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AND LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

IN THIS ISSUE

THE CHALLENGE OF THE SPUTNIK

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CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL	3
The Challenge of the Sputniks		
by M. A. Venkata Rao	5	
Biting the Hand that Feeds by Baburao Patel	7	
This Battle of Languages Must End		
by J. K. Dhairyawan	11	
Hindi: A Reasoned Protest	..	13
My Idea of a Welfare State		
by Prof. B. R. Shenoy	17	
This is Pakistan by Al-Kafir	..	19
ON THE NEWS FRONT	..	21
THE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT AND		
THE LAND PROBLEM	23	
BOOK REVIEWS	..	23
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	..	26

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BY ALBERT JAY NOCK

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Editorial

MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON

IT is difficult to surmise what purpose is served by the new Resolution sponsored by the British and American delegates in the Security Council proposing to send Dr. Graham again to restart discussions with India and Pakistan from the position of the UNCIP Resolutions of 1948 and 1949.

First a word about the manner of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in the Council. There have been widespread complaints that he is *persona non grata* with Americans, official and non-official. His whole manner is offensive, his *asides*, his sharp repartees, his tone of aggressive insult serve to present a picture of India far removed from the image of a gentle, serene, non-violent, cultured country with a hoary tradition characterised by the most far-seeing attachment to tolerance in all aspects of life, with a record of non-aggression on neighbours unsurpassed in history, with a philosophy of life characterised by catholicity and insight into the spiritual foundation of life and nature.

Further, a diplomat should be the very image and type of sweet reasonableness, whose main duty is to win friends for his country and disarm antagonists. From this point of view, Mr. V. K. Krinshna Menon is singularly ill-suited for the role with which he is entrusted in these international gatherings. His presentation of the Indian case for Kashmir, it must be conceded, has been full and trenchant and solid, omitting not a single aspect, driving every point of the case home, with unmistakable grasp and force. But the manner of the performance has detracted from the merit of the argumentation. It is high time that India ceased sending Mr. Menon to international conferences to represent her.

In the last meeting of the Council, before this goes to press, Mr. Menon has had to withdraw several expressions and apologise to the British representative, Sir Pierson Dixon. He withdrew the expression, "partisan" and the reference to Britain stealing India "through a forgery" glancing obviously at Clive's deceit of Omay Chand through two documents.

The American delegate said that he regretted the tone of Mr. Krishna Menon's speech. The language of Sir Pierson Dixon is an example of what a diplomat's language should be, sauve, restrained, partisan but not appearing to be such at all! India has citizens like the late B. N. Rao, able to set an example even to Britain in diplomatic finesse. It is time that such representatives are sent abroad, particularly to the UNO.

DR. GRAHAM'S SECOND MISSION

The Resolution asks the two countries to maintain an atmosphere of non-provocation and peace. This is disingenuous for the Council should know that it is Pakistan that has broken this obligation in the most unconscionable way, indulging in *jehad* campaigns and inciting her nationals without intermission

all these years. Why should the Council ignore the intransigence of one side and speak of the two on the same plane?

It goes on to request Dr. Graham to continue negotiation to bridge the difference between the two countries in the matter of demilitarisation and plebiscite as soon as possible. India's complaint of Pak aggression is again ignored. The Indian case is completely ignored and the resolution is "hatched" as Mr. Menon said even before listening to his final statement!

The Resolution ignores the most important aspects of Jarring's report *viz*: that the advice of the World Court might be obtained as regards the legality of the accession in terms of the Indian Independence Act and the Instrument of Transfer. Formally it is beyond doubt that the Maharaja had the sole right of acceding to either Dominion. In this case, the approval of the leading representative of the only popular party in the country has strengthened the Maharaja's accession. It may be that morally it is arguable that the majority of the population being Muslim, Kashmir should go to Pakistan as a Muslim country. But this argument opens basic questions that are by no means favourable to Pakistan. If Kashmir Muslims should accede to Pakistan, by the same token all the Muslims remaining in India should emigrate to Pakistan.

Pakistan is not willing to have the legal position examined by the World Court. Morally, Pakistan can have no right to a democratic plebiscite when there have been no elections in her own State from the moment of Transfer of Power. Nor has there been an election in occupied Kashmir. Autocracy can have no right to rule over people who are unwilling to go under it willingly.

Jarring's other finding that conditions have changed in the Indo-Pakistan area by reason of the Baghdad and SEATO and Pak-American Arms Aid altering the balance of power is also ignored. The stipulation of the UNCIP Resolution that the parties should NOT alter the military balance in any way has been flagrantly defied by Pakistan with the connivance and aid of America and Britain.

ROLE OF BAGHDAD STATES IN KASHMIR DISPUTE

No wonder that the Swedish representative Mr. Jarring has declined to co-sponsor the new Resolution.

Mr. Krishna Menon did well to bring to light the communications of Iraq and Turkey to the Baghdad Pact meeting last time. These members of the Pact say that whatever affects Pakistan affects them directly or indirectly. And in the matter of the Indo-Pakistan dispute, they cannot divest themselves of military interest in any development involving the arbitrament of arms. Mr. Menon underlined the significance of the move for Britain and the USA, who are the

underwriters of the Pact, though the USA is not yet a full member. She is a full member, in substance, though not in form, for she is the major supplier of the sinews of war to the Baghdad countries.

We have been anticipating this stream of tendency in Islamic lands from the very beginning. We have pointed out, in previous issues, that the net result of the role of the Western Powers in consolidating Islamic countries to weld them into a shield against international communism, would be the growth of Pan-Islam in the Arab area, and the whole field of the former Saracen empire, from Spain to India, and even in Indonesia. *The inevitable consequence of this consolidation is to rouse the dormant anti-Indian traditions of Islam.* Pakistan is tireless in securing, or trying to secure a position, of leadership among Islamic countries. She has the largest Muslim population in the world with the exception of Indonesia. The rivalry between Egypt and Turkey and Pakistan for the leadership of Islamic lands is beside the point for us. *The fact to be noted is the byproduct of Islamic consolidation issuing from the policies of Western Powers.* India should NOT play into the hands of these long term ambitions of Islamic Powers, in pursuit of short term aims like the rally of Egypt and Syria to non-alignment. *Non-alignment deprives us of the advantage of securing firm alliances*

UNION OF EGYPT AND SYRIA

News is to hand confirming our reading of the situation. Egyptian and Syrian parliamentarians have voted the merger of the two countries. This means that Egypt has stolen a march over Pakistan and Turkey in the leadership of Arab countries. And the new Union is more under the influence of Russia than that of the West. And India is needlessly *leaning to the side of Egypt-Syria-Russia Entente which is by no means healthy.*

NOON AND KASHMIR SABOTAGE CAMPAIGN

Two more Pakistan Intelligence department men have been caught red-handed placing explosives in Kashmir. They led the police to a large dump of explosives meant for sabotage. They said that they were instructed to place explosives in mosques and loot property, and if possible, carry Muslim women away to Pakistan in the confusion of the riots thus provoked. The presentation of abducted women could be used to incite Pakistanis to attack India. A similar trick was used in the 1947 attacks, when wounded Muslims, and even corpses, were exhibited in the tribal areas of the North Western Frontier as victims of Hindu attacks. Soiled copies of the *Koran* were also used for a similar inflammatory purposes.

Mr. Krishna Menon made full use of these acts of sabotage in Kashmir to point the moral or the *amoral* untruth and duplicity of Pakistan's highest authorities. Noon just repudiated the charges, but the world should be taught what reliance to place on the verbal innocence of himself and his colleagues. The cool way in which British and American representatives ignore these treacherous and untruthful doings of

their proteges is a measure of the true condition of international morality. It is not very different in quality from the brazen untruth and cool non-chalance of Russian and Hungarian denials of genuine popular revolt last October. How diplomacy seeks to make untruth appear in the garb of truth and *vice versa* should be a lesson to India. India, too, maintains a make-believe that the Iron Curtain countries are sincere in their declarations of peaceful co-existence!

Knowing this, why should India declare, in season and out of season, that she believes in the UNO? She could maintain a discreet silence about the reliability and impartiality of the UNO knowing that its behaviour is conditioned by "cold war."

This is another occasion when the painfully inadequate nature of Indian publicity abroad comes home to us and should arouse greater interest in the Indian public.

SELF-DETERMINATION

The word self-determination has done much good but more evil in recent international history. The Versailles Treaty created a number of new nations on the basis of this principle (popularised by President Wilson) which sanctifies the claim of every ethnic entity for independent Statehood. In Europe the formula had a large justification in respect of nationalities like Poland, Chechoslovakia and the Baltic States which had a historic and national unity consolidated by centuries of unity and aspiration, even when submerged under polyglot empires, like Austria-Hungary. But when applied for *parts of a nation*, the idea of self-determination becomes disastrous. When the Congress party accepted the principle of provincial autonomy and self-determination, to appease the Muslims, during the negotiation with the Cabinet Mission in 1945-6, it showed its tragic ignorance of political realities and implications. It is by a narrow hair-breadth escape that the Balkanisation of India that Prof. Coupland and the Muslims had in mind, was avoided.

Today in the Security Council the delegate from Cuba used this principle to accuse India. He said that India was wrong in refusing a plebiscite as that was tantamount to repudiating the democratic principle of self-determination. Mr. Menon made a good reply and asked how Cuba would feel if Spain had asked for self-determination for a *part of Cuba* in her war of liberation from colonialism?

The Indian case is that Kashmir is an integral part of India and the principle of self-determination does not apply to *parts of nations*. That would be against the Charter which recognises nation-states as inviolable members.

WORLD CONFERENCE OF RELIGIONS AT NEW DELHI

A Jain muni organised the First World Conference at Delhi in November. It was remarkable for two things. One was that through a religious gathering, it enjoyed the countenance and support of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Radhakrishnan, President and Vice President of India, the former opening it
(Continued on page 16)

THE CHALLENGE OF THE SPUTNIKS

By M. A. Venkata Rao

WHAT do we do about Sputnik?" cried the American writer Clare Booth Luce. "We take our hats off to the Soviet moon and our coats off to Russian rocketry. We collect our wits and dig into pockets. It is twelve years from Hiroshima to the moon. Six of them were Democratic and six Republican. Let us say no more."

Sri C. Rajagopalachari's advice that the one affirmative "yes" to the Soviet proposal so often made for the ban on the use of all nuclear weapons is worth a dozen reorganised programmes of research to catch up with Sputniks is hardly sound and is of a piece with his recent support to the Soviet "Peace Campaign". Its naivete in ignoring the Soviet refusal for accompanying the ban on nuclear weapons with effective inspection, rightly insisted upon by Western negotiators, (and putting the blame on them), is astonishing in one so experienced and acute as Sri C. Rajagopalachari. (9 November 1957 *Swarajya*)

What then is the answer to the challenge of the Sputniks? It depends on the extent of the damage done by them to the military political aspects of the defence relied upon by the United States and her allies against Soviet expansion. The military part of it was twofold—the ring of bases round the Soviet orbit and nuclear weapons delivered by long range bombers in strength in swift answer to any attack by the communists. This was the deterrent part of the strategy. The positive side of it had the two aspects of containment and liberation. Due to short-sighted public pressure, chary of war, the programme of liberation of the captive nations from the Baltic to the Dardanelles was hardly launched. It became abortive, and was confined to propaganda efforts like those of the "Voice of America". Containment, as a policy, was maintained through diplomacy and economic and military aid to States on the border of Soviet States, from Korea through the SEATO and Bagdad Treaty areas to Morocco and Tunis across the Middle East. After the failure of the British and French, in regard to the Suez conflict, the USA framed its Eisenhower Doctrine to keep Arab States out of the Soviet orbit which had some success in Jordan but failed in Syria.

MILITARY STRATEGY IN RUINS

The military part of the strategy is in ruins because of the Soviet mastery of the intercontinental ballistic missile and the Sputnik technique of launching space satellites. If they could do this, it is clear that they could send nuclear warheads to any part of the world from Russian sites. Also, the American bases round the Soviet perimeter from NATO to Korea become vulnerable to Russian medium range rockets. Of course, there is some safety in the necessary margin of error to which such rockets are inevitably subject. But the effect on the morale of American defence derives from the blow to the sense of safety that the strategy of massive deterrence was designed to give, to the sense of security against a repetition of the Japanese surprise attack in the manner of last war's Pearl Harbour.

This means, on the political side the policy of containment of the Soviet flood, within its present borders, has failed. Even before the launching of the Sputniks, Soviet penetration into Egypt and Syria had underlined the limitation of the Eisenhower doctrine in the Middle East. The Syrian case is a typical example of, how international communism can take over the administration of a country, through its local fellow-travellers and communist party. If a people have leaders, either ignorant of or indifferent to the danger of Soviet penetration, (and to its full and irrevocable consequence of actual slavery unprecedented in history for its all-pervading character, economic and cultural), it is clear that outside agencies from the free world cannot save them from themselves.

Syria is an example more nearly affecting us in India inasmuch as it has succumbed without the actual presence of the Soviet Army, which was the governing factor in East European States after the defeat of Hitler. India has the unenviable distinction of fulfilling the estimate or prophecy of Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February last year (1956) that as a result of the present global position of the Soviet camp, consequent on the victories of the war of 1939-45, it is possible for communist parties in the uncommitted nations of the world, particularly in Asia, to achieve (through peaceful propaganda) stable parliamentary majorities. And our State of Kerala has had the doubtful honour of making a beginning in the fulfilment of this prophecy (and instruction) of Khrushchev!

The refusal of the USA and the Free World to assist Hungary last year, even with arms supplies, sounded the death-knell (or registered publicly the death that had taken place long before) of the policy of liberation of captive nations. The situation before the Sputniks was therefore the reluctant and tacit acceptance, for want of a better, of the enemy's suggestion of the policy of co-existence.

