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Editorial

COLLAPSE OF DEMOCRACY IN ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

THE history of Islamic nations in West Asia who attained freedom after the first World War—Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq is instructive regarding the influence of Islam on social psychology. Islam has never shown any tendency to develop democratic institutions in spite of the claim that it is inherently democratic on the ground of its tenet of the equality of all Muslims before God and the Prophet. Islamic nations have illustrated the inadequacy of religious notions of "equality before God" to furnish the basis for a genuine fraternal and democratic system conferring real equality of opportunity for all citizens. Islam has always been wedded to autocracy and intolerance. The climate that it engenders in the social mind is hostile to democracy. It is necessary to study the ingredients of the Islamic system—theology, ethics, code of conduct of man and woman and of its ruling ideas and values for Indian publicists. This is being urged by Mr. R. B. Lotvala for years now to help us to understand the Muslim mind. If our leaders had more knowledge of it than they have, the tragic history of Congress blunders would perhaps have been avoided.

The latest news that President Soekarno of Indonesia has proclaimed his determination to set up a nominated Government of experts—suspending the democratic Constitution adopted at the time of independence, is further verification of the hypothesis that there is something in Islam that makes democracy difficult to its believers. The example of Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq and the latest addition to their company, namely Pakistan, is further corroboration of the hostility of Islamic tradition to democracy and modern institutions. The cultivation of these medieval ramshackle States by India on the ground of "Asianism" is a peculiar anachronism which is likely to cost India dearly in the future.

There is more in common between India's modern political system and the governing values of Europe and America than between India and Islamic peoples, which fact should be reflected in our foreign policy.

Red Star Over Kerala

FOR the first time in the history of international communism, a communist party has come to power through the ballot box in the State of Kerala in the Union of India. There seems to be a competition between Pakistan and the international ideology that it exploits in Islamic lands on the one hand and international communism led by Soviet Russia on the other to increase their striking power against India. Opinion has differed so far with regard to the relative danger of the two forces to the security of India. But today the near-victory of the Reds in Kerala in the elections makes it clear that

India has to reckon with both forces and rally the defensive forces of the country, psychological and military, economic and political, in a more resolute and forthright manner than hitherto if the dangers confronting it are to be overcome.

It is necessary to estimate what to expect by way of subversive acts and policies, direct and indirect, short range and long term of a Communist Government in the State of Kerala. It is necessary to build attitudes and powers of resistance in the public mind, both in Kerala, and in the Union generally, so that the CPI may not have things its own way, and forge closer bonds than would be healthy with the Soviet Union and international communism.

The Immediate Results

The direct results, of course, would be a resolute catering to the class interests of the poor in all their ranks, particularly labour, industrial and agricultural. Even before the elections, the communist party had demanded a rise of 25 per cent in the wages of industrial labour irrespective of the establishments in which they were working, private or public. Even the leaders of the Congress-led INTUC (Indian Trade Union Congress) fell in with the cry and made it their own. It did not help them however, their leaders being defeated in the elections. The Kerala State cannot carry this out unless the Centre gives them the funds required. Will the Centre oblige? Will it not upset the Plan, causing similar demands from the other states and if conceded to everywhere, adding to the tempo of inflation already so ominously making itself felt? Rice has risen in price from Rs. 60 per palla of 100 seers to Rs. 81. The highest levels of the scarcity period of four years ago are not far from us. Yet the Finance Minister is continuing his threats of higher taxation and more deficit finance!

And if the Centre should refuse to oblige Kerala, the Kerala communist party can be expected to take a hand by organising orgies of protest against Delhi with a view to fixing responsibility for the consequent unpopularity. The masses will thus be led to look upon the communists as their beloved leaders, while the Congress leadership and the Central Government will be painted in their eyes in the colours and lineaments of the devil.

Debauching Indian Economy

As is indicated by Mr. Gopalan's Bill in the Lok Sabha, the Kerala Reds will take measures to nationalise the British plantations of tea, rubber and coffee in the State. The arguments urged against its present expediency by Mr. Morarji Desai—that it requires too much of funds by way of compensation, that the British are not exploiters in any material sense, since they pay good wages and give better amenities to labour than Indian planters, that they find sales in

Britain for their produce and earn respectable quantities of foreign exchange etc. will not deter the Reds from their programme. For it is not a mere economic question with them. It is primarily a question of ideology with them. They are keener on detaching the Indian economy from its ties with the free world and attaching it irrevocably to the economy of socialist states (communist states dominated by Soviet Russia). For this purpose the Reds will propose nationalisation *in instalments*, so that with the announcement of the policy, the planters themselves will pack up and leave. They cannot sell, since no one will pay any decent price under the circumstances!

Additional inducements will also be forthcoming by way of strikes and intimidating agitation against planters. Since the police will be under the Red Government, any attack on planters, in the course of the agitation, that may be indulged in by the workers or the mob generally, will not be detected and booked. For Red law is against the capitalists and all classes of the population except the proletariat and the communist elite! That is "Soviet legality" by which is meant that the judges should interpret law always in favour of the communist government and against the "class enemies," whether guilty of any particular crime or offence or not!

Destruction Of Agricultural Economy

The next item which will receive revolutionary attention at the hands of the Reds is "*land reform*", which means simply the destruction of property in land. The landowning class will be liquidated—non-violently as the principle is already accepted by the Centre and land tenancy acts have been passed by Bombay and other States. Land will be distributed to tillers. Naturally the portion of each beneficiary will be infinitesimally small. This is also in the book of communist law and *sastra* for they can be herded more easily into collective farms. Countless middle class families, who have always and everywhere been the pillars of society and bulwarks of freedom will be dispossessed and become paupers. Some of them will join the communist party, as a good many have already done so in anticipation of this day. They will be full of resentment and will swell the army of the revolutionary destructive forces doing havoc in the country.

Catching The Young

The Reds will have jurisdiction over education also in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. They will make full use of it to convert all education to communist *indoctrination*. The only pabulum offered to the young at school will henceforth be *Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism*. All social science and even physical and mathematical sciences and the arts will be thrown into this mechanical mould. The freedom of the teacher and student will be destroyed. What is taught in Soviet Russia and her satellites about world history and the inevitability of world revolution (and the disappearance of nationalism and all classes except the working class led by the com-

munist self-elected elite) will be reproduced in the schools of Kerala. Much depends on the attitude of Mr. Nehru and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon to these proposals of the Kerala Reds.

Krishna Menon As "Chota" Dictator

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon made his first important speech on foreign policy in Lok Sabha on the 26th March. His entry into Parliamentary life, through the ballot-box, confers on him added prestige and the status of a front rank politician in his own right, and not merely as an appointee of Pandit Nehru. His influence on Nehru will thus be enhanced. No one can contemplate this with satisfaction. For he gives expression to the unspoken leanings of Nehru and this help them to obtain a stronger hold on his mind which will counter-act any liberal inclinations that may be still surviving in his subconscious mind. With Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in the Central Cabinet (for he is sure to be appointed to a high Cabinet post), and the Reds in power in the State of Kerala, Indian politics will reap the first fruits of the fateful Avadi Resolution on the socialistic pattern of society, which will take on the colour and shape, more and more of full communist socialism.

The speech was marked by a remarkable statement in answer to the criticism of Mr. Kripalani which reveals the essentially un-national (to put it mildly—for the proper word is unpatriotic) mentality of Mr. Krishna Menon. As is only to be expected of one of his past in the communist movement in Britain, his mind is essentially motivated by communist or proletariat internationalism. As Mao too, has expressed clearly, even Chinese nationalism is being subordinated by the Chinese Communist Party to Soviet internationalism.

The passage is the following: "It would be bad if we counted among our friends only those who support us. Friendship does not mean that sovereign nations should always take your side. I venture to say that that Mr. Kripalani has spoken much that is to be regretted, because while all speeches are reported in full in our country, only certain speeches will be reported in other countries, and they tend to take an importance out of proportion to the general context of the observations made."

New Delhi Is Friends Of Every Nation Except India

Two observations are in order on this remarkable passage in the speech of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon. Firstly, he confesses unconsciously that even nations and governments who *do not* support our interests and even oppose them on occasion are *not* to be treated by us as antagonists but friends. So in Mr. Menon's mind, national interests are not paramount! From this point of view, the policy of his master stands out in glaring light. It is admitted that Pakistan has no right to the part of Kashmir that she has forcibly and unlawfully occupied but Mr. Nehru and his friend Mr. Menon will not do anything by force to a take it back! Why should India make a present

(Continued on page 10)

Agricultural Statesmanship

By M. A. Venkata Rao

BOTH in industry and agriculture, Indian policy has received a decisive orientation towards Marxism of the Soviet Russian variety since the passing of the Avadi resolution which defined national reconstruction in terms of a socialistic pattern of society. The subsequent Amritsar Congress removed the ambiguity in the phrase and equated it definitely with "socialist structure" and socialism. And now the Indore session has sought to allay the misgivings of thoughtful people by retaining the words "co-operative commonwealth" while adding "socialist" to the Congress creed. So the final form today is "socialist co-operative commonwealth" as regards the goal of public policy to which the country is committed by the ruling Party.

