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MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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IN THIS ISSUE

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	PAGE		PAGE
BEHIND THE NEWS	2	PEDLAR'S PACK	11
ARISE! AWAKE! AND STOP NOTI <i>by Baburao Patel</i>	3	LIBERTARIAN SUPPLEMENT	1 to IV
THIS BUSINESS OF ONE PARTY RULE		THE DULLES DILEMMA IN THE MIDDLE EAST	13
<i>by S. Ramanathan</i>	5	CHANCELLOR BORSODI'S PEACE MISSION	
HUGGING A DEAD PACT—NEW DELHI		<i>by Omprakash Kahol</i>	17
LETTER <i>from Our Correspondent</i>	6	ON THE NEWS FRONT	18
NEGOTIATING WITH THE KREMLIN		LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE ACTIVITIES	20
<i>by Eugene Lyons</i>	8	BOOK REVIEWS	22
CHINA VERSUS RUSSIA <i>by Philip Spratt</i>	9	LETTER TO THE EDITOR	23

Editorial

THE COUP IN SUDAN

THE cashiering of democracy in the Sudan was so little anticipated by even the knowledgeable that it has come as a complete surprise to all—experts and laymen alike. Comments and estimates vary widely thus pointing to the uncertainties inseparable from politics. Prima facie, it may be taken as the attempt of another 'small' country to save itself from its friends. To understand what has happened in the Sudan, a backward glance at the history of Egypt during the last half a century may not be amiss.

It is well known that Britain was dragged into intervention in the affairs of Egypt unwillingly at first, and suffered from divided counsels in the initial stages which culminated in the rout of British arms and prestige with the fall of Khartoum—and the death of General Gordon. Kitchener avenged the defeat and exorcised the 'Mad Mullah' from further meddling in the affairs of the country. But with true imperialist instinct, the British nursed the Sudanese back to sanity and normalcy, and gave them both a political consciousness and an intelligent stake in their own affairs. The development of the Sudan went apace until it grew in prosperity and political independence.

When Egypt stepped up the tempo of its own demand for freedom from colonial exploitation, it always took care to carry the Sudanese with it by raising the slogan of the 'Unity of the Nile Valley.' For British diplomacy was preparing the ground in Egypt, precisely as in India, by setting up the Sudanese against the Egyptians even as it did the Hindu against the Muslim here. The only bond that binds the people of lower and upper Egypt is that of Islam,

although even here there are heretical and schismatic groups opposed to one another. The Sudanese are allergic to the cry of Arab solidarity or nationalism, as the bulk of them are non-Arab and of negroid origins with a lively sense of the tender mercies which they had been getting from the ruling and hieratic groups through the centuries. It is a minor detail to be noted that one of the evils which the British occupation had to fight was that of slavery promoted by and in behalf of Arab interests in the interior of the Sudan!

With the consummation of the Egyptian revolution, the stage was set for the break-away of the Sudan from Egypt; and the Arab overlords of the League have a pretty score to settle with the Sudanese leaders who obtained for themselves freedom from Egypt! Nasser lost the hegemony of the Sudan with as good grace as possible, but his tactics have always included the possibility of peacefully annexing it to his Arab empire. The Sudan found in the Western powers sympathetic friends eager to lend a helping hand, if it also meant at the same time downing Gen. Nasser. But thanks to the variety and insidiousness of Nasser's propagandist machine, and the susceptibilities of the masses to the lure of Pan-Islamism which is the only intelligible aspect of Arab propaganda which they understood, a climate of feeling and thought was being engendered in the masses of the Sudanese which seemed ready to welcome the re-absorption of the Sudan in Egypt as a patriotic and rational move.

One of the most controversial issues dividing the Egyptian from the Sudanese government has been

that of sharing the waters of the Nile. The Aswam Dam is the El Dorado of Egyptian hopes and dreams. By the same token it is a source of anxiety and suspense to the Sudanese, since they too depend upon the 'slime' of the Nile for their present and continuing prosperity. Without settling this issue, Egyptian *blitzkreig* methods hit upon the idea of jockeying public opinion into acquiescence with an accomplished fact. The recently announced pact between Gen. Nasser and the Russian government about the conditions of the Aswam Dam construction with the help of a Russian loan must have opened the eyes of Sudan's leaders to the inwardness of Nasser's rush tactics. But among politicians, there as elsewhere, were groups and cabals who only agreed in disagreeing with one another. That was the only lesson in democracy which these immature countries seem to have learnt; for at the time of the coup, a deputation of Sudan's ministers was actually in Cairo presumably ready to sign over the dotted line and hand over the destinies of their country into the safe-keeping of Nasser, the knight-errant of the Arab World.