Of course, *de facto* co-existence as between the Soviets and the Free World is different from India's utter unpreparedness and pathetic trust in the *bona fides* of the most ruthless imperialism in history, an imperialism, moreover committed by its own founding doctrine to world revolution and world conquest. For two years now, the Soviets have confronted the world with the challenge (or offensive) of economic aid and peaceful competition with the West for the soul of Asia, which has strangely enough coincided with an era of withdrawal towards isolationism in American circles though the State Department is striving valiantly to step up a fitting answer to the challenge of the Soviets in the matter of aid to the backward peoples. The Sputniks have administered a resounding blow to this shrinking attitude of the American mind as well as a blow to its scientific prestige and self-confidence. In fact the Sputniks have brought complete ruin to the whole scheme of Amer-

rican defence in all its sectors, military, economic, scientific, political and psychological. And what is unsettling to American defence and self-confidence is *ipso facto* alarming to the Free World. Hence the wisdom of Macmillan's move for a frank recognition of the fact of interdependence of the nations of the Free World.

RETHINKING IN FREE WORLD NEEDED

It is clear that America and the free nations have the inescapable duty of rethinking the whole of their policies from the ground upwards. The global implications of the situation not merely from the geographic point of view but also racial (to include Asia and Africa) need more than ever to be taken into account in any effective reconstruction in the revised strategy and policy. There should be radical change both from a long term point of view and from a short period tactic.

From the long term viewpoint, American diplomacy, military, economic and cultural (such as exchange of students and researchers and technical personnel) needs transformation into a permanent partnership as contemplated by Point Four originally. The principle is the development of the whole world in partnership between advanced and backward peoples in all spheres—in science and art as well as in industry and agriculture. It should be a multi-lateral exchange in which nations take part and the distinction between advanced and backward is blurred, for all will give and all will receive according to their competence and opportunity in different times of achievement. If Indian scholars study in America, American students might learn in India too—whatever India might have to teach. And aid might take international channels, through the UNO or associations of citizens to take the sting out of its association with diplomacy and the cold war. All economic aid will be administered through international agencies to which weaker countries could make their own contribution as in the Colombo Plan. The stigma of one-sidedness, patronage on the one hand and cringing gratitude on the other should be removed through such international administration and insulation from politics. If Asian and African countries need Western aid in capital and know-how, the West needs mineral and other raw materials as well as expanding markets from their weaker brethren. The dependence is mutual. The colonial channel of such inter-dependence as in the past (and still surviving in some areas) should be transformed into an equal partnership.

THIS CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY MUST BE TAKEN UP

The formulation of such a programme needs the rebirth of democracy (or humanism) in the West as much as its emergence in the Eastern peoples. The challenge of international communism can only be met by a fresh incarnation of international democracy. Democracy is a way of life superior to communism in inherent appeal to man as man. If this does not appear so in the behaviour of blasé Western leaders, they need to take a new birth in freedom through a fresh realisation of their own great eras and achieve-

ments in the past in the building of humanism in their economies and politics and ways of life.

They need to recapture the rapture of:
"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven."

—Wordsworth

They need to renew their youth which will kindle the light of freedom in others newly awakening to the opportunity.

Foreign aid as give away gift need not figure much in this programme of world partnership. Economic aid can be put on a reciprocal basis, like the iron ore and textile machinery deal of India and Japan. World Bank loans can be put on a credit worthy basis in respect of actual projects like harbour, railroad, fertiliser, tractor service in untamed, wild land etc. The steel projects in India in which Russian, British and German teams are erecting plants for us on a long term loan basis are other examples. CARE gifts and the enterprising aid by Norwegian fishery experts on the Indian West coast are other pioneers. What is needed is a World Plan in which worthwhile projects in all parts of the world will be assisted from funds and techniques from all parts of the world will remove the isolationist reaction of USA investors and legislators. The analogy is not Marshall Aid but the Indian examples quoted above. There is no objection to Russian and Chinese and East European aid figuring in competition. Only, the recipient countries should make full information about the communist system and objectives available to their nationals as a bulwark against Soviet influence in the political and military fields. Non-involvement demands greater vigilance than stand-offish neutralism. Isolation is now not possible in social contact. The ability to retain self-identity in and through contact should be taught to nascent newly enfranchised nations like India.

OUR GANDHIAN INNOCENTS

Sri Rajagopalachari is gravely mistaken if he thinks that the mere abandonment of nuclear weapons and other military measures is enough to meet the challenge of the Sputniks. The policy of negotiating from strength cannot be given up without disaster in view of the sinister character of the Soviet regime. But it must be recognised that military containment is not enough. Liberation of the captive peoples not only of East Europe and of the Baltic Gulf but also of Soviet Russia herself is indispensable. The Russians are suffering from a lack of essential liberties. The ability of the masters of the Kremlin to force their subjects to support an ever-increasing military potential entailing cultural and economic strait-jackets cribbing and containing the normal life of the Russian and other peoples under their sway is the real source of the tension today in the postwar world. It is only democracy introduced into Russia and the dethronement of the Khrushchev regime that can usher in a perpetual peace, probably through internal evolution. This is what our Gandhian "Innocents" from "C.R." to Vinoba Bhave fail to understand.

Khrushchev himself declares that co-existence does not imply a cessation of the propaganda war. The disbandment of the Cominform in deference to Nehru

(Continued on page 11)

BITING THE HAND THAT FEEDS

By Baburao Patel

"This writer, throughout his career as a journalist, has revealed an almost unique gift for predicting events. This article about Sheikh Abdullah, the "Lion" of Kashmir, proved prophetic. It was written at a time when Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah embraced each other once a week to emphasize their great affection for each other and their absolute harmony in the joint enterprise of secular democracy."

"The newspapers—pipers of power—usually blew the Sheikh's trumpet so hard and loud that the nation was almost hypnotized with the tall personality of this adventurer from Kashmir. No one even dared to suspect the loyalty of Sheikh Abdullah, leave alone indulging in the impudence of accusing him of treachery.

"The writer, however, saw the signs of this Muslim adventurer's treachery much in advance of the event and facing the wrath and ridicule of the rulers warned the nation. Sixteen months later what was predicted in this article came true. Too true!

"Sheikh Abdullah, the "Lion" of Kashmir, was arrested on August 9, 1953, for "disruptionism, corruption, nepotism, maladministration and treachery."

PAKISTAN refuses to be a good neighbour.

In spite of all our efforts to please and appease Pakistan, the Muslims of Pakistan insist on heaping insults and abuses on us from day to day. For the sake of Pandit Nehru, India's greatest champion of Muslims, and his pet ideal of secular democracy, we have allowed ourselves to be brow-beaten by Pakistan every day in the last four-and-a-half years of our freedom.

We have caused heartburning and bad blood between the two nations. Pakistan owes us a lot of money in respect of military stores, food transactions, third party claims of undivided Bengal and Punjab, claims of contractors for work done in Pakistan in pre-partition days, refugee claims, repayment of public debt and the over-all financial settlement between the two Punjabs and between the two Bengals. The amount that Pakistan owes us runs into several hundred crores of rupees.

Pakistan has never made any serious attempt even to discuss this liability leave alone paying it. On the other hand, by pursuing a policy of tolerance and appeasement we have not only permitted Pakistan to abuse our friendliness but also allowed this liability of honour between two nations to take the complexion of a bad debt. To portray our beloved Prime Minister as the largest peace dove in the international aviary, we have been appeasing Pakistan so much from day to day for four and a half years that by now we seem to have lost even our self-respect as a free people.

Every decent man in the world wants peace. Peace is most essential to grow bread for millions. War is a game of brutes. No one in India wants war with Pakistan or any other country. But we have been so much hypnotized and obsessed by peace, that we have now begun to lose all our dignity as a free nation in our dealings with Pakistan. Our fear of war and love of peace—both human and civilized sentiments—have been cleverly exploited by Pakistan during the last four and a half years to delay the payment of our just dues under one excuse or other.

It is strange statesmanship that while we run ten thousand miles to America begging for dollar aid to

feed millions of stomachs in our country, we cannot collect our legitimate dues from a country which is on our borders. The very goodwill with which we agreed to the partition of this ancient land merely to give the Muslims a new national entity ought to have inspired Pakistan to appreciate our goodness by paying her legitimate debts to us in an honourable manner.

GREATEST SACRIFICE FOR PAKISTAN

To maintain peace and harmony with Pakistan we made the greatest sacrifice when on the 30th of January 1948, Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead. Though the man who pulled the trigger was an Indian, the bullets that hit the Mahatma's revered chest were charged with the malice and hatred which accompanied the birth of Pakistan. It was for the future weal and progress of ten crore Muslims of India and Pakistan that Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life. No man in the entire history of the human race had sacrificed more than did the Mahatma for ten crore Muslims.

But even this most sacred offering at the altar of peace seems to have left Pakistan unmoved the way we find this new neighbour of ours not only denying to us the settlement of its debts of honour but also heaping on us insult and abuse in pursuance of its political designs.

In the March issue of *Filmindia*, we protested against the 2000 feet documentary film called "Josh-e-Jehad" produced in Pakistan, which film is now being shown to millions of Muslims in Pakistan.

In this film Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the Premier of West Punjab and other leaders of Pakistan have threatened "To pull out Bharat's evil eyes and trample upon them." Claiming themselves to be "The heirs of Qasim, Ghuznvi and Ghori who had conquered, subjugated and trampled upon the people of India", they stake a claim on "Not only the Ravi and the Chenab but even the Ganga and the Jumna as theirs" and justify this blood-curdling ambition of theirs by saying: "Those whom we have ruled for 900 years and from whom was wrested this country of ours by the sacrifice of countless Muslims, that enemy is poised at our frontiers."

This film of malice and hatred against India and Indians is being hailed with cries of "Allah-ho-Akbar" to join the army of "Mujahids" (Crusaders). And according to the periodicals and newspapers of Pakistan, these "Mujahids" (Crusaders) are expected to slaughter Indians, fly the flag of Islam over the Red Fort in Delhi, fill the air of India with the 'azan' of the ghazis and propagate Islam by conquest and conversion.

Not satisfied with this fire-spitting propaganda through film, radio and newspapers, the Muslims of Pakistan have now begun to give performances of a stage play called "Naya Nishan" (New Symbol). This play, which was recently staged at Karachi, contains personal attacks on Pandit Nehru, our Prime Minister, and the Sardar Patel by attributing to them anti-Muslim sentiments and indirect complicity in the alleged atrocities on Muslims in Kashmir and elsewhere. And this has also received the blessings of the Government of Pakistan by the appreciative comments passed on it by Dr. Mahmud Hussain, Pakistan's Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Mr. Hatam Alavi, Director of the State Bank of Pakistan.

Even our High Commissioner, India's peace pigeon in Karachi, was provoked to protest against the play about which he says: "The whole tenor of the play is such as to arouse public passions against Indians in general and its exhibition, therefore, is a flagrant violation of the Prime Ministers' Agreement of April 1950."

The naivete of our peace pigeon in reminding the Pakistan Government of the Prime Ministers' Agreement is touching. The man still clings to his mistaken belief that Pakistan takes the Prime Ministers' Agreement seriously. We admire his imagination which blinds him to the actual circumstances around him. If only this man would open his eyes and read the numerous Urdu newspapers of Pakistan, he would soon realize that his present protest against the plays is but another cry in the wilderness that is Pakistan. Pakistan is too virile and aggressive a nation to heed the gentle cooing of a peace pigeon of Pandit Nehru.

INDIA IS GAGGED

The language Pakistan can understand we are not permitted to speak or write. It is a concession extracted from 360 million Indians to save the white plumes of our international peace dove from being tainted. Fantastic though it sounds, 360 million people are gagged and muffled to-day to permit Pandit Nehru to pursue his experiment of secular democracy. The love of millions which this man enjoys has been harnessed to bring about this first casualty of freedom of expression in free India. Abused or insulted, cheated or blackmailed, threatened or persecuted we have always to remain dumb spectators whatever happens to us. Nowhere else in the world can we find this tragic spectacle of a nation of 360 million souls in silent bondage to the will and tyranny of one man.

And this man, Pandit Nehru, the greatest champion of Muslims in India, is now being abused in Pakistan and accused of indirect complicity in the atrocities on Muslims in Kashmir and elsewhere.

Well, Nehru has a lot of shortcomings but no man in the world can accuse this noble gentleman of being

involved in the atrocities on Muslims in Kashmir. Anything so crude and cruel is abhorrent to this peace-loving sensitive man of culture and refinement. It is just like Pakistan to forget the atrocities which Muslims from Pakistan committed in their raids on Kashmir and then turn round and saddle our Prime Minister with their misdeeds. The sky seems to be the limit to the lies and perversions of Pakistan where Kashmir is concerned.

Kashmir! That is the word that is corroding the peaceful lives of 360 million Indians today. That one word has turned this country into a huge asylum of the deaf and the dumb. To the North-West of India, Kashmir is a state with an area of 82,258 square miles and with a population of 44 lakhs of people, out of which 34 lakhs are Muslims and 10 lakhs are non-Muslims. One-third of this state is now forcibly occupied by Pakistan, while the rest of it comprising of the Valley of Kashmir, Srinagar and Jammu, is ruled by Sheikh Abdullah, a man of tall stature but short memory. Because of the 77.3 per cent Muslim population of Kashmir, Pakistan claims this territory. The grounds are as usual Islamic.

PAKISTAN STARTS THE HUNT

On the 22nd of October 1947, 50,000 raiders from Pakistan crossed the boundaries of Kashmir on the usual hunt of man, woman and loot.

On the 26th of October 1947, Sheikh Abdullah, the present Prime Minister of Kashmir to India and requested India for help to drive the raiders out of the Kashmir territories. Sheikh Abdullah embraced Nehru and we sent our army posthaste to defend Kashmir and prove our lofty ideals of secular democracy.

In the 4½ years since the 26th of October 1947, we lost thousands of Indian lives and spent crores of rupees in driving out the raiders, defending Kashmir, feeding, protecting and rehabilitating the Kashmiris (77.3% of whom are Muslims) and fighting their case in the U.N.O.

In 4½ years, Sheikh Abdullah embraced Nehru hundreds of times and with every new embrace, Nehru went into new ecstasies over the poetic beauties of the Valley of Kashmir. To please Nehru, Indians sang, danced and performed stage shows all over India in aid of Kashmir and society women ran around the country with beggars' bowls collecting funds to give one relief or other to the Kashmiris. Kashmiri shawls and carpets mildewed through years were brushed in a hurry and sold at fancy prices in India. The friendly sentiments of Indians had made huge profits. The Kashmiris quick to use opportunity exploited the friendly sentiments of Indians and made huge profits.

