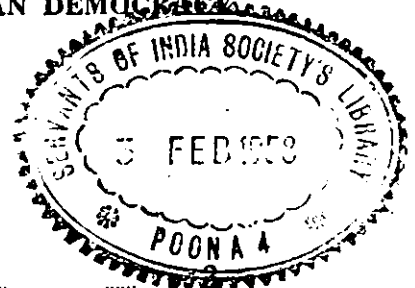




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Editorial

NOON'S THREAT TO INDIAN NATIONALS

A PRESS report from Karachi dated January 11 says, **M**allik Feroze Khan Noon, the Pakistan Prime Minister said here today that he had instructed the East Pakistan Government to 'round up the vast numbers of Indians there and put them in concentration camps'.

Mr. Noon told a press conference that he could not confirm or deny the Muslim League leader Mumtaz Mohammed Khan Daulatana's statement that 200,000 Indian citizens were roaming about in East Pakistan. "It is, however, true that vast numbers of Indians are in East Pakistan. I have issued instructions to round them up and put them in concentration camps and make them build mud roads in villages." Mr. Noon said: "East Pakistan's border with India has been sealed, and no one can get through," Mr. Noon added in reply to another question.

Comment should be superfluous. But in the present state of opinion (rather absence of opinion) in the country regarding Pakistan's intentions towards us, it is necessary to raise the questions that such a statement on the part of the prime minister of a hostile neighbour should raise in the minds of Indian citizens.

SOME PERTINENT QUESTIONS

One question concerns what Pakistan's attitude to her larger neighbour reveals itself to be, if the presence of 200,000 Indians in his country should lead him to impound them in concentration camps and put them to forced labour? Pakistan proposes to use 200,000 Indians for slave labour! Who are these Indians and how did they get there? Even if they had got there without passports, have they no rights in international law? And how dare Pakistan put them to slave labour? It is clear that this is to provoke India to retaliate so that there might be an excuse for war-like action against India. To avoid war or bloodshed, will India refrain from action and take shelter under the magnanimity of her non-violent policy? Will she betray the first duty of national governments to protect their nationals? If so, what price national independence under such "leaders"? They may be saints and preachers but how are they to be regarded as *government* leaders?

OR A CLOAK?

The second question concerns the doubt that these so-called Indians are only Pakistani Hindus! So far they were being systematically swindled and tortured, robbed and disgraced in their persons and womenfolk and forced out as paupers. This was being done by private individuals with the connivance of Pakistani officialdom and police. They have accumulated immense loot in these post-partition years. Now the move is taken up by the Pakistani Government itself, if the press statement of Mr. Noon quoted above is any indication of the new policy.

The press also reports that the Pakistani army has arrested thousands of Hindus near the border for alleged smuggling, as if smuggling is a pastime confined only to Hindus! This is another excuse to con-

fiscate Hindu property and drive the Hindus out. Mr. Noon's policy is a further refinement of cruelty with a new economic motive and frankly takes up a totalitarian colour—fascist or communist. "Why not use the unfortunate Hindus as slaves working on national projects or since the Pakistan has no projects, on routine public works like road-making?"

There is no limit to the cruelty and hatred of the Pakistanis (leaders and populace) towards India in spite of the unheard of generosity extended to them by Indian leaders at the cost of Indians. It is a matter of regret that Indian leadership is still helpless in the face of this relentless recalcitrance and shows no sign of a more successful policy. Intelligence is shown by a change of behaviour if one type of behaviour is found to be unsuccessful but Indian policy is stuck up in futile gestures of generosity and has been unable to rise to new points of view. It has been crassly unimaginative.

BAZAKAR MOVEMENT IN HYDERABAD AGAIN

It appears that Kasim Razvi's Razakar association, Majlis-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen has been revived and has begun its former activities or at least propaganda amongst Muslims in Hyderabad. It may be remembered that from around 1946 these Razakars had begun to persecute Hindus in pursuit of their policy of obtaining independence for the Nizam of Hyderabad. They attacked Union railways and killed Union citizens in addition to the subjects of the Nizam. Sardar Patel's Police Action put a stop to this insufferable eruption of violent subversive activity of Kasim Razvi.

It speaks for the unchanging long-term resolution of Muslims like Razvi and his followers (and they are not so few as the unwary may imagine) that they should dare to revive such separatist and treasonable campaigns today. India wants Muslims and other minorities to settle down to Indian citizenship on equal terms with the majority. But when groups like the Razakars remain obstinate, and harbour dreams of separatist destiny, and further dismemberment of the country, it is the duty of citizens and government to take notice. Democracy with its free thought and expression is no doubt a precious privilege, but such rights can be claimed only by loyal citizens. Democratic rights are deserved by and should be extended only to loyal citizens. Otherwise democracy would sink to the level and character of a suicidal pact to foster subversion and dismemberment.

There is need for fresh legislation to redefine the limits of propaganda. Separatism and dismemberment should not be permitted to be aired in the name of democratic rights of free speech and association. Murder and robbery are not permitted to be prepared for through conspiracy. So, too, the far more dangerous activities of political malcontents aiming disintegration of the national body should be scotched by law at the very first sign of organisation. It is creditable that a few Muslims in Hyderabad have seen the danger of the revival of the Majlis of Kasim Razvi and have warned their co-religionists against succumbing to the propaganda of the Razakars.

PERVERTED ATTITUDE OF AUTHORITIES

Indian leaders in power in Party and Government have the disabling habit of condemning, not the disruptionists and traitors, but those who point to such treacherous activities on the part of disgruntled groups and leaders and call for the resolute action of Government! They call people like Mr. Golwalkar and Dr. Khare by the ugly name of "communalists" when they warn the Government of the peril to the country issuing from the subversive activities of people like the Razakars and Sheikh Abdullah. It is not the Muslim conspirator who is a communalist in the eyes of influential authorities but Khare and Golwalkar! Our people should not be misled by such official attitudes that stem from an exploded past. They should persuade the Government to change their line on this question of national unity and loyalty and take more determined steps to safeguard them by law and publicity.

Dr. Khare has warned the country and the Government of the danger of allowing free rein to the activities of Sheikh Abdullah after his release. Mere Preventive Detention is no use. Punishment for high treason is called for.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH IN HIS TRUE COLOURS

The indications that press correspondents got (in their interview with Sheikh Abdullah immediately after his release from jail at Kud) that he meant mischief have been fully confirmed by his first speech near Srinagar to a large crowd. He spoke at the shrine of Darga Hazrat Bal, six miles from Srinagar, and quoted frequently from the Koran. The Muslim tactics of using holy places and texts for political purposes were adopted by the Sheikh, so long hailed by Congress leadership (and even the PSP who seem to share its tenderness to so-called nationalist Muslims) as a Gandhian nationalist to whom India with Kashmir as an integral part came first in everything. The superficiality of the insight into the Muslim mind evinced by Congress once again revealed by the conduct of Sheikh Abdullah.

The Sheikh declared that "Nehru was in the conspiracy to imprison him", and that Kashmir had no love or regard for India. Further, he continued: "The accession of Kashmir is not to be decided by the perorations of Mr. Krishna Menon or by guns and bullets. Kashmir does not belong to Krishna Menon or Nehru, Abdullah or Bakshi Gulam Mohammed." He demanded that Mr. Nehru should "stand by his promise to let Kashmiris decide their future."

He charged that India was going back on her promise. He declared that he was the victim of a conspiracy by Bakshi Gulam Mohammed, Mr. Sadiq and Mr. Nehru, and demanded an enquiry into the reasons that led to his arrest and the allegation that he had conspired with foreign powers against India. He reiterated his stand for the independence of Kashmir and stated that Kashmir as an independent State could maintain friendly relations with both India and Pakistan.² He wound up with the challenge that no amount of "repression, intimidation or temptation" could influence him to sacrifice the inherent right of 40 lakh Muslims of Kashmir to decide their own future. He ridiculed the appeal of a Jammu Hindu leader that Hindus would follow him, and touch his feet if he stood by the integration of Kashmir in India. He pre-

ferred to stand on the Muslim platform shedding his Gandhian nationalism with frank clarity and decision.

PUBLIC OPINION SHOULD ASSERT

Bakshi Gulam Mohammed has issued a statement clarifying the position that accession to India (final and irrevocable) was the decision of the Constituent Assembly called by Sheikh Abdullah himself and was in perfect accord with his initial policy statements, and that the National Conference supported it by an overwhelming majority. He declared that while Sheikh Abdullah would be allowed to address public meetings and speak to the people, any act or move calculated to subvert the legally established Government would be sternly put down. Bakshi is no doubt capable of keeping his word, but there is the disabling thought that Nehru, the friend of Abdullah, might interfere in any action that Bakshi may be called upon to take to safeguard the stability of the State. Public opinion in India and Kashmir should express itself so decisively and massively against Sheikh Abdullah's subversive activities that Mr. Nehru should find it impossible to shield Abdullah again at the cost of national interests.

Sudden and unlimited power conferred on Sheikh Abdullah in 1947 by Nehru without any check or hindrance from Indian authorities created illusions of grandeur in Abdullah. This was a blunder of immense magnitude. The people of Kashmir were handed over to an agitator and set above the constitutional Maharajah. No wonder that Sheikh Abdullah blossomed into a Grand Mogul, and came to hold even his benefactor Mr. Nehru in slight regard and even contempt. Referring to his imprisonment, he says that Kashmiri people were suppressed in 1953, thus naively identifying the people with his personal destiny! In Verinag, a wayside town, he assaulted the chowkidar of the Dak bungalow for doing his duty and refusing to let him have the accommodation reserved for others. The authorities contacted by telephone succumbed shamefully, and ordered that he should be given accommodation sending the officers who had reserved it elsewhere! It shows the immature condition of officialdom in Kashmir. It should have defended the Chowkidar and let the Sheikh find his own shelter. If this attitude of kow-towing to the former Prime Minister is continued, it bodes ill for Kashmir and India. In another place Sheikh Abdullah is reported to have pushed down and beat over-enthusiastic followers who sought to clamber on to his jeep, even falling down in the mellee! A person of this ungovernable temper with delusions of grandeur setting himself above law and legitimate authority is ill-suited to democratic office.

PAKISTAN SEIZES AN INDIAN SHIP

The Pakistan authorities seized a 500-ton Indian steamer *Asoka* at the Pakistan border checkpoint Chilmar in Rangpur district on 11 January. The excuse is that there were undeclared goods in it. It was carrying jute worth Rs. 3 lakhs from Assam to Calcutta, but the value of the smuggled goods was admitted to be only Rs. 500. What will India do in the matter? Will she seize a Pakistani ship until ours is released? That is the only language that Pakistan will understand. It is to be feared that the only "action" our Government will take is to send a protest—on more among thousands of similar verbal protests! This

SHEIKH ABDULLAH and INDIAN POLICY

By M. A. Venkata Rao

INDIA'S treatment of Sheikh Abdullah has held the mirror up to the Prime Minister's characteristic temperament and the resulting flaws in high policy to which it has led. Indian policy with regard to Kashmir and her first ruler viz. Sheikh Abdullah, friend of our Minister for External Affairs, shows its central defects namely vacillation, favouritism to Muslims, indifference to the interests of national integrity and unity, appeasement galore to Muslims, together with a blind callousness to the interests of Hindus, even where they are identical with those of the nation as a whole. This is a large indictment, and may seem unduly harsh to those who just swim with the current of conformism and admiration of the Nehru line, right or wrong. But there is an ineluctable grain of truth nevertheless in it, which the nation will neglect at its peril.

At the outset, it must be said that our case for Kashmir is irrefragably valid in law and morality. It is only recently with the advent of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon as the interpreter of the Indian stand on Kashmir in the United Nations that the full standpoint of India in regard to her claims on Kashmir was stated with unambiguous clarity and unusual force. It was not always so clearly stated. India did not press for the declaration of Pakistan as an aggressor so unequivocally before. She only wanted to have her withdraw from Kashmir through the mediation of the United Nations. The result was that the complainant was treated as the culprit and even the moral position of having gone to the rescue of a defenceless population from the atrocities of marauding tribes (at the invitation of the legitimate ruler and the leader of the only political party in the country) was lost to India! Instead, she was hauled up before international public opinion as one who had annexed a defenceless country

by force and was refusing to allow a fair plebiscite to be held to ascertain popular opinion, a plebiscite voluntarily promised on the eve of annexation! Nothing that India did could alter this prejudice firmly entrenched in the minds of leading statesmen in world capitals. The singularly inexplicable ineptitude of Indian publicity abroad has been continuously and strikingly evident in its inability to effect a change in world opinion on this matter.

With this premise then, it should be understood that when we haul Indian policy over the coals, it is not for claiming Kashmir to belong to India as an integral part of her national territory. On the contrary, the graveman of the charge lies in not following the logical consequence of our legal and moral position consistently and continuously, both in internal relations and in presenting the case to world opinion in and outside the United Nations. These defects come out with particular clarity in our attitude to Sheikh Abdullah.

OUR WOOLLY-HEADED POLICY

Sheikh Abdullah has been released and press correspondents find him as unrepentant, ambitious and elusive as ever. Four and a half years of detention has not induced a more loyal attitude in him. How can it when he was not tried in a court of law in the usual way and condemned for treason? That would have alienated his supporters and covered the action of the Governments of Kashmir and India with the mantle of justice and patriotism. This is an example of the ambivalence and woolly-headedness of Indian policy, reflecting the temperament and foibles of its sole maker i.e., our Minister for External Affairs. It is worthwhile lingering on this matter and laying bare the flaw in our policy regarding Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmir.

After legal accession by the Maharaja and its support by Sheikh Abdullah, India should have integrated Kashmir (in law and Constitution) into Indian administration on the same footing as other States of the Union. This was urged by Pandit Premnath Dogra, the leader of Jammu and Mr. Bakula, the head of the Ladakh Buddhists. But Pandit Nehru insisted on regarding the suggestion as "communal"—an attitude which requires some special psycho-analysis of the Pandit's psychology and biography to understand. The Jammu and Ladakh leaders wanted integration with India so that the question of a separate destiny for Kashmir could be extinguished for ever, but they were chastised as "communalists!" And Sheikh Abdullah, who wanted freedom of action to lead Kashmir to separate and independent nationhood under his leadership (who was declaring from the housetops from the very beginning that the accession to India was only in respect of defence, external affairs and communications with complete internal sovereignty for himself) was given the full honour of being a Gandhian nationalist and a votary of non-violence!