That calamity has been staved off, at least for the time being, by the present military coup; and this seems to be the only significant motive that has led to the coup itself. It may interest students of current affairs to note how Pandit Nehru who has been so enthusiastic about the Arab coups, mildly apologetic about those in Burma and Siam, and pedantically critical about that in Pakistan should have elected to practise silence as the better part of wisdom in regard to what has happened in Khartoum. We may put whatever other interpretations we please on this latest incursion of the army into civil life. It is not so much the failure of democracy as the nemesis of nationalism, seeing that these ancient but backward areas never had any heritage of democratic ideas or institutions. Arab Unity is a desirable idea, but it must have a determinable or compact Arab locus or habitat. To speak of an Arab world stretching from the Atlantic in the

West to Aden in the Middle East is an abuse of language; and the most hopeful sign of the times is that this truth is being slowly realised by such non-Arab areas of the Arab world as Tunis and Morocco at one end and the Sudan at the other. For Arabs in Arabia, for their hopes and aspirations, for their days and dreams, we have nothing but the warmest fellow-feeling. But they should not be an alibi for a career of unregenerate expansionism at the cost of their inarticulate, helpless or unwilling neighbours.

BEHIND THE NEWS

THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN THE LOK SABHA ON THE PAK MENACE

THE military regime of Pakistan seems determined to subject our country and its nationals to calculated insults, injuries and losses, since we hear almost every day of some fresh outburst of thuggery from the border areas. The Lok Sabha is treated to factual statements and political and philosophical reflections which clearly reveal the pedant as having got the better of the politician in Pandit Nehru. It is with a feeling of growing exasperation that we watch the unrealistic devotion to mere talk which has afflicted the Lok Sabha and which thirsts for more and more discussion while the incidents themselves are relegated to the background.

In the latest statement, Pandit Nehru stressed two aspects of the Pak situation clearly beyond our legitimate province. The first of these is the lodging of his hoary old complaint that America is to blame for arming Pakistan and that Pakistan's anti-Indian moves have been the direct consequence of it. We have no right to criticize another sovereign nation and tell it what it should or should not do with itself. If a realistic view of the international situation has to be taken, it is open to us to counter such combinations by entering into similar alliances which might safeguard our security. Quite obviously, it was the aim of the communist opposition in the Lok Sabha to force the Premier's hands and jockey him into an open alliance with the communist bloc. But as that would be like jumping from a frying pan straight into the fire, it is a mercy that no such method of committing national *hara kiri* is to be tried out. It is forgotten by most people that American help to us is available precisely as it has been offered to Pakistan. Therefore the only way of neutralising the contingent dangers of Pak bellicosity against India is for us also to secure our military help (as we are now getting our economic help) from the U.S. All that is required of us is an unambiguous gesture of dissociation from communist leanings either in principle or in detail. It is also the only way of insulating this sub-continent from the horrors of war.

The second ground of complaint voiced forth by the Prime Minister was against the Commonwealth itself for permitting a naked dictatorship to flourish inside it. He propounded the theory that the cement which holds the Commonwealth countries together is the ideal of democracy and representative institutions. In actual fact however, there is no warrant for such a presumption. The Commonwealth has shown a good

(Continued on page 16)

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ARISE! AWAKE! AND STOP NOT!

By Baburao Patel

(Concluded from last issue)

LET us now see what our specially-imported Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, has to say about our present plight.

On April 16, 1958, just five months ago, during a debate on his Defence Budget, Defence Minister Krishna Menon told the members of the Lok Sabha: "The equipment of India's armed forces was not as much in quantity or as good as we would like. But it was the best the country could afford. And the Government was doing all it could to keep the armed forces in trim." He also admitted that none of the aircraft with the Air Force were up-to-date. That was at once an admission of facts and a confession of helplessness.

Speaking at the Indian Institute of Public Administration on June 5, 1958, Defence Minister Krishna Menon said, "India had no military allies and it was not likely to have any in the future. India was not frightened by the fact that its equipment was not up-to-date. Our main equipment is the human equipment, the soldier, the sailor and the airman. (That is human equipment without any mechanical equipment). The Indian Army was small in relation to the 9000 miles of the country's international land frontiers. The ultimate defence of the country would not depend upon the armed forces but upon the character of our people". (Ah, the Gandhian character of our Congressmen).

