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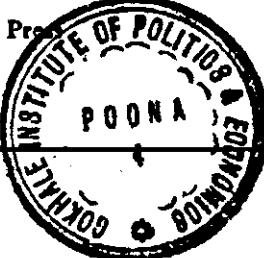
MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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EDITORIAL

THE "SMALL" MAN'S MANIFESTO

THE Swatantra Manifesto is bound to stimulate great interest among the political circles of the country. It is a thought-provoking political document. It will shatter many a fond illusion about Socialism spread by the Congress demagogic and tub-thumping. In the thirties of this century, the unquestioned acceptance of Stalinist and Leninist interpretation of Marxism was the hall-mark of the so called Leftists. Mr. Nehru and Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan were then ideologically no more than camp-followers of the Communist International, despite their minor differences with it. It was only the late Mr. M. N. Roy who dared to challenge some of the Communist dogmas after his release from prison in 1936, and later on also some basic tenets of Marxism itself. His Radical Humanist Movement synchronised with the disillusionment that set in about the Socialist programme of Nationalisation among the Socialist Parties of Western Europe in the Post-war period. But unfortunately for India, with the advent of Nehru as the Supreme Leader of the Congress and the Premier of India, orthodox and dogmatic Socialism came back to the forefront. The Praja Socialists broadly-speaking also supported Mr. Nehru's Socialism with the result that today, they find it very difficult to justify their very existence as a party separate from the Congress. As Mr.

Masani remarked, releasing the Swatantra Manifesto, "Opposition Parties are only satellites of the Congress." It is, however, a moot point whether the Communist Party is a satellite of the Congress or whether the Congress is a Fellow-traveller with the Communist Party.

In the circumstances it is only the Swatantra Party which seems to have struck a totally independent path which, as the manifesto says, is one of "Prosperity Through Freedom."

In this confusion created by the so called Socialist Parties including the Congress the 'Small' Man—the farmer, the small trader and manufacturer, the Professor and the Teacher, the skilled worker and the technician—who in the present Indian conditions, perhaps constitutes the biggest and most effective political force, stands bewildered and perplexed. Possessed of a sturdy commonsense and a deep attachment for his own private property which enables him to look straight in the face of the world with his head erect and high, this Small Man refuses to believe in the 'Socialist Pie in the Sky' to which Nehru's Five Year Plans always point out. But in the absence of an alternative placed before him by any other party, he is led to fall in with the Socialist Pattern which Mr. Nehru dangles before him with a beautiful imagery conjured up in a flowery and deceptive language. He opts out for the Congress,

looking upon it as the least harmful and mischievous of all the Socialist Parties—but not without grave misgivings about his own future and that of his descendants.

Placed as this Small Man is in this most unavoidable position, the Swatantra manifesto should bring a fresh breath of life to his being, rendered anaemic and palsied under the steam-roller of Congress Statism. The Swatantra pledge to end the permit-quota-licence Congress Raj will put some cheer into his sad heart. He need no longer think that despite his valiant efforts and great sacrifices undergone in the past, in the cause of India's Freedom; he is now a person forsaken by both God and Man. The Swatantra manifesto promises to do first things first to make his life a little more comfortable and happy, by supplying him with food, cloth, shelter, clean water and medical aid. It proposes to establish modernised small scale industries which will also absorb a large number of the present unemployed. The peasant proprietor will be restored to his proper place in the village economy. He will be protected from the confiscatory legislation passed by the Congress against his land and property. The burden of land revenue will be reduced to the minimum so as to cover merely the expenses of maintaining land records. Fair prices of agricultural products will be fixed. The party will stand solidly behind him in his fight against collectivisation of agricultural land in the name of joint co-operatives. In the urban area, the small trader and businessman will be financially aided through the Investment Soci-

ties and Trusts and will be encouraged to participate in the work of national production. He will be protected against the unfair competition of the monopolists public and private. The present high taxation, direct and indirect will be considerably reduced so as to encourage initiative and private enterprise of the businessman and entrepreneur. In one word, the manifesto seeks to Plan a balanced development of agriculture, modernised consumer industries and lastly, heavy industries within the limits of Freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and within the reach of the capital and human resources available to the country. The party will give the country "an honest rupee and stable prices which are the best friends of the common man," as contrasted with the ruinous policies followed by the Congress which have led to runaway inflation and steeprising prices.

The agricultural and urban workers will get an adequate wage and will be given opportunities of profit-sharing based on increased productivity. They will be guaranteed Trade Union rights provided the unions are free from political influences.

The common man, firmly rooted as he is, in the soil of his native land, is an ardent patriot and as such he will surely welcome the Swatantra party's determination as expressed in the manifesto to hurl back the Chinese aggression against India and also to remove the unfortunate impression created by the present Congress Foreign Policies that India is biased in favour of Communist countries.

A careful perusal of the Swatantra manifesto will fully convince the Small Man of India that it is primarily and essentially HIS MANIFESTO and as such it may even scare away from the Swatantra Party the Monopolist Big Businessman, the Licence-Holder, the Black-marketeer and the Big Official Bureaucrat and the Ministerial Henchman—who stand to gain much from the present regime. This realisation should draw him closer to the Party and ultimately induce him to rally under its banner and work for its victory in the impending General Elections against the Congress.

Thus alone can he help establish in India a Liberal—Democratic Regime of 'Ordered Progress' as conceived by the great founders and leaders of pre-Nehruvian Congress, in place of the present corrupt authoritarian and tyrannical Congress Raj of Socialistic Chaos.

RUSSIA'S COLONIALISM

The Indian Communists are indignant and furious at the admission that Mr. Nehru made in his speeches in America during his recent tour that Russia was practising Colonialism in Eastern Europe and that this was not the colonialism of the old style familiar in Africa and Asia and this type was even worse than the old type. He also is reported to have remarked that the Russian Colonies were entitled as much as other colonies to

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exercise the right of self-determination. At least for once, Mr. Nehru had to tell the world the bare truth about Russian Colonialism when he was confronted wherever he went in America with a volley of questions about it from journalists and American diplomats. In fact, the Americans personally wanted to put Mr. Nehru on his honour and to test the courage of his democratic convictions by insisting upon his giving a clear unequivocal reply to these questions. In the Indian Parliament Mr. Nehru sometime back evaded a straight reply to such a question by saying that Russia's Power in Eastern Europe could not be strictly described as colonialism. Mr. Nehru knew very well that in America such verbal jugglery would cut no ice and therefore willy nilly he made a clean Confession of his Faith in this regard.

All those who have even a fair acquaintance with this subject will readily admit that all the characteristics of colonialism, e.g. conquest by force, foreign rule, colonisation, economic exploitation—are all predominantly present in the Soviet Domination over the Baltic Slav and German countries of Eastern Europe. As Earl of Home, Britain's Foreign Secretary once said, "In fact the world's three newest Colonies are in Russia—Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia". These countries are simply Soviet's conquered colonies enjoying no independence, no self-government, no human rights declared by the United Nations Charter—writhing and languishing under a worse form of abject subjection and slavery than that prevailing in Angola and other Colonies of Portugal. Economically, they are being exploited so as to serve the needs of Soviet Union and its foreign trade. Those who are at the head of the Governments in these countries are simply Russian Stooges and docile executors of the political decisions of the Colonial over-lords in the Kremlin. The ruthless suppression of the Hungarian and East German revolts by the Russian Army tell the same sad tale. Mr. Nehru has only repeated what Mr. Selvin Lloyd the former Britain's Foreign Secretary had to say about Soviet Colonialism on February 17, 1955, "By its conquests and annexations the Soviet Union has become one of the greatest Colonial Powers, not in the good sense, either."

