



Price 25 Naye

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Liberator'
AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC OPINION

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

The views expressed in the columns of the 'Indian Liberator' do not necessarily reflect the policy of the Journal

Vol. IX. No. 9

August 1, 1961

		IN THIS ISSUE	
	PAGE		PAGE
EDITORIAL ...	1	Planning Commission Wakes To Failure Of State Enterprises by J. M. Lobo Prabhu	10
Dr. Popper On The Defence Of Democracy by M. A. Venkata Rao	4	DELHI LETTER	11
Linguistic Fanaticism by M. N. Tholal	6	Book Review	13
The Prime Minister And The Future Of Our Country by S. R. Narayana Ayyar	8	Gleanings from the Press	13
RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT	I-IV	News & Views	14

EDITORIAL

PAKISTAN AND INDIA

PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN is currently on an official visit to the U.S.A. The diplomacy he is displaying with its unrelieved hostility to India belies the hopes that he raised in the initial months of his military regime that a plain, forthright soldier, he was free from the neurotic hatreds of the League politicians that ran Pakistan before him. He spoke a new language of peace and goodwill to India, showed marked courtesy to Indian journalists and did his best to get a good press in India as the inaugurator of a new policy of goodwill and friendship with India.

But recently, he has changed back to the sentiments and virulence of League politics and has become indistinguishable in his fire-eating sabre-rattling from Liaquat Ali Khan or Surawardy or Nazimuddin and their Jihad-shouting followers! In him has been proved once more that the "Egyptian does not change the colours of his skin nor the leopard his spots" (with apologies to the real Arab Egyptian of today who is different from the ebony Nubian of old).

Mr. Nehru (who justified the extraordinary generosity of gifting away the unheard of sum of Rs. 83 crores to Pakistan as part of the Canal waters agreement by the hope of earning the goodwill of Pakistan, the younger brother should now be confronted with his handiwork and asked whether he should not get back his enormous largesse paid for from the

hard-earned money of the Indian tax-payer, since his estimate of the Pakistani character has once again been proved woefully wrong? But Mr. Nehru is beyond such mundane things as reasons, proofs, possibilities and human nature! He lives in a world by himself, aloof and lofty, untouched by experience!

President Ayub Khan has displayed many astringent aspects of the Pakistani character and attitude to India in his sojourn in the U.S.A.

First of all, he has protested to the American authorities the unwisdom of helping India with such enormous amounts of economic Aid. To strengthen India, he says, is to put fear into the small nations around her in Asia, beginning with Pakistan, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon. He asserts that they are all already uneasy at the growing power of India!

He insists that India is intent on grabbing Pakistan for which purpose she has half her army deployed against her at the Pakistan borders! He conceals the fact of the continual probing of Pakistani armed forces into Indian territory all these years necessitating such defence posture on the part of India.

He has told President Kennedy that military Aid to India would cause resentment and alarm in Pakistan.

Dean Rusk has publicly hinted at the unreasonableness of these charges against the U.S.A. and India. It remains to be seen what permanent re-

.....
 Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Nation'
 AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
 AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

.....
 MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

The views expressed in the columns of the 'Indian Libertarian,' do
 not necessarily reflect the policy of the Journal

Vol. IX. No. 9

August 1, 1961

		IN THIS ISSUE	
		PAGE	PAGE
EDITORIAL	...	1	Planning Commission Wakes To Failure Of State Enterprises by J. M. Lobo Prabhu
Dr. Popper On The Defence Of Democracy	..	4	DELHI LETTER
by M. A. Venkata Rao	..	6	Book Review
Linguistic Fanaticism	..	8	Gleanings from the Press
by M. N. Thotal	..		
The Prime Minister And The Future Of Our Country	..		
by S. R. Narayana Ayyar	..		
RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT	.. I-IV		News & Views

EDITORIAL

PAKISTAN AND INDIA

PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN is currently on an official visit to the U.S.A. The diplomacy he is displaying with its unrelieved hostility to India belies the hopes that he raised in the initial months of his military regime that a plain, forthright soldier, he was free from the neurotic hatreds of the League politicians that ran Pakistan before him. He spoke a new language of peace and goodwill to India, showed marked courtesy to Indian journalists and did his best to get a good press in India as the inaugurator of a new policy of goodwill and friendship with India.

But recently, he has changed back to the sentiments and virulence of League politics and has become indistinguishable in his fire-eating sabre-rattling from Liaquat Ali Khan or Surawardy or Nazimuddin and their Jihad-shouting followers! In him has been proved once more that the "Egyptian does not change the colours of his skin nor the leopard his spots" (with apologies to the real Arab Egyptian of today who is different from the ebony Nubian of old).

Mr. Nehru (who justified the extraordinary generosity of gifting away the unheard of sum of Rs. 83 crores to Pakistan as part of the Canal waters agreement by the hope of earning the goodwill of Pakistan, the younger brother should now be confronted with his handiwork and asked whether he should not get back his enormous largesse paid for from the

hard-earned money of the Indian tax-payer, since his estimate of the Pakistani character has once again been proved woefully wrong? But Mr. Nehru is beyond such mundane things as reasons, proofs, possibilities and human nature! He lives in a world by himself, aloof and lofty, untouched by experience!

President Ayub Khan has displayed many astringent aspects of the Pakistani character and attitude to India in his sojourn in the U.S.A.

First of all, he has protested to the American authorities the unwisdom of helping India with such enormous amounts of economic Aid. To strengthen India, he says, is to put fear into the small nations around her in Asia, beginning with Pakistan, Nepal, Sikkhim, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon. He asserts that they are all already uneasy at the growing power of India.

He insists that India is intent on grabbing Pakistan for which purpose she has half her army deployed against her at the Pakistan borders! He conceals the fact of the continual probing of Pakistani armed forces into Indian territory all these years necessitating such defence posture on the part of India.

He has told President Kennedy that military Aid to India would cause resentment and alarm in Pakistan.

Dean Rusk has publicly hinted at the unreasonableness of these charges against the U.S.A. and India. It remains to be seen what permanent re-

sults these efforts of the Pakistani President to sow ill-will and suspicion in the U.S.A. against India will have in the coming months and years.

We in India should note the depth of the antagonism that Pakistan bears to India and see to it that the Indian Government is not caught unawares. Mr. Nehru said recently that Pakistani citizens were in a way our relatives! This is an outrageous statement in the face of the horrors of the bloodshed accompanying Partition and the bottomless depth of hatred and cruelty displayed by the separationists led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Quaide Azam.

Indian leaders have been notoriously unhistorical and unpolitical and in their hypocritical zeal for the philosophy of nonviolence (which does not extend to police killing of our own nationals in internal disturbances), they forget and forgive the worst crimes against the country on the part of enemies who are yet contemplating worse atrocities against us.

President Ayub Khan said in the U.S.A. that if America made India stronger and as a consequence she became the leading power in Asia, small States like his own would have to seek the protection of Red China! Simultaneously comes the news that Pakistan is ready to support the entry of China into the UNO at the next meeting!

Pakistan is thus playing on the fears of the U.S.A. in regard to the communist menace in order to obtain more aid for herself and to reduce the aid to be given to India. India thus forms the key note of Pakistan's foreign affairs.

In Kashmir, the plot to stage a Raid into India is still being prepared. The Azad Kashmiri parties like those of Gulam Abbas, of Khurshed and of Qu-

yum Khan are all on the rampages. They are trying to direct Afghan raiders into Kashmir which will kill two birds at one blow—get rid of the Afghan interference through tribesmen and create trouble for India in Kashmir.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon has spoken brave words in regard to this threat and has declared in a recent speech in Bombay that invaders would be thrown out by the Army, while unarmed intruders would be imprisoned. Let us hope that these words are meant in their dictionary sense and are not meant only as election propaganda!

His chief Sri Nehru also recently declared at Jabalpur bravely that the only question remaining in Kashmir is that of Pakistanis quitting the area that they have illegally occupied. But the next moment he cooled down and added that he had no intention of throwing them out!

If territory occupied by Pakistan illegally is ours, why has the Prime Minister allowed the building of the Mangla Dam in it without protest and proferring Indian claims? He has no answer! It is clear that neither Menon nor Nehru has any real intention of recovering the Kashmiri areas under Pakistani occupation.

It is something that the Indian Ambassador's office in Washington has issued a pamphlet at the time of President Ayub Khan's visit, setting forth the full case for India in Kashmir, and pointing out how Pakistan is an aggressor and has no locus standi in it. If Kashmir belongs to Pakistan on the ground of its Muslim population, she should also take along with Kashmir the whole of the Indian Muslim population remaining yet in India.

That is the only language that Pakistan understands if it is backed by military preparedness and the will to use force in support of our argument.

Such a backbone has been lacking in our Gandhian leaders. Pakistanis know it and hence all this dual storm that they raise to confuse and mislead the world.

INDIA AND THE EUROPEAN MARKET

Britain is actively considering joining the European Market. Mr. Thorneycroft, former Chancellor of the Exchequer is in Delhi conferring with Indian leaders.

Members of the Commonwealth who have established an elaborate system of mutual trade preferences touching hundreds of articles will stand to lose initially, if Britain joins the Six. For that would equalise Britain's tariffs with those of the European Members and introduce chaos in existing trade for members of the Commonwealth. India can now send tea, cotton textiles and jute hessian duty-free into Britain. Britain's entry into the Common Market will oblige her to levy on these goods the same rates as others namely 18 to 23%. Australia and Canada and New Zealand will have tariff barriers raised against their enormous food exports to Britain.

But these are initial losses. If a temporary period of adjustments or gradual sliding scale rates are effected for Commonwealth goods, making the impact less onerous, we shall eventually have the im-

The Indian Libertarian
Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs
Edited by: D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.
Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month
Single Copy 25 Naye Paise
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rs. 6; 3\$ (U.S.A.); 12 S. (U.K.).
ADVERTISEMENTS RATES
Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25
One-eighth Page Rs. 15; One full column of a Page Rs. 50
BACK COVER..... Rs. 150
SECOND COVER..... Rs. 125
THIRD COVER..... Rs. 125

- Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.
- Publication of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum.
- Rejected articles will be returned to the writers if accompanied with stamped addressed envelope.

Write to the Manager for sample copy and gifts to new subscribers.
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

mense advantages of a large low tariff market equal to the U.S.A. and the rest of the Commonwealth, a Market that will grow at higher rates in the future. Economic integration of Europe and the Commonwealth on the basis of eventual free trade will promote political integration as well as economic progress for all. We should therefore take a long term view and offer no insuperable obstacles to the entry of Britain into the European Common Market. We can and should negotiate short period safeguards.