Though millions of Indians starved and many mothers sold their babies for bread, we did not let the Kashmiris feel the pinch of food or money for fear of hurting Pandit Nehru. The happy sequence of embraces between Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah continued and we were shown numerous newsreels of the pageantry of these two monarchs of millions rowing over the Jhelum in gaily decorated house-boats. Though our own stomachs were empty, we forgot this hereditary disease, and wildly applauded this pageantry as evidence of our successful experiment in secular democracy.

And when on the 22nd of May 1950, Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, told a mammoth meeting at Teethwal, 9 miles from Srinagar that, "The ties binding Kashmir with India were not merely legalistic but were born out of the free will of the Kashmiris who found in India a true image of their own ideals and aspirations," and when he said, "The bond of unity between India and Kashmir, this kinship of heart and soul, this ever growing and ever strengthening link between two great people can never be broken," millions of Indians shed tears of joy and thanked heaven for crowning so successfully Pandit Nehru's experiment in secular democracy. In that moment of emotion we forgot our chronic hunger and bought thousands of mildewed Kashmiri shawls and carpets to help our Kashmiri brothers to improve their standard of living. And though Pakistan frowned at this lofty announcement of Sheikh Abdullah and abused us and accused us of new atrocities, we smiled in generous tolerance at the incorrigible ambition of Pakistan to get Kashmir.

To millions of Indians, Sheikh Abdullah became the real Lion of Kashmir—noble and loyal to India through sun and rain.

THE TURN-COAT

But on the 10th of April 1952, our hearts sank into our boots, when Sheikh Abdullah, our Lion of Kashmir, said at Jammu, "Kashmir's accession to India will have to be of a restricted nature so long as communalism has a foothold on the soil of India. We want to join India without any kind of mental reservation. But how can we do so, so long as we are not convinced about complete elimination of communalism in India? We are prepared to welcome the application of India's Constitution to Kashmir in its entirety, once we are satisfied that the grave of communalism has been finally dug in India. Of that we are not clear yet."

Continued this "Lion": "It is all very well for the people in India to think that communalism in India has been finally eliminated. But no one can deny that communal spirit still exists in India. Many Kashmiris feel what will happen to them and their position if, for instance something happens to Pandit Nehru. We do not know. As realists, we Kashmiris have to make provision for all eventualities.... They do not tell us what will happen to Kashmir if there is a resurgence of Communalism in India and how, in that circumstance, we are to convince the Muslims of Kashmir that India does not intend to swallow up Kashmir.... We in Kashmir want to function as a bridge between India and Pakistan and bring the two countries together by cementing the force of love. If there is this love, I am convinced India and Pakistan can again be reunited and become one country."

"THE LION'S" THREAT

And then the Muslim leader of Kashmir roared: "In conclusion, I would do some plain speaking for the sake of Indian press. It is that Sheikh Abdullah does not fear anyone in this world. He will not bow down before India or Pakistan or America or any other nation. Let them get this fact straight!"

Sheikh Abdullah is no fool. He knows what he is talking. In fact no Muslim in the present Islamic

world can be called a fool. They all know what they are shouting about. But we had expected Sheikh Abdullah to be different. He had embraced Nehru so many times and with such affection that we had come to consider the tall Prime Minister of Kashmir as a pillar of our nation. That was one man, we thought, we could always rely upon whatever Pakistan and the rest of the Islamic world said about us. We knew that Sheikh Abdullah would never forget nor allow his Muslim Kashmiris to forget that India has rushed to their rescue in their hour of need and sacrificed her soldiers and spent crores in saving and helping Kashmir even though 77.3% of the population of Kashmir was Muslim. We knew that Sheikh Abdullah and the 34 lakh Kashmiri Muslims would never forget that because of them India had earned the hatred and hostility of Pakistan which is poisoning our life today with its bad and hostile neighbourhood.

But Sheikh Abdullah seems to have forgotten all this as also the thousands of garlands which Indian ladies put round his neck whenever the Sheikh hopped about in India from one reception to another during 4½ years of our friendship with Kashmir.

Today after our first democratic elections, in which our secular Congress was returned to power, Sheikh Abdullah finds communalism in India and he does not know what is going to happen to Kashmir in case something happens to Pandit Nehru. He does not realize that besides Pandit Nehru, 4,18,63,178 people in India (45% of those who actually voted) voted for our secularity and returned the Congress to power. After this solid manpower behind our secularity, has Sheikh Abdullah to give any special assurance to his 3.4 million Muslims that India won't swallow Kashmir at some date in future?

And why has the secular-minded Sheikh suddenly become conscious of his 3.4 million Muslims to the exclusion of the million non-Muslims? In India we are more conscious of the interests of our 40-million Muslim minority rather than of the 300-and-odd-million Hindu majority. In fact we practise secularity with a vengeance that often makes the Hindu majority suspicious of our rulers' intentions. Are Indians communal-minded or is the Sheikh getting communal?

India has the third largest Muslim population in the world—Indonesia having 70 million and Pakistan coming next with 43 millions. And to the 40 million Muslims in India, our constitution guarantees complete political freedom and equality in law, prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth and secures equality of opportunity in matters of trade, profession and employment.

The Constituent Assembly which prepared India's secular Constitution had no less than 45 Muslim members in the house. The new Parliament will have over 35 Muslim members elected on adult franchise without reservation of seats which means that all these 35 Muslim members have been elected by the Hindu voters.

The Indian fighting forces, the army, the navy and the air force, are replete with Muslim officers and the rank and file. So are the administrative services and the police force of the country. India's Education Minister Maulana Azad is a Muslim and so is

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, our ex-Minister of Communications.

In the field of education, apart from the hundreds of Anjumans, the Aligarh University, the Osmania University, the Darul Ulum and numerous educational and cultural institutions of Muslims receive generous annual grants from the Government thus encouraging education amongst the Muslim masses. Hyderabad, once the largest native state in India, has the Nizam, a Muslim, as the Rajpramukh.

All the Muslim mosques and 'darghas' of Muslim saints are intact in India and protected by the State and not only are the Indian Muslims allowed full freedom of worship but the Muslims of Pakistan are also permitted to visit the different 'darghas' in thousands during the Urs days.

When 40 million Muslims live under such conditions in India how does Sheikh Abdullah smell communalism in India? And what better guarantee does the Sheikh want than India's secular Constitution which 360 million people of the country have given to themselves?

In the face of these facts, it is at once unjust and monstrous for Sheikh Abdullah to express his fear that India might swallow Kashmir if something happens to Pandit Nehru. It is a calculated slander of the Indian people in the right royal Pakistan style by a man who does not display much of secularism when he talks of only "convincing the Muslims of Kashmir" to the exclusion of non-Muslims in Kashmir.

What is to prevent such a changeable man from joining Pakistan some day seeing that Pakistani leaders have welcomed Sheikh Abdullah's speech and said, "Sheikh Abdullah has finally seen the light." Actually an attempt to negotiate with the Muslim League was made by Sheikh Abdullah when he had sent G. M. Sadiq, the present President of Kashmir's Constituent Assembly, to Pakistan at the time of the partition on behalf of the National Conference. With Sheikh Abdullah now threatening that if no heed of his warning is taken in time, the union of Kashmir with India may be destroyed, it is now time India began to suspect Sheikh Abdullah of fostering rabid communalism in Kashmir. How else could these utterances be described?

This man wants that India should take all the responsibility of Kashmir's defence, communications and external affairs and give grants and loans to raise the standard of living of Kashmiris but should have no voice in Kashmir's internal affairs. On the other hand Kashmir's representative in Indian Parliament will have a say on all Indian affairs and the right to vote on them. That is one way dictatorship characteristic of all Muslim rulers.

And forgetting all the fraternal embraces he gave to Nehru, this tall man of Kashmir with a final bravado states: "Sheikh Abdullah does not fear anyone in this world. He will not bow down before India or Pakistan or America or any other nation. Let them get this fact straight."

Yes, we have got this fact straight after sacrificing the lives of thousands of our jawans and spending crores of rupees on Kashmir. And the fact is that after all is said and done, Sheikh Abdullah is just another Muslim politician.

After this spectacular performance by a man whom we saved, fed and helped to a throne, it will be useless to expect any decency from the Muslims of Pakistan in their propaganda against India and Indian people.

We wonder why those two pillars of our secularity, Maulana Azad and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, observe sphinx-like silence over the ingratitude of Sheikh Abdullah and all the anti-Indian propaganda of Pakistani Muslims? We know that the going is good for them at present but should they not protest at least against "Naya Nishan," the Pakistan play, which heaps abuse on the head of Pandit Nehru, the greatest champion of Muslims in India? Never mind Vallabhbhai Patel Azad and Kidwai had never liked him much and Vallabhbhai is now dead to be dangerous any more.

We have nothing now to learn from all this. Nor have the people of India to learn anything new. Millions in this country are convinced that history will repeat itself where such Muslims are concerned. But Nehru the man who wrote "Glimpses of World History," may learn his lesson at the feet of Sheikh Abdullah and remember it while vomiting his old bile against the imaginary communalism of Hindus in India. If he does that he will have served his country better.

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This Battle Of Languages Must End

By J. K. Dhairyawan

IT was a happy idea on the part of the *Indian Libertarian* to have thought of bringing out a Special English Number. The *Indian Libertarian* has the unique distinction of having blazoned the slogan, "Make English the Lingua Franca of India" on its cover page. In the welter of the clash and the battle of languages that is going on in the country—the needless and useless controversy over Hindi versus English—it is clear to any sensible Indian, and more so to the Indian educationist that both in the interest of progress and solidarity of the nation, English should continue in its present position as the compulsory medium of instruction at the University stage and in the High Schools, and also as the language of inter-State and Central Government administration. To talk of replacing English in both these fields by Hindi, a definitely underdeveloped and backward language, foreign to the non-Hindi parts of the country, which comprise more than the Hindi-speaking people in the country, is at once an act of tyranny and madness which New Delhi will be guilty of, if it falls a prey to the campaign of the Hindi maniacs.

CUTTING THE GROUND UNDER OUR FEET

The fact that in a moment of unguardedness, the Constitution makers have decreed that Hindi should be the *lingua franca* of the country, should not be taken too seriously. If a cool, dispassionate consideration of the claims of English and Hindi are gone into, it will be clear to the impartial person that English stands supreme in its position. The hasty and fallacious argument that English is a foreign language to India falls to the ground, when one considers that ALL educated Indians are fully conversant with it, that our present system of government and the parliamentary institutions that we have established in the country, all owe their being to British inspiration and that our judicial and executive administration is also based on the British model. In the circumstances, to oust English from the country, as the Hindi maniacs would like to do, is to cut the ground from our very feet. In the long course of the history of our nation, if the Dravidians could accept VOLUNTARILY

(Continued from page 6)

(it is said) has not entailed the abandonment of international infiltration through local communist parties. So the free world is at liberty to carry on its propaganda war in favour of universal democracy and human rights. This should be done on a far greater scale than at present. As Mr. Gaitskell said after the Hungarian uprising, let us make every person in the world realise the monstrous character (self-confessed vide Khrushchev's attack on Stalin) of communism as a social and political system.

World partnership in world reconstruction, and a crusade for democracy are the twin aspects of the answer to the challenge of the Sputnik that has any chance of success.

Sanskrit as one of their languages on ITS OWN MERIT, and if people in North India could very well consider Persian as ONE of the Indian languages during the days of Muslim rule, there is NO JUSTIFICATION to style English as a FOREIGN language WHEN THE PRESENT GENERATION OF INTELLIGENTSIA in the country knows it so well. It is the height of stupidity, as Shri-Rajagopalachariar says, to disown the rich heritage of English that Indians have acquired due to our association with the British for nearly two centuries. The British rulers may have left us, but there is no justification for us to throw away our heritage of English which we have acquired over years.

Apart from this legitimate ground of acquisition, there are equally strong and fundamental reasons for the retention of English as the medium of instruction throughout the country, both at the high school and the university levels, and as the language of administration for the Central and inter-State relations. That the Hindi language is backward and deficient, both for the purposes of instruction as well as for administration, is conceded even by the most ardent of Hindi enthusiasts, but they insist on Hindi because, according to their narrow outlook, English is "foreign" and NOT Indian. But they have no answers to the great harm that the replacement of English by Hindi would do to the solidarity and integrity of the nation, and the chaos and confusion that will ensue in the administration, as a result of the introduction of Hindi in place of English. There is no denying the fact that modern India is the outcome of English education, and that Freedom Movement was the direct result of a generation trained in English, with ideas of democracy and freedom derived from the knowledge of English literature and English history.

THE LANGUAGE OF FREEDOM

No less a patriot than the late Lokamanya Tilak and his contemporary Agarkar have called the English language as the "milk of the tigress". To both Tilak and Agarkar, English language was the inspiration for their movements for the political and social revolutions in the country. Both of them had the highest respect for Indian tradition and Indian history, BUT BOTH WERE HONEST enough in admitting that their ideas for political freedom and for social revolutions were the result of their drinking deep at the fountain of English Muse. They compared English to the "milk of tigress" meaning thereby that the knowledge of English made men into He-Men.. into lovers of freedom and of liberty. So much for the wild and reckless charge against English that it is a sign of servility and of slavery. Far from it, it is the language that has opened the modern world of enlightenment, of science and of technology to India, and put India amongst the progressive community of nations. From the days of Ram Mohan Roy to Mahatma Gandhi, and

from Swami Vivekanand to Aurobindo, the makers of modern India owe their greatness, as much to their intrinsic worth as to their knowledge of English. Modern India minus English is unthinkable.

MACAULAY'S PROPHECY COMES TRUE

While on the subject of English education in India, it is very often wrongly quoted that the Father of English Education in the country, Lord Macaulay, had only the idea of manufacturing Indian clerks — men versed in English who will serve to fill the lower ranks of the British administration of the country. That may be one of the ideas of Lord Macaulay, but it must be said to his credit that he had also foreseen the day, when Indians trained in English, with their broader outlook and their association with the political ideas of freedom and liberty, would one day demand the same British institutions for the country. In a memorable speech in the British House of Commons, long before he had set his feet on the Indian soil, Lord Macaulay had thundered:—

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambitions? Or do we mean to awaken ambition, and to provide it with no legitimate vent? It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European languages, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. Whenever that day comes it will be the PROUDEST DAY IN ENGLISH HISTORY. The sceptre may pass from us. Victory may be inconsistent to our arms. But there are triumphs that are followed by no reverse. *These triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.*"

Verily has Lord Macaulay seen the advent of the year 1947 when the British Labour Government transferred the reins of government PEACEFULLY into Indian hands. Here was the triumph of which Macaulay had spoken in the House of Commons. Every word of his has the ring of prophetic vision.