The substance of socialism contemplated is of the Russian variety beyond the shadow of a doubt. Any doubt in this respect will be dispelled by a glance at the pattern of investment built into the Second Five Year Plan with its undue stress on heavy industries and over-ambitious targets of production beyond the scope of our normal resources. The idea is to squeeze out the private sector altogether as objectionable to the socialist ideal of a classless society. The commercial and industrial class will be destroyed (non-violently in the first stage) through excessive confiscatory taxation and through narrowing its sphere through the aggrandisement of the public sector and absorbing the entire savings of the country for it through public loans.

Liquidating The Farmers

Now there are clear indications that the powers that be are contemplating a similar drive in the countryside to remove the class of independent farmers. Just as the policy in industry and commerce is to remove the class of independent entrepreneurs and property-holders, so in agriculture the policy is definitely to eliminate the land-owning peasant proprietor through the universalisation of the so-called "agricultural cooperatives." Two Government Delegations have studied Chinese 'reforms' in agriculture both in respect of the steps taken to increase production through Government encouragement and of the measures being taken to extend "agricultural co-operatives" on a colossal scale. Their reports so far as they are available in the shape of press summaries are couched in terms of extravagant praise and uncritical enthusiasm, with of course a face-saving proviso that in India we should achieve similar "progress" strictly through democratic procedures without compulsion and intimidation. The Prime Minister recently expressed annoyance with State Ministers and Congress high-ups for not daring even to put the idea of co-operatives to peasants. It is clear that after the elections (which has brought

the Congress party again to power) there will be a persistent attempt made to increase the number of agricultural co-operative farms on an unprecedented scale, on the Russian and Chinese models. The country is facing a crossroads situation in agriculture as well as in industry. The industrial class has begun to realise the need for organised resistance to the perilous situation in which they find themselves largely on account of their own default and defects of leadership and character. The large class of land-owners has been demoralised by the spectacle of the easy way in which the zamindari system has been abolished by the new politicians. Laws in favour of tillers enabling them to acquire property in the land they till (on behalf of owners) have been passed in some states like Bombay with its Land Tenancy Act. The next step is to deprive the new owners of the land they have recently acquired (or will acquire shortly) by herding them into agricultural "co-operative farms." The policy has been decisively declared in the Plans.

After The Soviet Pattern

Experiment concerns only the means and pace of the "reform." The Plans define co-operative farming as a way of farming in which peasant owners pool their lands and work under a common management. Where lands are pooled under a single management, the status of the participants will no longer be that of independent peasant proprietors with full property rights—to operate, sell or lease their land in accordance with their own judgement and plan of life. The peasant will become a mere labourer working on the joint or co-operative farm for hire. If the farm is managed by a committee elected by the peasants, the individual ordinary member will have no sense of participation. The chances are that the management will slip into the hands of Government-nominated party or officials as in Russia and China. In this case even the illusion of participation on a voluntary basis will disappear and the labourer will be reduced to the position of the urban factory labourer who owns nothing but his hands. The net result will be the utter dependence of the farmer for his food and all other means of existence on the public administration. What freedom or individual initiative and personal dignity will survive under such a system can be easily imagined. And this is the shape and essence of socialism in regard to agriculture. And this is the immediate goal set before our unfortunate country by its present rulers.

Let Us Be Forewarned

And since there is no immediate prospect of changing the ruling groups, it is crucial for the welfare of the country that the dangers of the policies decided

upon by them should be brought home to as wide a circle of people as possible through resolute and widespread campaigns of public education conducted by all who realise the perils of the accepted programmes. While democracy is still in being by way of free public debate and a free press, opportunity should be availed of to present the other side of the shield to the general public so that the pressure of public opinion may yet occasion a halt to the disastrous courses under way and save the country from ruin in the name of the most up-to-date "progress".

These are not merely the misgivings of libertarians like ourselves. Recognised advisers of the regime like the Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education who considered agricultural education as part of public instruction as early as 1948-49 have sounded a similar note of warning regarding the dangers of "improvisation and imitation". The words are theirs—"Improvising or imitation is dangerous" (page 197, University Education Commission Report). They call for statesmanship in agriculture as in other sphere of national reconstruction.

What is the difference between statesmanship and party or power politics? Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State during the entire period of the three-term Presidency of F. D. Roosevelt, twitted Anthony Eden during the last war with being only a politician while claiming that he himself was a statesman.

Statesmanship connotes long term views of the permanent interests of the nation. It consists in a vision of the potentialities of development by way of security, happiness and progress of the people and a capacity to persuade leading groups and the people at large to accept policies making for such permanent welfare lasting for generations.

Against Democratic Fundamentals

Statesmanship in agriculture called for by the University Commission requires a number of principles to be kept in view in the formulation of agricultural policies. The first concerns the goal of such policies. What is our paramount aim in agriculture? It is not enough to say that it is increased production. Increased production is necessary but it should not be achieved at the cost of human dignity and happiness and freedom. Production is not an end in itself. Enhanced production should form part of an overall way of life productive of the essentials of democratic well-being. As the Commission put it.—

"India has also other needs than food. The new India has committed herself to the upholding of human freedom, to the recognition of individual worth, to the nurture of human dignity and self-respect. The food problem of India must be solved by means which are in harmony with the fundamental principles of freedom, democracy, equality and fraternity, which are the foundation stones on which the structure of the new Indian society is being built." (Page 196, Report of the Univ. Comm. 1950).

Such ultimate views may seem to be universally accepted but there are influential groups in the country belonging to the Leftist schools of thought (of whom the Communists are the most extreme section)

who are lukewarm about freedom and individuality. They are sold on socialism or collectivism with little or no place for individual freedom.

The second principle therefore concerns the means to be adopted to realise a free society. Leftists say that collectivism is the one and only sure path towards a society free from exploitation and compact of human freedom—freedom from want. They say that there is no alternative to socialism or collectivism. They base themselves on the ground that *laissez faire* has failed in the past and present. This assumption has to be combated through reason and analysis of examples and ideas by libertarians who have to picture an alternative system of social relations for progress and happiness on an individual basis, with such regulation as may be found to be absolutely necessary for safeguarding equality of opportunity and preventing the cancerous growth of monopoly.

Co-operative—A Deceptive Name

And in the field of agriculture there is abundant testimony to prove the fact that co-operative farming of the variety now being proposed in barefaced imitation of the awful Russian and Chinese examples cannot lead us to the end proposed, namely; progressive production, through freedom. These co-operative farms are really a misnomer. They are truly *collectives* which pool the land and management of individual farmers and leave them no individual responsibility and freedom of operation. They are no more cooperatives in the true sense than "*people's democracies*" are democracies in any genuine sense. Freedom is the first casualty in these "co-operative farms."

The Report of the Indian Co-operative Union of New Delhi which has just been released (in mimeograph form) has performed a valuable service in bringing the relevant data bearing on the danger of so-called 'cooperative farms' to the attention of students and the administration.

Next to the question of freedom is the problem of increasing production. Why are these co-operatives advocated? Obviously on the unproven assumption that they spell scientific, planned operations on large scale units of land utilising the latest technology in tools and fertilisers resulting necessarily in enhanced rates of production. The Union's Report brings evidence from the experience of many countries showing that cooperative farming has *not* resulted in any striking increment of production per unit of land and labour. Russia, China the East European States within the Soviet orbit, Britain, the U.S.A., Mexico are all referred to in their survey.

Agricultural Statesmanship

In the communist countries, the system of "cooperative farming has been introduced through orgies of violence and the extreme rigour of a totalitarian administration. The instinct of the peasant for ownership of the land he tills is so profound and so entwined with the heart-strings of his personality that he has resisted the deprivation of his ancestral right in an all-out manner. Stalin told Winston Churchill that the liquidation and subjugation of the peasants gave him more trouble and anxiety than the war against

Nazi hordes. The intentions of our leaders seem to be to persuade the peasant through non-violent means to accept the role of labourer in "co-operative farms." How this is to be done passes comprehension unless under non-violent means are included the pressure of discrimination in other ways—e.g. food rations, credit facilities, seeds, prices for grain and other farm products of individualist farmers. This is being added to direct pressure and violence in China.

Warning From Russia

There is evidence that Russia has not increased her production levels in farm products since Czarist days in spite of all the development of collectives in the last thirty years.

In East European States the same story is repeated. In the recent October Revolution of Hungary, the first thing that the farmers did was to dissolve many co-operatives and to democratise many others. Comulka of Poland presented a devastating indictment of Russian-sponsored planning and showed that production on private farms was 30 per cent greater than on co-operatives.

The assumption that collective farming will automatically increase production is thus fallacious. The increase of production that has resulted (to the extent that it has) is more due to the assistance given to the farmer and farms by way of credit, improved seeds and tools than to the formation of co-operatives. This is commented on by the Thapar report as well. The decisive factor is that of incentive but the membership of collectives offers no scope whatever for such incentive. On the contrary it creates a sense of desolation in the peasant and takes the light out of his life.

Further, the unit of farming need not be very large for securing enhanced rates of production per unit of land and labour. The results of Japanese agriculture are impressive in this respect.