THE FATE OF THE SHASTRI FORMULA IN ASSAM

The acceptance of the Shastri formula by the Cachar Sangram Parishad and the Assam Government should offer a pause in the reign of hatred and conflict there in which Government could disentangle the many knots of emotions involved with a view to final settlement.

The complaints about pro-Pakistani-Muslim interests in the entire Assamese-Bengali conflict should be carefully gone into. The suspicious behaviour of Minister Moinul Haq (formerly Leaguer and Personal Assistant to Mr. Jinnah) and of the Muslim Inspector-General of Police and their mysterious presence at Hailakandi on the eve of the unprecedented attack on the town should all be inquired into to allay legitimate fears and suspicions.

'GO COMMUNIST, IF YOU WILL, YOU WRETCHED BLACKMAILERS!'

"When the United States is urged with no direct reference to its own defence, to bail out the bottomless ocean of Asian and African poverty, to underwrite in advance the deficits in ambitious plans of economic expansion drawn up by foreign bureaucrats, it is time for coolheaded scepticism. It is precisely arbitrary assumption that unless a country gets dollars free for nothing, that country will go communist. We should be quite unresponsive to a kind of blackmail that has become all too common. This occurs when some diplomatic representative of backward area lets it be known with more or less subtlety that unless his government receives a generous hand-out from the United States Treasury, the said government will turn to Moscow. A nation cynically prepared to sell itself to the highest bidder is not worth buying, if only because there can be no assurance that it will stay, bought. To the foreign representative who threatens or hints that his country will go communist, if its government does not receive a prompt subsidy, there is only one sensible, dignified answer "Gol"

—William Chamberlin (Evolution of a Conservative).

Today's underdeveloped countries have to decide for themselves whether to solve the key problem of capital supply according to the West's international market method or according to Moscow's autarkic and collectivist one. With the first method, the problem will be solved in the way which was normal and natural hitherto, and still is the case of a country like Canada, that is, by a free and spontaneous influx of foreign capital. But if these countries' own

policies of nationalism and socialism destroy the conditions of such a capital supply, they have no right to complain of its absence, let alone to claim international charity..... In these circumstances it is more than necessary to stress the sober facts which cut the ground from under this concept of an International Welfare State. Those underdeveloped countries which do not create these conditions, have no right to complain about the consequences. As they make their own bed, so must they lie on it. If a country resorts to political means to obtain capital aid by begging, defiance or threats, it cannot invoke the argument of necessity. If it sets its policies by the lodestar of nationalism and socialism it must pay the price. If it does not want to pay the price, it must alter its policies.

—William Ropke (Humane Economy).

"In case after case, the revolutions in the backward lands are merely substituting new dictatorships for old colonialism. Look at Indonesia, Ghana, Egypt, Cuba. And about Nehru's India: Indians are suffocating under a socialist regime which prevents real progress".

"Therefore, only a foreign aid programme, based on the premise that the way to combat Communism is through the expansion of political and economic freedom, could be an effective instrument of U. S. foreign policy and "a beacon of hope" for the down-trodden peoples of the world. That is to say, foreign aid should be given only to nations that accepted unrestricted private enterprise, which alone, means economic freedom.

It is an "idle dream" to believe that progress can be created for the peoples of less-developed lands through injection of foreign aid. This country can't order the lives and institutions of other peoples so as to assure progress against their wishes. And any attempt to do so must arouse resentment."

—Wall Street Journal (U.S.A.)

DISTORTION OF LANGUAGE BY RUSSIA

The very language of international intercourse became distorted and contrived. "Peace" has become a word to describe whatever condition would promote their world revolution. "Aggression" is whatever stands in its way. "People's democracy" is a term applied to regimes no one of which has been chosen by free election. Self-determination is loudly espoused but only in areas not under Communist control. The normally attractive word "negotiation" is used as a weapon, for the only subjects to be negotiated are further concessions to Communist appetite. Agreements are offered, but against the background of a long and sobering list of broken promises; an agreement is apparently a rest camp, where one pauses and refits for a further advance. New assurances are offered in the very act of withdrawing those earlier given. Law, as one of their spokesmen put it, "is like the tongue of a wagon—it goes in the direction in which it is pointed". And the gains of lawlessness are cited as the "new conditions" which justify new invasions of the rights of others.

—Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, U.S.A.

Dr. Popper On The Defence Of Democracy

By M. A. Venkata Rao

DR. K. R. Popper of London University published a book towards the end of the last war with the intriguing title: *The Open Society and its Enemies* which attracted a good deal of attention from the world of letters. The enemies of democracies were of course the totalitarian dictators, Hitler and Mussolini with whom the free world was at death grips in the great war of 1939-45(46). The folly of Hitler in attacking Russia forced the Allies to go to the rescue of totalitarian communism contrary to their ideology and confused the issues. The clear-cut alignment of democracy versus totalitarianism which is the real crucial issue on which the present world crisis turns (including the whole of Western civilisation in its decisive sweep) has been blurred ever since. It has given a chance for Russian totalitarianism to claim to be a species of democracy itself better than the liberal democracies cradled in the West in ancient Greece and revived in modern times in France and the USA in the late eighteenth century. It has given scope for muddle-headed sentimentalists attached to sonorous verbiage (moved more by antagonism to ancient power holding classes than by genuine insight into real issues) to become fellow travellers and becloud the decisive points at issue between the world of free States and that of international communism led by Soviet Russia.

However, the end of the war brought out the clear-cut antagonism between communism as a full totalitarian State and Society and Western free States living by the values and institutions of liberalism and freedom. Today mankind faces this fateful conflict between the two contrasted systems of life in society and state and is moving from crisis to crisis in the world struggle for supremacy between the two blocs—rather between one well-cemented bloc and the other loosely attached from States led by the USA as a democratic leader.

Dr. Popper finished his two volumes by 1943 writing them out during the worst phases of the war, with a sense of impending tragedy hanging over his mind. Turning round as a scholar on the leading thinkers of Western Europe for the ideological sources of these totalitarianisms, he fastens on Plato, Hitler and Marx as the ultimate enemies in theory of free society which he calls the *Open Society* following Henry Bergson who had written a volume called *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* in which he had contrasted with great vividness the *Open Society* with *Closed Societies* from tribal times to the present totalitarian systems of contemporary Europe.

It is natural that war should intensify the feelings of intellectuals as those of all other classes of people. Dr. Popper traces the ideological roots of totalitarianism to these three thinkers—Plato, Hegel and Marx, in an extensive discussion displaying vast learning but coloured by an unusual emotional intensity, accusing them of ideas that destroy human free-

dom and democracy. It is not possible to go into his elaborate critique in a single small article such as the present. But it is proposed to focuss attention on the positive view of democracy that Dr. Popper holds which he insists should be defended by its leaders against the all-pervading, insidious attacks of totalitarianism in their intellectual forms of ideas and ideals as well as the brutal forms of military assault after softening by subversion.

His critique of the great thinkers he selects for attack and analysis needs to be appraised fully in a scientific spirit so that the ideas that misled and are still misleading intellectuals everywhere in Eur-America and the educated circles of Asia and Africa, may be refuted and their influence destroyed.

Meanwhile, it would be useful to select the positive cream of his constructive thought about democracy for attention and broadcast among readers, particularly in countries like ours where democracy has yet to be acclimatised through the medium of an awakened and informed intelligentsia.

The first point that Dr. Popper emphasises about what may be called the *differentia* of democracy as a government is that it is a political system in which governmental power can be transferred to successors in a peaceful way through institutional forms approved and adopted by the people in their constitution. General elections, party leadership, cabinet or presidential forms of rule, usages of parliamentary discussion and decision of legislative matters and executive policies, the rule of law etc. are all **fixed and agreed upon** in democratic forms of government. When a change in government becomes necessary, either through the expiry of the stipulated period or through vacancy caused by the passing of a vote of censure in Parliament against the government in accordance with usage, the whole country knows how new rulers have to be appointed. The processes needed are gone through peacefully such as general elections and a new government is installed without bloodshed, conspiracy and group conflict. All conflicts are gone through in terms of discussion and crystallisation of opinion and sentiment round leaders and policies through open discussion and free choice. This is the hall-mark of democracy according to Dr. Popper. Where this system of peaceful change in government is not provided for, through agreed popular consent and fixed process for discovering the people's will through secret ballot, we do not have a democracy. Hitlerism and Mussolini's Fascism did not have such system of peaceful, constitutional change in their regimes. They were personal dictatorships. Even in Russia which sports an elaborate liberal constitution equipped with all the fundamental rights and forms of constitutional usage, change in government can be brought about only through a mortal struggle among competing leaders. This was proved after the death of Stalin. Mr.

Khrushchov came to power through a successful intrigue whereby he pushed aside many claimants like Bulganin. The Police Chief Beria had to pay with his life for his possible ambition for the succession to the seat of Stalin. Bulganin and Molotov were pushed aside to obscurity and their lives are still in danger.

Democratic succession implies that the people are sufficiently alert to the values of democracy and that they can exert themselves in an organised way to express their will in an effective manner to prevent arbitrary seizure of power. The encroachment of the Army on the civil power in Indonesia, its unceremonious dismissal of monarchy in Egypt, its assumption of power in Turkey and South Korea (and Thailand though here behind the facade of a reigning monarch) show that in these newly independent States there was no large middle class intelligentsia who could give reality to popular opposition and make their will effective in times of change.

India has to all intents and purposes such a large intelligentsia organised in political parties. But the predominance of the Congress as a party in numbers and finances and the meek submissiveness of the rank and file of Congressmen to Sri Nehru's whims and fancies and arbitrary rulings in party as well as policy matters has raised doubts about the strength of democracy in our country as well. Dr. Popper is right in his view that the capacity for peaceful constitutional change is the hall-mark of democratic governments.

But such a successful functioning of the democratic groups argues their day-to-day alertness and activity in parliamentary affairs. It argues their vigilance in supervising the day-to-day activities of government in putting agreed policies into effect, in observing the rule of law and respecting the fundamental rights and in securing an honest, economical and efficient government tolerably free from corruption of various kinds such as the misuse of public funds and public patronage for party and personal ends. Democracy can function at many levels but should be capable of rising to great heights of responsibility and public spirit in the control over government. The way in which we have been unable to secure the dismissal of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in spite of the universal distrust he has evoked and his failure in face of the Chinese aggression is a sign of the internal weakness of our new democracy.

Dr. Popper finds one common defect in the political thought of Plato, Hegel and Marx. He calls it: **Historicism**. He means by it the theory that history is governed by laws of evolution and that those who have an insight into such laws by means of a proper philosophy or science of history can predict its later phases. On the basis of such predictions, they can frame public policies or guide revolutions. They can claim supreme power for the purpose on the strength of such insight.