Speaking at the same meeting General Shrinagesh said, "Today Pakistan is getting American guns, tanks and aeroplanes. A Pakistani military mission, which was recently in America, has, I understand, succeeded in acquiring some B47 and B52 bomber aircraft. There have been several instances of the misuse of arms by recipient countries. Our armed forces have, therefore, to keep peace with this development, and ensure that our country has adequate protection against such attacks which may not necessarily be localised. It is obvious that the resources of our country are in no state to compete with first-rate military powers. Neither are we anxious to do so."

Here is one of our top Army Generals openly complaining about our state of helplessness. He not only emphasises our ineffectuality, but also condemns our complacency in the words: "Neither are we anxious to do so." One of our great Generals is thus fretting—helpless against the machinations of our national army of Gandhi Caps.

General Shrinagesh is, however, telling us nothing new. In October 1957, in our editorial article, "Drums Of War", we wrote: "The American armament supply to Pakistan now consists of numerous tanks and bazookas; several atomic cannons and nearly half a million guns; a large number of bomb-projecting "cats" (catapults) and a vast amount of ammunition: hundreds of fighter aircrafts including F-100 day fighters, F-84 fighter, hundreds of fighter aircrafts including F-100 day fighters, F-84 fighter bombers, Halifax heavy bombers and the latest sabre jets. Out of the 100 Boeing B47 fighters which were flown 8000

miles in one of General Le May's incessant-readiness tests in January, 100 are reported to have landed in Karachi. Hundreds of Pakistani pilots and 3000 other Army personnel are reported to have been trained in handling all this American equipment during the last four years."

In our editorial article, way back in October 1957, we had exposed Pakistan's "Three-Phase-Twelve-Week Skedule", for hostile action against India, which Suhrawardy, the then Premier of Pakistan, had taken to Washington for President Eisenhower's approval. If our readers care to read the article again they will be surprised to see that the items of the 1st Phase have already been carried out by the Pakistanis. Which shows that the "Twelve-Week Skedule", which we had somehow managed to get, was not such an unreliable document.

Pakistan is thus ready for war with India armed to the teeth with the latest American armaments. It is also ready and anxious to start a shooting war with India charged with its traditional religious hatred. This is not a surprise to us. In December 1953, we said: "Modern American arms in the hands of Muslim fanatics of Pakistan are going to be very dangerous instruments of death and destruction, and believe us, that Pakistan won't miss the opportunity of making India the first target of her newly-acquired striking power. And Indians will be pitifully helpless in their idealistic peace and dynamic neutrality." (Page 225, "Burning Words")

This warning, given five years ago, fell on the deaf ears of our leaders. Nothing has been done to build our armed strength—the only strength which Pakistan can ever understand and respect. On the other hand, Nehru admits that today we have "neither arms nor financial strength". Is it not even now clear to the people that this man, whom the people trusted so implicitly in their blind love for him, has stabbed them in the back and left their women, children and homes badly exposed to the traditional brutalities of Pakistan's Muslims?

What use are these damn cement dams over our rivers, and the steel and fertilizer projects, and the crores-swallowing electric and community projects to the people after their very liberty is lost to the Pakistanis? What use are all the lofty sermons on Panchashila to a man whose wife is raped, his children slaughtered, his house burnt down and himself stabbed by the brutes of Pakistan? If Nehru justifies the protection of a handful of Kashmiri Muslims by the words, "Not to have taken these steps would have been a betrayal of a trust and cowardly submission to the law of the sword with its accompaniment of arson, rape and slaughter", how much greater is his betrayal of the trust put in him by 320-million loyal people who blindly love him? Was it not his sacred duty to protect these people, their women, their children and their homes and their hard-won freedom before he decided to waste crores and crores of rupees on river dams which have not yet grown a grain of rice extra?

Mian Daultana, the Muslim League leader of Pakistan, wants nothing less than war with India. He says, "The Muslims have a certain common concept of thought, feeling and sentiment which gave birth to Pakistan. For the attainment of that unity among the Muslim nations we created Pakistan. We must unite all the Muslim countries from Morocco to Indonesia.... The Arabs will sympathize with Pakistan when it is in difficulty. Muslims will stand by Muslims irrespective of a particular regime."

