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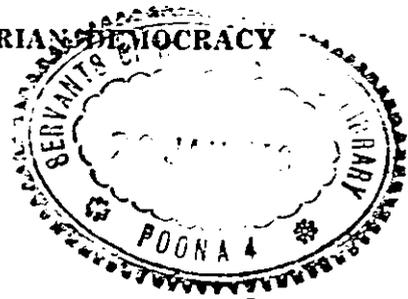
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11



IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL	3
The Republic Day by V. R.	5
1957: At Home and Abroad by M. A. Venkata Rao	5
Western Blind Alley by Charles A. Willoughby	8
Revolutionising Indian Life Section II by Dr. K. N. Kini	9
Malaviya was no Coward nor a Communalist by Lal	10
Hindi Hysteria, "Panchashila" and Indian Economy by Libra	12
In the Driftway by Jay Kay	14
Bangalore Seminar on Education for Democracy	16
Split in the Kremlin by V. N. Rudin	21
Sentence on Liberty by George Paloczi Horwath	23
On the News Front	24
South for English as the Official Language	26
Abolition of Caste by Legislation by A. Ramanathan	26
Saurashtra Interests Neglected	27
Book Reviews	28

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Editorial

JINNAH'S PICTURE ON CURRENCY NOTES

IN Pakistan, new hundred rupee currency notes carry Mr. Jinnah's portrait on them. This has led to a characteristic situation. The *mullahs* are up in arms against the idea, on the ground that it is contrary to the tenets of Islam, which is against the use of human portraits in art and emblems of the State like currency notes. Maulana Asadul Quadri, President, All-Pakistan Dastor Party, has called on the people to boycott these currency notes, and even resort to "direct action," if they are not withdrawn! The general secretary of another group Motamer Ahle Hadith has said that the printing of the picture on currency notes was an idolatrous move. He said that it was funny that when statues were being removed from public places, in accordance with Islamic tenets, paper statues were being made for the use of Muslims. Maulana Mohammad Shafi, Vice-President, Jamait Ulema Islam, has protested that the printing of Mr. Jinnah's picture on notes is insulting to Quaid-e-Azam himself!

There is an important principle involved in this protest. It indicates the unsolved problem, which is basic to the founding of Pakistan as an Islamic State, of the correct relation between nationalism and Islam. Islam is both a strength and a weakness to a national State, aiming at modern ideals and progress. Islam is more tribal in nature in its principle of social cohesion, and includes the whole body of believers, wherever they may be situated. Loyalty to Islam transcends for the believer all other loyalties, including those due to nation State. Pakistan was founded on the cry of "Islam in danger", and on the basis of a society of the Faithfuls in which, other communities could only be assigned a second class citizenship.

BLOWING HOT AND COLD

The founders of Pakistan have the difficult task of separating what is valuable from what is obstructive in the tenets of Islam for the purpose of building a viable modern State. In this job, they find themselves giving hostages to Islam, and its authorised representatives, the *mullahs*, and have to reckon with them at every step. The new Prime Minister Mr. F. K. Noon declared the other day that the Islamic character of Pakistan does not militate against equal citizenship to non-Muslims, for he said that its only implication that the President should be a Muslim was but a small point of no significance for the ordinary citizen. This view is an over-simplification, for we see the immense difficulty that the advocates of joint electorates have in Pakistan. The idea of an Islamic State in their minds excludes equal rights to non-Muslims.

The Islamic tenet, prohibiting the use of human images even in art, has had a profound influence in Islamic art, forcing it to confine itself to plant motifs excluding representations of man. Hence the plant design traceries and networks carved in Islamic buildings, sacred and secular. To give way to the outcries of the *mullahs* will have further repercussions in other fields of life in Pakistan. The sanction of polygamy by Islamic law has already raised protest by

progressive women. The problem is not solved. Women cannot have equal rights in an Islamic society, so long as polygamy is allowed. We shall have news of further struggles between fanatic, closed-mind medievalism and modernism in Pakistan in the coming years. Pakistan is not yet out of her teething troubles.

Mr. Lotvala has been calling upon scholars to study the social and political implications of Islam for years now. This is necessary if we are to understand the inner motivations of Islamic peoples and their leadership, not only in India but throughout the Islamic region of North Africa, Egypt and West Asia.

This is necessary to understand why Hindu India has failed to assimilate Islam, while it triumphed over the Hunas and other tribes who invaded the country before the advent of Islam. We shall not be able to build a single cohesive nation, including Indian Muslims, if we do not understand those essential features of Islam that militate against nationalism, and the open society, so necessary for progress, both in national and international spheres.

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE AT LAHORE

President Mirza has realised the necessity of a study of Islamic social and political ideas for the purpose of constructing a modern nation State. The founders of Pakistan have felt the urgency of this need from the beginning, even before the formal inauguration of their new State. Professors in Pakistan have been writing about the problem. It is noteworthy that they are not content with the present boundaries of "moth-eaten and truncated" Pakistan, to use the deprecating words of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah. They have always aimed at mobilising pan-Islamic sentiment to found a giant modern federation or commonwealth or empire, stretching from Morocco to Indonesia, including Albania, certain parts of Bulgaria, and even Poland, southern Muslim areas of Soviet Russia and Western China, Malaya, and Indonesia. Certain parts of Burma such as Tenasserim, are also marked in the Pan-Islamic map! *India of course, is to be split up into several small States under the name of Dinia and to form part of the subsidiary system of foreign States under the hegemony of Islam!*

It is against this background that we are to consider the frequent Islamic world conferences that are being called at Karachi. The present one at Lahore is the latest in the series in which the accent is on scholarship, art and culture. Previous conferences were predominantly economic and political. Some 130 scholars from 31 countries including China, India, UK, USA, USSR are attending the present "colloquium" or conference at Lahore.

ISLAM AND "SPIRITUAL OUTLOOK"

President Mirza sounded the key-note of the deliberations, when he said that Islam had for centuries fallen into the hands of "half-baked and ill-educated mullahs" and appealed to Muslims to take it out from the four walls of "mosques and castles." "Mullahs,"

he said, "had woven into Islam a crazy network of fantasy and fanaticism. Inside the mosques, the *mullahs* had made Islam a fairy tale, immersed in strange superstitions and opposed to forces of progress. Outside the mosque, they had made it a handmaid of power politics. He asked the delegates to endeavour to focus on Islam a searchlight of new knowledge and thought, so that all would be able to derive guidance from Islam, in accordance with their capacity and without any conflict with the spirit of the times."

"The race between the conflicting ideologies of today," he added, "is bound to end in atomic smoke unless their materialistic frenzy is moulded by the intercession of spiritual outlook, Islam providing a forum for experimenting an universal peace."

It is difficult for the average outsider, and even for the informed one, to associate a *spiritual outlook* with Islam. Islam approves of Aurangzeb for his "spiritual" outlook but his policies of *jezia* (poll tax) and the demolishing of Hindu temples which connotes an idea of the "spiritual outlook" difficult to understand for the unbeliever. The Islamic ideas of the *Ghazi*, the spiritual hero, who wins his "spiritual" merit by killing the *Kafir* is also somewhat difficult to associate with spiritualism. If such tenets are "spiritual" in essence, then Islam should be said to have a different notion of spiritualism which it is essential for Indians to understand. Until a clear understanding is achieved between non-Muslims and Muslims in India, and in the world at large, on this matter, all political *panchashila* declarations and compromises are built on sand. A modern, rational study should lay bare the sources of fanaticism and the closed mind in the central tenets of Islam, whether they pertain to its central essence, or only to outlying accidental spheres, which can be cut away without damaging the central core of the religion.

It is to be hoped that the Lahore conference will yield some modern literature on the subject. This is a question in which many spheres of scholarship in the whole world ought to be interested. In calling such a conference, President Mirza has revealed himself to be a man of insight and statesmanship. But whether this insight and statesmanship makes for goodwill and harmony with India is a different matter, for between expressed ideals and actual practice there is a whole world of difference stretching between heaven and hell. Perpetual vigilance is the inescapable duty of Indian statesmanship, first in rank and urgency and value.

FEROZE KHAN NOON'S ASSURANCES

On assuming charge of his Prime Ministership, Mr. Noon has sounded a note of peace and reconciliation with India. Speaking at a meeting organised by the Awami League to celebrate their victory over the electorate question, Mr. Noon asked the Indian people to "disabuse their minds of the fear" that Pakistan wanted war with India. He recalled that on several previous occasions he had assured Mr. Nehru that Pakistan had no intention of declaring war with India. He referred to the purchase of bombers and fighters by India, and said that, only England benefited by it. Mr. Noon said that Kashmir was the chief cause of quarrel with India, and that India should let a plebiscite be held there. The Pakistan Government had no intention to impose separate electorates.

This assurance is welcome, but it would be foolish to weaken our defences, in response to it. Mr. Noon is apparently sobered by India's purchases of bombers and fighter planes. He realises that if Pakistan can inflict damage on India, it will not be with impunity. India, too, could destroy the few cities and centres of production, meagre as they are in Pakistan. This ought to be a deterrent to madness.

Mr. Surjit Singh Majithia told a Press Conference in Patna on 29 December that the Air Force of India was far superior to that of Pakistan, and was strong enough to ward off any invasion from that country, though American aid had, no doubt, supplemented the armed strength of Pakistan. It is good to hear this public assurance from the authorities, who are usually chary of expressing themselves on this subject of anxiety and paramount importance to the security of the country.

BORDER TROUBLES FROM PAKISTAN AND PRIME MINISTER'S HELPLESSNESS

A delegation of tribes in Jaintia hills area, complained to the Prime Minister, when he was there recently, that the tribesmen and others had frequent trouble resulting in losses in their border trade with East Pakistan. The news reports were silent regarding details. This is another instance of the failure of the press to do their plain duty in keeping the whole country informed about the background of news items of importance to the welfare of the nation. Assam and Orissa figure very little in the big newspapers, and the rest of India know very little as to what is going on there.

So it is, in regard to the interior of Tamilnad and of Kerala and Saurashtra. These are *terra incognita* for the bulk of the people.

In 1948, '49 and '50, we used to hear that more than five miles of Indian territory along the border of Assam had been forcibly occupied by Pakistani migrants unauthorisedly taking advantage of the large percentage of Muslims in the area. The Assam Government, even passed legislation, taking power to expel these unwanted migrants but it was never enforced. This is one more instance of our grievously unjustified appeasement of Pakistan.

On this occasion, too, the Prime Minister held out no hope of India being able to stop the border troubles in trade, and even in the matter of unlawful incursions into our territory, inflicting loss and dishonour to our people. He merely said, according to available reports, that India could not change the policy of Pakistan in this respect! It may be asked how such a defeatist answer squares with the loud claims that India's foreign policy has been divinely successful? It has been successful only if India's practical interests are not considered and included in the assessment.

EAST PAKISTAN AND THE HINDUS

There seems to be no end to the story of the cruel expulsion of the Hindus from East Pakistan. Our Prime Minister is fed up with the job of receiving and rehabilitating the endless stream of refugees. So he has recently declared that a date will be announced beyond which Hindu refugees from Pakistan will
(Continued on page 19)

THE REPUBLIC DAY

By V. R.

ON Republic day, it behoves every citizen to review the events of the year that is just passed and contemplate the extent to which the nation has been strengthened in its course and determination to realise the high purposes with which the Preamble to the Constitution is charged. They fall under three heads.

The first major head is connoted by the word "We" with which it begins- WE, the People of India.....

The word WE indicates our nation, the people of India. The second set of words are taken from the revolutionary cries of the French Revolution—liberty, equality and fraternity – which constitute the values of democracy. But we are not endeavouring to build a universal democracy applicable to the whole of mankind. The world is not yet ready for it. If in pursuit of this noble aim prematurely, India were to treat Pakistanis as equal citizens of India, as some short-sighted sentimentalists would propose, Indian destiny will soon become a hell on earth. Gandhi once offered Mr. Jinnah a blank cheque in return for co-operation in the demand for national independence. If it had been granted, the fate of non-Muslims in India would have been the same as that of Hindus in Pakistan today or that of Hungarians under the hegemony of Soviet Russia.

The first thing we have to grasp is, therefore, the

necessity of nationalism. The democratic rights of liberty, equality and fraternity are first to be applied to Indian citizens. Integral nationalism is the limit and stuff of democracy in any viable sense.

THE FATAL ERROR

We have next to note that liberty comes first. Equality and fraternity have to be consistent with liberty. It is this that is abrogated by socialism. In India, we are following without realising the self-contradictory road of Marxist socialism, which is supposed to result in true liberty and people's democracy. This is a fatal error. The second Five Year Plan is taking us towards dictatorship unintentionally.

With the Order for the compulsory deposit of reserves of companies with Government and the nationalisation of insurance companies, we have moved a long way towards State socialism, which will destroy liberty in the end. Justice in the preamble is an after-thought to stand for *dharma*. If Marxist socialism continues to be our policy, republicanism will become impossible of realisation even before we have learnt to recognise it. This is the outstanding thought that arises on a contemplation of past year's events. It is not yet too late for the democratic elements in the country to arrest the slippery "progress" towards socialism.

1957:-- AT HOME AND ABROAD

By M. A. Venkata Rao

ON New Year day, it is customary to review the events of the past year. But it is doubtful how far such reviews induce any significant learning (in the leaders of nations) from the blunders of the past year. History, particularly that of the recent past, is so complex in its motivations and the intermixture of effects, that few statesmen have the insight into real causes and meaningful effects to be able to draw the right lessons for future guidance. Yet man cannot live in the passing present. He must look before and after, and assert his freedom to mould the future in accordance with the direction of his rational hopes.

What are the major events of 1957 at home and abroad and what can we learn from a proper survey and understanding of them?

WORLD ABROAD

To take up the wider scene of world politics first, we note that the year 1957 begins with a serious testing time, both for the Soviet bloc and the free world. The Soviet bloc spent the year trying to digest the revolts in Poland and Hungary in October of the previous year (1956). In Poland, the regime of Gomulka succeeded in arriving at a compromise with Khrush-

chev and the Soviet Union that gave some concessions to the liberal demands of the Polish workers, intelligentsia and the peasants. The rigidity of Stalinist rule was relaxed in many ways. Poland was permitted to have some aid and trade from the USA, peasants were permitted to back out of the collectives, and the press got a little more freedom to criticise affairs. The military units of the Soviets were withdrawn into cantonments and overt show of force was avoided. This was possible on account of the refusal of Gomulka to repudiate Soviet authority altogether and to demand full national independence and full political democracy with plurality of parties.

But in Hungary, Imre Nagy went too far and demanded the withdrawal of Soviet forces altogether, announced a free plural party system and neutrality in foreign affairs etc. He was removed by treachery and Kadar was installed, with the help of Russian tanks, who proceeded to apply the rigours of the full Stalinist terrors to scotch the revolt. The terror is still continuing with death penalties and torture to prisoners. Many thousands were deported to Russian slave labour camps.

The Russians and the Kadar regime refused to

permit the UNO committee of investigation to enter Hungary, but put forth their own version of the Hungarian freedom struggle, as consisting in counter-revolution led by Fascists, landlords and capitalists of the Horthy era, egged on and financed and armed by the West, particularly the USA. This was a travesty of the truth but the Iron Curtain, plus tremendous propaganda and the co-operation of fellow-travellers, have combined to put up a thick smoke-screen of falsehood hiding the tragedy of Hungary. The Soviets suffered a *tremendous loss of face* but they continue in the old path of deceiving the world as to the truth of their terror system.

RED PATCH-UP

Khrushchev has engaged himself, in the course of the year, to patch up the cracks in the allegiance of the satellites. He has induced Tito to support him in his foreign policy to the extent of Yugoslavia recognising the East German regime, to the annoyance of West Germany. Tito first supported the Hungarian freedom fighters, but halted and withdrew, when they demanded a clean break with communism with its one-party regime. It was clear that he was a dictator at heart. Democracy in Hungary will release forces in his own backyard that may overthrow his dictatorial rule! He supports diverse roads to socialism only so long as the one-party dictatorship is maintained intact!

India has been unnecessarily misled in the evaluation of the Hungarian tragedy by reliance on the judgment of Tito. India committed a blunder in recognising Kadar. Her belated criticism of Russian intervention, due more to the pressure of public opinion at home and abroad, than to spontaneous exercise of moral judgment lost India the moral prestige she had won by her non-alignment. The Western world drew the conclusion that India's Prime Minister was more interested in pleasing the Russians, or at least, in not displeasing them, even in matters so grave as the ruthless strangling of a nation's soul by military might than in truth and freedom.