Plato had a philosophy of eternal truths which he called Forms or Ideas which he claimed will help rulers to lay down laws and policies for the guidance of states. This way he became the supporter of

dictators who opposed all change. He upheld wisdom as against piecemeal changes suggested by reason operating on particular evils. Plato was led to Utopian thinking according to Dr. Popper.

So was Hegel whose philosophy of history taught that the world process was guided by the idea of advancing freedom. The end would determine the beginning and all the intermediate stages. If so, this would deny all freedom to man and would make a puppet of him. This was the fallacy of historicism.

So Marx who prophesied the victory of the proletariat and the destruction of the bourgeoisie committed the fallacy of historicism. His prophecy of increasing misery for the worker and increasing concentration of money power in the hands of decreasing numbers of capitalists was not fulfilled owing to the intervention of trade unions and the State on behalf of labour on humanitarian grounds.

These theories led to Utopianism or central planning which brings totalitarianism as an inevitable consequence, according to Dr. Popper. Dr. Popper therefore advocates piece-meal social engineering wherein each social policy or step is formed by thinking out on its own merits instead of deducting it on the basis of blindly accepted theories whether of Ideal Forms with Plato, of the Absolute Spirit with Hegel or Historical or Dialectical Materialism with Karl Marx. Dr. Popper pays great tributes to Marx for his humanitarianism but condemns his prophetic predilections which initiated the totalitarian trends in present communism culminating in the present eclipse of democracy.

Dr. Popper therefore holds that democracy should have no hesitation in outlawing totalitarian parties such as fascism and communism in the defence of democracy. To outlaw anti-democratic forces is not, according to him, anti-democratic in essence. This is a lesson that democratic citizens and leaders should take to heart, instead of allowing totalitarians to grow under cover of democracy in their midst under the false impression that the law should protect the enemies of law as well.

Dr. Popper lists seven rules as forming the differentia of democracy.

1. Democracy cannot be fully characterised as the rule of the majority for the majority might rule in a tyrannical way.

"The majority of those who are less than 6 feet high may decide that the minority of those over 6 ft. high shall pay all taxes!"

In a democracy the rulers can be dismissed by the ruled without bloodshed.

2. We need distinguish only two forms of government: those who have institutions for this purpose and those who haven't.

3. A consistent democratic constitution need only exclude one type of change in the legal system, namely, that which would endanger its democratic character.

4. In a democracy the full protection of mino-

(Continued on page 6)

Linguistic Fanaticism

By M. N. Tholal

WHATEVER is being done by the Congress Governments in the country is being done with an eye on the next general elections. Whether it is the formation of the National Integration Committee or the holding of the Muslim Convention under the auspices of the Congress leaders, or the establishment of the U. P. Language Committee, which has just held its first meeting under the Chairmanship of Acharya Kripalani, the object is the same. It is to secure votes, in all these cases, Muslim votes. The scheme may go awry—as it did in the case of the Muslim Convention where sighs of lamentation were sometimes more audible than the words of orators, replacing, as it were, the cries of Allaho-Akbar, which were reserved for use in the public meeting which followed—that is a different matter. (I have a shrewd suspicion that if cries of Allaho-Akbar were to win the election for Mr. Nehru, he would be found mouthing them all over the country.)

When one man has to decide everything—all the others being implicitly brainless—he is liable to make mistakes with the best of intentions, granting that his intentions are always of the best. The more burdened he is with the task of making decisions, the greater the number of mistakes he is likely to commit. When such mistakes concern crucial matters, the country inevitably suffers. That is the greatest drawback of dictatorship, which therefore almost always leads to disaster. But educated people in India are not concerned with what happens to their country. What they want to know is which side their bread is buttered, and they naturally prefer that side.

The U. P. Language Committee has prepared a detailed questionnaire on the role of Urdu in the

(Continued from page 5)

rities should not extend to those who violate the law, and especially to those who incite others to the violent overthrow of democracy.

5. Policy should assume that there may be anti-democratic tendencies among the ruled as well as among the rulers.

6. If democracy is destroyed, all rights are destroyed. If still economic advantages persist, they would do so only on sufferance.

7. Democracy provides an invaluable battle ground for any reasonable reform, since it permits reform without violence.

The preservation of democracy should be made the first consideration in any battle fought on this ground, for the latent anti-democratic tendencies that exist always under the strain of civilisation may bring about the breakdown of democracy.

State and the safeguards required to keep it as a living language. According to Acharya Kripalani, its chairman, the problem is not so much of Hindi or Urdu, for both have practically the same syntax and grammar, but of script. The basic structure being the same, the question of giving it a Sanskrit or Arabic bias is, according to him, of little importance. What the Acharya perhaps means is that it should be of little importance. Surely he ought to know that it is considered of the utmost importance and that the cry of Pakistan drew its sustenance mainly from Muslim antagonism to Hindi. Perhaps he considers it impolitic to blurt out the truth on the eve of the elections, knowing as he does that the main object of the Committee is to mollify the Muslims.

“VESTED INTERESTS”

Acharya Kripalani is further reported to be of the view that it is wrong to designate any language as that of a particular religious minority and the question should be looked at from the point of view of the educated minority (irrespective of religion or caste) which still continues to patronise Urdu in the Arabic script. Muslims being spread all over India, speaking the language of the region where they happen to be, it is obviously wrong to designate the language as that of Muslims, but our leaders would be making a mistake if they do not realise the fact that attempts are being made to make Urdu the language of Muslims all over the country. That is a sinister move and statesmanship requires that the evil should be nipped in the bud, rather than ignored, as is the Congress custom.

But the opinion that the question should be looked at from the point of view of the educated minority sounds strange in the mouth of one whom we have come to look upon as a nationalist out and out. It is the point of view of the educated Muslim minority that has in fact to be fought and ridiculed, for it is the point of view of those who believe not in loyalty to the soil from which they spring but in extra-territorial loyalty. The educated Muslim, if the truth must be told, does not want to speak Urdu. He wants to speak Persian and Arabic and, if he cannot do so, it is his misfortune, not his fault. Have a look at Urdu poetry and you will find that it is full of Persian and Arabic words and phrases, and only the verb is Urdu, i.e., Hindi. Persian, at any rate, is not the language of their holy book, and their fondness for it cannot be easily explained except on grounds which have no kinship with loyalty to the country. One rather expected Acharya Kripalani to say that the question should be looked at from the national point of view.

His opinion is also contrary to the view of the Committee which during its deliberations agreed that the general mass of the people in the State, particularly in the rural areas, spoke the dialect of their regions, irrespective of the fact whether they were

Hindus or Muslims, and it was only in the urban areas that the language issue assumed political significance because of vested interests and at times it was utilized to whip up communal passions. What are these vested interests? Their origin can always be traced to extra-territorial patriotism. When an Urdu enthusiast prefers to use difficult Persian and Arabic words in his Urdu—words which even educated Muslims cannot easily understand—one can only deplore his inferiority complex and his extra-territorial patriotism which makes him use those words.

There was a time, at least in Northern India, when Persian was the official language and the preference for the Persian word in old Urdu can be understood. But that was a long time ago and people who cannot realise that simple fact can only be pitied. It is high time Indian Muslims were made to give up their pro-Arabic and pro-Persian bias, as well as—if the blunt truth must be spoken—their anti-Hindi or anti-Hindu bias. What else does looking up to Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Egypt, etc. etc., for everything amount to in the last resort? Surely, educated Indian Muslims do not deny that India has a civilisation of its own, which is not wholly putrid. Or do they? One has a right to suspect when one finds that customs and practices opposed to those of Hindus assume a religious garb. It is for the Muslims to see that there are no valid grounds left for such suspicions.

A STYLE OF HINDI

But the Committee has already come to certain broad conclusions even before issuing its detailed questionnaire and one of them is that, while it saw no difficulty in Urdu being taught in schools in the State to students who wanted to take it, it did not approve of the idea of all subjects being taught to such students in Urdu. Having accepted Hindi as the national as well as the regional language the Committee felt that it was but proper that Hindi should ultimately replace English as the medium of general instruction. So there would appear to be no question of U.P. being declared a bilingual State.

Dr. Sampurnanand has criticised the appointment of the Urdu Committee and has observed that dangerous developments could ensue therefrom. If the Urdu-speaking people, he says, were to be treated as a linguistic minority, something like what happened in Assam could well happen in U.P. He is nearer the mark when he says that Urdu is one of the many styles of Hindi. He might have added after the word, Urdu, "rid of its Persian and Arabic bias". It is high time that extra-territorial patriotism—whether it is pro-Russian or pro-Egyptian or pro-Persian or pro-Arabic—was put down with a heavy hand in India, irrespective of the form it takes. Even Muslims should realise they are sons of the soil, and they should not hate the language of the soil.

That Urdu is only one of the styles of Hindi was recognised even by that champion fanatic of India, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, whom our Prime Minister,

Jawaharlal Nehru, admires. Regretting that he had to write in Hindi, Iqbal says in one of his poems,

Naghma Hindi sahi par
Lae to Hedjazi hae meril

(My song may be in Hindi, but the tune is that of Hedjaz—Arabic). In other words, he means to say that the language of his song, Hindi, may be something to be ashamed of, but the Arabic tune at least is something to be proud of. And why not? Did he not ask God Almighty Himself in one of his poems pleading for Muslims,

Kat kar rakhdiye Kuffar ke lashkar kisne?

(Who was it that decimated the armies of the Kafirs?) The decimation of armies of unbelievers—what more can the Almighty want? No wonder Iqbal claims that the tune of his songs is Arabic.

The Hindi of Iqbal is studded with Persian and Arabic words and yet that great fanatic classified the language he wrote under Hindi. And very properly too. Yet the answer to that kind of linguistic fanaticism is not the opposite fanatical extreme—to rid Hindi of all Arabic and Persian words and to fill it up with hard Sanskrit words. Hatred of fanaticism should not lead to another fanaticism. Short words in common use should be retained from whatever language they come, instead of being substituted by Sanskrit tongue-twisters. The English is the richest language in the world and one can hardly go through a page of any of its dictionaries without coming across several words from foreign languages, including Hindi. That is because Englishmen do not suffer from inferiority complex or the untouchability complex which makes many Hindus want eradication of Persian, Arabic and English words from Hindi. The search for purity in language is as nonsensical as the search for purity in race.