OUR DEBT TO ENGLISH

It is English education that has cemented the different parts of the country, it is English education that was responsible for the growth and development of the Freedom Movement, and it is the British administration of law and justice, and of a central administration that forms the core and the backbone of the Free India of today. We will only be denying these three factors that go to bind India together, if we discard the heritage of English. The talk of carrying on the administration and education in the language of the people, if done so in Hindi, has neither justification nor validity. Hindi may be the language of a single largest unit of the Indian people, but it is NOT the overwhelming part of the people. According to the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, the non-Hindi languages are spoken by 174,028,284 people as against nearly 150,000,000 Hindi speaking people.

Here, too, the claims of the Hindi maniacs, that Hindi is the language of the greater part of the Indian people, does not bear scrutiny of facts. Again Hindi is definitely an under-developed language compared to other regional languages like Bengali, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, or Gujarati. Even so, late as a few years back, it had no standard grammar nor even now has it adopted standard punctuation marks as followed in Bengali, Marathi or Gujarati. What is more, it has a very limited and poor literature, mostly of the religious or Bhakti type and no patriotic or historical literature. As for literature on Democracy or Freedom it is a complete blank. Such a poor language has been accepted by the Constitution makers as the future *lingua franca* of the country. No wonder the non-Hindi section of the Indian people look upon this move of New Delhi as an imposition, and an anti-democratic act. Already many patriotic persons-in the South have sounded the note of warning, including Congressmen of the stature of C. Rajagopalachariar and Mr. K. M. Munshi, a former President of Hindi Sahitya Parishad. In the circumstances, New Delhi authorities should seriously postpone the imposition of Hindi all over the country in the teeth of popular sentiment, as well as the reasoned arguments against Hindi by wellknown educationists and authorities on matters educational.

The replacement of English by Hindi is a double-edged weapon that will at one stroke rip open the country into divisions and put back the clock of progress of the nation by shutting the English world of thought and ideas, of scientific progress and technological advance, from the Indian people. It will be the beginning of a relapse into the Dark Ages of the eighteenth century when India was steeped in ignorance and superstition. With the binding force of the English gone there are every chances that the country would once again relapse into petty parochial principalities. In a way, this controversy between English and Hindi actually resolves into one between Hindi and the regional languages. When English is off the scene, there will a free-for-all tussle between the Hindi fanatics and their counterparts, the regional language maniacs. Already the Language Commission, presided over by the late Mr. B. G. Kher, former Chief Minister of Bombay, is out. Apart from the fact that the report of the Commission does not solve the tangle of the English versus Hindi, it lays open the field for a battle royal between Hindi and the regional languages. Quite needless, it stresses the necessity of Hindi as the *lingua franca* as also the necessity of replacing English, but it does not give any cogent reasons for arriving at this decision. However it goes out of the way, when after conceding that Hindi shall be the national language, it also states that the regional languages shall be the media of instruction at the university stages as also the language for examination to the Union Services. The Commission also lays down Hindi for Hindi-speaking candidates and English for non-Hindi candidates. The Commission has not solved the problem but has, by accomodating the regional languages, complicated the issue. And this was not surprising, since those who know the late Mr. Kher did not expect any thing better than what he has recommended. He was a man, who was

in the habit of agreeing with both sides of a controversy, and having NO opinion of his own. Like Sir Roger de Coverly he has produced a report that says that "much can be said on both sides of the question and I have no opinion of my own."

GANDHIAN HANG-OVER

This whole muddle over the question of national languages stems from the Gandhian hang-over in our national life and amongst those who are in seats of power. Like the fanatic Muslim who stands by the *Koran*, Gandhites swear by the Mahatma; because Gandhi had stated that Hindi should be the national *lingua franca* it shall be so. That many of the Gandhian fads have no roots in reality they do not care to ponder over. If Gandhi has to be taken seriously, with his sheet anchor of "non-violence", then it is the first duty of the Congress Government to do away with our Defence Services — the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. But no man in his senses thinks of an India without the Defence Services, fully armed and equipped to meet any national emergency. If Gandhi has to be taken again seriously, then ALL the talk of modern industrialisation is out of question. Yet the Congress Government is wedded to the second Five Year Plan and State industrialisation. The fact of the matter is that the Congress Government have no clear cut ideas of the needs of the nation, and have no experience of administering a modern state. They are religiously wedded to vague Gandhism, and they are emotionally and sentimentally carried away by the communist showpieces of Soviet Russia.

"INVITED TROUBLES"

The trouble over this language controversy stems from this Gandhian hangover, and the inability of the Congress rulers to come to grips with realities. The whole 10 years' record of the Congress Government is strewn over with right decisions taken at the wrong

moments, and perhaps after they are too late. It has been the same with the reorganisation of the States, the disintegration of the Nizam's Dominions, the question of Bombay, and the Hindi agitation in the Punjab. All these are "invited" troubles, due to the vacillation of the Congress rulers and their lack of realism. This attitude is again displayed over the question of a national language for the country. Looked from all points of view—from the efficiency of the administration, the unity of the nation, the place of English as one of the foremost international languages in the world, the undoubted mastery of English by the majority of the educated classes in India and the fact that it contributes as a binding force in the sub-continent, ALL point to the fact for the retention of English as the *lingua franca* of the country. This is a self-evident fact, and it does not require any crutches or artificial aids of "commissions" and "inquiries" to disprove a fact that is written large on the face of India. To refuse to face a fact, that stares you in the face, is to invite disaster. To refuse to see that the replacement of the English language by Hindi, in the present set-up of the administration and in the present state of the progress of the nation, is fraught with numerous dangers, involving even the unity and solidarity of the nation, built over the last 150 years, is to take a leap in the dark. It is to be hoped, that even so late in the day, wisdom and realism will dawn on the Congress rulers, and they will maintain the *status quo* as regards the role of English in the country. False sentiments of narrow chauvinism and Hindi frenzied patriotism will not stand in the way of a truly national solution of the question. English must continue to be the *lingua franca* of the country. This battle of languages should be ended immediately, in the interest of national unity, national progress and national development.

Hindi: A Reasoned Protest

The following is taken from a statement by the Association for the Advancement of the National Languages of India

WHAT the Recommendations of the Language Commission aim at:

That Hindi be recognised as the only official language of India, and ultimately the only common language of political, administrative and educational affairs;

That English be eliminated as early as possible;

That Hindi be made a compulsory subject of study throughout the Secondary School course in all non-Hindi areas;

That, after 1965, all-India Service examinations be conducted in Hindi and English, with the ultimate objective of making Hindi the only medium;

That Hindi be accepted as a medium in the Service examinations of all non-Hindi States side by side with the "regional" language;

That Hindi only be used in the Parliament, and

for the purpose of legislative enactment both in the Centre and the States;

That Hindi be ultimately made the only language permissible in the Supreme Court and the language of judicial verdict in the High Courts, and that Hindi be used side by side with the "regional" language in the lower courts;

That employees in all Central and State Government services be compelled to learn Hindi, and failure to do so be penalised;

That the State take up the work of propagating Hindi to non-Hindi peoples, developing Hindi literature, as well as translating into Hindi an enormous mass of legal, administrative and other literature, to fit Hindi for these various purposes; and

That though non-Hindi speaking peoples (who form the majority of the population) will be obliged to learn Hindi, Hindi-speaking peoples will not neces-

sarily be required to learn another Indian language but, in its stead, a non-Indian language or an additional subject on Humanities.

What these Recommendations mean in practical terms:

The population of India will be divided into two groups: a privileged Hindi-speaking minority who will enjoy better opportunities in every field through the fact of their being born to the language, and a non-Hindi-speaking majority who will find their talents and ambitions thwarted through an inadequate knowledge of Hindi.

Highly developed Indian languages of the North and South will become increasingly unnecessary as a means to material advancement, and for that reason receive less attention in education and from intellectuals even in those areas where they are naturally spoken.

In areas where Hindi is naturally spoken, education, including as it would a non-Indian language or an additional paper on Humanities, will have a content superior to that in non-Hindi areas, where Hindi, an intellectually less serviceable language, will be made compulsory.

The elimination of English in India and the establishment of Hindi in its place will isolate us from world-culture in science, the humanities and technology, and cause regression into orthodoxy, chauvinism and medievalism.

The quality of higher education all over India will be sacrificed.

In the same way as India was divided in 1947 through the insistence of one group on founding a State on *one* religion, so will the Indian Union be divided within itself through the imposition of *one* "regional" language on the entire country. Though Hindi is recommended in the name of Indian unity, no other step is more surely calculated to disrupt the same unity.

Points from Dr. S. K. Chatterji's Dissenting Note:

The recommendations of the Language Commission, if implemented, will bring about the creation of two classes of citizens: "Class I citizens with Hindi as their language, obtaining an immense amount of special privileges by virtue of their language only, and Class II citizens who will be suffering from permanent disabilities by reason also of their language."

Hindi has been proposed as the *official language of India*, but its supporters everywhere go much further than that and describe it as the *national language of India* and the *language par excellence of India*. Some even have started a slogan "Hind, Hindu, Hindi, these three are one".

Khariboli Hindi of prose, which has been made to replace Hindustani or Urdu and which, under the generic name of Hindi, features in the Constitution as the *official language* and aspires even to be the *national language of India*, scarcely existed before 1850, while the other modern Indian languages of the North are at least 1000 years old, and those of the South even older.

The number of "Hindi" speakers has been inflated by improperly combining the figures for Rajasthani, Kosali or Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili, some of which are totally distinct languages.

Many so-called Hindi-speaking peoples are "virtually suppressing their home languages, their real mother-tongues," in favour of Khariboli Hindi, and they are generally unable to appreciate "the passionate love which speakers of Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Gujarati and Marathi, and of the great Dravidian languages, feel for their mother tongues."

The Government of Madras in formulating its language policy in education, making English compulsory and leaving Hindi optional, has put it:

"English provides and Hindi cannot provide direct access to modern creative thought." This is a truth which needs no support and cannot be refuted.

English has now become almost *the common language* of a world-civilisation, and Indians who want English do so because they love their own languages and want their best minds to have full and easy access to world-thought, through the medium of English, so that their own languages and cultures may be enriched further. The desire to retain English arises not out of any perversity or a deficient sense of nationhood, but of a deep humanistic idealism, which sees in English the means to belong to the entire world of Man.

The desire to eliminate English from India arises out of a false sense of national pride.

SOME RELEVANT FACTS

The claim that Hindi is already the *lingua franca* of India is untenable. Bazar Hindi, consisting of a few corrupt words and without any grammar or proper syntax, may be current in many parts, but real (Khariboli) Hindi has a strictly limited sphere of currency.

The claim made in the Language Commission's report (Chap. IV, para 17, p.49) that the Hindi-speaking population constitutes "42 per cent of the total of all population and 46 per cent. of the total population of all persons speaking the languages of Eighth Schedule of the Constitution," is patently misleading, because in the same Report (Chapter III, para 6, p. 28) the combined figures for Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu and Punjabi are given as 42.01 per cent. of the total Indian population.

Hindi was selected as the official language of India, not by a Parliament consisting of properly selected representatives of the people, but by the Constituent Assembly, and by a narrow majority.

One common or national language is not an essential component of nationhood. Switzerland, the world's oldest republic, has three national languages, and Belgium has two.

If Hindi or English is to be learnt by Indians merely as a "tool" language, English, as a tool, will be incomparably more serviceable and powerful, and also give access to modern world culture.

WHAT WE BELIEVE:

Self-determination, self-realisation and self-expression can be achieved through the mother tongue, and the mother-tongue alone.

Since India does not have a natural national language, the artificial elevation of any one Indian language to that position will prove detrimental to all

the other languages (each spoken by millions) and the native culture of each of those language-groups.

The term "regional," as applied to the twelve other living Indian languages listed in our Constitution, with the exception of Hindi, is derogatory and unrealistic. In the sense that it is spoken in one particular geographical region, Hindi is as regional as Tamil, Marathi or Bengali, and German, Japanese or Russian is as "regional" as Bengali, Hindi or Tamil. The persistent use of this incorrect epithet is undermining the prestige of all major Indian languages, including Sanskrit, with the exception, and to the favour, of Hindi.

There is an important distinction between the *national* and *official* language, the former being natural, spontaneous and pervasive, and the latter a formalised product for occasional and specialised use. India has a real need for an official language, as a means of inter-State governmental communication, but to equate it with "the national language" is a fundamental and dangerous confusion.

In keeping with the practice in most civilised countries, a second compulsory language should be taught in Indian secondary schools, and no language can be more advantageous and less expensive for this purpose than English.

It is not possible to visualise a time when India would be able to dispense with the use of a major Western language, as an integral part of higher education, without serious injury to her deepest national interests.

If India has to choose one Western language for general use, the claim of English is too strong to admit of any dispute. Not only is English a world-language with a universal store of translated and original works, but English is already current in India.

If by Indian languages are meant languages spoken by substantial sections of Indians, then English, which is the natural language of the Anglo-Indian community and a section of Indian Christians, deserves to be recognised as one of the Indian languages.

Language is not, as the majority of the members of the Language Commission evidently think, a mere tool or "instrumentality" or means of communication. Language creates thought; its roots go deep down into the unconscious life of the people born to it; it moulds their habits, emotions, feelings, cogitation—everything that constitutes the spiritual aspect of man. To put anyone of our Indian languages in a position of supremacy or create conditions leading to the stultification of most, or any one of them, is a flat negation of the equality of opportunity granted to all citizens by the Constitution.

The preamble to the Constitution speaks of "equality of status and opportunity" for all citizens of India, and more particularly it is laid down in Art. 16, Sec. I of the Chapter on Fundamental Rights that "there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State." The adoption of Hindi as the only official language for pan-Indian purposes will, by offering special advantages to those who naturally speak Hindi, constitute an infringement of the Fundamental Rights.