In the face of these facts one wonders how Comrade Ajaya Ghosh could dare call upon Mr. Nehru to explain to the Indian people his conduct in carrying on a "slanderous campaign" against Russia. In our opinion Mr. Ajaya Ghosh owes an explanation to Indian people for his temerity and shamefacedness in showing such blatant extra-territorial loyalty to Russia.

Notwithstanding our Indian comrades' fulminations against Nehru, Indian public opinion will whole-heartedly endorse Mr. Nehru's recently expressed views on Soviet Colonialism hoping at the same time that "this tide of self-determination" as President Kennedy put it, will reach at last

"the Communist Empire" and Mr. Nehru will lend a helping hand in accelerating the process.

A WELCOME ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

The almost monolithic power enjoyed by the Congress at the Centre and in the States for an unbroken period of fifteen years has had very deleterious results on the working of Democracy in our country. The Congress rulers are becoming increasingly authoritarian and impervious to public opinion even in such matters as China's aggression on India which affect the country's vital interests. Besides, with the economic power that is being increasingly concentrated into the hands of the Government as a result of the implementation of Five Year Plans, the Congress is slowly but inexorably moving towards an impregnable position of absolute authority and domination from which it would not be possible to dislodge it unless the opposition parties woke up betimes to this lurking danger and presented a united front to the Congress in the next General Elections to avert it.

It is out of such considerations that Mr. Rajagopalachari has been urging on all the non-Congress Parties, the urgent necessity of getting together to fight the Congress. It is reported that mainly under his guidance and inspiration an electoral alliance consisting of the D.M.K., the Swatantra, the Forward Bloc and Muslim League has been forged at Madras. The main object of this alliance is to prevent the Congress from taking the advantage in the election from the divided voting strength of the non-Congress combatants. That this alliance is mainly motivated by democratic aims and objects is evident from the fact that it has religiously excluded from its fold the Communist Party which is frankly totalitarian in its outlook beliefs and practices.

It is to be hoped that this alliance will be welcomed by all Democrats and will be followed by similar alliances all over the country. A reduction in the Congress strength in the Indian Legislatures and if possible, its complete rout in the next elections at the hands of the democratic forces at least in some States, is the urgent need of the hour and the non-Congress Democratic Parties will do well to address themselves to this task first and foremost.

HERE AND THERE

President Kennedy recently compared Nehru with Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt the great National heroes of the United States. Opinions may differ on the question whether this was the proper way of respecting the hallowed memories of these great Americans. But there cannot be any doubt that with this high certificate from the President of U.S.A., Mr. Nehru now can, with easy conscience, rapidly march in his "Pilgrim's Progress" towards "State Social-

lism", the very negation of American way of living.

Our Prime Minister Nehru in one of his speeches in America observed that there was a great similarity between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Whoever doubted that Russia is a geographical region as America is and that both these countries are inhabited by human beings? Whoever also doubted that Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Nehru are Premiers of their respective countries and that there is a great similarity between Nehru's Socialism and Khrushchev's Communism? Let us only repeat the Mantra 'Diversity is Unreal, similarity is Real! This world is Unreal, Brahma is only Real.' And lo, World Peace will descend on this wretched Earth!

Mr. Hanumantayya the veteran Congressman and Ex-Chief Minister of Mysore complained at Bangalore that in the Mysore State corruption appeared to be nationalised. He need not be surprised at this. Indian Republic is being fast transformed before his very eyes and with his consent open or tacit, into a Peoples' Democracy through the following three stages:

1. Nationalisation of Industries: by Legislation and demagogic.
2. Nationalisation of Corruption by Licence-Quota-Permit system.
3. Nationalisation of violence by naked and unabashed dictatorship.

India has already passed through the first two stages. Our future Congress Commissars must be impatiently asking one another "When oh, when is the Third coming!"

PROF. RANGA'S APPRECIATION of 'The Pioneering Work of THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN in the Cause of Swatantra'

Dear Friend,

Let me congratulate your valuable Weekly on the pioneering work it has been carrying on for years for the Swatantra of our masses, before the Swatantra Party came to be founded by Rajaji.

Shri Venkata Rao's articles provided the ideological strength for your campaign. You have kept aloft the banner of Freedom and carried on so courageously your virulent and relentless criticism of the Nehru-inspired Statism and Congress brand of totalitarianism. You have had a good fortune of being guided by the Veteran Champion of Freedom, Shri Lotvala of 85 years of age, as we of the Swatantra Party have Rajaji the Sage Counsellor to lead us. I wish to thank you for the valuable help you have been rendering to our Swatantra Party and Freedom Movement of our country.

Delhi, 17-11-1961.

RANGA

Mr. Kalyan Krishnan Nair, a Keral Communist leader, says, "If they (The Soviet Union) did not want Stalin's body, let them pass it on to the Keral Communist Party. We will accord the body the respect and reverence that it deserves." Is it now any wonder that Communism particularly of the Indian brand is an ideological superstructure of dead, fossilized and outworn dogmas and shibboleths, raised on the material forces of dead and Putrefied bodies of Red Popes.

"Indian education relies too much on lectures," is the opinion of Dr. Nathan M. Pusey, President of Harvard University, U.S.A. Now we know why our Indian political leaders are given more to lecturing on National Problems than solving them.

A NEWS ITEM "There is a world surplus of sugar and therefore there is not much scope for increased export quotas for sugar of India." But why despair? Under the Third Plan the industry under the Public Sector of manufacturing sugar-coated Pills (of sweet words and phrases) for being doled out to the hungry and the unemployed is fast expanding. It can very well absorb this surplus of sugar not only in India but the whole world.

The Health Survey and Planning Committee has suggested the appointment of a Minister of the Union for population control in the Health Ministry. But what about the problem of controlling the fast multiplying brood of Ministers?

ELECTORAL PACTS

THE TIGER AND THREE OXEN C.R.'S REPLY TO CRITICS

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, founder-leader of the Swatantra Party, said that it was not proper for the Congress Party to advise Opposition parties not to enter into electoral alliances.

Rajaji who was addressing a public meeting at Madras Thidal in Kodambakkam, held under the auspices of the Tenth Circle of the Swatantra Party, said that the advice appeared to be like that given by the tiger in the fable which asked the three oxen not to unite and ate them one by one. Rajaji said that the main aim of the non-Congress parties was to free the citizens from the heavy burden of taxation resulting from the implementation of the Five-Year Plans. As for the suggestion that the D.M.K. was a communal organisation, Rajaji said that this role had now been taken up by the Dravida Kazhagam which supported the Congress party in the State.

The Wisdom Of The Rulers

By M. A. Venkata Rao

NOW that the Principal political parties in the land have published their manifestos and there is but a short period for the voters to digest their programmes and assess their merits before the general elections in February 1962, it is worthwhile reminding ourselves of what qualifications and wisdom we wish the rulers to possess to deserve our choice and approval.