(Continued from page 4)

is not the way that the sovereign dignity and independence of the country is to be preserved. The ship is symbolically well called *Asoka*, after the ancient Buddhist ruler, who taught the gospel of non-violence and demoralised the military potential built up by Chandragupta Maurya, (his grandfather) and Chancellor Chanakya. The result was that when the Hunas came after him, the empire collapsed. This is not mentioned usually in history textbooks with the effect that Asoka is thought of as an apostle of non-violence that consolidated his empire on the basis of preaching dharma at home and abroad.

Public opinion should demand that India crystallise a clear and definite policy on such matters, relating to the unsleeping hostility of Pakistan, and her temerity in annoying India at the slightest pretext. Preaching *Panchsheel* is not enough. It needs to be defended! This may be news to our authorities that even law and morality need to be defended by force or threat of force!

THE PERSONAL ELEMENT IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

This is clearly a catastrophic instance of the lack of insight into character that Pandit Nehru displays. He allows himself to be blinded by emotional attachments to the detriment of national interests. He is no judge of character, loyalty and motive on the part of even his closest associates. Even recently he spoke in public of his emotional attachment to Abdullah and expressed his hope that he would be released soon. This is a strangely personal way of conducting grave public affairs where principle and inflexible rectitude should reign to the exclusion of personal feelings and attachments. Where men in positions of supreme power and responsibility are unable to distinguish between national good and personal feelings, that country is bound to suffer and to invite troubles for itself.

The whole episode reflects another defect in the Indian handling of this vexed question. To speak with the utmost gravity, *it must be said that this defect reveals a serious lack of patriotism and national feeling on the part of our policy-maker.* This may seem a strange and unjustifiable charge, especially in relation to Nehru who has been the darling of national leadership for over a generation. But it is true nevertheless. For consider: When India accepted the accession of Kashmir, and sent her armies in defence of the country, she accepted an obligation that might have precipitated a world war! Such responsibilities can be accepted only if the new territory is absorbed as an integral part of our national domain, sharing the destiny of the other parts of the nation. Having accepted the responsibility and taken the risk and deployed our armed forces in the area, it was our duty to make the area aware of its responsibility to the rest of the nation. *It should not have been allowed to toy with the idea of separation even in thought.* But Indian authorities continued to allow Sheikh Abdullah to proclaim to his people that Kashmir's accession was only limited and that she was independent and that the promised plebiscite was proof of India's acceptance of this possibility of the ultimate independence of Kashmir! India should never have allowed Sheikh Abdullah to speak as though independence was permitted to Kashmir in any future plebiscite.

Having with singular but characteristic shortsightedness allowed this freedom to Sheikh Abdullah, it became impossible to dub him a traitor when he dabbled in conspiracy with outsiders (Pakistanis? Americans? Soviets?). We should have pulled him up at the first sight of such separatist thoughts on his part. *This is where lack of national patriotism becomes acutely evident to all except the apologists of political policy.* The syllogism is this: If Kashmir became an integral part of India after accession, her people become Indian national *ipso facto* bound by Indian national patriotism. If Sheikh Abdullah, or other person seeks separate nationhood and statehood for Kashmir, he is a traitor and *should be treated as such.* We did not do so nor did we accept the position that Kashmir is an outlying *protectorate* like Nepal entitled to separate sovereignty. The outsiders and de-nationalised Indians as well (or insufficiently nationalised citizens, who are uncomfortably large in numbers today) therefore got some shade of justification for their charge that India was dictatorial in punishing Sheikh Abdullah.

WHEN PREMNATH DOGRA HAD TO WAGE A STRUGGLE

India gave colour to this charge by refusing to incorporate Kashmir into Indian law and constitution on the same footing as other States. *Jammu satyagrahis under Pandit Premnath Dogra (who are Indian patriots as well as Kashmiris) had to wage a satyagrahic struggle with Sheikh Abdullah to keep alive the idea of Indian allegiance and to oppose the Sheikh's sneaky moves in favour of independence in flagrant contradiction of promises to Nehru and India.* Indians under Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerjee supported the Jammu satyagrahis. Dr. Mukerjee lost his life in a Kashmir jail. Still Nehru sided the Sheikh and condemned Dogra and Mukerjee and their followers. He maintained that the Sheikh was a Gandhian nationalist while Dogra and his followers were "communalists!" This is a strange twist in the psychology of our leader for which India may yet pay too dearly even in the future.

If India was democratic and the right of Kashmir to an independent destiny under the Sheikh was accepted, India had no right to imprison him four years ago. If he had committed offences against Kashmir, he should have been tried under Kashmiri law. If on the other hand, he was imprisoned on the practical ground that that his hold on the people would prevent the consolidation of Kashmiri sentiment for Indian loyalty, this was inconsistent with the Indian claim that the people of Kashmir were solidly with India. If they were, there would be no ground to shut up Sheikh Abdullah in jail. India has lost heavily for this conduct of hers. Neither democracy nor Kashmiri loyalty could be conceded to India by fair-minded critics after this.

This is the result of vacillation and lack of firm decision about the central issue and the lack of nerve to follow up our decision with appropriate action.

THE QUIXOTIC BEHAVIOUR

If Kashmir belonged to India by virtue of legal accession and Indian forces were in action driving the raiders and the Pakistanis out of the country, India should have allowed the military action to reach its logical outcome in clearing the country of the invaders. But no. Our Quixotic *softness to the enemy* and unduly excessive hunger for international fame as peace-makers interfered with our plain national duty. Nehru ordered a truce and a cease-fire leaving one-third of Kashmir still in the hands of the enemy! He alone is responsible for the continuance of Pakistan's hold on Kashmiri territory and all that it entails (as possession is nine-tenths of Law.) This encouraged the Americans to give military aid to Pakistan to secure Gilgit and other Northern parts of Kashmir for bases against communism. This led to the Pakistani swelled-head and the grave threat to India's security. If Pakistan were not in possession of Gilgit and the Northern province, it is arguable that the temptation of America to arm Pakistan in return for bases in this area would have been much less. So it is Indian policy that is mainly responsible for American Aid to Pakistan! It is clear that it is possible to start a train of consequences but often it is quite impossible to control their effects on us in later stages. Statesmanship is not for the impulsive and

short-sighted. Nationalism demands a long-range policy and what Herbert Spencer calls a *Telescopic Faculty*—the power of seeing far into the future.

THE GREAT QUESTION MARK

What will Abdullah do now? This is a question that is intriguing everyone. The report of press correspondents who saw him in Kud immediately after his release gives sufficient clues to the belief that he has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, like the Bourbons. He is bitter, ambitious and set on continuing his career from where he left off! He is angling for the popularity that he had attained before with the people of his State. It is clear that it was not wise to release him at this juncture when Pakistan has established a strong fifth-column in Kashmir in the Plebiscite Front and in the shape of agents from Pakistan to lay bombs and stir up communal strife and bloodshed. Also, Dr. Graham has come to India again and it would be an ideal opportunity for Abdullah to renew his conspiracy with foreign high-ups, directly or indirectly.

If Abdullah was a traitor and if there were sufficient evidence of his illegal activities, he should have been tried before a court of law. If he were not guilty, he should not have been detained. Indian policy cannot escape this dilemma. That it got involved in this dilemma so helplessly is the measure of the ineptitude of her policy-maker.

Abdullah is reported to have told reporters, that Kashmir will have no peace until ALL the participants in the dispute are satisfied, *both internal and external*. Who are the external participants? He did not mention. It can be guessed that they are America and Pakistan and Britain.

He blamed Nehru for his detention. What answer can Nehru make? He renewed his charge that the Government of India did not enroll sufficient Kashmiris in the army and police. This was his way of obtaining military training for Kashmiris which could be turned for the benefit of "independent Kashmir" some day when the "pear was ripe." He misinterpreted even our generous supply of free rice to Kashmir. This, it seems, stopped the old compulsory procurement in force from ancient days. The evil of Indian supplies, it appears, lies in making Kashmir dependent on India for food! The suggestion is that she should not, ever, break away from India! These views of the Sheikh ought to open the eyes of Pandit Nehru, if anything will, to the disloyal treacherous and crooked mind of his friend. Also, he trotted out his charge of the communalism of India with her Hindu majority. This is the final proof of the unappeasability of Sheikh Abdullah.

The Bakshi Government had said before Abdullah was arrested in 1953 that they had evidence of his conspiring with foreigners and were prepared to publish it. But India prevented them doing so. Similarly it is to be feared that India will give insufficient support to the Bakshi Government in dealing with Sheikh Abdullah. The right thing to do now is to wait until he commits himself and stirs up the people to treasonable activities. It is as well to pass a law defining treason afresh in terms of Indian citizenship. It should be clearly and unambiguously laid down that any propaganda for separation of Kashmir from India is treason, punishable heavily. Such a law should be

applicable to all States and areas of the Union—Nagaland, Dravida areas, Jharkhand etc.

One of the things that Sheikh Abdullah said at Kud to pressmen was that the Bakshi Government consisted of "goondas." The other was that he did not care for what Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon had said at the Security Council to the effect that Kashmir was now an integral part of India just like Bombay or Madras and that the only thing for Pakistan to do was to clear out of occupied territory, lock, stock and barrel, and vacate the aggression of which she was guilty. Sheikh Abdullah vehemently repudiated this stand of Mr. Krishna Menon. This shows that he wishes to reopen the whole question of Kashmir's relation to India.

Another thing that he said refers to his "secularism" in 1947 when he saved Hindus in Kashmir though Muslims were being "massacred elsewhere" (i.e. the Punjab). But he loses the credit of this action when it is remembered that he still harps on the Hindu majority standing in the way of Kashmir's full accession to India. The two-nation theory is used by him to bolster the independence of Kashmir! And he calls himself a Gandhian nationalist! It may be recalled that before his Muslim Conference was converted into National Conference to capture Gandhian affections, he had led riots against Hindus in Kashmir in the days of the Resident Glancy. Also, his policy as the supreme administrator of Kashmir was motivated by systematic *Muslimisation* of Kashmir and even Jammu. Sheikh Abdullah has shown himself to be a faithless, "communal" politician out for personal power and the independence of Kashmir. Indian diplomacy has to rise to new heights if it is to cope with Sheikh Abdullah. And what is more if the latest attitude of Sheikh Abdullah would make it possible for New Delhi to revise its opinion as to who is communal and who is nationalist. The Gandhian nationalist Muslim Sheikh Abdullah has laid bare his communal teeth.

Wild Allegations By Pak Against India— Destruction Of Holy Places

Karachi: The current campaign in the Pakistani press against India for alleged violation of the Indo-Pakistani Pact of the maintenance of places of public worship is seen as a naive propaganda effort to impress the international Islamic Colloquium that was held in Lahore.

According to a news agency from New Delhi, the Pakistani High Commissioner had lodged a complaint with the Government of India against "the indiscriminate destruction of Muslim holy places in certain parts of India."

Typical of editorials that followed the publication of the report is one in the *Morning News* which had alleged that "though Pakistan has followed a most tolerant, just and generous policy towards the places of worship of non-Muslim minorities, in the secular Bharat a different policy has been deliberately pursued, often with the connivance, if not the active support of the State."

A spokesman of the Indian High Commissioner here pointed out that similar campaigns had been conducted in the past with the object of injuring India's reputation abroad.

Sheikh Abdullah--The Mad Mullah On The Rampage

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

WHEN Pandit Nehru, surrendering to Sheikh Abdullah's fantastic demands for a separate flag and a separate constitution, was allowing him to bloom into the grand mogul of Kashmir, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee in his characteristic way, had warned him in these prophetic words: "You have sowed the wind and you will reap the whirlwind". While Pandit Nehru had been eulogising Sheikh Abdullah as the "Lion of Kashmir" and "apostle of secularism", Dr. Mookherjee was warning us all the time that the Sheikh was a potential Jinnah. Who was right—Pandit Nehru or Dr. Mookherjee?

The greatest tragedy is that it took ten long years for Pandit Nehru to realise that Dr. Mookherjee was right, and it cost the Nation the life of a great parliamentarian and patriot—Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee—who died in detention in Abdullah's Kashmir.

BLUNDERS GALORE

Pandit Nehru has committed several blunders in the last ten years of his rule, but his greatest blunder was in mistaking a rabid communalist like Abdullah for a secularist. Did not Pandit Nehru know that the Sheikh had started his political career in 1931 as one of the two chief founders of an avowedly communal body called the Muslim Conference, and that he became the high priest of secularism only after he broke with Choudhury Ghulam Abbas whom he considered as the only rival to his ambitious plan of becoming the Sultan of Kashmir? While Abbas (who was no less ambitious than Abdullah) could secure a more favoured position in the estimation of Jinnah and ran to Pakistan for help, Abdullah, as a matter of tactics, appealed for Nehru's sympathy and became the high priest of so-called secularism.

Abdullah's detention for over four years without trial was wrong and unjustified. He should have been tried on the charges of treason, sedition and murder of Dr. Mookherjee. We could have tried him by a Court Martial which could have punished him appropriately. Abdullah should thank us for our tolerance; in any other country, especially in communist countries, he would have been shot out of hand.

"MAD LION" LET LOOSE

After 53 months' incarceration, the "lion" of Kashmir is now let off. The 'lion' has emerged from the cage much embittered and envenomed, and has gone amuck. No civilised people can afford to have this 'mad lion' in their midst.

Banking on short public memory, and obviously suffering from delusions of grandeur, Abdullah now wants to stage a come-back. The long incarceration, that he spent in reading the Koran and nursing the plans of revenge, has revived the dormant Jinnah in him. Under the hallucination of his new Islamic role, Sheikh Abdullah, with the hardly edifying background

of a small town dictator, has come out like a mad mullah.

Abdullah has now accused the Indian Army of having murdered and raped thousands of Kashmiri Muslims. He has dubbed the Bakshi Government as the government of "goondas", "cut-throats" and "dacoits", forgetting perhaps that he was himself the supreme leader of the very same "goondas", "cut-throats" and "dacoits" for over 5 years. He has even justified Pakistani aggression. He has absolved Pakistan of the guilt of aggression against Kashmir by attributing the invasion in 1947 to "repression" by the Dogras in Poonch! Can he now conveniently forget that it was he who led the Kashmiris against the Pakistani aggressors and ran to Delhi for help? Is it Nehru or Abdullah who has gone back on his word? He seems to have no compunction whatever in betraying his own past.