WHAT WE DEMAND

That each of the fourteen Indian languages listed

in our Constitution be officially recognised as a national language of India, and the term "regional," as applied to the twelve living languages except Hindi, be abolished and replaced by the term "national";

That within each State education be conducted at all stages in the respective national language, as far as practicable, and the respective national language be used in all administrative, legislative and judicial contexts;

That the State Governments and universities be left entirely free to determine the place of Hindi in the educational curriculum at all stages, unhampered by directives or discriminatory measures from the Centre;

That no discrimination be practised by the Central Government in extending facilities to any one particular Indian language in matters of translation from foreign languages, unquestionably desirable in itself;

That all-India Service examinations be conducted in English alone;

That, as soon as and inasmuch as practicable, State Service examinations be held in the national language of the State and in that language alone; and

That English be accepted as the official language of India, to be used in pan-Indian administrative legislative and judicial contexts, with Hindi as a possible alternative medium.

This statement is signed among others by the following gentlemen:

Abu Sayeed Ayyub-Datta, Amlan Datta, (Dr.) Atindranath Bose, Buddhadeva Bose, Hiron Kumar Sanyal, (Dr) Jitendranath Mohanti, Jyotish Chandra Ghos, (Sm.) Kalyani Karlekar, Kazi Abdul Wadud, (Sm.) Maitrayee Devi, Narendra Dev, (Dr.) Prithwis Chandra Chakravarty, (Sm.) Pratima Bowes, Promotho Nath Bisi, (Sm.) Protiva Bose, Pulinbhabri Sen, (Sm.) Radharani Devi, (Dr.) Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, Sonjoy Bhattacharya, Sudhindranath Datta, (Dr.) Sukumar Sen, Vivekananda Mukherji, Hiron Kumar Sanyal, Kalyan Kumar Sinha, Jyotirmoy Datta, 211, Park Street, Calcutta-17.

FROM A LIBERTARIAN'S LIBRARY

THIS POLITICAL FANATICISM

NOTE HOW POLITICAL LEADERS fall out, quarrel, conspire, injure one another in their unselfish efforts to save the country. In the absence of sophistication and modesty, reform notions grow into delusions; their advocates become more and more autocratic; leadership becomes pathological; the desire to help one's fellow men is transformed into fanaticism and tyranny—and societies become authoritarian.

The safe leader is one who understands his place in the world and can thus envisage the place of his fellow men, who can morally respect himself and can thus be respected by others; who has learned to live in peace and contentment with himself and can thus with propriety urge others to do likewise.

To restore the individual to his former dignity as a human being is the urgent need of the day. This, in my opinion, should be the special objective of contemporary education.

—Freeman

EDITORIAL — (Continued from page 4)
with an address, and the latter presiding and delivering an address too. The question is did they do this in their official capacity? If they did so, how does this harmonise with the *secular* nature of the Constitution? If in their unofficial capacity they should have mentioned it. The papers did not report any such mention on their part.

After Buddhism now the Jain religion is to be officially recognised in this way, religions of uncompromising non-violence.

Non-violence or *ahimsa* is the central principle of Buddhism and Jainism. That the Indian Government permeated (at least in sentiment and language if not in deed) with Gandhian principles, which are nothing but Buddhist and Jain ideas, should recognise these religions officially, contrary to the secular character the Constitution is not strange in view of its strenuous preaching of peace to the nations. It would be a good thing if the Government applied a little of their medicine to their own police clashes such as those in Maharashtraian Bombay, in Ramnathpuram Maravar-Harijan riots and in the Ferozepur Jail, where the unfortunate Hindi agitators were set upon so savagely. The gulf between expressed sentiment and overt behaviour is too glaring for the self-respect of the citizen if not that of the authorities!

Dr. Rajendra Prasad defined spirituality as a feeling of identity with all and Dr. Radhakrishnan said that we need an "advance from intellectuality to spirituality." The way in which this word spirituality is used to silence criticism, and as a sort of panacea to cure all disorders of society and individual corruption, is sickening. It is to be wished that these and other savants will analyse and explain in terms that a rational person can understand the meaning of the word *spirit*. How does this differ from "reason"? And how does "spirit" include morality?

SOVIET "DIVINES" AT THE SHOW

The second remarkable feature of this Conference was the presence of delegates from Soviet Russia. One of them was an archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church. The other was from Russian Uzbekistan, a Muslim Divine. So even Indian religious circles are to be penetrated by Communist Fronts?

The Jain resolution that all religions as such imply non-violence and that all religions are one in spirit and aim raised a delicate question. The Muslim Divine demurred to the inclusion of non-violence in the definition of religion as such. He was right because Islam does sanction violence in certain circumstances. A compromise was effected through the intervention of Maulana Hafizur Rahman, the Indian Muslim Gandhian.

HIGHER THAN RELIGION

It raises a large question as to how far religious principles like the identity of *atman* and *brahman*, God as the Father God, as the Creator, Men as brothers on account of such fatherhood and such creation—can be taken to imply absolute equality in everything—wealth, official power, status, intellectual ability.

Also, does religion require governments to abolish the police and the army? What is the relation between religion and the Rights of Man or the preamble to the Constitution? If non-violence is supreme, why does not Nehru abandon Kashmir to the Pakistanis?

To raise such questions is to answer them. It is clear that we need something *more than religion* to solve social and political questions—intelligence and *will power to do what is right*.

PAK-PORTUGAL CO-EXISTENCE

There were questions in Parliament about President Iskandar Mirza's visit to Lisbon and the strengthening of ties between Portugal and Pakistan. Pandit Nehru replied without imparting any enlightenment. The question is not regarding what secret understandings they might have arrived at of which India could not have any direct knowledge. The question is about the contrast between the policies of India and Pakistan. India follows some new-fangled wool-headed policy of universal peace and panchsheel and non-violence, fathering it at the same time upon ancient Buddhism and Jainism. But Pakistan follows the classical Chankyan policy of *mandalas* and alliances, strengthening her position with military alliances with the strong and keeping up a perpetual barrage of propaganda, vilifying India and praising her own righteousness in the centres of power in the world.

President Mirza's visit to Portugal is to strengthen his country's friendship with her on the principle that *the enemy of your enemy is your friend*.

Pakistan's refusal to sign a "no-war" pact with India is, at least honest. She wants to have an unentangled right to wage war with India when it suits her; when India shall have lost all her friends and is helpless—a conclusion that is quite probable from the way she is pursuing her policy of non-involvement. *Non-involvement means being friendless*. Why should any one befriend India without reciprocity in this hard world? Why should India expect that anybody would assist her in her time of trouble when she has not assisted any one in *their* time of trouble? Is justice so colourless and universal that it takes no account of the values of particular nations? But India is not speaking in the name of justice, but of mere peace, as in the case of Hungary. Pakistan is not to be blamed for pursuing her own interests but Indian leaders are emphatically to be blamed by Indian nationals for not taking adequate precautions and pursuing our own interests first and foremost. Charity begins at home.

PAKISTANI RAID IN WEST BENGAL

There is news of yet another Pakistani raid on an Indian village in West Bengal. Pakistani police and military supported the raid in which Indians were shot at and driven away, after which the Pakistanis cut and carried away a lot of bamboos from the jungle. The Indian Deputy Commissioner sent a strong (verbal) protest to his opposite number in Pakistan. As is the practice of Karachi, these Indian "protest" Notes are consigned to the waste-paper basket and this latest one must have met the same fate.

My Idea of A Welfare State

By Prof. B. R. Shenoy

Director, University School of Social Sciences, Gujarat University

The accent of the welfare state is, clearly, on welfare as there can be no welfare state without welfare. The question at once arises, whose welfare does the welfare state aim at achieving? The answer, probably, would be the welfare of the common man. If it is objected that the common man is very hard to find, we would, probably, amend our answer and say that the objective of the welfare state is the welfare of the masses of people, the maximum of well-being of the maximum of people.

At first sight this answer might seem to satisfy the question well enough. But it really begs the question. We have said little more than that welfare is equal to well-being of man. We are still far from formulating the issues. If we wish to be scientific and logically consistent, we cannot run away from certain fundamentals of the problem of welfare. Human well-being is inseparably bound up with the immediate and the ultimate purpose of human existence. We cannot escape the question, what are we here for? Are we here to worship on the altar of man's standard of living? Would it be right to say that the purpose of human existence is to live a life of carefree comfort? Much of our thinking to-day seems to move in that direction.

WHAT IS THE AIM OF LIFE

What has Gandhi to say on the subject? He is always a good and safe guide in these matters. Gandhi had his feet firmly on Indian soil. His thinking went to the roots of our tradition. He has answered the question of what is the purpose of human existence in the Introduction to *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Says Gandhi: "What I want to achieve,—what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years—is self-realisation,... to attain *Moksha*. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this same end" (p. 5). Since it is Gandhi that writes, he means every syllable of what he has recorded. The purpose of all his activities, public and private, political activities not excluded, was the attainment of *Moksha*. This goal of life conforms to the traditional teachings of this land.

The problem of human welfare, of how best to cater to it, is not a recent problem. It is as old as the human race, and, therefore, dates back to the early phase of this *Mantantaric* age when man, with the lighting (activation) of *Manas*, which had been hitherto latent, acquired self-consciousness. Man has been since pursuing the goal of his life, the Compassionate Ones who attained the goal helping the rest in the great task.

Our institutions and our way of life were attuned to it. The attunement was done scientifically and with rigorous logical consistency. Our daily duties and responsibilities on the mundane plane broadly

fall under two categories, the wealth or income acquiring (*Arthic*) activities and the want satisfying (*Kamic*) activities. Since both activities had to be so regulated as to attain *Moksha*, their roots had necessarily to be well-grounded in *Dharma*. For speeding up the inner journey towards *Nirvana*, it is important that we acquire wealth only in consistence with *Dharma* and *Dharma* alone should govern the propensity for the satisfaction of wants.

Where does the State fit into this context? It is obvious that the State has no jurisdiction over the inner changes leading to self-realization, *Nirvana*. But the remaining three, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*, the *tri-vargas*, fall within its purview. The responsibility of the king, who symbolised the State, was to propagate the *tri-vargas*, subject to the over-riding requirement that the *Arthic* and the *Kamic* activities were always conditioned by *Dharma*. It is significant that, under Indian polity, sovereignty lay, not in the people, but in *Dharma*. The concern of the executive wing of the State, the king and his ministers, was to ensure that the rule of the sovereign, *Dharma*, prevailed. *Dharma*, like *Truth*, is indivisible and all pervasive. The state enforced the Rule of *Dharma* in all the activities of the people coming within its ambit, in the administration of justice, in the collection and disbursal of revenues, in the defence of the country, and in every other of its functions and responsibilities.

A state where the Rule of *Dharma* prevails, is a welfare state, the objective of welfare here being the creation, to the extent permissible on the governmental side, of conditions facilitating the attainment of the goal of life by individuals. How far can such a state go in developing its public sector of economic activity, to borrow a familiar phrase of present-day discussion on planning in India? It is relevant to quote here that tradition enjoins an individual to select a vocation which is homogeneous with his nature.

THE ESSENCE OF WELFARE STATE

It follows that under the Indian concept of a (welfare) state each individual should be left free to pursue his lawfully chosen vocation. Free enterprise, subject only to the Rule of *Dharma*, is an essential feature of the economic set-up of the (welfare) state. As the injunction applied to the king and the ministers, it follows, too, that the state, consistently with the Rule of *Dharma*, cannot enter into the sphere of economic activities, which is the sacred domain of the private sector, even if the state was capable (which is a matter of serious doubt) of more efficient production than private firms. The Rule of *Dharma* would restrict governmental activities to public utilities, basic industries (which the private sector is unable to undertake), basic needs of development, industries of strategic importance from the standpoint of defence, and the like. In particular, a policy of indiscriminate

nationalisation of private enterprise was contrary to this doctrine.

MINIMUM STATE, THE IDEAL OF INDIA

This suggests that the Indian concept of a welfare state was a minimum state. It was wholly antagonistic to a garrison police state. The latter rests on violence and *Adharma*; under it the individual is coerced into yielding to the will of the state, which, in practice, means the tyranny of an individual or a group of individuals, who are, for the time being, in possession of the machinery of state.

The concept of a welfare state to-day is linked up with the provision for all citizens of "minimum" standards of consumption. It provides (or aims at providing) minimum standards of food, shelter, education, health and income (either by way of minimum wages or public assistance for the destitute). The minima are a floor below which no individual would be allowed to fall. In an economy with an expanding national income, the minimum standards would be progressively lifted up.

This concept of a welfare state does not necessarily conflict with the Indian concept. It is the responsibility of an enlightened state to provide relief from abject poverty, which causes starvation or such other suffering. Even in the richer economies, there may be people in need of such relief. But how far shall the state go in lifting up the minimum for all? Will it be the responsibility of the state to provide the more unfortunate families of the nuclear age with motor cars; at least scooters, washing machines, refrigerators, telephones, television and radio sets, and the like? Or would we say, that to do so would be going too far. I wish to suggest that this difficult problem may not confront the welfare state of the Indian conception. The limiting condition of the Rule of *Dharma* will prevent the state from acquiring such large revenues as vulgar charity of this character may demand. Already in U.K. the national government acquires over 25 per cent of the national income in furtherance of the concept of the welfare state and in U.S.A. over 30 per cent.

The need for ensuring minimum standards of consumption is great in under-developed economies, like ours, where the level of consumption of even foodgrains by the masses of people is below nutritional standards. But this cannot be done by legislation alone. Indian national income at the close of the First Plan averaged Rs. 23.42 per month, per individual. The corresponding figure for U.S.A. was Rs. 775 and for U.K. Rs. 413. It is not possible to prescribe, with any hope of successful implementation, minimum consumption standards before the physical volume of output would permit such benevolent action.

THE LURKING DANGER

The pressing necessity for a speedy increase in national output has presently riveted our attention on a successful execution of the Second Plan. An overriding emphasis on accelerated economic growth is beset with serious dangers to the welfare of the individual in the sense of maximum freedom to arrange and pursue his own affairs in his own way. *This may lead, step by step, to a totalitarian state, so that, if the tendency was not curbed soon enough, we may be*

cutting at the very roots of welfare in an effort to accelerate the pace of attaining it.