At a time when every language is trying to reach the masses, it is in its own interest that Urdu should divest itself of foreign tongue-twisters or long-winded or uncommon words. After all, all the famous lines of all the Urdu poets, as of poets of other languages, are in the simplest language, which can be easily incorporated in Hindi, reminding one of the Latin proverb: O sancta simplicitus! (O Sacred simplicity!) Truth is always simple and any language that wants to serve it should be simple in the extreme.

**Govindjee Madhowjee
& Co. Pvt. Ltd.**

COAL MERCHANTS

16—APOLLO STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY.

The Prime Minister And The Future Of Our Country—V

NEHRU SHOULD RESIGN OFFICE AND LEAD THE NATION

By S. R. Narayana Ayyar

Why is Pakistan showing towards us a great deal of hostility? India, in her own interest, wants to be friendly with her. The hollow story that India has not yet reconciled itself to the partition does not stand a moment's scrutiny. For, if India unites with Pakistan, either in a federal way or for a joint defence, she will suffer a great deal, as before partition. It was with a view "to solve the problem of Muslims", who had unfortunately come to believe that their "ancestors had ruled India for 800 years", the partition was agreed to. They forgot that "95% of the Muslims of India were descended from Hindus". (The late Abul Kalam Azad at page 90 in "A week with Gandhi by Mr. Louis Fischer) Now after partition, there can be hardly any appreciable number of them, who can trace their ancestry to foreign Muslims. But, if we unite with Pakistan, we will be recreating all the troubles, which we had witnessed during the leadership of the late Mr. M. A. Jinnah, such as quarrels between Muslim and Hindu Officers, bickerings in every village and town for every job, admission, promotion and permit etc. Will any sane Hindu like to bring such troubles and disorders to his country by taking in Pakistan into our fold? Hence it is clear that India will never wish to harm the independence of Pakistan in any way. Yet Pakistan is always hostile to India.

The reason for this is that Pakistan still believes in the dictum of that notorious Kasim Razvi of Hyderabad State that "the Muslims who still remain in India are "potential fifth columnists". Perhaps Pakistan still remembers what the then Muslim Leaguers before partition were saying "We shall take Pakistan by fighting" (Mar ke lenge Pakistan) and later saying "laughing we took Pakistan, fighting we shall take Hindustan. (Hans ke liya Pakistan, lad ke lenge Hindustan). It is sad to find that there are still Muslims in India, who have not yet got rid of this mentality, in spite of all the sufferings, which had be-fallen the country on account of the activities of the Muslim-leaguers. It is rather perplexing to all Hindus to find that while the Muslims of Egypt and Persia are extremely proud of the great history and culture of their ancestors, even though they do not now belong to their ancestral religions, the Muslims of India, barring a few here and there, are not only not proud of their Hindu ancestors, but in fact they have a deep rooted contempt for their ancestors. It is this basic fact, apart from American arms received by her out of an imaginary fear for Russia, which makes Pakistan to be truculent to India.

To substantiate this, one need only read the speeches of "Nationalist(?) Muslims" in June of this year and then one will find that they are prac-

tically based on the speeches of the Muslim leaguers who were in India before partition. The fact that even our Prime Minister, who was once described by the late Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel as the "only nationalist Muslim in India," was driven to state on reading the speeches that he was "distressed and pained", shows how the speeches adversely affected the country's welfare. It would be interesting, if some impartial foreigners were asked to visit Pakistan and India and find out the treatment meted out to the Hindus in Pakistan and to the Muslims in India. Could the Hindus of Pakistan have made similar speeches in Pakistan as the Nationalist Muslims have done in India?

The whole problem of Muslims in India was the creation of the Congress leaders, who had committed the blunder of negotiating with them, as if they were not citizens of one united India. Amongst Hindus, there are Vaishnavite and Saivite Hindus, who have between them their own differences, but they are amicably settled and ironed out. In the same way, the Muslims could have been treated as Muslim-Hindus. Our Christian brethren could also be considered to be Christian-Hindus since they have many things in common with the Hindus. Steps ought to be taken to make them realise that their own present interests and the future interests of their children are irrevocably linked up with India and not with Pakistan or any other Muslim country. The Hindus are never opposed either to Islam or to Christianity as such. In the pregnant words of Col. Sleeman "the Hindoo believes that Christians and Mosalmans may be as good men in all relations of life as himself, and in as fair a way to Heaven as he is; for he believes that my Bible and your Koran are as much revelations framed by the Deity for our guidance, as the Sastras are for his. He doubts not that our Christ was the son of God, nor their Mohammad was the Prophet of God; and all that he asks from us is to allow him freely to believe in his own Gods and to worship in his own way". I may point out that neither in the ancient nor in the modern world, there has ever been a majority community, like the Hindus, who had allowed the minorities, whose avowed object is to destroy the Religion and Culture of the majority, to live amicably in its midst as the Hindus have done. This aspect has been forgotten by the Congress and its leaders and they were and are ever ready to find fault with the majority with a view to coming to power with the help of the minorities. That is why we have become very much divided and at present we find that there is no feeling of All India Unity both among Political leaders and their followers.

The same blunders are being repeated by our leaders even after Independence. For instance, the

RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT

The Future Of Rationalism

By S. Ramanathan

JUDGED by standards which pertain to "movements" properly so called that which relates to rationalism has had a chequered career. The "movement" began with the dawn of civilisation. In fact its origin goes back to the birth of religion, its opposite number. In the Vedic days there was the rebel Viswamitra who thrived side by side with the orthodox Vasishtha. The rise of organised Brahminic religion ushered into existence Buddha who was the anti-Brahmin par excellence. Wherever and whenever religious fanaticism made its appearance there thrived side by side a rationalist movement to curb the fanatic growth. But there was a marked difference between the two phenomena, the one the opposite of the other. While religion has always sided with the powers that be and has exploited the political and economic situations that then prevailed the rationalist movement, on the contrary, has always been revolutionary and was exposed to the attacks of the prevailing political forces. Hence rationalism never thrived as an organisation, could not accumulate funds and did not promote a hierarchy.

Skipping the history of the movement during the many centuries and coming to our own days, we find that in this age of this world that has so shrunk in size that peoples in different parts of the world feel and act like next-door neighbours, rationalism which ought to be a powerful force is in a very weak state and its various manifestations in different countries are working at cross purposes. Taking America, which is probably the most advanced in civilisation, there are diverse organisations functioning with the rationalist motive. They feel unable to come together under a common organisation. The position is no better in Great Britain though the antagonisms are not so acute. In both America and Great Britain the rationalist organisations consist merely of groups of intellectuals and do not have a mass basis. The situation is quite different in Europe where there are mass organisations although they are few in number. Leaving aside for the moment the countries enclosed by the iron and the bamboo curtains we have just a few rationalist organisations in India, Australia and South Africa. The rest of the world is just a blank, although Islam and certain more primitive religions do hold their sway there. In India the land of Charwaka and Buddha does entertain freethought among its masses but it is all over-laid by a heavy coating of religion. Attempts to pierce the religious veil are being made every now and then but sustained effort is still lacking and organisation is yet to grow.

In the Soviet Union of Russia, China and the countries within the Communist bloc it looks as though religion has been abolished once for all and the millenium has arrived. But a closer look reveals that it is not free thought that holds sway in these vast regions but it is a new religion propounded by Karl Marx and bears the label of "dialectic materialism". No doubt there is the profession, officially sponsored, of theism and anti-religion but the incentive that operates behind these professions is not free-thought but a new fanatic faith in a new creed.

The outlook therefore for a world rationalism is bleak indeed. We must draw such consolation as we can from such progress as we make within the limited spheres of our own small organisations guided by such leadership as is available to us. A promise was made recently of a big world-wide rationalist organisation to embrace the entire intelligentsia which now owes allegiance to scientific progress and is thus freed from religious dogmas. The leader that carried that new message was Sir Julian Huxley. He called his movement Humanism. He enjoined upon all Free-thinkers, Rationalists, Secularists and Atheists to join the new organisation because he said Humanism was the greatest-common-factor of all liberal thinking which took shape under these various denominations. The greatest victory of Sir Julian Huxley was the conversion of the Rationalist Press Association of London and the naming of its monthly organ as "the Humanist". Following the lead given by the R.P.A. many rationalist organisations in other parts of the world have changed their names and became "Humanists". There was quite a scramble and all kinds of societies adopted the new name and even many genuinely religious organisations, which have not discarded their faith in God and the supernatural, found it advantageous to sail under the new flag. It has now become impossible to discriminate as to who is a Humanist and who is not. The situation is very nebulous.

Readers might remember that we published the Memorandum of Association of the Indian Humanist Union in a former issue of this journal and we pointed out that this Memorandum was watering down the concept of rationalism. The Editor of the London Humanist who also published that Memorandum raised the pertinent issue "Is it not wiser to narrow the field by insisting on atheism, or at least agnosticism, as a defining characteristic?". Otherwise there would obviously be no knowing as to who is a Humanist and who not. Is it worthwhile to have

(Continued on page II)

Dowry

By P. Kodanda Rao

WHILE fully appreciating the chivalry and human sympathy which inspired the enactment of the Prohibition of Dowry Act, which came into operation on July 1, 1961, it cannot be said that the problem was traced to its source and a constructive remedy found. Dowry was defined in the Act as any property, other than gifts, given by one party to another in consideration of a marriage. The definition does not limit it to payment made by the bride's party to the bridegroom's party; it applies also to payment made by the bridegroom's party to the bride's party. Both types occur in India among different communities. But the speeches on the Bill in Parliament and writings elsewhere referred almost exclusively to payments from the bride's side to the bridegroom's. Moving incidents were mentioned of the plight of innocent girls and their fond parents because of dowries, which often drove the girls to suicide to save themselves from the disgrace of remaining unmarried, and their parents from financial ruin and social humiliation.

No comprehensive study seems to have been made by a competent commission regarding the nature and extent of the dowry system among the various communities in India, similar to, say, the Commission on Child Marriage. But it is obvious that the custom prevails among some Hindu communities which are pretty influential and vocal. A Muslim member of Parliament revealed that it prevailed among the Muslim community also. But the Act does not extend to the Muslim community on the ground that dowry had sanction in Islamic religion. If dowry is a social

(Continued from page 1)

such a conglomeration of organisations under the same flag? Mr. Narsing Narain who promoted this Memorandum has replied "We have not ruled out the metaphysical concepts of God, such as those of Whitehead and Einstein, for the twofold reason that they appeal to some independent minds and are harmless". Whatever may be considered harmless by some may be so interpreted by others to include very harmful things. If, as Mr. Narain admits, "arguments about the existence of God are like an intellectual game of chess, without practical importance" why indulge in such games at all?