It is usual in a democracy with adult franchise to consider the qualifications of the voter and to feel that at least literacy should be universalised as soon as possible. But though literacy in the sense of the bare capacity to read and write in the native tongue is necessary, it is not enough by itself.

This will take decades more to compass at the slow rate at which primary schools are being increased under Congress rule. Meanwhile the more important question is the qualification of the candidates for election i.e. for the right and power to rule.

"Yatha raja, tatha praja: as is the king, so will be the people. It is not mere time that makes the yuga or time spirit but it is the king that determines the entire "progress-and-happiness-conditioning" climate of society and state at any time. These sayings in Sanskrit literature bring out the critical importance of the character and ability of the rulers and governing class generally in any society and state.

Every considerable civilisation has developed its own nations of the model to be followed by the rulers—Greece, Rome, Medieval Christian Europe, the modern Eur-American civilisation of the present day as well as Indian and Chinese cultures.

In Indian tradition, accepted treatises on raja dharma like the code of Manu in part, Arthashastra, Sukra Niti and a host of lesser ones lay down the type to which rulers were expected to conform.

The qualifications are twofold: one group refers to knowledge and wisdom. The raja or ruler together with his counsellors should be trained in the highest sciences and arts then extant. First of

all, they should have a knowledge of philosophy i.e. a knowledge of the vedas by which they meant a vision of the universe as governed by spiritual forces. They should have a view of nature as the field of natural energies ultimately dominated by spirit.

But by the time of the Arthashastra of Chanakya, it was realised that it is possible for the ethical aspects of government to be pursued satisfactorily by kings and rulers and administrators even without faith in a spiritual reality pervading the universe. For Chanakya himself was a loka-yata or materialist in philosophy. But what was insisted upon was a clear and passion-free attitude to moral values i.e. dharma. The aim of the state was the maintenance of dharma or social morality through law and custom and danda, police and magistracy and defence against foreign aggressors.

Even in the Upanishads we have a glimpse of such a view. Narada in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad asks Sanatkumara for instruction in the highest knowledge. We professes to have a mastery of many sciences and arts but lack knowledge of the final unity of reality and value.

This synoptic vision is emphasised in Manu as essential to the education of the ruler. The vision of order and unity in the cosmos is held to be essential to help the ruler to stir his imagination and conscience to motivate his duty to maintain order and unity in the human society entrusted to his care. Dharma refers to the translation of such cosmic order in the social sphere.

In addition to such a synoptic view of the universe and of society, the ruler should have a high character. The first requisite of such character is self-control. The ruler should have mastered the passions of greed, miserliness, selfishness, indulgence in sense pleasures to the neglect of duty, such as women and wine and vice. Positively, he should have a high sense of duty to society and state and devote his entire energies to the tasks of administration without fear or favour. He should be above class. The welfare of the people in every sphere of life should be his sole care. Justice should be his ruling emotion. In addition to knowledge and justice, he should have respect

to the ethos of the society—respect to men of wisdom, of experience, followers of the sciences and the arts.

He should consult the elders in these lines everyday. He should develop ingrained habits of tapas by constant practice, that is, meditation for short spells everyday so that the great values can sink into the subconscious mind. The attitudes and conduct expected of the ruler and his subordinates in high administration, civil and military, were held in solution as it were in a keen and living public opinion of the society of the governing class. It was known to the people at large so that the governing classes were held to their responsibilities by public opinion and popular expectation.

To what extent such codes were actually effective in practice is another question that needs a historical investigation for answer.

Turning to the western world, we find in Plato's delineation of the philosopher kings a close approximation to the Indian ideals mentioned here. "Until philosophers are kings or until the kings and potentates of the world imbibe the spirit of philosophy, the world will not cease from ill." This is the famous sutra or key sentiment of the treatise of Plato called *The Republic*. It would be interesting to compare and contrast the Indian and Platonic ideas of the ideal rulers but that would require more room than can be taken in this article. But the main approaches can be indicated briefly which would be of current interest in choosing our democratic rulers in the coming general elections.

Plato also puts synoptic knowledge of philosophy and science in the forefront of the qualifications of the ruler. In order to bring about a harmony of values and to adjust the claims of classes in society both feel that the ruler should have a vision of harmony in the cosmos and in society. The guardians should have transcendent devotion to social good. To fortify them in this spirit of service, Plato is not content with public opinion as a cheque and stimulus. He proposes the abolition of private family and private property for the rulers! They can have all necessities and comforts but no individual property. But instinct is not altogether suppressed, for Plato provides for sex and children in seasonal hymenial festivals when guardians of different sexes can unite in temporary marriage. Children are brought up by nurses without knowledge of their own parents.

All the children are regarded as children of all the guardians. Women are given full equality and guardians are chosen among them also through educational sifting like men.

Capacity to think on the highest level is thus secured in both Indian and Platonic systems. In addition to pure theory, Plato's guardians are put through practical experience in different branches of administration and are given military service as well. Their character and integrity are tested through fires of temptation while holding positions of power in the administrative hierarchy. They should be able to resist both pleasure and pain and to maintain their loyalty and devotion to duty unsullied.

Turning to the modern world, we find that the communist system as developed in Moscow approximates in several important respects to these ancient ideals so far as form and devotion to the state are concerned.

The governing elite consists of the members of the communist party which numbers a few millions among the huge population of more than 200 million. There is a rigid hierarchy among the members of the party, tier on tier, rising from the recruits at the bottom to the top power-holders in the executives of the party and government.

Recruits are trained in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism which is developed as a closed system of dogmas or truths held to be final. This view of history and materialism as expounded by Karl Marx in the main and as used by Lenin in the guidance of the October Revolution takes the place of the philosophy and sciences in the older systems of India and Greece. One difference is that theory is held in the spirit of final truth unmodifiable by anyone except in the way of practice. Such practical adaptations are to be made only by the authorised top masters in the Kremlin. The rest in the hierarchy should accept them in toto in a spirit of loyal devotion. The spirit recalls Semitic theologies in its rigour and intolerance. Deviations however honest are not allowed and are punished with savage cruelty if persisted in. Just as the Bible built its authority on current notions of creation with their false geology and ethnology and crude legal system, today communism has built itself on the theories of Karl Marx. To doubt the theory is to shake the throne of the Kremlin rulers which they cannot of course tolerate.

It is like doubting the theological doctrines of the Incarnation of Christ, his resurrection from

the cross on which he was impaled and of the Trinity. Such doubt shakes the throne and authority of the Pope, the sole Vicar of Christ on earth, lord of men and rulers! Catholic theology and law prescribes death by fire for heresy. More than 30,000 heretics are said to have been burned by the authority of the Inquisition Court in the centuries of Catholic supremacy in Europe! The liquidations of the Nazis and Communists run into several millions for a similar offence against authorised belief. This is a return to the Dark Ages.

But the kernel of truth behind this insistence on dogma refers to the need and value of a philosophy or total vision of affairs, natural and human, for the purpose of governing nations.