What Mian Daultana says is too true seeing that even Major Salah Salem of Egypt, Col. Nasser's right hand man, said on December 23 1953, "Establishment of Pakistan was and is to provide a fulcrum from which a gigantic effort could be directed towards the emancipation of the whole Muslim world. And to the great admiration of us all, Pakistan is steadily and surely fulfilling her destiny." These are words of the most trusted lieutenant of Col. Nasser, the great Egyptian friend of Nehru and Krishna Menon, the man who is out to establish Arab "democracy" in the Middle East. It is time Nehru realized that, like the elephant, these Muslims also have two sets of teeth, one to display and another to bite—both dangerous at all times.

What is our defence against all this? Three people in highest authority—the Prime Minister, The Defence Minister and an Army General—all of them best informed persons, tell us that we have no arms, no money, no up-to-date air-force, no quality equipment and even no anxiety to acquire all these. They also tell us that Pakistan hates us, that its armament has grown and grown, that they have vast air-fields and that they believe in arson, rape and slaughter.

All we are supposed to have, as defence against Pakistan, is our fabled Gandhian character, which has grown a thousand scandals in our backyard during the first eleven years of our freedom.

We don't see a way out of this except keeping our women, children and homes ready for Pakistanis to ravage and ravish. We are probably expected to offer these to the Pakistanis with a good sprinkling of Panchshila on them. If anyone knows an alternative way to survive with honour with the present leaders in power, we would like to know.

Morarji Desai openly said the other day, "We are a weak people—cowardly physically and mentally. Two thousand years of suppression have undermined the nation's courage until we became afraid of everything." We are in complete agreement with Morarji's blunt opinion. It is the truth, though very bitter. Our people are cowards. They haven't even the guts to ask our Prime Minister to retire—a man who has so woefully betrayed 320-million people of this country. A people, who do not have the courage to ask their own man to get out, cannot possibly muster up enough courage to ask Pakistani brutes to get out of our country. All they can do is to offer their women to the enemy to save their own skins as has been done through centuries of Indian history.

Don't let us be mistaken. The 320-million Indians we refer to are the cowardly Hindus of India—Hindus who allowed 6000 Arabs of Mahomed Ibn Qasim to multiply into a horde of 100-million fanatic Muslims in 1200 years, Hindus who gave Christianity 10-million—Cross-bearers in 1500 years—all born in the beds of Hindu women.

As free men, can't we throw off our cowardice of centuries, and for once capture our ancient courage to fight the enemy at our door so that at least our women can mount their pyres without their bodies being defiled by the bestial touch of the enemy? Our leaders have stabbed us in the back. They have betrayed us. We stand today badly exposed to the violent onslaught of Pakistan. A sample of Pakistan's intentions is being served to us every day on our Eastern frontiers. Our Army has no arms. Our coffers have no money. The Congress Party, under the leadership of Pandit Nehru, has let us down very badly in spite of the Party being in power. It has not even agitated for the repeal of the Arms Act, an old British measure which ties up the citizen hand and foot in his greatest hours of danger. Had the Arms Act been repealed—and free people do not need an Arms Act—every village could have had its own forge to manufacture arms for self-defence and every home could have become a little arsenal against the brutal intentions of our enemy.

The great Shivaji did not need any foreign exchange nor an American shop to get all the arms he wanted for saving Maharashtra, the first and ultimate cradle of Hinduism. The blacksmiths in hundreds of Maharashtra villages supplied him all the swords and weapons he needed to defeat the armies of Aurangzeb and other Muslim despots. Ultimately all defence is reduced to hand-fighting when the enemy is at the door to ravage the home and ravish the women. It is then that the inherent character of the people of a country is put to an acid test. But our people cannot pass this test with bare hands. They must at least have swords, if not guns, to defend their women, their children and their homes. If nothing else they must at least be given a chance to die bravely in an attempt to save their home and their country. The Arms Act robs our people even of this fundamental right of personal self-defence against a brutal and ruthless enemy. And the Congress Party is alone responsible for this helpless position of our defenceless people. We have appealed to Nehru time and again to build up our defences, to give our people the security they deserve and to protect our hard-won freedom from our dangerous neighbour. But he has done nothing so far. And today when we are in our hour of greatest peril, Nehru brazenly tells us that we have "neither arms nor financial strength." As long as Nehru is at the head of the Congress Party we cannot expect any manly measures of self-defence. That man is scared of blood—the blood which brave men shed for the defence of their motherland.

