

Indian Libertarian

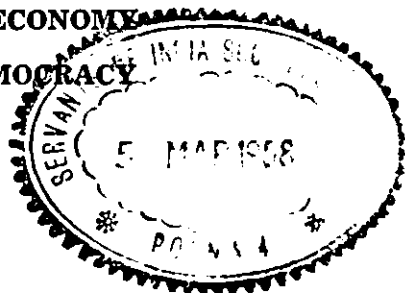
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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
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Letters To The Editor

SOME THOUGHTS ON LIBERTARIANISM

Dear Madam: I agree with you that state-interventionism is likely to be grossly abused. But one has to prove that absence of regulation a relapse into laissez faire is a better alternative. Your movement has to find out a course which will steer clear of the dangers of an overgrown monolithic state, on the one hand, and of the blackness of economic deterioration and growing poverty, on the other. No Indian today will be satisfied with the abstraction of personal freedom, divorced from the realities of physical hardship, that the present lack of development enforces on him. The Libertarian Movement has to find out if private initiative and free enterprise has failed to deliver the goods in the last hundred years of its Indian history.

I suggest that your Institute takes up this historical study and demonstrates conclusively that the Indian entrepreneur was not to blame. As you are certainly aware, the justification of State intervention is the poverty of the country. It is unfortunate that the political and moral fibre of society, and of our leading political parties, have not been able to stand the therapy well—and "rashes" in the form of graft and corruption have appeared on the body politic and the body economic. But you have to prove that "nature-cure" will be preferable.

Wishing you the best,

Prof. S. K. Bose

B. N. College,
PATNA

ABDULLAH ON DR. MOOKERJEE'S DEATH

Dear Madam: Sheikh Abdullah in an exclusive interview to the weekly "SACH" of Jammu (dated 7th February) is reported to have demanded "investigation of the circumstances leading to the death of the late Dr. S. P. Mookherjee so that the real culprits are brought to the fore." He is also reported to have said that he wanted Dr. Mookherjee to be transferred

NEW BOOKS ADDED TO R. L. FOUNDATION LIBRARY

The following new books have been added to the R. L. Trust Library, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Saroyan, William. : *Rock Wagram*.
Christie, Agatha. : *Sad Cypress*.
Vallins, G. H. : *Good English; How To Write It*.
Bromberger, Merry and Serge. : *Secrets of Suez*.
Colvin, Jan. : *Hitler's Secret Enemy*.
Windsor, : *King's Story; Memoirs of H.R.H.*
Hemingway, Ernest. : *Sun Also Rises*.
Socialist Union : *Twentieth Century Socialism*.
Walpole, E. W. : *And's Everyday Encyclopedia*.
Peppard, Dr. H. M. : *Sight Without Glasses*
George Soule. : *Ideas of The Great Economists*.
Graham Greene. : *The Quiet American*
Aldous Huxley : *The Genius And The Goddess*.

out of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, that he did not know of the deteriorating state of his health and that he learnt of his passing away only at 7 a.m. on June 23.

Will the Government of India, at least, now institute a judicial inquiry to probe into the circumstances leading to the death of Dr. Mookherjee and punish the "real culprits" who are still at large? Such a judicial inquiry might reveal something more serious than Mundhra inquiry. Refusal to institute such a judicial inquiry only confirms the doubts of the people that the Government of India has a lot to hide.

Bombay S. Bankeshwar

NOW, A "HUMANE" BULLET

A New York medical doctor, Irving Scherlis, says that leaders' concern to invent a more "humane" nuclear bomb which wouldn't have radioactive fallout reminds him of a fellow student's invention of a mercurochrome-tipped bullet that wouldn't give the victim blood poisoning if it failed to kill him.

In other American news, the Government's Labour Secretary Mitchell admits that six million likely will lack jobs in the USA by June.
New York John Loeb

Editorial

THE ARAB WORLD

THE merger of Egypt and Syria has evoked a similar merger of Jordan and Iraq. But it is more of a federal Union than a merger with the two Kings retaining their autonomy to a certain extent. The army, foreign affairs and parliament are announced to be common, with a compromise on participation in the Baghdad Pact. Iraq will continue her participation in the Pact of the Western Powers while Jordan will stay out as before. But in effect this compromise is not of much significance since the operative patron of both the Pact and the Eisenhower doctrine (of which Jordan is a beneficiary) is the same, namely, the United States. In substance this liaison of Jordan and Iraq is the West's response to the merger of Egypt and Syria.

After an initial hesitation, Russia has come all out to support her proteges with a five million dollar grant for economic Aid. It is known that President Nasser is not a full communist himself, but is playing off the West against Russia in order to aggrandise himself and establish a Pan-Arabic and Pan-Islamic empire of his own. In this ambition of his, he is using Russian help, hoping to free himself later from her strangle-hold. To this end, he has suppressed the Egyptian communist party, as he suppressed the Muslim Brotherhood, with which he was hand in glove. Of course, he is playing with fire.

STRENGTHENING FORCES OF THE "LEFT"

The spread of Leftism and nationalism in the Arab world, since the war, is making the old monarchies weaker and out of date. Hence the new combine or liaison between the royal cousins of Jordan and Iraq is not so strong. It cannot resist the popular forces for any length of time. It is only to be expected that Egypt and Syria, in their new role as a single Arab Republic, will reinforce communist forces in the Hashemite kingdoms, and seek to overthrow their monarchs. This will strengthen Nasser. It must be remembered that in these Islamic lands there is no strong consciousness of territorial integrity, corresponding to present political boundaries. The whole area is homogeneous in culture and faith and general outlook. These kingdoms are artificial products of British diplomacy since before the war of 1914. Hence any strong force for union, under competent leadership, can dissolve the present political boundaries and issue forth as a single Arab or Muslim State. The Palestinian refugees in Jordan have little loyalty to the King. Even in Iraq non-monarchical nationalist elements could be led to revolt against the British-sponsored monarchy, as evidenced by the German success with Abdul Raschid during the war.

WHERE STANDS PAKISTAN?

So long as Turkey does not interest herself in leading the Islamic world, President Nasser is likely to have more success in consolidating the Arab part of it under his own leadership. At present, it is only

Pakistan that is trying to capture the Islamic world for her own leadership. She has a high degree of neurotic ambition without corresponding capacity and is frantically trying to rally the Islamic consciousness for her own benefit. But the Arabs and Turks think of Pakistanis as upstarts and not strictly Islamic at all. But if Pakistan displays sufficient military strength, with the assistance of America and Britain, she bids fair to achieve her ambition. Though civil statesmanship and devotion to administrative efficiency have so far eluded the Pakistanis, there is no reason to think that military leadership may not spring up when affairs get amorphous. Pakistanis have the advantage of training under British leadership (and now American military tutelage) and they have the further asset of vast numbers.

OUR PROPHECY COMING TRUE

The reading of Islamic affairs presented in this journal and in its predecessors is being borne out by current developments in the cradle-area of Islam and its Mediterranean extension up to Morocco. President Nasser has been consistently and brazenly interfering in the Mediterranean colonies of France since the hour of his assumption of leadership. Cairo has harboured Algerians since then and the Cairo radio has been championing their cause. He also started smuggling small arms to Algeria and has been cultivating Algeria, Tunis and Morocco continuously. One day, not far distant, he may reap the benefit. Already Yemen has asked for merger with his United Arab Republic. And there are rumours, based on secret manoeuvres, that Saudi Arabia, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco will join Nasser's Republic. It must be remembered that Nasser is the dictator and sole authority in the Union. This supremacy of his will, of course, be retained in further mergers. We are seeing Arab consolidation under Nasser taking place along expected lines, day by day. One reason is that it is all *according to plan*. If there is a single plan in the mind of a supreme leader, and the competitors and opponents are divided among themselves, *the lesson of history and psychology is that events will fall into place and come to enrich the leading personage and fulfil his destiny*.

In India during the days of Clive and Dupléix, the French and British competed among themselves, but in the end success crowned the latter. The same game is being played in the Arab world with Russia and America setting up and supporting rival local leaders. Whatever the success or failure of the Great Rivals, it is *axiomatic that whoever wins or loses among Islamic groups, the result will be their consolidation into a vast empire or federation. This was anticipated in this journal and we see events developing this picture more rapidly than we had anticipated*.

SUDAN AND NASSER

The new mood of Nasser appears with characteristic clarity and audacity in the ultimatum he has given to Sudan in respect of disputed territory north of

parallel 22. The Sudanese are arranging a plebiscite there. It was under their administration since the days of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium of 1899. Nasser is also having his plebiscite to confirm the merger of Egypt and Syria under his supreme leadership. So he has sent forces which he calls "a police party"! The Sudanese are confronted with stark aggression from their Arab neighbour. It is clear that Nasser wants to grab Sudan under some excuse or other. It remains to be seen whether the free world will act to prevent it, especially as Sudan is a member of the UNO. It is likely that Russia will move earlier, and perhaps more effectively, before the free world with its divisions and need for mutual consultation prepares itself for action. If the Russians move, it is "not a threat to international peace but only a contribution to peace". But if the free world acts, it is an act of imperialist aggression and war! This is the hypocritical propaganda that is acting as a *dope* confusing and deadening the conscience and intelligence of the Western world.

The lesson for India is once again clear. She has no call to take sides in this tangle of Arab or Islamic ambitions criss-crossing the clash of World Powers. She has only to maintain a watchful eye and cling to strict neutrality. Once again our Prime Minister has shown the pro-communist and anti-Western slant of his mind. He was among the first to congratulate the dictator Nasser on his success in absorbing Syria! But in his reaction to the liaison of Jordan and Iraq, he offers sceptical remarks with an aura of disapproval! Why should India appear to favour Nasser and disapprove of Jordan and Iraq? We are supposed to be lovers of democracy but we back up dictators in the pro-communist world—Tito, Ho Chi Min and Nasser and we continue to recognise the puppet regime in Hungary supported by the tanks of Russia!

The dispute of Nasser with Sudan reveals the ambition of the Egyptian usurper and foreshadows the shape of things to come in that part of the world.

THE REVOLT IN SUMATRA—ISLAM ON THE MOVE

There was a simmering dissatisfaction with Dr. Soekarno's rule among Muslim parties in Indonesia from the beginning of her independence. One of them is Dar-ul-Islam, which means the realm of Islam (or ocean of Islam), ruled by Islamic leaders. It is the requirement of Islam that Islamic rulers should do their best to convert the non-Islamic land they live in to Islam and bring it under the hegemony of the Islamic world authority. *Islamic peoples have more political consciousness than Indians.* Political values form a more interior and integral part of Islam as a religion than in other religions. Whether this is a sign of social progress is a matter for careful consideration. But it is clear that societies like the Hindu that put (*ahimsa*) non-violence first among human values—*ahimsa paramo dharmah*—have a disadvantage when confronted with rivalry and aggression by Islamic peoples. We should remember the age-old attitude of simpler and braver and less sophisticated peoples.

*The mountain sheep are sweeter
But the valley sheep are fatter
Therefore we deemed it meet
To carry off the latter!*

Rich and peaceful societies accumulating wealth and art treasures are frequently looted and conquered by barbarian invaders like Attila and Chengiz Khan.

When Pakistan was being carved into existence, her leaders harked back in threat to India and exhortation to their own followers to the ancient examples of Chengiz Khan, Timur and other bloodthirsty invaders! What a leadership values is a clue to their ambitions and motives more reliable than their diplomatic declarations.

India has bitter cause to remember her humiliations in the past in this matter. Hence when we find Nehru and his followers in power, ignoring this historic truth, and hobnobbing with Islamic peoples and dictatorial leaders. *It is cause for well-founded uneasiness.*

This context is sketched for enabling our readers to view current events in the Arab and Muslim worlds in correct perspective.

In addition to the orthodox Dar-ul-Islam, Indonesia has also other Muslim-oriented parties like the Masjumi more favourable to modern liberal democracy without cutting loose from Islam. These parties stress Islamic values and continuity with traditional ways of living. Hence they have been more alive to the dangers of international communism. They want freedom to make an experiment in modernism on the basis of Islam without jettisoning the past so entirely as communism wants them to do. They have been therefore dissatisfied with Dr. Soekarno for his communist leanings and his policy of co-operation with the Communist Party of Indonesia. He has consistently refused to see the danger of having Communists in his coalition Government. He is similar to our Prime Minister Nehru in pro-communist convictions.

Dr. Hatta is more realistic and has refused to co-operate with Dr. Soekarno.

A LESSON TO INDIA

In this context, it should be easy to understand the motives that impelled certain army officers to rebel against Dr. Soekarno's rule. They are prepared to have a secular government with equal opportunities for all, but they are *not* prepared to harbour and nurse parties with extra-territorial loyalties like the communists. Indonesian affairs should warn us of the dangers inherent in encouraging communists, as we do in Kerala, in the name of democracy. Democratic values of freedom and justice and equal opportunities *bind* democrats. But communists only make use of their opponents' softness for democracy and other human values to undo their government and social structure and to subordinate them to Moscow!

There is another lesson for India in the Indonesian troubles. Just as it is the conservative or pro-religious parties in Indonesia that are more critically alive to the danger of communist subversion, in India, too, the Hindu parties and leaders are more keenly aware of the communist influence and that of all groups that seek to disintegrate the country into a number of petty sovereignties, than many Congressmen.

Whether the report that America (or some Americans) is instigating the rebellious military officers in Indonesia or not will perhaps become clear later on. But there is no doubt that the communist party has had an earlier innings under Soviet support and has succeeded, thanks to the Leftist leanings of Dr.

(Continued on page 20)

REASON AND RATIONALISM

• By M. A. Venkata Rao

Reason is an activity of the mind whereby we seek truth. It is not a separable faculty like a carpenter's tool but an aspect of the mind or self which is involved in the function of understanding reality. Reason, emotion and will are the three fundamental aspects of the mind of man, of which all other mental functions are degrees and kinds—believing, hoping, desiring, feeling, willing, wishing, imagining, recollecting, discriminating, comparing, contrasting, inferring etc. It is through reason that we change our view of things and attain new knowledge. It is the main-spring of all progress, for it is new vision that induces changes in culture and civilisation, the arts and the sciences, the values and modes of social relationships. Reason is the instrument of discovery and invention—processes whereby we find new facts and make new relationships among objects. Animated by this view of reason, the school of rationalism has tried to strengthen the habit of reasoning amongst men, and loosen the hold of outmoded customs and attitudes, that put obstacles in the way of progress.