Communists take over Marx's view of history as a gradual development of classes through different stages of organisation of property ownership and economic production—the primitive horde, nomadic cattle owners, landlords, industrial craft guilds, and finally the capitalist class of machine production. A change in the mode of property and production introduces a change in the relationship of the classes. New classes of owners arise with new classes of workers who are exploited by them slaves, serfs and wage labourers in today's factories.

There is a dialectic in these changes, each system provoking its opposite and giving place to it in a synthesis. Today's stage of wage labour and factory ownership has provoked and trained the property-less class of the proletariat. They will seize power in the next stage of socialism and communism by the immanent law of dialectical history. It is also a law of materialism. The idealism of Hegel is repudiated and his spiritual dialectic is stood on its head and turned upside down by Marx. The next stage is regarded as inevitable and that no effort of will on the part of any group of people can prevent the revolution from emerging. It can hasten it or delay it but ward it off it cannot, by any means. This is the historical and economic determinism of Karl Marx.

This belief gives communist rulers an inexpugnable assurance of final victory, since history and the entire process of the cosmos is supposed to be on their side.

This theory gives communists their orientation on the present social world and defines to them their mission of world revolution. They hold to this theory with marvellous tenacity since it is bound up with their fortunes as individuals and

as a group holding supreme power. It gives them the feeling of being engaged in an exalted purpose tending to save humanity in the future from the dark ages of exploitation for ever. They envisage an earthly paradise through their ideology and rule.

Communist ideology reproduces the fanaticism and fervour and deathless devotion and social cohesion of Semitic faiths in their prime. It has the force of a living religion.

Knowledge and character, faith and devotion of a particular kind are therefore inculcated by the communist system in their elite. The knowledge of Marxism—Leninism gives them a blueprint for revolution and world conquest.

To set against this formidable rival entrenched in the Kremlin spreading its powerful tentacles throughout the world through its subordinate conspiratorial communist parties, the free world needs a philosophy and character of comparable power and scope.

What are the motive forces of such a saving system available to the free world?

The rival includes the whole of humanity in its province. The free world should do no less. We need therefore a strong and lively vision of humanity progressing in freedom and unity on the planet for our philosophy. Within its universal range, as a practical stage, we should harness the forces of nationalism and democracy for the substance of value-making faith.

Our mission should be to prevent the calamity of mechanisation and robotisation of man under communism. Positively we should develop the vision of a free world of nations cooperating as a world commonwealth pursuing the sciences, the arts and the philosophies in a spirit of free reason and universal sharing and goodwill.

We should have the ideal of using science and technology to create abundance of the necessities and comforts of life for all members of the human family, not merely for a small class of governors.

The rulers should have sufficient knowledge of nature as can be pictured from time to time from a synthesis of scientific results. The open mind should be retained. "Order" which is common to all possible scientific views is sufficient without commitment to matter or spirit.

A new scale of moral values like humanism, nationalism and democracy such as the new Declaration of Human Rights should be expected of electoral candidates amongst us.

Muslims And National Integration-II

A continuation of the article published in the previous issue of *The Indian Libertarian*. By M. N. Tholai

In the previous issue I explained the nature of the problem of integration with Muslims. I now venture to put forward a solution. Obviously, any solution which suggests to the faithful that they should give up their faith will be no solution at all. What remains to be seen therefore is whether a solution is possible within the four corners of the Kalma and its implications, the Kalma being, "La Ilahi Lillah, Mohammed Rasoolillah". (There is but one God and Mohammad is His Prophet.) The Kalma is as binding on the reformers as it is on the Orthodox. The orthodox cannot claim to ignore it in the interest of Islam—which is a matter of opinion and whose requirements may differ from day to day—and keep it binding on the Reformers; but this is exactly what they have been trying to do.

What has already been shown is the fact that the Law of Islam has superceded the Holy Koran on the pretext of interpreting it. For this there is and was no warrant except in the political need of cohesion, solidarity and unity, owing to which the position was accepted by Muslims all over the world. In other words, the real spirit of Islam gave place to what the Caliphs considered the interests of Islam at the time as a proselytizing religion—one which was making a bid to convert the world. Whether the interests of Islam were rightly construed at the time or not, is now an academic question. Not so, however, the question whether the interests of Islam demand the same methods today as they did twelve or thirteen centuries ago; or later. A closer study of the problem would appear to suggest that in the world of today the real spirit of Islam and the interests of Islam are pointing in the same direction, i.e., a liberal interpretation of the teachings of Prophet Mohammad, which almost always begin with the words, "Bismillah Ulrahman Ulrahim". (In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.)

I said in the first instalment of this article that the Holy Book has been superceded by the commentaries of the four doctors of Islam. In other words, the Holy Prophet has been superceded by the Four Doctors. But this supercession was clearly not permissible, since Mohammad was admittedly the last of the Prophets, and any one who denies this cannot be considered a true Muslim. To uphold the validity of the commentaries in every respect and in every detail, one has to concede that the Four Doctors were as good as Prophets, blessed with the same mind and inspiration as Prophet Mohammad himself, and certified to that effect by the Almighty. But there is no sanction for the assumption except in the declaration of the validity of the Commentaries by the

Caliphs. But for the commentaries to be really valid, a certificate to that effect could only have been given by the Prophet himself as there could be no messenger of God after him. No Caliph had the right to impose his views on Mussalmans in regard to the interpretation of the Holy Book, unless he could claim the stature of the Prophet, but that was ruled out by the Prophet's own declaration that he was the Last of the Prophets.

To say that every interpretation of the Four Doctors is correct is to attribute superhuman powers to them, and to say that they were somehow in a position to know the mind of the Prophet or of the Almighty whose views the Prophet proclaimed. There is nothing to warrant the proposition. Thus there is no guarantee regarding the validity of the commentaries in every line and in every sentence of the same. The validity is assumed at the instance of the Caliphs. Why did the Caliph declare the commentaries valid? Not only that. Why did they declare all other commentaries invalid in advance of their being attempted? And, above all, why was the assumption of their validity, as well as the invalidity of all other interpretations, allowed to pass unchallenged by the Ulema (learned men) of Islam? It was to avoid any variation of the religious dogma that the Caliphs decided to lay down exactly the spirit and the letter of Islam in the works of the Four Doctors. In other words, they did so to prevent everyone getting away with what he liked to believe. They did so for the sake of cohesion in the Faithful, without which they could not have dictated their will to nations or enforced the same by violence. They wanted a solid phalanx of Islam through perfect unity based on identity of belief.

RED STAR OVER ISLAM

But the situation today is different. Even if perfect unity in the Islamic world could be achieved, it would avail little against the onslaughts of Communism. The Red Star is shining bright over Islam. Sections of the population in Muslim lands are Communist. Millions of Muslims have gone Red and are showing the same fanaticism in their new faith as they did in the old. Nasser is busy curbing Communism in his country while he has no hesitation in advancing the cause of Communism abroad. In his ideology also Soviet Russia does not seem to be a colonial power. There are old scores to settle, it is true. But must the cause itself be jeopardised in settling them? What is the use of curbing Communism at home and supporting it abroad? Is it in the circumstances wrong to conclude that the curbing of Communism in Egypt is being attempted in the interest of the dictator-

ship of Nasser, while on his lips is the sacred name of Islam?

