affair did not carry conviction.

India had a member in the Three-Man Committee of Observers sent by the UN to the Lebanese Border and the team reported *very early* after their arrival that the complaint of President Chamoun that there had been massive infiltration and gun running across the Syrian border *had no basis!* Those who had followed the Arab developments from an earlier period were fully aware of the strident propaganda carried on by the Cairo Radio and the incitement that Nasser's followers were giving to the Lebanese Arabs to overthrow their Christian-Arab Government and join the Pan-Arab empire of Nasser. Nasser and his followers in Arab lands from Morocco to Iraq have been hard at work in all these areas carrying the message of Pan-Arab unity disregarding entirely all boundary lines that separate these States—whether republics or kingdoms. Indian visitors who have returned recently from these areas have reported that the entire Arab population of West Asia is with Nasser. The *coup de etat* in Iraq should therefore occasion no surprise.

Nasser is playing a dangerous game playing off the West against the Soviets and *vice versa*. At present he is deriving the full advantage of Russian support in propaganda and small arms to castigate the West to prevent its interference in his game of absorbing Arab sovereignties. Syrians under him have started the present revolt in Lebanon with the one object of overthrowing the Christian element and to get the country to be absorbed in the Arab flood—*Arab Aunschluss*. Christian elements in Lebanon will, in that case, become *stateless* persons. Naturally they resist such a catastrophe. If we were half as nationalistic as Nasser and the Arabs, we should have sup-

ported the Indian Ceylonese against the tyranny of the Sinhalese policy in Ceylon. But our Government and political classes are *not yet fully nationalist in sentiment*. It is this weakness that is showing itself in our foreign policy in terms of Panchasheela, concern for other people's interests more than for our own, indifference to the grave threat of Pakistan etc. Confronted with the immediate prospect of his nation vanishing into nothing leaving the Christian element in the condition of stateless flotsam and jetsam on the waves of world politics, with the fate of refugeedom in store for them on the morrow, it is no wonder that President Chamoun has asked for military aid from his allies, for Britain and the USA had pledged military aid in case of necessity to Lebanon at the time of the second world war when she and Syria freed themselves from the French Mandate. Now the necessity has come and the president has called upon his Treaty Allies to go to his rescue. If solemn treaties are to be discarded for fear of a general war (or for fear that such aid is unwelcome to other aggressors who wish to swallow the treaty nations for becoming Big themselves), the blow to international law and order would be so severe that any number of UNO's and Charters will be unavailing.

The report of Mr. Balaraman, the USA correspondent of *The Hindu*, that many people regard the US action in landing troops in Lebanon as *immoral* may be calculated to please the Indian External Affairs Ministry and the sentimental pro-Russian fellow travellers in the country. But however this may be, it is clear that moral judgment on US action cannot be so simple and so easily made. It should give us *pause* that this is the Russian view. Even they do not talk of morality. Only, they point out that they cannot stand idly by in view of the threat to their interests! It is a question of the clash of interests between the Soviet camp and the free world under the leadership of free and democratic America. Oil is important to both. The friendship and influence over Arab peoples are important to both. As to which side is closer to the greater good of *the world as a whole* depends on what answer we give to the values of free society on a balance of considerations, good and bad as between the two blocs.

In addition to this over-all clash of Big Power interests we have in the immediate foreground, the interests of Nasser's imperial ambition to unify all Arab countries under his own leadership (which is a dictatorship) conflicting with the interests of the free Arab States and nations. This is a question that is very difficult to judge. But in the case of Lebanon it is quite clear that the Christian-Muslim Arab nation-State is entitled to fight for its identity and survival and that its allies should go to its aid in this hour of her sore need and crisis. If America has intervened, it is only (it must be remembered), to counter the *indirect, subterranean intervention of the Soviets and Nasser*. Indirect and invisible intervention is a more insidious and deceptive form of intervention and aggression than open military attack. The disguised intervention of Red China in Korea was as much of an aggression as an open and honest attack would have been. We have to recognise the same Fact under different disguises.

Thus ultimately and from the standpoint of the free world as a whole and in view of the nature of Soviet
(Continued on Page 12)

Who Are The Aggressors In Lebanon?

The Pattern Of Indirect Aggression

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE reaction of the general public in India to American intervention in Lebanon has taken the usual stereotyped line and is identical with that of the Soviets. It is forgotten that Indian foreign policy is supposed to be neutralist and against all involvement in the vicissitudes of the cold war between the blocs. The Prime Minister has so far been more cautious than usual but everyone knows his leanings. The Indian public is debauched with Soviet interpretations of the world scene and developments and follows them implicitly as if they were pure descriptions of irreducible fact and not glosses put upon events in the interests of Soviet policy. The Delhi correspondent of *The Hindu* reports a general resentment against American action in the capital in official and non-official circles who do not hesitate to compare American action in this case to Russian suppression of the Hungarian freedom fight! When this suggestion was made by a Labour Member of the British House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary Selwin Lloyd dryly mentioned the "slight difference" of the puppet government in Hungary! The Washington Correspondent of the same paper reports the centre feeling among the newsmen of the UNO that American action was *immorall*

It is all important that Indian opinion should be presented with the other side of the medal which in this case is nearer the truth and should be weighed in all seriousness in the light of the proclaimed Indian policy of judging all events on their merits. Today it looks as though India will take up the Soviet point of view with a *naivete* that is truly disturbing.

The nerve of the situation lies in the fact of *indirect aggression* which the Soviets have developed into a fine art. As President Eisenhower pointed out, this art of subterranean subversion and infiltration is not new but has been exemplified since the end of the war in East European countries one by one. That is how Hungary was sovietised. Rakosi the Moscow puppet has described in grim detail how he and his friends of the Communist Party of Hungary took over their State through what is known as *salami tactics*. Czechoslovakia was communised in an identical manner under Soviet inspiration and support through "national" communists. The story of this Soviet art of communising a State through coalition governments in the first instance sailing under cover of national sentiment (soon to be transformed into full communist governments by means of popular demonstrations and capture of the police portfolio and so on) needs to be presented to the Indian public in all its naked truth and machiavellian cunning. It is only such a realisation of the "scientifically" developed art of subversion hoisting (Iago-like) innocent and ignorant peoples with their own petard of noble sentiments for the uplift of the disinherited masses that can supply a standard of judgment and generate resistance to the

incessant, strident propoganda of the Soviets and their servants, dupes and fellow travellers.

The tangible spectacle of the American Marines landing in Lebanon offers a formidable appearance of naked intervention in foreign States which bears on its face the signature of aggression not to be ignored or explained away. This is the triumph of the *unseen hand* of Soviet aggression and infiltration functioning much beforehand in the same field. Syria and Lebanon have been subjected to communist aggressive tactics under cover of helping their people to throw off the influence of the imperialists from the West. The Soviet propagandist appears in backward countries from the time of the Leninist Revolution in Russia (1917) as the friend and liberator of Asian and African peoples from the yoke of the West. Now it is not necessary to deny the imperialist character of Western control or influence in these areas. But it would be suicidal to Eastern nations to accept the help and guidance of the Soviets in their effort towards national liberation. The Liberation that the Soviet have in mind is not national Liberation leading to the independent existence of national States in a world of free nations, but "liberation" from their own national leaders! In the process of achieving such "liberation" under Soviet auspices (albeit under the aegis of their own nationals of the local communist party,) the unfortunate people will find themselves saddled by a collection of puppets who, owing their power to foreign nomination, find it impossible to function as free national leaders and as a free government responsible to their own people. All the paraphernalia of one-party rule—police or terror State, thought-control, secret police, Five Year Plans to subserve Russian economic imperialism, foreign policy echoing the Kremlin, mass liquidations, collective farms forced upon an unwilling and resisting peasantry, faked elections with a single official panel of candidates and so on will appear in due time. The "people's democracy" thus resulting from subversion and foreign intervention under the rose will become a replica of the mind and face of Bolshevism. Any diversion from the Kremlin line will bring the wrath of its ruthless masters on the unfortunate country. The way that Tito is being subjected to pressure tactics and all the satellites are being dragooned to condemn him for his independence of the Soviet camp, (even poor Gomulka having had to express verbal approval of the Soviet judicial murder of Nagy, Maleter and two of their colleagues in the Hungarian freedom fight,) are clear evidence of the impossibility of any real exercise of national independence by the Government of nations thus subverted and sucked within the armed ring of Soviet "internationalism."

This was how Syria was penetrated by the communists but President Nasser took advantage of the situation for the benefit of the Arab empire of which he

is dreaming. It is from Syria that Jordan was about to be overturned last year when the courage and resolution of young King Hussein saved the kingdom.

Lebanon has been subjected to such subversive tactics for some time now. An artificial rebel movement has been created by Nasser aided by the communist underworld in Lebanon. The country is half Muslim and half Christian but both sections are Arab by race. The Muslim half naturally has fallen for Nasser and his charm of Pan-Arabism. The Christians hesitate about their fate under such a Pan-Arab empire under a dictator like President Nasser. They will lose their present fifty-fifty share in power and will become a helpless minority. Islam in her history has not had much to recommend itself to her Christian and other non-Muslim subjects. Paper constitutions incorporating all human rights decorating the USA and other modern democracies will not assure them a decent life under the new dispensation—they legitimately fear. So the Christian element looks to the West for the safeguarding of their present position as an integral part of the independent State of Lebanon.

The Cairo radio has been for months now inciting the Lebanese to rebel, overthrow their legitimate government and sweep the country into the arms of President Nasser. The Soviets have been giving moral and arms support on the sly to this penetration of the UAR into Lebanon. The Lebanese communist party has naturally been the spear-head of this betrayal of their legally-founded State. It may be that it is excusable and intelligible in view of Arab ambitions for a united empire of their race but there is no gaining the charge that it is treachery to the existing State. Of course the oil interests of the Western powers play a part in this explosive drama. But first things must be put first. American action or intervention today is a counter-intervention to checkmate the earlier *underground intervention and indirect aggression* of President Nasser and Soviet Russia.

Now the question of morality. Morality is both a matter of short term legality and long term consequences apart from motives and intentions. In *realpolitik*, motives count for little, for with the best of intentions in the world, leaders in power may unwittingly do things that will inevitably destroy their nation, its self-government and economic opportunity, even resulting in an agonising enslavement of their unfortunate people for long periods. Witness Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and other satellites of communist Russia.

From the standpoint of legality, the existing agreement of the Western Powers, particularly the USA and Great Britain from the days of the post-war mandates in Syria and Lebanon pre-dating the UNO but not contradictory to the Charter, binds the two Western Powers to go to the assistance of Lebanon when called upon to do so in an emergency threatening its security. No one can deny that such an emergency was created for the unfortunate little country by the ambition of President Nasser and the encouragement of Soviet diplomacy.

Further, the Charter explicitly recognises such contingencies in Article 51 and approves of collective or individual action of member nations in anticipation of UNO sanction. The USA has lost no time in putting the matter before the Security Council and asking

for its support and cooperation promising to withdraw as soon as effective UNO measures are taken to safeguard the integrity of Lebanon. So much for legality.

As for morality, we have to consider long term consequences. If American action had not taken place and the whole Middle Eastern area falls to the sphere of influence of Soviet Russia, the chances of Russian victory in the world struggle become thereby immensely enhanced. The dread contingency of the free world as a whole passing under the control of the Soviets and becoming part of world communism under the leaders of the Kremlin may become a grim reality. Anything that promotes such a dark culmination to human hopes is an unmitigated *evil* of astronomical proportions. And by the same token anything like the present American action that holds the promise of preventing such a triumph of Kremlin-marxism is a great *good* worth the support of all persons throughout the globe. From this point of view it is but ignorant trifling with human fate to condemn American action without sufficient reflection as "immoral." The time has come for all persons in the free world everywhere to rise to the *summit of the crisis* and free themselves from the blinding and misleading influence of the world-wide propaganda of the Kremlin.

In India we are confronting the initial stages of indirect aggression in Kerala of the kind that has created the State-dissolving cauldron in Lebanon. The situation in India may become more hopeless, what with the approval of communist doctrine by the Prime and Defence Ministers and the Governmental status and power of the Kerala Communist Party.

REFUSE TO BE 'FOOTBALLS'

The divorce rate amongst Muslim Malayan women is causing great distress and breaking up many Malayan homes.

Muslim women of Malaya, therefore, met under the auspices of the United Malaya's National Organization in Kuala Lumpur on June 6, 1953, to discuss a tightening of Muslim marriage and divorce laws. The present way of ending a marriage by saying "I divorce you" three times and getting rid of the woman was rather cruel, the women delegates complained. Another delegate said: "If the present loose laws are not tightened more women will be on the streets because of the gross irresponsibilities of our men." Yet another said: "We do not want our men to treat us like footballs—kicking us around."

But Tuan Haji Hussan, head of the religious committee of the party, said that the existing laws and religious councils were "responsible enough" to deal with divorces and safeguard marriages. The party executive committee had already made recommendations for maintenance for divorced women and compensation for children.

We like the social consciousness of these women. Some day they will be emancipated if they are persevering enough. They are not going to stand the tyranny of their Muslim men for long. In Morocco the marriage and divorce laws have already been modified to suit the Muslim women better.

—*Filmindia*

The Principle Of State Interference

By V. R.

What are we doing? Neither socialists nor their opponents base their policies on well-considered principles

WE are being led speedily along the paths of a revolution made elsewhere. The social, economic and political ideas forming the substance of our revolution, of which the masterpilot is Jawaharlal Nehru, have been based on European experience and European speculation.

They have no doubt some universal application, inasmuch as all humanity has something in common. But ideas have to be assimilated in terms of our own experience and thought if they are to be beneficent in practice. Such relation to national experience is indispensable, especially where revolutionary ideas changing the governing ideals of society at breakneck speed have to be put into force in a democratic set-up with the understanding and consent of the people.

FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

The socialistic pattern of society that is being imposed on our people by the "idealism" of Jawaharlal Nehru is in fact the end-result of a distorted reading of Eur-american experience and thought extending over a century and a half between the French Enlightenment and Revolution of the eighteenth century and the Marxist revolution of Tsarist Russia in October 1917.

To the political freedom of the democratic revolution in France, the Russian revolution of 1817 added, in intention, the goal of economic freedom. Mere external freedom at law was found to be equivalent in practice only to the freedom to starve, and political equality was found to be surprisingly compatible with extreme inequality in economic condition.

The two branches of revolutionary thought that arose in response to this situation, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, evolutionary and catastrophic, one relying on rational persuasiveness and peaceful moulding of public opinion, and the other relying on class war, conspiracy and mobilisation of the working class for a final war on the capitalist class and their governmental agents, have influenced leaders of opinion everywhere, and came to be known as socialism. In our country, the advent of independence brought Pandit Nehru the opportunity at last to put his vision of socialism into practice.