Khrushchev has succeeded in reimposing the rule of the Kremlin on the satellites. He has got the majority of the satellites to sign a document, accepting the supremacy of the Soviet Union's communist party, and to the revival of the Cominform in the shape of a new journal through which ideological conformity can be maintained. Poland signed it but Yugoslavia has refused. China has accorded full support to Soviet Russia in this policy of streamlining satellite adherence. Mao tse-Tung was alarmed at the astonishing way in which even the communist party of workers, university students, intelligentsia and peasants melted away in Hungary during the revolt. So he announced a new policy of letting a "thousand flowers bloom and all rural views to contend" openly with each other. But the blast of criticism of the regime let loose by this concession soon upset the equanimity of Mao and he proceeded to punish drastically the leading figures, who had dared to exercise the freedom given. The lesson is clear that the Chinese Reds are committed to the same kind of mental and physical slavery of the masses as Soviet Russia maintained by police terror, hitched to the star of forced industrialisation, collective farms and military power. It is a misnomer and cruelty to call this system by

the name of socialism. Yet the world is full of willing believers who strangle all evidence and are willing to toe the line!

The Soviets have made the world forget the moral rot within their regime by the spectacular success of their Sputniks and their intercontinental ballistic rocket missile. They have won back the admiration of the world by this resounding success which has served to create a moral confusion with the suggestion that scientific advance so astonishing could not emanate from a totally bad and oppressive social system! Poland and Hungarian cries for freedom are forgotten in this spectacular victory over space.

CHANGE OF PREMIER IN BRITAIN

The year opened with the disappearance of Eden from the leadership of the conservative party and Government in Great Britain and the assumption of the Prime Ministership by Mr. Macmillan. Macmillan has tried to patch up the dangerous rift with the USA caused by the Suez canal fiasco that coincided with the Hungarian tragedy. The Kremlin made fearful use of the occasion to cover her own horror in Hungary with pointing the moral of the Anglo-French-Israeli imperialism in Suez. The world seemed to have nothing to choose between Western and Russian imperialisms. This moral equivalence between them in the public opinion of the free world is yet clogging the path to a mobilisation of the true conscience of mankind. These two events and the behaviour of the two blocs have drawn a picture of the moral confusion that is preventing the formulation of effective policies, making for a better world of freedom and equality for all. Macmillan succeeded, (with the help of the Sputniks that generated a new mood of humility in the USA), in getting accord to a policy of *interdependence* in science and atomic strength based on exchange of secrets. The NATO conference of Paris was attended by President Eisenhower and some kind of unanimity was patched-up.

America offered to equip the NATO countries with her intermediate missiles of a range of about 1500 miles. Norway and West Germany refused to have them and desired to give a hearing to the Russian proposal of having an "atom free region" in Central Europe, including West Germany and Poland.

NEW WAVE OF DEFEATISM IN THE WEST

This is causing a new wave of defeatism in the West, inducing the European nations to toy with the idea that it would be best to withdraw from the giant contest altogether and let the two Great Powers settle the quarrel between them over the heads of the small nations. The USA is staggered by the success of the Sputniks, and the threat they indicate that the Russians can send atomic-warheads attached to long range missiles from within their own borders to any part of the USA! The line of bases round the Russian border has now been rendered useless! The USA is preparing to pour more money than ever into scientific experiment and education.

There is yet no indication that the USA is prepared to retrieve the moral leadership of the free world by any spectacular gesture comparable to Marshall Aid. To wrest the moral leadership of the world in the race for competitive co-existence with Soviet Russia, she will have to announce a bold plan for helping the

underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa on a large scale.

The Afrasian Solidarity Conference held in Cairo in December is consolidating the gains won by the Russians on the propaganda front by mobilising anti-West sentiments and painting the Soviets in attractive colours as the sole champion of the poor and oppressed peoples of the world. This is where the world stands today, with the West in a mood of anxiety and fear, and the Russian empire in a mood of triumph, sobered only by the rumblings within her own curtain, rumblings caused by the hunger for freedom in the satellites and in Russia herself. The cold war has approached a crisis within a crisis, needing urgent refashioning of policies to save the world from catastrophe. The round-the-clock patrolling of atom bomb laden American bombers round the territories of international communism are not enough to meet the situation. Strength is necessary but not enough. The sombre colours of the sunset of Western civilization and smell of war are already assailing our senses.

NEARER HOME IN INDIA

What of the situation within the country?

It is not without anxiety brought on by our own too ambitious plans under the Second Five Year Plan, and the spectacular failure of the First Plan in the matter of food production. The complacency over the success of food production, which was more due to timely rains was rudely disturbed by rising prices throughout the year. The Ashoka Mehta Committee declared what was plain for all to see that the leaders had slept in the interval. The country should demand as to why they ignored the signs and lulled it to a sense of safety. Election tactics cannot be put forward as an excuse. The leaders in Government have failed to take the measures suggested for a full solution of the food situation even before 1947—the building of buffer stocks—a system of aid to the farmer, the restoration of major irrigation reservoirs, the building of warehouses in rural areas etc. These should have been completed long ago, together with a long term agreement with grain surplus countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, Siam, Burma and Indo-China. These are being thought of only now.

DEBACLE ON FOOD FRONT SPELLS FAILURE OF PLAN

The failure on the food front spelt the failure of financing of the Five Year Plan. Hundreds of crores had to be spent on food imports which ate up much foreign exchange. Indiscriminate import of machinery under the Plan created a huge deficiency in foreign exchange. Critics had foretold these difficulties as well as the others (inflation and so on) even as early as 1955 when the Mahalanobis Plan-Frame was announced. Events have tragically confirmed the critics, and yet the Government is dithering without a firm decision to prune the plan. Finance Minister Krishnamachari's sojourn in the USA, Britain and West Germany will no doubt, bring some relief but it was clear that the major hurdle in the path of foreign aid coming to India lies in the uneconomic or anti-economic policies of runaway socialism, that India is putting into force. Industrialists brought the report that plenty of foreign investment, in partnership with Indian capital, is ready to come to India under favourable terms if only the Indian Government revamps her regulations of the capital market, and makes some concessions to foreign investors, such as relief from double taxation, stability

in taxation, and some assurance about labour discipline. These are as much necessary for domestic capital as for foreign. So India continues to remain uneasily in *Trisanku*—midway between dictatorship and freedom—with official ideology all in the direction of economic dictatorship.

The States are embarking at the pressure of the Centre, on land reforms on the communist pattern with ceilings, forced transfer of land from landowners to tenants, catastrophic reduction in rents to a fourth or fifth or sixth of the produce, forced formation of co-operative of collective farms, farcical compensation (in bonds, not cash) to dispossessed landlords etc.

These measures now proposed by Mysore and Kerala and about to be declared in Andhra and Madras are more motivated by the desire to win the votes of the landless than by any economic plan to increase production. The result is the creation of an artificial and unnecessary chaos in the countryside for some time. Middle class, urban discontent will be reinforced by a widespread discontent in the villages. All farmers cannot be satisfied with Congress patronage. Those left out in the cold will stir up the peasant population.

TROUBLE IN THE SOUTH

On other fronts, too, the year has produced grave troubles. Foremost among these is the agitation of the Dravida Kazagam led by Mr. Ramaswami Naicker. He has been emboldened by the electoral alliance that Mr. Nadar made with him to come out into the open, and threaten to burn the Constitution, the national flag and portraits of Gandhiji. The Madras Government replied with a new law, making such acts dishonouring national emblems, punishable. Many Kazagam men were sentenced. Mr. Naicker also incited mass killing of Brahmins. He is sentenced to six months. But the disease lies deeper.

The Kazagam movement has developed an amalgam of half truths like the Nazi philosophy of race regarding Dravidian and Aryan elements in history and culture. It wants to repudiate the entire Aryan culture of the North, imposed on the defeated Dravidians by Aryans, of whom the Brahmins are supposed to be the original leaders. A continuous hate campaign against the North and the Brahmins has been going on for over a decade now. The Centre and all nationalists should analyse these ingredients of this social poison and initiate a multi-pronged policy for winning the misled people back to healthy nationalism and fellowship. So far, there is no sign of any such constructive policy anywhere, whether in official or unofficial quarters.

The Nagas have been given administrative region of their own, along with the tribes of the North-east Frontier Agency on the borders of Assam and Burma with China on the bend of the Brahmaputra. This is another field where national leadership has failed to create unity. It neglected affairs in this area in spite of earnings from shrewd observers like Mr. Golwalkar in 1947. It is to be hoped that the Nagas will be won for the nation by this gesture.

The struggle between the Akalis and the Hindus carried on in the name of Hindi, reveals again the defect of national leadership. It is the result of the Governments appeasement of the Akali Sikhs in granting them a regional share in the administration. It is feared that this will lead to a Sikh State. Here

(Continued on page 20)

Red Chenghiz Khans On The Move

WESTERN STRATEGIC BLIND ALLEY

By Charles A. Willoughby

A clear analysis of the present position of the East-West "cold war". According to the author the decline of West is traceable to violations of principles as applied to diplomacy as well as to war. "The hordes of (Red) Chenghis Khan are on the move."

I propose, in the present article, to subject the strategic position of the United States of the techniques of analysis I have learned and practiced in the course of a long and, I hope, useful military career.

I make the following assumptions:

Disarmament negotiations can now be filed away as one more "noble experiment"—and a further Canossa for the West since the Russians made good use of them: while demanding that nuclear tests be discontinued they accelerated their own missile-firing and were able, finally, to announce a successful 5000 mile-model.

WHERE REDS CAN'T BE BEATEN

Western intelligence has not penetrated, and is not likely to penetrate, the Iron Curtain - in part because espionage agents in Russia face torture and death, with no Supreme Court waiting in the wings to give them a reprieve. We have, in consequence, no reliable evidence proving that the Russian do not have a workable intercontinental missile, and cannot assume that they don't. They certainly have a long-range Schnorkel-type submarine and a superior twin-engine jet-bomber to say nothing of the Sputnik.

Russian technological advances, we may note in passing, are punishment for our political sins. It was we who drove Germany's military technicians into the Russian orbit - to escape the sinister absurdities of "Volkegerichte" and post-factum "War Crimes tribunals". The Schnorkel, the jet and the rocket were, all three, initially of German design.

The West weakened itself greatly during the years of the so-called deterrent by taking the latter seriously. Only a perfunctory minimum of conventional defensive armament was developed in the decade following Hiroshima. Russia, meanwhile, armed to the teeth. The West, at the end of the period, had less than one-fifth of the number of ready divisions it had maintained in an average pre-war year (1928), as witness the following table:

Country	ww I	1928	ww II	1957 (NATO)
Benelux	18	17	20	4.5
U.S.	34	12	79	5
United Kingdom	89	23	49	5
Franco	118	30	90	2
Germany	228	10	190	3
Italy	45	28	50	8
Russia	225	95	225	175

Witness also the recent statements of top Western commanders; General Norstad requests at least 30 divisions on the Denmark-Switzerland front. NATO naval Commanders (1957) commented on exercise Seawitch "these forces are at present inadequate in

view of the enormous number of Soviet submarines..." The obvious discrepancy between Russian and NATO "ready" divisions was in itself an adequate reason for not discussing disarmament at the present juncture.

Moreover, by any professional military standards, the troop dispositions along the crucial European front (Denmark-Switzerland) violate the basic principles of war; that of "mass", that of "economy of force," and that of the "objective."

MILITARY FOLLIES

The decline of the West, like the story of Carthage and Rome, is traceable to violations of the principles that apply to diplomacy as well as to war; indeed, diplomatic blunders may well have played the major role. In the chill climate of the "cold war", the West is now confronted with parrying another blow, a Russian claim of the most sinister potential: a long-range nuclear missile, in the hand of power-drunk megalomaniacs without moral or ethical restraints and with a known record of consistent perfidy and violence. The hordes of Genghis Khan are on the move! But our concern here is with the military errors that produced our present situation.

The finest crop of suicidal follies in the military area is to be found in the fields of aviation and nuclear armaments. For one thing, as we have already noted, the harsh and punitive handling of postwar Germany (irresponsible of de-Nazification and the threat of "war criminality") drove the most important German technicians in airplane and rocket design into the arms of the Russians, who thus obtained expert management for their industrial production and, make no mistake about it - the present quality of Soviet planes and weapons is inexplicable on any other grounds. Secondly, there is the almost casual manner in which, thanks to Harry Truman, our all-important nuclear inventions slipped from Allied into Russian hands. Some notes taken at MacArthur's Head quarters in 1945 throw light on this:

Japan was ready for the *coup de grace* as early as October 1944 and it could have been administered with conventional weapons. With Japan's weakness completely revealed, the employment of the atomic bomb had no justification.

.... It is rare in military history that a nation obtains a monopoly on a hitherto secret weapon or technique of absolute supremacy. Had Truman kept the atomic bomb a secret, the American politico-military position today would be impregnable. Premature exposure led to intensified Russian espionage through a sinister element of modern decadence - the fifth column, the native traitor, the citizen saboteur....

(Continued on page 9)

Revolutionising Indian Life Section II*

Annihilate Superstition (Part V)*

By Dr. K. N. Kini, M.A. PH.D. (Columbia University)

Former Director of Public Instruction, Jodhpur.

REBIRTH IS SUPERSTITION

(32) Hindus generally believe that every person has a soul, that this soul is indestructible, that it reaches heaven or hell after his death and that, there, it gets reward and punishment, each in proportion to the goodness and badness of the actions done in previous lives, that it is reborn on this earth in the form of some human being (or a lower animal if his past actions or *Karma* are grossly bad) and that when, it is reborn in human or animal body, it has again the joys and sorrows in the proportion of virtuous and evil actions done in the past lives and that the individual soul undergoes or takes such lives ad-infinitum until, by continuous and progressive good deeds, it merges into God (whatever this term may mean) for the so-called emancipation.

(33) A rational mind is not satisfied with this thesis or theory of rebirth. There is absolutely no evidence that there is a distinct entity called soul in man, which one can isolate and experiment with, any more than that there is a soul in an animal (including in insect or a germ) or a plant. *Every living being or thing has undoubtedly some energy in it. This energy enables it to live and grow. When that energy*

(Continued from page 8)

The West does not appear to learn from experience. In both World Wars the "intelligence" services parachuted weapons by the thousand to every partisan of the moment, from Yugoslavia to Malaya. The fruits of this suicidal folly became apparent in North Korea, in 1951, when illiterate Chinese coolies could press the trigger of Czech automatic rifles and knock off American draftees in high school or collegiate categories, and economic wastage of appalling significance. The white man is an expensive and limited commodity: soon the European conscript was to be outnumbered a hundred to one.

Fortunately, Western genius for complex machinery has come to the rescue, temporarily, through the development of expensive aircraft, ships and guns and the ultimate nuclear weapon. Instruments of "mass destruction" in being or under design could stem the flood of Communist cannon-fodder provided again that these instruments were withheld from potential enemies. This is what we forgot to the degree when it came to safeguarding the Western atomic arsenal. This is no time for "sharing" a scarce commodity of which we have the major supply. "Peaceful use" of atomic energy is a semantic opiate that only blurs hard realities. And we forget it out of the chronic malaise of parliamentary democracies: inefficient security and intelligence services, inadequate civil and moral discipline, and political philosophies that cannot cope with Communist techniques of infiltration and conquest.

(To be continued)

From *National Review* (U.S.A.)

begins to decrease its decay begins, that is, old age sets in. When that energy fades away, its life ceases.

(34) Nobody has seen the soul nor even felt it objectively or experienced it. While ancient psychologists learned psychology as the science of the soul, the present ones term it as the science of the mind or consciousness, and some even call it the science of behaviour, not bringing even the mind into the picture. There is no evidence that there are heaven and hell as distinct from this planet and that any soul, even if it can be postulated to exist, has the Karma of the individual attached to it after his death and that it reaches either heaven or hell which are mere fantasies of superstitious human mind.

(35) There is no evidence that any distinct entity, soul, takes birth again and experiences the fruits of its actions done in past lives, if at all there be such. The whole theory of rebirth is a fantastic affair, a product of fertile imagination, one mass of speculation without any factual basis.