Economic development was a function of invested savings. Savings were both limited and slow to grow in a democratic set-up, where the individual, after payment of tax, had full sovereignty of disposal over income. As habits of consumption changed slowly, savings in the short-run were a more or less rigidly fixed percentage of the national income, the change in the rate of saving responding only to changes in real national income. During the five years of the First Plan period the rate of saving in India rose 6 to 7 per cent of the national income. The rate of investment which this permitted, yielded but a commensurate rate of growth of national income, the rate during the First Plan period being 3.5 per cent per annum.

Communist experience has shown that it is possible to accelerate the pace of progress by an expansion of the public sector to cover the entire economy. The state would, then, take over from the pricing system the allocation of the resources of production among the several trades and industries, such allocation being effected arbitrarily by the Planning Commission. By reducing the allocations to the consumption trades sufficiently, it becomes possible, under this arrangement, to add to the quantity of saved resources and implement a plan of development much more speedily than a democratic set-up would permit. According to official statistics the rate of increase in national income of communist economies varies between 12 to 16 per cent per year. The rate of increase in U.S.A. during the past decade was 4.9 per cent. Under communist technique it may be possible to implement the Second Plan even without foreign aid.

GUIDED BY COMMUNIST ADVISERS

In the formulation of the Second Plan we have availed of the advice of technicians subscribing to the communist philosophy of life. We are not without Marxists in the Administration and among our advisers. Some have advocated, in the interest of speed in production, communist planning under the euphemistic guises of "co-operativisation", "physical controls", and "extension of the public sector."

But to take recourse to this device would be to sacrifice freedom for speed in economic progress. For, the changed conditions will no longer permit free enterprise, a free pricing system, free markets, and, what is most diabolical, freedom of choice of one's own occupation. We will have total planning and a totalitarian state—a garrison police state in the name of planning. Is it possible to strike a via media between these extremes? We cannot surrender our freedom and have it at the same time. The self of matter and the self of spirit can never meet. One of the two must disappear. There is no place for both.

To accept this development would be to extinguish with our own hands the best heritage of this land, which it should be our effort to revive. In the Indian context of poverty, the urgency to raise the ratio of goods to man needs no stress. But shall we do this at the sacrifice of the dignity and freedom of the individual?

What use is that welfare, which ignores the true goal of human life and sets aside the elevating Rule

of *Dharma*. A welfare state, which aims solely at *Artha* and *Kama* (suppressing *Dharma* or leaving it out in the cold), is devoid of true welfare. Our happiness and welfare (and also our greatness) would be in proportion to our success in recapturing and translating into our daily life and activities the *Dharma-pradhan* ideal of life. To think that to do so, we would have to run away from the external appendages of the modern world or of the nuclear age of tomorrow, is to miss the essence of that ideal. Consistently with that ideal, our conception of a welfare state would be a minimum state. To quote Gandhi:

"That state is perfect and non-violent where the people are governed the least"

(*Harijan*, 12 1940).

To summarise, the objective of life, was the attainment of self-realisation (*Nirvana*). The changes, inner to man, which characterised the progress toward *Nirvana*, were beyond the jurisdiction of the state. But they were attained in the course of the mundane activities of man. These fell broadly under two categories, *Arthic* (wealth or income earnings) and *Kamic* (want satisfying). The objective of life being *Moksha*,

both activities were rooted in, conditioned by, *Dharma*. These three, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*, (the *Thriyugas*) fell within the ambit of the state. Their propagation was its sole purpose.

Sovereignty, according to Indian polity, lay, not in the people, but in *Dharma*. It was the responsibility of the king to enforce the Rule of *Dharma*. A state where the Rule of *Dharma* prevailed was a welfare state, the objective of welfare being to assist man in the attainment of the goal of life. The welfare state of the traditional Indian concept was, thus, a minimum state. It was wholly antagonistic to a garrison police state. It did not conflict with the present-day idea of a welfare state guaranteeing minimum standards of consumption. In the excessive importance we are paying to the successful implementation of the Second Plan there was inherent danger to this concept of the welfare state as, insistence on the Plan, might, lead, step by step, to the adoption of totalitarian devices for raising the requisite resources. To prevent this we have to be constantly on the vigil.

—From a speech at a symposium on "My Idea of A Welfare State" at Bharatia Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

This Is Pakistan

By Al-Kafir

WITH the appointment of the new Prime Minister, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, the situation in Pakistan has taken a most intriguing turn. This is almost obvious from the circumstances surrounding the formation of the new Government by the new coalition consisting of the Muslim League, the Republican Party and the Krishak Sramik Party. The coalition will have an absolute majority in the National Assembly so long as it remains a coalition and so long as the have-nots among the members of the parties to the coalition continue to support it. But even ignoring the latter factor as a possible cause of the dissolution of the coalition in the near future, the question remains: How long can the three parties work together? And an even more intriguing question is: Is it intended by the powers-that-be that they should work together?

The Republican Party gave up its demand for the prime ministership though it is not only the President's Party but also the largest party in the National Assembly. On the issue of the dismemberment of the one-unit also, the Republicans have conceded the point that the subject will not be raised till the general elections. (It will be recalled that it was on this issue that the Republicans broke away from Mr. Suhrawardy; perhaps it will be truer to say now that they were made to break away from Mr. Suhrawardy so that he may be forced to resign.) An even more violent departure from their ideology is indicated by their somersault over the issue of joint electorates, which they have now agreed to oppose. Thus nobody stands more discredited than Dr. Khan Sahib after

the formation of the new coalition. But, if he has with his eyes open chosen thus to have himself discredited, there must be some solid reason for it, for Dr. Khan Sahib is no fool.

APPARENT VICTORY

Invited to join a coalition the Muslim Leaguers were in high spirits and demanded that the Republicans, who are all ex-Muslim Leaguers, merge with the Muslim League, the parent body. This condition, which amounted to an invitation to the Republicans to commit suicide, was naturally not accepted. And the two rival parties in West Pakistan may be expected to continue jockeying for positions leading to exclusive power while they are supposed to work together and in harmony as a team.

Though apparently the Muslim Leaguers have won, victory would appear ultimately to favour the Republicans. Joint electorates, the latter must have realised, were unpopular in West Pakistan and adherence to the principle must have cost them votes in the forthcoming general elections, votes which might prove of decisive importance in their battle with the Muslim League. Every thing has now to be considered in the context of the elections, and under that heading the scoring out of joint electorates is good ridicule for the Muslim League. It is true they have promised not to raise the issue of one-unit till the general elections, but it is certain that it will be the only issue, atleast in the Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind, where the dismemberment of One Unit holds the key to success in the elections. Thus

in these erstwhile provinces the League has little chance, if it continues to take its stand on One-Unit.

GENERAL ELECTIONS

But are the elections going to be held at all? If so, when? The scheduled time is November, 1958—a year hence. But the reversion to separate electorates, agreed upon by members of the coalition, means doing over again much of the work already done by the Election Commission. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that Mr. Chundrigar is sincere in his observation that the change-over to separate electorate need not delay the elections. As against this optimistic forecast, Sheikh Mujabir Rehman, General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League, is of the opinion that the change will delay elections by at least two to three years, or even a longer period. Since the whole election plan has so far been based on joint electorates, it is only to be expected that the passing of the necessary legislation and the consequent changes to be made in the electoral plan, including delimitation of constituencies, will carry the general elections much farther than November, 1958.

Upholding this view the *Civil and Military Gazette* says, "Certainly, much of the Election Commission's work will have to be undone and started again," and, referring to the new Prime Minister, "his promise of polling next year does not square with probabilities." The *Pakistan Times* also observes that, "restoration of separate electorates now is bound to result in the postponement of the elections beyond November, 1958," adding:—

"No greater calamity than this can befall democracy in its present formative stage. It is undeniable that the consequential chances that will be needed in the electoral rolls and in the demarcation of constituencies will involve serious delays, even if the complicated mechanics of separate polls does not demand extra time for preparation. Ability to hold the elections at the latest by November, 1958, constitutes the most crucial test of the democratic bona fides of the new Government in our present circumstances. When it enters upon office it will do well to remember that no political gains it might secure will recompense it adequately for the consequences that will flow from a failure in this test."

SELFLESSNESS

But will there be general elections at all? Is it the intention of the powers-that-be that there should be general elections? Had that been the case, Mr. Suhrawardy would not have been practically dismissed but would have been given a chance to prove his contention that the majority of the National Assembly was with him. "Most of the ministers are familiar figures on the merry-go-round of Central politics," says the *Civil and Military Gazette*. "Their being in office means that the old order of things will continue. In fact intrigue is likely to reach new heights because of the oddly assorted components of the coalition. The situation bristles with contradictions. The Prime Minister had pledged himself to non-interference with the one-unit until the people have passed their verdict at the general elections. Yet he has given office to Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur who puts disintegration of the western province above the necessity for elections."

We must remember that the Republican Party is

the President's Party. That with the largest number of members in the Assembly it should have permitted a Muslim Leaguer to become Premier and also bowed to the League in the matter of electorates and, temporarily, on the issue of one-unit is most significant. Why this sudden display of selflessness? As the famous Urdu poet Ghalib observed:

Bekhudi besabab nahin, Ghalib!

Kuchh to hai jis ki parda dari hai!

(This selflessness, O Ghalib, is not without some good reason. There is something which is being hidden).

THE SECRET

What then is the secret of it all? The reader must remember that, in an unguarded moment, Dr. Khan Sahib had blurted out that what Pakistan needed was not general elections but revolutionary council, such as Egypt has. He was obviously speaking out the President's mind as the President's best friend, even more disgusted than the President as he frankly has been with the greed and selfishness of Pakistan's politicians. Read what has been happening in Pakistan of late with that desire of the President in mind the situation begins to explain itself.

Giving expression to concern at the dictatorial trends in Pakistan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, said the other day that "intriguers" had brought the country to a stage where no capable man was willing to accept a ministry because there he found "hell". Nevertheless Mr. Chundrigar was found anxious to shoulder the burden. What kind of a man is he?

"The ablest and most experienced of prime ministers would be taxed to the utmost in maintaining harmony within a four-party coalition and in keeping ministers to their jobs and away from intriguing," says the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Mr. Chundrigar does not possess the necessary qualities. Nothing in his record suggests that he will be either a strong prime minister or a forceful leader of a very mixed team. Wittingly or otherwise he will find himself following the line of least resistance—and so contributing to deterioration of the parliamentary system."

LOGICAL END

The Muslim League, as the paper points out, has no reason to congratulate itself on "return to an insecure share in unsecure power..... It has lost the opportunity of rehabilitating itself. League leaders in office will be mainly concerned with keeping themselves there. Out of office they might have devoted themselves to an honest and strenuous electioneering campaign that would have again won them a place in the people's hearts. The League leadership has been hoodwinked by more skilful negotiators. It has grasped the semblance of power instead of stepping opposition and struggling for the substance... Neither Pakistan nor the democratic way of government has been strengthened by Mr. Suhrawardy's going and Mr. Chundrigar's arrival, 'while the common man,' according to the daily, "is losing respect for politicians and faith in the present political system."

But, one is entitled to ask, is not that exactly what is intended? The *Civil and Military Gazette* does not pursue the one to understand the President Mirza and his advisers, among whom is the redoubtable Dr.

Khan Sahib, do not understand what they are doing? The prime ministership of Chundrigar, the hated Muslim Leaguer, can be understood only as a trap and on no other basis. After his failure which in certain—no man can succeed as leader of such a heterogeneous team—the President will be able to tell the country that he has tried all possible combinations and all parties and they have all been found insecure and corrupt respectively and that the only way out is straightforward dictatorship through a revolutionary council.

If then the common man is losing respect for politicians and faith in the present political system, he is doing exactly what President Mirza and Dr. Khan Sahib want him to do. The doings of the Chundrigar team may well provide the last straw on the common man's faith. So much the better for the dictatorial President.

As if that was not enough, the tendency in Pakistan for goondas of rival parties to disturb the others'

public meetings, which has been increasingly in evidence of late, points to the necessity of a dictatorial regime coming into power at an early date. It may well be that the goondas who disturb meetings belong to no particular party and are from the scene of corruption of the ruling cliques. If that is so, the possibility of the coming(?) general elections being reduced to a meaningless farce cannot be ruled out altogether. But it is, indeed, becoming doubtful whether the elections can be held before the necessity for imposing absolute dictatorial rule over the country becomes imperative.

To crown all, the Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan threat that he would start a campaign of civil disobedience if the resolution to disintegrate the One Unit is not placed before the National Assembly before the general elections. That is of course as it should be but the coalition agreement is different. It seems as if Allah Himself is on the side of President Mirza.

—Organiser

ON THE NEWS FRONT

THE RUSSIAN "SPUTNIK" AND THE FREE WORLD HANGOVER

The British journal, the *Observer* reports the further American reactions to the Russian launching of the earth satellite.

"Now that the first shocks from the Russian satellite announcement are over this great Soviet achievement is being viewed more or less in perspective here, and reactions falling into recognisable patterns.

"Scientists and military experts accept that the satellite does weigh over 180 lbs because the Russian scientists usually do not make empty boasts. It is also accepted that the satellite was put into its orbit by a type of rocket usable in inter-continental ballistic missile, a good way ahead of anything the Americans yet have. This rocket was an accurate instrument with good directional properties and it is conceded that these developments put the Soviet Union in a position to be first by many months, at least, in establishing eventually a satellite that will observe the earth by radar and report to Moscow—a private Russian open skies plan.

"The scientists, more gloomy than the military, are inclined to think that the Russian lead will become greater because the Soviet Union produces more scientists each year, has an educational system geared to the production of scientists and offers tremendous inducements to attract the best brains into scientific activities.

"Prof. Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, said the Russian superiority in the sciences for the next decade is now irreversibly established.

Satellite, A Product of Socialism

The Cambridge-trained Soviet physicist Peter Kapitsa—for more than 10 years assistant to Lord Rutherford, the father of the Atom bomb, attributed earth satellite and atomic achievements to the advantage of working "under Socialism".

Dr. Kapitsa, speaking over Moscow Radio, claimed that it was the Soviet Union which was the first to use

the atomic energy for peaceful purposes as well as being the first to launch the satellite.