'On an average a peasant family in Japan cultivates only 2.5 acres as compared with 3.43 acres in overcrowded Bihar. While in India 59 per cent of the holdings are less than 5 acres in size, in Japan 95 per cent of the holdings are less than 5 acres and more than 40 per cent less than 1½ acres in size. And yet the yield of paddy in Japan is 48.1 quintals per hectare as compared with 12.2 quintals in India, 28.3 quintals in the USA and 21.5 quintals in the USSR'.^o (A hectare is equivalent to 2½ acres)

The Example Of India

In view of these indisputable facts and the gravity of the situation which threatens to destroy the foundations of peaceful progress in the countryside and disorganise the entire economy of the country it is essential to spread a knowledge of the crucial difference between the ethical co-operation of the Rochdale type with which the non-communist world is familiar and the collective type of farming that the communist countries favour. It is more a question of ideology than of policy based on facts and experiments.

The usual type of co-operative society is seen at its best in Denmark and the Scandinavian countries generally. Danish agriculture exhibits the highest type of progress possible consistent with the preservation of

individual freedom and dignity for the peasant. The co-operatives in Denmark may be called cooperatives for betterment or specific service. They enable the individual small farmer to enjoy the benefits of large scale operations in the matter of monetary credit, and the joint purchase and sale of his requirements and products. But in the matter of the management of his own affairs in dairy or tillage and harvesting etc. he is his own master. The co-operatives maintain standards, offer scientific advice and market his products and obtain for him the latest equipment cheaply through wholesale societies. Helped in this way, the Danish farmer puts on the market more butter than the rest of the world and enjoys a standard of life as high as the workers of highly industrialised countries.

These Japanese and Danish examples are enough to show that the pooling of land and management is not necessary either for enhanced production rates or for producing a sense of well-being and freedom in the peasant.

If we are earnest with democracy and the fundamental rights, we should, as the University Commission recommended so long ago as 1949, institute a *free agency* for the formulation of agricultural policies based on the most reliable data obtained from all countries and tested by experiment in our own experimental farms. These policies should not be *deduced* by a *priori* logic from the accepted ideal of socialist society but should be elicited from experience and reason. They should not be adopted out of deference to the national idol—the Prime Minister who happens to have made up his mind through an uncritical absorption of Leftism in the thirties of the century under the false impression that such Leftism was the only road of progress in all sectors of life, society and State.

As the Commission puts it—"imitation is dangerous."

A COSTLY MONOPOLY

The Monopoly of the colony trade, therefore, like all the other mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile system, depresses the industry of all other countries, but chiefly that of the colonies, without in the least increasing, but on the contrary diminishing, that of the country in whose favour it is established.

To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies, and leave them to elect their own magistrates, to enact their own laws, and to make peace and war as they might think proper, would be to propose such a measure as never was, and never will be adopted, by any nation in the world. No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it, and how small soever the revenue which it afforded might be in proportion to the expense which it occasioned. Such sacrifices, though they might frequently be agreeable to the interest, are always mortifying to the pride of every nation, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, they are always contrary to the private interest of the governing part of it.

—Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*.

WILL U. S. A. RISK A WAR WITH CHINA?

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

AMERICA went to war with North Korea thinking that she would crush the latter in no time. Many other powerful nations went to her aid. United Nations blessed the attempt, stating that North-Korea was the aggressor. So it was a war between North Koreans and U.N. Two years of war by mighty nations did not quell the alleged aggressor who had the backing of Chinese volunteers. U.S.A. and her allies had to consent to an armistice after America, lost about three hundred thousand soldiers as dead and wounded. Her allies did not help her adequately. Her own warriors had no heart in fighting because they argued "why should we fight an alien nation which has been struggling to achieve its own domestic objective and that too in a distant land from our own"? There were also rumblings that U.S.A. could not send adequate ammunition too, perhaps because some people in America had no heart in this war. The bulk of Americans thought that her boys were being unnecessarily sacrificed.

Make Asians fight Asians

U.S.A. did not herself send troops to Indo-China, though she sent war materials to help the fighting French. Though this help was enormous, the latter, who were war-weary after more than seven years of fighting and whose country could not bear the heavy expenses of a modern war in a far off place were compelled to submit to a 'cruel' treaty with the adversary, Viet Minh, conceding to the latter more than half of the best portion of Viet-Nam. U.S.A. has well understood how difficult it is for the white man to fight the Asians. So America's tactics is at present changed to "Make Asians fight Asians". Will she succeed?

Now U.S.A. is giving all help, short of providing American soldiers, to General Chiang Kai-Shek to fight the Chinese People's Government on the mainland of China. The Seventh American Fleet is there to help Chiang, who may have at the most half a million men of untested loyalty. People's China has a vast population. She can easily mobilise twenty million soldiers who have otherwise to half-starve. Death to them has no fear. It may be an escape from future suffering. They have fought the Japanese during one decade. They are war veterans.

China can easily have some fifty million soldiers as reserve. She has vowed to take Formosa. She must have her own strategy. Russia will help her with the most up-to-date war equipment and technicians. Not being a member of the U.N. is an advantage to her. She had complete mastery over her foreign policy. The West has treated her as an untouchable. She is therefore drawing closer to Russia and the latter wants her help too.

As long as U.S.A. is not prepared to sacrifice her own men, her help in materials will not be of much avail to Chiang to win against such odds. Both Chiang

and U.S.A. know this. This is why Mr. Dulles has not included the defence of Formosa in the SEATO. He has stated at Manila that America will defend Philippines with her soldiers if China should attack these islands which may mean that she will not defend Formosa with her own men. If the American Fleet should shell the mainland of China or attack Chinese bombers on their way to Formosa, U.S.A. becomes a belligerent nation and she knows that there might be grave repercussions from which she cannot extricate herself easily. Thus, China may get Formosa. The American Seventh Fleet may then move to Philippines.

U.S.A. Will Not Risk Soldiers In Asia

Will the Chinese ambition be limited to Formosa? Perhaps it would have. But China thinks SEATO is an affront to her and also a challenge. She thinks that U.S.A. will not risk her soldiers in Asia. If U.S.A. should risk them, a conflagration may be started in Europe by Russia, especially since Europe will be weaker now before West Germany will be armed. Then U.S.A. will have two fronts as she cannot absolve herself of her responsibility to protect West Germany.

The contracted British Empire will not have the heart to participate in a Far Eastern Asian imbroglio because she will give a handle to China to wrest Hongkong and then try her hand at Australia. Moreover, the British have to think of their preparedness to guard their own country; Britain, and their own possessions in Africa, British Guiana and so on. Britain also knows only too well that she will be the first target of attack in the next world-war since she has given bases to U.S.A. She cannot afford to waste her men and materials in a war of doubtful success in Asia. She has also learnt a bitter lesson in Korea, what it means to fight China, who has the support of Russia.

Pakistan A Liability

Pakistan is too shrewd to risk her soldiers in the Far-East, however, much war materials may be provided her by U.S.A., because the position of the Government of Pakistan is not quite strong. If she once enters a war, she may have too many fronts to fight from. Moreover, the attitude of East Bengal and Phaktoonistan towards Karachi may change completely in the confusion of a war.

Other SEATO powers are more a liability to U.S.A. than an asset. Unless U.S.A. is prepared to risk some ten million well armed soldiers of her own, SEATO would only give an incentive to China to try to conquer the Philippines first and Australia next. Before doing this she may think of driving the foreigners out of Japan as their bases in that country could be used to bomb China. If U.S.A. will use her atomic weapons

(Continued on page 10)

DE-STALINIZATION

By James Burnham

SINCE the Hungarian massacre by Soviet arms, the resurgence of Molotov, and the resumption of a brutal tone in Kremlin statements, there has been much talk about "de-Stalinization".

Let us observe, first, that the meaning of "de-Stalinization" was rather generally misinterpreted. Our chronic optimists believed that it argued, in sum, an abandonment of the world revolution, a softening of both inward and outward behaviour. The regime was settling down. It had decided to try to live with its own citizens by improving their conditions of life, and with the rest of the world by shifting from revolutionary onslaught to a "competitive co-existence."

"De-Stalinization" in that sense occurred only in the heads of our optimists.

Nevertheless, de-Stalinization, correctly defined, had been a reality. It started some time before the 20th Congress, and even before the death of Stalin.

What Stalinism Is

STALINISM, as a special political phenomenon, is a method and structure of rule. Its primary characteristics are the following:—

1. **MONOLITHISM.** Under Stalinism, all opposition, ideological as well as organizational, is eliminated. There are no opposition parties, factions, cliques or "tendencies", either within the Soviet Union or anywhere in the world movement. All nations (or other constituent units) belonging to the Stalinist system must pursue an identical policy ("one road to Socialism"). There is no public expression of any opposition opinion on any subject of importance. All decisions are formally unanimous.

2. **POLICE TERROR.** Stalinist monolithic rule is exercised through an all-pervasive, all-encompassing police terror, making use not only of traditional police and terror methods but of the combination of spies, informers, purges, confessions, trials, psychological pressures, assassinations, genocide, slave camps, etc. developed by the OGPU and its successors.