(36) Bhagwan Das says: "The Vaidika doctrine is well-known, that the soul comes to the stage of man after passing through many lower forms, and takes numerous rebirths in the human form. In fact, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, are so full of it, that it is not needed to quote texts in proof. It does not appear that Bible and Quoran contain any explicit affirmation of rebirth. *But they nowhere deny it either.* And Christ said that the prophet Elizah had come again as John the Baptist" There is only an affirmation about soul here and no proof. Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism are cousins of Hinduism, and it is no wonder that they are full of the doctrine. That the Bible and the Quoran nowhere deny the doctrine cannot be regarded as proof of the truth of the doctrine. It must also be remembered that ideas of religion were wafted in the past from India both towards the Western and Eastern countries, and therefore any similarities in religious conceptions in those regions are not to be regarded as independent evidence. Well has Mr. E. B. Havell stated† "Recent archaeological research has discovered evidence of the presence of Asoka's missionaries in Egypt, and as no religion can be explained or understood as a disconnected fact in the process of Man's spiritual development, it is more than justifiable to conclude that the Buddhist missions established by Asoka prepared the soil from which both Christianity and Islam afterwards sprang."

LAW OF KARMA IS UNTENABLE

(37) Both the Law of Karma and the Doctrine of Rebirth are not tenable. Of course every action has a reaction; a cause has an effect. Love may cause love or not; but hate does produce hate. Love has a chance of giving birth to love; but hate has absolutely no chance of producing love. Similarly, good actions may give rise to good actions from others or not; but

* Parts I to IV were published in February 1, March 18, May 1 and June 15, 1957 in the *Indian Libertarian*.

it is certain that bad actions will not produce good reactions. This is the ordinary experience in our daily life on this earth.

(38) But if one says that our actions produce reactions after death, one can only assert that there is no proof to that effect. When soul itself cannot be postulated with any degree of certainty and therefore, when rebirth itself cannot be proved, it is most unlikely that Karma performed on this planet is carried over when this body is disposed off after death. Bhagwan Das states: "Virtue and merit are rewarded; vice and sin are punished someday, somewhere, sooner or later, here or thereafter." Virtue and vice are relative. The Ancient Aryans thought that resorting to intoxicating drinks, eating meat including beef, marrying widows and waging wars and killing the enemy in a righteous cause were virtuous deeds. Large sections of the present day Hindus however think that these actions are not virtuous. Many think that they are vicious. Then, was reward attached to these actions in the past and is punishment attached to these very actions at present?

(39) Chatterjee and Datta say† "The law of Karma in its different aspects may be regarded as the law of the conservation of moral values, merits and demerits of action." Morality is relative. Sri Rama sent Sita, when she was pregnant, to the forest, where there were chances of her being devoured by wild beasts. Was this act moral? The five Pandavas looked on when their common wife, Draupadi was being stripped of her clothes in the open court of the king, Dritarastra, the uncle of the Pandavas. What moral code did the Pandavas adopt when they were witnessing this diabolical sin? Was their action moral? If India

* *Essential Unity of All Religions* (p. 237).

† *The Introduction of Indian Philosophy* (p. 17).

will be invaded, shall we look on, because it is regarded as immoral to kill other human beings by our non-violent proponents, who think that the same God is in the aggressor too according to Vedanta philosophy? Is killing animals for food moral or immoral? Millions of vegetarian Hindus, who consider violence as sin, take cod-liver oil, essences of meat, tonics prepared from livers of cows, bulls, sheep and goats. Do they commit sin and will there be punishment for them after death.

(40) If we push the law of Karma to its logical conclusions, our life will be intolerable and our actions will be ridiculous. Morality is only relative. It is different in different religions, countries, societies and times. It is highly improbable that one God or even a multitude of Gods will be successful in assessing the righteousness and wrongness of the deeds performed by 2,500 millions of human beings every moment of their life on this planet and go on assigning marks to them for the sin or virtue connected with each of these millions of actions.

(41) In Jainism and Buddhism, there is absence of belief in God. Then who records and assesses the Karma of the millions of Jains and Buddhists? Who deals the rewards and punishment?

INHERENCE OF JOYS AND SORROWS

(42) The real truth is that joys and sorrows are inherent in life on this planet. Healthy growth is joy. Ill-health and decay is sorrow. We should not go on brooding over the moral aspect of our actions ever and anon. If a certain action is called for at a certain moment for our benefit and for the benefit of our bretheren, it must be done, whatever may be the result. If any nation should attack us, we should fight back and destroy it, come what may.

(To be continued)

Malaviya Was No Coward Nor A Communalist

By Lal

DURING the unveiling of a portrait of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya by President Rajendra Prasad in Parliament Hall on December 19 last, Prime Minister Nehru asked whether there was any who had a better claim to have his portrait in the Hall. "In the Hall which has witnessed the historic framing of the Constitution and the proclamation of independence," he proceeded to observe, "it is right and fitting that the portraits of the architects of the nation's freedom should be there".

Quite frankly, these words from Mr. Nehru, who is ever ready to condemn communalism in others—as if to prove that he has none of it—took my breath away but then I recollected that he is past-master in the art of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds and that he was not the man to lose an opportunity to endear himself to millions of those who hold Malaviya's memory sacred.

Nor were his other Nationalist colleagues less emphatic in their praise of the great Hindu leader. The portrait, Dr. Rajendra Prasad felt, would give inspira-

tion not only to the present members of Parliament but those coming to it in future.

NEHRU ON MALAVIYA

Vice-President Radhakrishnan described Pandit Malaviya as a "staunch Hindu whose mission was to rehabilitate the culturally displaced and spiritually uprooted people" of the country. But, said Dr. Radhakrishnan, "he never allowed his religious faith to interfere with national interests." In other words, according to Dr. Radhakrishnan, Pt. Malaviya was not a communalist at all. It may be said that the President holds the same opinion of Pandit Malaviya, but that cannot be said of Mr. Nehru, whose opinions of Pandit Malaviya went on record in his *Autobiography*.

In Chapter XXII, entitled "Controversies in India", he deals with the new Nationalist Party formed by Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai in the middle of the twenties, saying: "The new Nationalist Party was also wholly a Hindu party, working in close co-

operation with the Hindu Mahasabha. Pandit Malaviya's leadership of it was easy to understand, for it represented as nearly as possible his own public attitude.... He was also the most popular leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, and, in regard to communal matters, his policy differed from that of the Congress".

Again he says in the same chapter: "Many a Hindu felt that there was too much of the stand-up-and-deliver about the Muslim attitude, too much of an attempt to extort special privileges with the threat of going over to the other side. Because of this the Hindu Mahasabha rose to some importance, representing as it did Hindu nationalism, Hindu communalism opposing Muslim communalism. The aggressive activities of the Mahasabha acted on and stimulated still further this Muslim communalism, and so action and reaction went on, and in the process the communal temperature of the country went up."

What is most remarkable about the passage quoted above is that the author does not say that what many a Hindu felt was wrong, because he himself perhaps was among them. In any case the vast majority of Congressmen were. When unfair demands are made, they can either be resisted or conceded. To appease those who make unfair demands is to submit to injustice and put a premium on blackmail. To resist them is the only proper course for a man who wants justice and peace to prevail on earth. This resistance on the part of the Hindu Mahasabha under the leadership of Pandit Malaviya constituted "aggressive activities" for Mr. Nehru. So much for his sense of justice and fairplay.

I have quoted enough from Mr. Nehru's *Autobiography* to show that he regarded Pandit Malaviya as a communalist. Indeed, there is a direct statement to that effect in Chapter LXVII entitled "Some Recent Happenings". Mr. Nehru there says: "The two outstanding features of the Congress, as far as I could make out from my distant and secluded abode on the mountains, were: the dominant personality of Gandhiji and the exceedingly poor show that the communal opposition under Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Aney put up."

Mr. Nehru seems to think that any one who stands up for Hindu rights is a communalist, as if the majority community has no business to have any rights, as if the people who constitute the bulk of the nation have no business to have any rights, not even that of protection of their own women and their property. For, it must be remembered that it was when Hindu women began to be insulted and molested by Muslim goondas that Pandit Malaviya felt the urge of a higher call than that of his age-old allegiance to the National Congress over which he had presided thrice. Any one who knew Pandit Malaviya can say with confidence that, as against the infuriated activities mentioned above, the communal ratio and percentage in the services and legislatures had no weight at all in his noble mind.

MALAVIYA WAS NO COWARD

And Pandit Malaviya was no coward. There were cowards who had nothing to say when evil-minded Muslims said in effect: "Stand up and deliver" otherwise you and your women are not safe in the country. What Pandit Malaviya's retort—the only possible decent retort—was, almost every one in the country

knows. But his words are worth remembering—words which made him communal in Mr. Nehru's eyes but which deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold:

"It is a matter of shame that a country where there was a gallant army of Kshatriyas...has fallen so low that a handful of foreign people may rule and insult it or any one among the Muslims may dare attack our women and temples....."

"The day evil-minded Muslims...realise that they would get two blows for one, on that day there will be perfect unity among us....."

"I want each and every woman in our country to know how to fire a pistol....."

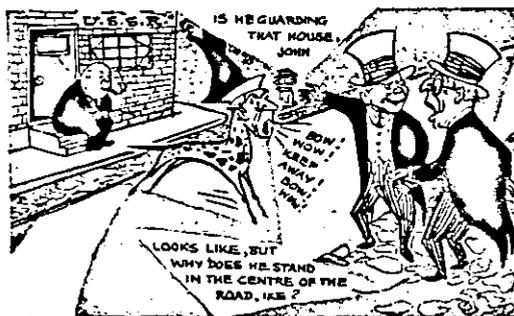
"Our Go-gohar and Triya-gohar are famous. Whenever a cow or a woman is in trouble, she calls out and the whole village makes the brutes run away. I cannot say anything about men but, if I live long enough, I will at least teach women how to fire with a pistol. They—the image of Kali—would manage to defend themselves. But, men, what about you? With what face will you confront women? If you are men, you should know how to defend your rights and your property."

Indeed, in a speech in Delhi, he went so far as to warn Muslims that even if only one Muslim life was lost for every Hindu killed, the Muslims would be extinct in India by the time Hindus were reduced to two hundred million.

No wonder Mr. Nehru thought he was a communalist. No man in India has spoken for the Hindus as Pandit Malaviya spoke. I have given some extracts from his speeches to show that the man who thought it was part of his patriotic duty to indulge in what Mr. Keskar, the Minister of Information, would call "communal incitement" is being given the highest honour that it is possible for the country's Parliament to bestow and has received the highest tribute that it was possible for Mr. Nehru to give. After this, all talk of "communalism" and "communal excitement" on the part of the Prime Minister and his obedient minister of Information is sheer hypocrisy, if they cannot produce exhortations, far worse than those which entitled Pandit Malaviya to a place in the Gallery of the Immortals, from among the recent issues of the papers which are being penalised by the refusal of Government advertisements to them.

And, be it remembered, it was not the communalism of Pandit Malaviya or that of the Hindu Sabha which resulted in the division of the country and the communal orgies of 1947. They were both produced by the double-crossing in 1937 of the U.P. Muslim League by the Congress High Command when Mr. Nehru was the Congress President.

—Organiser



From: Filmindia

Hindi Hysteria, "Panchashila" And Indian Economy

By Libra

THE present conflict regarding the language issue is no new phenomenon. As early as 1817, there was a battle between the Anglicists and the Mediaevalists leading to the triumph of the Anglicists in 1857 when the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Universities were established. On the 28th of October 1957, many prominent citizens of Madras led by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari sent an open communication to the Prime Minister, and appealed to him "to step in and bring about a reconsideration of the entire issue, so that the spirit of true freedom is maintained and not sacrificed at the altar of what we respectfully submit, is the over-zealous love on the part of some for their own language." Indeed, this historic letter evoked memories of the famous letter written by Raja Ram Mohan Roy wherein he pleaded for the introduction of English and Western knowledge and not merely Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. However, there was no response from the Prime Minister. And on the 22nd of December 1956, the "Union Language Convention of South India" adopted a resolution stating that English should continue as the official language of the Indian Union, and that the Constitution of India should be amended accordingly. Moving a resolution, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari stressed that it would be suicidal to national interests, if we threw away the advantages derived by the use of English during the last 150 years of British rule and the ten years of freedom following it.

The proceedings of the Convention were conducted in a dignified manner. It was an academic discussion and not a political meeting. And yet I was shocked to see the Prime Minister characterising the demand of the Convention as a product of excitement and hysteria. The Prime Minister went to the extent of advising the Southern leaders to use restraint. That Mr. Nehru, who does not mind using such expressions as "international gangsterism" should talk of restraint, amused us greatly.

True, we are used to Mr. Nehru's performances on the stage. If 'footwork' is important in the 'Kathak' dance, fireworks constitute the distinguishing feature of Mr. Nehru's public dances. And to the accompaniment of His Master's Voice, Mr. Morarji Desai staged another dance at Madura, a dance which, if successfully followed by other dancing troupes, can only result in a relapse to eighteenth-century confusion. One can easily dance one's way into mediaevalism.

Mr. Nehru who is ready to flay us alive has not paused to note the insidious ways in which Hindi is being introduced into the day to day administration. Hindi on railway station name-boards was only the beginning and now it has spread to post-cards and money-order forms, making it impossible for the illiterate masses of South India to use them properly. And so much is made of Hindi, being the language used by the majority of the people in India. But it is conven-

iently forgotten that the 42 per cent of the people speaking Hindi in all its dialects is confined to a particular part of India. As Mr. C. Rajagopalachari states that if "42 per cent of people in every State were able to understand and speak Hindi there would have been no objection at all to Hindi becoming the national language. The fact was, in all the States except the Hindi-speaking area, only one per cent of the people could understand or speak Hindi. Their friends in the North really did not understand this mathematics."

Dr. Ambedkar has recorded that Hindi was chosen "by one vote". And Dr. P. Subbraoyan, a member of the Official Language Commission stated in his Minute of Dissent that "Hindi was chosen with reservation, because of the reactions of the success of a long struggle for freedom which gave them an uneasy feeling that India lacked the natural linguistic unity which was thought to be so vital for a free people." The terrible tragedy of the partition of India shocked the whole of India into a state of mind, when the idea of a common language was accepted. But that does not mean that Hindi can be imposed on the people of India by 1965. Even Article 315 of the Constitution has made it clear that Hindi is still an undeveloped language and it is difficult to understand the reason behind the idea of imposing Hindi, when English serves our purpose admirably. Again, Article 344 (3) says that "in making their recommendations, the (official language) Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and the interest of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services."

To a great extent, the trouble about this controversy is that Hindi is associated with patriotism. The Congress leaders have always arrogated to themselves the superior virtues of patriotism. One can recall that, in answering some of the points raised by C. D. Deshmukh on the eve of his resignation, Mr. Nehru called himself as one of "the children of the Revolution". And Hindi seems to be the "toy" of these "children". Mr. Abid Ali, during his recent tour of the South, indulged in a bit of soap-box oratory and asked the students' group the following question—How long are we to retain English, the language of slavery? Times without number, it has been made clear that our national leaders have been nurtured on the English language. English is certainly the language of nationalism and has opened to us, new vistas of thought and learning. Dr. Lohia, who frequently attacks imaginary windmill has suggested that a few vacancies might be reserved for the South for a certain period after 1965. It is made to appear as if the opposition to Hindi stems from the fact of providing South Indians with comfortable berths in the Central Secretariat. It is not such a big problem. The important point is whether India wishes to float in an eighteenth-

century Hindi backwater or whether she should take her rightful place in the modern world of democracy and science. The non-Hindi speaking people do not form a separate unit. Indian unity was achieved through the English language which can be discarded at our peril. Indian unity cannot be had by the imposition of Hindi; it can only go to pieces, a tradition which we have inherited during the last 150 years.

Panch Shila is a code which sprang out of the Tibet affair. It is the philosophical edifice on which the Indian Government's mild justification of the Chinese occupation of the "Tibet region of China" and the "Russian rape of Hungary" is based. "If I may say so with respect" to use Mr. Nehru's famous words, we attacked Britain on the Suez issue. But on the Hungary issue, our delegate was convinced that criticism was a negative affair! Indeed when criticism is applied to Western countries, it takes on a positive aspect! But when it is applied to Russia, it becomes negative! The loose way in which Mr. Nehru compared American troops in Japan with Russian forces in Hungary was unfortunate, despite later attempts at verbal gymnastics. Of course, on matters of foreign policy, there is scope for differences of opinion. But I think, no Indian delegate, however eminent, ought to be rude to his opposite numbers in the U.N., the total effect of which can be measured in the loss of our national prestige.

Mr. A. M. Rosenthal has commented in the *New York Times* that "India will find herself abandoning parliamentary controls" gradually. Indeed, he says "it will not be a sudden switch to totalitarian economy but a slide down to it"—like the wealth tax and expenditure tax, nationalization of Banks and Insurance, the setting up of the State Trading Corporation and a mass system of farm co-operatives, correctly to be called "collectives." And the need for realism is particularly vital in the interests of democracy at this juncture. What we need is democratic realism and not socialist realism. Professor B. R. Shenoy has stated in 'Note of Dissent' appended to the Second Five Year Plan Report that if "physical measures, familiar to a communist economy were adopted in an effort to prevent inflation we would be writing off individual liberty and democratic institutions by administrative or legislative action. We should be therefore forewarned of the dangers of an over-ambitious plan". Today, there is a talk of concentrating on the 'core' of the Second Plan, as distinct from the periphery. But what is most necessary is to reconsider the entire plan and to view the whole basis of our economic development with greater objectivity and detachment.