We just pointed out the wording of the Manifesto of the Indian Humanist Union to warn rationalists of the dangers of such loose thinking which, in an attempt to expand, gives room for the entry of dangerous elements. We think that rationalists should be very chary of adopting the new fashion in rationalism if they would be true to their deeper convictions. It is possible to make progress within the limited scope of our own inner convictions if we persist long enough in our endeavour. The temptation to make a fresh advance should not carry us into a dangerous current.

evil, no religion may shelter it, and no Government tolerate it. The Islamic State of Pakistan, under Field Marshall Ayub Khan, was not deterred by religious injunctions from prohibiting polygamy and divorce, except under special circumstances to be determined by the courts of law. It is understandable that the present Government of India, the majority of whose members are Hindu by religion, should, like the previous Christian British Government, hesitate to take the initiative to reform Muslim customs. It is hoped that Muslim leaders will themselves take the initiative and follow the example of Pakistan in this respect, and promote the legal prohibition of dowry and polygamy among Muslims in India.

Even the most ardent supporters of the Act are not hopeful that it will effectively curb the evil, as "gifts" are permitted. Dowry is often a voluntary gift. It is its exaction that is anti-social. But the Act is not calculated to stop such exaction, since the parties to it are not likely to admit it and invite punishment and break-up of the marriage. It is only a third party, and a disappointed one, that is likely to betray the transaction and prove to the satisfaction of the court that it was "dowry" and not "gift" that passed hands.

The requirement that the previous sanction of the Government or some superior officer must be obtained for the prosecution is likely to defeat the effective use of the Act since the authorities are most often too far away from the scene of action and cannot be reached in time. The Act is likely, therefore, to be a dead letter where it is most needed. On the other hand, it is a great, and an almost irresistible temptation to the party Government of the day to invoke it to humiliate and debar its political opponents. It is only when the Government is national and is above party considerations, and the civil servants are not subservient to it, that such an Act can be trusted to be administered impartially and for its legitimate purpose. In India today the complete identification of the Government with ruling party, which is intent on retaining or returning to power at any cost, makes it dangerous to entrust such powers to it. The Act is more liable to abuse than use.

It was said in Parliament that the Act would at least set up a standard of social conduct, even as the Sarda Act did, even if it was generally violated. The purpose can perhaps be better secured by inserting an Article against Dowry in the Directive Principles of State Policy, to be respected voluntarily but not enforced by law. It is most demoralising to enact a law, knowing full well that it would be disregarded.

As stated earlier, the Act dealt with the consequence, and not the cause. In the communities in which dowry occurs, marriages are generally arranged by the parents and within the very narrow limits of caste and sub-caste, which puts a scarcity value on the eligibles to marriage. The value is unilateral-

ly aggravated because the parents feel an inescapable obligation to marry off their daughters, but not their sons, before a date-line, as it were. A grown-up but unmarried daughter is still a matter of adverse social comment, but not a son. In their feverish anxiety to marry off their daughters, the parents reluctantly submit to dowries, ruin themselves economically and demean themselves socially, while they play the waiting-game with respect to their sons in the hope of exacting maximum dowries. This social differential seems to be a primary cause of the payment of dowry by the bride's parents to the bridegroom's, and not the reverse. It will stop only when the differential is eliminated, and if, instead of parents arranging the marriages of their children, boys and girls are allowed to mix freely and choose their partners in marriage if and when they wish.

But in the communities in which dowry prevails, boys and girls are not allowed to mix freely, as in other communities and countries, lest such mixing should possibly lead to inter-caste marriages and to pre-marital sex relations. In the case of girls, pre-marital sex intercourse may result in pregnancy and unmarried motherhood, and expose them and their parents to social ostracism and persecution. Boys are free from such biological betrayal and consequent social odium; in fact, in their case, pre-marital and extra-marital "affairs" are good humouredly tolerated as amiable weaknesses, and sometimes even admired as the legitimate privileges of the rich and the mighty! The biological differential has led to the social differential and to the double standard of morality. While the single standard of pre-marital continence and post-marital monogamy is held aloft, it is enforced on women but relaxed in men.

Boys and girls have, by and large, the same sex instincts and urges. Boys can remain unmarried in-

definitely and seek sex-satisfaction outside marriage without biological exposure. Girls must be married betimes, even if it involved dowry, or grow up to be old maids, repress their sex-urges, suffer strained chastity, succumb to nervous and other disorders and endure uncharitable aspersions and unhappiness. It is unnatural and cruel.

Biological differential does not justify moral differential. No women can be immoral without a man being equally so. To penalise the women and pardon the men is really immoral. The biological differential can be corrected by birth-control methods, which are increasingly effective. Birth-control is essential to prevent unwanted births, whether in marriage or out of it. It should be a general equipment for all girls, married or unmarried. This reform does not weaken the moral sanction for pre-marital continence and post-marital monogamy, which are, and must be common to both sexes. But if, in practice, deviations from them be tolerated in men, it should be equally tolerated in women. There should be a single standard for both.

Also motherhood, as such, should be honoured and endowed, whether in wedlock or out of it, whether by design or by accident, if only because the child is wholly innocent of any impropriety, and needs the care of its mother.

As a matter of fact, these reforms have made remarkable progress in other countries which are free from the dowry system. An increasing number of women have emancipated themselves from the biological differential by the use of birth-control methods. It is spreading to India also. The anti-Dowry Act is calculated to accelerate it, for, while the Act prohibits dowry, it does not help to find husbands, without it, for girls who must marry for a living and for sex-fulfilment.

What Will God Do Now?

TOWER OF BABEL

By Roy V. Ross

GENESIS XI verses 1 to 10 relate the story of the proposed building of a city and a Tower whose top would reach unto heaven and the resulting fear of God that "now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do".

To get the full picture the reader should get "The Book" and read the 10 short verses which are sandwiched into a record of the geneology of the Jews. There is just no excuse for them being so inserted but that has no bearing on this essay. This essay has to do with the few of the Lord God of the Jews that man i.e. the Jews was about to do too much and learn too much.

So let us think for a moment as to what these bragging Jews are about to do. I suppose neither they nor we would expect them to build a Tower that would be more than a few hundred feet high, but let us be generous and suppose that the plan would have resulted in a Tower 1000 feet high. That

is higher than any tower ever built up to that time, but why be niggardly about it and give some Christian a chance to argue? Let us say that the plan might have resulted in a Tower one mile high. No one has ever built like that "even until this day". But I assume the all wise God of the Jews would have known how high it might have been even though we do not.

Well there it is. Those Jews were going to build a tower and the Lord God of the Jews—so they said—got scared that they could not now be restrained because the Jews were so smart.

I take it for granted that it is fair to assume that the Lord God of the Jews is the same, yesterday, today and forever. If he was scared about 2300 B.C.—just what is the state of that Lord God today in the Jewish year 5722? He must have ants in his pants now!

They are not just proposing to do things; some startling things have been done and the Lord has not

shown any signs of fear that we know of.

Daily planes fly from 40,000 to 60,000 feet above sea-level. How silly would a Jewish Tower of Babel look by comparison! (Later the "The X 15" went up to 1,65,000 feet on 3.10.1961).

We have oil drilling rigs that dig holes more than 21,000 feet below the surface of the earth.

Divers go down hundreds of feet below sea level and with mechanical equipment, they take samples of the sea floor thousands of feet below sea level.

Missiles are being fired for thousands of miles and satellites are sent up more than 500 miles with the direct and avowed purpose of getting information.

There is talk about space platforms and talk of shooting missiles to the moon and of passengers being sent to Mars etc. etc.

We have telescopes that look deep into the sky and give us knowledge of millions of worlds out beyond, and further with larger and larger telescopes and with more delicate instruments we learn more and more.

And that is not all. Nations and industries are making billions of dollars or pounds available for research in many fields and areas with educated personnel (not pious priests who wish to restrict the distribution of knowledge) and with scientists who seek only the truth and who will publish their findings. They will not be forced, by the Church, to disavow their findings, and state that the earth is flat, does not move and is the centre of the whole universe.

Suppression of investigation and the search for knowledge is not just an ancient policy of the Roman Catholic Church. It, in the Jewish year 5722, is still a policy declared by the Pope as in January 17th 1959, as follows: "May there be no room among you for that prideful spirit of free investigation" (By Pope Pius XII to the society of Jesus). (See Church and State March 1959 published by POAW in Washington D.C.).

I can only surmise that if this Lord God of the Jews was scared in 2300 B.C., now in the Jewish year 5722 he and his staff must be frantic with fear because man has learnt so much.

I am unable to guess what will happen! The Buddhists, so I am told, said this is the year in which the earth is to be flooded with human blood "elephant belly deep". Well that would be a lot of blood. May be the Red Cross could get all it needs from blood banks for years and years.

The Jehovah Witnesses say that the end of the era is near and that truth is evidenced by the signs that are outlined in the Bible and then I remember that according to "The Book" Jesus said while on earth (?) that the heavens and the earth would pass away in that generation. Actually that statement was just another Bible fable. Nothing happened even though many believed the end would come from day today.

My guess is that the clergy, priests and ministers are all wet and that their principal concern is the continuance of their easy way of life. I do not think God was scared but I admit that many men have been

scared and imposed upon by self-serving priests and clergy throughout the ages.

A picture that if God bestirred himself at all, he would say to the knowledge seekers: "Good work—carry on!" Therefore, I do not expect the God of the Jews to do anything at all about our attempts to acquire more and more information.

Do you remember what the all powerful, all wise Lord God of the Jews did to the Jews at the Tower of Babel? He created many languages so that the people could not understand each other.

Their all wise God could hardly be expected to know that men would be able to translate the various languages! It seems clear to me that the Tower of Babel yarn was just a bed time story with the Jews, but the Gentiles tried to take it as real history.

The Jews are clever people and it seems that they too regard the Tower of Babel yarn as myth, for, I have never heard about a Jew being scared in the 20th Century, that God—his God—was about to do anything drastic to the people because of the scientific accomplishments of this age.

Now let us remember the title of this essay. Silly isn't it? An infinitesimally small and weak entity like me trying to say what an infinitely great and all powerful God is going to do! Ridiculous and yet the Roman Catholic Church Popes claim (and proclaim) that they know the will of God and that they represent (exclusively) the God of all on earth (I don't think they have preempted Mars yet).

Ridiculous to the Nth degree but yet millions of (ignorant) people believe in infallible Popes.

MECHANICAL PRAYERS

The following time saving suggestion is taken from a pamphlet, *To Be Free*, issued by Tolerants, San Antonio, Texas.