UNWILLING AND UNCONVINCED

Today this situation has created a lag between the mind of the nation and the plans of the leaders. There is also a gulf between the socialism of the leaders and the ruling ideas and feelings of the bulk of persons in the administration and the ruling party. The socialistic pattern of society is being hustled into shape by the drive of the Prime Minister, without the understanding and willing consent of the bulk of the intelligentsia and the rank and file of the middle world between them and the masses.

Sri Hanumanthaiya, former chief minister of Mysore, compared this situation to the artificial religion of Din Ilahi imposed on his court and subjects by Akbar the Great Moghul. It disappeared like mist at sunrise after the emperor's demise. The socialist faith of our intelligentsia and administrators is largely a matter of outward conformity supported by sentiment and deference to authority.

So too the opponents of socialism do not resort to any serious analysis of socialism and do not seek to defend their libertarian views concerning the freedom of the vocations (including that of economic enterprise) through rational criticism and constructive suggestion. They just demur faintly to the ideological nature of Government's policies and urge the authorities, with decreasing success, to let business survive on the empirical ground that it is making a success of its job, that it is fulfilling its targets in the Five Year Plan, and that Government will do well to use its own money for starting new industries instead of locking it up in the acquisition of existing units, and so on.

This position is extremely unsatisfactory, both for the realisation of socialism as a permanent and beneficent revolution, and for a safe and practicable return to a better basis or order of society if socialism should fail after all and not achieve the plenty and progress that it promises.

ALL ROUND RE-THINKING

From this point of view, the lacuna in thought between policy and experience should be bridged by fundamental thinking on all the issues involved in the socialistic pattern of society. Many aspects of social life are involved—*political*: concerning the nature of the State, of its legitimate sphere of action and of the conditions of successful democracy; *economic*: concerning the role of private enterprise, the nature and limits of Governmental intervention, the destiny of the capitalist class, the status of the working class; *social and individual ideals*: whether a rising standard of living can be the be-all and end-all of social evolution or whether limitation of economic development may not be necessary to keep the pace of progress from corrupting the quality of human life; the role of *equality* as a social ideal and its apparent conflict with the equally indispensable ideal of liberty, etc. The great issue of freedom versus totalitarianism throws its sombre colour over the whole scene of social life and organisation, and invests every question with the utmost gravity.

It would be untenable to maintain that events in India are being guided by the composite elite in power on the basis of knowledge and foresight.

It is proposed in this article to suggest a point of view that may afford the right clues to the beneficent function of the State in relation to economic life.

Such a vision of the right relation between the State and economic affair will resolve the conflict between individualism and collectivism, both of which are extremes and abstractions, bringing disaster if pressed into action in isolation unmodified by each other.

The philosophical background that the present writer has in view is the opposing theories of individualism represented by J.S. Mill and of idealism represented by T. H. Green and Bernard Bosanquet. These two opposing lines of thought cover the field of social policy in principle and help us to define the lines of fruitful policy in every field of social life and enable us to resolve conflicts arising from partial views.

If we take over the inspirations and conflicts of Marxism, as we are doing, we might as well (indeed we must) use the more comprehensive and wiser insights of these philosophers of the same period from the West to heal the wounds of class-war ideas.

Indeed we may find it justifiable and useful to restrict the attractive term *socialism* to the golden mean between the extremes of individualism and collectivism and free it from undue and misleading association with Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Khrushchev Communistism.

THE NECESSITY OF FREEDOM

Though the inherent inconsistencies of J.S. Mill's view of liberty have been shown by his opponents, the enduring value of the core of his thought has been recognised all round. It consists in a clear demonstration of the necessity of freedom for the growth and fulfilment of individuality. Freedom, from this point of view, is not only a means but an integral part of the end.

No achievement in society—military power, scientific development, growth in the arts, etc. is of any intrinsic value unless it issues from freedom and is assimilated in freedom by the individuals. This is the distinctive human quality, without which we may have only an ant-like society without independent self-reliant members, each a centre and efflorescence of value-for-self as well as value-for-others. Freedom of thought and discussion, freedom of economic enterprise and political participation in public affairs, are all necessary for growth in individuality, self-fulfilment and realisation of the powers inherent in human personality.

This view is substantially identical with the core of thought in the later "positive liberalism" of T. H. Green, though the philosophical background is different, namely concrete idealism deriving from Plato and Aristotle, Rousseau and Hegel, as against the *empiricism* of Locke, Hume and Mill.

THE ANALYSIS OF FREEDOM

According to idealism of this type, freedom has meaning at two levels. The basic meaning of freedom is freedom from restrictions preventing or limiting self-prompted activity. Freedom in the higher sense includes this but expands to include opportunity to choose ways of self-realisation through law. Law is the liberator of the higher self which restricts the lower of narrower self and makes possible the emergence of the self into the larger life of morality and truth.

Morality is action which co-ordinates the activities

of many to help their rise to more inclusive ways of life, reconciling their impulses into harmony and making possible the emergence of common good. Common good is good that synthesises the good of individuals and society. Self-realisation in society is achieved through contribution to common good through one's "station and its duties," to use the famous phrase of F. H. Bradley.

The value of individuality and freedom for its growth and fulfilment is therefore common to Mill and Green.

To safeguard this value, Mill proposed a distinction between two spheres in the life of the individual, one self-regarding or private and other public. The self-regarding sphere has consequences for the individual alone, while the public sphere is that concerned with the social consequences of our actions.

In practice this distinction breaks down, as is pointed out by the idealist school. Society is an integral whole, such that every action of the individual has both self-regarding and other-regarding consequences. It is not possible to base law and State action on pure other-regarding consequences.

Even intimate experiences like married life, and religion, where the self is supposed to be alone with his God, have aspects in which individuals may impinge on society bringing them within the legitimate sphere of Government. Excessive cruelty, desertion, adultery are matters which bring married life within the sphere of the law, for they have social consequences. In religion, Government will have to intervene if gurudwaras or mosques are used for anti-social activities such as the encouragement of treachery in the guise of religious addresses or for attacking other religious groups from the protected premises. Even sleeping can come within governmental notice if the sleeper is a watchman or sentry who sleeps while on duty!

—Mysindia

"The Mysterious Stranger"

A God who could make good children as easily as bad, yet preferred to make bad ones; who could have made every one happy, yet never made a single happy one; who made them prize their better life, yet stingily cut it short; who gave his angels eternal happiness unearned, yet required his other children to earn it; who gave his angels painless lives, yet cursed his other children with biting miseries and maladies of mind and body; who mouths justice and invented hell, —mouths Golden Rules, and forgiveness multiplied by seventy times seven and invented hell; who mouths morals to other people and has none himself; who frowns upon crimes, yet commits them all; who created man without invitation, then tries to shuffle the responsibility for man's acts, instead of honourably placing it where it belongs, upon himself; and finally with altogether divine obtuseness invites this poor abused slave to worship him! . . .

Only the Christian civilization has scored a triumph to be proud of. Two or three centuries from now it will be recognized that all the competent killers are christians; then the pagan world will go to school to the christian—not to acquire his religion, but his guns. The Turk and the Chinaman will buy those to kill missionaries and converts with.

—EXTRACT FROM MARK TWAIN

FAREWELL, NEUTRALITY

By M. N. Tholal

WE Hindus have never believed in defending our country against foreign aggression — the record we hold of a thousand years' slavery is proof positive of this statement — and may therefore be pardoned if we look askance at other peoples' efforts at maintaining their independence and condemn as aggression their friends' support in that direction. I enter this plea on behalf of my colleagues in the profession as I find them almost unanimous in condemning what they call "American Aggression."

In determining our views on what should be our foreign policy, we are guided not by facts, nor by considerations of justice, but solely by a desire to appear impartial and with that end in view we take the earliest opportunity to condemn the United States, particularly if we have had occasion to condemn the USSR, as after the unjustifiable execution of Nagy a few weeks ago. We do not seem to realise that by pursuing the objective of *appearing* impartial, we are really promoting the cause of injustice. For, what kind of a judge would he be who, ignoring the facts of the case, in the belief that they are too intricate for an ignorant public to understand, delivered a judgment which would draw the crowd's applause and thus raise his own stature in the eyes of the multitude? But the temptation to this short cut to impartiality is great and almost irresistible for those in whom the ability to think is lacking but who nevertheless want to pass as embodiments of justice.

That is exactly what Nehru has been doing and we have been applauding him. "See how good I am" has been the motto of the rulers of our country for ages past. Was it not the motto of Prithviraj who went on defeating and pardoning Mohammad Ghori until the latter put an end to the process by defeating Prithviraj and slaying him and his kinsmen? (Thus incidentally laying the foundations of the country's slavery for a thousand years.)

ARAB NATIONALISM

Neither are the facts of the case in the present instance so obtruse as to escape observation by our leaders and journalists. There is President Nasser who has declared in his famous "Philosophy of the Revolution" that he wants "limitless power for Islam" (That, gentle reader, implies no power for Hinduism and other religions). As that slogan was not likely to go down the throats of non-Muslims, even of the Nehru variety, something better had to be devised, particularly for foreign consumption. It emerged as "Arab nationalism" and men like Nehru were duly impressed.

The Christians of Egypt, who form a substantial section of the country's population, know Nasser too well to swallow the bait, but they have to appear to do so lest they be dubbed traitors by him and his fanatical followers. The Christians of Lebanon, who form nearly half the country's population, have had

no reason to fear the Egyptian Dictator and they have been voicing their opinions rather freely on the sort of Arab nationalism Col. Nasser has had in mind and which found expression in his "Philosophy of the Revolution". The Muslims of Lebanon, on the other hand, particularly the more ignorant sections among the tribals, found their hearts' desire expressed by the Egyptian Dictator and greedily became his disciples. If there was any sincerity in the slogan of "Arab Nationalism," the Christians and Muslims of the Lebanon, descending as they do from the same stock, would have found themselves drawing closer to each other. But, knowing as they do what Nasser means, they have been drifting apart. What does this mean?

This clearly means that Christian Arabs have no faith in the slogan of "Arab Nationalism" in which Mr. Nehru seems to be a profound believer. Because no one can be a better judge of what Arab nationalism of Nasser and his friends means in practice than the non-Muslim neighbours of Egypt and its allies, it means that the cry of Arab Nationalism is only a cloak for Muslim fanaticism, a smokescreen of later development than the days when Nasser, in the frankness of youth, talked of "limitless power for Islam."

What then are we to think or say of those politicians whose country suffered for centuries at the hands of Muslim fanaticism and is still threatened by it on both sides, but who prefer to make light of the declared intentions of Nasser and Company and seem prepared to support them for all they are worth? These politicians belong not only to the Congress camp under Nehru but are spread among all parties, the Socialists, the Praja Socialists and even the Jan Sanghis, who are supposed to be pro-Hindus or at any rate realists enough not to be afraid of being dubbed communist for condemning Muslim fanaticism in all its shades and forms. (The Communists need not here be mentioned for even a fool now knows that they dance to the Moscow tune and are self-declared traitors who flaunt the Red Flag in preference to their own country's.)

At a Socialist meeting I attended some months ago there were posters all round the place containing the words "Long Live Nasser" in big letters. Many turned back from the meeting when they saw this enthusiasm for Nasser in the Socialist heart. I questioned the organisers of the meeting later as there were hardly any Muslims in the locality and their votes could not have been responsible for the posters. I found the reason was a desire to *appear* nationalist. It was doubtless this desire that made Gandhi sponsor the Khilafat agitation and it is this desire that makes us think that nationalism implies support of Muslim fanaticism in some form or other.

AN IMPARTIAL VIEW

Amid much senseless talk of "U.S. Aggression" in this country and elsewhere the commonsense point of view is provided by the Swedish Foreign Minister

in a broadcast from Stockholm. "The U.S. intervention in the Lebanon is a political measure," he said, "which did not derive from any obligations under U. N. statutes." America's argument is that for a long time the Lebanon has been exposed to indirect aggression from the United Arab Republic. This argument, according to him, is not necessary to provide legal grounds for the U.S. action, for "a state may help another Government even if an insurrection is to be suppressed." Such aid, according to him, is neither legally prohibited nor sanctioned under the U.N. statutes. That sums up the position very fairly and it is indeed a pity that India, which claims to be neutral, has not been able even to approximate its stand to this impartial judgment.

What did Mr. Nehru do when U Nu requested him for arms aid to suppress the insurrection in Burma? He at once sent 5,000 rifles to Burma—as many as had been asked for. Was that aggression? Was it not military aid? If it was not made under any pact, so much the worse for Mr. Nehru, because a pact implies mutual obligations and rights, while military aid without any pact implies only obligations without any rights. That is why I say Mr. Nehru does not think in terms of his country, of India's gain, but only of his own glorification.

Nevertheless it cannot be gainsaid that the provision of 5,000 rifles to Burma—the fact remained a secret until U Nu blurted it out in a moment of gratitude—by India was a friendly act, a neighbourly act. What would have been the position if, instead of supplying 5,000 rifles to Burma, All India Radio had been encouraging the rebels and insurgents, as Cairo Radio has undoubtedly been doing. Would that not alone by itself have been indirect aggression? Massive intervention through volunteers might not have taken place, as the UN observers maintain, but who can doubt the source of the arms in possession of the Lebanon rebels? To put it in brief, friendly assistance cannot be called aggression, but incitement to rebellion and arms aid to rebels is aggression and direct aggression at that. To equate a bid to fight aggression with aggression is to say farewell to neutrality.

In his reckless pursuit of power in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi, imbibed in the Mahatma's company, Mr. Nehru has long been a stranger to the sense of fairplay and injustice, like his Master. To compare American assistance to the Lebanon to the Suez episode or the Hungarian invasion by Soviet Russia is the height of injustice, for the simple reason that the Americans did not put the present Government in power in the Lebanon and, far from any collusion with Israel, her enemies are being strengthened. These power-maniacs are the most dangerous people on earth, whether they are in Soviet Russia or Egypt or India. They need close watching. Truman said the last word on the subject when he said there was no alternative, and we must remember that he is a bitter critic of Eisenhower. As for Dulles' policy of always being "on the brink," the only alternative is to go on conceding whatever Soviet Russia and her satellites demand. Is it seriously contended that aggression should not be resisted or that other statesmen should also be content with protests like Mr. Nehru? Or that aggression should be occasionally allowed to have its way—say once or twice a year!