One of the ideas to which rationalists in the West have committed themselves is atheism and have, therefore, contributed much of their energies to dispelling the belief in religion and the notions of deity which they advocate. They have traced the history of Christianity and other religions as embedded in irrational beliefs and as offering needless obstacles in the way of progress. Here they have come up against formidable difficulties for man the need to believe is strong and it is difficult to use reason to deny what transcends reason and sense-perception. God may exist or may not exist. If it is difficult to prove His existence satisfactorily; it is more difficult to disprove His existence, for *ex hypothesi*. He or It is beyond the limits of human understanding and sense-perception.

THE ROUTINE OF LIFE

Much of life's routine is bound up with folkways or social customs, which are a product of common life and common beliefs, only partly moulded by reason. Marriage customs for example have very little that is rational in them, and so too religious customs like Easter or Christmas or Daserah or Ganesa festivals. We may be able to trace their history and their evolution out of prior customs and beliefs, and contact with different tribes. But such history can offer no *rational justification* for their continued observance unless it be the satisfaction and happiness, individual and social, that they bring in the observance. Reason can explain origin and evolution but cannot justify in terms of ends or values. For this we have to go to the nature of Man and his values. Thus reason is a means and not an end in itself. It is this aspect that is emphasised by the sociologist William Graham Sumner in his account of folkways. Sumner "insisted that individual men are governed not by reason but by those basic customs that which are called folkways. He said that these mores were not the product of reason, and that it was utopian to believe that reason

could alter them. By and large, social psychologists, both here and abroad, have tended to embrace the position that social behaviour is non-logical."

THE HOLD OF SOCIAL CUSTOMS

There is a large measure of truth in what Sumner says about the relative weakness of reason in human conduct, when compared with the power of social custom or mores or folkways. This accounts for the enormous inertia of social custom, and the extreme difficulty in changing them by an appeal to reason, however organised and sustained it may be. The influence of caste in India is an example of this difficulty and the apparent powerlessness of reason to change it or weaken its hold on Indians in spite of their education in modern ideas indicate the power of folkways.

But this need not justify despair and the abandonment of reason and intelligence in social affairs and the rational hope of making people accept more reasonable forms of social behaviour. For in the long run, reason can be irresistible. Caste has already lost much of its iron grip over Indians. As part of the way of life sanctioned by inherited religion, caste had a number of supports in the outlook on life carried by religion. For one thing, marriage relationships amongst clans, endogamous and exogamous, were surrounded by the aura of religious belief. To marry outside or within prescribed group relationships was an offence against god and man. Caste also prescribed rules of eating and company in eating. These will fall away more largely than they have when it is seen that there is no rational justification for them in truth—the truth of human nature with which is bound up the truth of human values and dis-values. No great catastrophe happens if they are disregarded, other things being equal and no particular value accrues by their observance. When this is seen more largely, the taboos will disappear.

THE RATIONAL WAY TO COMBAT SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Rational criticism and enquiry and discussion in a scientific temper of serene reasoning and valuation will help to disintegrate caste feelings. But any temper of attack, any "holier-than-thou" attitude, any iconoclastic fervour will only result in making conservatives withdraw into their shell. *Adhikara* for preaching connotes the qualities of the *apta*—the friendly adviser, who knows the truth and is a well-wisher.

Further, caste relationships are blood relationships and are strong bonds of mutual security and kinship. They confer on their members a consciousness of intimate kinship so strong that any outside attack will only induce a stubborn reaction of defence. Kinship in India has retained the primitive notions of taboo with which the higher notion of religious sanctity has come to be bound up. Social taboo connected with clan rela-

tionships has been connected with clan strength in defence and offence, with clan rights in territory and forest and lake and are reinforced by clan consciousness. Blood signifies clan unity; amalgamation of clans often have to be sanctified by ceremonies in actual blood transfusion.

There is an element of reason in these taboos though the terms of the reasoning and the items of value contemplated by it may not be sound. Clan defence and the purity of women, according to taboo ideas, are bound up with what appear to us irrational beliefs. But the ends sought to be gained are rational as they are *believed* to conduce to social and individual value.

Reason and a truer perception of nature and reality can remove the attachment to many customs as less conducive to the ends traditionally associated with them. Then will they loosen their hold on men.

THE CITADEL OF CASTES

When Indians come to feel that restriction of the field of choice in marriage to very narrow sub-castes and sub-sects is harmful to the emergence of a *consciousness of kind* binding the nation as a whole, caste will naturally fade away. The process needs also a number of favourable factors such as levelling up in social standards of life in cleanliness, decency and ethos, sensitivity to values and education and habitual ideas. Schools and colleges and shared life in club and neighbourhood, the gradual assimilation of the mental background of all sects by virtue of advancing science and the spread of modern gadgets and amenities will remove the gulf of difference now separating different groups and make marriage easier across the old gulfs of caste and subcaste. Modern notions that religion and social usages are not to be confounded and that the same religion can have different social usages and the same social custom can be accompanied by different religions are also favouring circumstances for the fading of taboos not rooted in social value. Reason will help in creating a greater mental assimilation among the members of the same large society such as a large nation causing a weakening of caste. Reason is thus usefully thought of as a means and human nature and its improvement and fulfilment as the end. Humanism in a large sense is thus the wider end to which reason is a means.

Of course, there is also a sense in which reason is an end in itself. One of the activities of human beings that have an end in itself is the exercise of reason in the pursuit of truth and social good. In science and philosophy, man exercises reason to find and contemplate and teach truth as it is. In the realm of social relationships, he exercises reason to reflect on social institutions, old and new, so as to discover ways of life that are calculated (in economics, social relationships, politics and culture) to bring the greatest good to the greatest number and to bring as much relief to the avoidable sufferings of men as possible. In addition to the truth revealed and the good achieved in these ways, it may be said that for the leaders and followers who are engaged in them, these activities are themselves forms of the good life carrying the highest value and final fulfilment—than which there is no higher satisfaction. The music of the musician is an end in itself bringing fulfilment and joy to him, but it is also at the same time and by

virtue of the same piece of music a means to the enjoyment and fulfilment of the listeners.

THE DIVINITY IN MAN

Reason also helps to *widen* our objects of satisfaction. Reason can substitute wider for narrower goals of satisfaction. It can substitute the nation or humanity as the object of our devotion for caste and tribe. In this sense, it is said to be an end in itself but it is better to call it a means to better aims.

To end caste it is necessary not only to show its crippling effect on national patriotism and sense of national unity, but also to show the necessity for treating the nation as a whole as the field of *all* social obligations and rights and shared life in all the arts and sciences. *The nation is in fact a total partnership in spiritual life with its roots in defence and economy and its horizon in the infinite capacity of reason and emotion and will.* As the Jains put it, *ananta jnana, ananta virya, ananta ananda* (infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite joy). This is the element of divinity in man.

Reason can be critical when the element of value embodied in custom can be separated from the elements of outmoded value or supposed value, when larger ends will come to view.

RATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM

As for nationalism, reason will see its rationality as a practical phase at the present stage of human evolution. For reason, like mathematics, can reveal universal principles. But emotional and volitional proceeds more slowly and needs time to change and re-align itself to new objects and relationships. For man loves the particular object or person and not types of abstract entities. Bonds of feeling and shared purpose and co-operation develop naturally over networks of actual contact and exchange of experience and inner-action, assimilation and accommodation. They rise to sufficient intensity and frequency and cross-relationship in the national society as compared with international relations. Hence it is easier to maintain government and economy and social solidarity *within* a nation than *between* nations. But if care is taken that relations within nations do not develop into hatred and antagonism against outsiders, nationalism can be made a vehicle of healthy inter-nationalism. Reason thus shows the way to organise *inter-national* affairs in ways favourable to *inter-nationalism*.

WHERE ROY FAILED

Thus nationalism is a necessary phase on the road to inter-nationalism. It is impossible to follow Mr. M. N. Roy in this matter. He proposed to annul nationalism altogether in favour of a vague and colourless cosmopolitanism. He is wrong in this vision of a humanity binding individuals in social relations without the intervening pattern of nationalism. He remained attached to Marxist internationalism in this matter, though he overcame it on the ethical and economic and sociological planes by jettisoning class war. He needlessly antagonised the powerful emotion of nationalism. He failed to see that without nationalism, many nations would be victims of fraud

(Continued on page 15)

“Social Democracy” Is A Contradiction In Terms

By Ashutosh Lahiry

I PROPOSE to discuss a subject of far-reaching importance to the country viz—whether in the present condition of India the “socialist pattern of society” is desirable or practicable? This is an issue which is going to transform the entire economic structure of the country, and creating a new social order in which the varied activity of the individual citizen will ultimately be subordinated to and controlled by the State. It is surprising that there has been so far no serious public opposition or challenge to the new ideal. All the three major political parties are, in a varying degree, wedded to it—there has been not even any attempt at an intelligent appreciation of its full implications—as to how far it is likely to benefit the country, or impede its growth into a welfare State.

THE INITIAL DIFFICULTY

The initial difficulty for a layman in the way of having a clear understanding of its significance is great, since, we have as yet no specific definition of what is sought to be meant by Socialist Pattern of Society, the goal which Mr. Nehru's Government has set before itself. The Finance Minister claims that the Union Government's Budget and taxation proposals of 1957 has been framed with a view to further the objective of Socialism. Possibly by Socialism, he means, a more equitable distribution of wealth. This seems to be a misleading interpretation. The two genuine measures that have been so far adopted towards socialisation of the country are the nationalisation of Insurance Companies and the abolition of Zemindari and State ownership of lands.

SOCIALISM IS UNDER DISINTEGRATION

There should be a clear, unequivocal picture before the people, of what a new economic order, based on “socialist pattern of society” would look like. By Socialism is meant State ownership of means of production and distribution of wealth—it differs from a system of mere regulation and control by the State. I think many of those who want to see such Socialistic pattern transplanted on Indian soil, and to build up India's economy and prosperity on that foundation *are not fully conscious of the fact that Socialism has never been carried into effect, or accepted as a practical objective as yet, in any but the Iron Curtain countries.* No doubt, a lot of talk goes on in Europe about the value of Socialism in uplifting the economic condition of the common man. It is only in Great Britain, amongst the democratic countries, that serious experiment was made with a modest dose of Socialism by the late Labour Government, by nationalising certain industries. Today, they, too, stand disillusioned, and have gone back on their nationalisation programme.

It is only in Russia and Communist-dominated countries, that we find Socialism in its true sense translated into action, where the State has assumed

full totalitarian authority and the individual has been enslaved as a mechanised tool of the State. Those who are enamoured of Socialism must take careful note of this unquestioned fact. The homeland, where Socialism was born, has not found it useful in building up their own economic and social structure.

I would here briefly refer to the circumstances and social background in which Socialist doctrine originated in Europe. The Industrial Revolution in the 18th Century—that great landmark in European History—brought about a complete transformation in the economic and social order in Europe, and the rapid industrialisation that followed, led to a ruthless exploitation of Labour by Capital, and a bitter accentuation of conflict between the two wings of Industry. Socialism was a direct product of this new revolution.

UNACCEPTABLE TO PEOPLE

Though democratic Europe never accepted Socialism, it nevertheless, played a great part in improving the lot of Labour, combating the greed of the Capitalists and in eliminating causes of conflict. Today, Socialist theories are in a stage of disintegration. It had had its day and is now fast fading out. Nothing possibly has contributed more in discrediting the Socialist theories than the supreme but shocking experiment made in Socialisation by Russia.

We cannot pattern India's economy on a system which democratic Europe has rejected and which has become outmoded in the modern context of international relationship. It can only lead to confusion and misdirection of national efforts. Already signs are not wanting that Congress leaders themselves have lost much of their original enthusiasm for Socialism and it has, for the time being, at least, been left in cold storage, in spite of their loud protestations that they intend to stick to this objective.

ALIEN TO INDIAN TRADITION

Ideologically speaking, Socialism, as a solution of our economic problems can never be acceptable to the people of India, primarily because it has germinated from the materialistic Philosophy of life, and is incompatible with India's Social and Cultural background. Besides, it takes for granted, that every citizen is an instrument for production of wealth, and one must produce, in order to entitle him to a living. It basically militates against Indian way of life, and Indian outlook, and conception about destiny of man. We, in India, can never allow ourselves to be submerged by western materialism, and disown the fundamental basis of our ancient heritage and civilisation — which has stood the test of ages, and survived the ravages of history, and to which Europe is now looking forward for a new light and guidance. The whole world is now moving in a new direction, in which Socialism, Communism, etc., which have their roots in class warfare, have become misfits, and a lighter and superior

conception of synthesis and co-operative effort both in internal as well as international sphere is sturdily winning acceptance.

Keeping the general background of this modern evolutionary process in view, we shall have to examine whether Socialism is desirable or practicable in India. I have already said that ideologically it is repugnant to Indian Culture. As regards its practicability, we have before us, the performances of the Government towards implementation of Socialist Pattern, during the last few years, for an accurate assessment of the situation.

THE IMPERATIVE NEED OF INDIA

The imperative need of Free India is rapid industrialisation of the country, with a view to assure increased production of wealth, and to secure higher standard of living. The total volume of wealth in India, compared to Western countries, is negligible. The budgeting income of the Government of India is much less than that of even a small country like Holland. The average per capita income of an Indian citizen is 5% to 10% of the citizens in Western countries. *The situation demands that all potential resources of the country should be available for investments for facilitating speedy industrialisation.* Has this new objective of Socialist pattern been a help or a hindrance in this respect?