Here is a great opportunity for other political parties to earn the eternal gratitude of our people. Let them first agitate—of course, in a peaceful and constitutional manner—for the immediate repeal of the Arms Act. Let them form self-defence camps in all our villages. Let them drill and train the people in basic defence manoeuvres. Let them build a guerilla army all over the country, even as Shivaji did. Let our poets compose and sing once again old songs of war and manhood. Let there be a forge opened in every village of India to manufacture guns and swords. In the ancient days India exported swords to other countries of the world. Our old art can be revived in our greatest hour of need. Let us turn our

(Continued on page 9)

This Business Of One-Party Rule

By S. Ramanathan

THE infection of military dictatorship is spreading fast all around India. If King Hussain of Jordan abdicates, as advised by his mother apparently at the instigation of the protecting power viz., Great Britain, and if the Shah of Persia follows suit as he is reported to be contemplating because of the glaring threat of the Soviet Union, then indeed the chain of dictatorship which surrounds India will be complete. This phenomenon has put fear into the hearts of the rulers of India who have begun loudly to protest "it can't happen here." But are they not protesting too much? The very vehemence of these protestations discloses the panicky state of their minds. They know that the emotional upsurge which is at the bottom of all such mass hysteria partakes of the nature of a cataclysm which it is difficult either to anticipate or to prevent. But it does not mean that rational men should accept such catastrophies with resignation or that they should not forge remedies to counteract the evil. It is up to all thinking men and women in India to-day, and the intelligentsia which is saddled with the leaderships of the country, to take active steps to prevent the ambitious elements in our defence forces from taking the law into their own hands. It will not do for the ruling party to shout with Pandit Nehru that all is well with India and her rulers, and that there is no need to worry.

Addressing a Press Conference at Delhi on November 7th, Pandit Nehru pooh-poohed the criticism against him that he had established a one-party rule in India which is no better than the political set-up in Pakistan and other countries whose Governments have been subverted by the military. Referring to the criticism in the newspapers, he said: "They ask what right has Mr. Nehru, who himself has stuck to office for a number of years, with a one-party government etc., to criticise others? I really do not understand this business of one party government. What do they expect?—that there should be elections, and yet there should be automatic rule by alternative parties? or that we should bribe people to work against us? I just do not understand. It just shows lack of logic and hidden sentiments come out!" The Prime Minister did not indicate what were the "hidden sentiments" that came out. But the charge of lack of logic that he flung at his critics deserves closer examination.

It is an undisputed fact, and Pandit Nehru has conceded it, that there is one-party rule in India. There is no prospect in the foreseeable future of any other party than the Congress of winning the general elections to Parliament. Under the present political set-up, there is bound to be one-party rule. But that is not democracy where there should always be the possibility of the ruling party being supplanted by a rival at the next elections; logically, therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that there is no democracy in India. Pandit Nehru cannot escape this logic. What we have got in India is not democracy. If it is not "naked military dictatorship" as in Pakistan, it is totalitarianism of some kind. There is a left totalitarianism in

Russia to-day and a right totalitarianism in Spain. In India there is a "middle of the road" or a "third force" operating. But nevertheless it is a totalitarianism and not a democracy. So much for logic on which Pandit Nehru relies, but that logic is against him.

But what is the way out? Pandit Nehru's vehemence in that respect is understandable. He has to conduct "this business of one party Government." He exclaims in despair whether people expect him to hand over power to opposition parties who do not win the elections. He shouts with scorn whether he is expected to bribe people to vote against him. How is he to help it, if the people of India vote him back to power at every election? If he were a democrat, he should examine this phenomenon of the people of India voting in a prescribed and pre-determined manner at all elections without affording the ghost of a chance for alternative parties to come to power. If he examines this phenomenon without prejudice, he would easily discover that the elections are not free under the present political set up. The Indian National Congress was never a democratic political party in the sense parties are understood in democratic countries. The Congress was a non-party national organisation associated with an all-party effort for political freedom from foreign rule. The attempt to convert a National Organisation like the Congress into a party organisation to run a government is inconsistent with the basic concept of democracy. This point was clearly understood by Mahatma Gandhi whose last injunction to the Nation before his death was to dissolve the Congress as a political party; and if there were a need to continue it, to keep it going as a social welfare organisation. The Congress is above party in the sense that the king in a monarchy is above party. It is as absurd and undemocratic to run a political party in the name of Congress in India as it would be in England to run a political party with Queen Elizabeth as the leader. As a corollary to the demoting of the Congress into a party organisation, there has been a degradation of the National flag. The Congress party flag which is the tri-colour with the charka in the middle, is a colourable imitation of the National flag, with the chakra in the middle. There has been all along an identification of the party and the Government, the party offices flying the tri-colour with the chakra. No wonder the party bosses every where dominate over the officials in the routine of daily administration. The personality of Gandhi which should have been kept above party has been degraded to that of the party boss. If the Congress is represented to the people as Gandhi's party, they will have to vote for the Congress at every election if they would not risk the odium of being considered traitors to the country.