THESE ARE ABDULLAH'S WORDS

In an address to an Id gathering in Srinagar after the special convention of the National Conference in October 1948, Abdullah had said: "The pledge I gave to Pt. Nehru that Kashmir will be a part of India has now become an eternal bond. We can never forget the help rendered by the Indian Army and the people of India at a time of grave crisis in the history of our state. Indian troops have even provided the local people their own rations to save them from starvation". Abdullah is now accusing the very same Indian Army of having committed the rape and murdering thousands of Kashmiri Muslims! In a press interview at Delhi on September 29, 1948, Abdullah had said: "We have burnt all our boats. There is no place in Kashmir for a theocratic state. Kashmir will never make a plaything of Indian honour."

The special convention of the National Conference, under the very leadership of Abdullah, had passed the following resolution in October, 1948: "This convention confirms the provisional accession of the State with India. It further pledges its fullest support to a final accession to India."

Abdullah now says that the accession of Kashmir to India was only provisional. But did not the Constituent Assembly under his own leadership and when it still apparently "retained" its representative character confirm the provisional accession of the State to India? Abdullah says that the Kashmir Constituent Assembly lost its representative character after his arrest in 1953. If the Kashmir constituent assembly was a representative body before his arrest, as Abdullah himself admits, how does it lose its representative character after his arrest? Abdullah's arrest in 1953 might be wrong and unjustified. But Abdullah's arrest cannot make any difference to the main issue of Pakistani aggression or Kashmir's accession to India.

Abdullah, who once posed as an apostle of secularism,
(Continued on Next Page)

NEHRU:—THE TROUBLE - MAKER

By Lal

MR. NEHRU has done it a gain. He is the man for creating problems for the country. If one were to go through the political career of this great careerist, one would find that he holds the world's record in the matter of creating insoluble problems for his country. He has never solved any problem—he is incapable of doing so—but it would be doing him less than justice to deny him the title of the greatest problem-maker in the world. Sheikh Abdullah has been released and Kashmir may soon be in turmoil again. Thanks to Nehru.

For quite a number of years now, and particularly since the attainment of Swaraj by India and the division of the country, I have been wondering what more Messrs Gandhi and Nehru could have done to bring about the vivisection of the country and the holocaust of 1947, had they been sworn enemies of the country at heart, instead of patriots. Mind you, they would have had in that case to pose as friends of the country to be successful, and within that limitation, I maintain with all the emphasis at my command, they could not have done anything more. It all boils down to lack of foresight due to wishful thinking.

As Gandhiji once said, God alone knows men's hearts. That was when Jinnah demanded a change of heart in him, a change in his dictatorial egoism. Perhaps the history of the country would have been different if Gandhiji had responded sincerely and heartily to Jinnah and confessed that he had been ignoring the interests of the country. But he did not, and thereby refused Jinnah an opportunity to come to terms with him, and Jinnah went along his way publicly calling him a "damned hypocrite".

UNCONSCIOUS TREACHERY

Since God alone knows men's hearts, I am in no position to say that Messrs Gandhi and Nehru are traitors by inclination and persuasion. I do not accuse them of malice afore-thought, of premeditated treachery. But the result of what they did, and one of them is still doing, is just the same as that of premeditated treachery to the country. In face it is much worse. For premeditated treachery, practised for a

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risism, and now a mad fanatic mullah, is today openly associating himself with Pak-subsidised leaders of the so-called Plebiscite Front and the Political Conference, and is mobilising all Muslim fanatical elements in the State in the name of Islam. He is now talking in terms of Hindus and Muslims and propagating the Two-Nation Theory again. His anti-Hindu tirade and sinister speeches are meant to incite the people to inter-communal hatred. He is now giving a new communal twist to his speeches in the hope of setting one community against the other.

We cannot afford to allow this "mad lion" of Kashmir to disturb the peace of the valley and endanger the lives of its peaceful inhabitants. It is high time we sent this "lion" back to its rightful place—the cage.

long time, occasionally jumps out like the proverbial cat from its bag, and defeats its own purpose by exposing the persons practising it. But here, in the case of two great Indians, it is instinctive selfishness, pure and simple, that has been driving its coach and four over their patriotism in accompaniment to the loudest applause from their countrymen.

So long as Motilal Nehru was alive, both Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji behaved themselves, knowing full well that if they did anything that could not be proved to be demonstrably in the interests of the country, the old Nehru (referred to as 'father' by both Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji) would pounce on them as a lion pounces on its prey.

FATHER, SON AND HOLY GHOST

Frederick William Wilson was perhaps the most brilliant British journalist that ever came to this country—and, with the foresight of intelligent members of that tribe, he used to say that the destiny of the country lay in the hands of three individuals, "Father Son and the Holy Ghost", meaning thereby Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhiji respectively. A most irreverent thing to say for a Christian, but he was inclined to be irreverent and soon became the most hated among Europeans in India, hated by Europeans and proportionately loved by Indians. When the Governor of U.P. invited him to dinner, he refused the invitation saying, "There is precious little common between me and Your Excellency."

The history of the country since the death of Motilal Nehru is proof positive of the fact that the patriotism of the "Son and the Holy Ghost" was born of the fear of the "Father". So rapid was the decline in Congressmen's patriotism that, within a few years, Gandhiji was able to proclaim that he alone understood satyagraha, without a soul, knowing what it is, Subhas Chandra Bose, daring to question the statement. Subhas Babu, as the reader must be aware, was expelled from the Congress for insolence!

And now the successor nominated by Gandhiji is taking the fullest advantage of the decline in Congress morality effected by Gandhiji, and no Congressman dare question Mr. Nehru in regard to anything. A few years ago Mr. Nehru used all his influence with Jayaprakash Narayan and the other Praja Socialists to withdraw their 'civil liberties campaign' in Kashmir, as it could only add to the difficulties the regime was facing. He publicly called the campaign un-Indian. And now look at what he has done!

INCAPABLE OF DOING THINKING

If the Kashmir Government could legally detain Sheikh Abdullah, it should have been allowed to do so, particularly when he had declared himself a traitor publicly, and particularly when Mr. Nehru himself has ruled out plebiscite in Kashmir. So far the people had been under the impression that the Government, before releasing him, must have obtained an undertaking from the Sheikh regarding his future behaviour. It is now obvious that they did nothing of the kind.

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THE ETHICS OF TOLERATION

By M. G. Bailur

WITHIN twenty-four hours of Sheikh Abdullah's release, it became evident that Government's action was fraught with far more mischief than it was worth in terms of kudos from *The New Statesman*. Yet this man's detention could not have been indefinitely prolonged. It lacked the sanction of legality, and detention without trial, legality apart, offends any idea of fair play. Recourse is sometimes had to it on grounds of expediency in times of grave emergency when the normal minutiae of the law become a hindrance to the discharge of Government's prime responsibilities. In such a case, detention without trial is justified by nothing except expediency, and is justified so long as the expediency lasts.

No exceptional emergency was urged for denying the Sheikh a trial; in fact, we were all promised one with tireless iteration and hair-raising charges were made. But in the end, when this man could easily have been charged and sentenced for any one of a number of lesser offences under the Penal Code, the idea of a trial itself was shelved from time to time, and finally put into cold storage because it is easy to make devastating charges but difficult to bring them home. Thus if the price of keeping the ubiquitous Sheikh out of harm's way has proved to be as forbidding as that of leaving him at large, the real reason is admittedly a certain shallow-witted shiftlessness on

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Could Mr. Nehru have thought out a better plan to play the Pakistan game on the eve of the arrival of Dr. Graham in the country? There is no one in the country who has any right to think, and, as for Mr. Nehru, he has publicly declared that he has no time to think. There the matter ends. One man's impulsive folly rules the roost.

If nothing else, Mr. Nehru should not have forgotten that Sheikh Abdullah was a Kashmiri whom he had been pampering because he was a Muslim. Were a separate flag, a separate constitution and a separate President (for protesting against which Mr. Nehru put twenty thousands of his countrymen in prison) just toys for Sheikh Abdullah to play with? They have always and everywhere been recognised as emblems of sovereignty and, if Sheikh Abdullah demanded independence, would it be wrong to say that Mr. Nehru was encouraging him in formulating the demand?

But the fact remains—and Sheikh Abdullah should realise it—that he has missed the bus. He missed the bus when he failed to convert to his point of view Kashmir's Constituent Assembly which, to use his own words, had "the backing of the four million people of the State." That Constituent Assembly refused to carry out his wishes. Does he want another Constituent Assembly because he is dissatisfied with the decisions of the first? And he would want yet another and yet another until his wishes are fulfilled by it. This is, of course, sheer wilful madness.

—Organiser

the part of Government. It is unjust to blame it on democracy or the concept of toleration. As far as the defence of democracy is concerned, this Government has proved itself utterly stupid and destitute of any gleam of prudence. It has always preferred the line of least resistance: avoid the painful ordeal of mental effort but bask in the limelight of adulation from peripetetic foreign diplomats dutifully trudging up to Delhi. But toleration does not mean, has never meant, supineness or fackless acquiescence.

THE CASE OF RAZVI

Consider the case of that itching pantaloons, Razvi, he of the now forgotten Ittehad-e-Musalmeen, who with his rabble herd of uniformed morons for months held orderly government in Hyderabad at bay, terrorised the countryside and organized and carried out any number of cold-blooded murders. Any self-respecting government, a democracy especially, so soon as he was in its power, would have hung or quartered or shot him out of hand. He had earned all that richly and to spare. While the police action was on, a drum-head court-martial could have done this without raising any question of legality. Later, his own inflammatory public declarations were quite enough to have given him the quietus for good and all.

When his ridiculous sentence expired, it was not outside the resource of a government with a contained awareness of what it stood for, to have secured his indefinite detention. In this case, at all events, no squeamish regard for democratic sentiment for democracy. He was for autocracy, pure and simple, his own if possible; in the end, it was shown he stood for nothing except noisy claptrap: an immense hoarding with mere sawdust behind. A feeble creature in his own rights, he has now the resources of a State behind him, and we have not heard the last of him.

Sheikh Abdullah's case is no doubt different, but in both cases the challenge posed to Indian democracy is the same; in both the Government, with a fatuity which we can hardly fail to notice as characteristic, botched and bungled, and has tried to cover up its ignominy by a high-minded deference to the tenet of democratic toleration.

THE ETHICS OF TOLERATION

The ethics of toleration in the context of democratic governance needs no defence whatever. But it is worth while inquiring what it means. Toleration in that context has always meant toleration of dissent.

The Indian mind is somewhat differently oriented towards this question of toleration. Our ideas on the subject are derived partly from our contact with Western liberal thought, and partly from our native disposition to listless indifference. It has often been said that one of the marked characteristics of the Hindu mind is its immense tolerance. This is quite true. It is a great virtue. Its original source may have been the same philosophic scepticism characteristic of liberal institutions in the West. The Hindu religion, unlike other religions of the world, does not regard other

modes of thinking about the cosmos than its own as false; it specifically concedes that there are many ways, but that the Hindu way is such and such and avers that it will stick to what it regards to be characteristically its own. That is to say, it believes in cultivating its own garden and others cultivating theirs. But toleration, so soon as it drops any qualification or reservation, becomes meaningless and degenerates into mere acquiescence.

Toleration of dissenters is meaningful only so long as the dissenters abide by the rule to tolerate us; but if, on the other hand, at every point of dissent, one side attempted to overbear the other by force or intimidation instead of by intellectual or moral persuasion then toleration by definition has disappeared from the scene.

Pacifism, for example, is good if universally accepted. Such a consummation, pacifists evidently regard as outside the bounds of human possibility. It therefore arrives at the strange conclusion that pacifism can be partial and yet unqualified. It is fortunate for the world that pure pacifists in this sense do not acquire a following outside cranks; otherwise the world would always be at the mercy of tyrants. There

is no intellectual argument in favour of unqualified toleration any more than in favour of unqualified pacifism. On the other hand, listlessness, boredom, indifference, fear, cupidity, can all more or less, severally or in combination, predispose us to acquiescence in what is demonstrably evil. We may do this shamefacedly when we lack a self-disculpating argument, but preen like peacocks when some sham intellectual rationale is ready at hand.

RELEASE OF SHIEKH IS INOPPORTUNE

Sheikh Abdullah's detention without trial, when he could have been rendered harmless by a prison sentence, the manner of his release, regardless of the public danger incurred, and the time chosen, are maladroit to a degree. The liberties of an individual in a democracy are important, but to equate them with public good is a species of colour-blindness which exacts a heavy price in politics. Razvi and Abdullah are individual instances, but the Communists in India pose a perennial challenge to the concept of democratic toleration, and this challenge is aimed not at any transient issue but at the basic concept of democracy itself.

Indian Press On Sheikh's Release

Pack Up Or Shut Up!

In the course of an editorial the "Free Press Bulletin" writes:

SHEIKH ABDULLAH, the former Prime Minister of Kashmir, who was released last week after four and a half years of detention, is naturally a very embittered man. One could understand his attitude to his former colleagues who were responsible for his removal from office and his detention.

The Indian people had respected Sheikh Abdullah, not as the lion of Kashmir, but as a genuine patriot, who believed in nationalism, secularism and democracy. It was when Sheikh Abdullah was suspected to have reservations on these, to which he was rendering lip-service with rare passion, that he was considered a risk to security and removed from the seat of power.

Abdullah has not only failed to recant—no one wanted that he should go to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed or Shri Nehru in sack cloth and ashes—he has also failed to recognise the forces around him. He had expressed his pride as a Kashmiri. But now he has not only ceased to be an Indian or a Kashmiri—he has become a mere Muslim.

By his mischievous communal utterances, Abdullah has demonstrated that there is no need either for Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed or anyone else to take him to a court of law and prove that he was plotting against the people of Kashmir and against the security of this country.

Sheikh Abdullah also knows that there are over forty million Muslims living in this country, living a full and purposeful life, enjoying all the rights and privileges

of Indians and contributing their best to the progress and welfare of the nation.