Its shattering effect has been unmistakable. Indigenous capital has become shy—people who can help the flow of capital into the investment market have lost confidence in the ultimate intentions of the Government. There is an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion, with the result that the private sector has been prevented from taking its full share in the industrialisation of the country. Capital has gone underground—the taxation policy of the Government has been, in no small measure, responsible for this. The rigid demarcation between Public Sector and Private Sector, has resulted in uncalled for restriction on private investment in certain important spheres of industry. If the immediate requirement of the country is increased production of wealth, why is the private sector not allowed to freely compete with the Public Sector, and force the pace of industrialisation. Whatever the Congress leaders might profess, it is abundantly clear that the Government has been pursuing a deliberate policy of steadily curtailing the scope for private enterprise, and extending the sphere of public sector, *with a view to ultimately eliminate the private sector altogether.* The assurance given by Mr. Nehru to the doubting Congressmen at Pragjyotishpur in this respect, and the previous speeches of Congress leaders outlining the goal of full and complete Socialisation, leaves no room for doubt about it. In view of over-riding necessity for speedy industrialization, and the incomprehensible policy of the Government in thwarting its progress by shutting out Private Capitalists, I feel that the Government approach has been doctrinaire and idealistic, rather than practical and realistic.

WELFARE OR ILL-FARE?

Has this policy brought increased prosperity to the people? The Congress Leaders have been claiming rapid progress towards a "Welfare" State. They say that as the result of the First Five Year Plan, the per capita income of the people has gone up by 17%. But

they conveniently ignore the other side—the side of expenditure—which has increased much more than the rate of income. Prices of foodgrains have gone up by 30% in the meantime, and there is a depressing picture of inflation, scarcity and acute suffering all over the countryside. As a matter of fact, the standard of living of the people has gone down and has been steadily worsening. The so-called prosperity of the country is, therefore, entirely fallacious and deceptive.

The nationalisation of Insurance Companies, and the abolition of Zemindary provide the yard stick by which to judge the success or failure of the Government. Who can say that these have succeeded? Those who have intimate knowledge of the working of Insurance Companies say that actually the volume of business has markedly gone down and the whole organisation is reeking with discontent. The state ownership of lands has created more problems than it has solved. There has been great exaggeration of unemployment problem in the countryside, and forest wealth is being seriously depleted. The peasants are now threatened with enhancement of rent and the promised Heaven for the Peasants is nowhere in sight.

The Congress experiment, with socialist pattern, has done incalculable harm to the cause of industrialisation and to India's economic progress. The Government has lost the co-operation of that section of people from whom Indian Capital could have been forthcoming on a much larger scale. By arbitrary division between Public and Private Sector, in pursuance of its policy of "socialisation," it has taken upon its own shoulders financial responsibilities, which it is incapable to fulfil, while it has shut out private capitalists from entering into their close preserve. The result has been its helpless dependence on financial aid or loan from foreign countries. It has been going about with begging bowl to the International Powers, while preventing internal resources from being utilised to the maximum possible extent.

Amongst the newly liberated Asian countries, India, unfortunately, is the only one which has chosen to tread the path of "socialist pattern," with woeful results. Not one amongst these countries have thought it necessary to adopt "socialist pattern" as their objective in rebuilding their economic and industrial life on modern lines. They follow to a limited extent India's leadership in the political sphere, particularly in respect of questions like Peace and co-existence, because they want to be left undisturbed in their task of national consolidation.

THE EXAMPLES TO FOLLOW

Even countries like Germany and Japan, which were devastated by the war, and for which speedy restoration of their former industrial greatness was a major task of first priority, have more than regained their pre-war Industrial prosperity, within a very few years, not through state enterprise or state ownership of Trade and Industry, but by allowing private enterprise complete freedom and unhampered initiative. Though reduced to desperate straits, their Governments achieved quick rehabilitation of their national economy without having a recourse to "Socialist Pattern."

The fact is that India's "socialist pattern" and Five Year Plans are all imitations from Russia and China.

(Continued on page 15)

TWENTIETH CENTURY HOAX

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

MOST of the intellectuals of our time, anxious not to lose popularity, are lukewarm in defending their intellectual freedom. They lack the intellectual honesty and courage to resist so-called popular movements, however pernicious and ill-considered.

Recently, an editor of a "respectable" journal rejected my article on a rather controversial subject on the ground that it was opposed to "popular" opinion. Paying empty compliments to my article, the editor told me, "While I wholeheartedly share your views on this subject, I am sorry I cannot consider your article for our journal as it is opposed to 'popular' opinion." The editor rejected my article, not because it was opposed to the editorial policy of his journal, but on the ground that it was opposed to "popular" opinion.

When I pointed out to him that popular opinion need not necessarily be right opinion, and that the opinion of those, who oppose the prejudices of the greatest number, need not be wrong, simply because the majority thought otherwise, and further that fascism was equally 'popular' at one time, the editor then replied that the editorial policy of his journal was not to go against public opinion.

ABDICATING JOURNALIST RESPONSIBILITY

Now, what is public opinion? Who moulds public opinion? Have the masses got any opinion of their own? It is a lame excuse of the intellectuals that they yield to the masses. If the masses favour a particular opinion, it is because they trust the propaganda of the intellectuals. It is the intellectuals who mould public opinion. The intellectuals evolve an ideology, popularise it and indoctrinate the masses with it. An ideology reaches the masses only through the intellectuals, via newspapers and journals. *The masses never think for themselves*, and it is precisely for this reason, that they follow those *who do think or profess to think*. The intellectual guidance of humanity belongs to the very few who think for themselves. At first they influence the circle of those capable of grasping, and understanding what others have thought, and through these intermediaries, their ideas reach the masses, and then condense themselves into what is called the public opinion of the time.

Like every other great thought, socialism has penetrated to the masses only through the intellectuals. It is not true that the masses are vehemently asking for socialism, and that there are no means to resist them. As I have said earlier, the masses have no opinion of their own; they favour socialism because they trust the socialist propaganda of the intellectuals that socialism will abolish poverty, bring equality, and create a heaven on earth. The loss of this conviction will signify the end of socialism. The intellectuals form the backbone of socialism. If the intelligentsia abandoned socialism, its power would end. In the long run, the masses cannot withstand the ideas of their intellectual leaders. Some demagogues may be ready for the sake of a career, and against their better knowledge, to instill into people ideas which flatter

their ego and serve their base instincts. *A clear exposition of the nature of a socialist society will damp the enthusiasm of the masses who seek in socialism salvation from all earthly ills.*

SOCIALISM — A CATCH-WORD

Socialism, the catch-word of our times dominates the modern spirit. Even the opponents of socialism are dominated by socialist ideas. But socialism is only a means to an end, and not an end in itself. Those who want socialism, like those who reject it, wish the well-being and happiness of all. Those fighting socialism do not reject socialism because they envy the workers the benefits they could allegedly derive from the socialist mode of production. *They fight socialism precisely because they are convinced that it would harm the masses by reducing them to the status of poor serfs, entirely at the mercy of irresponsible dictators.* Nikita Khrushchev and Milovan Djilas have confirmed the view, hitherto held by the Anglo-American "imperialists", "reactionaries" and "war-mongers" that a socialist economy leads to the dictatorship of the bureaucrats.

THE NEW CLASS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Socialism is the greatest hoax of the twentieth century. Our intellectuals are propagating and perpetuating the myth of socialism, which is on the point of destroying liberty, freedom and democracy. That our masses continue to believe in this myth only indicates the strength of the myth-producing forces working amidst us. Socialism is undoubtedly popular today in our country, but it is the intellectuals, and not the workers, who have popularised it. *Not one of its theories can withstand scientific criticism, and all its deductions are ill-founded.* Socialism appeals to emotions rather than to reason. Logic and reasoning which might show the absurdity of socialist economy, are to be thrust aside. Socialism is reactionary so far as it is against the reign of scientific thought. *Its outstanding principle is the prohibition of thought, inquiry, especially as applied to the working of a socialist economy.* It is indeed opium for those who might take to thinking, and must be hence weaned from it.

Liberals and libertarians address themselves to the cool and well-balanced mind. The liberals proceed by strict logic, avoiding any appeal to the emotions. Socialism works on emotions, tries to violate logical consideration by rousing a sense of personal interest and to stifle the voice of reason by awakening primitive instincts. A speaker who inflames the passions of the masses is supposed to have a better chance of success than one who appeals to their reason.

Socialism is not in the least what it pretends to be. It is not a pioneer of a better and finer society, but the destroyer of freedom and democracy. It destroys the existing society and cannot create. The beginning and end of the socialist policy is one of destruction. It produces nothing. It only consumes what the social

order based on private ownership of the means of production has created. Every step leading towards socialism must end in the destruction of what already exists. A socialist is like a spendthrift who squanders his inheritance regardless of the future.

OPIUM OF THE INTELLECTUALS

Socialism is an ideology and we can fight it only by a better ideology. It is only the idea of liberalism that can overcome the socialist ideology. Only by a battle of ideas, can a decision be reached. It will be a battle of the intellectuals—a battle between the liberal and socialist intellectuals.

History will call our age, the age of dictators and tyrants. We have witnessed in the last fifty years the rise and fall of half a dozen dictators. But the spirit which brought these tyrants to power still survives. As long as this spirit prevails, there cannot be any hope of durable peace, freedom or democracy. The policy of appeasement, so much criticised during the days of Nazis and Fascists, is unfortunately practised universally now with regard to all brands of socialism.

It is this defeatism that makes the rising generation believe that the victory of socialism is inevitable.

Our Congress leaders, the neo-Marxists in Khaddar, don't want to hear, to learn, to see, and above all, to think, *and they are open to no argument*. They never try to refute their opponents with argument. They only ridicule and slander them. We are being led by them on the road to serfdom and slavery. It is a downhill road, and the further we proceed, the faster we travel.

Let us turn back from it, and resume once more our march along the highway of individual liberty, democracy and progress. Let us uphold the dignity of the individual, and give him a right to pursue his own ideal of happiness in his own way, subject only to the right of other individuals to do the same, and free from the coercion of those, who at first, set themselves up to be our guardians and then our masters.

In a word let us take to the path of libertarian philosophy, and fight the socialist menace that is threatening freedom and individual initiative.

Political Prosings

International Communism And International Fascism

By Libra

IN a recent Voice of America broadcast, President Eisenhower declared that the avowed programme of Communism is to "destroy totally the religions, governments, institutions and traditions of the Christian world, the Buddhist World, the Islamic world, the Judaic world and the world of every religion and culture". And that, "at its very heart, it is the complete opposite and enemy of any kind of nationalism". Of course, it is needless for me to point out that the ultimate programme of Communism would be to destroy the traditions and Government of India, inspite of all the tall talk about Pancha Sheela. This, then is the danger that India faces from international communism.

Proceeding in the same direction, I would like to develop another idea—the danger of international fascism, if I may so coin such an expression. The full implications of Mr. Noon's statement about putting "Indians in concentration camps", have already been discussed by the *Indian Libertarian*, in its editorial of February 1st. The Noon statement reflects Pakistan's attitude towards India, even without taking the Kashmir dispute into consideration. And the so-called foreign policy of Pakistan is nothing but a continuation of the old Muslim League mentality which seeks to take advantage of the "peculiar" situation in South-East Asia. The main advantages of Pakistan flow from India's policy towards Western powers and her attitude towards the "Bhai-countries of Russia and China" and the Chota-Bhai country known as North Viet Nam. If Pakistan's hatred is directed against the

Indians, Egypt's hatred is directed against the Jews. If Pakistan cannot reconcile herself to India as a political entity, the Arab countries cannot reconcile themselves to Israel as a physical entity. There can be no doubt that Egypt's policy is one of hatred against the Jews, especially to those of us, who have read even extracts from Nasser's "Philosophy of Revolution." Due to a peculiar set of circumstances, Egypt's international fascism got mixed up with Russia's goal of international communism. Egypt's attitude towards the state of Israel suits the present temper of Russia in the Middle East. Whether Pan-Islamism (the declared goal of international fascism) will triumph, or whether it would get absorbed in the quicksands of international communism is anybody's guess.

THE MODERN OUTLOOK

Pandit Nehru's speech at the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Merchant's Chamber in Bombay was an attempt to illustrate what is known as the modern outlook. Mr. Nehru's main thesis was that we should catch up with the times in these days of "sputniks" and "explorers". Frankly, it is difficult to find out any connection between the scientific advances in America and Russia and an increasing spate of taxation in our own country. The Indian Government's idea of the 'modern outlook' seems to subject more and more people to the gruelling grind of taxation. And it is well to remember that socialism is an outdated concept. Djilas's book on the "New Class" is a clear

illustration that the methods of socialism cannot be applied to any nation, without sacrificing the interests of the people as a whole on the altar of the New Class. The trouble with our leaders is that they try to understand the economic problems of the mid-twentieth century in the light of nineteenth century Marxian economics. While our "economists" and "planners" view the problems of twentieth century from a nineteenth century Marxian angle, our "historians" interpret the nineteenth century in terms of twentieth century communist polemics. To cite an example, Sardar K. M. Panikkar in his over-rated book "Asia and Western Dominance" refers to Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan as an attempt to force Japan to adopt the "American way of life" (Page 202, ch. 3 Part III). It is highly unfortunate that Panikkar should make use of the twentieth-century phrasesology of the communists in understanding the nineteenth century problems of Asian history. No wonder our leaders adopt double standards in tackling problems, economic and political. It is high time we understand the problems of the twentieth century, economic as well as political, in their proper twentieth century setting and not adopt double standards. Mere talk about the satellites in space does not reflect the modern outlook.

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

Commenting on the Gauhati resolution, the *Hindu* wrote that the leaders of the "non-Hindi" must "use the time that has been gained by the amendment to the original Congress resolution, in organising public opinion on such an effective scale so that the *status quo* in regard to English is maintained". Rajagopalachari's solution is that part XVII of the Constitution ought to be deleted. According to him, "Part XVII need not have been enacted at all, but as it has been done, it should now be formally suspended". In other words, C.R. wants the *status quo* to continue for an indefinite period. He has also stressed that the Communists are against English since the English language is our only link with the Western world. To quote him again, "since the communists, whether in power or without, turn like the sun-flower to the sun (Djilas), to the policies of their greatest state, viz., U.S.S.R.," the replacement of English by Hindi would result in isolating India from the West, which is the dream of the Communists. When a few Hindi fanatics, who are also M.P.s wanted to "check Rajagopalachari" in the interests of national unity, for making the "desperate suggestion that English should be the national language", they were immediately snubbed by Professor A. R. Wadia, that distinguished philosopher and a member of Parliament.