FAILURE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

THE basic tenets of India's foreign policy are stated to be non-alignment and the five principles of the Panch Shila. India, it is said, does not side with power blocs. It judges matters only on merits and makes up its mind after due deliberation in each case. Who then can disapprove of Indian foreign policy?

Those who urge this are guilty of the common fallacy of equating the thing said with the thing done. In reality, foreign policy consists in deeds and not in declarations. Deeds may well have very little correspondence to the general declarations supposed to cover them. The essence of any policy is its implementation, and in Indian foreign policy it often appears in guises very different from the Indian Government's declarations about it.

Mr. Nehru, describing the purpose of foreign policy, has said, "We may talk about national goodwill and mean what we say. We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say, but in the ultimate analysis a Government functions for the good of the country it governs and no Government dares do anything which in the short or long run is to the disadvantage of that country." The purpose of foreign policy, then, is to serve the national interest. To the extent that the interest is served, it is successful; to the extent that it is not, it has failed. National interest is not just a vague generality. In regard to specific problems, it becomes a concrete reality. The test of the foreign policy followed by the Government of India, accordingly, is whether in the problems that are of importance to it, this concrete reality has been achieved.

DOES IT SERVE OUR NATIONAL INTEREST?

The national interest of India demands that Goa should have become part of India. But Portugal holds on and the probability of Goa's union with India has receded rather than advanced with the passage of years. Indian national interest requires that the Ceylonese Government should treat equitably as Ceylonese citizens, residents of Indian descent. The position in this respect again appears worse today than at any time since independence.

Very much is it in India's national interest that India should be respected and liked in Nepal and have greater influence there than any other foreign Power. From all accounts the exact contrary is true. Indian influence having almost disappeared, while Communist China's prestige grows at an ever-increasing pace. Friendly relations with Pakistan, India's neighbour on both east and west, are very important in the Indian national interest. But Pakistan today is a bitter enemy and the attempt to cope with it drains India of resources that could be far more profitably used otherwise.

Perhaps the most important of Indian national interests within the country is economic development, and the obtaining of that capital for it from abroad which would enable it to be accomplished without the regimentation and tyranny that would turn India into a totalitarian State.

—Behar Herald

Gross Violations Of Indian Territory

By Peregrinus

THE latest violation of Indian territory on the Assam-East Pakistan border appears to be more serious than the others in that, in this instance, Pakistani troops also have taken a hand. On July 6 Pakistani forces entered a Khasi village in the Jaintia Hills and dug trenches, constructed bunkers and a tarpaulin shed in a betel-nut grove. Later reports said that the troops had been further reinforced and had entrenched themselves. Both the Assam Government and the Government of India have lodged vigorous protests with the Pakistan Government against this wanton violation of Indian territory and demanded immediate withdrawal of the troops.

THERE have been border violations both in the West and the East and some of them were serious enough, as in the Fazilka firing in which seven Indian nationals were killed. So far, however, the persons involved in these clashes have been the border police and the incidents arose because the frontier had not been clearly demarcated. If the Pakistan army is also to take part in these incidents, as has happened in the Khasi village, it is bound to have dangerous consequences. The protests lodged by India seem to have produced no results so far, and even the conference at Secretariat level agreed upon by both countries to discuss these incidents could not meet because Pakistani officials were otherwise busy.

IF Pakistan cannot stop these violations and is at the same time unwilling to have them discussed and decided at conference level, if repeated cease-fires are to be honoured more in the breach than in the observance and if, in addition, the Pakistan army is also to join in the game, it is about time that India told Pakistan in clear language that this must stop. If even then there are violations, especially in areas as regards which there are no disputes, India must take steps to eject the invaders from her soil. From the soothing statements made by the Pakistan Prime Minister, it looks as if Pakistan wants to indulge in frontier violations under cover of soft words. But India will judge Pakistan more by her actions than by her words. If these incidents result in graver developments, the responsibility will be that of Pakistan and not of anyone else.

ON Kashmir also the Pakistan Government are following more or less successfully the policy of running with the hare and hunting with hounds. A

statement issued by the Pakistan Mission in the United States speaks of widespread support for the movement of Mr. Abbas by all political parties which had been criticizing Government for their attempts to curb the movement. Whether these parties included those represented in the Central Government, the statement did not say. Mr. Noon has, on the other hand, stated that the situation in West Pakistan was "normal," the people having realized that peace had to be maintained at any cost. "There is no trouble now," he added.

MEANWHILE, another canard has been started that President Mirza had sent word to Mr. Abbas that provided he called off the movement, he (President Mirza) would serve an ultimatum on the United Nations Security Council demanding that the Kashmir dispute be settled within a specified period. If the ultimatum failed, Pakistan would be free to take any action—peaceful or otherwise—to settle the dispute. If any such offer had come, Mr. Abbas would have been the first to jump at it, but the report published in a Rawalpindi paper added that he had turned it down, evidently for no ostensible reason. Another report has it that Mr. Noon offered to call a conference of all parties in "Azad Kashmir," provided Mr. Abbas called off the movement. But Mr. Abbas is said to be implacable. These tactics remind one of the South Indian proverb which says: "You pretend that you are beating me, while I pretend to weep. But the farce has gone on too far and too long for any but the absolutely unsophisticated to be impressed by it."

MR. NOON'S declaration that Pakistan wanted a peaceful settlement of her differences with India and would not go to war with her has been described by Milan Mumtaz Daultana as "cringing before India" and "not only humiliating but downright impolitic." Mr. Mohammed Ali has called it "a total surrender in advance." As though in reply to these criticisms, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary has explained that the Prime Minister's recent remarks could in no way be interpreted as being tantamount to a "No-War" declaration. When the question was put to him directly by a Press correspondent, Mr. Noon evaded a direct answer. That the Prime Minister's statement should be elucidated by the Foreign Secretary is no credit to the former. But Mr. Noon has eaten his words so often, he will not find it difficult to do so on one more occasion.

—Hindustan Times

(Continued from page 4)

imperial ambitions and its unfree regime, it can be said that the balance of value lies on the side of the victory of the American alliance as against the Soviet camp. And since so far, Nasser's Arab imperialism has been sailing under the colours of the Kremlin and with its sympathy and support, his Pan-Arabism is at a disadvantage. As nationalism, it is a progressive force but as a dictatorship associated with the Soviets, there is much to be said *against it*. At any rate, there is no call for India to side with him in this quarrel of his with the West. The Lebanon is certainly more liberal and civilised and progressive than any Arab country.

We have therefore to view this problem free from prejudice and clear of the entanglements of the cold war. To denounce America and to accept the Kremlin-Nasser propaganda Line that American action is a species of imperialism less harmful to humanity than Arab and Soviet imperialism (rather that Arab and Soviet lines are not imperialist at all but solely nationalist!) is to get ourselves entangled in the cold war, even while we are repudiating the cold war mentality!

Our legitimate interests in this question stem from the outcome of his West Asian struggle as regards the future of India. We have to ask which is more favourable to the future security of India—the consolidation of Arab and Muslim lands under a single empire from Morocco to the Persian Gulf or the survival of the peoples in this area as a world of independent nation—States bound by a universal covenant of peace and collective security like the UN Charter? There can be no two answers. We prefer a world of independent democratic states not only in West Asia but everywhere. Large aggregations like the Soviet camp unless based on voluntary association and cooperation are a danger to world peace. It would be a good thing for the world if Soviet Russia were split up into a number of smaller independent nations. Wish fulfilment apart, *there is no reason why we should aid*

Nasser to augment his empire and feed his delusions of grandeur which bode no good to the peace of the world. If the Arab nations want peace and national careers or a single national career under their own dictator, it is their own concern. We should watch and not take sides but keep our powder dry. For the first act of a united Arab empire (which will soon hark back to Pan-Islamic ambitions) would be to attack India, as it cannot attack the more powerful West. And if India were governed than as at present, by idealistic buddhist votaries of universal non-violence, so much the better for the Arabs and worse for us! Watchful neutrality while developing our military strength is the best policy for India.

IN SEARCH OF FREEDOM

The post-war artificial division of Germany into East and West has had its repercussion in the constant stream of refugees that keep pouring in every year from the Communist-controlled Soviet zone into West Germany.

The peak year was 1953 when over 331,000 East Germans fled to West Germany to breathe the free air of democracy. In recent years the average number of refugees has been 240,000 but it has never dropped below 165,000 in any one year. Hardly one in ten returns to the Soviet zone.

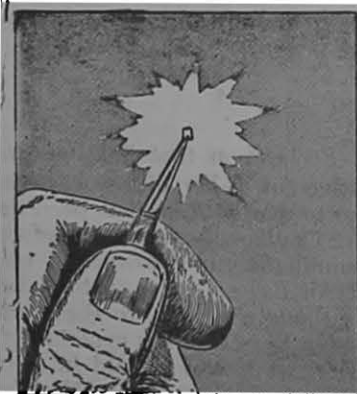
Though there are many teachers, scientists and other intelligentsia amongst the refugees, workers represent three-fifths of the total number.

As long as Communism remains the ruling ideology of East Germany, the discontented refugees have no other alternative. But the highly industrialized and prosperous West Germany can absorb these refugees in no time. Our problem of constantly-pouring-in refugees from East Pakistan is a hundred times worse. The poor, ill-fed refugees make our existing unemployment a bigger headache.

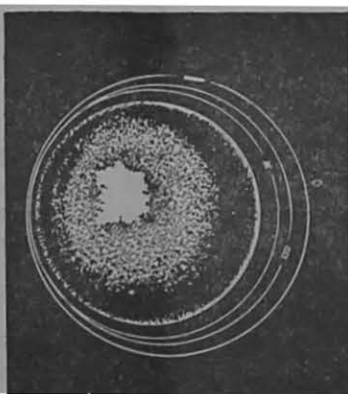
—Filmindia

DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



What is believed to be the smallest printed book in the world has recently been added to the U.S. Library of Congress, in Washington. Consisting of 11 pages, it contains the Lord's Prayer and measures one-twentieth of an inch square ($\frac{1}{10}$ cm).



The U. S. earth satellite Explorer was launched into space at a distance of 219 miles from the earth, 76 miles farther than the Soviet Sputnik I and 89 miles farther than Sputnik II. It reaches 1,587 miles from the earth at the farthest point on its orbit, while Sputniks I and II are 583 miles and 1,056 miles, respectively.



Hibernation is almost—but not quite—death. A woodchuck, for example, normally breathes about 30 times a minute. When excited, the rate jumps to 100 times a minute. But in hibernation he breathes once in five minutes, and his pulse drops from 80 to four or five beats a minute.

THE UNO IN LEBANON

AFTER over three weeks of hesitation, delay and debate, Lebanon has succeeded at least partially in one of the two moves it made in a bid to save itself from external interference and consequent internal insurrection. The Security Council of the United Nations Organisation has, with Soviet abstention, decided to send a team of observers drawn from India, Sweden and Ecuador to report on the Lebanese complaint of "massive external interference." Why the Soviet delegate at the Security Council abstained from voting is a subject for interesting speculation and may suggest a variety of possibilities. But whether the Soviet action was in the nature of an advance notice to the United Arab Republic to refrain from supporting Yugoslavia in its protest against Russia's withdrawing the aid it had earlier promised or face withdrawal of political support to it, or it was a move to avoid embarrassment is not wholly relevant to the question under discussion. The advance party of the Security Council's observers are already in Lebanon.

The Lebanese Government's attempts to secure the verdict and assistance on the same ground from the Arab League have, however, yielded practically no result. The Arab League Council debated the issue in Benghazi, the well-known Libyan town. According to such scrappy reports as are available here the Arab League Council had before it a three-point formula put forward by the Libyans, supported by the Sudanese. The Libyans, through their formula, canvassed the possibility of a compromise between the Lebanese Government and the United Arab Republic on the one hand and between the Lebanese Government and the rebels on the other. The basis on which the Libyan attempt was made showed however the degree of religious division that cuts across vague aspirations of Arab nationalism. The formula which the Libyans and the Sudanese—largely representing Muslim opinion—put forward might amount to cutting the ground from under the feet of the largely Christian Government of Lebanon. (An overwhelming majority of Lebanon's over one million population consists of Christians). It aimed at (1) cessation of all inter-Arab Radio attacks; (2) withdrawal of Lebanon's complaint from the United Nations and (3) establishment of an inter-Arab Commission to visit Lebanon and the United Arab Republic with a view to investigate various charges and counter-charges. In short this was an attempt to put the aggressor and the aggressed on the same footing, in Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon's words in a different context. The Lebanese Government naturally was reserved about the slippery path recommended at Benghazi.

But the Security Council too, like the Arab League Council, has apparently forgotten to take note of what alone is relevant to Lebanon's complaint, namely, the fact of "massive interference" from the territory of the United Arab Republic, particularly its Syrian part. The rebel leader, Kamal Jumblat's own statement to some pressmen, including in one case a correspondent of the Press Trust of India, should be sufficient to bear

out the substance of the Lebanese Government's complaint. In this 200-year old palace built by the Christian-baiting founder of the present dominant dynasty in the Druze, a fierce Muslim tribe, Jumblat admitted that he was in receipt of help "from other sources" just as the "other side," i.e. the democratically-elected Government of Lebanon, was getting it "from the USA, Britain, Iraq and Turkey." He of course regarded this as no interference, "because we are a sovereign Government." About the scale of aid being given to the rebels or Jumblat's "Sovereign Government", some figures are revealing. Jumblat himself claimed to have as many as 3,000 men under arms. About the kind of arms he was receiving, the tribal warrior was not at all secretive. He boasted of possessing anti-tank guns, mortars and "plenty of Belgium made guns." Other reliable sources have spoken of the rebels possessing also anti-aircraft guns and similar other costly heavy equipment. Who can pretend that such weapons and equipment will volunteer for service with the rebels or grow on Lebanon's luxuriant cedars and pines?

It is therefore doubtful if the United Nations observers as such would be able to help the Lebanese Government, maintain peace and security in its territory. For one thing, the rebels, as an Indian correspondent reports from Beirut have already acquired probably all the arms they need for a final show-down. For another, the frontier between Lebanon and the Syrian part of the United Arab Republic is long and tricky and cannot easily yield itself to foolproof inspection. There is also circumstantial evidence of the United Arab Republic's complicity in the rebellion. Several identifiable Syrian army-men are leading the rebel forces in different parts of that country. On two occasions the Israeli military authorities have apprehended carriers of arms trying to enter Lebanon through Israeli territory. And both the Damascus and the Cairo Radios have been exhorting the rebels to keep on fighting.