More Soviet "Moons" To Come

Soviet scientists, overjoyed at their success in launching the earth satellite, announce that "very soon" they will launch heavier and larger "moons" equipped with more heavier and varied range of recording instruments.

American "Snark" Against Russian "Sputnik"

Chicago: The American Air Force announced that its "Snark" guided missile reached a target 5000 miles distant, with "unprecedented" accuracy.

"Snark" flight was the world's first demonstration of a true inter-continental missile capacity, said the announcement.

Equipped with a mock thermonuclear warhead the "snark" proved that it will reach a target anywhere in the world with a real thermonuclear warhead.

The "snark" resembles a pilotless bomber and is slower than a ballistic (non-guided) missile.

—UPI

DR. SALAZAR'S "VICTORY— TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF STALEMATE"

The *Irish Times* in a leaderette captioned, "Dr. Salazar's State" writes: "Portuguese General Elections generally resulted in a complete and absolute victory for Dr. Salazar who has been Prime Minister since 1932. The outcome was a foregone conclusion... The futility of fighting an election in order to have voice in powerless Parliament is obvious....

Portugal is still an imperial Power of some pretensions... the Lords of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and Goa bear heavy administrative responsibility, part of which ought to be the duty of teaching the subject peoples good self-government principles... The mother country in which political parties are banned (the National Union is not strictly a party), in which 20 daily papers are subject to censorship and in which such Opposition as exists is concerned only with the restoration of fundamental

rights at home—such a country is hardly fitted to be the cradle of democracy or the nationalist aspirations of the Asians and the Africans."

The article concludes: "The Portuguese had 25 years of transition, it is surely time for her to mature."

TOTALITARIANISM IN THE OFFING IN INDIA

In the course of a despatch from India, Taya Zinkin, Indian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes as follows:

"If the free world fails to come to India's rescue, India will not go bust; it won't go even communist in the orthodox sense—it is unlikely Mr. Nehru will ask Russia to lend a helping hand; and even were he to ask, it is unlikely Russia would do so. What is possible is that India might go somewhat totalitarian, not through the dictatorship of the proletariat, but through the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. With shortages and war-time economy, there would be even more controls and State enterprises and punishments to enforce the controls and power of the State to direct the savings, private or public.

FATE OF NIZAM'S HOARDS IN LONDON BANK

The *Daily Telegraph* London, writes as under:

"The lawyers in London agreed that the fate of £1,007,940 Hyderabad State Funds depend on the diplomatic negotiations between India and Pakistan. These are unlikely to take place until there is a general settlement of the differences arising from the Kashmir dispute.

"The House of Lords decided on Thursday that the appeal filed by the Nizam of Hyderabad for the money was barred on the ground that any action for its return would have meant prosecuting the sovereign State of Pakistan.

"The sum was banked in the name of the Pakistani High Commissioner in London when Hyderabad was incorporated with India in 1948. It was at a low interest rate in Westminster Bank. The Bank which was the joint defendant in the action brought by the Nizam, cannot release the money until an agreement has been reached....

"The money which formerly stood in the name of the Nizam's Government was transferred by the State's Finance Minister without the Nizam's authority. Agents for the State called on Mr. Habibulla Rahimtulla, the then Pakistani High Commissioner in London, and asked him to accept the transfer in his name.

"Mr. Rahimtulla did so after consulting the Pakistani Finance Foreign Minister. The Nizam's action for the return of the money began in 1954 when the judge upheld Mr. Rahimtulla's objections that any action was barred as he was acting for the Pakistan Government. The case then went to the Court of appeals and thence to the House of Lords.

NEHRU'S BIRTHDAY—THIS PICTURE AND THAT

Over a lakh of school children of Delhi celebrated the birthday of Pandit Nehru with the shouts of "Chacha Nehru ki Jai" and thus congratulated Mr. Nehru on his birthday. After this, in the company of these children Mr. Nehru let fly in the air a number

of pigeons. Then followed a procession and self-adulation of Nehru. This is what has been published in the press.

At this very time the children of the (Sholapur Mill) workers have sent letters to Mr. Nehru informing him, "Our fathers are unemployed and idle (owing to lockout in Sholapur Mills) As a result we are either half-starved or completely starved. We, therefore, pray to you to kindly ask the locked-out Mills to be restarted."

It is quite possible what would the reactions on these letters on Mr. Nehru as well as those on the part of the Congressmen. They will see in these letters partisan politics on the part of the elders of these children.

As it is what the public find is the regimented children show consisting of children of well-to-do and rich parents, well dressed and well powdered, and the hollow display of the love of Nehru for children. Persons like Nehru and Congressmen who advise young men and students to keep away from politics on one hand, are seen engaged in organising children to carry on their politics.

—Maratha

CONFessions BY PAK AGENTS ABOUT SABOTAGE IN KASHMIR

Srinagar: Mehenghi Khan, a Havaldar of the Pakistani Army who was arrested a few days ago near the cease-fire line while he was attempting to plant bombs, has confessed to the Kashmir Police that he was sent by the Pakistan Government to Kashmir to launch a wave of sabotage in the State.

He said that the Government had set up an agency for organising activities in Kashmir with a view to disturbing law and order and disturbing communal harmony.

Two other persons, Khurshid Ahmed and Yehya, who were arrested in Jammu some time back, have confessed that they were members of the Pakistan Intelligence Department and had been sent to Jammu for poisoning water and creating communal unrest.

—P.T.I.

PAK CANAL WATER DUES TO INDIA

Karachi: The Government of India is understood to have urged Pakistan "to make immediate" payment of the latter's dues amounting to over a crore and seven lakhs of rupees for the supply of water in the Indus Canal system.

In a recent communication the Government of India has also stated to the Pakistan Government that the East Punjab Government has been instructed to continue supply of water, to Pakistan for 1957-58 rabi season despite heavy dues.

Indus Canal water is supplied to Pakistan under the 1948 agreement arrived at between the Prime Minister Nehru and the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first Premier.

Reliable sources said that upto September 30 this year Pakistan owed India over Rs. 98,90,000—Rs. 85,47,000 under the disputed account and Rs. 13,42,000 under the undisputed account which ought to have been paid to East Punjab Government.

The Libertarian Movement And The Land Problem

The Libertarian Movement has taken a particular interest in the land problem since the days of Robert Owen in the early decades of the last century. Owen started a community village (like that Gramraj self-government of Vinoba Bhave) in Chio USA called New Harmony. Land was purchased by Owen and the settlers were left free to distribute work and wages (or remuneration) in assembly in a democratic way, as Vinoba envisages the gramsabhas to do. It was a failure as the settlers were too individualistic to agree in regard to work and wages. Josiah Warren, a native American, seized on the defect of the experiment and started his own village settlements basing himself on the rock of individualism. Work was evaluated in accordance with the time consumed and a currency of labour cost and exchange was introduced. This worked for some time in each experiment. The latest of the settlements called Modern Times ran for a more than a generation near New York!

Henry George is another prophet of the libertarianism whose ideas on land run close to Vinobaji's vision. He also felt that land like the other gifts of nature, air and water should be free for man's use. Land should not be annexed as private property. The annexation is the root, he explained in his celebrated book *Progress and Poverty*, of over-riding costs of urban property and of rising prices of manufactured goods and of high interest on capital consequent on the perpetual rise in rents. His suggestion was that the village or city should be the sole owner of land. Its use for agriculture and city office or manufacturing plant should be allowed for a fixed period at a time for rent which will accrue to the community. Any rise in rent owing to the development of the country around will be taxed for its unearned income. Thus private individuals will not be allowed to have the benefit of unearned income. City land will be freed from the vices of speculation and unearned income going to individuals for nothing!

As for agriculture, the Georgian order of things will give land to the tiller on suitable tenure, the community being the sole owner. It may give plots to cooperatives or joint stock societies or to individuals if they have sufficient capital and skill to use them to the best advantage of society. The village will resemble the Gramdan self-government envisaged by Vinobaji.

There is no fear of farmers being reduced to slavery as on communist collectives as the tenure is voluntary and the holder is at liberty to terminate it at will. The principle that there should be no monopoly in the land held by private individuals in common to George and gramdan. It can be rendered workable if the terms of the tenure are fair and afford sufficient incentive to the holder to reap the fruit of what he sows. Land will not be bought and sold by holders.

Book Reviews

LIBERTARIAN ANTHOLOGY

THE LIBERTARIAN ANTHOLOGY: Sole distributors for India Libertarian Book House, Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Price Re. 1.

The purpose of a political anthology is to incorporate poems, essays and aphorisms which will reflect clearly and interestingly the thought, character and outlook of the thinkers concerned. This selection entitled 'Libertarian Anthology' is most tastefully edited. As the name itself indicates, it consists of selections which are representative of the best in Libertarian thought. And having regard to the objectives of this publication, the Editors must be congratulated on undertaking this fine piece of selection.

CRIME AND ANARCHISM

This anthology contains an essay on "Anarchism and Crime" wherein the basic tenets of anarchism are well expressed and attention is drawn to the writings of Proudhon, Sir Auberon Herbert, John Henry Mackay, Tucker, Kropotkin, Tolstoi, Emerson, Thoreau and many others "who stand for freedom". The killing of people is rightly stigmatized as 'Archistic' or authoritarian and which no true anarchist would dream of contemplating at any time.

Dr. Tucker's celebrated paper on "The Attitude of Anarchism toward Industrial Combinations" is fully reproduced. He believes in liberty as the ultimate remedy for all social evils and argues that industrial combinations in themselves do not

constitute the real difficulty but that the baneful effects are felt because of a regime of tyranny and quackery. And he hopes for a time when Liberty would abolish vested interests.

An attractive feature of this selection is a string of quotations and aphorisms culled from the writings of philosophers of different ages and places. Here is an example from Emerson — "Massachusetts in its heroic days had no Government but was an anarchy. Every man stood on his own as governor and there was no breach of peace from Cape Cod to Mount Hoosac and added that "Good men must not obey the laws too well" which is certainly Thoreauvian in its inspiration. Then, there is Gandhi's statement that "the nearest approach to pure anarchy is a democracy based on non-violence" This anthology ends with the ringing declaration of Peter Kropotkin who wished for a society "that does not leave to the policeman the care of its public morality." This is an anthology which will be treasured by every student of libertarian thought.

—A. Ranganathan

MEET KROPOTKIN: Published by Libertarian Book House, Arya Bhavan, Bombay 4. Price Re. 1.

Kropotkin is one of the most authentic voices of philosophical Anarchism in its Russian accent. The first section begins with an excellent biographical sketch of Kropotkin—The Master by Herbert Read.

And what a disciple to explain His Master's Voice! Herbert Read, who is poet, art-critic and the greatest living exponent of anarchism of the modern age all rolled into one tells us of Kropotkin's ancient family background, his important scientific expeditions and work as secretary of the Physical Geography section of the Russian Geographical Society, his epoch-making books such as "The Conquest of Bread". "Fields, Factories and Workshops", "Mutual Aid" and finally his "Ethics" which was an unfinished symphony. Read is followed by Romain Rolland, Baldwin, Holloway and S. Alexander in paying tributes to the Great Philosopher. They make impressive reading but I miss my Gardiner's delightful essay on 'Prince Kropotkin' which is the ablest exposition from the layman's point of view. If Gardiner's essay is included in the next edition, it will enhance the value of this book.

The second section makes inspiring reading, since we get glimpses of his mind. Although he was trained as a scientist and could savour the pleasures of an explorer, he renounced his scientific career. It was a sacrifice since he refused to "live in that world of higher joys when all around me was nothing but misery and struggle for a mouldy bit of bread." But that historic decision took him to another world of thought, of course, through the prison.

The final section is devoted to a bird's eye-view of the world, with Kropotkin himself as the bird. It contains his considered views on a variety of subjects. Whether he deals with the "Economics of Consumption" or "The Revolution", his feeling for the under-dog and his anger against authority learned by his sensitive mind are evident. He hails the French Revolution as a continuation of the English Revolution which helped in the abolition of serfdom and absolutism. His Conception of the Revolution is different from that of a Jacobin dictatorship as well as the present Russian system. This tiny book is an invitation to further studies in Kropotkin's thought and is an introduction to the understanding of the mind of one who was in the words of Herbert Read' "gentle and gracious, a seer, a prophet but above all a scholar who had given anarchism

that faith and that vision, the dignity of a science and the scope of a philosophy of life."

—A. Ranganathan

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC REVOLUTION by Kropotkin, available from Libertarian Book House Arya Bhavan, Bombay 4. Price As. 4.

In this address which he delivered at Paris, he begins with the usual attack on monopoly and the beginning of Socialism begun a little timidly in the name of Christian sentiment and morality and later on in the name of Governmentalism which empowers the Government in its so-called support of the "weak against the strong". The most important point brought out by Kropotkin is that "so long as Communism presented itself under an authoritarian form, which necessarily implies a government armed with much greater power than that which it possesses today in as much as it implies economic in addition to political power, Communism will meet with no sufficient response". And also that "Anarchist Communism maintains that most valuable of conquests — individual liberty" upon which is based economic liberty. Anarchistic Communism is described as the union of the tendencies towards economic equality and political liberty. But this union is not possible through a communistic dictatorship as is abundantly illustrated in Soviet Russia.

—A. Ranganathan

POLITICAL JUSTICE Selections from Godwin's Political Justice, available from Libertarian Book House, Arya Bhavan Bombay 4. Price Re. 1.

When William Godwin's Political Justice" was published in 1793, it alarmed people more than even Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man" But the shrewd Pitt did not foresee any danger in a three guinea publication. If only these "Selections" were published then, it would have given a headache to William Pitt!

Godwin was one of the most powerful thinkers of his generation. The uninitiated reader must be warned however that William Godwin makes difficult reading at the outset. It is very necessary to appreciate the finer points of his austere style as well as his intellec-

tual ancestry since some of his thought bears traces of the temper of Rousseau and Helvetius as well as the pragmatic spirit of Locke. It is for this very reason that I like the idea of having a sketch of Godwin and his time, included in the book.