Kassem in Iraq is, if anything, many steps ahead of Nasser. He has no hesitation in making use of the Communist Party of Iraq when it suits him. To ally oneself with the Communists is surely something more than tolerating them. It is in fact encouraging them. How a true Muslim can forget that the greatest menace to Islam today lies in Communism passes one's comprehension. And to encourage Communism in any manner is to court disaster for Islam. That much should be obvious to the meanest intelligence among Muslims. But that does not seem to be so. To try to convert the unconverted while forgetting the great danger facing the converted is surely the height of folly for the leader of the Faithful. Surely, Muslims in India and elsewhere sometimes remember the famous Persian line, "Chun Kufr uz Kaaba barkhezad, kuja manad Mussalmani?" (If Kufr or disbelief raises its head in Kaaba itself, where will the religion of Mussalmans remain?) Kufr may not be raising its head today in Kaaba, but Iraq is very near it.

The situation today is so vastly different compared to what it was twelve or thirteen centuries ago, that it calls for unity not in Islam but among all religions to meet the great danger of Communism. If preservation comes before extension, as it must, it would appear high time for Muslims to think in terms of preserving their gains. Nasser may be more angry with the western colonial powers because their missionaries have been coming in the way of Islam spreading in Africa, but, even so, to ignore the greater danger and find and much lesser one intolerable is the height of folly. Those who have no sense of proportion are likely to come to grief, even if their lack of the sense of proportion is at bottom only dictated their pursuit of the personality cult evident in their dictatorship, which seeks and finds excuses to strengthen itself by paying lip service to popular causes.

The point is a simple one. If the doctrine of constraint which was meant to preserve Islam can operate in countries where Muslims do not rule, in order to preserve Muslims of those countries, can be extended to permit real peace and amity countries to preserve Muslims in all countries, in fact to preserve Islam itself? Surely, the doctrine can be extended to permit real peace and amity even with infidels to prevent greater infidels overrunning Muslim lands and deMuslimising them? In other words, the doctrine of constraint demands friendship even with Idol-worshippers and the like in order to withstand the tide of godlessness flowing from the Russian steppes in the form of Communism.

For a non-Muslim like me whose knowledge of the Holy Koran is admittedly inadequate, it would not be proper to go into the details of the question,

It is for the Ulema of Islam to do so, in the interests of Islam and not in the interests of Muslim fanaticism—the two being not the same thing. But no one could have failed to observe that almost every sermon of the Prophet began with the words, "Bismillah Ulrehman Ulrahim". (In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.) Hand-ed down verbally the Holy Koran may have suffered in verbal transition. But there can be no doubt whatsoever that a phrase which occurs repeatedly, hundreds of times, like the one quoted above, must have come from the Prophet's own lips. And if God is merciful and beneficent is it illegitimate to conclude that he expects human beings to be likewise? Or does He expect them to cultivate the qualities of his Opposite Number, His Satanic Majesty? If men are to be merciful and beneficent, much that has been done in the history of Islam would require undoing, and if that cannot be done, and history cannot be rewritten, surely the glorification of cruelty can be allowed to suffer an eclipse.

Those who believe in saving Islam from the menace it is encountering can find a variety of valid reasons for turning away from the path Islam has hitherto trod. And those reasons can be made to apply equally forcibly in the task of forging national integration in the country for the self-same reason of withstanding the advancing tide of Communism. Today the Hindu who finds joy in the thought that Communism will finish Islam is as shortsighted as the Muslim who thinks he can withstand Communism alone.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao gave a critical review of Mabbott's, *The State and the Citizen*: an Oxford book on Political Philosophy at the Libertarian Study Circle on Friday the 10th November.

At a previous meeting in October, Mr. P. Spratt, spoke on *The Berlin Problem*.

CHARITY

"I can see no reason why, because the West, after years of hard work and (comparatively) careful government, is able to enjoy motor cars and refrigerators, the backward nations, with despotic and primitive forms of government, should think they have a right to the same comforts, any more than I should think that, because my neighbour owns a Rolls Royce, I have a right to that form of luxury. Let the backward nations first of all establish a reasonable form of government, a government which they can call to order. Then let them see to it that he who works is able to keep a reasonable proportion of his product; and they will then have little need of outside help."

—The Individualist

* Nehru's Wanderlust

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu L.C.S. (Retd)

AFTER Belgrade and Moscow, Nehru is now going to U.S.A. and Mexico, as if the Prime Minister of India is a travelling salesman of the problems of the world. The idea may flatter him and even the majority of people, who do not realise how much there is for a Prime Minister to do in India and how little his interest in other countries is helping the interests of his own. Speaking at the East West Conference in Calcutta, Nehru admitted India had no specific problems to discuss with America, with which it differed in ways of thinking. He has been to America before but it is suggested this time he has to discover the new President. On the eve of the General Elections, when he cannot assume that he will be again Prime Minister, such a discovery may not justify the expenditure that the trip involves, though he has decided that R. K. Nehru, Secretary General of the External Affairs Ministry should not accompany him as there is B. K. Nehru already there as Ambassador and three NeHRus together might lead to the impression that there are only NeHRus who matter in India.

His visit must therefore be regarded historically in the same class as that of Nero playing the fiddle while Rome was burning. The parallel may appeal to the Americans particularly after the explosion of the Megaton bombs by Russia. Though I have described Nehru as Hamlet, others have described Kennedy also as Hamlet. If one has floundered in his own country, the other who is floundering in the world may like to have congenial company.

Therefore while the welcome from Kennedy is to be assumed, the question remains about the attitude of the American people, who may be possessed of a greater sense of realism. No doubt there will be police arrangements to prevent any open demonstrations but the people and the press cannot be prevented from expressing themselves on the neutrality of the Prime Minister even after keeping India's life line with American food and loans. The question has already been raised if Nehru will support Menon's resolution in the U.N. which allowed Russia the explosion of the giant bomb by blaming the U.S. for its small underground explosions. One has to hope that Nehru, and what is more important, India, are not ar-

raigned before the world for supporting Russia's crime against humanity.

Nehru will no doubt discuss the world situation. The first question is whether this will do the world any good, whatever good it does to Kennedy and Nehru. Our moral position in the world is subject of contempt. The President of Senegal, speaking at the U.N. obviously was referring to us when he spoke of neutral nations "hiding behind a facade of non-alignment while actually supporting the East or the West". In Hungary, Tibet, Laos and Congo, we have fielded for the communists. On Cuba, Angola, nuclear tests and disarmament, the Communists owe more to Krishna Menon than to their own representatives.

In the circumstances, will it do America any good to have Nehru indulge in some double talk in their favour? There is a school in America which wants that India like Ghana, must be called to heel like a dog, which is barking at the master, who feeds it. This would mean one of two things, that we lose our national independence becoming an economic colony of America; to be able to feed our people and industries, to save them from a collapse. The second alternative, which Krishna Menon has been promoting is that, as visualised by Frank Moraes "we scurry cap in hand to Moscow".

Whether Kennedy yields to the school which is tired of nonsense will probably depend on the world situation, particularly Berlin. If the phase is reached of shooting it out on the border disputes, Nehru will lose his importance as a broker. This may be good or bad for the world but it will be disastrous for India which has mortgaged itself by its plans largely to Free countries and slightly to communist countries.