From: *Filmindia*

60 Thousand Migrants Held Up

Calcutta: Hindu Mahasabha leader, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, alleged here today that about 60,000 applications for migration certificates involving about three lakhs of Hindus were now pending in the office of the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in East Pakistan and "thousands of such applications have been kept pending for months".

Speaking at a public meeting, here, Shri Chatterjee said if no immediate action was taken with regard to the migration certificates, the people "will question the bonafides of the Government." No one filed an application for a migration certificate, until he had reached "the last stage of frustration or he has been economically and socially crippled", he said.

Shri Chatterjee criticised the recent statement of Prime Minister Nehru that the Government of India could take no responsibility for the future migrants from East Pakistan. He demanded a categorical declaration from the Government that "they are not going back on the solemn pledges and assurances on the basis of which they secured the partition of the country".

A New Wave Of Sabotage In Kashmir

Srinagar: The Kashmir Police have got clues that Pakistan has prepared a plan to launch another wave of sabotage in Kashmir, it is learnt.

Meanwhile, Habaib Ulloh and Aziz Ju, two persons arrested by the Kashmir Police for crossing into Indian side of the cease-fire line, are understood to have told the Kashmir Police they had been specially trained to "blow up bridges and use devices to burn government offices and public buildings including mosques and temples".

They told the police that the Pakistan border security chief, Sajawal Khan Vhad, set up his headquarters at Mori Maidan adjoining Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and had piled up explosives and bombs which he was distributing among people of occupied areas and "forcing them to violate the cease-fire line and commit sabotage in Kashmir".

The arrested persons are also understood to have told the Kashmir Police that the Pakistan border security agents in occupied Kashmir had drawn up lists of those people of occupied Kashmir whose relatives were living on the Indian side of cease-fire line. This had been done with a view to pick up people and draft them into the agency set up by the Pakistan government for training saboteurs and forcing them to violate the cease-fire line under the pretext of "meeting the relatives on Indian side of the cease-fire line".

They have quoted instances of people having been thrown behind bars in occupied Kashmir because they did not want to be associated with the moves for sabotage in Kashmir. —PTI

RESIST NOT EVIL

Those who crusade NOT for God in themselves BUT AGAINST the devil in others, never succeed in making the world better, or leave it either as it was, or sometime even perceptibly worse, than it was before the crusade began. By thinking primarily of evil, we tend, however excellent our intentions, to create occasions for evil to manifest itself.

—Aldous Huxley in *Devils of London*

IN THE DRIFTWAY

By Jay Kay

IN the course of press interview at New Delhi, our Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, covering ALL topics from China to Peru, dwelt as usual in a casual manner of the domestic problems, like the language agitation in the Punjab and also in the South. But one of his most astounding statements regarding changing the food habits of the people. After the manner of Queen Marie Antionette of France he was surprised why the people should not take to the subsidiary diets like fruits, fish and eggs in preference to cereals. And why not?

What escaped the casual thinking Prime Minister was that apart from the fact that subsidiary food was no substitute for cereals like wheat and rice, fish, eggs and fruits are more costly and dearer than wheat and rice. Indian people, at least the large majority of whom have no money, even to get their poor quota of rice and wheat, cannot afford to buy the luxuries like eggs, fish and fruits. But then our Prime Minister has no money sense, as Mr. A. D. Shroff has recently stated, that economics and finance are not his strong points.

So after the fashion of the French queen, when she saw Paris people demanding bread and marching in the streets, naively asked her Minister why should the people worry if they have no bread, they should eat cakes, our Prime Minister is equally and innocently worried why people should not switch from their poor diet of wheat *chappatties* or rice to the costly fish, eggs and fruits. Of course, that these luxuries were beyond their means, completely escaped the casual thinking of our Prime Minister. And this is the Prime Minister that has the good fortune to preside over the destinies of over 300 million starving and famished Indians.

• • •

A few days earlier our Prime Minister complained, or rather prided himself that he was forced to address every day of the year, sometimes more than once in the course of 24 hours. Yes, that is a fact, and that is the record that Mr. Nehru holds for the world. No statesman of any country, from Soviet Russia to the United States, can compete with him in the Niagara of words that flow forth from the mouth of our Prime Minister, on every conceivable topic under the sun. It has become a second nature with Mr. Nehru. It is a hang-over from his early Congress days when he had to address mass meetings. One expected, that since his occupation of the responsible post of the Prime Minister of India, he would put a curb on his statements and be more scarce and sparing in his utterances, and also more lucid and more to the point. But the last 10 years have shown no improvement in his statements. They are usually vague, casual, and frothy, and many times besides the point.

Particularly so were his statements made before the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta. In the British days the Viceroy had the honour of presiding over the annual delibe-

rations. And usually he made important announcement of Government policy decisions, particularly as they affected the business community and the commercial interests. One expected that at least after 10 years of Independence Mr. Nehru should have learnt and known what the commercial interests and the business community expected from him. But as is usual with Mr. Nehru he gave them a sermon against what he termed "cut-throat" competition, and at the same time talked of initiative and enterprise on the part of the businessmen and the commercial community!

It was a scene for the gods to see. Here is the Prime Minister asking the business community to desist from competition, and at the same time exhorting them to show initiative and enterprise! Competition is the very breath of any business, and initiative and enterprise go along with competition.

His hearers must have been puzzled and also shocked. At least Mr. Nehru should have conceded that he was NOT addressing the rabble in a mass meeting, who had ample time to spend and hear his sermons. That our Prime Minister is no economist is known to the businessmen, but that he should turn the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce into something of a Chowpatty or Ram Chat meeting was the limit of his sense of proportion. That he is no economist is shown by the fact that a former soap-seller has been given the portfolio of Finance in his Cabinet, who has to his credit a number of financial scandals beginning with the crazy issue of import and export licences bringing the nation to near ruin, his cotton scandal and lastly the Mundra scandal. And the rapid march of the country on the slippery slope of socialism, with the threatened nationalisation of even the foreign oil concerns should have made the members of the Commerce Chamber sit up in their chairs.

• • •

The Chairman of the annual meeting had, in his speech, referred to the grievances of the business community at the economic ruin facing the country, the number of labour legislation and the shrinking of the investment market. Mr. Nehru had no replies to all these problems. Instead, he advised the industrialists on the need of labour welfare. Labour is definitely well treated but what the industrialists are worried over is the growing labour discontent, the number of lightening strikes that retard production, and the plethora of labour legislation that the authorities have put on the statute book. Nehru's speech at the annual meeting was as usual full of slogans and pious platitudes and nothing more.

It has become a congenital habit with Nehru to indulge in a rambling talk, no matter whether it is a public meeting, a seminar of the students or a gathering of hard-boiled and seasoned industrialists and businessmen. His slogan-mongerings are now becoming dangerous and do not carry the country to national solvency and national progress.

• • •

What is true of his slogans on the economic plane are equally true as regards his fixed inhibitions on the international plane. His "panchashila" and his insistence of co-existence, and specially of non-alignment, have by now been thoroughly exposed. Our non-alignment policy was thoroughly battered and shaken over the Russian aggression in Hungary and our caustic and unnecessary condemnation of the Anglo-French attack on the Suez. In fact our "double-dealings" on the international plane were sufficiently exposed, though Nehru made a belated attempt to wriggle out of an uncomfortable position in which India found herself. Today the ship of the State is being tossed from one side to the other, both on the economic plane as well on the international plane, with no fixed destination. Ours have been the policies of expediency. We talk of socialism, and yet the Government favours their pet and favourite capitalists, while imposing heavy and crushing restrictions on the private sector. We talk of non-alignment, and yet we lean too heavily on the communist bloc of countries. The result has been that we have no friends in the whole wide world. We are like the proverbial *trishanko*, hanging in the mid-air.

The cause of all these seemingly diverse policies and contradictory actions on the Part of the Nehru Government are due to the fact that we have really no Cabinet in the sense of a cabinet of ministers jointly responsible to the Parliament. We have a Nehru court functioning at New Delhi.

During the latest press conference at New Delhi Nehru let the cat out of the bag. May be, his subconscious mind gave expression to the realities in the country. Replying to a question whether he still stuck to the opinion... that he should no longer be in the Congress Working Committee Nehru said: "It makes no difference to me and my position in the country whether I am the Prime Minister or not, or whether I am in the Congress Executive or not." Here were the sentiments of a latent dictator made known while in a state of excitement, and perhaps unconsciousness. But they give the key to the working of the mind of our Prime Minister.

It is not his critics that could be blamed when they state that Nehru is, by nature, feudal and undemocratic. According to his own sister, Mrs Krishna Hutheesingh, uncritical adulation and profuse praise on the part of the ignorant masses and even the intelligent people, have done the trick. Nehru's mind has been twisted and he has come to look upon himself as a Caesar.



From: Filmindia

Bihar Govt. Buys 189 Tables And 756 Chairs For Rs. 900 And Rs. 79 each.

The State Government is spending about Rs. 4 crores per annum under the head of contingency. Lavish expenditure has been the cause of such enormous increase under this head. Hundred and eighty-nine Burma teak wood tables costing Rs. 1,70,000/- and 756 Burma teak wood chairs costing Rs. 60,000/- have been purchased. If sesum wood furniture were preferred, total expenses would have been only Rs. 39,000/-. Thus Rs. 1,99,000/- have been wasted. Even Britishers had preferred sesum wood, and not Burma teak. During 1956-57 expenditure to the tune of Rs. 4,50,000/- was incurred on telephone calls. At present there are 629 main and 66 extension sets. So many are quite unnecessary when actually there are only 329 officers in the Headquarters at Patna. If the recommendations of the Economy Committee are accepted the number would come to 70 main and 70 extension sets in the entire secretariat. Thus a saving of Rs. 1. lakh could be made.

Dunlop Seats And Glass Pads

During the year 1956-57 an amount of Rs. 57,000/- was spent over refreshments in the Civil Secretariat although the Budget provision was only Rs. 15,000/-.

Paper writing pads have been replaced by "Glass Pads", without any increase in efficiency. 298 glass pads were purchased at a cost of Rs. 2,980/-. Dunlop seats and carpets for office rooms have been purchased for Rs. 1,470/- and Rs. 15,000/-, respectively. It may be mentioned here that a pair of Kalin was purchased costing Rs. 1,000 to decorate the office of I.G. of Police, for which one Class-I Assistant was specially sent to Shahjehanpur in U.P. There is annual expenditure of Rs. 36,000/- approximately over the khas taries.

There is an expenditure of Rs. 30,000/- per annum over news-papers and magazines and periodicals which are neither restricted nor controlled. All these contingency expenditure can be minimised if proper control is made which may save Rs. 1.5 crores per annum.

Officers draw mali (gardener) allowance for their bungalow gardens to the tune of Rs. 1.5 crores which can be abolished immediately.

Increase in staff cars and other vehicles is so high that maintenance cost is increasing every month. In 1956-57 cost of maintenance alone was Rs. 94,000/-.

—Organiser

INCOME TAX IN U.S.A.

"There was no general income tax in the United States until 1862. And the rates of taxation during the Civil War, the most desperate emergency in American history, were unbelievably mild by modern standards: 3% on incomes from \$ 600 to \$ 10,000, and moderately progressive rates above \$ 10,000. The whole idea of a tax on income was thrown out of the window in 1872 as inconsistent with the American ideal of unlimited personal opportunity. An attempt to levy a 2% tax on income in 1894 was declared unconstitutional. Only after the passing of the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution in 1913 was the principle of the federal income tax firmly imbedded in the US fiscal system."

—From *The Individualist* October, 1957.

Bangalore Seminar On Education For Democracy

(Contributed)

BANGALORE SEMINAR ON EDUCATION

Bangalore: The Bangalore Group of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom organised a Seminar on Education for Democracy at the request of the Secretary Mr. V. B. Karnik. Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. Philip Spratt, Associate Editor of *Mysindia* and one of the Honorary Secretaries of the National Executive were conveners. It was a three-day event beginning on the evening of the 22nd December, 1957.

The Seminar was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of Mysore State, Sri S. Nijalingappa. The first symposium on Democratic Values began with an opening speech by the Minister for Education in Mysore, Sri V. Venkatappa.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao outlined in this welcoming speech, the objectives of the Congress of Cultural Freedom and the plan of the present seminar on education for democracy.

CHIEF MINISTER ON WORLD CRISIS

Sri S. Nijalingappa pictured the role of education for democracy to the high key of the present crisis in civilisation brought on by the failure of leadership to arrest destructive passions, and to use Science and political power for human welfare. Russia had made unheard of advances in science and technology, as evidenced by the Sputniks and had employed and fed her teeming population without which progress would have been impossible. But she ignored the blessing of liberty. America had abundant gadgets and consumer goods along with a high pace of industrial and scientific advance. But she had no peace of mind, and was filled with fear and was relying on nuclear power for defence. Both powers are being urged by the logic of their competitive position to engage in a fearful armament race.

What is the answer of human wisdom to such a crisis?

Sri V. Venkatappa dwelt on the great values of democracy and on the need for good and wise men to come forward to counteract the civil tendencies of popular sovereignty and take up positions of responsibility. His speech was platonic in its stress on the supreme value of freedom and wisdom.

The ideas of the Ministers were close to the objectives of the Congress of Cultural Freedom and their inauguration of the Seminar had a value in securing the *impremeur* of approval from the Heads of the State administration. Their participation helped to secure large audiences and to make the citizens of Bangalore aware of the existence and objectives of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom.

SYMPOSIUM ON DEMOCRATIC VALUES

The opening symposium on Democratic Values was presided over by Vidya Vibhushana Sri M.P.L. Sastry,

M.A., a member of the legislative council. He emphasised the differentia of democracy as consisting in a form of government and way of life centering round the dignity of the individual. He instanced the experience of Shankaracharya who was asked by a *Chandala* whom he asked to stand aside—"Do you refer to this body of mine or to the Soul inside it by the word Chandala? (untouchable outcaste). Then the realisation of the identity of the same dwelling Divine came to the great teacher. This vision of human identity and equality, said Mr. Sastry, calls for a democratic society for its realisation in day to day life. There is a powerful basis for democracy in Indian traditional Philosophy and Ethics.

Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. C. V. Sreenivasa Murthy and Mr. Yamunachar spoke on the different aspects of Democratic Philosophy and Psychology. The principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice evolving into the scheme of fundamental rights, the value and place of freedom in democratic society, the role of free enquiry and tolerance of opposing points of view, freedom of information, of the press, of discussion, and of association and propaganda, and of organised party life were all brought out in their brief speeches.

The Chairman in his resume at the end gathered the elements of freedom together into the single theme of the dignity of the human individual.

SESSION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The aim of the session was to draw attention to the way in which the democratic ideal and consciousness could be elicited and incorporated into the mind and character of the student world through the direct and indirect influence of the various subjects—the Sciences and the Arts. It was presided over by Rao Bahadur Prof. Venkataesachar, retired Professor of Mathematics and Principal of the Central College, Bangalore. He was for some time Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

He spoke on the social value of mathematical training in inculcating a sense of objectivity of impersonality and of a conscious love of truth for its own sake. It helps students to free themselves from the warping influence of self-interest, of blinding passions and suspicions in considering social problems.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao spoke on the way in which history is to be taught if its inherent educational value is to be realised and the democratic temper is to be fostered. He instanced the Soviet practice of re-writing history to control the loyalty of the people. Stalin re-wrote history and re-introduced the national principle as the maker of the national mind to develop the defence reaction of Russians when Hitler rose to power in 1933.

In India we have the problem brought home to us recently in the controversy over the national or non-

national interpretation of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. Now recently the character and achievement of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Power, and of the liberation movement of the Hindus in the 17th century, has occasioned similar controversies. The latest is thrown out by the separatist agitation of the Dravida Kazagam which relies on the independence and purity of the Drovodian "rac" and of its right to "self-determination". Prof. Rao pointed out that in all these problems the key to solution was the separation of fact from interpretation. If history is taught so as to inculcate reverence for fact as such, independent of current passions and personal predilections. As for interpretation, scientific method in all its stages of data, hypothesis, verification should have its full play

Also, the decisive difference between historical facts, which are *willed actions*, from natural occurrences should be brought out. If this is done, the *responsibility* of leaders and people for their fate will be brought to the fore. This sense of the joint responsibility of the people for their destiny is the source of democratic value in history.