3. **PYRAMIDAL "chain of command."** The political framework under Stalinism is in the form of a pyramid with a single man at the apex. Lines of authority all lead to and from this apex. The No. 1 need not be literally an "absolute" despot: all rulers must have colleagues and associates. But the system provides, as in an army, an unequivocal Command Organisation, a mechanism permitting decisions that express the monolithic "line" to flow as from a central switchboard down the converged lines of authority. Whether or not No. 1 actually made the decisions, his certification made them unmistakably valid, and everybody knew the score.

The Breakdown Of Stalinism

The Stalinist system developed into its typical form by about 1930, and for two decades it worked, after its fashion. But it never really stabilized, and was

always subject to the severe internal tensions to which the scale of the continuing purges and liquidations gave indirect witness.

The Soviet's war and postwar conquests, though in one sense a triumph of Stalinism, also introduced major new sources of strain. The monolithic structure had to be expanded to include a series of new, formerly independent nations that had not undergone a prolonged Communist processing.

The Yugoslav crack in the monolith appeared at about the same time as the Chinese extension, which was never fully intergrated with the main Stalinist structure in spite of exhausting efforts.

Meanwhile other stresses built up from the peasantry throughout the empire, from the general population that wanted more consumer goods, and from the intellectual and managerial groups that wanted a somewhat more relaxed ideological and political regime.

Then Stalin died—or, quite possibly, was murdered. There was no recognized "legitimate" successor. Therefore there followed a disruption of the chain of command that progressively affected the entire pyramid. Since the monolithic unanimity of the system is bound up with the one-man pyramidal command structure, the cracks soon spread to the monolith. There was no longer a single accepted voice that could utter the unchallenged imperatives of "the general line". And, finally, the police terror cannot function with pervasive assurance while there is division in the High Command.

As the partial disintegration at the top spread down the channels of authority, the centrifugal tensions had freer play. These reciprocally affected the leaders at the upper levels, and deepened their divisions.

The mass outbursts in the Vorkutta and other slave camps, in East Germany, Georgia, Kiev, Poznan, Warsaw, Tibet, North Vietnam, Hungary started the de-Stalinization process, which Khrushchev at the 20th Congress did not initiate but belatedly sought to ride.

De-Stalinization in this its actual sense—is not something that can be reversed by ordering five thousand tanks to shoot fifty thousand human beings. The presidium earlier ordered tanks into the slave camps and East Germany without halting the spread of still wider cracks on into Poznan and Budapest.

The problem of the internally divided Soviet leadership is not less but much greater than at the moment of Stalin's death. They must reconstruct a new Stalin along with a newly cemented monolithism: or they must discover a new mode—if there is one—of organising a revolutionary Communist totalitarian society.

Their problem is indeed so supremely difficult that they would have no chance at all of solving it unless they were assured, as it seems they can feel assured, of a total lack of interference from our side.

—National Review

(Continued from page 8)

and bomb China, the latter will retaliate on the big cities of U.S.A. and possibly Canada too. The loss to the latter two countries will be more than to China. In trying to dig a well, one sometimes comes across the devil, as the Indian saying goes.

SEATO is a challenge to America also, whether she means 'diplomacy of bluff' as her own Democratic Party has said recently or means business. There is also a big question, whether American parents will risk another blood bath for their youth and possibly to themselves also, at a time when nature and art have so kindly conceded to them every kind of prosperity in their own land.

We in India do not wish that these powerful nations, especially U.S.A., Britain, and Russia should be engaged in a war of attrition because the consequent destruction of their industries may make our own industrial advancement more difficult and tardy. It is not to our interest to have a Third World War.

—Sunday Times

(Continued from p. 4)

of a part of her territory to Pakistan? To enhance the world reputation they aspire for to be hailed as peace makers? They are friends of every country but their own apparently!

The second observation concerns the advice tendered by Mr. Menon to Mr. Kripalani not to speak freely lest foreign newspapers should distort it to the disfavour of India. Now Parliament is supposed to be the sovereign organ of free opinion of the free and sovereign citizens of independent India. It is their privilege and duty to speak their minds freely and fearlessly in the interests of the country. Now Mr. Krishna Menon comes forward with the warning that members of Parliament should *not* speak their minds freely, but keep an eye on international press and trim their words accordingly! On what principles should they do so? Apparently whatever is disliked by Mr. Menon should be trimmed and suppressed. This is an outrage on the privilege of members of Parliament.

And Here Are Some Howlers By An "Historian"

IN two or three universities of North India, a cultural history, "Evolution of Indian Culture" by Prof. Lunia is prescribed as a text book. I do not know how this book which is a rehash of several books has been prescribed.

This book has established a "new record" in twisted—to be more correct—incorrect statements. A few examples should convince even a lay man of the perversions abounding in this book.

On page 415 this great writer remarks. "The Hindus went so far as to make an *avatar* of the Emperor Akbar." Again according to this writer, Shivaji "was the greatest constructive genius that the Hindus of India have produced" (page 494) And then this Indian Grant Duff remarks, "The Marathas like a swarm of locusts swept down the plains of the North and carried fire and sword in the countryside." He again discloses that the great "Swami Vivekanand was well educated in school and college and in due course was married."

I am informed that the learned writer of this history is the head of History Department in a college and takes post-graduate classes. One can only pity the students.

When I wrote about his remarks about Swami Vivekanand in the *Hindustan Times*, the publisher of the history rushed in with a contradiction that the statement about Swami Vivekanand was "a misprint". I have quoted the whole sentence, and leave it to your readers to judge whether it was a *mis-statement* or a *mis-print*.

—V. S. Godbole in "Organiser"

Government Should Not Act For The People

NO Government, whether central or local, should do anything which can be done or decided by individuals or by small groups of individuals for themselves.

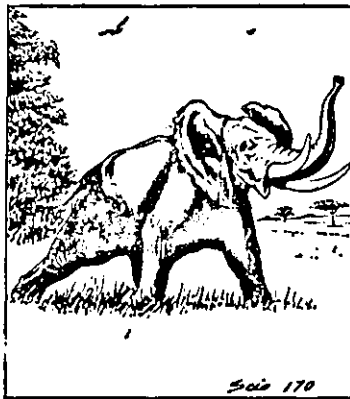
—Edmund Burke

DID YOU KNOW ...

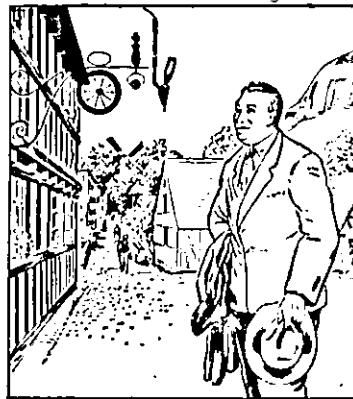
by SCIO



Malaria is the world's greatest health problem, attacking some 200,000,000 persons in 1955 in 135 countries, and directly killing 2,000,000 people.



A full-grown elephant weighs about 10,000 pounds.



Hans Natchtich, a member of the first Soviet tourist group to visit Denmark since the war, asked for political asylum.

Pak Fifth-Columnists In India

By "Vigilant"

WHILE Pakistan is perpetually carrying on a campaign of hate and hatred against India and daily spitting out venom against the Indian Prime Minister and the Indian Government through Radio Pakistan, it is no wonder, that so late in the day, have the Delhi authorities awakened to the presence of Pakistanis in the Capital. According to a report appearing in the *Times of India*, over 300 nationals of Pakistan have been discovered in Delhi alone, who have overstayed their temporary visas. In addition, we are also told that over 100 more, who are believed to have come here without even any permits. If the relations between Pakistan and India were normal and friendly, the presence of so many nationals from a neighbouring country should have passed unnoticed. But that is not the case between Pakistan and India. All these 10 years Pakistan has built a high wall of hatred and animosity between the two countries. The campaign of hate and hatred is daily mounting up, and today not a day passes when either the Pakistani official spokesmen or the Pakistani Radio have not added fuel to the fire by their utterances and their statements.

Need Of Action

In such a state of affairs the presence of such a large number of the nationals of Pakistan in the Capital should give cause for great concern, and should provoke punitive measures against them by the authorities. These unwanted Pakistani nationals should at the earliest moment, be driven across the frontier or should be "neutralised" by long term imprisonments. But the authorities seem to be quibbling over legal niceties and formalities when the danger of such a large number of nationals of a country, that openly swears enmity towards India, is obvious on the face of it.

We are told in the report in the *Times of India* that the authorities "are legally competent" to take action against those who have smuggled themselves into the country. Then the question arises: Who is restraining them in that action? Further "enlightenment" on the affair is thrown when it is stated the recent Ordinance, promulgated by the Government to exercise some control over the movements of the smuggled Pakistani nationals, has NOT achieved the desired effect. It is stated by the officials that the procedure laid down in the Ordinance is cumbersome and unwieldy.

An Encouragement

From what actually happens it seems that the Ordinance instead of controlling their movements gives them an opportunity to be forewarned, and change their tactics and their habitations. The provision of a month for the smuggled Pakistani nationals to clear themselves from this country only enables them to go underground and thus make themselves

scarce. In fact it is a sort of a notice to them in advance that the authorities are on their track. Naturally this defeats the objects of the Ordinance. One wonders who were the authors of such a wonderful piece of enactment that gives the culprit a chance to escape from the arms of law. It is admitted by the authorities that over a 100 Pakistani nationals, who have overstayed their visa period, on the receipt of the notices under the Ordinance, have left Delhi and escaped to the neighbouring provinces of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. There is, therefore, very little consolation to Indians to be told that the Delhi authorities are keeping a strict watch on the doings and movements of the remaining Pakistani nationals in the Capital.