With prayer so integral a part of so many religions, and with the belief common that many prayers are more efficacious than just a few, and with the further common belief that thought is not necessary for prayer (thus that one best prays for oneself when he has suppressed all thought into a state of mysticism, and that others can readily pray for one), the efficiency of mechanised prayer, as offered by the "PRAY-ERS" organisation, becomes a great boon. Adapting ancient mechanical praying methods to modern Western needs, inventively achieving such efficiency with equipment and methods now bearing Patent Office Application Number 69,932 as to offer to pray 10,000 prayers for any individual contributor per dollar contributed, this also promotes freedom... For, to the extent that one can be confident that his religious obligations are so taken care of even more than adequately, one is freed from fears of being remiss; and, as only ten thousand prayers would otherwise require fully a hundred hours of one's time—time saved with the PRAY-ERS methods—one has much more time for more enjoyable and more mundanely productive pursuits.

Kashmir Problem would never have become so serious, if the Hindu Maharaja had only opted out for India on the 15th of August 1947. But certain thoughtless Hindu advisers were against it and thus they not only ruined the Maharaja but have brought never-ending troubles to India. Then again, when the Maharaja actually opted out for India and that also with the consent of the then leader of the important organisation of Kashmir, our Prime Minister of his own accord, without any demand whatsoever, either from the Maharaja or the leader of that party, proposed a "plebiscite". Again after this, when our Army was pursuing the marauders, who had made no distinction between Muslims and Hindus, when they murdered and raped people and who were running away, our Prime Minister ordered our army not to pursue them! I have heard that if this had not been done, there would never have been the so called "Azad Kashmir". These two great blunders were made just to show to the world that our P.M. is very very tolerant towards those who had wronged us grievously. As a price of such a name, we are now having the constant head-ache over the Kashmir Problem, which Pakistan is giving us day in and day out. Pakistan has created not only a serious problem near about Kashmir but also in Assam, where the Assamese Muslims have been welcoming the unlawful entry of a vast number of Muslims from Pakistan. Yet our foreign policy towards Pakistan has not only been very very considerate, but that Policy has been to a very great extent ruined the morale of our border States. Sri Krishna asked Arjuna to fight even his own cousins, but our Prime Minister, acting the modern role of Dharmaputra, has declined to act swiftly and effectively to protect our borders. While on the north China has occupied a large area of our country, on the West, Pakistan has occupied a large part of Kashmir. On the Eastern frontier, Pakistan is trying its best to carry out the late Mr. Jinnah's wish that Assam should form part and parcel of East Pakistan. It is to carry out this idea that Pakistanis are infiltrating into Assam. Can we say that under the circumstances our foreign policy has been successful and we have progressed in this matter, in such a way as to promote the welfare of the country at large? Apart from this, our P.M. is seriously considering to carry out the demand of the late Mr. Jinnah to have a corridor between the two Pakistans, through a railway!

It is amazing to me—perhaps myself being a non-party man—that the Political parties in India do not seem to realise that these foreign hostile countries are waiting for an opportunity to attack us, while their patriotic party-men are waxing eloquent about their various policies so that they might retain the 'sweet' power and get into it. They do not even pause to consider the well-known fact that various sections in our Country are taking inspiration from our enemies and that is the main reason for the latter's arrogant confidence in their ability to invade our Motherland. Fearing that its election prospects may be spoilt by taking action against these base traitors, the party in power is keeping mum over their attitude and actions. If a proper searching enquiry is made, I feel sure that

the fact that certain sections are hoarding up arms can be exposed. If the Nagas can get arms from foreign countries, it is not difficult for those, who are in league with foreign countries to do so.

I fear that the ruling party with a view to continue in power is deliberately sleeping over such grave matters and is preoccupied with collecting crores for the coming election. Other parties are also following suit, setting at naught all moral values and considerations. If they begin their careers as our Representatives in this State of moral perversion can the country and her people prosper? Let them answer this straight question. Just as in a war "Truth is the first casualty", in our Country's elections also, "Truth" is the first casualty, not by the action of our enemies, but of our own men, whom we have to call "Honourable"! If our progress in democracy can only be carried out by such corrupt, illegal and non-moral ways, then we must find out some other forms of democracy and banish the present ones.

In this land of Harischandra, Dharmaputra, Lord Buddha, Sibi Chakravarti, Manuneei Chola (I wish that our North Indian brethren will read about this ancient South Indian King) and Mahatma Gandhi, we have now persons, who corrupt the morals of our people and get prestige. This was not generally the case before 1947. In the first Election in which Congress came out with thumping majority before Independence, Congress did not spend any huge amount, as at present they are doing. I remember very well that voters including Government Servants, enthusiastically, went to the polls of their own accord and took even neighbours with them for voting. Even at that time there was corruption to some extent but it was not practised by Congress-men.

I therefore would seriously suggest that Pandit J. Nehru should resign his Prime Ministership and become a leader of all the people of our land, without party affiliation. His party is depending on him for every thing. Hence by resigning from his Premiership he will be of greater use to the country at large than at present. For, if he is completely relieved of all the day-to-day official work and of the strain of making so many speeches on many occasions, he can preserve and use his wonderful energy to cooperate with various political groups—barring those, who are in league with our enemies—without distinction of party, caste or creed. Various non-political leaders also will cooperate with him. He will be strengthening the backbone of his own party men by teaching them to stand on their own legs. Then he will be able to be of service to our Motherland and bring to the nation, to quote his own words, "a sense of purpose, something to live for and if necessary to die for and a philosophy of life and a spiritual backing to our thinking". He has before him the great example of Gandhiji, who had resigned even his four anna membership from the Congress and who yet was guiding the Congress and the country from behind, from front, from right and from left, as Mr. Nehru very well knows.

(Continued on page 10)

Planning Commission Wakes Up To Failure Of State Enterprises

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

The Government have so far justified their taxation, indebtedness and the consequent inflation and scarcity on the ground that they were building up State Enterprises for the benefit of the people. The delusion was maintained by reports of the increase of the industrial base, which would lead the country to a stage of take off to a better land. The Planning Commission has ended this delusion.

In the final report of the Third Plan, the Commission has first admitted the shortfall in the production targets of industrialisation. For example instead of a targetted production of 2 million tons of steel, at the end of the Second Plan, the production was only 0.6 million tons. In Fertilisers the default was even more as the Sindhri Plant is getting gradually out of commission.

Secondly the Commission has found delay in commissioning of plants, particularly fertiliser factories, heavy electrical project at Bhopal, heavy machinery, mining machinery and foundry forge projects. These projects which should have been completed by the end of the Second Plan may only be completed at the end of the Third Plan.

Thirdly the Commission has found that there was upward revision in the cost estimates, that of the Steel plants from 425 crores to 620 crores, of TISCO by 30 crores.

(Continued from page 9)

Apart from all these, he can bring back the honour and selfrespect to this ancient Nation by showing to the world that without him the country can get on. The slur is cast on him by various writers that "Nehru's only companion is loneliness. Who will succeed Nehru? And how will India fair without his over-riding authority, drive and voice?", can be effaced even in his life time. Thus alone can he serve the country better and save it from disaster. I am adopting certain words used by Lord Keynes regarding Mr. Churchill, the great Prime Minister of England to bring home my point of view to our people. Lord Keynes said, "he is a big man; a very big man indeed—the only man big enough to get us out of the mistakes he makes". This correctly applies to our Prime Minister also.

In conclusion I may say, without in any way forgetting the great sacrifices made and services rendered by Pandit Nehru to our country and our people, that "I resent at any time or at any place the attitude that the safety of this country depends on any one man holding his job. No man has achieved that strength and this country has not (yet, I add) deteriorated to that weakness". (Owen D. Young).

(Concluded).

The reasons given by the Commission are not fundamental but incidental. The Commission states that the scope and content of the projects was not properly defined, secondly that personnel was not promptly recruited and third that agreements with foreign collaborators were delayed. All this was inevitable when persons trained only in administration and that ineffectively undertake commercial and technical operations without being interested personally in the costs and consequences. Political interference made the position only worse. All this is inherent in State Enterprises, which the Commission should have honestly admitted. No doubt such an admission would have cut the ground under the larger programme of state enterprises in the Third Plan but it would have saved the country from continued loss in many directions.

Firstly, these infructuous and retarded state enterprises have not only drained the foreign exchange and created debt, the repayment of which may absorb one third of our exports but have created the burden of taxation, inflation with scarcities for the people. The Government have not realised that a people with the lowest income in the world have been called upon to bear this waste.

Secondly State Enterprises have implied many diversions in the economy. In the first place, the taxes and loans required from the enterprises have been squeezed out of the villages, which have had nothing in return, even in the measure the people of the towns have incidentally received. Secondly, capital and trained personnel has been drawn away from private enterprises, which are not only more apposite to the needs of the people but are economically more efficient and expeditious. These enterprises also do not leave the risk and cost to be borne by the common taxpayers. Thirdly, the diversion has been of common services like Railway transport and power which has been shortened to the point of causing idle capacity in established units and unnecessary shortages and surpluses of commodities deprived of movement. It is difficult to reckon the loss which has arisen but it explains largely the high level of our prices and the persistent and general scarcities.

The important question is if the Planning Commission will learn anything from the failure of State Enterprises. On account of the abundance of foreign loans and aid, on one hand and of tax revenues and loans in the country, on the other, the full impact of the economic loss has not been felt by the country. The loss also is only starting because the giant factories have still been managed by foreign experts. As they leave, not only the production but the equipment will suffer as that of the Sindhri factory, the first to be established with the best Indian techni-

(Continued on page 11)

Mr. Nehru And His Principles

(From Our Correspondent)

THE Kashmir problem is again in the forefront as a result of President Ayub's visit to the United States. Mr. Nehru has described talk of plebiscite as "ridiculous" and has given expression to his determination to face Pakistan if Kashmir is attacked. He has again reminded the world that, according to UN resolutions, Pakistani troops had to withdraw from Kashmir before a plebiscite could take place. President Ayub has similarly reminded the world that, according to UN resolutions, Indian forces were also to withdraw from Kashmir before a plebiscite. What they really demanded was the withdrawal of a substantial part of Indian troops from Kashmir. All these references to the United Nations seem to imply that both the parties are prepared to leave the issue to the UN. Then why don't they say so?

Prime Minister Nehru's emotional and uncalled-for offer of a plebiscite has unnecessarily complicated what was a simple issue. The result is that a cold war is on between the two countries with their armies facing each other. That has not however prevented Mr. Nehru from condemning the cold war in the most resounding phrases, as if it was something to which Prime Minister Nehru was not a party. (Whenever Mr. Nehru is vehement on any subject, it may generally be safely assumed that he has a guilty conscience.) Indeed, India has for some years now been on cold war terms with both of her principal neighbours, and Mr. Nehru should have been the last person on earth to condemn cold war. But correspondence between profession and practice has never been a strong point of our Prime Minister, who is always prepared to exploit, like all Leftists, the ignorance or forgetfulness of the man in the street.