SPRATT ON TOTALITARIANISM

Mr. Philip Spratt gave a comprehensive account of the various ways in which totalitarianism, Nazi and Communist, seeks to control the lives of the people in their knowledge of history, their economic ideas, and artistic and scientific theories and practices to the detriment of free life. Totalitarianism relies on total indoctrination for its power over the people. Its dogmas cannot be maintained through the free willing assent of minds convinced of their truth through evidence and rational thinking. They do not stand rational scrutiny and have, therefore, to be maintained through the iron curtain and elaborate *brain washing*, reinforced by police terror and the slave labour camps. All governments seek to influence the thinking and mental background of their people in certain directions. But communism attaches terrible penalties to deviation and destroys free mental life altogether, and promotes hypocritical conformity on a colossal scale. In early education, in particular in the teaching of moral principles, a certain amount of indoctrination is inevitable. How to reconcile this necessity with true freedom is a problem.

BALAKRISHNA RAO'S PAPER

Mr. M. V. Balakrishna Rao, was the *only delegate* that the Seminar had. He was sent by the R. L. Research Foundation of Bombay, and read a paper on the Social Sciences and Democracy. He pointed out the necessity and value of the social sciences—economic political science and sociology—for developing a rational outlook. They correct fanatic and onesided policies of short-sighted politicians who confine their attention to immediate situations. A Vision of the interdependence of economic and other aspects of life is necessary to frame policies and criticise partial truths and resist the pressure of organised interests.

Prof. Krishna Rao spoke at the end and stressed the value of leadership and the influence of great personalities in determining the course of history. He deprecated all notions of historical necessities like those of Karl Marx's dialectic of history.

Prof. Yamunachar spoke on the unity of cultures and of the need for an attitude favouring their co-existence.

SESSIONS OF PRIMARY, BASIC AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Mr. A. C. Devegowda Principal, University Teachers College, Mysore presided over this session.

He gave an account of the democratic educational administration in the U.S.A. with its base in local education boards and state responsibility, the federal government influencing education more through information and grants than through authority. He gave a sketch of the way in which State and Central Government are seeking in India to hasten the preparation of the people for democracy.

Mr. K. R. Venkatesachar M.E.D., explained the principles of Basic Education and made a plea for their extension. Rev. I. L. Thomas Head Master, Bishop Cotton Boy's School, gave an illustrating account of the ways in which self-discipline, sense of responsibility initiative and qualities favouring team work could be inculcated at school. These will lay the foundations of democracy in the character and life-attitudes of students.

Dr. D. Shivaramaih Ph.D., has started a folk school of his own near Bangalore. He has visited most centres of educational experiment in the country like Santiniketan, Wardha Sevagram, the Janata School in Nanjangud in Mysore State. He gave an account of these experiments with a running survey of the historical background of Indian educational administration.

Prof. M. V. Krishna Rao drew attention to the difficult question of the discovery and encouragement of leadership in students.

Answering a questioner, Mr. Devegowda, the Chairman, admitted the dangers inherent in the proposal of Basic Education to earn a part of the cost of education through marketable goods produced by pupils. It would amount to child labour, prohibited by the Constitution and might be objected to by trade unions when school production begins to compete with adult production in the market.

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE WRITER ARTIST AND DEMOCRACY

Mr. A. N. Krishna Rao, the famous Kannada writer, could not arrive in time from Mysore where he had gone for a lecture engagement, and so his lecture could not be given.

DEMOCRACY AND INDIAN CULTURE

Mr. Devedu Narasimha Sastry, Sanskrit scholar and writer, who has made a name for himself both for children, literature and for serious writing on philosophical subjects and novels with a back-ground of Indian culture, presided and gave an oration of over an hour which held the attention of the audience. He mobilised the wealth of Indian Cultural ideas in support of the theme that the writer could support democratic ideals by the expression of insight into human nature. He claimed absolute freedom for the writer to see life and portray it in his own way *without interference by outside authorities*.

This lecture was followed by an exposition of the patterns of movement and poses characteristic of Bharata Natya, by Prof. U. S. Krishna Rao. It was illustrated both by the lecturer and a couple of his
(Continued on page 18)

**LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE
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Dear Reader,

Today is the economic age — India has to march from political to economic freedom. Engineers are now building machines that functions automatically. It is now up to Economists to provide an economic system in which human beings are provided their full sovereignty so that they may function autonomously without wasteful, arbitrary manipulation and control. The time for advancing from the political to the economical stage in the evolution of mankind is here.

It now costs more to do wasteful string-pulling plus the protection of and against wrongdoers than to do the useful work of producing the wealth by which we live. These wasteful malpractices reflected by inflation taxes and rent control have now reached a point where the income of capital and labour has depreciated 33 to 67% of their economic value.

The Economic Welfare Councils and Clubs being organised in U.S.A., are established on a foundation of economic knowledge, ground of constructive analytical training and research over a long period. You can now acquire this basic knowledge essential for the establishment of Economic Order, Peace, progress and Prosperity in India to which everyone is entitled, through membership of the Libertarian Social Institute. Your future salvation depends on what you do about it right now. Tomorrow may be too late.

If you are confronted with labour difficulties, credit money, taxation and trade problems, there can be assistance in solving them. You ask for their solutions and we will do our best to help you.

Ask for Particulars and Membership Form from:—

The Secretary, Libertarian Social Institute,
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

(Continued from page 17)

students. The Hall was packed to capacity.

Mr. Philip Spratt and Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao took turns to pen the subjects and give thanks to participants at the end of the sessions. They made use of these occasions to indicate the origin, history and objectives of the movement for cultural freedom.

The varied sessions with their changing audiences covered a large cross-section of the educated citizen body of Bangalore and served to put across the message of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Mr. M. A. Srinivasan could not attend the seminar owing to a previous engagement but sent an appreciative message noting the good work of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and the stress on *democracy*.

The overall conclusion from the standpoint of the movement for cultural freedom to be drawn from the experience of conducting this seminar and from the response from the educated classes, official and non-official, is that the Committee has arrived in the consciousness of Bangaloreans with a bang. It has secured fairly good publicity in the press.

There were a couple of setbacks. Mr. D. V. Gundappa declined to participate. Prof. V. Sitaramiah and Mr. Adya Rangachar, writers of repute, now employed in the local AIR pleaded inability to participate on the ground of "service regulations." It is worthwhile enquiring further into whether the AIR forbids its employees from participation in cultural meetings on democratic themes.

Yugoslavia Does Not Agree With Moscow

Reports from Belgrade and Moscow confirm Yugoslavia's intention to continue in her own way, reserving her independence of Soviet dictates.

The Yugoslav delegation's refusal to sign the Communist summit communique, blaming the West for war peril, continues to evoke speculation on the extent of the new rift between Marshal Tito and Moscow, but caution rather than outright breach is more generally believed to present Tito's intentions at the moment.

Although no detailed appreciation of the Yugoslav attitude is considered possible, pending clarification of the vital report on the Kremlin situation which Vice-Presidents Kardelj and Rankawitch have taken back to Tito from Moscow, official Yugoslav sources have made it plain that outright disagreement inspired the delegation to refuse its signature.

The Yugoslav Ambassador to Moscow, declared at a reception, that Yugoslavia did not sign "because she did not agree. You must study the declaration carefully to see why."

The official Yugoslav news agency published the declaration, but significantly omitted all attacks on the West.

Diplomatic observers say two obvious reasons for Yugoslavia's refusal to sign are: firstly, Tito is unwilling to bind himself to Soviet policy, which the declaration does; and, secondly, in his economic situation, Tito cannot afford to antagonise the West.

"THE HORROR THAT IS ALGERIA"

The *Tribune*, left-wing British Labour weekly, criticised French policy in Algeria and suggested that British democratic opinion could no longer watch in silence "the horror that is Algeria".

"This wound poisons all political relationships in Europe" illustrated by the bitter quarrel over the dispatch of British and American arms to Tunisia, the article stated.

Britain can never allow approval of the "Algerian blood-bath" as any hope of establishing good relations with the Arab world would then have to be abandoned.

"NEITHER GROUP NOR GINGER"

New Delhi: Mr. Nehru in his press conference made a reference to the formation of a "socialist ginger group" within the Congress which was "neither a group nor ginger."

He said that it is a forum of discussion. It is a good thing to have a forum for discussion, and encourage ideological theoretical considerations of problems so as to effect them in practice later. —PTI

REDS IN DOMINATING POSITION IN JAVA

Jakarta: A survey of the communist activities in Indonesia indicates that the Reds undoubtedly have the capacity to paralyse life in Java where 50 millions out of the country's 84 millions people live, but they do not as yet command the decisive political strength for seizure of power.

The Communist Party line at present is operating from behind the lines without claiming its rightful share of political power. The Reds are, therefore, concentrating on trade unions and youth movements, and also infiltrating heavily into the administration and in the Army. —Times of India

NOT be afforded relief and rehabilitation grants from the Exchequer. We can see the terrible strain on our resources imposed by the successive waves of refugees but we cannot agree with the inhuman and faithless remedy that the Prime Minister has in mind. The Partition of Bengal and the Punjab was effected on the distinct understanding that India would get Pakistan to accept the minority Hindu population left there as full citizens, and see that it gives them equal rights and all protection like a civilized government. India has fulfilled her part of the *gentlemen's agreement* to the letter, and even to the disadvantage of Indian nationals. But the way in which Pakistan has dishonoured her obligations and expelled the Hindus under every circumstance of barbaric cruelty, which has been a continuation in cold blood of the atrocities of the Partition massacres, is comparable with the great episodes of Hitler's Nazism and Stalinist Communism, and mark peaks of inhumanity in world history.

DANGEROUS APPEASEMENT

To refuse to put effective pressure on Pakistan to treat her nationals in a decent way, and to stop further aid to refugees is a species of pacifist inhumanity in cold blood, shot through with treachery to those who are flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone that is not to be countenanced. It will be a blot on our national character that will undermine our national resources in moral capital, and come in the way of our strength and prosperity in the future. The curses of our compatriots will set currents going in the secret places of historic movements, that will conspire with our other weaknesses and destroy us as a nation. In the final analysis what counts in nation-making is moral principle, and the power that comes from a steadfast adherence to it through thick and thin.

The reason given for the stoppage of aid does not do credit to the nation—namely the impossibility of making Pakistan change her policy! The strength of Pakistan is thus due to the weakness of India's leaders.

PAKISTAN'S PLANS OF SABOTAGE IN KASHMIR

Juxtaposed curiously and ironically with the new Prime Minister, Feroz Khan's assurances of not wanting war with India is an item of news from Srinagar (29 December), revealing fresh Pakistani plans for sabotage in Kashmir! Two Pakistanis, Habibulla and Aziz Ju, who were arrested for entering Indian territory without passports, told the police that they were specially trained "to blow up bridges and burn Government offices and mosques and temples." They said that the Pakistani border security chief, Mr. Sajawal Khan, had setup his headquarters at Mori Maidan near the cease-fire line, and was distributing explosives and bombs to agents for sabotage in Kashmir! He had got a number of Kashmiries in Pak-occupied territory arrested for refusing to act as agents. Three other alleged saboteurs were also taken into custody at Uri near the cease-fire line.

WELCOME FIRMFNESS ON THE KASHMIR ISSUE

The advent of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon as Defence Minister and defender of India's case for Kashmir in the Security Council has, it must be said in fairness to him, brought a welcome and much-needed tone of firmness in India's policy statements on Kashmir. All the soft considerations preventing India from pressing the charge of aggression against Pakistan and

making her enter into futile negotiations have been systematically taken advantage of by Pakistan. The concession is taken avidly but the condition attached to it in reciprocity has been unconscionably ignored. This has been the sorry tale of India's endless appeasement. Now Mr. Krishna Menon has seen this point and has been careful to make no concessions in his defence speeches. He has been making in and out of the Security Council a clear and unambiguous demand that the first consideration in regard to the Kashmir imbroglio is that Pakistan *must vacate her aggression and clear out of occupied Kashmir*. In answer to a questioner in Bombay, he has even gone a step further, and said that even such a clearance of Pakistan out of Kashmir will not mean that India will negotiate with her thereafter, in regard to the Kashmir dispute. He declared roundly that there is no *dispute in existence* with Pakistan in regard to Kashmir at all. She is there unlawfully and she must quit, and that is all there is to it! This is good and bracing after the invertebrate outpourings of the Prime Minister in the past which were always haunted with the possibility of sudden concessions, surrendering essential positions in the Indian case.

For instance he once said in public years ago that he was prepared to let Pakistan her ill-gotten territory in western and northern Kashmir if she accepted the present cease-fire line as the final frontier between India and Pakistan! This is unpardonable weakness and betrays the mentality that conceded the Partition of the country. Now Mr. Krishna Menon has cleared the position beyond the shadow of doubt. He has said plainly that India wants the occupied territory back. It is part of the Indian Union by virtue of the transfer of power. And he has said further that India retains the right to establish trade routes and safeguard them in northern Kashmir now in the possession of Pakistan, routes that lead to China, Russia and Afghanistan. This is the right position and we hope that India will stick to it without weakness and backsliding.

NEHRU'S DETERMINATION AGAINST FURTHER VIVISECTION

The Prime Minister reiterated his determination, in his recent tour of Assam, not to permit any further vivisection of the national territory. He referred to the Nagas' demand for independence as "meaningless and absurd." This is all to the good but it is sad to note that his actual policies have a *contrary tendency*, human nature being what it is. For instance, he declaims against communalism but concedes regional supremacy to the Akali communalists in the Punjab and condemns the Hindus who fight for the territorial and political unity of the Punjab as communalists. In Madras he allows Congress alliance in the election with separatists like the Dravida Kazagam and is dismayed that the congress leaders there allow separatism and class hatred to grow in the allies!

In Nagaland too, he has conceded the "moderate" Naga demand for a *separate administrative unit* for the Nagas and the Northeast Frontier agency tribes. How can he expect that after tasting provincial status for some years, the Nagas will ever consent to merger with the hated Assamese? The Nagas are as good as lost to India by this policy. So long as we concede perfect equality of treatment for plainsmen and tribes-

(Continued on page 20)

(Continued from page 7)

again Congress leadership has sacrificed national interests to party gains. The Maharashtrians have allied themselves with the communists in their struggle for Bombay. This has given the communists a greater grip over mass emotions than they would otherwise have achieved. This is another setback to Congress and the nation. This remains an unsolved problem.

GREATEST DEFEAT OF THE LEADERSHIP

Perhaps the greatest defeat of national leadership of the year is indicated by the emergence of a communist government in Kerala. The utter lack of principled leadership and national sentiment shaping themselves in constructive ameliorative measures to lift the backward in Kerala shown by both Congress and PSP governments and parties is responsible for this emergence of Communist government. Now the Communists are posing as the champions of the underdog. They have introduced an education bill which gives them control of teachers and the intelligentsia and a Land Reforms Bill which gives land to the tillers at the cost of landowners who are given ridiculous prices. It is virtually a dispossession of landowners. They have distributed lands to untouchables free and have made life easy for labourers. They have imposed expropriatory taxation on plantations which will force the British planters to quit of their own accord. The chances are that the communists will make good in the eyes of the millions of the disinherited and will come back in greater majorities not only in Kerala but also on other States. The disquieting thing is that the Centre under Mr. Nehru's leadership has *nothing to say*. There is no sign of any alternative. Mr. Nehru too swears by socialism and his prestige is stolen by the communists by actually giving the people what he has only promised them.

Public opinion has veered in a greater measure towards communism, led by fellow-travellers, and fed

by ignorance of the true nature of communism on the part of the general public.

In regard to Kashmir, Shri Krishna Menon's strong advocacy and the need not to force India into the Soviet bloc has made the Anglo-American Powers arrange a *status quo* with Dr. Graham given another term of negotiation. It is all the good that Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon have stated unambiguously that the *first thing required is the vacation of aggression by Pakistan*. Pakistan is stalled and is confining herself to staging sabotage in Kashmir. India has sobered Pakistan for the moment with her purchase of 175 bombers and many fighter planes. But the need for vigilance is as great as ever. Thus on all fronts—military, economic, and national unity, India is confronted with crucial problems in the coming year owing to failure in the past year.