One has to hope therefore that his American visit will teach Nehru two things, first that honesty is the best policy even in international affairs and second that the plans of a country must be based on its own resources and not on those of others. Never, not even under the worst of foreign rulers, has the economy of India been more helpless than it is now, due to ambitions of a Prime Minister who confessed at the East West meeting "that his life was that of a politician who had seldom any time for deep thinking." One hopes it will dawn on him that he cannot sacrifice a country to his politics.

*We regret that this interesting article written for the Divali Number, could not be published therein, as it was received late. We are, however, publishing it in this Issue.—Editor.

Chinese At It Again

(From Our Correspondent) **LATA SHRESTHA IN NEW DELHI**

IT has been repeatedly emphasised in these columns that there is nothing to prevent the Chinese from advancing farther into Indian territory, and the march of events has proved that contention. My surmise, which has found expression in my despatches, was that the Chinese would advance farther after the general election and after seeing their great friend Mr. Nehru, firm in the saddle again. That has not yet been fully disproved by events of the recent weeks, and it remains to be seen whether the establishment by the Chinese of more check posts in Ladakh, in territory which the Chinese Prime Minister has admitted to be Indian territory, is a preliminary to a general advance or whether the latter has been put off till after the general elections.

The Government of India has again vigorously protested to Peking. (It must have been the vigour of the protest which tired Mr. Nehru out and he felt the need of a holiday abroad with admiring crowds cheering him, while more and more of his country is passing under foreign occupation.) In any case that is about all the Government could do and it has done it. The debates in Parliament last year proved conclusively to every intelligent mind that the Indian Government were not in a position to resist Chinese advance and, what is more, that they have no intention of getting into a position which would enable them to resist Chinese advance successfully. That position is an alliance with the West after proclaiming in just four words "To Hell with non-alignment". These four words sum up our destination beautifully, under the captainship of our great leader, Mr. Nehru. After all, where else can we go with non-alignment as our guiding star? War with China will mean war with Russia also. We cannot take up either singly. It is sheer madness to think of taking up both together, alone. Non-alignment is another word for loneliness, and is a standing invitation to China to do what she jolly well likes with us. Pakistan is a smaller country. China also claims some territory in the occupation of Pakistan. Why does not China then commit aggression on Pakistan territory? The situation is plain as pikestaff and yet we are unable to see it, as a nation. What else can one say after that except that we are a muddleheaded scatter-brained people?

One wonders if we realise that the cup of our humiliation is full to the brim. This is obvious from Prime Minister Nehru's own admissions in

the Lok Sabha, that the Chinese have set up new check posts in Ladakh beyond their previous ones in the area between the two boundary lines claimed by the Chinese in successive maps. Mr. Nehru admitted that they are farther on the Indian side of the boundary indicated in their 1956 maps. This means that the Chinese have claimed more Indian territory by advancing the border in their 1960 maps. (The border having been advanced in the maps, the Chinese troops seemed to have been in honour bound to advance too. And why shouldn't they?)

Pressed by Opposition members to state what steps were taken apart from ineffective protests, Mr. Nehru replied, "Diplomatic and certain military steps have been taken. These are wide territories which cannot be constantly surveyed." The people are not interested in knowing whether they can be constantly surveyed or not. (And why cannot they be constantly surveyed?) What the people would like to know is whether they can be protected from advancing Chinese troops. Both the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister have repeatedly declared that "not another inch of Indian territory will be lost to the Chinese." Since in the words of the Government of India note to China "aggression is being added to aggression"—one feels inclined to add "intrusion" to incursion, for intrusion is the latest euphemism—and there have been "numerous incursions into Indian territory" again, the people would like to know for certain whether in the foreseeable future India would be in a position—under non-alignment—to check Chinese advance. Plainly it does not seem as if it would be for decades to come.

The atmosphere in New Delhi must have been oppressive both for the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, even after they had lightened their hearts by the despatch of their wonderful Note dated October 31, urging the Government of China "to stop further incursion into Indian territory and withdraw from areas of Indian territory illegally occupied by Chinese forces". No wonder they both left the country for lands where they would be far away from the Chinese, at least for some time. A Defence Minister who finds work—not strictly his own—outside his country more congenial than the formidable task of defending his country from farther invasion, which he could have easily anticipated, and which was taking place when he left the country, must be a rarity. I wonder if there is going to be any limit to our shamelessness and

our treachery to the motherland. The attitude of the Government of India is nothing short of that. The Chinese would of course say again that they are in occupation of their own territory. What would Mr. Nehru do then? Negotiate and negotiate?

PANTH IN DANGER AT LAST

Master Tara Singh had been crying himself hoarse that the Panth was in danger. He has proved a prophet, for the Panth is now really in danger of disruption and that as a result of his own claptrap politics. According to a Sikh leader, 99 out of 160 members of the general body of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee have decided to boycott the SGPC meeting called by Master Tara Singh for November 30, as they do not recognise the Master as a representative of the Dal. A representative he will remain until ousted from the Presidentship of the Dal and if the claim of a substantial majority being against Master Tara Singh is correct, the better method of utilising it would have been to pass a vote of no-confidence against Master Tara Singh. It seems clear now that his dictatorship would no longer be tolerated by the Panth and his resignation from the Presidentship of the SGPC and the Akali Dal would alone save the Panth from disruption. By breaking sacred vows and pledges Master Tara Singh has brought ridicule and ignominy on the Sikh community and, according to some, has even disqualified himself even as a primary member of the Akali Dal.

In an interview Master Tara Singh declared he had no love for offices "but in the interest of Panthic unity at this critical juncture and particularly during the period of the coming general election," he is "prepared to shoulder responsibility," despite his weak health and old age. But the interests of Panthic unity clearly demand his resignation at this "critical juncture". If he had no love for offices he would have resigned by now, having regard to the ridicule that has been his portion since he broke his much trumpeted fast-unto-death. He has overplayed his cards and made even the Sikhs think and feel ashamed.

GOVERNMENT ANTI-HINDU?

Arya Samaj leader has given expression to the view that the Government of India's policy is anti-Hindu. The summary reported in the Press did not make the context in which he spoke clear; but the declaration may have been prompted by the world-wide gathering of Christian missionaries in New Delhi, which is in conference these days. It is well-known that the influx of Christian missionaries in India has considerably increased since independence, because foreign Christian missions consider India to be a good field for their proselytizing activities. It is also well-known that real conversion is rare. What generally happens is that some inducement is held out and accepted in the interest of a career. This is promoting corruption

in the land at the cost of the only community—that of the Hindus—whose patriotism is unquestionable. The Sikhs recently, the Christians in Nagaland and the Muslims before and even after partition have showed their lack of patriotism.

Is there any limit, it is being asked, to the number of Christian missionaries that is to be allowed to come into India to convert Hindus to Christianity? Or to the amount of money that they can spend in India to induce non-Christians to accept Christianity? Mr. Nehru is really neither anti-Hindu, nor anti-Muslim, nor anti-Christian. He is just pro-Nehru and nothing else, and if he is in effect anti-Hindu, it is to show that he is not communal. Suffering as he does from inferiority complex, he thinks that is the only way to prove that he is a good nationalist. After all, what is the use of being truly national, if a Hindu is considered communal by non-Hindus? It is also said that foreign exchange considerations are standing in the way of any restrictions being placed on the immigration of Christian missionaries. If that is so, then the charge of corruption in running the government holds doubly good and the Indian Government has no hesitation in allowing money to play havoc with the people's faith.