In the India of today, we have no time or patience to hear about Muslim rights and Hindu rights. The Sheikh would do well to read the Prime Minister's advice to the Kazhagam agitators of the South, "Pack up." If Sheikh Abdullah still feels he is an Indian citizen and need not pack up, we ask him to shut up until he knows his mind better.

—F. P. Journal

"Sinister"

The Times of India (Jan. 16) in its leading article titled "Sinister", wrote: "It is vain to hope that Sheikh Abdullah's bite will be less unpleasant than his bark. He has bared his teeth and they are sharp and he means to use them. He is giving a new communal twist to his speeches in the hope of setting one community against the other. This is the most sinister aspect of Sheikh Abdullah's speeches. The State Government cannot allow him to endanger the peace of the Valley... All that he needs to be told today is that though he is a free man he is not free to incite the people to inter-communal hatred."

Hitting Below The Belt

The Manchester Guardian (January 11) prominently carried on its inside page a long despatch from Taya Zinkin from Srinagar on Sheikh Abdullah's press conference at Kud under double column headlines "The 'Lion Of Kashmir' Roars Again—Charges India With anti-Moslem Communalism."

Taya Zinkin after giving a long account of Sheikh Abdullah's conference summed up thus: "The Sheikh is hitting India below the belt where it hurts most, where there is enough of communal suspense and a flicker of potential truth for things to flare up. Whether it is a responsible stand even for a patriot to take is open to question. It is no good saying 'occurrences of 1947 must not be repeated' and then to try to open a recently healed wound. There have been instances where Kashmiri Moslems were not taken into the army but in other spheres Moslems of Kashmir have done exceedingly well and are given many preferences both by the local and the Indian Government. The challenge that Sheikh Abdullah has thrown from the Traveller's Room at the village of Kud may boomerang two ways. In India, echoed and magnified by Pakistan propaganda it may start an emotional unrest and in Kashmir itself where he has undoubtedly some following there may be a certain challenge to law and order. Bitterness and anger have made a man once great, petty and irresponsible."

She said, Sheikh Abdullah announced his intention to "march back to Srinagar as Napoleon returning from Elba."

ABDULLAH DOES NOT BLAME PAKISTAN

The *Statesman* (Jan. 16) Special Representative in Srinagar reported Abdullah having moved his audience a in mosque to a frenzy by alternating political attacks with religious recitations and vitriolic sarcasm with tears.

He added: "While he has frequently criticized India and the present Kashmir Government in public speeches and private interviews, Sheikh Abdullah has so far not made any critical reference to Pakistan. In his speech at the Hazrat Bal Shrine on Monday, even when he talked of the atrocities committed by the tribal raiders he did not blame Pakistan. Nor has there been any demand on his part that Pakistan should withdraw from the part of Kashmir that it occupies."

ABDULLAH'S HALLUCINATIONS

The *Hindustan Times* (Jan. 12) Special Correspondent reported from Srinagar on January 11: "Sheikh Abdullah has chosen to take 24 hours to complete a five and a half hours' journey between Kud and Srinagar, in order to arrive in broad daylight tomorrow. The Plebiscite Front has disseminated horror stories that are to be heard to be believed... Even Sheikh Abdullah, who has begun to swear by truth and non-violence, has shocked his former cabinet colleagues by his Kud statement that they were present at his meetings with Mr. Adlai Stevenson. They were, no doubt, invited to a luncheon but excluded from the confidential talks which the Sheikh had with the distinguished U.S. leader."

On the following day the Special Correspondent reported: "Since his release, Sheikh Abdullah has lost his reason. He appeared in a communal role and made no secret of his intentions to raise a hell in order to undo the work of the Constituent Assembly."

He added: "There is reason to believe that he struck out from a press statement drafted for him by a Praja Socialist spokesman, all references to the appalling conditions in the so-called Azad Kashmir territory. No wonder the disruptionists have been greatly strengthened by his release..."

"Sheikh Abdullah who professes belief in truth and non-violence has already become a by-word for intolerance. At Verinag last night he assaulted the chowkidar of the Dak Bungalow for his temerity in acting on the rules. After thrashing him the ex-Premier stormed the rest house. But today within full view of the public he clubbed his own admirers who dared to clamber on to his jeep. In one of the scuffles he actually fell down. His supporters ought to have known that the Sheikh still deludes himself with the thought that he has not ceased to be the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. He has shown enough signs of hallucination."

ABDULLAH'S LATEST AMBITION—TO BE THE LEADER OF PAKISTAN!

Srinagar: According to an intimate colleague of Sheikh Abdullah the roaring lion has been gagged by his own followers, who have been thinking that he is overstepping the bounds of law, and inviting his re-arrest, and may be, trial for sedition.

In the meanwhile Abdullah has been opening his mind for the benefit of his colleagues.... Sheikh Abdullah is nursing dreams of breaking Kashmir's links with India... transferring the Valley into a sheikdom, with closer ties with Pakistan than with India.

When told about the fate of "Azad Kashmir" like Sardar Ibrahim, who had sold themselves to Pakistan, the Sheikh reportedly dismissed the comparison aside with supreme contempt.

"They were political idiots. They had nothing to barter. Abdullah has Kashmir.. There is nothing to prevent the Sheikh of Kashmir from becoming the leader of Pakistan!"

"I have now to deal with Mr. Nehru and India from a position of strength", Abdullah is reported to have confided to his colleague, "then will they listen to me. I am after all their friend."

—Blitz

NEHRU WAS AGAINST ACCESSION SAYS ABDULLAH

According to a U.P.I. report from Srinagar carried by *Nagpur Times* (Jan. 14), addressing a post prayer gathering at Hazaratbal Shrine about six miles from Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah said that accession of Kashmir to India was "temporary" and the people had yet to exercise their sovereignty. Abdullah said, Nehru, Sardar Patel and other Indian leaders were committed to it. He said Nehru used to feel offended whenever "we approached him to make accession permanent".



From: Filmindia

This Exhibition of Political Witchcraft

By Jay Kay

*First Witch: "When shall we three meet again
In thunder, lightning or in rain?"*

*Second Witch: "When the hurlyburly's done
And the battle is lost or won"*

Third Witch: "That will be ere the set of sun."
—MACBETH

THESE lines of Shakespeare are recalled to one's mind when one goes through the performance of the Gauhati session of the Congress held at Pragjyotishpur. By a queer irony of coincidence, according to learned pandits, the place selected for the session, was a site formerly known as the haunt of ghosts, as the centre of witchcraft and *jantar mantar* and as the stronghold of the practitioners of black magic. No wonder then that Congress leaders, the present-day witches, or wizards of political black magic, should have hit upon the place for their annual meet. And to add to the spectacular aspects of the Congress session, we were told, that a temporary zoo of the wild animals of Assam was also held within the precincts of the Congress show, apart from the fact that, within the Congress pandal, other species of the human race in variegated garb were present.

In spite of the big noise and loud shoutings that the national press indulged in during the Congress session, the political importance of the show is practically nil. Beyond the usual platitudes and slogans there were no definite proposals or suggestions that the Congress could offer the nation to tide over the difficult times that are before it. Every one from Mr. Nehru down to Dhebarbhai, the nominated Congress President, advocated socialism, and reaffirmed that there is going to be no turning back of the ideals set before the country—the slippery path of socialism.

* * *

And who were the champions of socialism? From the great Mr. Nehru to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, all of whom waxed eloquent in praise of the concept of socialism, forgetting the fact that even communist countries, after 40 years of experiment, travail, and torture of the people, there ARE HEART-SEARCHINGS amongst the votaries of socialism or communism. One has only to go through the books of Milovan Djilas and Imre Nagy, two of the important leaders of communism, and ardent and indoctrinated Marxists to see how they have indirectly and directly indicted socialism or communism. And here we are, following blindfolded, the same path that has brought about economic chaos and popular discontent, not to speak of the complete eclipse of freedom and democracy in Yugoslavia, in Hungary and even in Soviet Russia.

* * *

What these two communist leaders have discovered, after over 10 years of trial and travail, was also dis-

covered by the British Labour Party in Great Britain, within six years when the socialist programme of nationalisation and state capitalism resulting in higher taxes, brought the British Socialist Government against a dead wall. It was the good sense of the British middle-classes that threw out the Socialist Government, and installed a Conservative Government in its stead. These are the stark facts of current history. But our rulers, wedded to utopian ideas and mere fads of Gandhi, are dragging down the nation to dangerous precipice and the brink of economic chaos, that is socialism in practice.

* * *

But unfortunately in India, there is a small middle-class, and that too, owing to inexperience and being carried away by the communist propaganda, has never cared to think and pause, as to whether there is a way out of the clash between the monopoly capitalism and socialism. If they were to do that, they would soon discover that THERE IS A WAY OUT. But the national press, which in really democratic countries, plays an important role in the education of the people, and in criticising the wrong policies of the Governments, has completely failed the nation and the people. The Indian national press has, to all intents and purposes, become the handmaid of the Congress Government. The result has been that there is no intelligent criticism nor any critical analysis of the socialist policies of the Indian Government. It seems inevitable that India would have to go through actual hell of a socialist regime, or more correctly a variation of fascism of the Congress type, before the people will come to know the benefits of Free Economy and Private Initiative and the blessings of a LIMITED GOVERNMENT in place of the regimented routine and the socialist restrictions of a totalitarian government towards which we are heading.

* * *

History seems to be repeating itself with a vengeance in India. For 25 long years, Gandhi was hailed as the Mahatma, who was supposed to present the country with a miracle. He promised to the country when he launched himself into the public life of the country, "Swaraj within One Year through the Charkha (spinning wheel) and Non-violence." Of course, he could not, and did not, perform the miracle. Today, his adopted descendent and heir to his "spiritual" and non-violent legacy promises a new heaven and new earth in India through this form of socialism, which is neither socialism nor a sensible economic programme, but a hotch-potch of wishful thinking and unadulterated sentimentalism. And when Nehru's concept of socialism is supported by a motley crowd of Congressmen from Dhebarbhai, Morarjibhai, S. K. Patil,

and last but not the least, by T. T. Krishnamachari, one is aghast at what a perversion of the actual commodity this socialism of Nehru must be. None of his colleagues could point out any socialist learnings in the past.

As said before, history is repeating itself in a cruel way. If after following the mirage of "Swaraj within One Year", Gandhi landed the country to pass through three successive BUT unsuccessful NCO movements, till when the time for the British came to depart from the country, Gandhi's legacy to the nation was the Congress leadership of defeatist politicians, increasing Muslim fanaticism, under the auspices of the League, headed by Jinnah, the Indian Nation lying prostrate at the feet of anti-national Muslim leaders, who managed to get away with the prize of Pakistan on a silver platter, so to say. In the same way, this chasing the will o' the wisp of socialism under the inspiration of Mr. Nehru, in the face of informed warning from a small but intelligent section of the Indian public would definitely lead to dangerous ends, too horrible to contemplate.

On one side, because of the food crisis and the economic squeeze resulting from the reckless issue of import licences on the other we are exhorted by Mr. Nehru to economize and to practice austerity and miss a meal a day, the authorities responsible for the Congress show, have squandered money like water for a three-day wonder that was the annual meeting of a political party. If reports that are published in the press are correct, more than Rs. 45 lakhs were collected from private sources for the Congress show. Add to it the money of the taxpayer that has been criminally wasted in making the arrangements for railway travel, cleaning the roads and giving a "new look" to Gauhati for the Congress session. It is on record that the Railways alone have incurred an additional expenditure of Rs. 45 lakhs, not to mention the services of the Executive Engineer of Assam, who was specially deputed to Pragajotishpur for looking after the construction of the Congress town. Roughly speaking over ONE CRORE of RUPEES have been squandered for a three day *tamasha* of the Congress. And yet the Government is shouting from the housetops to the common man to practice austerity and economy.

The Congress show at Pragajotishpur is over. The socialist cauldron was kept boiling at fever heat during the couple of days that the Congressmen gathered at Gauhati, with the political witches dancing round the fire. And what a dance and song they presented at the fair. While Shri Sanyal and Shri Gadgil doubted whether the Government were sincere in their professions of socialism—in fact both charged the Government with having deviated from the socialist goal—Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, perhaps, carried the palm for one of the most confused speeches of the session. Said he in advocating socialism:

"I do maintain that what I saw in America and in West Germany makes me envious of the standards of living of the people, the standards are very high. Housing is very good. In Germany the condition of the people is worthwhile. They

have rebuilt their country destroyed during the war."

Of course, Krishnamachari forgot to underline that both West Germany and America ARE NOT SOCIALIST. However to further emphasize his advocacy of socialism, he painted the picture of Britain, which according to Krishnamachari, even under the Conservative Government, has a socialist bias. Let us quote his words again!

"But you go to England—which has still today a socialist bias—though it is under a Conservative Government, you find a lot of places still barricaded...to hide war damages. Socialist Britain is not able to ensure that amount of economic discipline, which a capitalist country probably does ensure....That is our trouble."

After this comparing and contrasting between non-socialist America and West Germany and Socialist Britain, Krishnamachari wants India to accept socialism, simply because Nehru stands for it and today Krishnamachari has climbed the Nehru band-wagon and nothing more.

If West Germany could be rebuilt again after the devastation of war, and has caught up with U.S.A. and Great Britain in industrialization, why should India not take a lesson from the German efforts? This question no Indian Socialist dare to answer.

The Swindle That Is Called Inflation

Almost every country in the world, in recent years, has been hit by inflation. Concerning this world-wide currency shrinkage, Henry Hazlitt writes in Newsweek Magazine:—

"It reminds us that inflation is nothing but a great swindle and that this swindle is practised in varying degrees, sometimes ignorantly and sometimes cynically, by nearly every Government in the world.

"This swindle erodes the purchasing power of everybody's income and the purchasing power of everybody's savings. It is a concealed tax, and the most vicious of all taxes. It taxes the incomes and savings of the poor by the same percentage as the incomes and savings of the rich.

"It falls with greatest force precisely on the thrifty, on the aged, on those who cannot protect themselves by speculation or by demanding and getting higher money incomes to compensate for the depreciation of the monetary unit.

WHY DOES THIS GO ON?