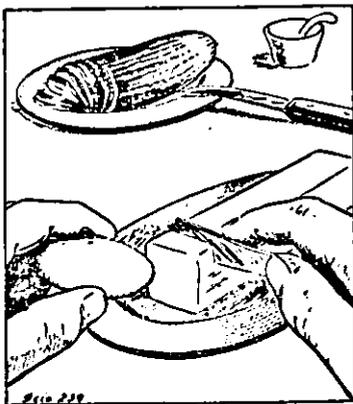
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men in accordance with fundamental rights, there is no reason to make concessions of separate administration to parts of a province. To do so is to abrogate integral nationalism and encourage fissiparous tendencies destructive of national unity. One is afraid that the Prime Minister may acquire the bad eminence of having pursued policies which, (in spite of their good intentions) actually led to the disintegration of India thus reversing the great work of Sardar Patel! If the Prime Minister had "emotional integration" animating his inmost mind and his habitual thoughts and not merely in words, he could not have thus given quarter to separatist demands.

Nationalism is a condition of survival in these days of international rivalry and power politics, utterly ruthless to the weak and dis-united. It is to be hoped that our leaders will act as they speak, not making fatal exceptions in favour of groups out to exploit caste and religion and regional loyalties at the cost of national integrity.

DID YOU KNOW . . .

By Scio



The highest caloric value of any standard foodstuff is that of margarine at 720 calories per 100 grams, 4 more than butter. The lowest is raw cucumber which rates only 12 calories per 100 grams.



The oddest theater in the world is the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, Italy. Its construction was completed in 1582.



San Marino is the world's smallest republic, but its small size has not kept it from achieving an unprecedented triumph. In September (1957) it became the first state to rid itself peacefully of a communist regime. The Communists had run San Marino since World War II.

The Split In The Kremlin?

By V. N. Rudin

ALL signposts have pointed toward the current climatic and fatal split in the headquarters of the world Communist conspiracy. But in our highspeed civilization such signposts are too frequently unheeded, and news of the recent purge of Communist Party leaders exploded on July 4 with a shock to many international observers. Behind the Khrushchev victory in purging such prominent figures as Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, and less irrevocably Shepilov, lie basic reasons. This event holds enormous consequences for the future of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the Soviet system and the entire Communist world.

A split within the top leadership of the CPSU, which is desperately holding onto its world CP leadership, was an inevitable result of the status of the Communist regime at the death of Stalin. It was a headless pyramid. The structure of the regime was designed for a dictator—but there was no single successor to Stalin. Without this head, the pyramidal Soviet system has proceeded logically and inevitably toward disintegration.

The struggle among the "collective leaders", or among groups within the Presidium, began immediately after Stalin's death. The liquidation of Beria on July 10, 1953, the forced abdication of Malenkov on Feb. 8, 1955, the fall of Molotov which began in Oct. 1955 and was followed by his resignation on June 2, 1956—all were mere stepping-stones leading toward the spectacular climax of July 1957. The internal struggle during the 20th CP Congress, which did not become apparent to the West until much later, actually began the alignment of forces that have recently come into open conflict.

The fight among Soviet leaders and factions cannot be evaluated on a basis similar to that among conflicting groups in a normal democratic state, nor even among Latin American power groups. Although it is a struggle for power, the personal aspect is the least significant.

It must be realized that all factions of the Soviet leadership are aware of the present vulnerability of the Soviet system itself—and of the fact that their own survival depends upon the survival of the system. Therefore the primary concern of all the "collective leaders" since the death of Stalin has been to save the Communist system—and thus themselves. Their prime motivation is the fear of internal revolution. The East German Revolt of June 1953 and the first open revolts in the Soviet concentration camps in June-Oct. 1953 sounded an alarm that has been ringing the ears of top Soviet leaders ever since.

The basic cause of conflict in the Kremlin, therefore, is the difference of opinion among the various factions as to the tactics necessary to save the Communist system.

Out of the many accusations heaped on the Molotov faction, we can crystallize the following as the essence of the current situation:

"They (the Molotov group) set themselves the goal of returning the party to the false methods of leadership which were condemned by the 20th Communist Party Congress."

In these few words the Central Committee confirmed the acceptance of the tactics advocated by the Khrushchev faction. In grief, these are:

The Communist regime of the USSR can no longer govern the people according to the so-called Stalinist methods (actually the methods of the Communist system itself), because this would lead to imminent or immediate revolution. Therefore, there must be a change in tactics, allowing for some concessions to the demands of the people.

This more flexible policy, proposed by one Stalinist faction headed by Khrushchev at the 20th CP Congress, was opposed by another Stalinist faction headed by Molotov.

By a similar process of logic, motivated by the same desire to save the system and the same sincere devotion to the goal of international Communism, the Molotov faction believed that any relaxation of "iron grip" tactics would bring about the same internal revolutionary upheaval. This conviction was strengthened by subsequent events in Poland and Hungary, which Molotov considered a direct result of Khrushchev's policy of relaxation and denunciation of Stalin. The Molotov group therefore urged a retraction of the small liberties that the regime was forced grudgingly to give the people after 20th CP Congress. This has proved impossible, especially among the Soviet intelligentsia.

The line-up of forces in this phase of the struggle was defined by the end of Feb. 1957. On Feb. 27, Mao Tse-tung delivered the key speech at the Chinese CP Congress, delineating the ideological theory which gave de facto support to Khrushchev's tactics. At variance with basic Marxist theory, Mao stated that there can be and are contradictions between the governing Communist elite and the non-Communist masses. He confirmed Khrushchev's premise that the Communist Party must satisfy demands of the people, or else the differences between the party and the people will intensify toward the final point of open popular revolt against the regime—citing the Hungarian Revolution as an example. Mao also supported Khrushchev's line of "many roads towards socialism" by stating that the "road to socialism" (i.e., communism) must take into account national characteristics.

The close resemblance in content and terminology of Mao's speech to Khrushchev's utterances of the preceding year point up the obvious coordination between the two, which was no doubt established at the time of K & B's trip to Red China in 1955. Mao was the first to send a congratulatory telegram to the CPSU Central Committee on its July victory over the Molotov group.

It is significant that Mao's speech was not published in *Pravda* until June 19, when Khrushchev's support

was sufficiently strong to meet openly the challenge of the Molotov faction.

This challenge, indicative of a strengthening of forces, appeared in Feb. almost simultaneously with the delivery of Mao's speech in Red China. Issue No. 3, 1957, of the influential party magazine KUMMUNIST carried an unsigned editorial which ably defended the classical Marxist-Communist theory of a centralized and uniform communist empire. The anonymous author was Shepilov.

The alignment of Khrushchev's bright young man Shepilov with the Molotov faction has caused much speculation. I believe that the explanation lies in a genuine change of conviction on Shepilov's part in regard to policy.

Appointed by Khrushchev to replace Molotov as Foreign Minister after the latter's forced resignation, Shepilov fell heir to a Ministry of Foreign Affairs that had been ably built up by Molotov during the past 20 years. He was surrounded by a staff of experts who had been selected and trained by Molotov to implement his policies. Molotov's own "iron logic" plus the daily influence of his unpurged staff, in my opinion, finally convinced Shepilov that Molotov's policies offered the best chance for survival of the Communist system.

Kaganovich, long considered the "power behind the throne," in the Communist hierarchy, became a powerful ally of Molotov also on the basis of conviction.

The struggle for personal power, which holds third place as a cause of the Kremlin split, influenced Malenkov to align himself with Molotov and Kaganovich against Khrushchev and Bulganin, in an ill-fated effort to recuperate his position. He is now being shipped out by the same route as Trotsky.

The personal power motive also temporarily aligned the third major faction, Mikoyan and Sulov, on the side of K & B,—but this is by no means a permanent alliance. Just after the purge announcement, Mikoyan was conspicuously absent from several important functions. Recently he has been conspicuously present—an indication of the mounting pressure of the Mikoyan faction on Khrushchev, which first became evident during the 20th CP Congress.

A special role is being played by Marshal Zhukov. Being a good Communist but not an experienced "aparatchik" ("apparatus man"), and remembering very well his own earlier purge by so-called Stalinist methods, Zhukov has been behaved as a regular party member of the Central Committee, staying with the new tactics of Khrushchev. Rewarded becoming the first military man to be elevated to membership in the Presidium, Zhukov might be said to have been motivated by a desire for personal power.

The Presidium, however, has emerged from the current conflict with less power than before. Being too weak to win within this top closed circle, Khrushchev had no alternative but to break the established rules of Communist dictatorship by transferring the power of the highest policy decision into the hands of the Central Committee. It was not CP Secretary Nikita Khrushchev and Premier Nikolai Bulganin, nor the top men of the CP and Soviet govt. in the Presidium, but the 318 members and alternates of the Central Committee of the CPSU who conducted the official purge.

It will now be extremely difficult—and I believe

impossible—to retract this controlling power from the Central Committee and return it to the Presidium.

This means that Khrushchev and his faction, although they are now in the saddle, have a much weaker grip on their own party than before the recent split. Indicative of the new trend is the fact that Khrushchev's speeches in Prague, printed in the western press, were censored by someone before publication in the Soviet press—in all probability by the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Although the entire membership of the Central Committee will work together to retain the CC's new power, different groups within this large body will also seek to strengthen themselves. Characteristics of these various factions are already noticeable, and will be discussed in a later report.

As each faction tends to enlarge its circle of support, the central power becomes diluted. This has already happened in the Presidium, which was the only governing body after the death of Stalin. At that time the Presidium consisted of 10 regular members and 4 alternates, a total of 14. After the 20th CP Congress, it was enlarged to 11 regular members and 7 alternates, or a total of 18. Since the recent purge, the Presidium has been increased to 15 regular members and 9 alternates, for a total of 24, and has actually relinquished its controlling power to the Central Committee composed of 318 members and alternates.

The result of this process can only be the continued dilution of power and inevitable disintegration within the CPSU itself. In an effort to stabilize itself, the CP and the Soviet govt. (which are one and the same), will be forced to make more and more concessions to the demands of the peoples of Russia. A major concession was announced the next day after the purge—to abolish as of Jan. 1, the compulsory delivery to the state of assigned quotas of farm, dairy and meat products from the peasants' own small "backyard" plot of land. The fight for these individual plots has been a bitter one between the farmers and the regime, and this concession marks a significant victory for the peasants.

The present Communist rulers of Russia are in the position of being "damned if they do and damned if they don't." With their power and control continually weakening, they must compromise with the people in an attempt to avert revolution—and yet the very concessions that they make produce new and greater demands on the part of the people, and hasten the disintegration of the Communist system.

—Reported from *Research Report* of International Research on Communist Techniques, Inc.



From: *Filmindia*

A SENTENCE ON LIBERTY

By George Paloczi-Horvath

A YOUNG playwright, whose drama *Hill of Liberty* about an innocent man executed was a great success in Budapest last year, listened on Thursday to the Hungarian Supreme Court's verdict changing his own sentence of one year's imprisonment to sentence of death. Joseph Cali, the 27-year-old writer, is as guiltless as was the hero of his play.

After the second Soviet onslaught against Budapest, Cali, with his journalist friend Gyula Obersovszky, aged 30, wrote some leaflets, which were duplicated in one of the Budapest hospitals. Following the pattern of the old Stalinite rigged trials, the writers' case was linked with an alleged murder of a Security Police man in the same hospital. In April the lower court sentenced Cali to one year's imprisonment and Obersovszky to three. The Supreme Court announced on Thursday that in confining itself to the charges of murder and attempted murder the lower court was wrong. "The case must be considered as a political question and the leaders of the counter-revolution and instigators of such crimes must bear the main responsibility."

Cali and Obersovszky were sentenced to death because in their leaflets they had stated that the Hungarian uprising was a spontaneous democratic and nationalist rebellion against Soviet colonial oppression. Their death sentence may be regarded as a Soviet counter-move to the U.N. report on Hungary.

This is the first time in the history of the U.S.S.R. and the satellites that writers have been sentenced to death for their writings. The Soviet practice even under Stalin was quite different. Writers like Boris Pnyak and Babel were killed without open trial or any publicity, but myth was upheld that the Soviet Communist system does not punish writers for their works. The Budapest Supreme Court has now broken with this practice and reversed the 1955 Soviet decision against letting global political considerations affect court verdicts.

The sentence on the playwright Cali has aroused grave anxieties in Hungary. Many of the country's best and most popular writers are at present in the Security Police gaol in Budapest under preparation for their impending trial. Their chief crime is that during the past years they have written against tyranny. Their other crime is that even after many months of torture and brainwashing they maintain truth about the Hungarian revolution.

Early in May the leaders of Hungarian intellectual life visited the Minister of the Interior, Munnich, to protest against the imprisonment of the leading writers of the country. Munnich produced in answer a letter written in prison by the 60-year-old poet Zoltan Zelk in which he declared that "October was a glorious national uprising and not a foreign-inspired counter-revolution." Munnich said this letter proved that Zelk was incorrigible.

In the May 5, 1956, issue of the famous "Literacy Gazette" Zelk wrote the following poem:

*"How can I be brave?"
I am not worthy of praise.
Believe me, my friend, it chills my bones
When you praise my courage.
I am not a tiger; I am a human being.
My worn heart is a nest of fears
Believe me: I am frightened, I am frightened.
I am a human being, I live like a human being.
How can I be brave?
I fear only that I may be unworthy.
Of this I am more afraid than of death.*

The latest news smuggled out from prison is that Zelk's body is already broken but he is still afraid of being unworthy. The greatest Hungarian poet alive—if he is still alive—Gyula Illyes, whose famous poem "One Sentence on Tyranny" was published during the revolution, is in the Harshegy mental home, after a complete nervous breakdown produced by two days of Security Police "hearing." Tibor Tardos, the young novelist, went mad and is now in the lunatic wing of the prison hospital. Laszlo Kardos, the essayist, after attempting suicide in gaol, is in the prison hospital. Tibor Dery, the great novelist, and Julius Hay, the famous playwright, are still bearing up under the brainwashing.

These were my friends and colleagues. With some of them I spent five years in the same prison. Am I asking for the help of the civilised world? Let me quote by way of answer the concluding lines of a poem by Gyula Illyes, whose brilliant mind has been thrown into horrid abyss of insanity:

*...because where there's tyranny
all is in vain,
even the song, however faithful,
whatever the work you achieve for it stands,
in advance at your grave,
it tells you who you have been,
even your dust serves tyranny.*

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ON THE NEWS FRONT

Sheikh Abdullah Released — A Great Question Mark?

SRINAGAR. The former Premier of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, was set free from the Kud sub-jail. The release order served on him offered to bring him to Srinagar, but he declined. He preferred to be set free at Kud.

Two of his colleagues, Khwaja Ali Shah and Mahomed Akbar, were also released along with him. They were both given Rs 100 on release.

Sheikh Abdullah's refusal of the Government's offer to be driven from Kud to Srinagar has intrigued observers here. It is considered likely that he will spend the night here at the dak bungalow, and start for Srinagar tomorrow morning.

the visit of Dr. Frank Graham, the U.N. representative to the Indian sub-continent.

Though official and political circles generally welcomed the release of a politician of the status of Sheikh Abdullah, who has been built up in the Pakistani press for the last four years, as a symbol of resistance to Indian ownership, it was evident that there was a feeling of uneasiness that the former Kashmir Premier's release has been shrewdly timed by the Government of India.

—*Times of India*

ALL KEYED UP TO STRIKE

Kud: "He (Sheikh Abdullah) is all keyed up to strike."

"This is the firm impression left on me", says D. R. Mankekar, the special correspondent of the *Times of India*, at the conclusion of an interview with the former Prime Minister of Kashmir and Jammu, soon after his release from detention.

"In answering to correspondents, he was extremely evasive, often secretive, and sometimes betrayed irritation at the persistent questions seeking elucidation of his views on such important matters as his future plans, his attitude to the accession question, etc."

His stock reply to every question was: "I must first feel the pulse of the people."

Turning his fire on the Government of India, Sheikh Abdullah protested that he did not conspire with any foreign power. "I did not betray India." . . . He directly blamed Mr. Nehru for the events of 1953 leading to his arrest.

Times of India

INDIAN REACTIONS TO SHEIKH'S RELEASE

New Delhi: Pandit Premnath Dogra, President of the Praja Parishad, Jammu and Kashmir, in a statement, said that the Praja Parishad has always been against the detention without trial of any person, including Sheikh Abdullah. "I hope that after his release now, he will play his part as a worthy son of India," he concluded.

Mr. N. C. Chatterji, Hindu Mahasabha leader, said that the release of Sheikh Abdullah "would add to the difficulties and complexities of the Kashmir situation."

Addressing a public meeting here, shortly before the news of the actual release of the Sheikh reached the capital, Mr. Chatterji said that "any complacency now would spell disaster."

—*Times of India*

PAKISTAN WELCOMES SHEIKH'S RELEASE!