So far, I have been dealing with the excesses of Hindi fanaticism. Coming to the regional scene, it is necessary to start with Kamraj's statement. Voicing the accents of crude illiteracy he declared "English is going and no one can hope to retain it indefinitely in India". The goal, then is to make Tamil as the official language of Madras. And next?—the administrative isolation of Madras from the rest of India. It is in this background, that we must view the several fantastic suggestions about a separate Southern State. It is shocking to be told that a few politicians are trying to agitate for a "sovereign state of Tamil Nad" which is to include Tamil-speaking areas in India as

well as Ceylon!" Indeed, they could even think of a part of Baluchistan, since the inhabitants of that country, speak a dialect akin to Tamil! It is amazing that mature politicians should talk in this strain. And it is just not enough to dismiss it as an ugly by-product of the language controversy. It is the cunning plot of those scheming politicians, who are promoting a separatist mentality, making use of the language controversy as a vehicle to further their ends. It is dangerous to mix up the issues of separatism and linguistic controversies. And yet, this is precisely what is happening in Madras.

Switching on to the purely linguistic plane, Tamil fanaticism or Telugu fanaticism (whatever may be the language) are but regional variations of Hindi fanaticism. The idea of replacing English by Tamil or any other regional language is as distasteful to me as the idea of replacing English by Hindi. Those politicians, who preach linguistic isolationism and linguistic fanaticism, whether of the Hindi or the regional language brand, are the worst enemies of Indian Unity. The "Sanskrit system of education" (and it can be applied to any other Indian language with equal emphasis) declared Ram Mohan Roy, who was himself a scholar in Sanskrit, "would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness" and that the improvement of the people can be had by an "enlightened system of instruction taught by a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe". No Indian leader today can pretend to be a greater patriot or scholar than Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Even today, the versatile Raja's words are applicable to us. Any wrong step can only "keep this country in darkness". It is well to ponder over the words of the Raja, the great prophet of Modern India.

AID TO INDIA—AMERICA'S GENEROSITY

The March IMF Survey prints the proposals for US aid to undeveloped countries. I know of no parallel in history to America's action in trying to set the undeveloped countries on the path to prosperity. The loans are such that private finance could not risk; and where the countries are judged unable to repay, an outright grant is made. If I make any criticism, it is that I doubt the policy of taxing people to make loans that are thought too risky for the ordinary citizens.

But Russia has a different criticism. The IMF survey for May quotes a Russian article, which charges the Fund with using the credits as a means of interfering in the internal monetary and financial policies of the aided countries. It is true that aid is granted only on condition that what the West calls "healthy" economic conditions are set up in the aided countries; but a lender can hardly be blamed if he insists that a borrower, who is too risky a security for private finance, shall adopt such measures as in the lender's opinion offer some hope of the repayment of the loan. And when we consider the extent of Russia's—interference in the policies of the satellite State, her objection to the slender strings that USA attaches to her loans, is, to say, the least amusing. Moreover, the countries receiving the Fund's aid are free to accept or reject the conditions. We know what happened to Hungary when she sought to free herself from Russian attentions.

From: "THE INDIVIDUALIST"

The Answer to Russian Sputniks

By James Burnham

Mr. Burnham gives his answer to the Sputniks: abandonment of the "heads we tie, tails you win" policy of containment for one of liberation.

IT is assumed that our answer to Soviet Sputniks must be bigger and better Sputniks of our own. Phrased more generally: the way in which to handle the mounting Soviet threat is (so it is assumed) to beat the Communists in the super-armament race, to get and keep a clear-cut arms superiority.

Reasoning from this assumption, we are moving toward crash programmes for missiles, satellites, space platforms, nuclear aircraft and trips to the moon. We are upgrading science and scientists, talking about changing our educational system, planning to spend new billions on research and military hardware, and conducting public inquiries on how to get more missiles more quickly.

We have forgotten that from the end of the war until a couple of years ago we had overwhelming superiority in advanced armament over the Soviet Union. This superiority did not prove to be an answer to the Soviet threat. Though lacking both nuclear weapons and strategic air power, the Soviet Union marched briskly up the path of the world revolution. It was in just those years of our overwhelming arms predominance that Communism conquered China, Tibet, North Korea and North Vietnam, and consolidated control over the captured nations of East Europe.

Is it not obvious? What we were missing, plainly, was not arms but a policy.

ARMS FOR WHAT?

What good can even the fanciest arms be, if we are not willing to use them? Of course, the actual use can be to back up policy, not necessarily to kill. But the willingness—the resolve—must extend to the latter use in order to give substance to the former. A policeman's revolver will not impress a thief who knows that it has no trigger.

Today we still have operative superiority in advanced weapons systems—nuclear devices and delivery vehicles. Even by the most pessimistic accounts, Soviet weapons predominance is a possibility of the future, not a fact of the present. Suppose that we now step up our pace to whatever rate is needed to assure us, a few years from now, a superiority in missiles and space objects comparable to the immense superiority we long held in nuclear bombs and manned aircraft. What then? What will it, what can it, profit us while we cling to a passive, negative policy?

Republicans and Democrats are now trying to fasten the blame on each other for having too long delayed the start of missiles development. But that is a subordinate point. Democrats and Republicans share equally in the blame for having pursued a policy that was bound to lose—and is still bound to go on

losing—no matter how far ahead in weapons we have been, are, and may be.

NON-PARTISAN POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

This policy—which has been at bottom identical under Truman and Eisenhower, under Marshall and Acheson and Dulles—has been accurately labelled "containment" by George Kennan, who first gave it systematic expression. "U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union," Mr. Kennan argued seven years ago, "must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." If this is kept up "over a period of ten to fifteen years, the United States has it in its power... to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection... and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

Commenting on the containment policy at the time of its formulation, I wrote: "The policy of containment, stripped bare, is simply the bureaucratic verbalization of a policy of drift. Its inner law is: let history do it. We haven't got the intelligence, courage and determination to grapple with the Soviet problem head on. Let's duck the responsibility, then, and slip the ball to old mother history." Mother history responded by laying those Sputniks in the sky. We throw up hysterical hands, and yell for every remedy in the cabinet—except the one that is relevant to the disease: a new and workable policy.

HOW TO BE SURE TO LOSE

The reason why the containment policy (however called) cannot work for any length of time should be easy to understand. It leaves the Communists undisturbed within the Soviet sphere, and at the same time free to make trouble anywhere outside the Soviet sphere. Therefore, they can solidly build up their internal military power while they plague us with an unending series of "tensions" that must be relieved.

But the tensions are all on our side, since the containment policy forbids us to provoke tensions on theirs. In each case, therefore, the best we can do is to quiet the trouble down and hold fast to the *status quo*. But nobody is lucky enough to win every draw in the deck. Sometimes we can't get even our sterile tie, and then the Communists pick up those particular chips. Soviet influence, continuously being strengthened within, expands another notch.

It is like flipping a coin with an opponent to whom you offer the match: "Heads we tie, tails you win." The final outcome, though it might be delayed, is certain.

PREMISE OF A POSITIVE POLICY

The contrary and correct policy—under whatever name—is also easy enough to understand, if we choose to think about it. While continuing to defend our own regions (and in that sense “containing”), we must try to weaken the Soviet sphere. Our aim must be to reduce the Communist power to a level from which it can no longer seriously threaten our own and the world's security. This means, not merely to hold fast against the Soviet expansive pressure, but to undermine the Soviet internal power, to break up the monolithic power structure of the present Soviet Empire.

Put in terms of tensions, a correct policy would deliberately aim to provoke tensions within the Soviet sphere, and to aggravate and exploit those tensions that arise, without any promotion on our part, in the course of Soviet events.

Others as well as I have called this a “policy of liberation,” because its positive objective is the freeing of the peoples and nations of the Soviet sphere from Bolshevik imperial tyranny—an outcome that would be at the same time the only lasting protection of our own and the West's security. In several books I have analyzed this policy's meaning, and suggested some of its applications.

FROM POLICY TO PROJECTS

To replace containment with a positive policy would mean, of course, a vast shift in idea, attitude and action. Nearly every external activity of the United States would be affected, and much that is internal. The pattern is too complex for brief summary.

For operational purposes, a policy is translated into specific projects. Instead of once more defining a positive policy (“policy of liberation”) in general terms, let us consider some representative projects in which it might at present be embodied.

1. *Knock Albania out of the Soviet Empire:* Several plans for this project, which has frequently been proposed in the past, have already been worked out in governmental agencies. It would presumably be a rather crude combination of Balkan politics and paramilitary action. Granted that we are prepared to risk general war—a risk we now face daily in any case, whether we recognize it or not—this Albania project, if assigned as an unconditioned and adequately backed mission, would almost certainly succeed. For the Russians, Albania is strategically indefensible.

2. *Reunify Korea:* All along we have been making a Platonic record on this project. Giving it a high priority would mean to transform the diplomatic demand for all-Korean elections into a massive political warfare campaign, conducted in all forums official and unofficial, backed by a military-economic buildup of South Korea, and pushed by partisan activities in North Korea. It should be noted that such a campaign, vigorously conducted, would serve to aggravate tensions in the Soviet sphere and to divert Soviet energies from making trouble for us, even if our project failed to achieve its maximum objective.

3. *Reunify Germany:* This project would be much bigger in scale. To be carried on, it would have to become for a period the axis of our entire international policy, to which all other projects would be subordinated. To conduct it properly might require about the same amount of money and brains as to get a manned rocket to the moon; but the realized net profit would be incomparably greater. Anyone, contemplating the problem passively, can prove that there

are colossal difficulties in a German reunification project—just as he can prove there are in a moon trip project. But the viewpoint is metamorphosed when we shift from passive to active. The project is decided; the mission assigned; the command is given: go to the moon; reunify Germany. It is a question no longer of contemplating problems but of solving them.

4. *Rid Syria of Soviet and Communist Influence:* This project is sad to list. If there had been a correct policy during the past few years, there would be no Soviet influence to rid Syria of. But one can never start earlier than the present. For a Syria project, a many-sided campaign, toughened conscience and calm nerves would be needed. It is surely not Utopian. Syria is small, weak, economically insufficient, geographically precarious. We have powerful political, economic and strategic levers to grasp if we are prepared to use them.

5. *Build a military organization composed of units representing the subject nations of the Soviet Empire:* This project—for what has been called a “Legion of Liberty”—has been repeatedly put forward, and through the Lodge and Kersten amendments Congress has tried to make it part of U.S. policy. The existence of a multi-national corps with Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Ukrainian, and the other national units (Chinese already existing in Formosa) would heighten and direct the nationalist tendencies within the Soviet structure that have a potential explosive force no less shattering than in Africa and southern Asia. The Legion would also be a serious fighting element for the little (brush-fire) wars of our period. In a general war, each national unit would become a unifying point around which the revolting soldiers and youth of the subject nations would rally. The knowledge of this likelihood, indeed, would be a breaking factor on any Kremlin impulse to start a general war.

TRY THESE ON OUR LAUNCHING PADS

I have outlined these five projects—the first four, geographical; the fifth, functional—as examples of what a correct policy would mean in specific and practical application. Not all should be begun at the same time. Concentration on one or two would be more efficient use of force, and probably more effective. And there are other comparable projects, with the same basic objectives, that a full strategic analysis might find preferable to any of these.

Whichever might be chosen, it is the launching of a project of this order that would be the serious answer to the launching of the Sputniks.

—From the *National Review* (U.S.A.)



Courtesy: “Filmindia”

English—The Supreme Gift Of Saraswati

By Capricorn

ONE fine rosy dawn in the 19th century, the Goddess of Learning, Saraswati, woke up her brilliant son, Macaulay, and accosted him thus, "My son, have you forgotten your mission in life? You with your spirit of self-sacrifice and high sense of duty have not yet introduced the English Language in India?" "Goddess of Learning", replied Macaulay, I am afraid it might be "resented". My boy, I have already sent my son Raja Ram Mohan Roy to pave the way for you. I have got a copy of the letter he sent to Lord Amherst to effect the transition from the Mediaeval to the Modern Age," said the Goddess in encouraging tones as she gave the letter to Macaulay for persual. "Your will shall be carried out to the letter and spirit" replied Macaulay.

LIGHT OF LEARNING

Charged with the behest of Saraswati and enthused by his own noble desire to share the treasures of the English Language with everybody, irrespective of country or clime, Macaulay switched on the English language in India. The light of learning blazed brightly, and annihilated the mediaeval darkness that had enveloped India till then. There was intellectual illumination all over the land thereby causing the bright and intellectual gems in the regions of Science, Humanities and Philosophy to get their proper setting in the international Necklace of Gems. India went up high in international prestige and shook hands with the mighty intellectuals of Europe and America on an equal footing. A glorious and golden period it was indeed then for India.

The Goddess looked down from Her celestial heights and was pleased with noble and ungrudging work of her sons, Macaulay and Raja Ram Mohan Roy. She was also pleased with her Indian children whom she had endowed with intelligence marching towards UNITY and PROGRESS as the goal in life without prejudices of country or caste or province whatsoever.

A MYOPIC ACTION

In the middle of the 20th century, the Goddess while playing on the Veena, was rudely disturbed from her musical mood by the release of the official Language Commission report, which was a blue-print of mediaevalism. She heard the voices of thousands and thousands of men and women against the action of mediaeval Hindi politicians and fanatics in the name of "patriotism" who want to eradicate English altogether.

"English is the language of culture, of science, of the U.N. and international fellowship. It is also the language of Indian Nationalism. It has united the

whole of India and if Hindi is substituted for English, India will become a backnumber, and lose her position in the international sphere. They want us to unlearn what we have learnt all these years corroded by the inner acids of hatred. Intellectual crucifixion is worse than death. It is living death when laws are enacted to make us forget English. We do not hanker after Cadillacs, air-conditioned rooms, frigidaires, and aeroplane trips to the West like our linguistic enthusiasts at the top. While hating the English language they want to enjoy the luxuries of Western Civilisation all right.

As for us we care only for knowledge so that we might improve the condition of India. The Marvels of Science can be learnt only in one of the European Languages, and since we know English there is no point in making us forget it, and learn a new language which has nothing to do with Science. The linguistic protagonists are so myopic that they have not realised that even for their Five Year Plans to succeed they must retain English which alone can train Highly developed Sciences like Engineering, Technology, Medical Science etc. To deal a death blow to English in India is cruel, ungrateful, and suicidal."

Thus pleaded thousands of voices in protest against the imposition of Hindi in the country before Saraswati and calling her to bestow her grace.