What About Explosions?

This reminds us of the total failure of the Delhi Police to trace so far the culprits of over half a dozen bomb explosions that took place in the Capital. To any one knowing at close quarters how these explosions took place, their quick timing, the daredevilry of the perpetrators of these atrocities, the failure of the Delhi Police to trace a single individual in connection with these explosions, and bring the charge home to him, know for certain that the Pakistani nationals had a hand in these atrocities. And yet till now, the Indian public does not know who the authors of these dastardly deeds were. At least the authorities could not lay their hands on them as yet.

A Wide-Spread Net

That these fifth-columnists are not only confined to the Capital but are spread all over the country is a known fact except to the authorities, as judged by their inaction. News have appeared from time to time about the activities of these Pak fifth-columnists in Indian papers, specially during the celebrations of the Republican or the Independence Days, when Pakistani flags were seen flying in Bombay, Hyderabad, U.P. and elsewhere. The recent agitation over the Bharathia Vidya Bhavan book clearly showed that behind the agitation were the hands of the Pakistani nationals, since cries of "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Hindustan Murdabad" were uttered at many places. If the agitation was confined to Indian Muslims it passes one's comprehension how could they raise anti-national slogans unless one were to presume that the Indian Muslims owe allegiance to Pakistan in preference to their land of birth. In any case all these obviously disconnected events, when put together, quite irresistibly prove that there is a wide-spread net of Pak spies and fifth-columnists in the country.

As stated above, if the relations between Pakistan and India were normal and friendly, there would have been no cause for alarm at the presence of

T. T. K. Admits That

Government Encouraged Black-Marketing

By "Vivek"

HARDLY ever can there have been a stronger statement by a responsible Minister of Government than Krishnamachari's reported explanation during the recent budget debate. Said he: "I knew that the man (to whom I gave a licence) was going to do blackmarketing. I knew taxes were not being paid. I knew huge profits were being made because we gave quantitative protection of a blanket nature. I knew we were bleeding the consumer in this country white by allowing these enterprises to charge what the market would bear. I and my Government did it in the interests of the country. We did not do it in the interests of private enterprise".

And he also said: "I must tell my friend from Mehsana that we have served this country well. In doing so we have served the poor man ill because we have served the vested interests extra-ordinarily well. Why? Because we wanted the wealth of the country to grow."

One Has To Be Grateful For This Frankness

The ordinary citizen has good cause to be grateful to the heat of debate. Only that, acting on an impulsive temperament, cut to the quick by the ungrateful assaults of those whom it believed it had continuously benefited, could have brought forth this startling revelation. Now at last the facts are out. They show themselves naked, shameless, in complete contradiction to all that the people have been told the Government stood for.

What exactly does Krishnamachari tell us? The

(Continued from p. 11)

Pakistani nationals even in larger numbers. But the relations between Karachi and New Delhi are far from happy. In fact the relations are strained to a breaking point. That Pakistani leaders and the people are thirsting for a showdown with India is a foregone conclusion. It may take some months, or at the most a year, but that the present Pakistani leadership are deadset on deciding the so-called differences between the two countries by war, is clear to any one but the blind. In the circumstances to allow such a free flow of smuggled Pakistani nationals many of whom can be presumed to be Pak agents in the country, is one of the greatest threats to the security of the nation. The New Delhi authorities cannot blink at these facts. If the Ordinance has failed to drive out the smuggled Pakistani nationals a fresh Ordinance should be enacted, which will see to it that either these smuggled Pakistani nationals are summarily driven out of the country, or immediately put under arrest in the interest of national integrity and security. To allow them to go underground is still more dangerous. These Pakistani unwanted

nationals constitute the fifth-column of Pakistan and should not be allowed in the country.

Government wanted the country to be wealthier. Therefore, they gave licences to men whom they knew would blackmarket, they turned a blind eye towards tax-evaders, they permitted the charging of extortionate prices by concerns whose products they protected from competition. They did all this, not through error nor through negligence, but with full knowledge. There was no lack of awareness that the consumer was, in Krishnamachari's expressive phrase, being bled white, nor that, to use his own words again, in order to serve vested interests extraordinarily well, the poor man was being ground down.

Distorted Philosophy

And yet, Krishnamachari has the temerity to assure us that by such acts he and his colleagues in the Government have served the country well. Clearly his conception of what constitutes the country needs extensive modification. Who are more properly the country, the mass of consumers and the poor or the blackmarketers, the tax-evaders, the makers of extortionate profits and the vested interests in industry and commerce? What kind of an economic philosophy is this that finds the country's welfare in serving extraordinarily well the strong, and mostly unworthy, few at the cost of the weak many? Perhaps this is the new Socialism which the Government is always so loath to define, the end-result of that flexible, non-doctrinaire outlook, that broad, uncommitted vision, which it proudly declares its ideal!

A country's wealth cannot be increased substantially without increasing industrial production. Industry, today, is almost entirely in private hands. Perhaps in Krishnamachari's view, those in charge of industry would not increase production without the kinds of inducements he details. Accordingly, to add to wealth, he had to offer them. If indeed, this is the reasoning, what a comment upon the nature and state of private industry! Condemnation could scarcely go further, nor after this, could any case against nationalisation be sustained.

A Free Licence To Malpractices

The argument in detail would seem to run thus: To get industrial expansion and increased industrial production, the rich, especially the managing rich, must be allowed and encouraged to get richer, for only if their savings, corporate and private, increase, will they feel desirous of investing. For their savings to increase, they must get better returns by ways legitimate and illegitimate. Since the objective is more production and consequently, greater

national wealth, no special notice need be taken of the means.

True, the increase in the riches of this class will probably be, in one way or another, at the expense of the bulk of the people. But, that cannot be helped. How else can capital be accumulated in the hands of the classes accustomed to use it for industrialisation? So, let Government policy ensure a free hand and no finickiness.

Nehru's Homily

On the same day on which Krishnamachari was making this statement, Nehru was telling an audience of businessmen that the idea of free enterprise in its original sense really pertained to the 19th century and could certainly not be fitted into the India of today. Those who attempted so to fit it were, he thought very mistaken.

What Nehru says is correct, but surely even the unadulterated free enterprise theory, with its implications of a free market, open competition and the State only standing by to serve as night watchman and very occasional umpire is infinitely better than the actual practice of Nehru's Government, as disclosed by the Finance Minister of that Government, according to which the night-watchman not unoften takes on the role of helpmate to the burglar, invites his attention to tempting joints, lets him escape after his coups, and distracts the victim's vigilance by singing seductive songs. That thereafter, he has the hardihood to tell the victim that he is, and has been, serving him most faithfully and well, is a measure both of his audacity and of his views of his victims' credulity.

Krishnamachari, of course, promises to reform. After the elections, it seems, he has come back a different man. No longer will he yearn only over the

capitalist. He is now determined, he says, to persuade his colleagues to "take direct financial responsibility for the well-being of the lowest income-brackets to the extent this Government have resources".

We can all applaud this determination and wish his efforts success. It should, of course, be clear to him that if this admirable sentiment means anything at all, it means at least providing the minimum quantity of cereals and pulses, 14 and 3 ounces respectively per day, at very reasonable prices to every individual. During the last year the prices of these commodities have, as he knows, risen very appreciably, so that large numbers of the poor have suffered greatly, Government having been unable to fulfil even its most elementary duty of providing food at reasonable rates for all the people.

Resources

When refuge is sought in the limitations of resources, it might be remembered that avoidance of waste, nay, even the abandonment of what may appear reasonable expenditure, if it is not absolutely indispensable on that strictest standard, is also as good as saving.

An important test any man entrusted with public funds and desirous of giving the best possible deal to the poorest classes could apply with advantage to all proposals for expenditure is, "If the funds were the property of a truly prudent person, would he spend them on the purpose stated when he had a large family of semi-starving children and relatives to feed?" Men in such position have also to remember that an ounce of example is worth several pounds of official statements and that the conspicuous consumption and ostentatious living behaviour of Ministers at the Centre and in the States can scarcely carry conviction when they plead limitation of public resources and call upon the people for austerity and sacrifice.

Democracy at Discount in Islamic Nations

By J. K. Dhairyawan

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MR. F. A. RIDLEY, the wellknown British Free-thinker and Rationalist, has recently referred to the organised Roman Catholic Church and the organised Islamic religion as the twin evils of the modern world. Mr. Ridley has put the finger correctly on these two religious institutions that have been the cause of so much bloodshed in the past, and continue to be the source of so much trouble at the present time. A cursory glance at the nations that are under the spell of these two religions will convince one of the truism of the statement of Mr. Ridley. Roman Catholic nations like Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal are two striking examples of the statement of Mr. Ridley. Add to them, the nations of Latin America, and you have a correct picture of how Roman Catholicism and Democracy cannot go together. In the same way many of the Islamic nations that were freed from the yoke of the former Turkish

empire after the First World War—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and other countries have not been able to establish democracy, or a stable modern government, based on the ideals of equal opportunities and tolerance between peoples professing different religions. In fact these Arab nations have been the cockpits of internecine troubles and political instability and seats of personalities and power-politics.