KARACHI: Pakistan welcomed the news of the release of Sheikh Abdullah. But there was an undercurrent of suspicion in political circles here, that India had timed his release to coincide his release with

SUMMARY TRIAL OF EAST PAKISTANIS

Shillong: Drastic measures adopted by Pakistani soldiery, ostensibly to check smuggling in East Pakistan, have created panic among the people and among travellers through and from Assam.

According to reports from Sylhet District, people have been arrested, summarily tried, and sentenced to prison terms for possessing even one ten-rupee note of Indian currency. A shop-keeper, who had stocked four phials of Indian-made perfume, was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and another who had a few Indian razor blades was fined Rs. 50.

People travelling between India and Pakistan complain that the Customs search at the border check-posts is harassing and humiliating. Customs staff are completely subordinated by Pakistani soldiers, who seem to regard even taking four oranges across the border as a breach of the regulations.

POLISH "HERESY" UNDER HEAVY FIRE FROM MOSCOW

WARSAW: Poland is again under heavy attack within the Communist "bloc".

Some Polish Communists trace the renewal of attack to the last month's gathering in Moscow of the world's Communist leaders for the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

M. W. Gomulka, Polish Communist First Secretary, signed the declaration of 12 ruling parties drawn up at the conference. But according to reliable Polish sources, he did so only after a vigorous display of independent thinking and after insistence of changes in the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet and Chinese parties.

An assault on the Polish party, similar to the latest one, was conducted after Gomulka's return to power in October 1956. The difference now is that the attack is concentrated on philosophical and literary matters instead of political phases of the Gomulka programme. But the line separating political, philosophical and literary matters is very thin in the communist world.

The heaviest barrage was laid down by an article in the Moscow "Izvestia". The article concentrated on the evils of revising Marxism, and considered the theory of separate paths to socialism, and the refusal to recognise the Soviet primary as integral parts of revisionism.

ISLAM AND TURKEY

By Andrew J. A. Mango

Islam Can be Studied But Not Lived

THE concept of Islamic solidarity was proved to be politically inoperative in the first world War. Mediaeval Islamic culture (and there is no other Islamic culture) is dead: fewer traces remain in Turkey than in the Arab lands, and they are growing fainter everywhere. In Turkey then, as a result of thirty years of secular nationalist education, the legacy of that culture is fully available only to university-trained orientalists. Just as Western positivism, or "positive science" to give it the honorific title by which it is known in Turkey, had dissolved the structure of Islamic society, western nationalism has torn the links that united the former subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

Arab proper names appearing in Turkish newspapers in strange western transliterations instead of their traditional Turkish forms are a symbol of Turkish-Arab estrangement: places in the Middle East where Turks fought, or which they governed and which were part of their personal experience, are now names in dispatches by western contacts only as they become citizens of the West. A young cultural co-operation found English and French to be the most useful common languages.

The future rulers of Turkey and of the Arab countries, will, I hope for the sake of civilised progress in those lands, first meet as Fulbright scholars or as students at the London School of Economics. They will certainly not meet at the al-Azhar university in Cairo. The most nationalistic Arab parents would choose a proper university in the West for their children if they were given the choice. Their preference is logical: the West, meaning the north Atlantic region, is the home of the only civilisation that is alive today.

Cliches about a meeting or synthesis between East and West, between eastern spiritual values and western technology are meaningless and are seen as meaningless by the people who matter in the Middle East today. *Islamic civilisation can be studied: it can no longer be lived* — and even the study is carried on in the West or is directed from it. There is nothing paradoxical or supercilious about such a judgment: it was natural for scholars to go to Alexandria in Hellenistic times, to Baghdad or Cordoba in the Middle Ages. Today the most favourable ecologic conditions for the growth of culture happen to be in the West.

Political Quarterly

PAK POLICE FIRE ON INDIAN BOAT

Shillong: The Pakistani Police opened fire on a boat carrying Indian nationals near Dawki on the Indo-Pakistani border, according to an official report received here today.

Mr. Kakati, Superintendent of Police, Khasi Jantia Hills said that several Indian nationals had been injured in the firing. Further details are not available.

According border tribals, who have just come from the scene of the firing, the Pakistani police challenged some Indian nationals coming by the boat along the North bank of the Pyne river, and immediately opened fire. Several persons were injured. —*Times of India*

8 LAKHS DOLLARS GRANT TO INDIA

BY U. S.

New York: Grants of 500,000 dollars and 300,000 dollars respectively to the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, and the Delhi School of Economics for Social Science Education are two of the largest made by the Ford Foundation during the first quarter of its 1958 fiscal year.

The Foundation, in announcing the grants today, said the social science programmes of these and other Indian institutions will be aided by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Centre for International Studies under a grant of 750,000 dollars. The first quarter grants cover the the months from October to December.

The Foundation — whose total grants for the period amounted to 14,284,550 dollars — also announced a grant of 25,000 dollars to the Indian Law Institute to help initiate its programme for education and research of legal problems of India. In addition, the Institute of International Education received a grant of 60,000 dollars for a co-operative programme of legal research and training between the Indian Law Institute and law schools in the United States and other countries.

Other grants which will directly aid India include one for 783,000 dollars to assist in strengthening and expanding agricultural extension education service, including the establishment of annual camps for training village leaders in modern agricultural methods.

Another grant of 205,500 dollars will assist the pilot project in rural health services now underway at the Gandhigram rural development centre.

IRON RULE CLAMPED ON CHINA

Washington: Two internationally significant events characterized 1957 in Asia, says the South China Morning Post of Hong Kong.

One was the reimposition of stiff Communist control over the people in Communist China; the other was democratic India's decision to press its five-year economic Plan despite many difficulties.

The Hong Kong paper observes: "Early in the year, Mao Tse-tung had proclaimed a many flowers doctrine," and there were hopes that Communism in China might take a new turn and shed some of its excesses and inhumanities.

"But at mid-year the Government changed its line abruptly and the old system was restored with full vigour.

MAO HAD MISCALCULATED

"In retrospect it appears Mao Tse-tung had miscalculated the strength of his regime.

"He thought the mass of people had been so thoroughly conditioned by Communist propaganda that opposition to Communism, more particularly its dogmatism was dead.

"After he had taken off some controls, the volume and intensity of the attacks on Communism astonished and alarmed the country's leaders.

—*Bombay Chronicle*

South For English As The Official Language

Madras: The Union Language Convention of South India, formed recently to oppose the adoption of Hindi as the official language of the country, today unanimously adopted a resolution moved by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, urging the Government of India to continue English as the official language of the Union and to amend the Constitution accordingly.

The largely attended convention was presided over by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, and was addressed among others by Sir Mirza Ismail, Dr. M. Ratnaswamy, Mr. P. T. Rajan and Mr. P. Kodanda Rao. It cautioned the Government of the "disruptive consequences of any change in the *status quo* by the substitution of Hindi for English," as the official language.

The Convention constituted a seven-man "Action Committee" headed by Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and Mr. Rajagopalachari "for taking executive action from time to time in furtherance of the resolution."

The Convention also decided to communicate its resolution and proceedings to the President of India,

the Prime Minister, the Home Minister of the Government of India and the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on the Official Language issue.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, moving the main resolution, declared that the adoption of Hindi as the official language "would be suicidal" and demanded that, "English, which is now prevailing as the official language, should not be disturbed."

Calling upon the people of South India to stand united on this issue, the elder statesman declared, "we have to fight a battle today and we have to fight it against overwhelming opposition. North will not be able to dominate over the South, unless the South divides itself."

Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the great and "formidable opposition" against which, they in the South had to fight and said "our only friend and understanding man, in this matter, up in the North is the Prime Minister and nobody else. He has been from the outset pointing out what we have been pointing out."

Abolition Of Caste By Legislation

By A. Ramanathan

I SHALL place before you an idea which many of my friends have described as fantastic, bordering on madness. Those who wished to be polite said that it was simply irrational. It is not a new idea. I placed it before the first convention of Indian Rationalists held at Madras in 1949 under the presidency of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. Since then I have been trying to gain adherents from among the delegates to the subsequent conventions of the Indian Rationalist Association. I described the idea at some length at the last convention held at Bombay in December last. I do not wish to hide from you the fact that while most of the listeners were indifferent to the idea some were violently hostile. Quite a few including Prof. R. S. Yadava of Meerut, the present Editor of our monthly the *Indian Rationalist*, are its enthusiastic supporters. I am gathering a list of those who would support the idea in full. I have gained the signatures of certain veterans in the field of social service, the most prominent of whom is Sri Shant Ram, the founder President of the *Jat Pat Torak Mandal* in the Punjab. Our intention is to draft a manifesto, get it signed by these supporters

and publish it in the press and send copies to prominent men and women in India.

MERELY A PRETENSION

The idea in short, is the abolition of the caste system in India by legislation. About the need to bring about the early abolition of caste there is probably no difference of opinion among the intellectuals in India. I do not say that there are not people who desire to keep up and profit by caste. But I do assert that even those who wish to perpetuate the caste system dare not say so in public. They usually try to pretend that caste is going as a matter of fact and that it is only a question of time when it will get totally abolished. Meanwhile, these reactionaries assert that no positive steps need be taken towards eradication of caste, and that we should safely rely on gradual spread of education and enlightenment for the uprooting of the system. These people know that caste is by no means on the decline and whatever progress the people of India may achieve in the field of education and economic progress the caste system as such is gradually getting more and more consolidated and its

grip on society is growing in strength.

REBIRTH OF SOCIAL TYRANNY

It is now an admitted fact that the recent political changes involving the elimination of British suzerainty over India and the conferment of political liberty on the peoples inhabiting this vast sub-continent have intensified the growth of the ancient social tyranny which has put on fresh plumes during the last ten years. It is a well recognised fact that, at the elections to the various legislatures, the dominating factor is the caste of the candidate which excites the caste feelings of the electorate. Under the present political set-up in India, therefore, it is idle to expect the gradual withering away of the caste system. There is a crying need for the forging of positive measures to bring about the abolition.

WHERE GANDHI FAILED

Let me briefly describe the features of the legislation that I advocate. First and foremost is the need to amend the Constitution Act which as it stands, is heavily weighted in favour of caste. Part III of

the Act which relates to "fundamental rights" puts caste on the same pedestal as Race, Religion, Sex, place of birth and other features which should not be discriminated against under any system of natural justice. The Constitution seeks to abolish "untouchability" and "titles", but it does not seek to abolish caste. On the contrary, the Constitution has given recognition as well as protection to caste. I would urge that in Sec. 15 the word "caste" be eliminated and in Sec. 17 the word "caste" be substituted for the word "untouchability" in the two places where it occurs. Let us recognise once and for all that there is no untouchability whatever apart from caste. Caste itself is only a graded system of untouchability. It is the tragic failure of Gandhi to recognise this truth that has led to the confusion and the social conflicts prevalent in India today. It may be that there will be no Hindu religion if caste is abolished; and if the religion gets abolished in the process of abolishing caste, the people of India should have the stamina to put up with such a state of affairs. Incidentally, I desire to point out, that though a lot of propaganda is being carried on that India is a secular State, there is no frank recognition of that fact in the Constitution Act. The word "secular" does not find a place anywhere in the Act. In the preamble to the Act I would like the word "secular" be inserted after the word "sovereign" and before the word "democratic" so as to put an end to the quibbling indulged in by eminent persons in India that India is after all "Hinduism".

A "WAR" MEASURE

The second stage of legislation which I seek to bring about is the prohibition of marriages between parties belonging to the same caste. I dislike the word "prohibition", and I frankly recognise the justice of the criticism levelled against this proposal, that it curtails the liberty of the individual citizen to seek his or her own mate in marital life. But my reply to the criticism is that my proposal does not, in any way, diminish the quantum of our existing liberty. On the contrary it increases that quantum. The most liberal estimate of the strength of a community within which marriage is not allowable is about one hundredth of the population. As a

matter of fact, therefore, there is a social prohibition against the choice of one's mate from 90% of the population. While I seek to prohibit the choice from one hundredth of the population, the present caste system prohibits the choice from 99% of the population. Which is the greater prohibition, the one against one per cent that I propose, or the one against 99 per cent that now obtains under the caste system? Which is a greater restraint on love and individual liberty? While I frankly dislike even this one per cent of the prohibition, I would urge on the youth of India to consider it as a "war" measure, and put up with it for one generation; for the next generation of children born in this country, if my measure is adopted, would be born of parents of different castes, and would themselves have no caste. A desperate situation calls for a desperate remedy.

If the country is in danger the youth has to flock to the field of

battle and shed its blood. India today is in great danger not from a foreign external enemy but from an inherent internal social tyranny, which has heaped shame upon our people, and has brought down upon our devoted heads the contempt and ridicule of the whole world. Indians, as a race, are looked down upon and treated as inferiors in the comity of Nations, because we have tolerated caste in our history for thousands of years. We shall not be able to hold up our heads and walk erect before our fellow human beings unless and until we shed the caste system. No price is too big, no sacrifice is too great for the achievement of such an objective. The remedy that I propose, though it is irksome and acts as a restraint upon liberties for a short while, will ultimately liberate the roots of our life from the hateful bondage to which it has been subjected to for many millenia.

A paper read at a meeting of the Libertarian Social Institute, Madras.

Saurashtra Interests Neglected

A public meeting was held at Rajkot on December 22, 1957 when the following resolutions were unanimously passed. The meeting was convened under the auspices of Rajkot Citizens' Association.

(1) We believe that if the production and test of nuclear weapons will be continued, it may cause third war and mass destruction of Humanity, and therefore we request America, Soviet Union, Britain, France and India to meet together and take early steps in the New Year to stop these destructive weapons.

(2) We believe that if any change in the formation of the Bigger Bilingual State is to be made, then the Government should adhere to its original decision of farming three different states viz. Maharashtra, Mahagujarat and Bombay. If any other decision would be made, it is not likely that the people would get due redress.

(3) We regret to see that the Union Finance Minister has levied exorbitant taxes in every direction. The people of India are very poor and when majority of the people have not got even sufficient means of living, the burden of these taxes has become unbearable and in-

tolerable, and we request the Government to consider this question and remove at least the increments on postal charges, Railway fare etc.

SAURASHTRA NEGLECTED

(4) After the merger of Saurashtra with the Bombay State, the difficulties of people have greatly increased and we regret to see that when we write to Hon'ble Ministers of Bombay, there is no response and no result. Unless the ministers will be careful and vigilant to the complaints of the people, the public discontent is sure to increase.

(5) We regret to see that although we represent the public grievances to the officers of Saurashtra and write to them, they do not give replies or take any action for giving relief to public complaints.

(6) It is a matter of great regret that the administrative expenses are abnormally increased than during British Administration, and it is absolutely necessary that they should be decreased, otherwise poverty will be increasing and it would bring ruin to the whole nation.

(7) The Congress was formed for fighting against the British Govern-

ment and for removing foreign rule in India. Now we have got Swaraj and, therefore, there is no necessity of the Congress as a separate body. The Congress Government is now ruling over India and we, therefore, request that according to the opinion of Mahatma Gandhiji, it should be dissolved and it should be the Government not of one party as Congress but by a National Party representing the whole nation.

In spite of repeated warnings by the Hon'ble Prime Minister, corruption, favouritism and influenciamism has not come to an end, and hence great deal of discontent is prevailing in the country and it is therefore necessary this should be stopped with a high hand.

(9) It is necessary in the interest of the public that persons in the service of the local Government and the Municipality should not be kept for more than three years at the same place and they should be transferred, otherwise they take a deep root and discontent prevails in the public.

(10) The present educational system is very expensive, burdensome and not effective, and it is therefore necessary that it should be overhauled and made practical.

(11) Although Hospitals are daily increasing, the Govt. Medical officers and lady Medical Officer in Zanana Hospital, Rajkot, are exacting heavy visit fees and as they are indifferent to the poor and the middle class people, it is requested that proper supervision may be made and other systems of medicine should be given due encouragement and support.

LIBERTARIAN FEATURE SERVICE

The Libertarian Social Institute, Bombay, will issue a Feature Service from this month.

It will be a cyclostyled bulletin containing ideological articles and news of importance from the point of views of Free Economy and Libertarian philosophy.

Members of the Libertarian Social Institute and subscribers of the "Indian Libertarian" will get the copies of the "Libertarian Feature Service", Free on application to:-

The Secretary, Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

Book Reviews

The March Of A Conspiracy

THE MARCH OF A CONSPIRACY
by Gopal Mittal. National Academy, Delhi, Price Rs. 2 Pages 94.

Once K. M. Munshi, while inaugurating the first conference of the Congress for Cultural Freedom at Bombay, said, "The crisis of the human spirit is nowhere more discernible than in the facile manner with which the intellectuals surrender their freedom."