Now that plebiscite is out of the question, for reasons which may not be gone into again, it is worthwhile recalling Mr. Nehru's speech in the UN

(Continued from page 10)

cians. During this one week, the Durgapur Steel factory is reported to be grinding to a halt, on account of which the German Manager has been reemployed. Secondly, the Collieries are closing down for want of explosives, the production of which in the country cannot be increased to meet the demands of both the government and of the industry.

The industrial programme in the Third Plan must therefore be postponed. The provision for it can be diverted to the simple needs of the villagers like housing and sanitation, which will not only create more employment but the base, essential for industrialisation.

Assembly in which he declared amid much applause that the Assembly was the supreme sovereign body before which the greatest powers had to bow and whose decisions even in regard to meetings between heads of states had to be accepted by them. Why does he not follow his own precept and set an example for the world? Why does he not declare that he is prepared to abide by the decision of the UN Assembly on the Kashmir issue? Is the UN Assembly supreme only when an unwilling American President has to be made to meet the Prime Minister of another country? Is it not supreme enough for Mr. Nehru?

It is not our Prime Minister's practice to weigh his words before uttering them. This can hardly be called the characteristic of a wise man. The craving for applause gets the better of him, he begins playing to the gallery, and off he goes at a tangent, and there is therefore no question of his readiness to act up to his own declarations. No wonder he has made a laughing stock of himself outside India among all those who care to remember the salient facts of international politics. And he thinks he makes up for his own shortcomings by ringing denunciations of other powers for acts with which his country should not feel much concerned, for the simple reason that they are allied to his own.

MR. NEHRU'S PRINCIPLE

Speaking at a tea party given in his honour by the Press Association here, Mr. Nehru said that the US Government's decision to give "the latest type of weapons" to Pakistan would have an "effect" on Indo-American relations, and might amount to a change in its attitude, even though not intentional. "We do not expect military aid in that way," he said, and recalled that when President Eisenhower had offered military aid to India when India protested against US military aid to Pakistan, the Government of India had "sent him a polite reply but pointed out that it was almost adding insult to injury, that is, the injury was supply of military aid to Pakistan against us, and the insult would be that when we were protesting against it on principle to ask us to break our principle."

Mr. Nehru seems to have forgotten that he has already broken his principle. He did so when he sent 5,000 rifles to Burma on a request from U Nu to help him fight the Communist insurgents. Indeed, if the implications of his declarations are borne in mind, it would appear that Mr. Nehru has been breaking his precious principle over and over again. He has declared that an attack on Sikkim would be regarded as an attack on India. He has declared that an attack on Bhutan would be regarded as an attack on India. He has declared that an attack on Nepal

would be regarded as an attack on India. What do these declarations mean if they do not mean that India will offer military aid to Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal at least so soon as they are attacked?

In effect Mr. Nehru has been declaring that he is ready to break again his (already broken) principle as soon as an opportunity offers. By his declarations he has formed or at least tried to form a bloc. The only difference would appear to be that Mr. Nehru does not want to make sure that his military aid would be effective for he would offer it when it may prove too late. Not many would be prepared to concede that this procedure is statesmanlike, for it may defeat the object he has in view. It is the part of wisdom to take steps in time, to forestall invasions and incursions and to prevent them by forming blocs and receiving military aid, if necessary, long before an overwhelming disaster threatens the country or her neighbours. But Mr. Nehru's precious principle prevents him from taking patriotic steps in advance, for reasons which only the pursuit of a personally selfish policy can sufficiently make clear.

The plain truth is that we belong to the democratic bloc by virtue of our Constitution which we should hold dear, as well as by virtue of the situation in which our country finds itself, and that we refuse to belong to that bloc because that would prevent Mr. Nehru from pursuing his policy of fishing in troubled waters for personal glory. In any case the world is divided into two blocs and it is the paramount duty of members of one bloc to help one another as much as possible. Pakistan has thrown her lot with the western bloc and that bloc is in duty bound to help China as much as possible—a course which she is undoubtedly pursuing.

MR. NEHRU ON HIMSELF

"I am not a religious man, but I am a pagan," Mr. Nehru told the Press Association, and he proceeded to define paganism in the following terms: "I am not prepared to be sat upon by any one, nor shall I sit upon others and force them to think with me. That is paganism." That is democracy, really. Mr. Nehru has coined his own definition of paganism. No individual has the right to define words in his own way and have a dictionary of his own. This is what his master, Gandhi, also used to do, and all that need be said about it is that the action is illegitimate. If every man has a dictionary of his own, communication of ideas would be impossible.

"Pagan" according to the dictionary means an unenlightened person or a heathen, the latter being a term for those who are neither Christian, Jewish nor Mohammedan. Mr. Nehru need not be ashamed of calling himself a Hindu at a time when the world is embracing the underlying principle of Hinduism, free thinking. Immediately after defining paganism, he proceeded to state, almost in the same breath, "We are neither Communist nor anti-Communist". According to his own definition of paganism quoted above, Mr. Nehru should be an anti-Communist, as the reader can see, but by as-

serting that he—what made him refer to himself as "we" I cannot for the life of me understand—is not an anti-Communist, he only proves my contention that he has always been a traitor to his faith and to his cause. But to betray one's faith even in the act of proclaiming and defining it takes some doing, and our Prime Minister has done it gallantly.

Perhaps what Mr. Nehru means to say is that he is an unbeliever, a Kafir, and he dare not put it that way for fear of offending Muslim susceptibilities. The writer has himself been an unbeliever all his life and wrote his first two or three books under the pseudonym, "Al Kafir". One of these was on Jawaharlal Nehru written with the help of material supplied by him. It was published a few weeks before he presided over the National Congress in 1929 for the first time. But Mr. Nehru would appear to be a true Kafir, for he does not believe even in his own passionately-held convictions, such as those relating to democracy!

MASTER TARA SINGH'S SOMERSAULTS

Master Tara Singh's political acrobatics continue to amuse people in Northern India. As those who have been following his career now realise only too well, he is a quick-change artist. From a Sikh State, which earned for him long periods in prison, he came down to a Punjabi-speaking State, the only common feature between them being their necessity for the safety of the Panth. Mr. Morarji Desai pricked the bubble of the "Panth in danger" cry sometime ago by asking how, and drawing out its clear implications. Since then we have not heard of the Panth being in danger. Indeed, it seems as if the safety of the Panth is no longer a matter of concern to Master Tara Singh. What worries him now is the future of Punjabi, which however is not such an effective cry, and Master Tara Singh's stock is rather low at the moment.

He is due to begin his fast on the date he has given out and in the meantime he has appealed to the Hindu conscience to save him, as it were, from his own rashness. The Hindus of Punjab know very well what it is to live in a predominantly Sikh area, thanks mainly to the hymn of hate sung day in and day out by the Master and his followers, and they are not likely to fall into the trap. His appeal to the Hindus is a direct result of the Prime Minister's telling him that the people of Punjab are opposed to Punjabi Suba. The Hindus of Punjab will, however, not be sorry if the Master is somehow persuaded to desist from the threatened fast or a face-saving device is found for the purpose, though their present comments would appear to be in favour of the natural consequence of a fast unto death overtaking the Master.

It seems high time for sensible people to start making fun of fasts unto death. There would appear to be little harm—and there may be a good deal of good—in all those Punjabis opposed to Master Tara Singh threatening to fast unto death if a Punjabi Suba is conceded. A list of all such people can be made to look formidable enough for

Master Tara Singh to think of giving up his fast in sheer disgust. In any case, the hands of the Government need strengthening in this respect and a massive threat to fast unto death by hundreds of thousands—in case Master Tara Singh's Punjabi Suba is conceded—would prove a much needed corrective and put the Master's fast in its proper perspective. It seems, indeed, to be the need of the hour. The Sikhs are the butt of almost all jokes in Punjab and there is no reason why Master Tara Singh's fast should not be treated humorously.

Book Review

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDMUND BURKE, A

Selection from His Writings and Speeches, by Louis I. Bredvold and Ralph G. Ross. University of Michigan Press. 276 pp. \$5.95 cloth, \$3.50 paper.

Nearly every problem in government and society would be better solved if it were exposed to the profound and luminous thinking of a man who died 164 years ago—Edmund Burke. This is particularly true with respect to the greatest danger facing the Western world—the threat of omnipotent government, foreign or domestic.

Here is the quintessence of Burke, the great British statesman whose life span covered almost the same years as George Washington's. The book should be read by every editor, clergyman, professor of social science, public official, and the thoughtful members of the rising generation.

Burke lived through the American and French revolutions, and we are muddling through the revolution begun at Petrograd in 1917. It is amazing how much of Burke's thought is pertinent today. What he said of Jacobinism and the Terror in France in the 1790's is an almost exact description of modern communism as taught by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung.

For example: "To them the will, the wish, the want, the liberty, the toil, the blood of individuals is as nothing. The state is all in all.....Their imagination is not fatigued with the contemplation of human suffering through the wild waste of centuries.....Schools are founded at public expense to poison mankind..... They do not acknowledge God as the moral governor of the world.....They omit no pains to eradicate every benevolent and noble propensity in the minds of men.....It is a sect aiming at universal empire, beginning with the conquest of France.....To be at peace with such robbery is to be an accomplice of it".

Burke is charged with indifference to the sufferings of the common people which brought on the French Revolution. But he had said (and on many occasions had proved he meant it) that "I have incurred the odium of gentlemen in this House for not paying sufficient regard to men of ample property. When the smallest rights of the poorest people in the Kingdom are in question.....I would take my fate with

the poor and low and feeble".

Burke was not responsible for the conflagration in France, but he felt a deep responsibility to keep its flames from spreading to his own country, and perhaps to the world. To that task he devoted the last years of his life. Similarly, no one today needs to defend Czarism in order to oppose communism.

Why is it that Edmund Burke is tagged as "old hat" by modern statesmen and professors "so restless.....to rid the world of nuisances"? It is because Burke believed in the wisdom of history. The key to Burke's philosophy is his concept that society is "a partnership not only between those who are living, but those who are dead and those who are to be born".

Because he would conserve the partnership of the dead and the wisdom of the past in order to better test the problem of today, he is a "conservative"—he would make haste slowly. He demanded that social principles be grounded in social experience. From his encyclopedic knowledge of government during two thousand years he would ask: Wasn't this tried once before, and how did it work then?