Pakistan And Indonesia Too

Since the end of the second World War, this group of Islamic nations was enlarged by the addition of Pakistan and Indonesia, both offshoots of, what can be termed the Indian or Hindu forms of civilisation. While India, after independence, has had its democratic Constitution and a stable government neither Pakistan nor Indonesia can show such a record. The

reason is that though they were part and parcel of the Indian subcontinent, having come under the influence of Islam, they have all the traits of Islamic fanaticism and Islamic aversion to modern form of a democratic government. The result has been that governments have been changed, from time to time, during all these ten years, and democracy has been at a very great disadvantage.

Pakistan had so far five Prime Ministers and the present Prime Minister is on the way to exit. A number of times the dictatorial rule of the self-appointed President has been clamped on both East and West Pakistan. In fact the people of Pakistan have not been able to draft a constitution for their country, as they have set before them, the goal of having a modern constitution within the framework of the old and outdated Koran. It was pointed by one of the former Prime Ministers of Pakistan that it was a hopeless task to frame a modern constitution within the four corners of the Islamic *Shariat*. And yet the rulers and the leaders at the top are still at their job of framing a constitution in terms of the *Koran*.

Indonesia And Islam

Similarly Indonesia, which has a culture and civilisation that owes everything to Indian or Hindu culture and civilisation, but having come under the influence of Islam, the people of that country, too, have been faced with a number of changes of governments, with a number of military *coups* thrown in during these ten years. The latest suggestion of President Soekarno of Indonesia of nominating a government of "experts" substituting the democratic government established under the constitution drafted after Independence, shows the trends of Islamic aversion to democratic institutions. Somehow or other, it seems that there is something in the Islamic mind that ill-becomes the growth and development of democratic institutions. Tolerance of the difference of opinion, the idea of a civilised way of life, the modern conception that religion, at best, is a matter of personal belief and faith, and should not interfere in the public life and administration of nations, are things that seem alien to Islam and her adherents. That is at the root of all the chaos and confusion that one sees in the Islamic nations of the world.

When Turkey, under the late Kemal Pasha, tried to take the nation to modern path and modern ways, every time he was bogged by the maulvies and maulanas against the reforms. In sheer desperation Kemal Pasha is reported to have thrown the book of *Koran* aside and stated that if that book came in the way of the progress of the nation that book has to go. It was then only that Turkey started on what little progress it has made according to modern standards.

All these traits in the Islamic nations have a great bearing on the Indo-Pakistani relations. All forms and means of appeasement that our Prime Minister Nehru has tried are bound to go in vain, because both he and the Congress leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, have NOT cared to understand this basic conditioning of the Islamic mind, and have NOT correctly read and appreciated the course of Islamic fanaticism and Islamic history of the world.

Apart from the fact, that so long as Pakistan is wedded to Islam, there cannot be any cordial relations between India and Pakistan, the wrong policy followed by our Congress rulers in wooing the so-called Islamic and Arab nations, on the false notion of a vague and non-existing "Asianism" and neglecting to build up closer ties with liberal Christian nations of Europe and the West, have ultimately resulted in our being isolated on the international plane. To a certain extent, also the rulers of the Western nations, seem to have overlooked this fanatic trait of Islamic mind, or else they would not have wooed many of the Islamic nations. But the fact remains that initially our foreign policy was based on vague and idealistic notions of unifying the so-called "Asian" nations, ignoring the Islamic basis of the Arab nations as well as Pakistan and Indonesia. The policy-makers of India seem to be more concerned with Western "imperialism" than with the undemocratic and fanatic Muslim nations. India, with her age-long traditions of tolerance and civilised way of life and its inherent policy of "Live and Let Live" has more in common with the West and her liberal traditions and modern ideas of progress and advancement.

Following A Mirage

All these points of agreement between Hindu India and the liberal West have been completely ignored by our Prime Minister and the Congress rulers. They are at the root of the present isolation of India on the international plane. India cannot hope to get REAL friendship from Islamic nations as has been repeatedly demonstrated by Pakistan, and even by the Arab nations who have NEVER, so far, sided with India even on Kashmir, simply because Pakistan happens to be an Islamic nation. India has, by her continuous poking her nose in the affairs of other nations, and specially championing the so-called "Asian" nations against West, practically forfeited the large fund of goodwill that she had in USA and even in Britain. And to expect help and friendship from the communist bloc of nations is also a vain hope. Soviet Russia, and even Red China, have NEVER backed India completely against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. In fact, Prime Minister Chou evaded the Kashmir question by saying that he had NOT studied the issue thoroughly! Both Soviet Russia and Red China would like India to be continuously threatened by Pakistan, and also alienated from the West, so that communist infiltration would be easier in India. When after the Security Council resolution on Kashmir was unanimously carried, with no nation to back India, Prime Minister Nehru unconsciously admitted the failure of his whole foreign policy. But having confessed that, we are afraid, he is not prepared to change the course he has taken so far. That is the national tragedy. A policy that has gone wrong, that has left us no genuine friend in the world, and that has paid us no dividends by way of firmer security and stronger defence of our independence by way of alliances, has certainly to be given up. But that is exactly what our rulers are not doing in their vain attempt to follow the mirage of "Asianism" and hugging the Arab nations to their bossom.

The Mind Of The Nation

Craven Indian Capitalists

...In New Delhi last weekend, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry practically pledged itself to work for Socialism.

Industrialists and traders, are known to have contributed the bulk of the Congress Party's Election Fund, though some amongst them have befriended or even stood as rival candidates in certain parts of the country. It is understandable that businessmen should, by and large, back the Congress since there is no party to the Right which has any serious hopes of attaining power under conditions of mass suffrage. The acceptance of financial support from the capitalists, and the adoption of many of them as Congress candidates, has led the Leftist Opposition to dub Congress Socialism as spurious... The Congress Governments in the States have certainly displayed no reforming zeal, but their conservatism is due to the influence not of industrialist capitalists but of landlords.....At the Centre, on the other hand, the Government run by the same party has gone as far and as fast as any Socialist Government would..... Certain steps such as State trading and the scheme for compulsory deposits of company reserves err on the side of total State control rather than pro-capitalist conservatism.....

The F.I.C.C.I. represents industrial and not landed interests and is concerned almost exclusively with the Union Government's policies. But the inaugural meeting of this year's session has shown that even the adversely affected vested interests have been cowed into silence by Mr. Nehru's personality.....

—Thought

Business Community Losing Faith In Itself

The more one assesses the place of the Federation (of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry) in the counsels of the Government and the more one evaluates the conciliatory temper of the speeches... the more one is convinced that the business community has accepted with good grace and, perhaps with less courage, than is due to it, the station which the Government of India, in its wisdom, has chosen to assign to it... the business community does not do justice to itself in this complete acquiescence in a minor role in the making of economic policy and of implementing it... One certainly had the impression (last week) that the business community was apologetic about its own philosophy and that this philosophy was not ardent, if it was expressed at all. One might ask of the exponents of the business way of life whether they are losing faith in themselves and are anxious only to accommodate themselves on the best possible terms to a political current which they are unable to correct or control.

—The Eastern Economist

Grim Economic Prospects

The immediate outlook for the economy is grim. Although the current year is expected to end with a surplus of Rs. 38 crores as against the budgeted deficit of Rs. 18 crores, the over-all deficit will be about Rs. 216 crores..... In budgeting for the next year the Finance Minister has been confronted with the additional problem of strengthening the national defence which has claimed an additional outlay of Rs. 50 crores. Consequently the expenditure of 1957-58 has been stepped up to Rs. 663 crores as against Rs. 533 crores for the current year. On the other hand the current level of taxation to revenue is expected to rise from Rs 571 crores to the revised estimate to Rs. 636 crores. This will leave a deficit of Rs. 27 crores on the revenue account. The capita budget also reveals a deficit of Rs. 338 crores. Again as a result of a variety of factors, the deficit in our payments position over the Plan period is expected to be about Rs. 400 crores more than what was envisaged when the Plan was framed. The problem before the Government, therefore, is not only finding the additional internal resources but also external ones... It is also to be wondered whether the time has not come for subordinating our foreign policy to our development needs so that we can get better support from abroad for our endeavours designed to make the country economically stronger.....

—Times of India

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY SEEKS INDIAN STUDENTS

THE University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Florida, U.S.A., is very anxious to obtain a number of graduate Indian students who plan to devote themselves to education and writing.

The University plans to build a student body consisting half of Asians and half of Americans. It offers only one course, and that is in philosophies of living. Students who attend the Seminar in which this course is given, who produce a book which the University considers a contribution to education, receive the degree of Ph. D., and this is the only degree the University confers. The University believes that in the great worldwide conflict between the believers in liberty and the believers of social systems based upon other ideas, the believers in liberty must equip themselves with an adequate scientific and philosophical basis for their beliefs.

The University will furnish every possible assistance to make it possible for qualified mature students to take this course. Subscribers and student readers of the *Indian Libertarian* should take advantage of this offer.