"Why does this swindle go on? It goes on because Governments wish to spend, partly for armaments and in most cases preponderantly for subsidies and hand-outs to various pressure groups, but lack the courage to tax as much as they spend.

"It goes on, in other words, because Governments wish to buy the votes of some of us while concealing from the rest of us that those votes are being brought with our own money....And the very Governments that are inflating, profess solemnly to be 'fighting' inflation."

Western Strategic Blind Alley

By Charles A. Willoughby

This is the second and concluding part of the article. The first part was published in our issue of January 15, 1958. It is 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."

U.S. OVEREXTENSION

The U.S. was the major blunderer. Not content with having demobilized in 1945, it went ahead to adopt the policy of "containment" generally ascribed to George Kennan of the State Department—the idea of which was to meet the Russians everywhere with equivalent resistance, as in the famous Bismarckian policy of "Zug um Zug", but with an important difference: Bismarck had the balanced means to back up his moves. We palpably had not OUR solution on enormous global overextension. In a single decade, we entered into at least thirty to forty international pacts, treaties or agreements of variable degrees of intensity. We established air or naval bases in 25 localities. They are not all of equal importance and not all are immediately vulnerable. But multiple commitments and overextension violate the two basic principles of war—mass (strength at the point of decision) and economy of force (one cannot be strong everywhere).

This adventurous string of explosive military pacts was possibly warranted in the short breathing-spell between Hiroshima (1945) and the theft of our atomic secrets (1948)—so long, that is to say, as there was any reason to believe that the "deterrent" was our monopoly and would protect everybody anywhere. This naive theory collapsed, however, the moment the Russians produced their own deterrent (1951). Thereafter, our commitments over enormous geographical distances were clearly workable only if we were prepared to intervene with our air power whenever it was needed to back them up, and wherever American prestige required it.

READY DIVISIONS

Even on the most favourable assumptions about the future the fact of physical overextension is now obvious. So is the fact that the enormous military manpower of the Soviets and satellites, including Red China, operating on interior lines, is not only able to match any U.S. "containing" force at every point but also to top that force in ready divisions. In the fast-moving atomic age, there is no time for "conventional mobilisation". It will take the U.S. from two to four months to hip out its reserve divisions—if the sea lanes remain open. Anyone will see what the situation is if, with our global commitments in mind, he sits down and studies the size and disposition of the West's forces against those of the enemy.

As recently as 1928, the West maintained 122 ready divisions in the crucial Central European area alone. In 1957, under an infinitely greater mortal threat, it can scrape together only 17-19 divisions.

Korea admirably illustrates our predicament: in 1951 a thousand American planes operating on the front of only some 200 miles, could not prevent the massing and advance of 75 Red Chinese divisions (approximately a million men) from Manchuria to the South Korean border. Today, with the Russians leading on every front with ready divisions, with the somnolent reliance of the West on an "exclusive" deterrent rudely shattered, someone must come up with some kind of workable solution even if it be only a palliative. As a matter of fact, there has been only one solution open to us ever since our European Allies failed to produce a reasonable total of infantry divisions while there was still time—that is, under the protecting shadows of Hiroshima.

HEDGEHOG TACTICS

It was England that first made the "agonizing appraisal," and came up with the answer that shook the Western world, namely: reduce conventional armaments and concentrate on the repellent power of nuclear defense. Its motivation was largely fiscal, that is, dictated by a pinched budget (though the American tax-payer, who is holding the bag, can argue that the British have reduced income taxes, and can accuse the British Welfare State of spending too much on butter, not enough on guns). But the situation is too dangerous for us to indulge in name calling. The net effect of the British demarche was to weaken the NATO front: Denmark-Switzerland. Nuclear defense is completely negative, in that it relies only on retaliation. It is based on the simple tactics of the porcupine, the hedgehog, the whole tribe of "hystriidae" that curl up in a defensive ball and shoot out their quills in all directions. The concept is that of a one-shot gamble on, say, the destruction to be wrought by a 1500 mile-rocket (which the British have not got yet) or the airborne delivery of atom bombs (subject to fighter interception and AAA).

There is something to be said for the British position. Their retreat to the deterrent-retaliation concept is, after all, only a local application of the general NATO-type of thinking, which has always been along these lines. Everyone should have known from the start that the deterrent might not remain "exclusive"

that two can play at this kind of game, and that Russia would catch up by nook or crook. Well, two are playing it now; but the picture is wholly deceptive. For the British hedgehog simply does not have the quills it needs in order to sting Moscow, whereas the Soviet hedgehog can sting the West from Copenhagen to Marseilles.

Even the U.S. far more advanced than any other nation in nuclear armaments, does not yet have a mid-range or intercontinental missile though we keep being told that these super-weapons are "just round the corner". Which brings us to the American rocket programme.

COSTLY CONTROVERSY

We have already stated that Soviet technical advances are largely due to the pioneering of German specialists who were picked up by the Russians after Potsdam. They are, to all intents and purposes, prisoners of war, though they are treated with tact and indulgence. Fortunately, some of them were saved for the West. The sensational trial of Colonel Nicker-son revealed some important details:

"In Huntsville, at the Army Ballistic Agency, we have the best missile engineering talent this side of the Iron Curtain. Dr. Wernher Von Braun, the designer of Hitler's V-2 rocket. Braun and his group have developed the only successful missiles to date, the "Redstone" and the "Jupiter". There is no reason for us to be behind the Communists in the race for an intercontinental missile. Instead of using the best talent available in America, development was turned over to inexperienced Air Force contractors.

The Army's success in design is not surprising. Its ordnance arsenals have turned out superior weapons for decades. "Ballistic missiles" is just a synonym for "long range artillery" and the Army artillery naturally has more experience at the relevant type of work than the young Air Force. The important fact to bear in mind in this bitter and costly controversy is that the Army's "Jupiter" is tested and near-operational, that we have bases in Europe from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, and that, therefore, a 1500 mile range will reach beyond Moscow. In a word: the industrial heart of Russia can be brought under retaliatory counter-battery fire over and above the "deterrent" represented by the airborne attacks that, at the moment, are the mainstay of NATO. Time, however is of the essence, and the inter-service squabble violates yet another principle of war, that of the "objective".

The prevailing official posture in Washington considers the Russian threat transient and unimportant: over against it stand some who consider such a view to be sheer whistling in the dark. The "young Turks" in the Air Force, for example, point with pride to the "ring of air bases" around Russia, and to their capacity to fly in at any time.

But the Russians have pretty clearly had the equivalent of the "Allied Ring" from Riga to the Adriatic and they have twin-jet bombers and effective fighter escort. If we anticipate staging "Dresden" raids with 3000 bombers, we shall have to count on greatly improved AA-artillery. If the British "hedgehog defense"

is a solution and not a mere palliative, then it works both ways.

If and when the "Jupiter" reaches European sites, a Russian counter model will be there to offset it. There is evidence of this from the Far East as well as Europe: the Vladivostok area has recently been closed off, and rocket sites reported north of Korea. Note both the timing and the geographical locality. Ever since the beginning of the Korean War the enemy has attempted to divert the attention of the West to remote Asia, while he was strengthening his own European position. He now repeats this game with nuclear armament: the Siberian rocket sites are a threat to intimidate Korea and Japan, but they are also a sort of "red herring" to distract our attention from something of importance that is taking place in Central Europe: the development of rocket sites in Czechoslovakia. These sites, like ours, do not require long range rockets. The Czech salient juts deeply into Germany and the West. A 300 mile rocket, a minor improvement on Hitler's V-2 will blanket all the U.S. establishments, garrisons, depots, bases and airfields all the way from Denmark to Switzerland. And the "deterrent" of Allied bomber attacks is sharply minimized.

The Czech salient is Russia's forward position, her jump-off point in any European campaign. All the satellite armies have adopted Russian weapons and organisation: with, however, an internal structure that does not go beyond the Corps (there is not even the pretense of nationally independent armies). The Czech Corps will, in other words operate within the framework of Russian armies and the Russian General Staff.

Thus the military importance of the Czech salient as a Russian assembly area has already been demonstrated; The combination of five Russian and twelve Czech ready divisions almost equals the current total of NATO ready divisions. There are, besides 22 Russian divisions in East Germany. The Russians, in short, do observe the principle of "mass" and that of "objective" and do so in intimate contact with the West German frontiers. In the category of "nuclear deterrents" the Czech salient is equally important. Military security officials have clamped down suddenly on many Czech localities, some 350 communities of varying sizes have actually disappeared (the official Czech Index of Municipalities lists them as non-existent). The depopulated area has quietly become a "restricted military zone", a part, in other words, of the Iron Curtain, and more effective in the Czech state than in Russia itself. The motivations are topographical, economic and political. The area of the uranium mines is brought under direct Russian military administration, and completely isolated from the rest of the country. The Western border is sealed off, and since it is hill and forest country, the area lends itself to underground storage depots, secret bases, and rocket sites. The role of the Czech salient in current Russian war plans is crystal clear: it is a jumping off place for the assault, an assembly area for the massing of Russian divisions, and a bastion for covert rocket launching-sites.

The time will soon be past even for emergency measure.

—National Review

“Father Of The Nation” Created Pakistan

By A Contributor

TIMBUCTOO! What a world of fancy the word brings to my mind! It has done so now for nearly forty years, without my realising the fact that I have been living in Timbuctoo since my birth. Not a very complimentary thing to say about oneself, but facts are facts and should be stared at squarely in the face, whether you like them or not, particularly if the motto of our State is *Satyameva Jayate*.

Let us take, for example, the “Father of the Nation”, Gandhiji. We have never applauded any one else as heartily and sincerely from one end of the country to another. Why? It could only have been for the advice he gave us. And what was the advice? The advice, in brief, was to the Hindus, “Learn the art of dying bravely”—these are his own words—and to Muslims: “You are 80 millions and violence is not taboo for you. What are you afraid of? If the Khalifa goes, who will then declare *Jehad* on unbelievers?” This is not in his own words, but the substance of what he said and the *raison d’être* of the Khilafat movement.

MOPLAH RIOTS AND GANDHI’S SILENCE

And we Hindus applauded him and even call him the “Father of the Nation”. At the height of the non-co-operation movement broke out the Moplah rebellion in which the Moplahs killed Hindus, carried away their women, forcibly converted hundreds, if not thousands of Hindus to Islam and destroyed their places of worship and residence. The Moplahs thought they were just doing what the Khilafatists preached. “Mahatma” Gandhi remained practically unmoved. But when a crowd of villagers butchered a few policemen at Chauri Chaura he called off the movement. That was at a time when the Viceroy had publicly declared he was “puzzled and perplexed” and the British Government did not know what to do. When the whole country rose like a man to defy the Government, Gandhiji said, “Stop this nonsense!”

NEHRU FOLLOWS IN FOOTSTEPS OF GANDHI

“Uncle” Nehru has obviously a similar frame of mind. Over the Moplah rebellion our “Uncle” Nehru has not a tear to shed (in his *Autobiography*) for the Hindus who suffered at the hands of the Moplah fanatics. But some of them were packed like sardines in a railway waggon and met a premature end—fellows who perhaps should have been shot dead at sight—and “Uncle” Nehru has the following to say about the great tragedy:

“The Moplah rising and its extraordinarily cruel suppression—what a horrible thing was the baking to death of the Moplah prisoners in the closed railway vans!—had already given a handle to those who stirred the waters of communal discord.”

“Uncle” Nehru is in many respects a true disciple of Gandhiji. When the Indian Army was poised to drive away the invaders who were butchering Kashmiris and pillaging their land, and the invaders—irregulars all—were on the run, Uncle Nehru ordered a

cease-fire. If cease-fire means anything, it means: “Stay where you are”. And now eight years after telling the Indian Army to “stop that nonsense”, “Uncle” Nehru suddenly remembers that the place where Pakistanis have been staying, at his insistence and with his permission, is Indian territory, and that neither he nor his Government has any right to part with it. Having suddenly remembered all that, “Uncle” Nehru naturally wants them to vacate the territory, wondering all the time why they feel so at home there.

A FOE OF INDIAN TRADITION

Uncle Nehru is a foe of tradition, Indian tradition and Hindu tradition, but in the spirit of the teaching of his Master, he has made an exception of one tradition and that is: unsuccessful resistance to invaders. When the USA offered India military aid, free and unfettered, he rose to the fullest height of his moral grandeur and said NO, although we were in a state of war with Pakistan, as we still are technically—for cease-fire does not mean peace and, if it means peace, we have no business to ask the Pakistan Government to vacate our territory.

And now we are buying British junk at fancy prices, while Pakistan is getting the latest arms and warships from U.S.A. free of cost. And we are trying to be on the most friendly terms with countries who stand for “limitless power for Muslims” and declare that the establishment of Pakistan provides a fulcrum from which a gigantic effort could be made towards the emancipation of the whole Muslim world, and who promise Pakistan that they will “meet sword in hand” in Kashmir and be found together, “fighting together”. And we all applaud Chacha Nehru to the echo, don’t we?

EGOISTS BOTH

The “Father of the Nation” invented what he thought was a new technique for winning freedom. He called it *satyagraha* and said nobody in the country except him understood it. If he had called it civil disobedience, he could not have claimed any novelty for it, much less said, nobody understood the use of this borrowed weapon. The Uncle of the Nation, following in the footsteps of the Father of Nation, has invented a technique of his own. He calls it “emotional integration” and the people are duly impressed. Were he to call it flattery or flunkeyism, where would Dhebarbhai be and would anybody be impressed? Not at all. So he calls it “emotional integration” and how can any one understand the meaning, much less the implications, of this high-sounding phrase?

In the 1936 elections the Congress swept the polls and the League was not even higher in the scale than Independent Muslims. But, said our Congress leaders, “That sort of thing will never do.” They had to do something absolutely outrageous to rouse the Muslim conscience. And they did it in U.P. They double-crossed them, as if to say to them: AWAKE, ARISE, OR BE FOR EVER FALLEN!

(Continued on Page 18)

Food Prices and The Common Man

By Prof. B. R. Shenoy

THE prevailing rise in prices is almost wholly a monetary phenomenon, being the outcome of over-investment under the Second Plan. Its roots lie in the last year of the First Plan, when over-investment began. The rise in foodgrain prices does not reflect shortages of foodgrain supplies; it reflects rather a stimulated demand for foodgrain born of incomes. The scarcity is, thus, an artificially created market scarcity.