The way is therefore clear for Pandit Nehru if he would be a democrat, as he avers, and if he would be logical, as he declares passionately that he would be, to carry out forthwith the dying wish of the father of the nation and dissolve the Congress as a

(Continued on page 17)

HUGGING A DEAD PACT

(From Our Correspondent)

In my last despatch I said that the Nehru-Noon Agreement had been abrogated by Pakistan as its President had threatened war on India, which was contrary to the terms of the Agreement. Since then the Pakistan Government has gone much farther than mere threats and had resumed firing on the Assam-East Pakistan border, which is a very definite and flagrant violation of the Agreement; for it was to prevent these repeated firings that the agreement was reached to settle matters amicably and peacefully. But it seems that nothing is likely to convince Mr. Nehru that the Agreement to which he was a party is being, like other Indo-Pak agreements, repeatedly violated by Pakistan. He told a member of the Lok Sabha on Nov. 17, only a few days after the firing by Pakistan that it stood by all the old agreements and, therefore, "it was not necessary for India specially to inquire whether Karachi still adhered to the Nehru-Noon Pact". That seems to be a green signal to Pakistan to go ahead with its violation of agreements with India, for a general verbal assurance on the assumption of power by the present Pakistan President carries much more weight here than specific acts in violation of an agreement involving violence—so much so that even an official query appears uncalled for. But this need cause no surprise in a country where everything depends upon the changing moods of one man, and where invasion of a part of its territory was not deemed to amount to an act of war or invasion of the country.

TARA SINGH'S DEFEAT

The biggest surprise of the fortnight has been the defeat, in the election to the Presidency of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, of Master Tara Singh by a man of whom no one outside the Sikh circles had ever heard,—one Prem Singh Lalpura, M.L.C., a 31-year old Congressman. The heart of the Sikh community is sound but, as often happens in India, the simplicity of the way of life of Master Tara Singh had carried the Sikh community off its feet in an emotional wave of enthusiasm for his honesty and integrity. But it would appear that he had indulged in slogan-mongering once too often when he recently re-iterated his old demand for a Punjabi State. He does not appear to have realised the change that has come over the spirit of the people of the country as a result of the sudden appearance of a military dictatorship in Pakistan announcing at its very birth that war with India would be most popular there. The Sikhs could not but have realised that no other community would stand to suffer half as much as the Sikhs as a result of invasion of India by Pakistan forces, and have therefore reacted adversely to Master Tara Singh's fireworks, which could only add to the inducement

to war across the border. Otherwise Master Tara Singh's claim for a Punjabi Suba was, if anything, rendered stronger by the counter claim of an influential Haryana leader for a Hindi-speaking state, thus conceding indirectly Master Tara Singh's demand.

The same awareness to the possibility of a grave crisis in Indo-Pak relations prevails in other communities also. It is heartening to record that the Working Committee of the Punjab Jana Sangh has, in the interest of the country, counselled patience and restraint to the Hindi Raksha Samiti while taking a decision on the language issue. (The Samiti at its Ambala session a fortnight ago had decided to launch the Hindi agitation again in Punjab.) The Punjab Sangh executive has advised the Samiti not to take any precipitate action but await the Bhasha Swatantrya Samiti's instructions. As the Jana Sangh formed the backbone of the last Hindi agitation, the advice of their Punjab executive is hardly likely to go unheeded.

The new Punjab Governor, Mr. Gadgil, claims to have discovered a panacea for Punjab's ills. It is to be hoped that the discovery has no relationship to, and is not identical with the assumption of all authority by the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan. In any case Master Tara Singh is a bad loser and it is most un-sportsmanlike on his part to threaten a *morcha* (march) simply because he has lost the presidentship of the organisation. Does he mean to say that his adversaries had no right to combine to defeat him?