Another Word on the Suez Canal

LOOKING back through the files of the "Individualist" I find that already in 1949 this journal was recommending that the Western Powers start a new UNO amongst themselves without Russia, in order to present a united front to the Russian menace and avoid weakening themselves by quarrelling. It was clear already then that Russia was determined to pursue the tactic of fomenting Communist trouble amongst her neighbours. I had not then, and I still have no objection to Communist propaganda; but I strongly object to the manner in which Russia incited a minority rebellion in her neighbour states, and then sent in troops to "protect the workers against fascist and capitalist plotting", without giving the people any chance to declare their wishes. Russia rejects co-existence as the West understands that word; she joined UNO with the sole object of laming its efforts. Her presence in the UNO has not spared the West the massive expense of re-armament; rather has she aggravated the need. We should not be any closer to war with Russia if she were not in UNO; and we might by this time have established a practical and a really united UNO.

Wanted A New U.N.O.

UNO today serves no useful purpose as a conference place between West and East; it is merely an arena in which West and East fight with words, and threats of force on both sides. Each side almost

automatically condemns everything the other side almost automatically condemns everything the other side proposes. Therefore I thought we did right in showing Egypt that, whether or not she was supported by Russia, we would not submit to be flouted by her. I wish we had occupied the whole of Suez Canal, and had refused to move out unless the United Nations forces took our place and set about clearing the Canal at once. Apparently USA still believes that the present UNO can bring Russia to reason. I think that Eisenhower is making the same fatal mistake about Russia's intentions as did Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt's mistake delivered Eastern Germany into Russian hands, and has created a festering sore in the heart of Europe. How can Americans forget this? How can they forget that they themselves marched into Korea, and asked for UNO sanction afterwards? We did not then reproach them for disregarding UNO; we gave them solid support.

A number of well-meaning people now upbraid Britain for acting without the sanction of UNO. I reply that the present UNO is no real UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION at all, and deserves the allegiance of no believer in peace. The talk that we should submit disputes to an organisation in which all members have made up their minds even before they had heard the evidence is just blether. Let us establish a fresh UNO among the nations who respect national sovereignty and who can reasonably expect to live at peace with each other. —*Individualist*

As Libertarians See It

Red Regime In Kerala

BANGALORE: Speaking at a largely attended meeting held under the auspices of the Libertarian Social Institute, Mr. Philip Spratt, former Comintern emissary in India, and one of the leading ex-communists of the world, said that the communists in Kerala would not dare to violate the constitution of India and thereby run the risk of President's rule in Kerala. They would function within the framework of our constitution and carry out the programme of any Social Democratic party. It would not be possible for them to introduce any radical reforms and fulfil their tall promises as this would require huge funds which the communists in Kerala could hardly hope to get from the Centre, where the Congress was in power.

The communists would not resort to Stalinism or Telangana tactics nor would they start guerilla warfare as their comrades in China did in Yen-an unless they captured power in at least three or four states. They might however build up a secret army in Kerala for future use, warned Mr. Philip Spratt.

VENKATA RAO'S FEARS

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao speaking next said there was every possibility of Kerala becoming the Yen-an of India. The opposition in Kerala would be ruthlessly wiped out in Kerala by the communists and the communists in Kerala would immediately resort to Stalinism without waiting for other

States to go "Red", said Mr. Venkata Rao. They would strengthen their position further in Kerala by infiltrating themselves into every department of the government and public life. Intense propaganda for communism would be done by the C.P.I. under the patronage of their government in Kerala, and any propaganda against communists would be ruthlessly suppressed.

However, people should not lose heart and all patriots and democrats in India should make a concerted effort to educate the people of Kerala regarding the nature of the communist menace and its horrors and this task was easier in Kerala where it was the educated class which voted for the communists, appealed Mr. Venkata Rao.

NEHRU HAS TO BE THANKED FOR IT

Mr. Sumant Bankeshwar, the Secretary of the Libertarian Social Institute, speaking next about the

communist victory in Kerala said that it was for the first time in the history of international communism that the communists in Kerala have come to power through the ballot-box. It was not out of love for communism that the people of Kerala voted for the communists but of sheer disgust for the Congress misrule, corruption, nepotism and inefficiency, and because there was no other democratic party to give them an alternative.

To a great extent, Pandit Nehru himself was responsible for the communist victory in Kerala. By openly associating himself with the communist dictators like Bulganin, Khrushchev, Chou-En-lai and others and exalting communism as having all virtues except for its creed of violence, Pandit Nehru himself boosted up the prestige of communists which was on the decline after the disclosure of Stalin's crimes by Mr. Khrushchev and the rape of Hungary by the communists.

The people of Kerala thought that it was better to vote for the

communists who, according to Pandit Nehru himself, had all virtues but for their creed of violence than vote for the Congress the only virtue of which was its philosophy of non-violence, said Mr. Bankeshwar.

Both Mr. Venkata Rao and Mr. Sumant Bankeshwar disagreed with Mr. Philip Spratt who said that the PSP was the only alternative to Congress and that it was necessary to strengthen it in the interest of democracy if India was to be saved from the communist menace on one hand and Congress dictatorship on the other.

P.S.P.—THE SCUM OF THE CONGRESS

Mr. Venkata Rao said that the rank and file of the PSP was just the scum of the Congress and that there was little difference between these two parties so far as the ideology was concerned. Jan Sangh was the only national democratic party with a definite set of principles different from those of

Congress or PSP or any other leftist party, and hence Jan Sangh alone could give an alternative leadership to India. Mr. Venkata Rao concluded his speech by appealing to all those who stood for freedom and free economy to strengthen the Jan Sangh.

Mr. Bankeshwar dubbed the PSP as a party of leaders without followers and a house divided against itself.

Continuing further, Mr. Bankeshwar said that the PSP was worse than Congress as it was a party of dissident, expelled and frustrated Congressmen, and rabid opportunists. It was wrong to assess the strength of the PSP on the basis of the number of seats it secured in the second general elections. The PSP was bound to fade out before long and so the only alternative to Congress dictatorship and the Communist totalitarian was the Jan Sangh which stood for democracy, freedom and free economy and the preservation of our national culture, concluded Mr. Bankeshwar.

Indian News Parade

"JEHAD" CRIES IN PAKISTAN

LAHORE: Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, Muslim League member of the West Pakistan Assembly and a Chief Minister of the former N.-W.F.P., has called upon Pakistanis to be "ready to pay the price in blood for the liberation of Kashmir."

He told students of Peshawar University yesterday, "One has often to pay with life and blood to secure one's freedom."

Meanwhile, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Islam has asked the Muslims of Pakistan to prepare for "Jehad" (holy war) to save their independence. —P.T.I.

PAKISTAN MAY ASK FOR MORE TIME FOR CANAL DISPUTE

KARACHI: Pakistan is likely to ask for one more year's extension of the period of negotiation—due to end on March 31 this year—for a settlement of the canal waters dis-

pute with India under the aegis of the World Bank.

Pakistan has rejected the "Master Plan" proposed by the World Bank experts as an equitable solution of this nine-year-old dispute.

Pending a final solution, Pakistan will ask the World Bank to recommend the quantity of water which Pakistan should get during the transition period.

—Times of India.

SUPPORT ON KASHMIR ISSUE' REWARD FOR PAK. POLICY

LAHORE: The Prime Minister, Mr. Suhrawardy, said today that his policy of alignment with the West had been amply rewarded by the support Pakistan received from Britain and the United States on the Kashmir issue.

In a one-hour defence of his Government's pro-West foreign policy, the Pakistan Prime Minister

declared here that neutrality in the present-day world dominated by two powerful blocs armed with such destructive weapons as the hydrogen bomb was virtually impossible.

Mr. Suhrawardy told nearly 20,000 people at a public meeting organised by the Lahore Awami League that Pakistan's membership of the Western-sponsored military alliance such as the Baghdad Pact had made "a favourable turn in the Kashmir dispute."

PAKISTAN EXPECTS MORE U.S. ARMS AID

KARACHI: A larger inflow of American military aid to Pakistan is expected here in the months ahead as a result of the visit here tomorrow of a nine-man Eisenhower Doctrine mission headed by Mr. James P. Richards and the report to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Mr. Lewis Webster Jones that the United States must "live up fully to our commitments" to arm Pakistan.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, she will not only invite the U.S. to join the military committee but also

to become a full-fledged member of the Baghdad Pact.

As a consequence of the United States becoming a member of the military committee, Pakistan expects larger quantities of American military equipment to be delivered to her. —*Times of India*

PAK NATIONALS CROSS BORDER

KUTCH-MANDVI: Two Pakistani nationals are reported to have crossed the border into India and carried away six buffaloes from Lodrani taluka last week. Police investigations are in progress.

The total cost of the buffaloes is estimated at Rs. 1,500.

The Kutch police have arrested 39 Pakistanis for entering Indian territory without valid permits. They are reported to have entered Lakpatt via the Rann of Kutch from Sind (Pakistan). —*P.T.I.*

HOW AMERICANS LOOK AT INDIA

HYDERABAD: An average American feels dismal at the thought he unknowingly entertains that V. K. Krishna Menon will succeed Prime Minister Nehru, said H. C. Heda, Congress M.P. who recently returned from a three-month tour of the United States.