SUPREME GIFT TO INDIA

"My children grieve not," said Saraswati. "All the Languages in the world are of my making and English is my supreme gift to India. I started the process of intellectual modernisation in Italy and caused it to be spread to the whole of Europe, just as I caused the Learning of Ancient India and Greece to spread to Italy. I made Bacon effect the transition from the Mediaeval Era to the Modern in England and Macaulay and Raja Ram Mohan Roy in India. The Hindi fanatics are the worst enemies of India. In the interests of national unity, international importance, and world brotherhood, these blind enemies of English will realise that they cannot afford to ignore the great English Language. Hatred is bad, and to hate a language, is worse. The Hindi fanatics are trying to beat with their little brooms, the waves of the great ocean of knowledge. Knowledge can never be destroyed. Be united and go on working and learning and English will remain. Yes. English is the language of Culture, Science, the U.N. and the *lingua franca* of the world. Fear not. I shall ask some of my self-sacrificing children, who know the value of English to take up your cause. I bless you all lovers of learning, and the rhythm of my blessing will unwind all your mental tensions soon and the symphony of English will reverberate eternally."

(Continued from page 6)

and aggression. It is only sufficient to imagine what would happen if we followed Roy and opened our gates to Pakistan and treated Pakistanis as full Indian citizens. It would give us an opportunity of verifying Gandhi's blank cheque but in the process of verification, Indian national multitudes will pass under Muslim rule again and lose their recently-obtained freedom. Their status in the new dispensation will be no better than those of Hindus in East Pakistan or that of Hungarians under the Russian-sustained satellite government there.

Just as bodies are necessary for individual lives, national sovereignty with national territories is necessary for peoples. This is the verdict of reason. Reason is concerned not only with truth and final ends but also with subordinate truths and means or policies necessary for realising them.

Reason is a free activity. We recognise the truths of fact and of mathematical relations such as five plus seven equal to twelve ($7+5=12$ to use Kant's famous example) by an absolutely free act of the understanding. No power can coerce us into recognising and believing that they make eleven or thirteen or other figure. Rationalism should recognise therefore that free recognition of truth by the free intelligence of man is the object of rational persuasion.

Rationalism swears by reason as the sole method of reform and reconstruction and is unalterably opposed to fanaticism which consists in holding to beliefs not sanctioned by reason and in insisting on getting such beliefs accepted by others by means of coercion. This is barbarism for which rationalism can have no respect. This dictates a limitation to rationalist propaganda. Rationalists should confine themselves to the quiet, steady presentation of the beliefs that they hold to be good and rational to the general public in serene logical terms addressed only to the understanding and to the emotions and will only secondarily as consequences of intellectual acceptance. They should also present reasons for the beliefs they wish to inculcate together with sane rational criticism of the beliefs and prejudices and customs they think irrational and harmful. But they should not seek to change beliefs by action whether political or economic pressure.

WHERE LIBERTARIANISM SCORES

Libertarianism is also a rational creed aiming at humanism. But it also should be content with the presentation of its reasons for limited government, free economy and free society from the standpoint of a progressive and harmonious society, though it may accept short-period modifications in view of ecological conditions dictating the possible at any point of time and space.

A policy or programme to be recommended by rationalism contains, therefore, both long term objectives and short term means and ways, which may temporarily entail compromises with ultimate objectives and principles.

Constructive and critical reason continuously employed by a devoted body of men imbued with the spirit of science and philosophy and focussed on social problems will gradually make the people aware of the difference between the irrational and rational factors in prevailing folkways. This will in time create a climate favourable to social change in the direction of progress and greater rationalism.

(Continued from page 8)

only adjusted to suit the peculiar conditions of this country. Five Year Plans—that is to say, Plans for maximum possible industrial advancement, loaded within a minimum possible period—are nowhere to be found outside the communist dominated countries. Even the Asiatic nations which suffer from much greater backwardness and under-development than India have not formed such rigid planning helpful to them.

Such time-plans can never succeed unless there is a complete regimentation of the people and the State has absolute control over man-power and internal resources of the country. The Communists are fully conscious of this initial weakness in India's planning, and that is why they are far more enthusiastic about making the Plan successful, for they know very well that if the Plan is to succeed, India ultimately will have no other alternative but to go the Russian way.

The basic trouble with India is that her economic objectives are patterned after the totalitarian model of Russia and China—while her political objectives are patterned after Parliamentary Democracy of U.K. and U.S.A. Five Year Plans are miles apart from the democratic road. We cannot simultaneously sail in two different boats—each going in opposite direction to the other.

The confusion, the frustration, the failures, the writing on the wall—as they become increasingly manifest—defying all our combative efforts are the inevitable penalty of the "original sin," we have committed—the sin of planning in the spirit of a totalitarian but trying to implement it through a democratic machinery. If we yet fail to realise the inherent danger—we shall soon find that India's economy has suffered perilous set-backs.

—Condensed from a speech delivered in Calcutta.

RUSSIA RETURNS 90,000 SHOES:

STATE TRADING CORPORATION BUNGLE

Sometime ago, when the Soviet Union expressed its willingness to buy Indian footwear, a few samples were collected from manufacturers in India and sent for approval. Soon after, the Soviet authorities placed an order for one lakh pairs.

But when the consignment was shipped to the Soviet Union and the crates were unpacked, the officials found 90,000 pairs out of the one lakh were defective. They were shipped back.

The State Trading Corporation owes an explanation to the tax-payer as to how the returned stock were disposed of and who is to foot the bill for this bungling on the part of the S.T.C.



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

The Barking & The Back-biting

By J. K. Dhairyawan

THE Mundhra scandal and the Chagla Commission report are today hitting the headlines in the country's press. It is only in a country like India, young in democratic traditions, and used to personality cult and hero-worship, that a judicial finding of a Commission, appointed by a democratic government should be the target of attack and sniping, both by the Prime Minister as well as the Finance Minister, who happened to be one of the main actors in the whole sordid drama of the purchase of the Mundhra shares by the Life Insurance Corporation. That the Chagla Commission, by the very nature of the terms of reference, was handicapped into going fully into the affair is patent to any intelligent observer. In view of the enormity and the seriousness of the affair, it was the prime duty of the Government to have appointed a judicial commission, armed with the widest powers to unearth the whole scandal, both in the interest of good government and of public morality. That this was NOT done is no reflection on Justice Chagla but on the hesitancy of the New Delhi authorities, with the result that many who have a hand in the scandal could manage to remain behind the scenes.

BLOWING HOT AND COLD

Within the framework of the terms of reference Justice Chagla could be complimented on the excellent report he has produced, both for this lucidity and conciseness. But what is most amazing is the part played by the Prime Minister, both during the pendency as well after the publication of the report. It is clear that our Prime Minister was not happy over the way the Commission functioned. He was specially very chary about throwing open the proceedings of the Commission to the public and the arrangement of loudspeakers for the benefit of the over-flowing audience that crowded the premises of the Commission. And what is still more astounding, are some of the statements he has made in the course of a letter to the former Finance Minister about the way the Commission proceeded, and roundly condemns Justice Chagla when he states that it struck him as the proceedings commenced that it was "one-sided" and that the Commission was "not a judicial commission". Does he mean to say that the judge appointed to preside over the commission was NOT expected to act as a judge, or that he has NOT acted in a judicial and an impartial manner? It is a serious reflection on the person appointed to preside over an important inquiry, and more so, when the person happens to be one highly respected throughout the country for high character, judicial acumen and an esteemed member of the Indian judiciary.

It is not a cursory statement that the Prime Minister has made, as is his wont, but he has tried hard to rub it in when he states in the letter to Mr. Krishnamachari:

"As the inquiry proceeded it struck me, as it must have struck many others, that this manner of approach to a complicated matter was hardly satisfactory.... It was neither judicial nor capable otherwise of eliciting all the facts."

However in the Lok Sabha the Prime Minister has thought fit to compliment Justice Chagla. It is blowing hot and cold at the same time.

And this is not the first time that the Prime Minister has given a bit of his mind. It has been rankling in his mind since he came down to Bombay during the pendency of the Commission. He objected to the fact that the inquiry was kept open to the public, the provision of loudspeakers, and what he termed the "morbid" curiosity and the "frenzied" enthusiasm of the public of Bombay in the Mundhra affair. That this condemnation of the Bombay public, instead of showing them in bad light REALLY exposes the true mentality of our Prime Minister. It certainly was neither "morbid" nor "frenzy" that made thousands of Bombay citizens flock to hear the proceedings of the Commission, but a high sense of citizenship and an alert and active interest in public morality and democracy which were at trial before the Commission. Any Minister, with even the slightest acquaintance with democracy, would have welcomed this healthy trait displayed by the public of Bombay. BUT NOT SO our internationally-famed Prime Minister, obsessed with his own sense of importance.

CHAGLA ANSWERS NEHRU

However, it was but right that Justice Chagla should have answered, and answered effectively, to this charge of morbidity when in his report he refers to this subject. States Mr. Chagla:

"I am glad that after a very careful consideration, I decided to have this inquiry in public, and I am glad to learn that the public has shown a great interest in these proceedings. The fierce light of publicity that has beaten down upon all the actors of the drama which I had to investigate, and I think it is just as well. The public is entitled to know how people in high positions act in a grave situation, and what their explanations are with regard to matters which require investigation. The inquiry has been an education to the public."

These statements of Justice Chagla, juxtaposed against the reckless and wild charges, of the Prime

Minister against the public of Bombay glaringly bring out the wide gulf that separates a democratic mind from a feudal one. While Justice Chagla, with an experienced and trained judicial mind, expected the public of Bombay to take an active part in the proceedings, the Prime Minister, spoilt by adulation of an ignorant and credulous public has yet to acquire the democratic character, befitting his position as the leader of a democratic government. Justice Chagla, trained in Western conception of liberalism and democracy, with a fine sense of weighing the pros and cons of any subject in the judicial scale, unspoilt by position of responsibility and high office which he holds, unmindful of the favours or frowns of the powers that be, comes out as the perfect democratic citizen. The same, however, could not be said of the Prime Minister, whose every statement and gesture betrays a mind that is more in tune with autocracy and feudalism than with democracy.

AMAZINZ CHEEK

It is not only the Prime Minister that has started the sniping and the barking and the back-biting against Justice Chagla and the Commission, but after tendering his resignation, the Finance Minister has also joined the fray. He now complains that the Commission has relied more on "surmises" than on facts, and that he has been condemned without a proper trial. Apart from the fact that he was the chief actor, whose conduct was the subject matter of the inquiry, his passing judgement on his own innocence, is, to say the least, most astounding. If the Commission had to rely on "surmises" and NOT facts, who is responsible for it? Surely he had the opportunity of stating ALL the facts before the Commission, which he has NOT done. And when he gave "evasive" answers and replies, as admitted even by the Government Attorney-General, what way was left for Justice Chagla but to come to plausible surmises, and base them on the actual statements made by the different witnesses that appeared before the Commission. And if Mr. Krishnamachari NOW feels that the findings are based on one-sided statements, who is to be blamed than himself, when he has not equivocally stated ALL that he knew of the affair. If he means that he was completely ignorant of the Mundhra deal with the LIC, he should have stated so, and put the whole responsibility on Mr. Patel. That he has not cared to do so, it means that if not in writing, at least orally, he has given his approval to the deal. Having given his approval how can he NOW get out of the tight corner?

LAME EXCUSE

His another statement that he is the victim of power-politics is equally self-condemnatory. When did he find that he was the victim of power-politics, and if he did so, why did he not resign from the job as any self-respecting person would have done? And if power-politics were at play at the Centre, and he had no objection to continue there till the Mundhra affair hit the headlines, the surmise by any intelligent person that T.T.K. was a party to one of the power-politics bloc is irresistible. The role of "injured innocence" that T.T.K. now wants to put on only goes to confirm that he continued in his job as long as the

sailing was easy. Now that he has run himself into high seas and heavy weather he wants to paint himself as the victim of power-politics. In this attempt of his, he is cutting a very sorry figure.

HIGHLIGHTS OF CHAGLA FINDINGS

As against this weak defence of Mr. Krishnamachari what are the highlights of the Chagla Commission findings? They are as follows:

- 1) *THAT the Finance Minister was squarely and fully responsible for what the principal Secretary, Mr. H. M. Patel did;*
- 2) *THAT the Finance Minister did not repudiate the action of Mr. Patel BUT that there was acquiescence on the part of the Finance Minister in what Mr. Patel did;*
- 3) *THAT the Finance Minister did NOT GIVE FULL FACTS that he knew in his answer to questions in the Lok Sabha;*
- 4) *THAT the Finance Minister KNOWS MORE about the whole transaction than he has cared to divulge either in the Lok Sabha or before the Commission.*

These are NOT surmises BUT convictions to which Justice Chagla was driven to, by the behaviour of both the Minister and other witnesses who came before him. And who will say that Justice Chagla has built up "surmises" on hearsay? He has put two and two together, and came to definite conclusions; and if the conclusions are based, according to Mr. Krishnamachari on one-sided statements he was there to give his own account of the whole transaction. It is not for him now to repudiate what he has stated in the Lok Sabha and before the Commission. That he should have the cheek to criticise, and criticise adversely, the findings of a judicial body, shows what regard persons in high positions have for men of character in the Indian judiciary. It may be, that perhaps Mr. Krishnamachari was following in the footsteps of the Prime Minister, who could not avoid the temptation of passing remarks highly objectionable while the Commission was in session.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

The whole episode, from the start to the finish, is a glaring example of the lack of decorum and democratic traditions in the country, partly due to the behaviour of the Prime Minister, and partly due to the unhealthy habit amongst the people, even amongst the intellectuals, of hero-worship and the adulation and fulsome praise of one individual. Despite the handicaps put on the Commission, Justice Chagla has done an excellent job of the work entrusted to him, and has squarely put the responsibility on the shoulders of the person, who was constitutionally and physically responsible for the purchase of the Mundhra shares. It has brought out in the public the low level to which the Administration has been reduced to, during the 10 years of "donated" freedom. It is a matter of serious consideration to all those who have the good of the nation at heart. In a way, the proceedings before the Commission have exposed the type of men who enjoy the highest offices in the Administration, from the Union Minister to his principal Secretary of the Finance Ministry, from the

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This Is Pakistan

A Thieves' Kitchen of Opportunist Politicians

By K. D. Valicha

MR. MOHAMMAD ALI, former Pakistan Prime Minister, said the other day in Lahore that there was virtually no Government in Pakistan nor any honest administration. The political situation in the country had deteriorated to such an extent that at the formation of each Government (and so far eight had already been formed) people started talking about its fall.