All this would seem to add up to a serious challenge to the United Nations. The world organization must decide either to afford to the hardpressed Government of Lebanon assistance—sufficient to beat on what is but aggression under a different name or resign itself to inaction, or a game of hide-and-seek in the name of action, as an unwilling step towards its own eventual dissolution. The question before the United Nations is not whether or not there has been interference in Lebanon's internal affairs but how to frustrate proven interference and prevent its recrudescence. Closely allied with this is the question whether the United Nations or those among its members who feel concerned about continued instability in that explosive area cannot find means to help the democratically elected Government of Lebanon reassert the authority freely given to it by the people of Lebanon only some months ago.

—Thought

COMRADELY 'WEAKNESSES'

RATHER belatedly a section of the press has recently drawn attention to the organizational Report which Mr. A. K. Ghose, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, submitted to his party's special congress at Amritsar in the month of April. The report makes interesting reading from more than one point of view.

Organizationally how weak or strong the Communist Party of India is cannot easily be determined. Its announced figures of membership and claim to be the alternative to the Indian National Congress are hardly an indication of its actual position. Its organization as well as its aim being still mainly secretive, the Communist Party can be tested against its claims of strength and position only in an emergency which fortunately does not exist in India.

THE REVEALING REPORT

For the discerning, the report lays bare the immediate organizational aim of the party and provides as such a glimpse of what the Communists are about after all. The report is now believed to be the subject of active discussion and even agitation within the party. Mr. Ghose seems to have made therein three observations which may well be a key to the understanding of the kind of action that the Communists plan when they find themselves organizationally strong enough. One of the biggest shortcomings of the party, according to Mr. Ghose, is that "its ideological homogeneity has seriously weakened in recent years." As an illustration he refers to those in the party who "even dispute such basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism as the dictatorship of the proletariat as being essential for the building of socialism." The third observation is even more striking. Mr. Ghose's report there dwells on what has been popularized by the Russian Rulers as "proletarian internationalism." Mr. Ghose refers to another "weakness" of the party in that respect. What the essence of this extra-territorial injunction is becomes clear here. Mr. Ghose laments that there has been by the party "meagre activity for strengthening the hand of friendship with the USSR, China and other socialist States" which would be necessary, according to him, for what he calls "Afro-Asian solidarity."

It is thus evident that despite its recent much talked of "democratic orientation," the Communist Party continues to cling to all those things which have always marked it out for its faith in monolithic organizational structure geared to dictatorship and loyalty to an external agency. Mr. Ghose is sore with comrades who question the concept of proletarian-dictatorship as an inevitable instrument for building socialism. In other words, he reminds them that the party stands for the dictatorship of the proletariat, described by him as one of the "basic concepts" of Marxism-Leninism. Here there is no room for one hundred flowers to bloom and different schools of thought to contend with each other. This may even be the beginning of a campaign against "revisionism" in the Indian context. If this happens none need be surprised. As

the Prime Minister rightly remarked some time ago, the Communist Party's "thinking apparatus is outside India." The Prime Minister was being polite when he did not specify the exact location of the source of Communist inspiration. Russia actually launched its drive long before the recent break with Yugoslavia. Its campaign basically is against those who demanded change in the concept and structure of the Communist Party in the light of experience and events of the last 100 years. Yugoslavia is the main target of this campaign because in the Russian eschatology, there must be an embodiment of evil as there is of virtue. Because of its apparent loyalty to Russia and China, the Communist Party in India too cannot help waging its own war against the devil of "revisionism."

Afro-Asian solidarity under the hegemony of Russia and China is but another name for proletarian internationalism to which the countries of Eastern Europe are now being subjected. In common parlance all this boils down to a plea not only for unquestioning adherence to the cult of dictatorship but subordination to proletarian internationalism which is but Stalinist (we are sorry, Khrushchevian) Synonym for Russia. The immediate task of the Communist Party therefore appears to be to effect ideological homogeneity in the sense of proletarian dictatorship and to ensure proletarian internationalism in the sense of unquestioning obedience to Moscow. The Communists can sometimes be more self-revealing than they know.

—Thought

JEWS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany is a horror tale that few would like to recall. Their sense of security, however, has been strengthened since 1948 with the creation of Israel, a State for accommodating world Jewry.

But not all Jews can afford to migrate to Israel, their homeland, for one reason or the other. In Soviet Russia there are 3,000,000 Jews who are far from happy and comfortable.

Though some of the notorious Communists like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Litvinoff and Kaganovich were Jews, Stalin put down the Jews, with his usual ruthlessness.

The Jews living at present in Soviet Russia, though designated as Jews, have little or no cultural freedom. In Eastern Siberia, Yiddish songs, school-books and newspapers have disappeared. The Jews have been censured for their inability to make Soviet collectivism a success in some colonies.

It is no longer a secret that Krushchev doesn't like the Jews, though he is reported to have bluffed some top foreign dignitaries recently by saying, "Half of the members of the Presidium have Jewish wives." This is far from the truth but Krushchev does have a Jewish daughter-in-law.

—Filminidia

Wanted: A New Intellectual Elite

By Chanakya

THE social crisis that began in the West with the Industrial Revolution has been deepening decade by decade. The two world wars within a generation have precipitated the crisis and the rise of the Soviet empire at the end of the first and its expansion to cover the transcontinental Eurasian land-mass from the Elbe to Korea at the end of the second world war have brought the crisis to an acute and explosive stage. The development of nuclear weapons in both the blocs has brought the acrid smell of total war to the nostrils of mankind everywhere.

The situation demands the best use of reason we can make in the diagnosis and solution of the pivotal problems. This is no doubt a scientific age. Science occupies today in the minds of men the privileged position accorded to religion in earlier ages. Science is the product of the intelligence organised for cooperative attack on the problems of nature. It is intelligence made self-conscious and aware of the pitfalls of passion and prejudice that mislead us in the work of finding truth.

No doubt there is today a vaster body of assured and tested knowledge on nature and human affairs than at any time in the past history of the world. The equipment by way of libraries and laboratories that are available for advancing the fund of knowledge and the number of thinkers engaged in the work are also unprecedented. But yet we do not find the assured results of science, particularly in the social sphere, on which we can found successful solutions to current world conflicts. The social sciences are yet in the stage of defining the scope and methods of their fields and are yet unable to afford the light and guidance so sorely needed in the present world crisis.

The world is also full of social service institutions and movements. But these only serve as a kind of Red Cross which can bind the wounds of war and conflict and bring relief to the suffering of those who get disabled and wounded in the conflict. It offers no real solution to the root of the problem, does not help us to abolish the evil altogether and so to prevent war and the conflict that leads to wastage, the suicidal race in armaments and war.

The world is also full of agencies for the study of social problems in universities and elsewhere staffed by full time professional thinkers. Yet we have only a babel of voices and are unable to discern any single set of solutions able to satisfy the unprejudiced intelligence to be sound and fruitful. We find only too often that intellectuals in these institutions (and even free lance, independent thinkers as well) are influenced by bias national, party or class like capitalist, labour or communist. As centralisation of power proceeds in the free world as well, we find intellectuals in universities and schools and research institutions increasingly dependent on government support

and increasingly biased in favour of the systems supported by their own governments and societies. Of course it is impossible for intellectuals to function freely and objectively in Soviet countries but it is becoming alarmingly common for thinkers in the free world as well to take biased points of view in favour of official attitudes and theories. For example, it is difficult for American professors and research men to consider calmly and impartially the socialist point of view. Apart from the perversions of socialism in Soviet Russia, it may be that there is something valuable in socialism that is essential in building a sound social structure without the diseases of class war and competitive wastes and the aggrandisement of the State. Anyway the subject should be investigated without the fear of giving comfort to the enemy.

Indeed the disservice that some intellectuals have been guilty of in this regard (and in regard to the statement and discussion of ideas generally in modern democracies) has been called the Great Betrayal or the Treason of the Intellectuals (clerics) by thinkers like Belinda and others in France. Intellectuals have espoused the cause of the disinherited but in ways destructive of sane assessment and judgment. They have evolved caustic theories to support the emotions of the mob. They have dignified their demands with the mantle of ethical principles. They have enthroned demands "for something for nothing" as if that would solve all problems. They have been more interested to support causes that would give their revenge on society for the frustration of their own lives. They have objectified their own mental aberrations and evolved theories more to confront their own souls than to find remedies for actual problems. They have given support to extreme slogans without regard to the equilibrium of society. They have championed either conservative or radical causes without considering their effects on the social temper. In short they have prostituted their intelligence for a mess of pottage.

Meanwhile we have the world communist parties led by the Kremlin systematically subverting the minds of peoples and predisposing them to violent revolution and the ways of destruction. The Kremlin talks of non-intervention with its tongue in its cheek and even agrees to use the sentimental formula of the Indian Panchsheela! They urge co-existence for all but they use it to disarm world public opinion while they are increasing their armaments and influence on the weaker nations of the world.

Turning to the economic scene, we find great nations adopting the very policies of centralisation of economic power in the government that must inevitably lead to communism in the end. Leaders of nations (particularly newly enfranchised nations like India, Indonesia and Egypt) ape the communist bloc and adopt socialist Five Year Plans and aggrandise-

ment of the Public Sector under the uncritical assumption, taken over bodily from the West, that there is no *alternative* to socialism in economic policy. Rapid industrialisation is supposed to be the only thing that satisfies the masses. It is no doubt the only way to obtain more and more power from the masses but whether it will deliver the goods is another matter.

Democracy enthrones the political class and profession. The politician is primarily interested in power and is tempted to promise what the people want, particularly the most vocal and organised of the people like pressure groups of various trades and industries and trade union labour. Big Labour has become a rival sovereignty today vying with the State and the capitalist class organised in employer's federations and lobbies. The politicians are more interested in what is possible for the moment in view of the temper of public opinion than what is good in the long run and just to all the interests involved.

The programmes of the politician are more dictated by what is likely to stabilise his power than by a rational estimation of the long term consequences of the plans proposed from the standpoint of the nation's interest as a whole.

And in addition to the underlying universal tension of the great blocs of power—The United States and Soviet Russia—each nation has its problems additional to this and peculiar to its history and present social composition. In India we have the threat of Pakistan which is becoming daily more and more menacing. The menace is accentuated by the insufficiency and ineptness of the policy of unilateral friendship adopted by our government. The British used to say that the Congress Party and its chief Mahatma Gandhi had *no historical sense*. It may be added with equal truth that they have no psychological gift for seeing others as they really are. In particular, they have no flair for understanding the Muslim mind. A thousand years of contact with Islam in India have not enabled them to understand this great and powerful neighbour. President policies completely ignore the world-wide ambitions of Pan-Islam.

It is necessary in such a psychological situation to evolve a new class or group of thinkers dedicated to truth as such without any prejudice acquired or inherited. They will adopt the strictly scientific point of view and study world problems like the impact of communist Russia and the growing power of Pan-Islam on world politics and national security.

They may be university professors or holders, of endowed chairs in research institutes or editors of journals or writers of every kind—essayists, novelists, dramatists, poets. They should consciously make it their business to acquire the best information available in the world in published works and periodicals about these world problems—communist threat, communist economy, communist foreign policy, socialist policies in the free world as in Britain and the United States (for even in the USA thoughtful observers are beginning to fear the growing centralisation of power in the hands of the State). They will also study in India the social problems of equality with reference to the hitherto unprivileged groups like the untouchables. They will not have any bias one way or the other. Truth as applied to the social sphere including the economic, political and sociological aspects will be their over-mastering concern. They will make a patient study of the dominant types of socialist

thought, and in particular of communist thought—Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Khrushchevism as well as the history of the Russian Revolution and Soviet Policy and policies after the establishment of the revolutionary State by Lenin.

They will also study the conflict between capital and labour in all its aspects. They will study and weigh contemporary economic theories like Keynesianism and State interventionism and full socialism in democratic countries like Britain and the Scandinavian States. They will also study the actual economic situation in India in agriculture and industry and commerce and estimate the value of current socialist policies in the current five year plans. They will do all this without bias. The only way of avoiding bias is to become aware of it and consciously check our data, our implicit or explicit attitudes and interpretative theories, whether they arise from facts in a straight-forward way or are distorted by our preferences and dislikes formed on other grounds.

They will assemble the data already available in the published works of universities and institutes and weigh them from an impartial, scientific point of view. They will study the work of the British Institute of International Affairs as also that of corresponding institutes in America and other countries. In India we have the *India Quarterly* and other publications of the Sapru Institute of World Affairs. Perhaps it would not be far from the truth to say of this Indian research journal, which stands on the highest academic pedestal, that in all its publications, there is not a single independent study and assessment of India's foreign policy. Its contributions on this subject are generally apologetic and dress up the Indian official case in the most attractive way possible, not without a tone of unctuous moral superiority to the West. It is necessary to have such reassessment from a more impartial point of view.

This group of intellectuals will constitute a new *elite* not bound to nationalism or any system of culture or to socialism or individualism. But they will evolve policies suitable to different countries based on the completest data available. They will work in close association with all available information agencies but arrive at their own conclusions after independent appraisal individually and in team work.

They will also have to explore the overall outlooks or philosophies or ideologies attached to current policies in the rival blocs and elsewhere such as historical or dialectic materialism or individualism or libertarianism, idealist synthesis of liberty and control, democracy and democratic rights and duties, administrative systems (communist and democratic), economic organisations both within and outside the Iron Curtain.

The elite will also make a systematic study at once sympathetic and critical, of the current social movements promising panaceas or full solutions of all the ills to which mankind today is subject. We have various schemes for decentralisation of social arrangements—economic and other. In India we have the *bhoodan* and *gramdan* movement which has attracted a certain amount of attention in the West as carrying the hope of a better recording of social affairs. Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan is placing vast hopes on its principles for constructing a better social system free from the defects of parliamentary democracy. Mr. Narayan is stressing the defect of large scale society

with its base in the machine and its proliferation of vast organisational hierarchies in all relations of life. Big Industry, Big Labour, Big Recreation (e.g. cinema and world tours), skyscraper apartments, vast expansions of suburbs with great networks of city conveyances—tram, local trains, taxis, buses and so on—have expanded the secondary associations and weakened life in the *primary groups* like the family and the neighbourhood. Modern industrial societies tend to mechanise life and to discourage depth and to multiply short-lived contacts with no scope for the play of personality. These tendencies are the same whether in Soviet Russia or America. Even if Soviet Russia is conquered or democratises herself and becomes a good member of the society of nations holding out no threat of world conquest, the problems of modern *large scale civilisation* will remain.