MENON NOT LIKED

Addressing the Rotary Club of Hyderabad, Heda said that Menon is not liked in America. His bitter sarcasm has hurt the American people beyond repair. Except Nehru and his sister, Mrs. Pandit, there is hardly any one else who is known there.

Heda said, to naive Americans it is shocking that India is refusing to be protected from Communism which is an anathema there. Three factors have conspired to create an impression on them that Indians are friendly to Russia and inimical to them, and these are (1) acceptance by India of Socialistic pattern of society (they make no difference between Socialist and Communism), (2) great reception accorded to Bulganin and (3) Indian criticism of U.S. and Western colonialism and silence on Russia and her colonialism.

The displeased American, he added, therefore, finds fault with India on Kashmir policy, caste system and poverty. —*U.P.I.*

“Indian Libertarian” Well Received In Britain

“FREEDOM FIRST”, the organ of the Society for Individual Freedom, Britain, in its Winter Number of 1957, makes complimentary references to the *Indian Libertarian*, for which we thank the journal. It says:

“We have received a copy of the *Indian Libertarian* for October, an independent journal of economic and public affairs, which is published at 26 Durgadevi Road, Bombay 4, and we welcome its work for the Cause. Here is a passage from an article on, “Communism In India”.

On Communism

“Pandit Nehru’s method of fighting the communist menace will ultimately end in a stupendous failure. We cannot fight communism without antagonising Russia and China; nor can we fight it by eulogising communist countries and their “achievements”. The net result of our policy of appeasement will be that communism and communist countries will rise in esteem of our masses whose minds will be prepared for the acceptance of communism. Pandit eulogises communism, day in and day out, and singles out for criticism only its philosophy of violence. He does not seem to understand that if communism rises in the esteem of our masses, and they are led to believe that communism has all the virtues in it except for its philosophy of violence, and that the only virtue in the Congress is its faith in non-violence, our masses will reject Congress outright in favour of communism sooner or later.”

On Road To Totalitarianism

Here is a passage from another article:

“The present rulers of India are speeding along, at breath-taking rapidity, in giving effect to revolutionary ideas without sufficient thought. The exigencies of retaining power, in view of current fashions in regard to ideas of social transformation, seem to be the deciding factor. The bulk of politicians fall in line, not from conviction based on study and the

realisation of the policies proposed by men in authority, but more out of a desire to get on, and obtain comfortable places in the new order, or trade concessions. The core of the proposals, being canvassed and incorporated into the law and administration of the country relate to property. The entire range of ideas adopted by Leftist circles all over the world, concern the abolition of property in wholesale fashion, without a consideration of the function it has inevitably to play in any social order, that seeks to combine stability with progress. Change, that harbours a continuing instability and uncertainty about property relations in production and consumption, investment and exchange, is disastrous to social life, since it prevents the formation of reliable social relations, and the development of incentives in production and economic activity as such. It will result in anarchy, spelling dissolution of society and statement. If the whirl is king, all planning for life will become impossible.”

It is fairly clear that India suffers from evil tendencies and fashions in common with various other countries, besides some that are peculiarly her own.

—*Freedom First* (London)

A “MUST” PUBLICATION FOR THE LIBERTARIANS

Henry Hazlitt, one of the oldest American friends of the Society for Individual Freedom, Britain, has recently compiled a critical and descriptive bibliography of works on the philosophy of Individualism—“The Free Man’s Library”—published by D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., Mr. Hazlitt was able to use a 95 page pamphlet published in 1927 by the “Individualist Bookshop” in which were listed 166 works of libertarian nature and comments thereon. He argues that “Liberty is a whole, and to deny economic liberty is finally to destroy all liberty.”

This is a publication that should find a place on the book shelf of every Indian libertarian.

Book Review

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
by J. D. Unwin George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London 1944.

J. D. Unwin is a promiscuous economist and not a pure theoretician. Thus he has brought non-economic facts and processes into the realm of pure economic conduct. This is not to say that all non-economic facts are entirely irrelevant to the study of economic man. As Prof. Schumpeter has pointed out, social facts, for example, constitute only 'data' for economic theory. This is, of course, no objection to Unwin; for Unwin does not pretend to any economic treatise either. He is obviously an applied theoretician.

Yet the concept of economic activity may retain its ambiguity. How much of human activity thus is legitimately economic activity? Or, rather, what facts are economic and what non-economic? Those classes of activity are economic which directed towards the sole purpose of satisfying human wants. Wants and purposes leave their definable stamp on and act as major determinants in the mode and form of production. The purpose of every economic analysis is to relate each fact of economic activity to another till a fact is reached which can be shown to be clearly non-economic and thus not within the field of economic study.

The whole process of economic activity may be split up into two phases: commodity-production and commodity-exchange. Unwin is concerned only with the latter phase of economic activity. His solution is a new method of commodity-exchange.

NEW PRINCIPLE OF CURRENCY

Rejecting as unsuitable the present method of commodity-exchange which is in turn dependent upon the manner of currency issue, Unwin outlines a new principle of currency. The function of money is to state, measure and compare the exchange-value of commodities. Every commodity to be exchanged has its exchange-value stated in

terms of money, or purchasing power. Purchasing power thus ought to be equivalent to the exchange-value of commodities—not exceeding nor falling short (thus ensuring a stable economy). Unwin carries this argument further and states that when a commodity is no longer in use or has exhausted its utility, the money which expresses its exchange-value should also similarly cease to act as its equivalent in value. Since the commodity is no longer in use, the purchasing power which measures its exchange-value should, as a necessary result, cease to exist. If this is not done, a superfluous amount of currency is created which only serves to exercise a control over the means of production and no longer acts up to its function. This is an excellent principle and worthy of all consideration.

Obviously enough, such a principle under the present economic structure is not quite feasible. It is nearly impossible, with the present state of things, to keep track of all the commodities that are in the process of exchange. In any case, the purpose for which Unwin has formulated his principle will be defeated if the principle is applied to the present economy. His purpose is to provide free credit to all producers and it goes without saying that this is a noble enough cause.

A NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM

As a result, Unwin has broached a scheme for ushering in an entirely new economic system of commodity-exchange. There will be, according to Unwin, currency issuing offices which may be called banks, for the sake of simplicity. The banks will credit on the basis of trust. There will be a panel of executives under a manager who will interrogate the applicant and decide whether he can be trusted or not. The applicant will state the type of production he is going to initiate and if they find him trustworthy and capable, they will

issue the desired credit. Now suppose the applicant has to buy a certain machine. The estimated life of the machine may be fixed at twenty years. He will then repay his loan by instalments spread over the estimated life of the machine. As soon as the loan is fully repaid, the machine will be destroyed and replaced by a new one. This will be necessary because if the machine is not destroyed, there will be an excess of commodities over and above the equivalent of its exchange-value which is money.

To some extent and at first sight, the system gives the appearance of being rather sound, though by no means simple or free from identifications. But Unwin has meticulously avoided thinking of how an elaborate system of economics is to be introduced; and as to what part, for instance, the politicians will play in it.

CREATING NEW TROUBLES

From the point of view of human freedom, such a state of affairs may create problems in other fields. The bid today is for greater freedom, towards the elimination of the covetous control of the state. Freedom thus is the most exerting factor in the consideration of any programme. Will Unwin's solution, for example, create bureaucracy? For the banks will have an ultimate control over the creation of money which, as Unwin has pointed out, leads to control over the means of production. Power, it is a patent psychological fact, corrupts. It is no argument to say, in the context of human freedom, that it is the producers who will produce and not the bureaucrats. For, certainly, our quarrel is not over who will produce but over the relatively significant question; who will own and exercise a control over the means of production.

Unwin's system again interferes with the concept of property. The concept of property lies in the fact that any man, when he feels like, is able to dispose of or acquire a piece of property. The adoption of Unwin's solution will necessitate a rejection of this concept. But is the concept of property incompatible with economic progress and welfare? Unwin has maintained a silence over all these issues.

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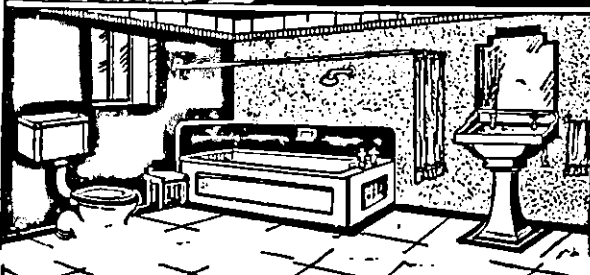
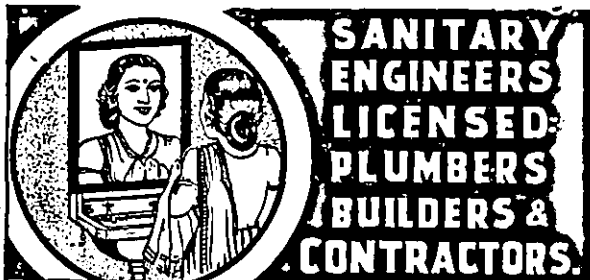
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