It is to the intellectuals and to the men of letters that Gopal Mittal's book is primarily directed. It is a book that confronts us with the gravest problem of our times; it brings to the forefront in all its naked reality the force of the irrational currents that are sweeping the world we live in and of the positive denial that mankind has to face in all its unsuspecting and sanguine efforts to retrieve the human mind from the enmeshes of a disgusting and callous struggle to overpower the whole world. For the most vital reality of our times is the existence in our midst of a barbarous and scientific system whereby man is transmuted into an indoctrinated and controlled puppet without independence either in thought or in action. The most painful and nauseating truth of this vital reality is its appalling success, its success not in fields of economy, politics and the mass-mind, but its success in neutralizing and rendering impotent men of letters, creative men who are the inheritors of all civilization.

THE PROBLEM THAT FACES CIVILIZATION

It is this reality that we face, and that the whole world faces. It is from this inescapable truth that the strongest among us shudders. In truth, and in myth, the short-lived but tremendous might of irrational forces over the rational mind is a well-recognized and deeply-ingrained fact. Is it however, a rational belief? Is it right to believe in the might of irrational forces? Is it correct to accept the present success of regimentation as forecast for the future of man? It remains to be seen. For the present, Mr. Mittal has satisfied us on one vital score:

he has set the problem before us, and in no uncertain terms.

"In 1936 a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, appeared on the literary horizon of India. It was in that the Progressive Writers Association came into being. Nearly 20 years after its inception it threatens to overcast the entire horizon, which is both a reason for its reassessment and a warning of its possible consequences."

The manifesto of the Progressive Writers Association, among other things, said, "... Indian literature, since the breakdown of classical culture, has had the fatal tendency to escape from the actualities of life. It has tried to find a refuge from reality in baseless spiritualism and ideality.

"It is the duty of Indian Writers to undertake to develop an attitude of literary criticism, which will discourage the general reactionary and revivalist tendencies on questions like family, religion, sex, war and society. "It is the object of our Association to rescue literature and other arts from the conservative classes in whose hands they have been degenerating so long; to bring the arts into the closest touch with the people; and to make them the vital organs which will register the actualities of life, as well as lead us to the future we envisage.

THE RED BOOBY TRAP

"... We believe that the new literature of India must deal with the basic problems of our existence today—the problems of hunger and poverty, social backwardness and political subjection."

And the men who featured prominently in the P.W.A. were men (very naturally) like Krishan Chander, who "was to all intents and purposes inviting writers to give up creative work until the whole world went Communist." Makhdoom Mahiuddin, who later became involved in the Telangana rebellion, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, who was later involved in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, Sajjad Zahir, who was formerly General Secretary of the Pakistan Communist Party, Mulk Raj Anand, who

too was "intimately connected with the British Communist Party when he was allotted leadership of the Indian branch of the so-called progressive writers." Ram Bilas Sharma, Sushil Jana, both active Communists, and others.

The Association held its fifth Conference at Bombay to draw up a programme which was in tune with the then popular Moscow theme on India (May 1949). Mr. Mittal writes, "The chief purpose of the conference, as it is clear by now, was to help step up the civil war enjoined by the Communist doctrine and already begun by the Indian Communists in Telangana. Among the various resolutions passed at the conference, three stand out as particularly significant. One of them condemned the Government of India for what it called denial of civil liberties to the Indian people; the other, India's participation in the Commonwealth and the third, war preparations by the Anglo-American bloc. The chief speaker on the resolution condemning the Anglo-American bloc was none other than (Mulik Raj) Anand who exhorted the writers and artists of the world to fight for peace 'under the leadership of the Soviet Union'."

THIS IS "SOCIALIST" REALISM

And, in such manner, emerges our theme. The theme that the world has become so painfully conscious of, that writers and literary men alone know for what it is, the theme of socialist realism. For what the P.W.A. advocated "under the leadership of the Soviet Union" was another form of socialist realism, a doctrine which has successfully been used to eliminate independent intellectuals in Soviet Russia, in China and in E. Europe.

Karl Marx, with all dialectical effrontery, committed his first atrocity and his primary contradiction when he declared human thought to be a slave of environment. To Karl Marx pay homage the various tyrants that have grounded their heel in communist soils not because they recognize an element of truth in what he said, but because they are permitted in the name of truth and science to rise to power in his name and to condition thought and to destroy all those brains who are not in conformity with the social order they wish to impose. And, as if to nourish these tyrants with the balm of naive impotent poets, writ-

ers and artists, Marx declared that literature and art were "forms of mental knowledge", and constituents of the "superstructure of thought."

TOLL OF "SOCIALIST" REALISM

And it was not soon before the Soviet wheel of tyranny started grinding writers into the dust. Akhmatova, the modern Pushkin, had her share of the menacing reprimand. She was told that "our literature is not a private undertaking designed to please the diverse tastes of a literary market. We are under no obligation to provide space in our literature for tastes and tempers which have nothing in common with the morals and qualities of the Soviet people." What was her fault? Surely, she was a Marxist. Only she could not accept complete control over the man of letters.

Then there were Michail Koltsov, Ivan Katayev, Vladimir Kishov, Boris Pilnayk, Bruno Josiensi, Andrei Alexandrovich, Paolo Yashvili, and others. "According to one estimate, between the years 1936 to 1938 alone as many as 329 writers were either shot or died in concentration camps."

This was the toll that Socialist realism took before the new phase was—introduced, the phase better known as the thaw. It was Pravda, the Soviet journal, which characterized the new era. "It is an important task of literary criticism," it emphasized, "to fight resolutely against the manifestations of alien ideology, against attempts to revise the fundamental principles of Soviet literature, while warmly supporting all that is new and advanced, the bold creative designs of the writers and their search for new individual paths in the common stream of socialist realism."

But the thaw by no means affected the sacrosanct statutes of the Stalinist era that governed the conduct of writers. Idealism and nihilism remain as ever identical in Soviet semantics. Intuitionism, spontaneity, immediate impressionism are still the major crimes recognized. When the purge came, it spared none. A Twardovsky confessed. "I confess my mistakes," he said, "unfortunately very belatedly, but quite honestly and sincerely." And yet Ilya Ehrenburg's 'escaped' the thaw. Of course, there were accusations and attacks, but not liquida-

tion. But this fact too is explained by the political machinations in the international field. "Ehrenburg is Russia's face for presentation to the outside world and Twardovsky, a whipping boy, to teach a lesson to the erring writers at home," writes Mr. Mittal.

The tale is, of course, endless. The appetite of the Soviet oligarchy cannot be satiated. In the meantime, socialist realism claimed victims also in the People's Democracy in Communist China.

IN CHINA TOO

"A fundamental viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism," said Mao tse-tung in 1942, "is that objectivism is the determinant of subjectivism. In other words, the objective reality of class struggles determines our thought and feeling." This is in short the Chinese version of socialist realism.

"In the world today," Mao went on, "all culture or literature and art—belongs to a definite class, to a definite Party, that is to say, to a definite political line. . . . In a society with class and parties, since literature and art must be subservient to class and to Party, they naturally must obey the political wishes of the class and Party subject themselves to the revolutionary duties of a definite revolutionary period. . . . the literature and art of the proletariat are part and parcel of the entire revolutionary enterprise of the proletariat, similar to what Lenin has said, 'screws of mechanism.' For this reason, the literature and art of the Party have a definite and prearranged place in the entire revolutionary work of our party."

"What happened later," writes Mr. Mittal, "was a sad tale. The liquidation of Wang Shi Wei was but the beginning of a grim tragedy, which took in its grip the entire intelligentsia of China. Many perished, many more were silenced, and nearly all were intimidated. It is only after that that Liu Shao-Chi and Chou-En-lai could confidently claim in September 1954 that "the Government's measures of thought-reform had succeeded with all but a handful of reactionary intellectuals." In the purge of the succeeding year even those "handful of reactionary intellectuals" were liquidated so that Mao Tse-tung could safely announce on May 2, 1946 that he would like to have "a hun-

dred flowers bloom at the same time" and—"all schools of thought to contend."

And what this doctrine of "let all flowers bloom and all schools contend" amounted to was made abundantly clear by China's Minister of Culture, Shah Yen Ping, in his speech at the National People's Congress in June 1956. "As long as it is a flower," he said, "we should let it bloom." And what is a literary flower? "We believe that the socialist and the realistic methods of creative writing," said Mr. Ping, "are the best to reflect reality truthfully and that they point out to us the laws of social development." Marxism-Leninism with its theories of literature has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt its negative role in both Soviet Russia and in China. It can kill effectively the old creative spirit. It can undermine ruthlessly the creative minority. It can eliminate every vestige of independent thinking.

LET US HOPE WITH WILLIAM FAULKNER

Is there then any hope for man? Are we to accept the victory of regimentation over rational thinking? Is the human spirit going to crumble before this might and treacherous enemy? Socialist realism in E. Europe has, however, not been so pronounced. Poland, in spite of all pressures, has retained some independence of thought, due probably to the fact that many Polish citizens had relatives and close friends, who were actually sent to the so-called labour camps. Hungary, too, has exhibited traces of the spirit of freedom. But is this sufficient food for hope? We can do no better than end with William Faulkner's highly significant words:

"I decline to accept the end of man. . . I believe that man will not merely endure; he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance. The poet's, the writer's duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honour and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past."

Kishore Valicha

Jamia Millia Publications

SURVEY OF RURAL EMPLOYMENT in Two Villages In The Delhi State in 1953-56. (Publication No. 4.)

SURVEY OF MILK PRODUCTION in The Jamia Development Circle in 1952-53. (Publication No. 1.)

SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF HOLDINGS in Two Villages Of The Delhi State in 1953-54. (Publication No. 3.) All the three books are by M. Sultan M.A., Research Assistant supervised by M. Aqil, Professor of Economics, Jamia Millia.

Published by THE JAMIA INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY, P.O. Jamnagar, New Delhi, in 1954, 1957 September and October respectively.

At a time when our politicians are passing hasty legislations of far reaching consequence, nothing is more urgent and important than research work conducted in a scientific spirit by qualified men from the the university. A vast country like India with its many traditions and local practices of custom and law, needs research on a large scale before any practicable measures for improvement can be successfully implemented. These three research publications, (we have not yet received the second) serve a great need of the hour. The preface to the first of these second) serve a great need of the hour. The preface to the first of these publications introduces us to the origin and purpose of these publications:

The Indian Universities Commission of 1950 suggested that new kinds of Universities which they named as Rural Universities, should take up the study of rural problems with a view to finding out their solutions and recommended the Jamia Millia, among others, as specially suited to take up this work. . . the Department of Economics of the Jamia Millia sponsored a scheme of establishing an Institute of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, which was adopted by the Academic Council of the Jamia Millia in 1952 and it started functioning from September 1952.

The objects of the institute were:

1) To organise projects for economic inquiries and social surveys and carry out other research; 2) to prepare text-books and reading material on Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology in order to disseminate knowledge and promoting a better understanding of rural economic and social problems; 3) to arrange lectures on economic and sociological subjects in the Jamia Millia; and 4) to promote co-operation between the Jamia Millia and other educational and research Institutions for the purposes mentioned above.

The tentative programme of inquiries and investigations include, among others, Regional Farm Survey on the lines of National Farm Survey of England, Sample Surveys of various kinds regarding Outturn of Crops, Farm Earnings, Prices, Wages, Indebtedness, Formation of Capital, Hoarding of wealth, Storing of grain etc., inquiries regarding Land Utilization, Industry into effects of Abolition of Zamindari in U.P. on the various classes of the population, Inquiry into Tensions between different castes, classes and communities, a Survey of Unemployment and Pauperism with their social implications, and Inquiry into the special social problems of Displaced Persons. This list of subjects gives a picture to the detail in which the researches are intended to be carried.

MILK SURVEY—EXPECTATIONS BELIED

The inquiry on milk production in the Jamia Development Circle (of which a map is published in the book) started with the hypothesis that Delhi city had a prosperous and growing population, which could afford to purchase a good

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amount of milk at a comparatively high price. Milk being a perishable commodity, it had to be purchased in a fresh condition from producers living at a close distance from the city. For that reason, the milk-producers of the Jamia Development Circle appeared to be advantageously placed as compared with other suppliers of milk who were living at greater distances. But the actual inquiry furnished results which belied all these theoretical expectations.

In the first place, the size of the business in this area was not large. There were no milk producing dairies of any kind (private, Joint-stock or Co-operative) which maintained their herd of cattle within this area. The vast majority of the milk producers (95.4%) keep not more than five cattle, 45% keeping one cattle, 29% two milch cattle, 13.4% three cattle, 6% four cattle, and 3% five cattle. In the remaining 4.6 per cent of cases, the greater portion of cattle was maintained by those whose aim was cattle breeding rather than milk production. Moreover, the breed of cattle was only in a very few cases such, as could be included in the category which yielded 13 seers of milk in the best period of its lactation—a limit which was described to be the minimum for remunerative cattle keeping. The cattle which yielded the highest milk, leaving out a few honorable exceptions, were generally found with those who were keeping one or two cattle only, and even the number of such cattle in the whole Circle was very limited indeed, as can be guessed from the average yield of the Circle viz. 2.3 seers per cattle.

The conclusion of the Survey of Milk Production in the Jamial Development Circle, is that the milk industry is not supplying healthy milk at a cheap price to the consumer, after giving a fair return to the milk producer.

The suggestions for improvement are four in number:

1) Elimination of dry, low-yielding and superfluous cattle, 2) Provision of Veterinary aid, 3) Provision of bulls of good breed, and 4) Co-operative organization of milk producers for collection, transportation, pasteurisation and distribution of milk, for the purchase of better breed of cattle and concentrates and fodder for the provision of Artificial Insemination Centres and milking sheds etc.

The other two publications deal in a similar efficient manner with their topics. They are useful for research students and journalists who need a sound knowledge of facts. We hope the publishers will succeed in producing further publications of this nature and serve an important social need.

—M. V. Balakrishna Rao

GIFT OF BOOKS TO R. L. TRUST LIBRARY

The Congress for Cultural Freedom, Bombay, has sent two latest published books as gifts to the R. L. Trust Library. They are *The New Class* by Milovan Djilas, and *The Hungarian Revolt*, edited by Melvin J. Lasky, a White Book and documentary of the events of the October Revolt in Hungary.

The Secretary of the R. L. Trust Library thanks Mr. V. B. Karnik, through whom the books were received.

New Books Added to R. L. Foundation Library

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Aryabhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay during the last month.

London, Jack: *Four Short Stories*.
Stevenson, R. L.: *Rajah's Diamond*.
Wells, H. G.: *Country of the Blind*.
Dickens, Charles.: *Nicholas Nickleby & Mr. Squeers*.
Twain, Mark.: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

Lachmann, L. M.: *Capital and its Structure*.
Acton, Lord, J. E. E. D.: *Essays on Freedom and Power*.
Strausz Hupe, Robert.: *Power and Community*.
Levy, Paul.: *Buddhisms 'Mystry Religion'*
Hunt, Herbert J.: *Honore de Balzac; Biography*.
Cartman, James.: *Hinduism in Ceylon*.
Utley, T. E.: *Edmund Burke*.
Roberts, S. C.: *Samuel Johnson*
Blunden, Edmund: *Charles Lamb*
Darlington, W. A.: *Sheridan*
Scott-James, R. A.: *Lytton Strachey*
Warner, Sylvia S.: *Jane Austen*
Raine, Kathleen: *William Blake*
Sutherland, James: *Defoe*
Dobree, Bonamy: *John Dryden*.
Scott-James, R. A.: *Thomas Hardy (1840-1928)*.
Brooke, Jacelyn: *Aldous Huxley*
Blunden, Edmund: *John Keats*
Hall, J. C.: *Edwin Muir*
Hopkinson, Tom: *George Orwell*
Berry, Francis: *Herbert Read*
Dorward, Alan: *Bertrand Russell*
Lucas, F. L.: *Tennyson*
Laver, James: *Oscar Wilde*
Plumb, J. H. (Ed.): *Studies in Social History*
Wolin, Simon (Ed.): *Soviet Secret Police*
National Council of Applied Economic: *Foreign Exchange Crisis and the Plan*
National Council of Applied Economic: *Taxation and Foreign Investment*.
Bowen, Ian: *Population*.
Hicks, Ursula K.: *Public Finance*
Robinson, Joan: *Economics of Imperfect Competition*

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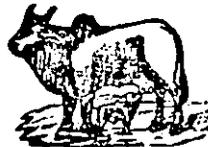
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