The new elite will therefore study schemes of social reorganisation whereby human values could be restored in every sphere of contemporary life. Liberty is said to be hostile to organisation as such. Surely this is an oversimplification. The brain of man is an organisation of incredible complexity involving millions upon millions of cells. Differentiation and organisation are not by themselves hostile to the free development of individuals. It depends on the type of organisation and the aims set before the system builders. If the aim includes human personality and its values, town had city planning as well as the reorganisation of the relation between capital and labour and the details of governmental functioning can all be recast in a more fruitful way. The new elites will study problems from this angle without commitment to communism or ultra democracy. Words and time-honoured formulas will be boldly discarded and facts seen with new eyes from the standpoint of the whole of humanity and essential powers and values.

Both ultimate principles and intermediate second principles by way of programmes for action will be the concern of the new elites we are envisaging.

A closing word by way of the organisation is called for to facilitate the formation and work of such an elite.

It will be realised that in this line of thought we are recalling the monastic organisations of East and West. When in the Dark Ages the Roman Catholic Church was seeking to resuscitate civilisation on the ruins of the Roman empire, associations of friars and monks formed monastic retreats and gave an example of frugal living and rural reconstruction in agriculture and weaving and other simple industries and avocations. The monks also kept the torch of learning burning which became the source of the great universities of Paris, Oxford and Cambridge later. And in India we have had the great Ramakrishna-Vivekananda matts, Aray Samajist Mandirs. But these have been confined to effect a change of attitude to the scriptures and customs of the country. But we are contemplating here groups of people dedicating themselves to scientific study of actual social problems like economic organisation, political administration, educational philosophies and methods, democratic rights, the ideology and working methods of communist cells and parties, totalitarian religions and so on.

Some of the members of the new elite may continue to work in the institutions they are attached to such as universities and research institutes. In time how-

ever, special institutes and colonies may be established where members pledged to such a study of world problems from the standpoint of Truth and Social Good can live together and work in closer and more continuous contact. Meanwhile summer camps or seminars of a week or two could be organised in all countries from time to time to pool the results of study and discussion of the tentative policies framed.

The second part of the duty of such associations of the new elite will be publicity. The results of study should be broadcast through articles in current journals, bulletins, pamphlets and through the platform of their own or those of other cultural and political associations.

This is the vision motivating the Libertarian Movement of Bombay. It is a vision going to the foundations of the social *malaise* of the whole world, both communist and democratic, that can be ultimately cured only by an effective and many-sided mobilisation of truth and make it come alive to the imagination of the general public through vivid and relevant *presentation in terms of actual problems* and solutions. Capacity and research are needed *no less for presentation than for original thought*.

All other associations and movements working in the international and national fields today are either biased or fragmentary in their scope. The new elites will get into touch with them and supplement their work from the universal point of view.

Ruler's Fad

Many crores have been spent on the Ambar Charkha (much of it going into the pockets of Congress camp followers) but the quality of yarn produced by it is poor and there is no demand for such stuff. At present it is difficult to dispose of even vastly better-spun yarn of the mills.

The majority of Congress leaders keep wistfully looking back to a mythical Ram Rajya, instead of marching ahead with the rest of the world. The desire to foist Hindi on the whole country is part of this attempt to create a Utopia, forgetting that it might endanger the country's unity.

While ostensibly out to create a socialistic pattern of society, the Congress Party hob-nobs with tax-evaders, invites them to contribute to Party funds, nominates them as candidates for parliamentary and civic elections. Again, while professing to liquidate vested interests it distributes patronage through quota rights, transport permits etc.

The "loss of prestige of the Congress" as reflected in the recent civic elections, the revolt by a Minister in West Bengal, the behaviour of the Congress legislators in Orissa and Bihar in the last Rajya Sabha elections, serious internal dissensions and scramble for power among Congressmen in several States, particularly in Mysore and East Punjab, and the defeat of Mr. C. B. Gupta at Maudaha was the subject of a resolution moved at the last meeting of the A.I.C.C. by Dhanraj Sharma, a member of the committee from Bihar.

The resolution says that the Congress is losing its dynamism because after 1947 a new class of Congressmen, "a class of opportunists and time-serving reactionaries have wormed their way to positions of vantage and power to the elimination and exclusion of true Congressmen."

—Bhar Herald

ON STOPPING COMPETITION

By Frederic Bastiat

THIS is the story of the owner of an iron mine in France (in 1847) and his reaction to competition from the owners of iron mines in Belgium. The Belgians were able to produce and ship iron into France at less cost than the French owners could produce it and sell it at home. This fact was reflected in the comparatively low price of Belgian iron in the French markets.

Naturally the French people bought most of their iron from Belgian producers instead of from their own domestic producers. This displeased the French mine-owners exceedingly, and the one we are here discussing decided to do something about it.

At first he considered the possibility of personally stopping this undesirable trade. He thought that he might take his gun and sally forth to the frontier and kill the nailmakers, locksmiths, and other users of iron who crossed the border to patronise his competitors. That would teach them a lesson!

But, unfortunately, there was the possibility that those buyers of Belgian iron might object to being killed, and kill him instead. Moreover, he knew that he would have to hire men to guard the entire frontier to make his plan effective. That would cost more money than he had. So our hero was about to resign himself to freedom when suddenly he had a brilliant idea. He remembered that at Paris there was a large factory engaged in producing laws.

He knew that everyone in France was forced to obey these laws, even the bad ones. So all he needed from the Parisian law factory was just one small law: "Belgian iron is prohibited."

Then, instead of having to guard the frontier with his own few employees, the government would send 20,000 guards—chosen from the sons of the very locksmiths and engine makers who were carrying on this undesirable trade with the Belgians. Better still, the domestic mineowner himself wouldn't even have to pay the wages of these guards. That money would be taken from the French people in general, much of it from the selfsame buyers of Belgian iron. Our hero could then sell his iron at his own price.

THE PRODUCERS OF LAWS

With this ingenious plan, our French mineowner proceeded to the law-factory in Paris. At some other time I may tell you of his underhand methods, but here I wish to speak only of what was divulged to the public.

He urged the authorities of the law-factory to consider the following argument. "Belgian iron sells in France for ten francs per hundred pounds. That forces me to sell my iron at the same low price. But I prefer to sell it for fifteen francs. Now if you will only produce a law that says, 'Belgian iron shall no longer enter France,' the following wonderful results will occur:

For each hundred pounds of iron that I sell to the public I shall receive fourteen francs instead of ten

francs. As a result, I can expand my business and employ more workers. My workers and I will have more money to spend. This will help all the tradesmen in our community. The tradesmen, in turn, will then also buy more goods. That will mean larger orders to their suppliers all over France. Those suppliers, in turn, will also expand their businesses and hire more workers. Thus employment and prosperity will increase through France. All will result from that extra five francs that your law will permit me to charge."

The producers of the laws in the law-factory were charmed indeed by the logic of our hero. They rushed to produce the requested law with this observation. "Why talk of hard work and economy? Why use an unpleasant way to increase the wealth of our nation when a single law can do the same things?"

THE UNSEEN CONSEQUENCES

Now, in all fairness, we must do justice to the arguments of this mineowner who wanted a tariff to increase employment. His reasoning was not entirely false, but rather incomplete. In asking the government for a privilege, he had correctly pointed out certain results that can be seen. But he completely ignored certain other effects that cannot be seen.

True enough, the five-franc piece thus directed by law into the cashbox of the domestic producer does serve to stimulate the economy along the lines he predicted. That can easily be seen. But what is not seen is this: That five-franc piece comes not from the moon, but from the pocket of some French citizen who must now pay fifteen francs for the same thing that cost him only ten francs in a free economy. And while the protected industrialist may well use the five francs to encourage national industry the French citizen himself would also have used it for the same purpose, if he had been left free to do so. He would have used his five francs to buy a book, or shoes, or some other article he wanted. In either case, national industry as a whole would be stimulated by the same amount.

Thus the new tariff law has resulted in this: the protected industry now makes a high profit to which it is not justly entitled. The average French citizen has been duped out of five francs by his government, and must therefore do without the article or service he would have bought with it. One segment of the economy has profited at the expense of many others. True enough because of the artificial price increase, new jobs have been created in the protected industry. But what is not seen is the fact that the extra money now spent for iron must necessarily result in reduced spending for other products and services, and thus fewer jobs in those industries. And probably worst of all, the people have been encouraged to think that robbery is moral if it is legal.

—The Free Trader

BAN ON PROSTITUTION— A Critique

By Prof. Om Prakash Kahol

THE news of a complete ban on prostitution with effect from the first day of May this year, and the spirited comments in the press in support of the legislation, occasion a sober reflection on various aspects of the issue. If the purpose of this ban is to remove, from public gaze, certain repulsive symptoms of a deep-rooted social disease, it may achieve some success. But if elevation of moral sense of the society is any of its aims, I am afraid, the legislation will not only fail, but actually make matters worse. The India of the Gandhian period, characterised by emotional 'imbalance', has yet to learn that inventing charming slogans and enacting idealistic legislations, without reference to the actual moral state of the people, for whom they are meant, engender non-seriousness about them. When rules of conduct are so utterly beyond the capacity of the masses to observe, they are violated on such a vast scale that the impression goes round that lofty ideals are meant to be praised only, and not to be observed in practical life. The fate of the precept of absolute non-violence, or of prohibition, is a good example to illustrate the point. The ambitious measure against prostitution will, as some people have hinted, encouraged 'clandestine prostitution,' unless it is supplemented by appropriate educative measures. There are none in view so far.

That apart, what is usually ignored by our reformers is the distinction between immoral traffic in women and prostitution as a legalised institution. While the former is a crime and can be checked, the latter is a necessity — let us call it a necessary evil — much as a dirty drain or a night-soil drum in a metropolitan centre. Owing to inequality of male and female population in some states, or because of economic causes, some persons cannot get a mate, and their morbid inhibitions become a real menace to morality. And the society is studiously mum over this inconvenient issue. In the context of removal of prevalence of prostitution, this contributory factor can be ignored only to our peril. We admit, brothels are a dirty spot, but so are septic tanks. However piously we may wish, that these filthy spots are nowhere in sight, we cannot get rid of them. In a city, where drains and lavatories are not provided — because these are ugly spectacles — the dirt will flow into healthy localities!

Men viewed against this back-ground, the ban on prostitution appears to be a dangerous step. Far from solving the main sex problem, it will carry the visible malady underground, and render it incurable. Every educational psychologist knows that the first step to cure a child of its psychological troubles is to unearth them from the hidden depths and bring them to the surface. The present legislation will do just the reverse and spread the germs of immorality even to those sections, which have so far been immune to this contagion. We should like to enunciate in this connection a fundamental law, which should guide our

moralists in the execution of their ambitious scheme. It states that in a stable moral system, the number of approved methods of sexual gratification must be directly proportional to the methods approved by the society for exciting sex urge. Narrowing down of methods of sex gratification will be justified only when visual, aural, tactual and other methods of sexual excitation are also concurrently eliminated. The dangers inherent in the present situation should now become clear. In the past, the approved methods of sexual gratification were more, and inducements to sex indulgence were less—the respect for religious taboos being comparatively strong and colourful radio-programmes, enchanting cinema shows and mixing of sexes being unknown. Sex starvation was consequently less and moral inhibitions few.

Today, the incentives to sex instinct have increased ten times, thanks to the contempt for religion, attractive styles of dress and highly erotic programmes of moral principles, cinemas and theatres. But instead of providing a greater variety of sex gratification, the society is reducing the number of approved methods, by legislation. Sex starvation is on the increase and nobody is taking any notice of it while channels of its satiation are being ruthlessly hauled. The whole system is moving in the wrong way and a complete collapse of moral values is imminent, unless we wake up in time. Maintenance of clean brothels, subject to medical examinations, governed by a prescribed ethical code and situated in some secluded locality, should not cause any more offence to our moral sense than does a public toilette. They should be looked upon as a 'safety valve' or a vaccinated spot through which poisonous matter of the whole body is allowed to escape. Curing, and not concealing, the malady ought to be our aim. If there is any disease, for which the homoeopathic treatment is decidedly superior to the allopathic, it is a social disease like sex aberration. We must depend, in such matters, upon expert opinion rather than the ambitious plans of power-drunk politicians. An academic approach to social problems can yield much better results than hasty legislations. While wishing this measure every success, we do wish to caution the nation against the possible dangers, it might entail. A full-fledged discussion on the subject would be worth-while.

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A JOB FOR POLICE & RESERVE BANK

MUSIC, the rhythmic expression of Divinity, has no frontiers of cult, crime or country. Be it in the moon-lit desert of Arabia or in the man-lit auditorium of the Metropolitan Opera, music throws a man into an ecstasy that gives him a momentary glimpse of Divinity.

The musician is therefore a citizen of the world and should welcome anywhere where there is a heart ready to vibrate to the notes of melody. But in the modern world, music is bought and sold and has become an article of trade. It earns or loses money for a country. Though there are many great musicians in the world none of them sings without a fee these days. Gone are the days when the human voice sang the songs of the Lord in an ecstasy of love without another ear to hear or a hand to pay. These days the human voice carries songs of lust and love to earn a living. Money has thus purchased the soul of music and dissipated its inherent divinity.

And because money has become the measure of man's merit, even music has grown barricades of nationalities round it. Thus when we call some musicians from Pakistan to sing for us, we not only pay the musicians but also export our money to Pakistan—a neighbour that lives only to hate our people and country.

In the last six years we have been seeing a number of musicians coming from Pakistan to sing in India. They come in groups of a dozen persons every time, travel all over India, give scores of concerts, enjoy our best hospitality and take home a small fortune to Pakistan—their homeland. Prominent among them are Bade Ghulam Ali, Nazakat Ali, Salamat Ali and Mubarak Ali. Some of these people have taken little fortunes out of India regularly every year. In a single season—and there are two seasons for music every year—Bade Ghulam Ali alone takes home a lakh of rupees. What he actually earns no one knows.

Now, normally no music lover would object to this if the traffic between India and Pakistan had been a two-way affair. But unfortunately it is not so. While we welcome and honour musicians from Pakistan, extend our best hospitality to them and pay them lavishly and allow them to take the money out of our country, Pakistan, does not allow a single Indian musician even to give a concert in Pakistan, leave alone giving him permission to bring his earnings to India.

If this one-way traffic continues—and it has been going on for six years now with part of the money being sent out officially and the rest being smuggled out—we shall soon be a poorer nation than we are already. Is it necessary that Pakistan should also be helped to contribute to our poverty? One wonders what our Reserve Bank of India is doing about this export of money to Pakistan through musicians. Surely, Governor Iyengar knows something about this at least if not about the L.L.C. scandal!