U.P. CABINET CRISIS

The U.P. Cabinet crisis, from which the talented and highly-respected Chief Minister of the State has emerged triumphant, arose over an issue which was really an all-India one. This important aspect of the matter, the resigning ministers and deputy ministers of U.P. do not appear to have realised. They seemed to have been unaware also of the strength of the view of the Congress High Command on the matter. These two factors led to their fall. Otherwise, much could be said on both sides—that ministers should have freedom of opinion on organisational matters and that this freedom can easily be abused to assume the form of sniping from within. That so many should have resigned on what they consider to be an issue of principle is a tribute to U.P., to the character of its leaders and their loyalty to comrades or guides.

It may be truthfully said that a good deal of this character was nurtured by Motilal Nehru whose emotional attachment to Gandhi did not persuade him to forget that he had a brain that could think logically and patriotically without any reference to the Mahatma's way of thinking or its conclusions. However, pursuit of principles, if carried too far, can have baneful consequences and can magnify trifles into

momentous or fundamental issues. Dr. Sampurnanand is perhaps the only Chief Minister in India who does not take care to see that his utterances on various subjects always conform to the views given expression to by the Prime Minister of India during his daily utterances. That should indeed go a long way in earning for him that respect for independent expression of opinion which the dissenters claim for themselves on organisational matters. Those who stand for democracy as against hero-worship have cause for rejoicing that Dr. Sampurnanand's opponents have had the worse of the encounter with their Chief. The charge of dictatorship could not hold water because the stand he wanted them to support was that of the Cabinet and not his own.

"CHACHA" NEHRU'S BIRTHDAY

As anticipated "Chacha" Nehru's birthday was celebrated with eclat throughout the country, and particularly so in the Capital. We rose to hear children shouting "Chacha Nehru Zindabad"—a slogan better fitted for the throats of Congressmen. For, after all, what on earth can children possibly understand by the shout of "Chacha Nehru Zindabad". The Congressmen stand to profit by resorting to the slogan or its equivalents with which their speeches are often studded; so do the organisers of the celebration, for it provides an opportunity for the ingenious to exercise their brains to devise new methods of celebrating the event to catch the Pressman's eye. The children shout what they are taught to shout. The slogan bears an unmistakable kinship to totalitarian methods which should be taboo in a truly democratic state. Neither Government nor municipal employees have in fact any business to partake in such celebrations, but they do so on account of the approbation and reward that often follows such activities. The fact that the people do not even understand that these activities are unconstitutional shows the level of the intelligence of our intelligentsia. Congressmen on their part have no hesitation in using state machinery for party purposes and even employing "begar" for the purpose. So much for their standards and the moral approach, of which they are never tired of boasting.

STATUS OF ENGLISH

Apropos the controversy regarding the status of English in India the following extract from an article in the British Council's annual report for 1955-56 is illuminating.

"English is now more widely used and studied throughout the world than it, or any other language, has ever been before. It has been estimated that over half of the literate population of the world speak English as a first or second language, or use English as an indispensable instrument for vocational purposes, or are studying (or have studied) English. It is increasingly the international language of science and technology. In recent years about half of the world output of literature on scientific research has been published in English. To a degree hitherto unknown it is recognised, and not only in the western world, as the language of opportunity, of affairs and of international communication."

A correspondent points out in the *Statesman* that antagonism towards the West has not prevented Communist China from starting to teach English in its junior and senior middle schools. It is also romanising

the Chinese script, which is a far more difficult undertaking than romanising any of the Indian scripts. India, the correspondent laments, with more than a hundred years' familiarity with the English language, is now advised to throw away this advantage by those who, at the same time, want her to catch up with the advanced countries in scientific and technological progress. We are indeed working at cross-purposes. English has strong enough roots in India to grow on its own. Mr. Frank Anthony pointed out the other day that in the ten years after partition the number of students in English-medium schools has increased a thousand per cent.

TRAPS FOR THE UNWARY

By William Henry Chamberlin

Trap. 1. "COMMUNISM IS AN IDEA; FORCE CANNOT CHECK IDEAS"

This is a double fallacy. First, ideas can be and have been stamped out by force—if the force is sufficiently ruthless over a long enough period. Second, the last thing communism favours or tolerates is free competition of ideas. The people in communist Russia, Communist China, and the European satellites are captive peoples shut off from all, except clandestinely acquired information or opinions not explicitly sanctioned by the State. Nor does communism rely on the peaceful persuasiveness of its ideas to get and hold power. Armies marching across frontiers, trained agents of espionage and sabotage, strikes, riots, civil war, secret police raids, deportation and liquidation; this is the pattern of communist control.