This deteriorating situation, according to Mr. Ali, who was echoing the feelings of many of his countrymen, was traceable to the dishonest means adopted by politicians to capture power. Corruption and nepotism had become a permanent feature of Pakistani political life. Every vote in the legislature was won by licences and permits which, in turn, passed through many hands at exorbitant prices—resulting in the consumer suffering ultimately.

CESSPOOL OF CORRUPTION

The political field indeed has been "turned into an arena of conspiracies, somersaults, machinations, unholy alliances and unscrupulous defections, which have taken the place of rise and fall of dynasties of earlier times."

This general instability and chaos arises out of the condition of the poverty-stricken masses in Pakistan. The state of the internal economy is best viewed by the rampant mass unemployment that haunts Pakistan. In spite of the enormous economic aid that Pakistan has been receiving over 40% of the last Civil Budget was contributed by the U.S.—articles of daily consumption retain high prices. In Punjab, the price of wheat is Rs. 46 per maund. If the price of wheat in Punjab is so high, what can it be in areas which are infertile? The price of rough long cloth, according to last year's reports, is Rs. 4-8-0 per yard. Unemployment, disease, soaring prices, the stink and the smell of slums are the chief features of Pakistan. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that one cannot even get cibazol tablets which are, consequently, purchased from India. This, in spite of the fact that Pakistan continues to receive medical aid from the U.S.

A GRANARY INTO A DESERT

Pakistani politicians have earned the reputation of turning even the most fertile areas into deserts. Punjab was at one time known as the granary of India; today it is virtually a desert. It seems the Arabic trait in the Muslim is predominant: he feels homesick without a desert nearby. There is a Persian saying, "God created the Arab and the Arab created the desert."

American aid to Pakistan is altogether misused. It only goes to fill the coffers of the politicians who keep granting licences and other privileges to their kith

and kin. America continues to aid Pakistan under the naive belief that Pakistan will remain anti-communist. But, in this, America fails to understand the foxy and virulent mind of the average Muslim politician, whether in Pakistan, Syria, Egypt or any other country. Already Russians have come to Pakistan bearing gifts to the commodity-hungry people there. The Soviet Union has proclaimed that it is prepared to assist Pakistan economically—"without strings attached", as usual—by helping fight food and agricultural problems and by installing, as it has done in India, a new steel mill. The Pakistani politician is sure to be hooked in.

WILL U.S. MEET THE SAME FATE AS IN CHINA?

American hopes are thus belied. America has been spending more than \$500,000,000 in five years' aid to Pakistan to counteract communist propaganda. Yet, the Russians, who have stepped up their newspaper and radio propaganda, are gaining ground. Since January 1, the Moscow radio has been beaming a special Urdu broadcast to Pakistan. It is estimated that the Soviet Embassy is spending 2,000,000 rupees a year in advertizing and in publications in Pakistan, much less than what the U.S.A. puts forward.

While all these Soviet overtures are being treated with cautious reserve by the Pakistan Government, they have certainly been able to win success with the Pakistani populace. Pakistanis are beginning to say that neutralism derives benefits from both East and West and are questioning already their Government's policy of ready acquiescence with Western strategy.

Perhaps the most undependable people in the world are the Muslim politicians. *Pakistan is neither faithful to America nor does it wish to have amicable relations with India. The truth is that Pakistan has no principles of its own; it is an opportunist country that will have no pangs when deserting old "friends" and aligning with the "enemy", even though the enemy be the "kaffirs", provided they are prepared to spend their shekels over Pakistan.*

FRESH PAKISTAN TERROR

In spite of repeated notes of protest by India, the refugee exodus from East Pakistan does not cease. There are constant reports of arrests, of mishandling and general harassment. Only a fortnight ago, about 200 Hindus have been arrested at different places in Barisal district of East Pakistan. These arrests, according to reports in Calcutta, have been made on the usual plea that the arrested persons are Indian agents, although most of them are Pakistan nationals living in their native villages.

This is what life in Pakistan for the Hindu amounts to. Pakistan today presents a picture, as far as the Hindus are concerned, of pawky and virulent oppres-

sion. The Hindus are ill-treated, molested and their rights openly abused. They live in fenced houses and all normal privileges are denied them. Most of their children do not attend schools and the women have to be guarded. Even the curriculum in schools has been so arranged as to hurt Hindu feelings. Passages like "Beef-eating is good", etc, are part of every textbook.

East Pakistan is particularly shadowy and harrowing. Every week sees a number of families who have decided to quit. They wave their farewell and, like a shadow, fade away.

This is the plight of the Hindus in Pakistan. This plight is so permanently a feature of Hindu life in Pakistan that it is no wonder the Indian Government has come to develop an acquiescent and almost indifferent attitude towards it. This clearly expresses the glaring failure of the Indian Government to help the Hindus who, though geographically removed, are one and all Hindus in every sense.

BORDER BRAVADO

One great thing that the border incidents have achieved, by their constant recurrence, is to make us quite imperturbable about them. Time does succeed in reconciling a man to the most unbecoming situation; but time need work only part time where the Congress Government is concerned. Its lethargy and characteristic disregard are too well-known and too deeply ingrained to need emphasis here. "Armed Raid by Pak Nationals", "Pak Saboteurs Still Active", etc. are no new headlines these days.

Only recently five Pakistani saboteurs have been arrested at Uri, in Kashmir. These persons were arrested by the Kashmir police on February 11. One of them was the brother of a well-known Pakistani agent living on the other side of the cease-fire line. The arrested persons had admitted functioning as links with the Pakistani intelligence.

This is nothing new. It happens all the time. So far there have been 38 cases of bomb explosions—13 in Kashmir and 25 in Jammu. In addition, there have been 20 cases in which explosive articles have been recovered.

Then there is the recent Eastern Border Charland incident. About 150 Pakistan nationals armed with guns, spears and other deadly weapons raided a new Charland (river islet) in Pirojpur-Bijatpur area of Murshidabad district bordering East Pakistan. The raiders set fire to hutments erected on the Charland by Indian cultivators to house their cattle, drove away eight pairs of bullocks and decamped with paddy seeds stored there. Nearly three-fourths of the area had been sown with paddy when the raiders swooped on the Charland.

This was in violation of a previous agreement arrived at on January 8 this year between the District Magistrates of Murshidabad (West Bengal) and Rajshahi (East Pakistan) that cultivators owning plots on the Charland were to be allowed to cultivate without interference. Indian cultivators were growing paddy in pursuance of the agreement.

These raids are so common that they have now come to be ignored. Yet the virulent mind of the Muslim is as active as ever, and inspired by the same spirit that influenced men like Aurangzeb, Changiz Khan, Nadir Shah, and others.

But the Indian Government's attitude continues to be acquiescent and almost indifferent. There is no

possibility of amicable relations with Pakistan. The various Pakistani moves clearly pronounce this. What then is the way out? We have to change our policy radically. We have to bring our so-called foreign policy to bear on the facts that confront us. We have, in short, to be practical and pragmatic, no longer idealistic or romantic. We have to do this, and do it with instant effect—or else.

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Governor of the Reserve Bank to the Chairman and Managing Director of the LIC, ALL of whom, according to both the presiding judge as well as the Attorney-General have NOT, told the whole truth. It is also a reflection on the Congress Government at the Centre, where ONE man alone seems to RULE. In view of this dismal failure of the Congress to give a clean government to the country, the need of the hour is a National Government of ALL parties barring, of course the Communists, who owe extra-territorial loyalties.

Will the Congress Party have the national vision and the courage to do so? In the circumstances, if such a change comes over the Congress it would be something of a miracle. But the days of miracles are no more. Nothing of the sort is to be expected. In the meanwhile Chagla and other members of the judiciary may go on passing severe strictures on the Administration, yet the Congress Party is sure to go on from blunders to blunders and from one scandal to another, dragging the country down the steep incline of bankruptcy and chaos. While the caravan of judiciary goes on doing its thankless task, the barking and back-biting by Congressmen in power will continue as ever. That is the tragic picture that India presents today before the world. Congressmen in power are like old Bourbons, who neither learn nor forget anything from experience.

"AUSTERITY" IN PRACTICE!

The other day Pandit Nehru visited Banasthali. Banasthali is a good pioneering institution devoted to female education. But what an expense to call the Prime Minister!

A sum of Rs. 60,000 was spent in repairing the aerodrome—earlier built to suit the convenience of a former Chief Minister's wife interested in Banasthali. And a sum of Rs. 40,000 was ear-marked for "festivities."

It is a moot question whether a cash grant of rupees one lakh would not have done more good to Banasthali than the P.M.'s fleeting visit. Can this poor country really afford such extravagance?



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

(Continued from page 4)

Soekarno in gaining foothold as a "national party" with a considerable following in the country. In view of this *earlier penetration* of the Moscow-patriots in Indonesia, it is fatuous for commentators to insinuate against Americans or others from the free world. The fact of Communist-American conflict is clear and unmistakable. Also, it is the pro-communist predilections of Dr. Soekarno that has strengthened, if not created, the present dissident movements. The rebellion is largely the result of nationalist sentiment that cannot tolerate parties and fifth-columns of foreign inspiration and support. The report of an Indian correspondent from Jakarta to the effect that Americans make too much of the anti-communist character of the revolt in Sumatra and South Celebes is a tendentious interpretation. It is known that he is a fellow traveller himself and interested in playing down the activities of communists every where at the behest of Moscow when it contravenes national sentiment and interests.

It should also be remembered that Pan-Islamists include Indonesia among the States to be included in their dream and conspiracy for a World Islamic Empire extending from Morocco to Indonesia. If the Masjumi and Dar-ul-Islam parties make their revolt good, either peacefully or through civil war, as is most likely, we shall have a tougher problem in containing Islam. India will have been encircled by Islamic Powers. What is happening in Indonesia is therefore not a remote affair unrelated to our defence and future. Pandit Nehru said recently that the Western Powers have not come to realise that world policies are made now in more centres than one and that Delhi too has become a centre of policy-making affecting the whole world. True, but present Indian policies are turning a blind eye to the role of Islamic peoples and their ambitions and potentialities in current world politics.

KASHMIR AND INDIA

Pandit Pant's announcement of further integration in administration (civil service and Election Commission) between Kashmir and the rest of India is welcome news. It should have been completed as soon as Kashmir acceded to India. The invasion of Kashmir by the tribesmen and Pakistan occasioned our complaint to the UNO but—our complaint should not have caused us to hold up the integration and assimilation of the country to democratic nationalism. If we had done so, Sheikh Abdullah would have administered Kashmir on the same limited democratic footing as chief ministers of other States of the Union. He would not have developed illusions of grandeur and become such a thorn in our flesh. The Election Commission and the Auditor General are to have jurisdiction over Kashmir. But why still talk of "permits?" It shows that the integration is still half-hearted. It is to be hoped that full and integral assimilation will be effected as soon as possible. The example of the semi-independent status of Kashmir has encouraged the separatist demands of the Nagas, of the Dravidian Kazhagam parties in Madras and even of Master Tara Singh for Sikhistan. The Kerala Communists have come out openly with support to a joint Southern *demarche against the Centre*. They are piqued by the President's reference of their Education Bill to the Supreme Court for opinion.

ROLE OF SADIQ AND DHAR

It is something that the dissident opponents of Bakshi Gulam Mohamed have declared themselves unequivocally in favour of the present accession to and integration with India. They have condemned the pro-Pakistani Plebiscite Party and Federation.

This being so, it is unintelligible why the representatives of the Central Government have been trying to persuade the Sadiq group to make it up with Bakshi and rejoin the National Conference. Both the older Conference and the new Democratic Conference agree on the basic loyalty of Kashmir to India. It is better as it is, since this will give two parties to Kashmir within the national allegiance. Such opposition on administrative principles is healthy and will help to make Bakshi responsible to the people in a more continuous and alert way. It will teach democracy to the Kashmiris.

But there are other overtones in the situation that are more disturbing. For what is the source of this attachment to India on the part of Sadiq and Co.? They are known to be communists. Their clinging to India today may be due more to Pakistan's commitment to America which is ostensibly anti-Russian. By the same token, V. K. Krishna Menon's fervent defiance of Pakistan on this matter may be more due to his softness to Russia than to his warm-hearted Indian patriotism.

He let out a piece of information recently that since Partition some *five million* Pakistanis have come back and settled in India! He declared further that *India will treat them like Indians!* What is this patriotism worth? Perhaps Mr. Menon's "patriotism" is only a reflection of indignation at Pakistan's threat, through American Aid, to Russia! This is a matter to watch and not to dogmatise, however.

MORE TAX SQUEEZE, GIFTS TO BE TAXED

NEW DELHI: Gifts to other persons may soon be brought under the purview of a special Government levy.

The Union Finance Ministry is now drafting legislation to tax gifts with a view to tighten the collection of wealth and expenditure taxes which have now come to stay, it is learnt.

It is believed that the Union budget may not contain anything spectacular this year and that no other new tax on any appreciable scale is likely to be included in it.

"ROYAL" PRISONER—WHAT IT COST INDIA

NEW DELHI: During the four years of his detention, total of Rs. 1,76,000 had been spent on Sheikh Abdullah.

Besides, Rs. 53,000 was remitted to his family. Five houses were kept at his disposal and he was supplied with all important journals and magazines of the world.

Describing how even in detention, Sheikh Abdullah had been treated as a big leader, the Kashmir Prime Minister said here today that as against this, he had been drawing Rs. 800 a month as the Prime Minister, he said.

—U.P.I.

One More 'Innocent Abroad'— Cabot Lodge 'Trapped' By Reds!

By Adolescent

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge is in India. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge is an American, and comes to India as President Eisenhower's emissary. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, being an American, is a political adolescent. All Americans are political adolescents. Those Americans who are not political adolescents are misguided liberals.