Apart from this regular drainage of our money, has it ever occurred to our Police Department that some of the people who accompany these well-known Pakistani musicians come here for political work and that while the artistes entertain the music lovers, their companions run around the town and sow seeds of

political sabotage? It is also possible that part of the money—and a major part of it—earned by the musicians is paid to Pakistan's fifth columnists in India. Pakistan is intelligent enough to employ musicians for political purposes and use India's money for her own destruction. Hatred makes many people subtle and intelligent.

—*Filmindia*

THE "WELFARE" CLAP-TRAP

THE clap-trap about the Welfare State and the Government making decisions in the national interest has been widely resorted to as a justification for all kinds of restrictions on civil liberties without the recognition of the import of such restrictions and their detrimental effect on the growth of a healthy democracy. Where shall we draw the line? If the Government can decide what purposes a company will spend its money on, why should it not also decide how much new additional machinery you must install every year, or what the individual should have for breakfast since bad diet may result in the rearing of an unhealthy generation?

Why should not the Government also decide what the individual will spend on, how much jewellery he should buy for his wife and how much he should invest in shares and how much in Government Securities? A system of law is growing up in this country with more and more powers being conferred on Government officers which can only be described in the word of Lord Hewart as the "New Despotism," or in the words of A. P. Herbert as "Despotic Executive." It is difficult to come across any new piece of legislation which does not leave decisions, of the most far-reaching effect from the point of view of the individual, to the Government, which often in practice means a not very highly-placed administrative officer.

The wide room for harassment and corruption which such a state of the law provides, needs no underlining. This regimentation of a nation's life by executive action is not peculiar to this country; it is growing all over the world. The tides of civil liberty are gradually receding over many democracies. But the mischief is imponderably greater in a country like India where the masses are illiterate, not conscious of their civil rights, and public opinion is not mobilised or educated.

Chapter 3 of the Indian Constitution, which deals with Fundamental Rights, will cease to have any practical significance if more laws of the type indicated above continue to be passed. The wise have said that the final guarantee of the fundamental rights, of a people is not a code or a constitution but the personality of the Judge; and, one may add, the personality of the executive officers in charge of administering the plethora or restrictive laws made in the name of the Welfare State. If after the present Five-Year Plan has been implemented, you find that the national income has been doubled and civil liberties and individual freedom have been halved, the people will have sold their priceless heritage for a mess of pottage.

—*Filmindia*

Picnics With People's Blood

WHILE bards, actors, film stars, singers, dancers and prostitutes are all being used to buttress up the Small Savings Campaign and persuade the people to drop more coins into the coffers of the Government, while new novel taxes to crush and squeeze the people are being levied every day, while slogans of economy in administrative expenditure rend the air every day, while Nehru demands more and more sacrifices from the people every hour to complete his fantastic five-year plans, while millions of people live in roots and barks in various parts of the country, in a single year, 1956-57, the Government of our "Welfare" State sent 734 favourites on cultural picnics overseas and spent

Rs. 38.66 lakhs on them. In this blessed year our Government sent out 200 official "delegations" to various countries.

We know where all these "delegations" went. We know what these "delegations" cost our people. But we do not know what these "delegations" brought home—except in one instance in which a female member, film actress Kamini Kaushal, brought home some photographs for her family album and wrote a few silly articles for a film magazine. The rest of the "delegations" brought home just nothing.

This is how the different Ministries spent Rs. 38.66 lakhs on their favourites:

Ministry	No. of Delegations	Amount Spent
Atomic Energy (Daydream Ministry)	5	Rs. 1,04,000
Commerce & Industry (Convertible Licence Ministry)	30	" 6,95,291
Defence (Jeep Ministry)	17	" 1,68,023
Education (Muslim Ministry)	33	" 8,51,329
External Affairs (Kashmir Ministry)	16	" 7,16,017
Finance (L I C Scandal Ministry)	12	" 2,67,466
Food (Starvation Ministry)	6	" 31,871
Health (T.B. Ministry)	10	" 51,756
Home (Police Ministry)	2	" 11,450
Broadcasting (Bald Brain Ministry)	11	" 99,858
Irrigation (Dry Canals Ministry)	6	" 41,690
Labour (Unemployment Ministry)	15	" 1,43,252
Planning (Mirage Ministry)	1	" 82,000
Railway (Accidents Ministry)	9	" 1,68,080
Rehabilitation (Footpath Ministry)	6	" 8,333
Steel (Tata Ministry)	5	" 2,06,896
Communications (Wing and Wheel Ministry)	16	" 2,18,574

As will be seen from the above table the largest amount was spent by our Muslim Ministry of Education under the late Maulana Azad. It also sent the largest number of delegations abroad to bring education home. As a result of its 33 delegations, C. Rajagopalachari threatens to give the Madras an independent nation if Hindi, our national language, is imposed upon them.

Our External Affairs Ministry, a reserved forest for Kashmiris and Nehru's favourites, scored second honours by spending Rs. 7,16,017 only on 16 delegations. It is obvious that while Maulana's Muslims needed less money per head, Nehru's Kashmiris required almost double the amount per head. No one knows what these delegations brought home except that the wife of the leader of a delegation to Moscow is reported to have returned home pregnant with her seventh child. The cold climate of Moscow obviously helped.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry saved us place money in the race for wastage by coming third with 30 delegations and Rs. 6,95,291 spent on them. The people who travelled under this banner were mostly industrialists who brought home several lucrative agencies for their sons, nephews and sons-in-law. That was a definite gain for their families, though our people will never share it.

Thus these three Ministries together accounted over 58 per cent of the pool of Rs. 38.66 lakhs. That is why they are called important ministries. To give 734 people a picnic overseas it cost us Rs. 38.66 lakhs. To give similar picnic to our 360 million people it will cost us over Rs. 2,00,00,000 lakhs. As we don't have all this money, we can send out only favourites. Our various ministers, therefore, had 734 fortunate favourites in the year of our Lord 1956-57. If Dr. Keskar's Ministry prints photographs of these fortunate 734 for the family altars of the unfortunate ones, millions of photographs will be sold in a country where poverty looks with awe and reverence on any white-capped rogue riding in a motor car.

The good fortune of these lucky 734 is only a daydream of millions of our people. It is never going to come true in their lives. Millions of them do not have money enough to buy a handful of rice for a meal. How can they then invest even eight annas on a Gandhi Cap, the master-key to a smiling fortune? Let us, therefore, hold our nose to the grindstone and turn blood into perspiration to send 1,500 favourites of fortune next year to picnics overseas. The people can only be grist to the mill which our "Welfare" State runs. Jai Hind!

—Filmindia

SAVE TO SPEND

"The P.W.D. conception of a school must be given up if we are to spread education. Essentially, you should revert to the more primitive conception of sitting under a tree and teaching pupils." Says Sri Nehru.

The money by "building" under-the-tree schools can then be spent in building 2-crore Bidhan Soudhas, Asoka Hotels, palatial air-conditioned residences for Ministers.

—Behar Herald

SCIENCE IN U.S.S.R

Newspapers are brimful of reports recording the triumphant march of Science in Russia.

The story of scientists' reward in Russia can be told in a few lines.

The value of the Soviet scientist to the community is expressed in his salary.

While an unskilled labourer earns 600 roubles per month, a young physicist fresh from the university gets 2,000. With a research degree, his income rises to 3,000 and with a lectureship to 4,000.

A reader earns 5,000 and a professor 6,000, to which an extra 3,000 are added if he is elected to corresponding membership of the Academy, or 6,000 for full members.

Since the more outstanding physicists will often hold two professorships simultaneously, their income can easily rise to 15,000 roubles per month, while the very top bracket may have as much as 20,000 to 30,000. This is a lot, considering that a small motor car costs 11,000 to 15,000.

Comparing the ratios between unskilled labour and a good, but not the best, physicist's salary we get: for the United States 1:5, for Britain 1:7, and for the Soviet Union 1:25.

By the simple expedient of paying relatively high salaries and providing good facilities, the Russians have succeeded in directing their best brains into their scientific effort.

We, in India, have made politics the most lucrative profession and so, if in Russia everybody wants to be a scientist for the sake of the material rewards science brings, everybody here wants to be a Minister to serve the country and thereby amass wealth incidentally.

—Behar Herald

NO GREAT CREDIT

A foreign visitor, who has spent some time in this country was full of praise for our standard of living:

"Said he: 'You have the simplest way of living. Your requirements are few and simple.' He then went on to list the things which made up these requirements:

"A Peepul tree—to give shade and shelter;

"A River—for drinking, ablution and cremation purposes;

"A Rosary—for meditation and spiritual enlightenment;

"A Charpoy—for relaxation; and—

"Four Bricks—two for cooking and two for sanitary purposes."

We pointed out to him that these were all that we could afford after paying the taxes imposed to defray the cost of the rulers' plan.

—Behar Herald

TRUE TALES Annie Oakley (fourth of a series)

by VERUS



BUFFALO BILL.—In the spring of 1885 Annie and Frank joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Almost at once Annie became the star of this famous U.S. show. Her biggest crowd-pleasing exhibition was shooting a glass ball from the end of a string Butler twirled over his head.



EUROPE.—When Buffalo Bill took his Wild West Show on a European tour, Annie Oakley was the sensation the crowds came to see. Her trick of leaping a railing, picking up a gun and stooting six balls tossed in the air was the most sensational thing the audiences had ever seen.



ROYALTY.—The crowned heads of Europe took cognizance of Annie's skills and flocked to her shows. She gave two command performances for Queen Victoria of England. After one performance in Paris, an African king rushed up and attempted to contract with Annie to kill marauding lions in his country (To be continued)

The March Of Science

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME MARS CALLING

The fact that the energy released by a single hydrogen bomb is enough to take the entire British Navy to Mars and bring it back to earth may or may not be a consoling thought, but this was the illustration used by Mr. Arthur C. Clarke, a former Chairman of the British Interplanetary Society, in a recent interview broadcast in the BBC's "Radio Newsreel", to indicate that space travel will not be economically practical until atomic energy is available for propulsion. Such power, he thought might be harnessed in fifteen or twenty years time, and the first landing on the moon probably by conventional chemical means might be made about twenty years from now.

Mr. Clarke said that he thought the first direct impact of space travel on human life would be in the field of television and communications. "The range of the television transmitter is limited by the horizon", he said. "When we can put transmitters out in satellites, thousands of miles up, a single transmitter could cover half the earth and you need only two or three of them in space round the earth to provide a global television network. If any one nation were to establish this, and to provide good entertainment, news reporting and commercial facilities, that nation could dominate the earth in a cultural and economic sense." The best height for a satellite station would be about 22,000 miles, Mr. Clarke said, because at that height the satellite appeared to stay fixed in one spot, instead of racing across the sky. He thought that man would be heading out to reach Mars and Venus something like five years after the first landings on the moon.

MRS. WATUMULL REPORTS

IN the course of a recent tour of family planning centres in South and East Asia, Mrs. Ellen Watumull, Assistant to the President of the IPPF, found herself in Mangadu, a village of about 5,000 inhabitants, some fifteen miles from the city of Madras.

By Mrs. Ann Chandrasekhar, wife of Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Director of the Indian Institute of Population Studies, she was informed that it had not been possible to get any of the untouchables from the outskirts to come to the Family Planning Clinic.

But in Mangadu itself, she met a smiling young mother with a healthy three-year-old son. Her husband at present earns only Rs. 25 (less than £2; \$5.00) a month. Until his income improves, they do not wish to have any more children and have gladly availed themselves of the services of the Clinic.

Except in remote villages, Mrs. Watumull found widespread awareness throughout India of both the possibility—and desirability—of family planning. It has been incorporated into the health services of the 55 Community Development Projects but there is still a shortage of materials and of trained personnel.

From its Headquarters in Bombay the Indian Family Planning Association not only conducts clinics and an educational programme all over the country but is also carrying out training programmes and, through the Family Planning Board of the Health Ministry, collaborates effectively with the Government.

For the Family Planning Association of Thailand of which Dr. Pierra Vejjabul is the moving spirit, there are difficulties. Because food is abundant and the standard of living higher there than in many countries of the Far East, Thailand does not regard itself as overpopulated. Much family planning work has to be done "underground" because the Association dare not openly suggest it to mothers with less than four children.

By her personal influence, Dr. Vejjabul is able to secure publicity for family planning in newspapers and magazines which, to judge from the correspondence invoked, are widely read.

Mrs. Watumull was greatly impressed by the family planning work going on in Singapore and Hong Kong, but she left Asia with the feeling that present efforts are inadequate to meet the size of the problem and quotes a distinguished head of a United Nations Division in India as saying, "only a revolutionary new method of birth control will be effective in solving the population problem, especially in South and East Asia, if the people are to have improvement in their standards of living, better medical services, increased educational opportunities, adequate food, and possibly even enough water to drink."

—*New of Population and Birth Control*

In Lighter Vein

In 600 years' time, the number of human beings on the earth will be such that there will be only one square metre for each to live on. U.N. Report.
'Bhoodan' without 'Sharmdan.'

The basic theory that Communist development can be slowed up or strangled by our controls and boycotts is not working. —Walter Lipmann.

Time to switch to a deterrent bang, Dulles would say.

Mr. Janos Kadar said that the sentence of death passed on ex-Premier Imre Nagy did not signify the beginning of some special campaign of repression.

—News.

The even course of justice.

Gen. de Gaulle should tell the truth to the French people that Algeria is Algeria and the Algerians want to be Algerians and only Algerians.

—Krim Belgacem.

The Committee of Public Safety says this is Kriminal.

Soviet scientists think that Antarctica was once linked with Africa and Australia. —Report.

The links were obviously broken by capitalist and imperialist agents.

Even if every Englishman put on a dhoti, chanted the Mahabharata and became as passive as an oyster, it would not have much effect on the present configuration of world politics, except to add a dash of colour. —Irving Kristol.

To Panchsheel?

Mr. A. D. Shroff's Address At The Second General Body Meeting Of The Forum Of Free Enterprise

THE Forum of Free Enterprise has in the course of the last two years, since its inception, consistently sought to educate public opinion on some of the topical problems of the day. There is some evidence now of the dawn of a little realism in New Delhi today. That evidence is real and consistent from what we hear for the last three or four months. Our consistent efforts for the removal of compulsory deposits—one of the obnoxious features of the budget introduced on November 30, 1956—have resulted in the temporary suspension of the measure and it is almost certain that it will be removed from the Statute Book very soon. Similarly, while we were described as panic-mongers about 18 months ago when we warned the country of the threatening clouds on the exchange situation, in the last three or four weeks we see the Ministers and Deputy Ministers of the Finance Ministry going about the country and trying to take the people into confidence on the exchange situation. Throughout the two years, we have been trying to educate public opinion that, both in the matter of internal and external resources, a man-made crisis was being created by the over-ambitious nature of the Second Five-Year Plan. Although our views were very hotly contested by the highly-placed in this country, I do not take it as a matter of great satisfaction that our views are being appreciated today because what is happening is not good for the country. As a result of the over-ambitious nature of the Second Five-Year Plan, the country has been brought to the verge of international insolvency.