MR. NEHRU'S STATUE

Mr. Nehru had returned to India with a higher stature than what he left India with. But it hardly took him a day in this country for his non-alignment to fall again like a house of cards. No doubt he will put it up again. For, where will Mr. Nehru be in the world without his non-alignment and his peace mission, both of which demand in unison that Indian soldiers should not fire on the Chinese soldiers, do what they may? Indians who think Mr. Nehru enjoys a very high stature abroad will do well to remember that a country's invasion does not exactly raise the ruler's stature in the eyes of the people of the world.

Book Review

Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy)—By Paul Elitzbacher. Translated by Steven T. Byngton. Edited by James J. Martin. Published by The Libertarian Book Club, N.Y. 1960. Price \$6.00. Pages 272.

In these days of the immense popularity of communism among the world's progressive intelligentsia, it is good to have this work on anarchism as a social theory and practical creed made available to the English reading public. It was first published fifty years ago in German by its author, a legal savant, for several years a member of the German judiciary before he took up his professorship in law in Berlin which he held for the remaining years of his life. The book became very popular and was translated into several European languages. It was translated into English by Steven T. Byngton, a co-worker of Benjamin Tucker

who represented libertarian thought in America in the closing quarter of the 19th century through his journal *Liberty* and many pamphlets and books. It is now republished by the Libertarian Book Club of New York.

The book has a pronounced architectonic, so to say. It lays down its objective in clear-cut, almost scholastic terms in rigidity and precision. The aim as stated by the author is to get a logical concept of anarchism defining its genus and its species and its differential. It analyses the concept into three heads; law, the state and property to which is added the fourth one of the method of realisation of the theory.

Eltzbacher elicits the essential features of the doctrine through a systematic and documented examination of seven typical thinkers covering the generation of the French Revolution with Godwin (the author of *Political Justice*) and moving well into the nineteenth century through Bakunin, Proudhon, Kropotkin, Stirner to Tolstoy and Benjamin Tucker.

Karl Marx worked contemporaneously with Proudhon and Bakunin but their ways parted with the stress of the latter on decentralised or state capitalism with the absorption of the entire economic power and activity of the people into the political power-welding structure.

The criticism that these thinkers urge with such passionate conviction against the Marxist variety of socialism and indeed against the very idea of the state as such as a power-wielding body, has great force even today. The extreme form of totalitarianism developed by Marxist-Leninist Communism in Russia and her satellites since 1917 bears out the corrupting influence of absolutist political machinery to the hilt.

The word anarchism comes from the French words "anarchie" which means absence of Government. But the closing decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed the cult of the bomb on the part of wild political assassins who called themselves or were called anarchists. The word retains till today the associations of such assassination and terrorism for political ends—futile and individualistic, as they invariably are.

But in philosophical and social theory, anarchism stands for a social ideal envisaging a state of cooperation among members of society in perfect harmony without governmental coercion, law and punishment. Anarchists also trace much social evil to the institution of property. They identify government and law with coercion and property with selfishness and class exploitation and oppression. Full anarchism means, therefore, a state of society without the state machinery, without law and its coercive arrangements through the police and magistracy and without individual property.

Public ownership will be universalised. Even the distinction between property for consumption and property for production (capital) is repudiat-

ed. The assumption is that today's evils in society mutual oppression, selfishness, deceit, fraud, violence and so on are all due to the long range and subtle effects of the regime of force. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely: this dictum of Lord Acton is taken strictly by anarchism. The state and law produce fear and fear is the parent of all other vices in man, according to anarchism.

Individual property hardens the heart of the owner and closes it against fraternal feelings. It enables a class of idle rich to develop.

As regards the method of realisation, most anarchists lay emphasis on propaganda but confess that in the end, a sharp bout of violent revolution may be necessary to carry society over the hump into the new era of perfect individual liberty and social harmony.

Tolstoy is rare among them in insisting on full nonviolence for he derives his anarchism from a literal application of the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus Christ. "The Kingdom of God is within you. Resist not evil. If a man hits you on one cheek, show him the other also! If a man steals your coat, give him your clock also!"

Prince Kropotkin gives an evolutionary setting to his anarchist doctrine. But he corrects the picture of Darwinian struggle for survival with "nature red in tooth and claw" with a counter picture of Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution. He adduces the kindness of wild beasts to their young and to the mutual aid of the members of herds and packs, who show even some division of labour. The social behaviour of ants and bees is a byword in this respect. It is wrong to say therefore according to Kropotkin that evolution teaches ruthless competition with the devil taking the hindmost!"

Anarchists assume that man is naturally good and that it is only current social institutions that suspect and exploit him that bring out his worst side. Remove the oppressive power-wielding forces—law, the state and property (in the individual exclusive sense)—man will then open out his angelic side and will cooperate spontaneously in a harmonious society.

Kiopotkin pictures communes formed and run on a voluntary basis with each member working for five hours a day. Every member will take what art and science or craft or other avocation free he needs and can devote the rest of his time to from want and fear.

Even orthodox Marxist communism entertains this ideal of a perfect society in which the State will have "withered away" and in which everyone can have what he needs and has to give only according to his ability.

Anarchism is valuable for its sense of the ultimate value of individual personality and of freedom to allow it scope to flourish. It keeps the vision of human liberty alive carrying it to its utmost height. Its arguments liberate our minds

by holding the picture of an alternative society without force and tyranny before our minds. Many of its criticisms of the evils of force and bureaucratisation are valuable, though they do not justify the positive ideal held out by the doctrine.

Anarchism presents itself as the culmination of libertarianism and as such needs to be studied by us today. We have to discover a middle ground or golden mean between totalitarian coercion and complete laissez faire and in this task of our generation, this volume comes in handy, giving as it does a clear systematic exposition of seven authentic anarchist or libertarian thinkers. Each study is prefaced by a brief biographical sketch and the views of the subjects are brought out through the citation of an abundance of appropriate passages from his writings.

The book contains a reprint of Rudolf Rocker's essay on Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism as an appendix.

—Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao

Gleanings from the Press

Molotov Affair—Scarecrow for the West

Still, why re-raise the Molotov issue now? Possibly because the Soviet Prime Minister wishes to convey to the West that, if he is not strengthened by a favourable deal over Berlin, he may be unseated and succeeded by a more bellicose team that would not hesitate to grab Berlin by force and risk a war.

Such an interpretation of the Molotov affair would fit in with the general attitude which Mr. Khrushchev has maintained throughout the Berlin crisis. This attitude might be described as an endeavour to make the West even more frightened of him than he himself is of the West.

For Mr. Khrushchev is evidently frightened. He is a cool headed and steady hearted poker player, an ability he may have learnt under Stalin, whose pupil and disciple he is far more than he cares to remember. But despite his magnificent apparent calm, he is frightened. His East German Republic is a total failure to such an extent that it has become indispensable for him to destroy West Berlin as an island of liberal prosperity in a sea of Communist misery. "Operation Berlin" means therefore the salvage of the D.D.R. through the ruin of West Berlin.