Through a historical accident, America enjoys a monopoly in world power. Through that same accident, it is rivalled by the most fierce monster known in history, Communism. The chain reaction of this historical accident is the gradual expansion of the Communist power: Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, East Germany, eastern Austria, northern Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine, south Sakhalin, the Kuriles, Port Arthur, China, Tibet, Kerala, etc.

Most of this expansion has been achieved by lion-hearted, friendly, jovial, loquacious American "innocents abroad" like Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge whom we have just made reference to. Men like Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge are of the usual extravert, bustling and noisy type; they play about, go on official visits and "mix". Men like Mr. Lodge are dangerous if only because they cause results fatal to America and her friends.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, believe it or not, was the chief guest of Dr. A. V. Baliga and Mr. R. K. Karanjia at the Taj on 17th Feb. Dr. Baliga is the Indian "Prophet of peace;" all communists are prophets of peace, for certainly they are prophets and inspired undoubtedly by a messianic zeal "to do good" to their fellow-men.

And Mr. Karanjia, of course, is that popular people's editor, editing with all "russi-fied" fervour the Bombay weekly "BLITZ." A company that is so obviously ill-fitted for Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, the President's envoy.

THIS PICTURE AND THAT

One supposes that Mr. Lodge shook hands with his hosts. One wonders if it is the same Lodge who refused to shake hands with Vishinsky when he was appointed U.N. representative by President Eisenhower. It certainly looks as if Mr. Lodge thinks with his hands, not with his head.

Hands or no hands, Mr. Lodge has certainly been trapped by the Reds.

We have in our country men like Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, men who look to the future with red eyes. But Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, though he looks to the future with those red eyes, yet observes the present with a luminous whiteness that will surprise the proverbial Humpty-Dumpty. Mr. Menon has been—once again we beg leave of you to kindly believe us—the escort to Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge and Krishna Menon, like the Siamese twins,

have stuck to each other right from the American's landing in New Delhi to Bombay.

THE GULLIBLE PUBLIC

The child wanted to know why the sky is so high. We want to know why too. Our why's are political why's—why's that can be answered only by the dark motives and undercurrents that flow in the politician's mind. Mr. Menon is a man of accomplishments. He accomplishes, as usual, the usual. He proves to the Indian population at home that it is altogether a mistaken notion to suppose that he is unpopular with the Americans. Absolutely mistaken. Observe, for example, how friendly he is with Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge. Our Indian population observes, reads BLITZ, and nods its head in deep conviction.

CHINA AND INDIA—SIMILARITY

We, of course, beg to differ. Obviously. For we are historically-minded. We are reminded of China. We draw lessons from it, too. The fall of China is more attributable to U.S. inanity than to any other factors. It were the U.S. officials who misrepresented the Chiang Kai-Shek Government at home, falling into the trap of the Communists. The Chinese instance is very pointed and applies to the present situation in India. We recommend, in this connection, Mr. Sita Ram Goel's book, "The Conquest of China by Mao Tse-Tung". Read it, if you will, and know.

Indeed, we even smell a rat. The visit of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge to India has been designed with a purpose. Is it to create a Menon lobby in the State Department? We ask because we are innocent—almost as innocent as Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, though not as foolish. Mr. Menon—the inveterate Mr. Menon—has many, many things to accomplish, and dear Mr. Lodge is the blundering, little instrument that just comes in handy.

We suggest that "brains" like Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge be quickly dislodged for the good of all concerned—India as well as the U.S.A.

ABDULLAH "ECHOES" IN KERALA

Citizens of Ernakulam were taken by surprise when they saw on Sunday morning a number of posters pasted on walls at many points containing slogans "Down, Down, Indian colonialism in Kashmir; we want plebiscite in Kashmir and let Kashmir have self determination."

The posters written in red letters are stated to have been brought out by the so-called All-India Kashmir Plebiscite Front, and pasted during the previous night.

THE "KEPT" PRESS OF THE CONGRESS

AT ITS LAST annual session in November, the All-India Newspaper Editor's Conference drew pointed attention to the fact of discrimination against some papers on political grounds, on charges of their alleged communalism. Subsequently there was a question in the Parliament. Replying to it on December 4, the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Dr. Keskar, claimed: "No discrimination is made on account of political opinions." But he was quick to add: "Government is, however, definitely of the opinion that newspapers which follow a policy of consistent and continuous communal incitement should not be encouraged and, therefore, does not give advertisement to such papers. Government also feels that what is generally known as the 'yellow' Press, should not be encouraged by giving advertisements."

Without his knowing it, perhaps, the learned Doctor has betrayed himself. He has admitted that Government advertising is being used to encourage some others. This is a most serious situation fraught with grave danger to the freedom of the press.

In Bharat, Government advertising is more important than perhaps in any other important country. Indian firms are not very enthusiastic advertisers, and foreign firms are advertising less in view of diminishing imports. On the other hand the Government is taking over more and more of business, ranging all the way from insurance and airlines to hotels and wrist watches. Also, private advertisers would think not twice but twenty time before advertising in papers black-listed by the Government for political reasons. *That being so, Government advertising policy assumes an ominous aspect. It can prop up servile papers and try to kill independent papers.*

The Information and Broadcasting Minister said he did not want to place Government advertisement with papers following "a policy of consistent and continuous communal incitement." But it is a criminal offence—vide section 155-A and 295-A, Indian Penal Code—to follow a policy of consistent and continuous communal incitement. Any paper doing so would be punished by courts of law. How can Dr. Keskar decide on his own, whether a paper is, or is not, guilty of this charge? And even if a paper is found so guilty, how can he impose a second punishment of his own for the same offence—a thing prohibited in law?

A POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION

Of course, the above is only a refutation of Dr. Keskar's argument. Our contention is that discrimination is political, and that it has nothing to do with indulgence in communalism. As soon as the Akali Dal joined hands with the Congress, its weekly organ, the SPOKESMAN suddenly started getting Government advertisements. And as soon as ex-Minister Jagat Narayan expressed himself in favour of Maha Punjab and Hindi protection, his Hindi Samachar was struck off the Government list! Examples could be multiplied.

We would go so far as to say that even the yellowest of yellow papers can get Government advertisements even if it condemns the Congress and the Congress Government, only so long as it raises the Prime Minister to the skies. We know of small servile papers with a circulation of a few hundred copies, which reap a bumper crop of Government advertisements; and we also know of important political papers with
(Continued on page 23)

TRUE TALES—Andrew Carnegie (2nd of a series)

by VERUS



DETERMINED.—Carnegie saw the desperate need to increase his earnings and he studied and mastered telegraphy. In 1853 he became train dispatcher for the Pennsylvania Railroad. From that time his advancement was rapid. In 1860, at 25, he became secretary to the railroad's general superintendent.



CIVIL WAR.—At the outbreak of the war between the North and South in the U.S., Carnegie was put in charge of eastern military railways and telegraph, and gave invaluable service to the Federal cause. It was a part of his life he regretted, for he was always a man of peace.



STEEL.—In 1862, during the Civil War, he saw there was a new field in replacing wooden bridges with iron, and he organized a company that built the first iron bridge over the Ohio River. Gradually he added other companies, which were finally merged into one, the great Carnegie Steel Company.
(To be continued)

Over A Glass Of "Nira"

By "Toddy-tapper"

SINCE the policies of the Bombay Congress Government are towards moulding the citizens in the images of the sour-looking, non-smiling, abstemious, grass-eating Congressmen in khaddar, to whom even such drinks as coffee or tea that invigorate BUT do not inebriate, are taboo, the only drinks that are officially permissible to hard-working journalists—whether on the staff or free lance—are "limbu pani" or the equally insipid, *nariel-pani* or else known as "nira", sanctified by being associated with Mahatma Gandhi. In the circumstances, even to choose a title like "Over a Cup of Tea" or a cup of coffee may be frowned upon by our saints-in-khaddar, who rule our destinies, we have no other choice but to select a sedate and a very sober non-violent title—OVER A GLASS OF NIRA.

It is to be hoped that the Congress authorities will not find any heady stuff in these columns, so as to arouse their non-violent ire. If the readers, on the other hand, find that the stuff is not sufficiently "strong" or lacks the "kick" that one expects in alcoholic drinks they will excuse the writer. So here's a glass of "Nira" to toast your and mine health, until such time when Prohibition is scrapped and the era of non-prohibition begins, with all its *joie de vivre* and complete *abandon* over a peg or two of "strong" drinks or a glass of light, sparkling beer.

Like many others in the country, from the Prime Minister to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, I was bursting with a desire all these days, to clear off my chest of what I thought of the Chagla Commission and the

(Continued from page 22)

twenty times the circulation of these, which are not given one column-inch of such advertisements.

Nor is that all. Even among pro-Government papers, other things being the same, more advertisements are, at times, placed with a paper with a smaller circulation than with one with a considerably larger circulation.

The whole thing is confusion worse confounded, with party and group interests interfering with the business interests of the State.

For all these reasons the A.I.N.E.C. did very well indeed when it requested the Government that "in view of the fact that the A.I.N.E.C. has received complaints of discrimination, the Standing Committee urges the Central and State Governments to publish yearly statements of newspapers and periodicals receiving Government advertisements showing the allocation and circulation of each."

We hope the Government would accede to the request and place Government advertising on a sound footing that will be above suspicion.

—ORGANISER

Mundhra scandal, and all the actors that had played such a prominent or non-prominent part, in the whole affair that nearly shook the Nehru Government and hit the headlines in the national Press. However my weakness for democratic correctness and decorum or call it my non-"national" habit of thinking in English, and my being "polluted" with the Western concept of liberalism and libertarianism, I hesitated to do since the matter was *sub judice*. Of course, our great Prime Minister is above all these niceties that goes without saying. Did he not pass a hurried and a frenzied verdict on the Bombay public of being guilty of "morbid" curiosity, and also casting a reflection on Justice Chagla for allowing the public to the inquiry?

However that apart, now that the Chagla report is both before the Parliament and the country, let me unburden myself and remove the weight off my chest. Without meaning any disrespect to other actors of the Mundhra scandal, including the "victim" of the power-politics that are at play in the country, Haridas Mundhra struck me as forthright, if not exactly the honest pedlar of truth. The same cannot be said of other actors, and here I am in the happy company of both Justice Chagla and Attorney-General Setalvad, that the rest of the actors, did not carry their convictions on their sleeves as Mundhra did.

And this is borne out by the fact that the people who came to scoff at Mundhra, when he entered the Hall of inquiry, remained to praise him. There was justification for it. The Bombay public, despite the sniping and attack of the Prime Minister, is a sporting lot. They believe in giving the Devil his due. Devil or no devil, Mundhra by his forthright answers to Justice Chagla, endeared himself to the crowd. So while they received him with cries of "shame, shame", they gave him a farewell with rousing cheers. That brings out Mundhra, the man from Mundhra, the swindler, as he is depicted these days in the papers. During the time, he was before the Commission, he made the atmosphere ring with laughter and good *bonhomie*.

Mundhra, it must be said from the way he stood the questions of Justice Chagla, has the horse sense of the man about the world. He admitted that he was "ambitious," perhaps a little more over-ambitious than wisdom or the dictates of the game of industrialism allowed him the liberty to do so. Yes, well he has inter-locked capital of different firms that he bought; who does not do it, he asked the Commission. When questioned what happened to the attachment of his money by the Income-tax authorities of Calcutta, pat came the answer: "Sir, there was nothing

to be attached." Again to the question that he had received over Rs. One crore and half, he retorted: "Sir, the money evaporated before it came into my hands."

Again he raised a ripple of laughter even on the face of Justice Chagla, when he referred to his being "thrown out" by Mr. Iyengar, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. He said that he did not remember when he was thrown out. "Sir, I thought since we are a democracy, I imagined that any citizen has the right to go and call on any other citizen. So I went to pay a courtesy call on Mr. Iyengar while I was in Bombay. However when he told me that he had guests, I walked back."

Equally frank and straightforward were his remarks to the statement made before the Commission by Mr. A.D. Shroff about his reputation and the stability of his concerns. Mundhra told the Commission that Mr. Shroff has himself bought a pretty lot of shares of his concerns. That should quieten the bad odour that he has acquired since.

And the climax of his evidence was reached when he made a "sporting" offer to buy all the shares he had sold to the LIC with a profit of 10 lakhs, if ONLY some couple of months' time was given to him. He was, of course, prepared to give security that his word would be kept. No wonder Mundhra seemed to appear before public in entirely a different light than

all that the newspapers had tried to paint him—a swindler and a cardsharp. No wonder, at least, temporarily, he won the hearts of the people that had gathered at the inquiry. That was his success and his triumph, however short-lived it might have been.

And to cap all his quick-witted replies and repartees, the classic answer to the question whether he was in financial difficulties at the time, "Sir, when a man is in difficulties, the solutions to them are also in the mind." And the solution for his temporary difficulties was to utilise the good offices of Mr. Patel and induce the LIC to buy his shares worth Rs. One crore and half. Surely a man of ready wit and quick resources.

In view of this exhibition of financial knowledge, when he could manage to get the Income-tax authorities reduce their claim from Rs. 45 and Rs. 30 lakhs to a bare One lakh and half, and pay only Rs. One lakh, show that he possesses an extraordinary genius for financial manipulations, hardly to be equalled by any of our present day industrialists. Again, despite the fact that he had failed to get financial assistance from the Reserve Bank and the Investment Corporation, he could wriggle out Rs. One crore from a Government autonomous body like the LIC, and that, too, on a Sunday and finalise the deal by Monday, show his infinite capacity of financial adjustments. Surely he is a financial genius of the same breed as the famous Nazi financial wizard, Dr. Schacht.

And here is the likely choice to fill in the gaddi vacated by T. T. K.

'Nawab' Nehru Or Prime Minister Nehru?

Within days of American announcement of \$225 million aid, the Prime Minister made up for the thinness of his Gauhati audience by shouting: "I want to tell the whole world that India will not change her policy under any threat of temptation of aid. If somebody does not want to give us loans, then let him keep his money. Let the world see more carefully this aspect of our hearts and minds and let the commentators of the world press understand that we are made of a different fibre."

Well may America think: "Ingratitude, thy name is India."

All important U.S. papers welcomed aid to India. Quite a few said that it was much too little. But because some small unimportant papers said that U.S. should not aid India because it was following wrong policies, the Prime Minister lost his balance. Is this the way to administer a great country?