The bulge in the prices of foodgrains reflects the natural tendency in a poor economy such as ours (where the foodgrain consumption of vast masses of people is below minimum nutritional standards) to expend expanding money incomes on foodgrains first. It is significant that the prices of rice and wheat have shot so high notwithstanding noteworthy increases in their output during 1956-57 and the considerable imports of the two grains during 1956 and after.

Imports of foodgrains and their distribution through fair price shops are in the nature of "first-aid". The price effect of these measures would depend upon the extent by which the imported grains would cover the prevailing foodgrain deficit. Whether Government grain is sold to the market or directly to the consumers through fair price shops is largely a matter of machinery. The former would involve no State subsidy, while the latter would. So long as price differential existed between the price in the price shops and the market prices, complaints of too small and too slow releases through fair price shops will remain. A part of the releases will also leak into the "black-market."

Selective credit squeeze measures and police action against hoarding are not a lasting solution to the price problem. So long as over-investment continued and prices were expected to rise, hoarding will prevail. The action against hoarding will only determine who undertakes hoarding, and will, besides, introduce in the economy wholly purposeless stresses and strains and would add to economic instability.

Price controls of foodgrains in a background of inflation is a steep uphill task. It may not be effective. It may not control even the food bill of the people.

Control over the allocation of resources (which formed an integral part of the communist technique of planning) is incompatible with the planning in a democratic economy.

No lasting remedy to the price problem is possible except through, firstly, a cessation of over-investment, and, secondly, imports of foodgrains in sufficient quantity to cover the gap in supplies which has resulted from inflation of the immediate past. If a restrictive investment policy is maintained, and sufficient imports are available, it is worthwhile considering the question of placing the imports on the market rather than distributing them through fair price shops. Sale to the market would save the Government large sums on subsidy. The distribution of the subsidy to-day is haphazard and a part of it leaks into the hands of black-marketeers. With a deficit budget we can ill-afford to devote large sums on ill-conceived subsidies.

—From a pamphlet *Food Situation and The Common Man*

"A Cock & Bull Story" of Stabilising the Market

A. D. SHROFF ON MUNDHRA SCANDAL

Bombay: Bringing to bear his 33 years' experience in handling the funds of big industrial houses, Mr. A. D. Shroff, a Director of the Tatas, condemned the Life Insurance Corporation's investment in six Mundhra concerns in the strongest terms.

The Founder of the Free Enterprise Forum, who was giving evidence before the Chagla Commission, characterised as "a cock and bull" story, the explanation that the investments had been made to relieve the Stock Exchange crisis in Calcutta.

Mr. Shroff spoke in a forthright manner that when the counsel for the Life Insurance Corporation asked for time to cross-examine him, the Chairman, Mr. M. C. Chagla, humourously said to him, "Mr. Choudhary is rather intimidated by the knowledge you have shown."

In his view, the unfortunate business background of the Mundhra concerns should have made one think not once or twice, but a hundred times before putting money into them.

He said that it was a new thing to be told that one of the objects of nationalising life insurance and collecting nearly 360 crores of Rupees "was to bolster up Government policies in the Stock Exchange". That raised a very important issue of public policy and a serious problem for public in this country.

THE ONLY CHOICE

Whatever the question under discussion—whether religious, philosophical, political or economic; whether it concerns prosperity, morality, equality, right, justice, progress, responsibility, co-operation, property, labour, trade, capital, wages taxes, population, finance or government—at whatever point on the scientific horizon I begin my researches, I invariably reach this one conclusion: The solution to the problem of human relationship is to be found in liberty.

—Frederic Bastiat in *The Law*

(Continued from page 17)

In 1944, when Jinnah was down and out, having lost even Punjab and Bengal—the former to Unionists and the latter to Congress—our Congress leaders again said: "That sort of thing will never do." And so the Father of the Nation began dancing attendance on Jinnah and he went on dancing attendance on him for nineteen days (although, as the correspondence that was later published showed, there was nothing to talk about) until the stock of Jinnah had been raised skyhigh again. Jinnah as the leader may be knowing, refused to see the Mahatma at his residence, so the Father of the Nation had to go to Jinnah's residence every day—in fact twice a day sometimes.

And that is how our leaders created Pakistan and the harder they toiled and moiled for it the more we applauded them. And they are at the same sort of thing again and we continue applauding them. Can we honestly say after this we have nothing to do with Timbuctoo?

OPEN LETTER TO SOVIET WRITERS

By Howard Fast

This message by the noted American novelist, who for many years was one of the most prominent "literary Communists" in the world, is based on a broadcast he made in New York which was shortwaved to Russia. It is copyright-cleared for immediate publication and translation.

In the course of a long, open letter to Soviet writers, Mr. Howard Fast, the noted American novelist and a former member of the Communist Party of America states: For many years, we called each other friend and comrade, and during those years I won a measure of your affection and trust. I think that this was less due to the quality of my writing than to your conviction that I was unafraid to follow the dictates of my conscience.

When my own government put me in prison for refusing to name those who supported Spanish Republican relief work, I called upon writers the world over to raise their voices against the unjust imprisonment of myself and my brave friends.

How eloquent the response was, I need not remind you; for no voices were more articulate than those of yourselves, my Soviet colleagues. And rightly so you saw clearly then that a State which silences and imprisons writers cannot claim humanism and democracy.

AND THIS PICTURE

Recently, we learned that a group of the bravest and most talented Hungarian writers were sentenced to prison by a Hungarian court on November 13, 1957. Tibor Dery, 63 years old, so long a loyal member of the Communist Party, received a nine-year sentence, tantamount to life imprisonment. Gyula Hay, 56 years old, was sentenced to six years imprisonment. Zoltan Zelk received a three-year sentence and Tibor Tardos a year and a half.

All of these sentences were imposed because the Hungarian writers concerned had taken part in a struggle for national liberation that the whole world sympathized with and admired. Even the New York *Daily Worker* supported this struggle and declared that the cause of the Hungarian Revolution was a just cause.

Now what sort of a writer holds himself aloof from a national liberation struggle of his own people? Could one have anything but contempt for such a writer? You yourselves, my Russian colleagues, would have despised a writer in Russia who held himself apart when the Nazi invader crossed the Soviet border.

Yet this was the "crime" of these Hungarian writers. Tibor Dery and his comrades—and for this they must spend years of their lives in prison. And this is done in the name of Hungarian "socialism." And from your land, from every Communist land, there is not even a whisper of the anger and the indignation of writers!

How can this be—unless all voices have been silenced by fear? I left the Communist Party because I could no longer be part of an organization which

throttled the conscience of men with fear and with threats, but I had hoped that my own resignation and the resignations of thousands of Communist intellectuals in every land would underline the fact that socialism without individual freedom is a fraud and a mockery.

Yet the bleak and awful silence of Communist intellectuals toward all injustice perpetrated by their own rulers makes men of goodwill everywhere wonder whether anything has changed at all. Now I ask you this, bluntly and directly: "If you remain silent in the face of this monstrous injustice in Hungary, can you still claim that you talk with the voice of civilization and humanism?"

I recall to you that when Feffer and Bergelson and Kvitko and so many others were tortured and then murdered by your own government, your voices were silent. Today, you claim that you did not know the facts; you claim that your land, the Soviet Union, is truly a land of freedom and human dignity.

But in the case of Tibor Dery and his colleagues, you can make no such claims. You do know the facts; and you also know that it was against your own country's guns and tanks that Tibor Dery fought. How must the world judge you if you are silent now?

YOU HAVE FORFEITED HUMAN RESPECT

If you only raise your voices in defenses of Tibor Dery and his colleagues, you will strike a greater blow for human freedom than a million words of boastfulness over the sputniks and the guided missiles. But if on this issue—and all the many like it—you retreat into a cavern of silence and cowardice, then all the scientific achievement in the world will not entitle you to the decent respect of mankind.

BEWARE OF THE ENEMY WITHIN

The deadliest enemies of the nation are not the foreign foes; they always dwell within their borders. And from these internal enemies civilisation is always in need of being saved. The nation blessed above all nations is she in whom the civic genius of the people does the saving day by day, by acts without the external picturesqueness; by speaking, writing and voting reasonably; by smiting corruption swiftly; by good temper between parties; by the people knowing true men when they see them, and preferring them as leaders to rabid partisans and empty quacks.

—As William James Said

Answer To World Dilemma:- The Way Out Of The Clash Of Ideologies

By George Richmond Walker

IF Karl Marx can be called the prophet of socialism, then Silvio Gesell may be called the prophet of free private enterprise. Yet, oddly enough, few business men have ever heard of Gesell; he has been persistently neglected by orthodox economists, and no nation has ever put his ideas into practice. There are reasons for this, to be sure; nevertheless the neglect of Gesell may some day come to be recognised as one of the world's larger ironies.

Silvio Gesell believed in economic freedom—free access to raw materials, free competition and free markets. And he described the conditions under which real economic freedom might be achieved. He was opposed to socialism, and to all forms of planned or state-directed economy. But he was also opposed to the restraints caused by monopoly and to the limitations on industrial expansion, imposed by finance capital in order that the owners of industry might enjoy the profits of scarcity. Gesell believed in private ownership of the means of production, in private initiative and in reward of good management; but he did not approve of an economic order which allowed vested interests, either in land or in capital, to enjoy *unearned income at the expense of those who produced it*. Thus Gesell's theory of free, private enterprise stood between socialism on one hand, and orthodox capitalism on the other. And as the economic history of the past hundred years has witnessed a titanic struggle between capitalism and socialism, each regarding the other as a form of tyranny, it is not surprising that Gesell, who hated tyranny of any kind, was either abused or ignored by both sides.

Most men in theory believe in freedom, and many have given their lives in its name. *But it seems that in practice most men seek freedom only for themselves, or for their class and kind, and strive for power and dominion over others even at the risk of social disorder, revolution or war.*

Silvio Gesell wanted freedom for ALL, and like others in times past, whose appeals have been broadly humanitarian, he was able to inspire devoted disciples in all countries, but no party to fight for his principles. It is time such a party is organised (This is specially of significance in India, where ALL political parties allege allegiance to socialism, and the public are kept in the dark as to whether there is any solution of the dilemma and 'class-warfare'. Vinoba Bhave, with cloudy mind, equates even communism with some sort of humanism and Bhoodan is a cover for communism—Editor.)

WHO WAS GESELL?

But who was Gesell? Like Marx, Gesell was a German; but whereas Marx was an impecunious social philosopher, who elaborated his doctrines in the dusty libraries of London, Gesell was an active and successful businessman, who derived his theories from his experience as a trader, importer and manufacturer. At the age of 24, Gesell went to Argentina and set up as an importer of surgical instruments, and prospered until the Government decided in 1898 to have

a drastic deflation of the currency. Gesell warned the Government that its policy would have ruinous effects upon business.... Within a year as Gesell had predicted, business was at a standstill, and tens of thousands of workers were unemployed. Eventually the Government reversed its politics and adopted several of Gesell's suggestions.

In 1906 Gesell retired from active business and settled on a farm in Switzerland. Here he pondered over his experience, read books and searched for the causes of booms and depressions. He returned to South America to look after his brother's business and again returned to Europe, resumed his studies and produced his masterpiece—*The Natural Economic Order*—which was first published in Switzerland in 1915.

In 1919 Gesell had the chance of putting his ideas into practice, and it is a great pity that fate was against him. It was in 1919 that the Socialist Government of Bavaria called upon him to serve as the Minister of Finance. He accepted the offer, despite his opposition to socialism, and prepared immediately to carry out his reforms. But he had been in office for only a few days when the Government was overthrown by the communists.

—From Preface to *The Science of Equality*

(In the present situation of India, when there is a race between the different political parties to claim which is the right socialist party, and when on all sides socialism has been accepted as the ideal for the country, Gesell's Book and the literature that is produced from the Economy Press, California, USA, should be read and studied by every Libertarian and the leaders of the Jan Sangh and other rightist parties that stand against socialism and for free enterprise and democracy.—Editor)

THREAT TO LIBERTY

Sometime in the early part of the century, some bureaucratic genius invented the system of having the larger echelons of government bribe the smaller ones to incur heavy expenses offering to share part of the expense.

School districts are not the only small units of government that are so bribed by the larger ones on the theory that they are getting something for nothing. The racket is specially virulent in the building and maintenance of roads. Villages, town and countries are so bribed by town aid, country aid and state aid, and even federal aid roads. In a more subtle manner, local relief work is being taken over by higher and higher echelons of government. Before it is too late it may be well for us, the American people, to check this novel and growing system of ours. Five million people, all in government, and all under the control of one man, is quite a severe threat to our liberty. It is virtually giving absolute dictatorial power to one man.

—From *Where We Are At* by Thomas H. Barbar

Economic Upheavals Mark The Year In Soviet Russia

(Contributed)

The year 1957 was marked by economic and leadership upheavals in the Soviet Union—and a strong reassertion of Moscow's role as the self-appointed leader of international communism.

This 40th year Soviet Communist rule saw a sweeping shake-up of the nation's industrial apparatus, a major purge of high officials accused of disloyalty to the approved party line, the successful launching of two earth satellites, and an organised campaign to establish firmer discipline over Moscow's other satellites—the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Intertwined with these events was continued emphasis on the Communist Party's 40-year drive to substitute "scientific" atheism for the Russian people's religious beliefs and a new tightening of thought control over USSR's intellectuals.

Party chief Nikita Khrushchev, whose 1957 actions were dominated by power manoeuvres within the small Communist ruling circle, started the year by softening his earlier vicious attacks on Stalin. Khrushchev praised the late dictator as a "model Communist" and further reversed his 1956 verdict by giving Stalin credit for leading the USSR to victory in World War II.

On March 28, *Pravda* introduced a major 1957 party line theme by insisting editorially that every Communist must obey without question "the demands of the Communist Party" and that communism's "iron discipline" must be strengthened.

Four days later, Khrushchev revealed details of nation-wide economic reorganisation designed to overcome Moscow's admitted bureaucratic inefficiency and develop badly-needed industrial initiative. A series of new regional economic councils was to accomplish this aim although Moscow made it clear that centralised party control would be enforced at whatever cost. The Supreme Soviet in May approved Khrushchev's "proposal" by 1,347 to 0.