Since India attained independence, if ever a case could be made out for impeachment of Ministers, I think that a strong case exists in impeaching Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, both ex-Finance Ministers, for the parlous condition in which they have left the country. Impeachment is resorted to on very rare occasions in the history of countries having Parliamentary system of Government. But impeachment of this character will have a very great educative value in this country in that the masses will realise what reckless, arbitrary actions of Ministers may land the country into.

Unfortunately, the foreign exchange situation as it has developed today has become so delicate that one hesitates to talk as frankly as one would like to do under the circumstances. The only solution that I can see for this question is foreign aid and more foreign aid. Unless it is coming in abundance, I am afraid that this country may be faced with a situation which one cannot contemplate with any equanimity.

One other subject to which I would like to refer at this stage, and to which in the past year we have given some concentrated thought, is the so-called new pattern of taxation—what is described as an integrated pattern of taxation. This integrated pattern of taxation will only result in disintegrating those healthy forces which induce capital formation and savings in the country. Soon after I returned from Europe in early June 1958, I came across a note prepared by the Finance Ministry. That document is prepared to

show that the new pattern of taxation is not in any way hindering capital formation or industrial enterprise in the country. Those over-anxious officials of the Finance Ministry who prepared this document and the Ministers who swallowed this document can only be described as people with eyes but who will not see. So far as our day-to-day experience is concerned, this new pattern of taxation is not only depleting the resources of the existing concerns making it extremely difficult for them to expand their activities, but from the number of new companies which are being promoted, one can see the tremendous deterioration in the situation. There is one aspect on which the public of this country needs to be educated. Every quarter, figures are being published by the Finance Ministry for applications for new capital issues. I have got some experience of working on a body in the Finance Ministry which is a Committee for the control of capital issues. It is an advisory committee on which I worked for three years in the past. Even in those days, (about five years ago), I had pointed out that these figures are absolutely misleading. In the first place, there are exaggerated figures of applications made by various people for starting new firms. Some of these applications are rejected. In some cases where applications are accepted, companies are never floated. And in some cases where companies are floated and a part of the capital is gathered, that company never gets into operation. And what I suggested to the Government in those days and recently I repeated to them is that the public would be interested in knowing not those exaggerated figures of capital issue, but how many companies actually came into force, what was the actual amount of money subscribed by the new issues and for the last twelve months how many companies have actually gone into production. But the Government still insists on publishing those misleading figures. Even if, however, one scrutinises those figures for the last few quarters and compares them with what they were in the previous year, one will see a very serious deterioration in the situation. This is a clear reflex of the fact that capital formation in the country has very seriously declined, that savings are declining in the country, that enterprise is being discouraged and all that has to be attributed to the misguided pursuit of economic policies which instead of getting the country further on the march of progress, are causing a grave set-back. The number of the talks the Forum of Free Enterprise arranged in March and April last have gone to show that unless this so-called integrated pattern of taxation is thrown into the limbo of oblivion, and a system of taxation is devised which is best suited to the promotion of economic development, there is very little prospects for this country to go ahead at least in the near future.

Today the Forum is making its voice heard. Although some of our well-wishers had predicted at the time of the formation of the Forum that it would be an additional victim to infant mortality in this country, we have survived two years and I can assure
(Continued on page 21)

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE MEETING OF RAJKOT CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION ON SUNDAY 15-6-58

1. It is a matter of great disgrace that, in the Gujarat University at Ahmedabad, the examination papers were leaked and instead of taking strict action against the persons involved in the leakage, the students were placed at a great disadvantage and the result was that some students could pass with merit and others who may have deserved to pass, have been made to fail.

2. The Universities which are the Temple of learning, ought to be free from such suspicion and such dishonesty. The education Dept. should be fair and free and the Vice-Chancellors should see that no injustice should be done to anybody. Had it not been for the strong attitude shown by the mass of the students, they would have to suffer by re-examination.

3. Formerly the First Year Examination was taken by the college authorities. Now it is taken by the Gujarat University in which very stringent results are given, and it has caused a great discontent and disappointment in the hearts of the students and their parents, and we wish that the movement by the students for getting satisfactory result may be successful.

4. It is requested that the Government of India may carefully take into consideration the present system of education and examination, which became very costly, burdensome and troublesome to the students. It requires to be overhauled so that the cramming system may come to an end and merits may be given appreciation and regard in the studies as well as in the examination.

5. In spite of heavy expenses having been incurred

(Continued from page 20)

those well-wishers that we will survive for many more years to come. But the unpredictable touch of destiny has in the meantime intervened, and while the Forum has survived, some of these well-wishers of ours have been thrown into oblivion.

One little achievement can be claimed by us. In the earlier stages, as our Manifesto pointed out, the sort of controlled economy under which we are living in this country had created a sense of fear among the people in general and particularly among the members of business community. They had feared that if they wanted licences, if they wanted business from Government which is inevitable in a controlled economy, they could not afford to speak out their minds in the public. It is a good augury for the country and for the continuance of the democratic way of life that a larger and increasing number of people are making their minds known now. The greater good fortune for the country is that not only people outside, but also those within the Congress Party are, in the last twelve months, endeavouring to speak their minds out freely. If any tribute were needed to the Forum of Free Enterprise, it is supplied by the fact that one wing of the Congress Party itself have recently started a Socialist Forum. That Forum has been started with the definite objective of inducing members of the Congress to study some of the economic problems, to discuss them and to ventilate their views freely.

in the Aji-Dam, the people of Rajkot are suffering great difficulty in getting their due supply of water and the Rajkot Municipality should give early relief in the matter.

6. The Rent Act has caused great trouble to the house-holders as well as the tenants, and high-handedness and litigation has greatly increased, and it is therefore requested that it should not be continued in Saurashtra.

7. The cases of murder, dacoity, thefts and injuries by knives are increasing. The police Dept. is very active and vigilant, but still it is requested that the police Dept. may be more careful in such matter for the security of life and property of the public.

8. We are very much pleased to see that the Govt. and the people of Soviet Union are convening the World Congress for disarmament and international co-operation in Stockholm, and are doing everything needful for the joint action for discontinuation of nuclear weapons and tests of A and H Bombs, and we pray that the Government of United States and Great Britain may accept their proposals and that wars may come to an end, and the doctrine of peaceful co-existence which is the life mission of our worthy Prime Minister, may be established throughout the World.

9. It is expected that repeated raids, war threats and atrocities by Pakistan should be stopped strongly by our Government and safety of life in Border limit should be assured.

10. It is expected for the welfare of the people that the only course for the removal of poverty in India and which is the root cause of all the evils is the top heavy taxation in every directions and which has made the Congress Rule very unpopular, and we request that our Government should consider this question very seriously, should lessen the taxes and should decrease the heavy administrative expenses.

11. In spite of several warnings of our Prime Minister and the Congress President, the State Governments are not listening to the grievances of the people and great lethargy prevails in giving replies, and we hope that attention may be given in this matter so that love and affection may be created in the hearts of the people. If this will not be done, our Independence will have no effect and it will be a complete failure.

M. H. UDANI
Vice-President

PILOT'S THREAT TO DROP A-BOMB NEAR U.K. COAST

London: Details of a purported threat by a pro-Russian American pilot to drop an atom bomb near the English coast were reported to the Foreign Office today by the Soviet Embassy.

The letter, purporting to be from an American pilot stationed in Britain, said the pilot and his crew proposed to drop an atom bomb during a routine flight.

The bomb was supposed to be dropped during the flight "at some point in the North Sea not very far from the coast of England."
—Reuter

ON THE NEWS FRONT

PAKISTANIS RANSACK MISSION IN LAHORE Indians Subjected to Indignities

New Delhi: The premises of the Indian Deputy High Commission in Lahore are reported to have been ransacked and virtually looted by some persons after the Indian flag there had been lowered following the formal closure of the Mission on July 10.

It is also believed that some of the officers of the Mission were subjected to unwarranted indignities while on their way from Lahore to India.

Their vehicles, it reported, were stopped; their persons searched; and they were made to walk some distance.

Although details of the incident are unawaited, the information available shows that the treatment meted out to the Mission staff was highly objectionable.

Pakistani police were reported to have been standing by when the Mission was being closed. The fact that the premises could thus be looted under the very nose of the police gives the impression that the whole thing was premeditated.

It looks that all that has been happening in East Pakistan and West Pakistan forms part of the same piece. On the borders between Assam and East Pakistan there have been many incursions by Pakistanis, including some by troops.

—*Hindustan Times*

PAK FORCES OBSTRUCTING INDIAN CULTIVATORS

Karimgang: The Pakistani Armed Forces from the Pakistan border near Latu (India), about seven miles from here, were obstructing today the Indian cultivators in harvesting "Murali" paddy crops from their fields within the Indian Union at the point of the guns, it is authoritatively learnt.

The Pakistani Forces recently constructed trenches on the Pakistan border opposite Latu (India).

The Deputy Superintendent of the Police, Karimganj, has rushed to the spot to study the situation.

A report from the Burma border stated that the Pakistani Forces were constructing trenches and bunkers on that border also. Pakistan was making preparations in Tripura State of the Pakistani border by constructing trenches and mobilising Pakistani troops on the Pakistan border, the report added.

—*Hindustan Times*

PAK ARMY IS LIKELY TO ATTACK VILLAGE

Shillong: Indian security forces along the entire Assam-Pakistani Armed Forces across the border have been alerted in view of the activity of the Pakistani Armed Forces across the border from the village of Dawki and the movement of Naga hostilities in Cachar district.

There are definite indications now that the Pakistanis are 52 miles from here.

Their border forces have even gone to the extent of encroaching on Assam territory to prepare advance firing positions. They have constructed bunkers in a betelnut grove within the jurisdiction of the Dawki police station.

Reports have also been received that the Pakistani forces have been heavily reinforced in the whole sector opposite Dawki and innumerable bunkers have been constructed and trenches dug at Sonatilla, Synrem, Dhamali, Barla, Ambartila and Tamabil.

There was heavy firing in these areas last month until the cease-fire agreement restored quiet.

The Assam Government has lodged a protest with the encroachment on the Indian territory and aggressive preparations by the Pakistani forces which might lead to renewed trouble. A request was also made for the immediate withdrawal of Pakistani reinforcements and the destruction of bunkers and firing positions to relieve tension.

Meanwhile, batches of Naga hostiles have been reported roaming through Cachar District and the Jowai Sub-Division of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills bordering East Pakistan. In Cachar armed Nagas in khaki uniform were found lurking in the vicinity of railway stations early this week.

—*Hindustan Times*

PAK FORCES ENTER KHASI VILLAGE

Shillong: Pakistani troops have entered a Khasi village in the Jaintia Hills which is under the jurisdiction of the Dawki Police Station thus violating Indian territory, it is officially learnt here.

—*P.T.I.*

PERMISSION TO CROSS CEASE-FIRE LINE DEMAND AT MARTYRS' DAY MEETINGS

Srinagar: Public meetings held in various parts of Kashmir Valley in connection with the observance of Martyrs' Day on Sunday demanded that the Kashmiris should be allowed to cross the cease-fire line in a peaceful manner to liberate the Pakistan-occupied area of the State.

Resolutions passed at these meetings said the people of Kashmir would vindicate the noble sacrifice of those who had laid down their lives in the fight for Kashmir's freedom.

The All-Jammu and Kashmir Students' Federation at its special meeting passed a resolution declaring that thousands of students of Kashmir were "prepared to join the 50,000 volunteers corps to be raised by the National Conference to cross peacefully the cease-fire line to liberate the occupied Kashmir." The resolution added that the Security Council had "failed to press Pakistan to vacate aggression from the territories of the State" and so "every student in Kashmir is willing to make any sacrifice to liberate the Pakistan-occupied area of Kashmir."

—*Hindustan Times*

MIRPUR REFUGEES' RESOLVE

Pathankot: The Mirpur Refugees Association, Pathankot, has passed a resolution endorsing the statement of Mr. Gian Chand Sadabarti, president of the District Mirpur Refugees Committee. Mr. Sadabarti had earlier stated that if Mr. Ghulam Abbas attempted to cross the cease-fire line he would lead his volunteers into the Pakistan-occupied area of Kashmir.

The resolution added that Mirpur refugees, now settled at Pathankot, would not hesitate to liberate Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

—*Hindustan Times*

ABBAS'S ACTIVITIES CONDEMNED

Srinagar: Opposition to the Abbas group is mounting according to latest reports received here from across the cease-fire line.

The weekly *Azad* of Muzaffarabad has denounced the Abbas group for its stunt of crossing the cease-fire line. Pointing out the utter futility of the move, the paper urged Abbas and others of the so-called liberation movement to desist from their activities. It says Abbas and his associates are inviting disaster for Kashmiris.

Describing the move to cross the cease-fire line as an emotional outburst, the paper emphasizes that the agreement on the cease-fire line is as binding on Kashmiris in the Pakistan-held areas as on the Pakistan Government. —*Free Press Journal*

PAKISTANI THREAT

Karimgang: Members of the Pakistani border forces are threatening all those who are playing boats on the River Surma, according to authoritative reports received today.

As a result, boats have stopped plying along the river dislocating communications and stopping the border trade. —*P.T.I.*

SHAH OF IRAN WANTS FEDERATION WITH PAKISTAN!

Washington: The Shah of Iran said here a few days back that a federation between Pakistan and Iran would not affect at all Iran's Baghdad Pact membership or Pakistan's membership of the Pact. Only the future could tell whether such federation might come about. *But the two countries were of the same religion and to some extent they have a common language.*

The Shah was speaking to the National Press Club here. —*Times of India*

RESIGNATION NOT TO BE PRESSED KASHMIR MINISTER

Ladakh: Kaushak Bakula, Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs, has decided not to press his resignation from the Kashmir Government.

In an exclusive interview, he told *The Times of India* News Service that in response to persistent public demands he had decided to continue as Minister.

He said he felt his right place was not in politics, but in a monastery where he could devote his time to religious pursuits.

He contradicted rumours that he had resigned because of political differences with the Premier, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed.

Another reason for his earlier intention was the death in the Shegatse monastery (Tibet) of his valet and life-long companion, Righdol.

Kaushak Bakula said Righdol had desired that "I should give up politics because I was straying from my original responsibilities." —*Times of India*

HINDI MOVEMENT FAVOURS THE UNEDUCATED

Hyderabad: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari declared here today that the movement for making Hindi the official language of the Union was in fact a movement of the uneducated to govern the country.