A MAN OF WHIMS AND TEMPER

Wrote *New York Times'* Resenthal (Jan. 23): "The Prime Minister of India read some newspapers clippings and became angry. Then he made an angry speech. Inquiries made of the Indian Government have not elicited information as to where the articles

appeared, other than that they were in Western newspapers. It is a story showing that relations between nations can be affected by the mood and sensitiveness of important men."

How moody Pandit Nehru is, is also recalled by Herbert Brucker in *Hartford Courant* (Jan. 1): "Before we went to see Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, a candid friend of his warned me: 'A visit with him is a matter of luck. If you'll catch him in a good mood you will come away convinced that you have met the most charming, brilliant and extraordinary human being on earth. If you strike him in a bad mood, which is almost equally likely, you'll come away feeling that you've met a petulant, spoiled, arrogant and tired old man. All I can do is wish you luck.'"

And only on February 2, ex-U.S. President Truman told a Radio T.V. interview with Ed. Murrow: "Mr. Nehru is a difficult man to get along with."

Kidwai also used to tell friends calling on Nehru for favours: "Catch him in a good mood. Catch him in a good mood."

The whole thing is reminiscent more of Lucknow Nawabs than of the "biggest democracy" supposed to be at work in New Delhi.

—*"M"* in his *Letter to Readers in "Organiser"*

ON THE NEWS FRONT

Abdullah Hooligans Attack Loyal Kashmiris — One Dies

Srinagar: A violent mob of 500 pro-Pakistan Political Conference and Plebiscite Front volunteers, wearing party arm bands, attacked a National Conference workers' rally and injured 15 persons at Hazratbal here shortly after a Friday congregation had been addressed by Sheikh Abdullah at the shrine.

Among the injured were two doctors posted on duty at a first-aid medical centre set up at Hazratbal in connection with the Miraj festival, and the correspondent of an Urdu daily, Mr. Mohammed Yusuf Kadri.

The mob, according to eye-witnesses, set fire to a National Conference jeep, damaged another jeep and three motor cars, a wireless set belonging to the Kashmir police and a loud-speaker set of the National Conference.

The medical store attached to the first-aid centre was also looted.

The National Conference volunteers, after the prayers, went to Rajbagh, about half a mile away from Hazratbal to attend a National Conference workers' rally.

Just as the meeting started, according to eye-witnesses, 500 Political Conference and Plebiscite Front workers, wearing party arm bands, marched in a procession to Rajbagh shouting anti-Indian and anti-Kashmir Government slogans. The National Conference workers then raised counter-slogans like, "Kashmir's accession to India zindabad" "Bakshi zindabad" and "Nehru zindabad."

At this stage the Plebiscite Front and Political Conference volunteers took out sticks hidden inside their coats and attacked the members of the audience. Some of them also threw stones and set fire to a National Conference jeep. One of the injured National Conference workers died in hospital.

Who Finances Abdullah Propaganda? — An Industrialist Is Named

"Prime Minister" Bakshi declared in a recent public meeting in Delhi that lakhs of rupees of the Ambalal Sarabhai Trust were being used in Kashmir to boost Abdullah, condemn India and feed Pakistan and that there were "people" in Delhi itself whose continuous propaganda against India and for Abdullah was receiving profuse publicity in Pakistan papers. At both these items of news the audience cried 'shame'. But was this 'news' to Prime Minister Bakshi? Was this news to Prime Minister Nehru? Even pen-pushing "Satiricus" of the "Organiser" had known this for quite some time and he had written about it in this very column a few days back.

Now the question is, if those like "Satiricus," whose job it is to write about such things, have written about it, what are both the Prime Ministers doing, when it is their job to do something about such things? "Satiricus" is informed that that person's activities were watched by the police. But what did the police do—beyond watching? Till the very end of Abdullah's detention the person spent lakhs of rupees for Abdul-

"Democracy & Socialism Don't Go Together"

PATNA: Shri Guruji Golwalkar told a public meeting here on Sunday that the Congress slogan of a socialist pattern of society was meaningless and democracy and socialism did not go together. The two were incompatible, he maintained.

Socialism, Shri Guruji said, led to dictatorship. Russia, which could claim to be "somewhat socialist," was a case in point. He said the world today was divided into the capitalist and the communist blocs and Bharat was leaning towards the latter despite her professions to the contrary.

—Organiser

lah and published extensive propaganda matter in Pakistan papers. We read all of it and just kept reading. We still refuse to realise that if a traitor belongs to a dangerous species, the "female of the species" is much more dangerous.

When Kashmiri Pandits Crossed Verbal Swords

NEW DELHI: An angry clash between Mr. Nehru and Mr. H. N. Kunzru over the question of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's responsibility in the Mundhra affair and punch-packed speeches by members from either side of the House belied expectations that the Rajya Sabha discussion on the Chagla report might well prove colourless and dull.

The Prime Minister emphatically maintained that the Chagla Commission had not fixed responsibility for the deal on Mr. Krishnamachari, whose part he had described as 'of the smallest.'

Pandit Kunzru challenged Mr. Nehru's contention and quoted the report to assert that responsibility had been fastened on the former Finance Minister, but the Government had not accepted it.

The clash came when Mr. Nehru, who started his speech by characterising Pandit Kunzru's approach as "little-minded and biased", bitterly said that the responsibility of Mr. Krishnamachari had been admitted and he had resigned, but that if the approach was to "trip up somebody, somehow," that was a different matter.

OPPOSITION PROTEST

"Who is trying to trip up—and whom? Pandit Kunzru agitatedly inquired. He added: "It is unfair, the Prime Minister should withdraw it (the remark)."

"Why should I withdraw my remark? That's my opinion," Mr. Nehru heatedly answered back, adding, at the same time, that "Dr. Kunzru is himself trying to trip up Mr. Krishnamachari."

There was an uproar from the Opposition benches in protest which almost drowned Pandit Kunzru's rejoinder that Mr. Nehru's allegation was "untrue."

—Times of India

Book Reviews

Freedom-Fighters Of Nazi Germany

CONSCIENCE IN REVOLT: Sixty-four Stories of Resistance in Germany 1933-1945. By Annedore Leber, assisted by Willy Brandt, Karl Dietrich Blacher, Hilde Walter and Harald Poelchau. Associated Book-sellers (Westport, Connecticut 270 pp. 4.50.

How many Germans were Nazis, and how many-or, perhaps how few-were anti-Nazis while Hitler ruled? The question used to agitate people abroad in the war and postwar years, but no valid answer in percentage figures could ever have been given. The reality defies easy black-and-white statements. The seeming totalitarians of yesterday often prove to be the freedom-fighters of today.

For a while, news about German freedom-fighters was scarcely available, or very vague, in this country. While Communist propaganda tried to make all German anti-Nazis out to be either Communists or "reactionaries," U.S. wartime censors suppressed truthful publications concerning anti-Nazis in the Third Reich. Only in the past ten years have a number of books appeared to tell the story of widespread German opposition to the ruling Nazi gang. *Conscience in Revolt*—which has been a steady best-seller in West Germany for the past two years—is the most recent contribution.

Libertarian Feature Service

No. 1 Bulletin Out

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

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

An unusual and unusually appealing book, it presents quite literally—a collection of German faces in the crowd. The reader looks at casual photographs of, say, a beautiful young co-ed on her Sunday outing, or a minor trade-union official playing with his baby, a Socialist functionary skiing on her winter vacation, a young man in his new lieutenant's uniform—selected, it would seem, at random. We also see snapshots of buck privates and generals, monarchists and anarchists, of Catholics, Jews, Protestants and atheists, labourers, society matrons, scientists. Fewer than half of the 64 pictures of this book depict people with wellknown "names"—among them Carl von Ossietzky, the editor of a famous liberal weekly; Dr. Edith Stein, the Carmelite nun and noted philosopher; the Lord Mayor of the city of Leipzig; the city manager of Berlin; Theodor Haubach and Carlo Mierendorff, two young and unorthodox Social Democratic leaders. If you merely leaf through this book, you might think that a cross-section of Germans has been caught by a camera.

But every picture is accompanied by a brief life story, and you find that all these women and men have one thing in common—they were killed by Hitler's executioners because they rebelled against his ideas and his crimes. Many of these biographies are written in an almost artless way; others consist only of excerpts from Nazi police files or a last letter scribbled in a prison cell and setting down a confession of faith in extremis.

We meet, for instance, Sophie Scholl, a lovely 18-year-old Bavarian girl, whose picture is followed by extracts from her secret diary. "After all", she noted, "one should have the courage to believe in what is good." A short while later, her biographical sketch informs us, she was arrested because she and her brother distributed at the University of Munich a leaflet exhorting fellow students "to strive for the regeneration of the mortally mutilated German Spirit." She was

sentenced to death, and executed a few hours later.

Another picture in this book shows us a thoughtful 53 year-old Social Democratic editor, his face ennobled by suffering and faith, taken in the "People's Court" where he faces his Nazi enemies. Charged with plotting against the Fuehrer, too proud to defend himself, he wrote before his execution: "One's own life is a proper stake for so good and just a cause. We have done what was in our power."

His name was Julius Leber, and his widow is the author of this book. Annedore Leber has remained an active Social Democrat while she has become a convert to the Catholic Church. She played a leading part in West Berlin's fight for freedom against the Soviets, and now serves as a member of the Parliamentary civilian committee which investigates applicants for high-ranking positions in the new German army. This usually well-qualified author was assisted in the preparation of her book by a team of outstanding experts—among them Willy Brandt West Berlin's new Mayor; the Rev. Harald Poelchau, who served as chaplain in the prison in which many of this book's heroes were held; and Hilde Walter, a writer who now lives in this country.

As in a hagiography, the lives in this book are bound to interest quite a variety of readers for different reasons. There is a wealth of "human interest" in the 64 tragic lives of this book, besides its historical and political interest. First and foremost, however, it bears moving and impressive witness to the fact that no dictatorship seem powerful enough to silence the human conscience.—

Norberk Muhlen
in *New Leader*

ORGANISER

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Red Paradise In Kerala !

OUT OF COMMUNIST MILLENIUM by M. K. Nair. Kerala Democratic Front, Bombay, Publication No. 1. Pages 28. Price 25 nP.

It is a well-worded account, and also a pronouncement, of the Communist rule in Kerala. Many people in India are inclined to think that the Communist Governments, whatever faults they may have, are not ridden with corruption, as are other Governments like, for example, the Congress in our own country. These people do not know how very mistaken they are. The Kerala Government is as corrupt as any Government can be, if not more.

"Ever since the assumption of office by the Communists, the entire State machinery has been diverted to do false propaganda for the Party. . . . The Communist Party General Secretary, Com. Ajoy Ghosh, and the Chief Minister, Com. E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad described the victory of the Communists (who had secured but 35% of the total votes polled and mustered 60 seats out of 126) as the victory of the toiling and suppressed masses over the exploiters and oppressors. But the fact that as many as 65% voted against the Communist was conveniently eclipsed by the propaganda smoke screen. Simply because these 65% voted against them the solemn ascertain of Communists is that the bulk of these 65% does not comprise the ordinary, under-privileged and working class."

"Under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, a conference of Police officers was held on 26th September 1957, and the Law Minister, emerging out of this Conference, issued a statement to the Press which, when viewed from any angle, is reactionary to the core. He said that 'the workers should quit the factory or workshop as soon as their period of work is over; overstaying in the factory or workshop premises after working others' property, and in such an event, the Police have been instructed to enter the scene and handle the situation tactfully and diplomatically. Although the Indian constitution permits everyone the right of assembly, procession and such other public demonstration, if as a result of such activities, the peace is going to be disturbed or if there is any likelihood of any viol-

ent clash, such development will have to be brought under control by putting bans, and restrictions.' These propaganda stunts are centred round an important object which the Communists are trying to establish, namely that the Congress Ministries in the other States are the custodians of the vested interests, whereas it is only the Communist Ministry of Kerala which truly works for the interest of the Have-nots."

Under the guise of elevating the working class to its so-called rightful status, the Communists are as much a vested interest as any other. The worst thing is that the Communists are anti-democratic; that is, they preclude all possibility of differences of opinion.

How corrupt the Communists are may be seen by the manner they have introduced land "reforms". "The Communist party in Kerala finds it cannot go against vested interests because as many as 20 MLA's are outstanding landowners, so they have joined them in helping themselves to salvage their properties from the mischief of the Land Bill recently introduced in the Kerala Assembly. Rich Communist MLA's have sold their lands to circumvent the spirit of the reform. The Law Minister himself, who is responsible to pilot the bill, has sold his huge properties."

This is the integrity of the Communists! The Law Minister, Com. V. R. Krishna Iyer managed to get out of the scope of the Agrarian Relation Bill, recently introduced, an area covering 87 acres 10 cents. The manner in which this crafty deed was performed is itself an indictment of the Communist rule. Mr. V. V. Rama Iyer (who is the father of the Law Minister), acting on the behalf of his son, transferred the property into a trust known as Sri. Venkataeswara Private family Religious and Charitable Trust.

One can go into all these forms of corruption. They are legion. But it is useless, unless we are prepared to face the facts as they are. Communism is an ideology devised to fool the voters, to kid them into believing in the impossible, and then, once entrenched in power, giving them the thumb—the same thumb the people in Soviet Russia have been gaping at in silence for the last forty years and the same thumb that crushed recently the Hungarian revolution.

K. D. Valicha

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We have received with thanks fortnightly bulletins of the Commonwealth Survey numbers 23, 24, 25, 26. These will be reviewed in the next issue of the *Indian Libertarian*. The contents mainly refer to British and other relevant problems affecting the Commonwealth Nations. They will prove useful to students of economics and politics.

We have also received the February issue of *The New Socialist*. It contains interesting articles by P. B. Desai, Acharya Kripalani, M. N. Roy and others. "Social Democracy in Theory and Practice" by Jovan Djordjevic is particularly of interest as it is based on experiences of the Yugoslav experiment. Other interesting articles are "Radical Humanism" by Roy and "Sheikh Abdullah" by Balraj Puri. It features three book-reviews. It is priced at one rupee and contains 48 pages.

K.D.V.

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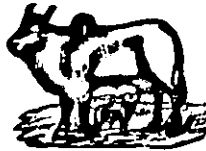
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