Godwin is the father of British Libertarian thought and is one of the finest pragmatic exponents of British revolutionary philosophy. His profound contempt for property, (although he helped himself liberally from Shelley's share with an ease that can only be compared with Marx's sponging on Engels) his lack of confidence in day to day administration and distrust of centralized government are well known. Some of the extracts given in this book are his reflections on the Cause of Wars, Government, education, and on property. It will be clear to the readers that he is the arch enemy of dogmatists and no wonder he inspired Shelley and anticipated in certain lines of thought, thinkers of widely differing temperaments like Robert Owen, Francis Place, Kropotkin and even Bertrand Russell.

—A. Ranganathan

SOCIALISM AND STATE by Rudolf Rocker. Price As. 6.

This essay is taken from Rudolf Rocker's monumental survey of "Nationalism and its Relations to Culture" Rocker, the historian of Nationalism, examines the ideas of socialism with special emphasis on the philosophies of Proudhon and Bakunin. His central thesis is that endeavours like subjection of an individual to the demands of an imaginary "Common Will" can never lead to Socialism but must inevitably result in the "grotesque malformation of State Capitalism". On the other hand, he says that "socialism vitalized by liberation logically leads to the ideas of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and their successors" and that can be possible only with "reducing the state's sphere of activity to a minimum". A brochure well worth pondering over!

—A. Ranganathan

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RUDOLF ROCKER. Price As. 6.

This pamphlet gives us a summarized introduction to Rudolf Rocker's famous book "Nationalism and its Relations to Culture." Na-

tionalism is considered as a political religion which leads to the connection between power and culture through the ages, from Moses, Hammurabi and the rule of the Pharaohs to Rousseau, Napoleon and Mussolini. The next discussion is devoted to Western culture in its several aspects until we arrive at the political Science of John Locke. And from Democracy and Liberalism as a starting point Western culture branches out into German authoritarianism and French Radicalism. The narrative is continued till it jerks its way to fascism and Mus-

solini. In the second volume, the so-called race theories come under the steady fire of his scholarly criticism. Even topics like "Genius and the Nation" highlighting the ideas of great scientists and savants and "Art and Nationality" receive detailed treatment. This booklet serves its purpose, that of bringing out the majestic sweep of his imagination, his characteristic German thoroughness and love of detail. A rare combination of historical vision and technical competence!

A. Ranganathan

TWO ON RUSSIA

RUSSIA SINCE 1917. by Frederick L. Schuman. Knopf. 508 pp. \$6.50 **RUSSIA REVISITED.** by Louis Fischer. Doubleday. \$4.

In his highly readable and scholarly one volume history of Russia since 1917, Professor Schuman recalls in a footnote the new famous story that spread in Moscow last year. At the 20th Communist Party Congress, at which Khrushchev denounced the terrorism of Stalin, and cited some of the details, he was confronted with the anonymous demand, "Where were you all this time?"

The First Secretary asked the identity of his questioner, and when it was not forthcoming, sneered, "Now you know where I was."

Readers of Schuman's book will know where Khrushchev was. In 1934, he appeared in the center ring of the Party when he was named not only to the Central Committee but an alternate member of the Politburo.

Before the year ended, the Leningrad Party leader Kirov was assassinated, letting loose the murders, arrests, and suicides that made room for the Khrushchevs. On the eve of Kirov's burial in the Kremlin wall, 31 high party persons in Leningrad and 32 in Moscow were shot, after which there was a continuing wave of arrests and executions.

With the muffled sound of the blood baths in the background, the mid-Thirties were the years in which Khrushchev blossomed as Party leader in Moscow. He shared with Kaganovich the credit for building the subway.

In 1938, as the number of Party

leaders shot and imprisoned moved beyond a thousand and the number in slave labour beyond many millions, Khrushchev became First Secretary of the Ukraine. In 1939, he became a full member of the Politburo, having proved himself in the bloody collectivization campaign.

That is where Khrushchev was working his way to the summit, dodging the bodies that fell like boulders from the hands of the mad giant who sat at the peak.

It has sometimes happened Bulganin afterwards told Khrushchev—as Louis Fischer records in his *Russia Revisited*—"that a man goes to Stalin on his invitation as a friend and when he sits with Stalin he does not know where he will be sent next, home or to jail."

WHY STALIN WAS NOT ASSASSINATED

Reason enough to fear Stalin. But why did they not assassinate him? The question of Khrushchev's whereabouts implies not only he was implicated with Stalin, but that he and others did nothing to end the party's travail. Fischer offers three guesses for their failure.

One, that they were "afraid to rule without him" for Stalin was "skillful, shrewd quick on the trigger, and successful." Two, that the death of Stalin "might have split the leadership," and the "fetish of unity restrained the assassin's arm." And three, that "Stalin's co-workers saw him pushing a gigantic ball up a steep slope to the castle of their desires."

In Communist Russia, as in Nazi Germany, fear of the Vozhd or

Fuehrer was less impelling than the desire to share in his spoils.

Finally, perhaps, in 1953, they did in the apparently mad tyrant. Schuman finds this guess "not implausible." But the story of Russia that he tells does not neglect to make clear that since Stalin was, indeed, the oneman ruler of Russia for twenty years, it must follow that he, perhaps he alone, was also responsible for the tremendous and necessary-albeit costly-industrialization of the country and the unbelievable victory against the Nazis.

These days, when it is useful to remind Russia of America's wartime aid, Schuman makes an interesting point. It is that the vast aid for her defense did not come to Russia until after that nation alone had stemmed the tide. American and other Western aid, it developed, had another effect.

"By the politics of paradox so characteristic of the Twentieth Century, it (aid) became a major factor in the counter attack and in the later subjugation of all Eastern and much of Central Europe by Soviet armies which was no part of the purposes of the Atlantic Powers," Schuman writes.

Then with Russia astride Eastern Europe, the Cold War began between East and West. Schuman has an irritating, although not always challengeable, tendency to equate in principle Soviet "realism" and United States "idealism" in the struggle. But his is no mere record of events. It is a story with a point of view.

While often critical of the West, while often leaning over backwards to avoid the extremes of anti-Communist propaganda, Schuman's well written history also is illuminating.

RUSSIAN RIDDLE IS NO RIDDLE

For example, it has become commonplace to quote Churchill that Russia is a "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." But Churchill did not leave it as hopelessly as that. "Perhaps there is a key," he went on. "That key is Russian national interest.

"It cannot be in accordance with the interest or the safety of Russia that Germany should plant itself upon the shores of the Black Sea, or that it should overrun the Balkan states and subjugate the Slavonic peoples of southeastern

Europe. That would be contrary to the historic life interests of Russia...."

Those who mark Russian intransigence on the unification of Germany might well ponder these words. They might also try using the key to explain why the Russians suppressed the Hungarian revolution so violently.

Louis Fischer retells with deserved emotion the story of the Hungarian revolution last fall, "the most radiant tragedy of our time." Yet it must be clear that the Russian leaders, given their basic interests, and unprepared for sudden changes, had few realistic alternatives.

The weakness of the Nagy regime-contrasted with the strength of the Gomulka regime which was not swept away by the obvious anti-Communist and anti-Russian feelings of the people presaged not merely an independent Hungary, but a hostile one.

The Russian regime, ruler of dissatisfied millions, was less prepared to accept hostility on its border than the United States found it possible to tolerate a Communist penetration in Guatemala. The methods used to dispossess the governments concerned were different in degree, but the question of defense was the same.

Schuman's book is a bigger project than Fischer's. The latter—returned to Russia last summer for the first time following his sixteen year stint in Moscow, 1922-1938, as a correspondent. Fischer's meetings with new and old friends make interesting reading, but much of the material is pure journalese.

"During 1955 a major reshuffle of the top party personnel in public posts....evoked voluminous speculation abroad,

Of course, the fact that such a coalition did, ultimately, send Malenkov to Siberia, in addition to disposing of Molotov and Kaganovich, does not disprove Schuman's version of the original Malenkov resignation as premier—that it was part of a Russian reaction to the rearmament of Germany.

From "The Progressive"
September, 1957.

Letters To The Editor

NEHRU HOLDS THE MIRROR TO HIS FACE

Dear Madam: Mr. Nehru subjected us to another of his sermons. This time he has remonstrated the nation on its passive mind. He says that the mind must be receptive to understand the "individuality of a particular part of our country" and to develop real living contacts with foreign countries.

"Almost all of us without exception," says Mr. Nehru, "live in our little shells and when we travel abroad we carry our shells with us. We see people, monuments, cities and the whole apparatus of modern civilization, and we may be impressed, perhaps, but we seldom go out of our shells and seldom enter into the shells of the other country or the other party. So our contacts remain rather superficial."

We need not say that the generalization is based on one glaring particular instance: Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Nehru was holding the mirror to his own face. He not only refuses to get out of his shell, but also to recognize the shells of others.

Mr. Nehru is a very sensitive man. His irrational attitude towards the West, and particularly the U.S. is due very probably to some off-hand snub administered to him by one of the U.S. officials in an unthinking moment. The whole foreign policy is a manifestation of Mr. Nehru's personal feelings. What reason was there to refuse in that offended manner the U.S. proposed aid? None, except Mr. Nehru's own prejudices. There is no rational answers, and there shall never be, for India to be on antagonistic terms with the U.S.

Mr. Nehru sees everything through his own little shell. In Soviet Russia, he gave vent to his child-like naivete and worshipping attitude by actually bursting into tears. A statesman is no doubt a human being first, but Mr. Nehru appears more a psychopath.

These infirmities and sentimentalism characterize him in nearly all his actions. The Plan is his major dogma. He does not lose a single opportunity to bring home to the subordinates around him and the nation as a whole that the Plan must be seen through. The people around him are so successfully indoctrinated that they actually believe that the people demand the Plan for economic and social improvement. What they fail to realize is that the Plan is hindering social and economic development.

WHAT IS A CLASSLESS SOCIETY?

In this connection, the speech of Mr. Ellsworth Bunker is noteworthy. Mr. Bunker has pointed out that the U.S. has attained what may be nearest a classless society. And this has been done through the democratic method, without high-flown catchwords such as the socialist pattern of society. This should be an eye-opener to us. Provided, of course, we are willing to abandon our little shells and enter into those of the other country. We doubt if Mr. Nehru is capable of that.

What a classless society means is maximum mobility between the various classes. The rigidity of the class-system should go. This is the clearest conception of a classless society. Mr. Nehru had better take note before he lands us into more futile channels by his sentimental attachment to communism. He seems so much in love with the Plan that it is difficult to imagine what he will do when the whole thing is over.

The trouble is Nehru does not believe in group-egos. He thinks that communism is not a group-ego but the highest form of individualism. Even a simpleton would be ashamed of such thoughts. But Mr. Nehru entertains them with all earnestness.

In the first place, communism is as much a group-ego as is organised Christianity, and organised

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Islam or even Hinduism. Secondly, communism is a much lower form of group-ego than Hinduism which makes for an open society. In Hinduism, the creativity of all strata of social life is recognized. In communism, creativity is restricted to just the political sphere. In communism, therefore, the creative minority is the politician, the remaining classes being merely productive.

Lastly, it is the height of absurdity to suppose that the unity of mankind can be brought about by imposition. Communism believes in imposition, it seeks to build a world empire by the method of subterfuge. If Mr. Nehru does want a world state, why does he not lend his services to such agencies as the U.N. who are trying to achieve just that through the democratic method?

Bombay —Kishore Valicha

RUSSIA AND SCRAPS OF USELESS PAPERS

Dear Madam: That the communists never consider themselves to be bound by international ethics or morality in performing treaty obligations or fulfilling their sacred promises or solemn pledges is clear from the following statements of Lenin and Stalin:

V. I. Lenin: "Promises are like pie crust, made to be broken. It would be mad and criminal to tie one's hands by entering into an agreement of any performance with anybody."

J. V. Stalin: "Words have no relation to actions — otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions are other. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron."

G. E. Zinoviev: (Lenin's lieutenant): "We are willing to sign an unfavourable peace. It would only mean that we should put no trust whatever in the piece of paper we should sign."

In its forty year history, the Soviet communist regime has entered into hundreds of international agreements and earned an undisputed reputation for breaking their most solemn pledges.

When the Soviet communist regime abolished freedom of the press as a privilege too dangerous to be entrusted to the people three days after the November 7, 1917 revolution, the people were promised that the decree would be rescinded just "as soon as" the new regime took root but this 40 year old promise still remains unfulfilled. It again violated its sacred pledge to 70 million citizens by ordering a 20 to 40 year freeze on repayment of the vast sum of 260,000 million rubles it has collected from Soviet workers over a period of 30 years.

A Scrap Heap

1. On May 7, 1920, the Soviet regime signed treaty with the independent Georgian Republic, pledging itself to non-interference in Georgia's internal affairs and invaded Georgia on February 12, 1921 and swallowed it.

2. On August 31, 1926, the Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact with Afghanistan and on June 14, 1946, the USSR forced it to cede border territory of Kushka.

3. Sept. 28, 1926, the Soviet Union made a non-aggression pact with Lithuania and invaded it on June 15, 1940 and annexed it on August 3, 1940.

4. On January 27, 1932, The USSR made a non-aggression pact with Finland and invaded it on November 20, 1939.

5. On February 5, 1932, the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact with Latvia and invaded it on June 16, 1940 and finally incorporated it forcibly into her slave empire.

6. On May 4, 1932, the Soviet Union pledged a non-aggression pact with Estonia and invaded it on June 16, 1940 and swallowed it finally on August 6, 1940.

7. On July 25, 1932, Russia signed a non-aggression pact with Poland and invaded it on September 12, 1939.

8. On June 9, 1934, Russia recognised Rumania, guaranteed her sovereignty and finally invaded it on April 2, 1944.

When Soviet Russia's black deeds are so patent and stare us in our face, it is very difficult for us to believe Khrushchev's words and deeds, however much we would like to do so. Russia's adherence to Pancha Sheela did not prevent her from invading Hungary and will not prevent her from annexing any other country also. Deeds must match words. We have had far too many words in the past almost immediately contradicted by deeds. We have to be firm and face all dangers which are very real, and at the same time be ready to play our part in reducing current tension and achieving real peaceful co-existence with the ultimate hope that it will lead to peace.

Bombay S. Bankeshwar

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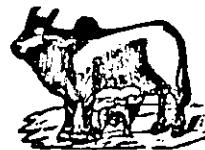
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