Addressing the Union language convention here today, Rajaji said the contention that Hindi should be the official language because 40 per cent of the people knew Hindi against one per cent conversant with English, was illogical.

The so-called 40 per cent of the people speaking Hindi included both the literate and illiterate masses confined to three or four States in the north.

On the contrary, the meagre percentage of English-knowing people were not only educated but evenly distributed throughout the country. It was the educated class which ran the administration in all States and at the Centre today, he added.

He pleaded for the retention of English for use in public offices. He had no dislike for Hindi, which could grow in bazars and through song and poetry and in the cinemas.

Rajaji said that the replacement of English by Hindi would spell the end of India's unity as English, as the official language today, served as a common link between the States and the Centre.

BLACK FLAGS

Socialist volunteers numbering about 20, demonstrated in front of the Lay Hydari Club, where the Union language convention was being addressed by Rajaji.

The demonstrators, carrying a placard decrying the advocates of English shouted slogans calling the organisers of the convention "traitors of India."

Mr. Rajagopalachari made a reference in his speech to the black flag demonstration against him, earlier at the airport.

He said that if the demonstration was intended to convey to him that there was also an opposition view, namely, the advocacy for Hindi, it was unnecessary. He was aware of it.

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The Libertarian Social Institute, Chamarajpet, Bangalore

Mr. D. G. Groom the British disciple of Vinoba Bhawe and Bhoodan worker delivered a lecture on the social philosophy of sarvodaya as exemplified in the bhoodan-gramdan movement at the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, on the 18th of July. Shrimati Sharada, Deputy Mayor, Bangalore Corporation, presided. The vice-president Prof. Venkata Rao, welcomed them in the Institute.

Mr. Groom said that the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement is a continuation of the spiritual work of Mahatma Gandhi by Acharya Vinoba Bhawe. Though its principal activities may appear to be confined to the land problem, the scope and implications of the movement are far-reaching. They indicate a transition in the history of civilisation from the age of violence to that of non-violence for the settlement of social and international disputes. All conflicts arise from an excessive possessiveness and no form of possessiveness is stronger than that relating to land. It is here that Sarvodaya has had its most memorable and significant successes. Simple village folk, (some of them aboriginal people in the hill tracts of the country in Orissa and Madhyapradesh) have responded to the call for bhoodan and gramdan readily and on a scale offering great hopes of the ultimate success of the movement as the beginning of a new order of society based on non-possessiveness and equal sharing of village lands and all property. If the villagers can do this not reluctantly but with spontaneous joy and satisfaction, richer landowners cannot hold out against the new atmosphere. They are also falling suit and making large gifts.

The qualitative change needed in human nature itself has been forthcoming sufficiently in these responses of villagers, rich and poor. The spirit of the good family which shares land and its products among all members according to their capacity has been exemplified in gramdan. The new spirit is spreading into every sphere of community life. New powers of community cooperation are manifesting themselves. This is jana-sakti or people's power. A new era of democracy can be ushered in on

the basis of village community and cooperative activity. This social order will be characterised by truth and non-violence and will embody the democratic spirit better than in large scale society and parliamentary or representative institutions.

It is from this point of view of raising human nature to higher spiritual levels capable of non-violent cooperation that the Sarvodaya movement holds the promise of world peace inaugurating a new era of civilisation on a global scale.

Shrimati Sharada endorsed this view of Sarvodaya and said that the socialist pattern of society and welfare ideal of the Government are practical applications of the spirit of Sarvodaya. She said that

citizens too should help and cooperate with Government in the realisation of these high ideals.

Mr. Spratt, the President of the Institute thanked the President of the meeting Shrimati Sharada and Mr. Groom the speaker. He said that it is doubtful if human nature can dwell constantly on the level of self-abnegation demanded by the Sarvodaya ideal. The principles of the movement require to be critically studied in the light of actual experience. But however examples of cooperative activity impelled by high-mindedness are very welcome to raise the level of human motivation.

Mr. Groom agreed to guide a discussion meeting later to give opportunities for an exchange of views with members of the Institute on the potentialities of the movement.

—A. Venkataram
(Secretary)

WELFARE STATE

Lecture by Mr. T. L. Kantam at Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, on Saturday the 12th instant (July)

A lecture on the Welfare State was given by Mr. T. L. Kantam at the Libertarian Social Institute, Chamarajpet, Bangalore on 12th July, defining the Welfare State as one that offers social security to the weaker section of the whole population by way of sickness and unemployment allowances, health insurance, midday meals for school children, maternity allowances and similar benefits. For achieving this purpose, Mr. Kantam said that state need not necessarily become socialist. Britain began these policies of social security long before it became a partially socialist state after the war. Old age pensions were instituted by Mr. Lloyd George as long ago as 1908. With the passing of the National Health Insurance Act offering complete medical assistance to all, Great Britain has gone far to realise the ideal of the welfare state. The United States is also an advanced welfare state though in theory it is averse to socialism. It has a wide system of social security measures to rescue the individual from the attacks of accidents, sickness, disablement and other vicissitudes of life. In Scandinavia too there is a comprehensive system of welfare benefits to all.

The heavy expenditures entailed by these welfare measures are met

by heavy, progressive taxation (borne mainly by the rich) death and inheritance duties, direct and indirect taxes. Mr. Kantam warned against the facile promises of communism which, while promising welfare, will bring tyranny and oppression. He advised the audience to read books like Marx's Communist Manifesto which show clearly how Marxism is opposed to religion and morality as well. He explained in detail the various welfare benefits now offered in Great Britain.

Mr. Spratt said that in his last visit to London after 25 years, he found the children better fed and clothed and looking sturdier. The poor people of East London looked decidedly better off. To that extent the welfare policies had done distinct good. But he heard complaint from the well-to-do that they could no longer obtain the services of the more popular doctors as they were too busy with larger numbers of patients flocking to them under the free system.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao who presided pointed out that though the welfare state may begin without socialism, it has an inherent tendency to grow into a full socialist state. The state will insist gradually on controlling all econo-

(Continued on page 25)

The Self-Renewal of Civilization

A Lecture delivered by Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao at The Mythic Society Bangalore on 11 July

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao delivered a lecture on the self-renewal of civilisation at The Mythic Society, Bangalore. The Society was founded by Father Tabard under the distinguished patronage of the late Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar for the study of ancient Indian history and culture. It publishes a journal and has a considerable library of historical philosophical and mythological works. It holds occasional meetings for the dissemination of scholarly information on ancient culture. Professor Rao pointed out that though several civilisations have perished (like the Egyptian, Greek and Roman), historical civilisations such as the Indian and Chinese show several epochs of reformation or reconstruction in their past record, when they have renewed their vitality and exhibited further phase of many-sided culture.

It is of the utmost importance to elicit the principles that have guided such self-renewals so that today we may consciously help the salvage of modern civilisation from the forces of disintegration threatening it on all sides, such as inability to use science aright and to develop the disciplines necessary for social control.

The central defect of modern civilisation from the sociological point of view may be described as the inability to master the scale organisation and impersonal associations and secondary contacts to retain the rounded integrity and wholesomeness of human nature.

(Continued from page 24)

mic life in order to fulfil its responsibility of providing for citizens from the cradle to the grave. Caution is necessary to limit the spread of welfare to minimum necessities to avoid the evils of expanding bureaucracy, ever-growing taxation and the full nationalisation of all economic concerns and activities.

Proposing a vote of thanks, the secretary A. Venkataram, said that it was better to bid farewell to welfare state, as the inherent defects were more in resulting of the state bureaucracy if the welfare state was left unchecked.

Human nature needs to be surrounded by primary groups in its early phases. Further, outgrowths of impersonal and fragmentary relations should be dominated by the affections and satisfactions of personality. Like the dinosaur, civilisation has developed a body too huge and unwieldy for vital functioning in its new environment.

A creative minority (as Toynbee suggests) has often emerged to lead civilisation out of its troubles with the help of a new vision and ability. Today the need is for an elite devoted to Truth in all its dimensions, not confined to religion and sect and more synoptic than the sciences. Ashrams or relatively isolated re-

Hindi Fanaticism and Mr. Kodanda Rao's Views

LANGUAGE is the medium for the communication of ideas. Nobody is born with a language; it is not a biological inheritance. Everybody learns one or more languages only after birth, even as he learns how to eat, to dress, to play, to work and so on. No one can own a language exclusively, even as he cannot own a religion, a science or an idea. Material goods, like a book, a house or other property, can be owned exclusively, and is reduced in quantity by sharing with others. But knowledge is not reduced by sharing. The professor cheerfully shares his knowledge, but not his salary, with his pupils. Further, no language has a race, a religion, a sex or a political nationality. If the English were of British nationality non-British nationals, like Americans or Indians, cannot learn it. But they do, as this very Convention proves. Anybody can learn any language even as he can learn any knowledge or adopt any religion. The concept of "my" language and "your" language is, therefore, invalid and is a superstition.

Languages should be learnt for their utility for work and enjoy-

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treats and special associations of like-minded thinkers are needed to consider world problems and to make constructive suggestions from the point of view of humanity as a whole. They should train a certain number of their groups to realise their programmes through publicity and public education. Pressure tactics too may have to be applied by them to thwart bad policies and promote necessary reforms and changes. Truth and social freedom and equivalents and substitutes for war should be evolved.

Mr. Guru Dutt, President of the Mythic Society, Chairman, Mysore State Electricity Board, and formerly of the Mysore Civil Service, presided over the lecture. He said that the Indian concept of dharma will be found to have great suggestive value in an understanding and vitalisation of civilisation.

Every one should learn the regional language which he is likely to use for most purposes for most of his life. Most people do not need a second language if the regional language is developed well enough to be able to convey with speed and accuracy the latest developments in modern knowledge, in arts, sciences and technology. If not, it is advisable to learn another language which is best suited for the purpose. At the present time and for as long as we need foresee, the English language offers a more extensive, a more intensive and a less expensive medium for such a purpose. It is useful not only to the researcher in science but also to the humble artisan. And it is serving the purpose already.

Will the substitution of Hindi for English be a change for the better?

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The chief prejudice against English is the notion that it is "foreign," while Hindi is "Indian." "Foreign" seems to refer to political nationality. Though speaking the same Tamil language, the Ceylonese Tamil is a "foreigner" in Tamilnad in India. No language and no knowledge has a political nationality and cannot be "foreign" to anybody in the world. On the other hand, if, following the current superstition, a language is "Indian" if an Indian national speaks it, particularly as his mother-tongue, English is "Indian" as the Anglo-Indians, if no other, speak it as their mother-tongue, and they are hundred per cent Indians. The Linguistic Census of India, a Government publication, listed at least ten dialects as "Indian" though each was spoken by a single Indian national! English is spoken by more than one Indian national. English may not, with reason, be described and discarded as foreign. It has been suggested in some influential quarters that both English and Hindi should be the languages of the Union. Is there any justifi-

fication for it? An Andhra knowing only Telugu may not be able to communicate with a Bengali knowing only Bengali. But is it necessary that both should learn both Hindi and English to communicate with each other? Should we adopt some kind of dyarchy and use Hindi for some purpose and English for some other purpose? Or, should both languages be used for all purposes? How should the two languages be used in personal talks and conferences? It would seem that two common languages are unnecessary. One will do equally well. Of the two, few will question the fact that English offers facilities superior to Hindi.

Adults are free to learn as many languages and scripts as they like. But it is undesirable to compel children, who have no choice in the matter to learn more languages and scripts than they need. The wiser course is to aim at maximum knowledge with minimum number of languages and scripts. If both Hindi and English are to be used as Union languages, pretty high proficiency in both is needed to

serve higher administration efficiently. If the regional language is used for higher administration within each linguistic region, equally high proficiency is needed in that language also. Thus, children have to learn three languages with three different scripts and achieve high proficiency in each. Bi-lingualism of the regional language and English will serve the same purpose, with much less strain on children. Further, English will serve both national and international purposes at the same time. It is undesirable that the Government of India, deriving its revenues from non-Hindi citizens as well should finance the universalisation of Hindi. The money intended for it may better be spent in promoting the study and spread of English.

Our attention should not be confined to the four corners of India; we are increasingly an integral part of the shrinking world, and should take active interest in promoting a common language for the whole world. English is well on the way to that consummation. Let us take our share in universalising it.

satisfy voters. Inflation will in time have its inevitable result of disorganising the economy.

From the moral and psychological point of view as well, a population debauched by successive doses of cheap welfare will lose its habits and virtues of forethought and self-control, of individual responsibility and capacity for self-provision through savings and private insurance. Security will lower the drive for self-improvement. This consequence of the Welfare State will come to sap the springs of self-help, independence and moral courage on which the success of democracy depends.

Further, though the Welfare State may begin with private enterprise as its foundation, it will be tempted to nationalise industries and other means of earning like insurance and transport and even banking with the result that it will necessarily pass into a Socialist State sooner or later. And socialism will pass into communism in which both economic and political power get concentrated in the same hands. From this situation, full dictatorship and totalitarianism are not far-off, extending to control of thought and culture! The book is must reading to all enlightened citizens. —M. A. Venkata Rao

Book Review

WELFARE, FREEDOM AND INFLATION

WELFARE, FREEDOM AND INFLATION by Wilhelm Ropke with an Introductory essay by Graham Hulton, Pall Mall, London, Price 3/6.

The author is one of the economic advisers who have helped Dr. Eberhard, Minister for Economic Affairs of West Germany, in the working out of his policies of economic reconstruction after the war. The recovery of West Germany's economy on the basis of a regulated private enterprise has been one of the miracles of post-war reconstruction in the world. She has surpassed Britain and France. Japan is another country that has demonstrated not merely the possibility of an economic system alternative to socialism for compassing recovery and progress but also the resilience of the capitalist order for adapting itself to critical conditions and delivering the goods without necessitating the jettisoning of freedom.

In this pamphlet, Mr. Ropke traces the inherent connection

between welfare, inflation and democratic freedom. The Curtain today releases forces making for inflation a steady rise in price levels preventing sound conditions of growth emerging in the economy. There is an inherent tendency in the welfare State to pass early from the first stage of providing for minimum wants of the needy sections of the population to the second stage of providing for social security and even higher benefits like education and health insurance of all kinds. There is no limit to demands on the treasury for such increases of amenities for higher income groups as well. This leads to the temptation of ever-rising levels of taxation, direct and indirect with the result that gradually the people will find themselves getting back only just what they themselves pay out in taxes! There is the added burden of an endless proliferation of the bureaucracy to administer new benefits. Deficit financing will become irresistible to the holders of power to

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