"FREEZE" OF GOVERNMENT BONDS

On April 8, Khrushchev unveiled another important economic plan—to "freeze" for from 20 to 25 years repayment of the enormous sum of 260,000 million roubles in government bonds which the regime had sold to the Russian people over a 30-year period. Khrushchev first softened this move to confiscate the life-savings of many workers by proposing a USSR-wide discussion period. He made the bond freeze official, however, on April 19.

The Communist Party press, in June, signalled stricter controls over Soviet intellectuals by rebuking noted author Ilya Ehrenburg for daring to say that truth was a rarity in the USSR. Khrushchev later issued a blunt warning that all Soviet artists must cease any defiance of the party's rules for intellectuals. This order pointedly included writer Vladimir Dudintsev whose controversial novel "Not by Bread Alone" was an attack on the same party bureaucracy Khrushchev

himself had condemned in explaining his new economic reorganisation plan.

A world-wide decline in Communist prestige, traced in part to 1956 Soviet actions in smashing the Hungarian freedom revolt and still apparent in 1957 party membership losses in many countries, was pointed up again in June by the United Nation's special committee report on Hungary. This report, condemning Soviet military intervention, was upheld in September by a 60 to 10 U.N. Vote.

A crucial power struggle within the Communist inner ruling circle exploded in July, with the disclosure that former premiers Georgi Malenkov and V. M. Molotov, as well as veteran Communist leaders Lazar Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov, had been purged from their high positions as "anti-party traitors."

This purge was preceded by another strong warning that no deviation of any kind would be permitted from the official Communist Party line.

On October 26, a new phase of the party's continuing purge policy erupted with the sudden dismissal of Soviet military hero and defence minister Marshal Georgi Zhukov. Although credited with supporting Khrushchev against Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov earlier in the year, Zhukov was stripped of his membership in the party's Central Committee and its ruling Presidium. As the year ended, the Communist press was still warning Soviet military personnel to obey the party at all times or face disciplinary action similar to that taken against Zhukov. Zhukov had been accused of flouting party control over Soviet military forces.

MOSCOW, THE DICTATOR OF COMMUNIST BLOC

The USSR's successful earth satellite launching in October and November were accomplished in the midst of full-scale celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. These observances included displays of new Soviet weapons and the assembly of Communist leaders from throughout the Moscow orbit.

A party declaration issued at this time (which Yugoslavia refused to sign) stressed the Soviet Union's requirement that it be the sole policy-maker of the Communist bloc. Communism's basic plan for revolutionary expansion also was stressed.

Moscow's campaign against religion, featuring demands for more emphasis on atheistic propaganda as well as outright attacks on all sacred beliefs, also reflected the party's new interest in science. Earth satellite experiments were cited as "proof" that God does not exist.

At year's end, Moscow appeared to be yielding somewhat to long-smouldering public resentment over the USSR's critical housing shortage and the regime's continuing inability to produce more consumer goods.

(Continued on Page 22)

ON THE NEWS FRONT

TWO LAKH INDIANS FOR CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN PAKISTAN

Karachi: Malik Firoze Khan Noon, Pakistan Prime Minister, said here today that he had instructed the East Pakistan Government "to round up the vast number of Indians there and put them in concentration camps."

Mr. Noon told a press conference he could not confirm or deny Muslim League leader Mr. Daulatna's statement that 2,00,000 Indians were roaming in East Pakistan. "It is however true that vast numbers of Indians are in East Pakistan. I have issued instructions to round them up and put them in concentration camps and make them build mud roads in villages," Mr. Noon said.

East Pakistan's borders with India "have been sealed and nobody can get through" Mr. Noon said in reply to another question.

NO EXPLANATION TO OFFER

Ferozepore: Enquiries made yesterday from the local Central Jail authorities reveal that the officials who were served with charge-sheets in connection with the lathi-charge of August 24 on Hindi satyagrahis have not submitted any explanation even though the period of three weeks granted to them for the purpose expired several days ago.

These charge-sheets were served through the Superintendent of the Central Jail and according to normal procedure the replies should have been submitted to the Government through the Superintendent. The Superintendent told "The Times of India" News Service correspondent that "at least no explanation has been submitted so far through me. Maybe, the concerned officials have no explanation to offer."

(Continued from Page 21)

The party pledged itself to "liquidate the workers' housing shortage" but admitted this would require another 10 or 12 years. Both *Pravda* and Radio Moscow, on December 12, promised that more consumer goods, particularly shoes and textiles, would soon be produced and that an attempt would be made to "meet the requirements of the population" in the "next five to seven years."

Basic party priority, however, continued to be on heavy industry as opposed to light industry for consumer goods. A new seven-year economic plan and a 15-year programme to match production standards already achieved in "capitalistic" countries underscored this policy.

In the midst of its renewed stress on science, industry and party solidarity, Moscow suffered a late 1957 ideological defeat in its campaign of intellectual regimentation. Noted Soviet author Boris Pasternak's Moscow-banned novel about Russian life, "Doctor Zhivago", was published in Rome over strong Soviet protests. One of the book's disputed passages point out: "...Marxism is not sufficiently master of itself to be a science. Sciences have equilibrium. . . . I know no current of thought that is more isolated and further from the facts than Marxism."

U.S.I.S.

TWO HUNDRED HINDUS DETAINED IN PAKISTAN

Calcutta: According to information available here nearly 200 Hindus in East Pakistan have been detained on the allegations that they are Bharati spies. No details are forthcoming.

West Bengal has requested the Deputy High Commissioner for India at Dacca for further information. It is stated that visas for India were recovered from some of them.

KASHMIRI POLICE FIRED UPON, A CONSTABLE KIDNAPPED

Srinagar: A constable of the Kashmir Police in Uri, adjoining the cease-fire line, has been kidnapped by a party of Pakistani soldiers according to a report received here.

The report said that three Kashmir Police constables accompanied by a head constable, were on regular patrol along the line, when 40 Pakistani soldiers opened fire on them. While two constables and the head constable escaped, one constable was kidnapped by the soldiers.

BOMBAY TEACHERS URGE FOR THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SCHOOLS

Surat: Mr. Chandravadhan Shah, President of the Bombay State Head Masters Associations, told a press conference here that the Federation's demand that the teaching of English be reintroduced in the higher middle school classes, all over the State was justified, because an overwhelming public opinion in Maharashtra, and the majority of teachers in Gujarat, wanted this.

Reintroduction of English in middle schools, Mr. Shah said, would require additional provision for trained personnel. Contents of other courses would have to be curtailed, in the event of reintroduction.

Mr. Shah felt that mere extension of English course would not help to achieve the purpose. The Federation had, therefore, suggested the appointment of an English teaching commission to investigate the problem thoroughly, and suggest ways and means for improving the standard of teaching English.

PAK CRITICISM OF U.S. POLICY OF HELPING INDIA

Ankara: The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Feroze Khan Noon, speaking at the opening session of the Baghdad Pact Ministerial Council, indirectly criticised the American policy of aiding the so-called "neutralists", even while America's friends urgently needed help.

He said, the people of the Baghdad pact countries are quite bewildered when they find that some of these neutralists are the recipients of large-scale aid, not only from communist countries but also the Western countries; whose policies they are constantly attacking. This was a veiled attack on the recent American aid to India.

SOCIAL GATHERING OF R. L. TRUST HOSTEL

The annual Social Gathering of the students of the R. L. Trust Hostel was celebrated with great eclat on the 18th and 19th instant. There are about 55 resident boarders in the Hostel and 5 outsiders of the Mess. They hail from various states. It was in fact a miniature India that had gathered at the Hostel premises, free from the distinction of class, creed or province.

FIRST DAY PROGRAMME

The first day of the Social the inmates of the Hostel visited a show at the Empire Cinema. The second day was celebrated with a grand dinner on the terrace of the Hostel Building, when Principal Mehta of the Law College was the chief guest. A few guests were also invited.

The terrace of the Hostel presented a holiday atmosphere being dressed in gay buntings and lighted with flood lights.

Principal Mehta addressing the gathering explained to the students the aspects of the legal mind which is generally found in business magnates and high officers of the State. He was so glad to be among the students that evening.

Shri Hemendra Shah thanked the chief guest for gracing the occasion and reported that the Hostel is fully equipped with an up-to-date free Library and Reading Room called

Swami Nityanand Library for the benefit of students. Swamiji was a votary of the Arya Samaj. The R. L. Foundation issues a fortnightly journal "The Indian Libertarian" which advocates the philosophy of libertarianism and free economy. The students of the Hostel are post-graduates, some reading for M.A., Doctorate, Law and R.A. Courses.

The R. L. Trust also runs a Research Department carrying on research in socio-economic problems.

With three lusty cheers for the chief guest, the social came to a happy end.

Letters to the Editor

THE NEW PARTY

Dear Madam:

I was glad to read in the "Nagpur Times" about the formation of a new party, aiming at clean administration. I have my own quarrel with the sponsors, specially with Dr. Khare. But I will admit this is a good idea of his and he should get the support of all persons wishing India well.

May I venture to suggest something to Dr. Khare and the co-sponsors of the new party? Let the cry for a clean administration be

their only plank and platform. It is a big programme in itself. Let the new party not bother itself with any economic or foreign policy issues.

But every one is concerned about the way the Congress administration says one thing, and perhaps means it also, but does another. The Ministers blame the administrative machinery, the Secretariat blames the politician, including by implication the Minister. And when the people still persist in their demands, both blame the people themselves as impatient and non-co-operative. The people have to get fat on promises, while the bania eats the cream with the politician and the official.

—A Citizen

SHEIKH ABDULLAH

Dear Madam:

The speeches delivered by Sheikh Abdullah show that he has come out from detention an unwise man. Once Sher-e-Kashmir, he has now changed into a religious fanatic who is raising such slogans as the Muslims being in danger and is thereby trying to put the people of Kashmir in jeopardy. The State Government which has already decided to treat him as a free citizen should see to it that his holding of meetings and shouting of slogans do not provoke a breach of the peace.

K. A. Majeed.

DID YOU KNOW . . .

By Scio



Although the moon is only 1/49th the size of the earth, its mountains are higher than all but 5 peaks on earth. The Doerfel Mountains on the moon are 26,691 feet high.



Public exhibition of victims is one of the favourite disciplinary tactics Chinese Communists use to warn people against disobeying the regime. After he (or she) has served this purpose, prisoner is executed.



All sea water contains gold. Scientists estimate about five cents' worth to every ton. At least one major effort has been made to extract it, but it proved unprofitable, and so far is generally considered so.

Book Reviews

HISTORY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

THEORY AND HISTORY: AN INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EVOLUTION:

By Ludwig von Mises. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 384 pp. \$6.00.

Since men first started to record events, they have sought to understand why things happened as they did. It has been suggested variously that all actions of man were predestined according to some superior over-all design; that they were merely the consequences of physiological phenomena; or that they arose solely from environmental conditions or characteristics of society or race. Such explanations, however, as Ludwig von Mises shows in his new book, are inconsistent with real life on this earth as we know it.

Dr. Mises is the leading exponent today of the Austrian School of Economics. He has taught and lectured in a dozen different countries and now holds a position as Visiting Professor at New York University. His writings have spelled out in every instance how the free market is the basis of individual freedom. In this new book, he applies his knowledge of the theory of human action and of market operations to the interpretation of history and historical philosophies.

PHILOSOPHY OF INDIVIDUALISM

The major part of the book is devoted to analyzing various interpretations of history and to comparing each in turn with the philosophy of utilitarianism which Mises calls "a philosophy of individualism," because it "rejects universalism, collectivism, and totalitarianism." One by one he refutes the philosophies of history that deny freedom of the individual to act as he sees fit. Dr. Mises calls attention to "the emotional appeal which cognizance of this freedom has, and the idea of moral responsibility which it engenders. One of the fundamental conditions of man's existence and action is the fact that

he does not know what will happen in the future." He points out, on the other hand, that positivism, behaviourism, and scientism, for instance reduce the role of the individual to that of a robot. He shows that the Marxist idea of "class conflict" denies the obvious fact that individuals act according to what they consider to be their own interest, not that of their "class."

Dr. Mises explains why the claim that environmental factors alone determine a person's ideas and actions—and thus, history—is a contradiction of reality. In fact, the situation is the other way round. It is ideas that are responsible for social institutions, technological and political changes, and economic conditions. This thesis, the importance of ideas, runs like a refrain throughout the book.

Men are rational creatures, Mises reminds us. Their actions are the results of thought and reason. Acting men seek various ends, according to their individual value, judgments and ideas, using means they believe, or hope, will be effective. They do not always use proper means, and they may change their minds after making a decision to act, but this does not deny that men act rationally and purposively in the hope of gaining desired ends.

Men frequently act in co-operation. Their reason tells them that there are advantages in social co-operation, due to the fact that specialization and the division of labour are more productive than self-sufficiency. This recognition leads most men to prefer peaceful relations to strife and conflict with their fellow men. Indeed, the history of civilization consists of the development of specialization and division of labour. Thus, the desire for social co-operation is an important motive for individual action.

It is the task of the historian to record and to explain, in so far as his knowledge, understanding, and opportunities permit, the manner in which events arise from the individual actions of individual men. To explain why men act, he must make use of "specific understanding" as well as knowledge in all

other pertinent fields, including economics. The more complete his knowledge and understanding, the more accurate can be his interpretation of historical data.

FALLACIES OF PSEUDO-ECONOMICS

Modern historians tend to be impressed by mass phenomena and the actions of large groups. In this, their writings reflect the current in fallacies of "pseudo-economics." They are inclined to forget that history always deals with individuals. Even the actions of societies and long-term historical trends are traceable ultimately to many small and interrelated individual actions. When men co-operate or act together as members of groups, they are, nevertheless, still acting as individuals under the influence of certain specific ideas.

History is made by man. The conscious intentional actions of individuals, great and small, determine the course of events in so far as it is the result of the interaction of all men. But the historical process is not designed by individuals. It is the composite outcome of the intentional actions of all individuals. No man can plan history.

UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS

Although the advantages to be gained from interpersonal co-operation under a system of division of labour and interpersonal exchange on an unhampered market have long been recognized, many persons, historians included, believe that an inevitable conflict of interests exists among individuals and among groups. The belief persists that there are "have-nots" in the world, precisely because there are "haves." This is true, of course, in societies where wealth is the result of special privilege. But in a free market, i.e., under capitalism, no conflicts need exist among the rightly understood interests of all members. Because many historians have failed to understand this, they have helped to popularize the idea of conflicting interests as well as other neo-mercantilist ideas which lead to international conflict.

Perhaps the most startling idea brought to light by Dr. Mises in this book concerns the role historians have played in promoting various types of collectivism. By adopting

philosophies of history based on economic fallacies and the thesis that individuals do not have the power of free choice, they have actually helped the cause of socialism. Their acceptance of the idea that material and technological advances are somehow "automatic" and "inevitable" has led them to endorse, and thus to popularize, policies of government interference with individual initiative, efforts, and savings which make such advances possible.

The closing note of Mises' book, however, is hopeful. "The keystone of Western civilization is the sphere of spontaneous action it secures to the individual." Although the trend of recent years has been toward trying to "stabilize" economies and inhibit individual initiative through government intervention, so far, Mises concludes, the advocates of these policies in the West have not succeeded in wiping out "the individual's disposition to think and to apply to all problems the yardstick of reasoning."

This book is a deep, philosophical analysis. It is not intended for beginners. It contains much which should be of vital interest, however, to serious students of history and philosophy. If it is read and understood by the world's "thought leaders," it could have a profound influence for the cause of freedom.

—Bettina Bien in *Freeman*

Kudos To Mr. M. R. Masani

A PLEA FOR REALISM. Some speeches delivered in Parliament by Mr. Masani, M.P. Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Price Rs. 1.50 Pages 67.

The role and function of a Minister of Parliament, his duties and responsibilities, his outlook and attitude to the country and its problems, his mode of approach to issues, the restraint, the dignity and the manner of discussion; indeed, the criterion of good Parliamentary Ministership is sadly tenuous and spectral in this country, which is professedly democratic, and which owes allegiance to a Constitution. On reading the speeches delivered by Mr. M. R. Masani between May and August 1957, one comes to see something of what a Member of Parliament should be. It will, by no means, be overstretching the mark if we say that Mr. Masani has set the standard.

Probably the chief virtue of these speeches is that they are remarkably well-informed, both in economic matters and current affairs. Mr. Masani speaks with the confidence of a man who knows and who has, above all, (which is truly rare), tested. The speeches possess amazing clarity and do not mince matters. There is a balance throughout and a hold over facts.

VIEWS ON PLANNING

In the speech on the Budget, May 28, 1957, Mr. Masani points out the need for a practical approach to Planning. Planning cannot be done beyond the resources available; planning which tries to exceed the limits set down by nature can only defeat its own purpose. Mr. Masani makes practical suggestions. The amount of money that is being spent on heavy industries could be used with manifold benefits on small, light industries or agriculture. "Planning Commission surveys also show that the ratio of annual output to capital in light industries varies from 50 to 200 per cent. The people of India need quicker and more easily certain forms of goods, and by investing small sums of money for these purposes they would be benefited more than by investing in heavy industries and basic industries".

This is the sore spot that needs touching. Our advancement in the last few years has been in the direction of heavy industry, too slowly towards consumer goods. This lopsided progress is clear from the index numbers of consumer and producers goods. It is this development of the Second Plan that needs correction.

CO-OPS. VS. COLLECTIVES

In his address on Co-operative Farming on July 30, 1957, Mr. Masani points out the dangers inherent in co-operative farming as visualised by Government. Mr. Masani is himself an avowed believer in co-operative methods. But co-operation is one thing and collectivization another. The result must be labourers owning their own land, and not landless labourers stripped of the very *raison d'être* of their mode of life. Mr. Masani brings to bear on his treatment of the subject authoritative studies of the co-operative movement as working in the Soviet Union, in China, in Japan, in Denmark, etc. He comes to the sound conclusion that

it is countries like Japan and Denmark, which have achieved the highest in farming that point out the way.

In the speech on the Essential Services Maintenance Bill on August 5, 1957, Mr. Masani points out the democratic solution of strikes. No democracy can ignore the worker's right to bargain. It is the first condition of freedom that the right to work under conditions voluntarily chosen should be guaranteed. Yet such essential services as Postal and the like cannot be left to the arbitrary will of the workers. Mr. Masani opposes the strike, but he opposes it on the ground that an alternative and a democratic method be found. The worker cannot be left in the lurch; nor can we afford to play to his fluctuating desires and motives. The way out is the democratic way of arbitration—let a third party decide. The Government or the employer and the employee must both submit, in cases when no mutual agreement can be arrived at, to the decision of a tribunal.

HEAVY LOAD OF TAXATION

Mr. Masani's speech on the Finance Bill on August 26, 1957 gives clear evidence of the clarity of his thinking and his remarkable abilities. He points out the appalling burden that the common man in India has to shoulder due solely to heavy and exorbitant taxation. In his speech on the Wealth Tax Bill, Mr. Masani points out the crippling effects it will have on shareholders in general, and the disincentive it will mean to saving. In his speech on the Expenditure Tax, he makes clear his reasons for disagreement. The Expenditure Tax Bill, far from achieving progress, will actually undermine the Second Plan and the economy of this country. The whole Plan indeed rests on measures of taxation which are, to say the least, hotch-potch. This is amply illustrated by Government's use of Dr. Kaldor's suggestions. Dr. Kaldor suggested that the Income Tax should be replaced by Expenditure Tax, as that would mean incentive to saving and to investment. But our Government have gone a few steps beyond Kaldor. The Government have imposed both the taxes, which is not only self-stultifying but can only lead to waste and bureaucratization.

Mr. Masani must be handed

kudos for such clear formulation of national issues and his extremely creditable performance in Parliament.

—Kishore Valicha

TWENTIETH CENTURY SOCIALISM published by the Socialist Union of Britain Price sh 2/6.

IT has been evident for some time past that the British Labour Party is going through a crisis of the intellect, rethinking policies and methods, perhaps of reformulation of methods more than recasting of policies. *Twentieth Century Socialism* published by the Socialist Union presents the views of an influential group of Socialists within the Labour Party about the working of the Socialist economy.

Twentieth Century Socialism is a controversial study in Socialist ethics applied to the sphere of economic organisation, and gives a comprehensive view of the socialist economy of the British brand which combines idealism with realism. The British Socialists, unlike others, have always kept their mind open, and have to be congratulated on their honest attempt to think out afresh the foundations of a socialist economy.

While in Britain bold attempts are being made at reformulating Socialist philosophy and to think afresh the meaning of socialist economy, the socialist ghost of Russia still haunts our thinking, and it is high time we gave a decent burial to it.

RUSSIAN COMMUNISM DOES NOT CONVINCE—NEHRU'S SOCIALISM DOES NOT INSPIRE

Russian Communism does not convince and Nehru's socialism does not inspire. The conflict between Democracy and Socialism has always been a conflict of values. Whereas Socialists consider only material values as the main criterion of progress, Democrats want the universal human ideals of equality and freedom to be embodied in the economy of every country. It is because of our democratic tradition and the human values we cherish that we reject the crude materialism of the Socialists. It is the denial of human values in Socialism that rouses our fiercest indignation and concern against the Socialist

philosophy which has corroded the thinking of all our political leaders in general.

Where realism falls short today is, the authors say, in thinking of the public sector in terms of nationalised industries. This is an error from the days when all economic power was identified with the ownership of the means of production. Waning idealism as regards the ends and growing dogmatism in the choice of means are the dangers of our times. If Socialism has come to mean today an all powerful state, with a heavy handed bureaucracy, with regimentation and other obnoxious features, it is because the socialists seem to talk one way and act another, and are victims of a schizophrenia that has upset themselves and bewildered their friends. The British Labour Party, the authors say, has never allowed itself to become the slave of doctrine. It may be slow in abjuring traditional policies, but it will never fail to do so when convinced of the need.

THE CHANGE OF MIND

The authors say that there is no longer much confidence among British Socialists that a change in ownership is enough to ensure that an industry is run on socialist lines and that enthusiasm for extending public enterprise in its present form is waning. Because socialism has become identified exclusively with common ownership, loss of faith in common ownership as the panacea often means loss of faith in socialism itself. But, the authors assert, there is an obvious way out of this dilemma if socialists have the courage to take it.

The power of ownership, even in public hands, may still be dangerous. It is still open to abuse and the individual has still to struggle to assert his rights in face of it. Ways have to be found to control the powers of ownership, whether they are privately or publicly held. To eliminate all private capital is to open the road to totalitarianism, warn the authors.

No country can afford to throw itself unreservedly on the mercies of unregulated markets. To promote the common good, the authors say, economic power has to be wrested from the capitalists and submitted to the visible controls of society instead of to the invisible controls of the market. The state commands all political power, and

so is subject to no effective restraints at all. It is an even sorer fate for the worker to be at the mercy of the state than to be the victim of private capitalists, for the state unlike the capitalists is ubiquitous. A socialist economy, the authors observe, is not a planned economy but a planned market economy. Economic power, the authors say, should be left in private hands, and attempts should be made through legislation or through administrative controls, to regulate the decisions of the power holders. Government must positively act to control the private sector without invading the whole economy and seizing economic power. From the key strategic points, government must permeate and direct the private sector. The authors suggest that the state should take over economic power at the key points in the economy—the budget, the key industries, large property concentration, and through strategic participation, the government should direct its economic power towards socialist ends.

Another way of controlling economic power, according to the authors, is by counter-economic power. Whenever a conflict arises, the power of each interest should be controlled by the balancing power of the other. For instance, the power of employers could be roughly balanced by the power of the trade unions, the power of the sellers, in each particular market, by the power of the buyers and so on. Neither side should be in a position to dominate; to reach an agreement, each must respect the other's wishes. It is better for the people to take care of their own interests than to rely on others to do it for them. The government, the authors say, should alter the distribution of economic power in order to establish a balance between conflicting private interests. The three guiding principles, they say, for the control of economic power should always be—the principle of balance of power the principle of the principle of planning through strategic participation, and social accountability. In other words, what they stand for is an economy with a private and public sector, but where all economic power, no matter what its nature or by whom it is held, is subject to effective economic, political and social control, applied separately or in combination. Transformation of the economic system through total pub-

lic ownership, the authors hold, leads to totalitarianism. What is desirable is, according to them, a mixed economy, part private, part, public and mixed in all its aspects. It comprises private spending as well as public spending, private ownership as well as public ownership, private enterprise as well as public enterprise.

PRIVATE SECTOR UNDER SOCIALISM

The private sector of a Socialist Economy, the authors say, is not there merely on sufferance, to be tolerated only on grounds of political expediency, with the sword of Damocles hanging over it in perpetual threat. It has a legitimate and a necessary function to perform. The government must step in where individuals or private organisations are bound to fail because of their lack of will or lack of capacity. The method of controlling activities in the private sector should rather be by the maintenance of a balance of power in the markets so that conflicting interests are given equal weight, and no private interest is privileged. The reason why a socialist economy requires a private sector is because the socialists place a value on individual freedom. The duty of the socialists is to ensure that freedom is in fact maintained within it—not crushed out of existence by the empire builders of the market, observe the authors.

The doctrine of public ownership has confused the thoughts of all our national leaders. Re-examination of socialism is a necessary preliminary to fruitful thinking in India too. It is high time our socialists, like their counterparts in Britain, did a bit of rethinking the means of achieving the goals of Socialism.

S. S. Bankeshwar

ORGANISER

For National News and Views

Edited by K. R. Malkani

The only Journal which presents Nationalist News and Views. Sample copy free to the Subscribers of "I.L." and members of the Libertarian Social Institute. Strongly recommended. Annual Subscription Rs. 12/-.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING by Dr. K. N. Kini, M.A., Ph.D. (Columbia) published by the Libertarian Social Institute, Bombay 4, Price Annas 4.

Both the authors and publishers must be congratulated on bringing out this pamphlet. The fact that the author is an experienced educationist lends greater value to the pamphlet. It is rather surprising that we Indians never attach much importance to this problem, while every other country insists on conscription with a religious zeal. So far as India is concerned, she has to guard herself against the danger of international communism. The possibility of Tibet being converted into a strong military base, cannot be overlooked in the future. I agree with the author that the excessive importance attached to Non-violence weakened the spirit of India to such an extent as to result in the rapid decline of the Asokan empire. According to Dr. Kini, "Every son and daughter of India should be a soldier ready to fight for her freedom and lay down his or her life in that noble cause." Brave words which need implementation. The booklet is bound to attract a wide circle of readers.

—A. Ranganathan

ECONOMIC PLANNING by Dr. Ludwig von Mises and Dr. Rufus S. Tucker, published by the Libertarian Social Institute Bombay 4, Price Annas Four.

This booklet consists of two learned addresses—Professor Mises on "Planning for Freedom" and Tucker's "The return to Enlightened Despotism." In his address delivered in 1945, von Mises discusses the possibilities of "Planning for a Free Society" or "Interventionism" as it is called by the French. He notices two points—First "It is the market and not the revenue department which decides upon whom the tax falls and how it affects production and consumption. The market and its inescapable laws are supreme. Second "There are no means by which the general standard of living can be raised other than by accelerating the increase of capital as compared with population." After a brilliant analysis of the above points, he states that there

is no alternative to totalitarianism than freedom, without which full employment, rising real wage rates and a high standard of living are not possible. And here is a warning that "those who pretend that they want to preserve freedom, while they are eager to fix prices, wage rates and interest rates at a level different from the market, delude themselves."

OUR STARRY-EYED PLANNERS

In his address entitled "The Return to Enlightened Despotism" Dr. Rufus Tucker begins by saying that modern totalitarianism resembles medieval serfdom in the sense that "the individual's economic activities are not determined by his own choice, but by authority". After an historical survey of "Governmental Planning on a pseudo-scientific basis," through the era of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century, he has made a few significant comments—"Yes, we are on the road to serfdom and farther along than most of us realize. It is a downhill road and the further we proceed the faster we travel." But these addresses were delivered in 1945 and are prophetic in their quality. The very same thing is taking place in India today—what with Nationalization of Banks, Insurance, State Trading, Cooperative farming gradually merging into collectivism. I wish our starry-eyed planners read this booklet. It can be read with pleasure and profit, both by the layman and the university student.

—A. Ranganathan

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