No one realizes better than he that this twofold aim requires the surrender of a long standing position on the part of the Allies. Hence his attempt at intimidation. But as he is afraid of war (mostly because all Eastern Europe would rise against him) these attempts at intimidating the West intimidate him also. That is why he is apt to blow hot and cold, and now sound warlike, now conciliatory, and now throws bombs about and

now hints of peace. His last trick is to warn: "Be careful. If I am not successful there'll be a second Stalin who will make war on you." Molotov is dressed to look like a scarecrow.

—Salvador de Madarianga in 'Thought'

News & Views

FRIENDS OR FOES?

President Kennedy made a last-minute change in a speech at Seattle to delete a phrase that "the USA was determined to prevent certain nations from adopting neutrality and to prevent certain others from abandoning it."

Instead, the President departed from the prepared text released earlier to reporters to say: "We find some nations, who call themselves our friends and are supposed to be sympathetic to us, and others who call themselves neutrals, who are unremittingly hostile to us."

The President holding the mirror to Nehru's India. There is a phrase in Marathi, "Caustic comments are enough thrasing to the wise and the intelligent." President Kennedy has written an epitome on Nehru's visit to the U.S.A.

PANDEMONIUM IN U.P. VIDHAN SABHA

The U.P. Legislative Assembly was adjourned sine die, following uproarious scenes over the insistence by the Socialists to have priority in speaking on special debate on the introduction of English in the State schools from standard III onwards.

The House was adjourned for 10 minutes by the Deputy Speaker, but when the pandemonium still continued, he adjourned the House sine die.

At long last, the Hindi Rip Van Winkles have got over their sleep and come to the sensible decision of reintroducing English in the schools of the State. Hindi fanatics have NOW discovered that Hindi cannot be the lingua franca of the country.

SHOWDOWN WITH THE REDS

The USA and the American communist party face a showdown this week-end. The Party and its members have been given three dead-lines, the first of which expires on Sunday next, to register as an arm of the Soviet Union, or face stiff cumulative jail terms and fines.

Nehru's India believes the other way. They have given a fresh lease of life to the Indian "commies", by making communism "respectable" in the country.

A THIEVES' KITCHEN

The "comrade" Ministers had gathered in a Cabinet meeting at Peking. The Minister for Agriculture was in hot waters. The agricultural yield of the country showed the usual downward trend. One of the other ministers tried to comfort him, and whip up the enthusiasm of the general populace. He said: Despite these shortcomings every-

thing is going to get better. These are only temporary difficulties, due to the machinations of the "reactionary" elements. Communism is bound to triumph and spread all "over the world". This was too much for the Minister of Agriculture. He blurted out: "For god's sake, shut up, you silly ass! If communism succeeds all over the world, where do you think we are going to import our wheat from?"

HUXLEY FAVOURS ENGLISH AS WORLD LANGUAGE

MADRAS,

Professor Aldous Huxley called for the acceptance of English as a world language.

English had all the ingredients of a world language and India should make it a second language in its school curriculum, he told Pressmen at the airport.

Asked whether he considered Esperanto fit enough to be made a world language, Professor Huxley said Esperanto was an artificial language without a literature. "Though theoretically speaking it is found good, practically it presents serious difficulties. I believe that one of the existing languages should be selected for the purpose," he said.

Professor Huxley deplored the intense linguistic patriotism displayed in India and said that he was shocked to hear of the tragic incidents in Bombay soon after the reorganisation of States and the trouble in Ceylon between the Tamils and the Ceylonese over the language issue. "Language is creating barriers where there need be none," he said.

DEATH FOR THIEVING

MOSCOW,

A Leningrad court has sentenced a man to death and several to long jail terms for stealing public property, it was reported here yesterday.

The sum involved totalled 410,907 roubles (about £164, 99 sterling).

According to the Tass the ring-leader had bribed chiefs of 15 trading organisations to take part in his schemes.

He had pleaded guilty and was sentenced to death.

The death sentence for this offence was applied under a decree issued in Moscow last May.

U.S. STRENGTH

WASHINGTON

The Senator Cooper, who breakfasted alone with the Prime Minister Nehru, said that he felt Mr. Nehru knew that "What I said was correct."

"I told him that I felt he could have great influence in the Berlin crisis, and that it is very important the Russians know we are very strong and just are not going to be pushed about."

The Senator added that India took positions

which "we know are dangerous to our security."

"I hope the talks indicated to him the thoughts of the people of the United States on this subject and will lead the neutrals, if not wholly to our side, at least not to take any action that would actually strengthen Russia's position in the United Nations or outside," he said.

Senator Cooper said the purpose of President Kennedy's talks with Mr. Nehru was not to persuade him to follow the United States' position absolutely, but to work against those situations that could lead to war.—Reuter

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL DEMANDS SELF-DETERMINATION FOR GERMANS

At the seventh Congress of the Socialist International in Rome, the French Socialist, Mr. Guy Mollet, severely condemned Soviet policy and warned the West against appeasement.

"The Russians want to use the Berlin crisis as a reason to take a step beyond their present frontiers. They are trying to get the whole of Germany on their side", he said.

A resolution unanimously passed by the Congress condemned the erection of the "Chinese Wall" in Berlin as an act of "inhuman brutality, which hermetically sealed off 17 million Germans" and not only robbed them of their freedom, but also of their contacts with free Germany and the other parts of the non-Communist world. The Congress called upon the Powers responsible for the German question to recognise the right of self-determination also for the German people.

DR. KUNZRU'S PLEA FOR RETENTION OF ENGLISH

HYDERABAD,

Dr. H. N. Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, today made a plea for the retention of English in the country, and said that an adequate knowledge of that language was essential in the national interest and the progress of India.

Dr. Kunzru, who was addressing the valedictory function of the sixth session of trainees at the Central Institute of English, said that they must know some European language to acquaint themselves of the knowledge amassed throughout the world.

Stressing that teaching of English should be started at an early stage, he said that it ought to begin in primary schools after the second year. It was only then that the foundations could be truly and well-laid and the students in secondary schools would be able to understand the books prescribed.

INADEQUATE ATTENTION

Proceeding, the speaker said that during his tour of the country, in connection with the U.G.C. Committee on the objectives of teaching English

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ATTENTION !!!

OUR GIFT OF THE MONTH

To The New Subscribers of
"THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN"
During DECEMBER 1961 :

CONQUEST OF CHINA BY MAO-TSE TUNG

BY SITARAM GOEL

Write To
The Manager,
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NOTICE

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in India, he became painfully aware that inadequate attention paid to the teaching of English in schools had not merely affected their knowledge of English but also that of other subjects too. That was the opinion expressed to him by teachers of the schools and the Universities. Their experience of the deterioration of education made them state that English had to be restored to the original place, even if education in other subjects was to produce best results.

PANCHASHILA IN ACTION

NEW DELHI

A CHINESE advance in India's Ladakh region, beyond their 1956 claim-line, was admitted by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, in the Lok Sabha.

The Chinese forces, according to reports received in August-September, have spread out beyond the line to establish three new posts at different places in Ladakh, and constructed roads to link these posts with their rear bases.

In addition, there were 11 intrusions into Indian territory all along the Himalayan border between April and September.

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