"Politics," he said, "ought to be adjusted, not to human reasonings, but to human nature, of which reason is but a part and by no means the greatest".

Burke had no use for reformers who would wipe out whole groups of people, or their professions, to make things fit into some jerry-built paradise. He would not sacrifice the living generation for a blueprint. To him usages, customs, and laws which had stood the test of time had a strong presumption in their favor.

It is fortunate that Burke's philosophy is now easily available to all honest minds that are grappling with the great problems of our time.

—From the review by Samuel B. Pettengill in Freeman.

Gleanings from the Press

HOW TO END CONGRESS (ASURIC) STRENGTH

The Congress, with the power of office and of money acquired through office, puts forward at every one of its election meetings, its 'strength' as an argument in its favour even as Ravana courted Sita in the Ashoka Vana:

"I do not find any other in this world who can stand against me in battle. Look at my overwhelming and unrivalled power!"

Sita did not choose to be overwhelmed by this power. The Orissa elections have disclosed the 'asuric' strength of the Congress. It must open everyone's eyes to the urgency of bringing this strength to a termination, so that it may not perpetuate itself through this power and extinguish democracy. It can be done if all who abhor such an end, come together.

Sri Jayaprakash Narain desires government without political parties. But a movement for government without political parties itself calls for a party

having that objective. We are landed in a paradox. It is like the search in technology for a machine for perpetual motion without fuel.

We require a political party which will work for a government without parties. But here is a political party which has definitely reduced party shackles to the minimum and gives maximum freedom to its members. The Swatantra Party is the answer to J.P.'s quest for the Holy Grail. If the Swatantra Party is supported by the people, party-less government, to the extent now feasible, is automatically brought into being.

—C. Rajagopalachari (Swarajya).

News & Views

AFTER PAKISTAN, THE DELUGE!

President Ayub Khan, in his address to the U.S. Congress, said that in the event of real trouble, "the only people that would stand by you are the people of Pakistan, provided you are prepared to stand by them". He added: "Heavens forbid, if there is real trouble, there is no other country in Asia where you will be able to put your feet in".

—A News Item.

GATHERING OF "GOONDAS"

Karachi: Recruitment of Razakars will shortly begin all over Pakistan, including "Azad" Kashmir, for reviving the Kashmir "Liberation Movement", according to the decision of the "Azad" Kashmir Muslim conference. An appeal for recruitment was issued by the president of the conference, Abdul Qayyum to all branches of the Party.

—A News Item.

EVERY LEAGUE CANDIDATE IS A PAKISTANI AGENT

"The hopes and ambitions of the Muslims depend on the future of Pakistan. In the victory of Pakistan lies the victory of Islamic policies and the fulfilment of Islam's aspirations and expectations. As such every League candidate stands as the candidate for Pakistan".

—Moinul Huq's appeal to the Muslim electorate in 1945.

This is as true today as it was said in 1945. Here is a warning and an utterance from the horse's mouth, as it were, which our pseudo-secularists can ponder over and think.

MUSLIM MINISTER BEHIND THE RECENT RIOTS IN ASSAM

".....it is disturbing to hear that violence has broken out in Cachar. This time the Police fired upon the mobs who were attacking the Bengali residents of the small town of Hailakandi.

"No official information is forthcoming.....But it soon became clear that the aggressors were Muslims. Hence the official silence, as after the riots at Jabalpur. The Muslims are the favourite sons, and—until the elections, at any rate—MUST NOT BE OFFENDED.

"It also became known that many of the people in the aggressive mobs.....had no right to be there as they were Pakistanis, who had entered India without passports.....Ten days later the Assam Government admitted.....there were over TWO LAKHS PAKISTANIS in Assam without permission.

"It was reported that mob violence was organised by a Minister of the Assam Government, a former member of the Muslim League, who 10 years ago, was interned for communal and anti-national activities.

—Mysindia.

How safe are our frontiers with Pakistan and Red China!

PROFITEERING OR STATE TRADING?

Bombay: While the net profits of the Cement Industry and the Associated Cement Companies were going down, year after year, the Government of India were making high profits by State trading in cement, said Mr. N. Dandekar, Managing Director of the ACC in Bombay.

Mr. Dandekar was speaking at the public inquiry by the Tariff Commission into the question of the revision of cement prices, said that the ACC net profit after providing for taxation was down by Rs. 3½ crores to 2¼ crores, while the Government of India, without contributing in anyway in the production of cement, were making large profits by trading in cement.

Quoting figures, he said, that in the first year of its trading the Government made a net profit of Rs. 5.02 crores, in the second year Rs. 4.10 crores and in the third year Rs. 2.60 crores, and during the first five months of the current year Rs. 92 lakhs. It would appear that the Government had thus harvested a net profit of Rs. 13 crores in less than four years.

The Government has indulged in colossal profiteering under the garb of State trading!

—Financial Express.

NEED FOR LAW AGAINST WASTE

The suggestion made by the Chief Justice of the Andhra High Court, Mr. P. Chandra Reddi, that a new law should be enacted for suppressing profiteering and frittering away of national resources is well meant. But the difficulty in acting on his suggestion would be in defining the point where profit-making becomes profiteering, and waste of public funds, due to negligence, becomes a criminal offence.

Considering the nature and frequency of comments by the Auditor-General, the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament and the State legislatures on the reckless wastage and

misapplication of public funds, it would be worthwhile for the Government to examine Mr. Reddi's plea that such offences may be put on a par with embezzlement.

—Times of India.

THIS IS BHARAT, THAT IS FREE INDIA!

The staff and students of the Kathua Girls High School, Kathua (Jammu), gossip freely about the fortunes of a lady teacher, whose name duly appears on the official staff role of the School, BUT WHO HAS NEVER ATTENDED THE SCHOOL FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS.

The fortunate lady is the wife of a State Minister, Mr. Amarnath Sharma. The teacher's pay is drawn through the P.A. to the Minister.

—Organiser.

Out-moghula-ing the Grand Moghul of Old Delhil PHILOSOPHY OF A PICKPOCKET

Nagpur: Mr. Morarjibhai Desai, Union Finance Minister said here that he was "an expert in putting his hands into moneyed pockets".

Addressing the members of the Nag-Vidarbha Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Morarjibhai added: "I do not put my hands into empty pockets. I know which pockets should be picked for taxation purposes".

Referring to the complaint of the heavy burden of taxation, Mr. Morarjibhai Desai said: "You shouldn't be afraid of the burden of taxation. Come forward, and pay up your taxes, willingly and voluntarily. My principle is that I MUST have my share of the pockets which are full and bulging".

THE ALL-EMBRACING UMBRELLA

What an umbrella-word is leftist! How many take shelter under its shade! Is a well-known medical man a communist? Well.....er.....he is a leftist. Is an equally well known writer, a scientist, a communist? You know, the apologist will say, both are leftists.....Is Krishna Menon a communist? Pat comes the answer, he's a leftist. Are journals which persistently support the Soviet cause communist? No, they are always leftist.

—A. D. Gorwalla in "Opinion".

TRADING WITH THE DEVIL

Mr. G. D. Birla, one of the most prominent of Indian businessmen and industrialists, has after his recent visit to Russia, pleaded strongly in favour of vigorous efforts for increasing trade between Russia and India.....

Trade is always welcome. It is ten times more welcome NOW when we are so anxious to expand our export markets. It may be remembered, however, that our experience of trade with Russia has not been so happy.....

In our anxiety to increase the trade we should not, however, forget the peculiar conditions which obtain

in communist countries. A communist country uses its foreign trade, as all other dealings with foreign countries, as a political weapon or instrument. It is political consideration which determines the import and export trade, and NOT ordinary business considerations. Russia has never made any secret of her intention to adhere to that policy. Indian traders and businessmen will have many an unpleasant surprise waiting for them: if they lose sight of this essential fact.

—"Freedom First".

TRADE AND TOTALITARIANISM

"You ask me what difference is there between our getting a loan from Russia or from the United States? Imperialism in its economic form—in the movement of capital—is the same: both must be paid for. But the political consequences are different. The economic imperialism of totalitarianism brings totalitarianism with it. The economic imperialism of democracy allows us to keep democracy.

—Victor Raul Haya de la Toore, well-known Peruvian revolutionary.

RATE OF CAPITAL FORMATION—LOWEST IN INDIA

An interesting study—"World Economic Survey, 1960" released by the Economic and Social Council of United Nations in which the main emphasis has been laid on the role played by capital formation in fostering economic growth places India at the bottom of the list of 32 developing countries.

The average rate of gross capital formation as a percentage of gross domestic product during the fifteen in all the 32 countries comprised in the study under reference was 16.4 with no less than four countries having a rate of more than 25 per cent while India's at 8 per cent was the very lowest.

Again in the sphere of growth, while the average rate in these developing countries has been more than 5 per cent per annum, (Israel and Jamaica had more than 10 per cent) the rate of growth in India's domestic gross product was only 3 per cent per annum. Even Burma with all her internal instability and discord, recorded an average rise in gross product of over 6 per cent per annum.

—Amrit Bazar Patrika

Readers' Opinion

'TRUE AND FEARLESS CRITICISM'

Dear Sir,

I am exceedingly pleased with the articles appearing in your journal. Such true and fearless criticism is very rare in Indian journalism. Many more journals of this kind are the need of the hour, for awakening our countrymen from their slumber. I should like to have some old copies of your journal to appease my hunger for reading the profound and deep articles in your journal.

Rajani Kanta Kumar, B.A.
Dinajpore, West Bengal.

BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

- Bakunin's Writings by Guy Aldred.
- Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker
- God and the State, by Bakunin.
- General Idea of the Revolution by Proudhon.
- What is Mutualism by Swartz.
- Causes of Business Depression by Hugo Bilgram.
- Challenge of Asia by Ralph Borsodi.
- Education and Living (2 vols.) by Ralph Borsodi.
- Socialism by Von Mises.
- Human Action by Von Mises.
- The Conquest of China by Sitaram Goel.

ASK FOR A FREE CATALOGUE OF OUR PUBLICATIONS AND PRICE-LIST

LIBERTARIAN PUBLISHERS,
1st Floor, Arya Bhavan,
Sandhurst Road West, BOMBAY 4.

THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

Have you tried the Cow Brand flour manufactured by the Duncan Road Flour Mills? Prices are economical and only the best grains are ground. The whole production process is automatic, untouched by hand and hence our produce is the cleanest and the most sanitary.



Write to :

THE MANAGER
THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS
BOMBAY 4

Telephone : 70205

Telegram : LOTEWALLA