Trap. 2. "COMMUNISM MEANS EQUAL BENEFITS FROM PLANNED ECONOMY AND SO IS MORALLY SUPERIOR TO ACQUISITIVE CAPITALISM"

This statement ignores the designed inequality under the communist economic order. The very word "communism" is deceptive. There is no voluntary sharing in communist countries. Under Communism there are no trade unions free of government control, no viable opposition political parties. The gulf in living standards between a member of the communist ruling class in his luxurious villa and a starving slave-labour in the mosquito-haunted pine forests of northern Russia is far wider than anything that could be found in a free country.

Trap. 3. "COMMUNISM IS NOT AS CRUEL AS RULE OF RUSSIAN TSARS"

This is a persistent illusion. But it is not justified by ascertainable comparative facts. When Tsar Alexander II was assassinated in 1881, five persons, all revolutionary terrorists whose part in the killing was undisputed, were put to death. When Sergei Kirov, one of Stalin's chief lieutenants was murdered in 1934, 117 persons, according to official communist communiques, were executed, of which only 13 were officially charged with complicity. One finds the same contrasts in the European satellites and communist China. Everywhere communism has brought not less, but vastly more cruelty. In communist China between 10 and 15 million "counter-revolutionaries" have been summarily executed since the regime took place in 1949. These figures are not those of Chinese anti-communists, the official Chinese communist radio boasts of them. (To be Continued)

"Negotiating" With The Kremlin

Soviet Russia's shocking record of violating every important promise she has ever made

By Eugene Lyons

IF new promises and solemnly signed agreements resulted from negotiations with the Soviet Union "to reduce East-West tensions," how much trust can the Free World put in Russia's good faith?

This is an all-important question on the international scene today. The only way to answer it is to examine the Kremlin's record of performance on past agreements.

Consider the "summit" meeting in July 1955 when President Eisenhower went to Geneva. Rarely had a conference with the Soviets been approached with greater optimism.

Said R. A. Butler, at that time Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, "There is in the international scene today a feeling of spring after a long winter of discontent." The proceedings were wreathed in smiles and loud with the rhetoric of goodwill.

The end product of this charade of amiability was three generalized "directives" to the Foreign Ministers, instructed to meet in the same city three months later: (1) "The settlement of the German problem and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections;" (2) a "system for the control and reduction of all armaments and armed forces under effective safeguards," to be worked out by the U.N. Disarmament Commission; and (3) gradual lifting of the Iron Curtain through more "free contacts and exchanges."

But the "feeling of spring" evaporated at the Foreign Ministers' gathering in the autumn as soon as Molotov parted his thin lips to emit wintry blasts. He bitterly denounced suggestions for freer exchange of persons as a plot to smuggle spies into his country. He spurned the U. N. disarmament machinery and refused to discuss the German problem. In short, within four months after a solemn "summit meeting" the Soviets renounced all three of their commitments.

Here are other highlights of the appalling Soviet record on treaties, agreements and promises:

1. After the collapse of the Tsarist empire, its largest non-Russian areas, the Ukraine and Georgia (Cruzia), between the Black and the Caspian Seas, set up as independent nations. Moscow recognized them in 1920.

In 1921, the Red Army invaded Georgia, overthrew its democratic government and unloosed a reign of terror that took thousands of lives. In 1922, the Ukraine's independence was crushed by military force.

Both countries were absorbed by the Soviet Union.

2. Great Britain, in return for recognition of the Soviet regime, received pledges that the Kremlin would desist from anti-British propaganda in India, Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan and that it would release British fishing vessels then in Soviet hands. The vessels were not relinquished and anti-British propaganda was stepped up. In 1927 London severed diplomatic relations on these grounds.

3. When China recognized the Soviet Government in 1924, Moscow agreed to withdraw its troops from Outer Mongolia. But the Kremlin retained its grip

on that country and in 1936 turned Mongolia into a Communist puppet state.

4. On September 27, 1928, the U.S.S.R. adhered to the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war. The next summer, Soviet forces attacked Manchuria and in a bloody struggle seized control of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

5. Recent Moscow proposals for a "non-aggression pact" between the NATO and Warsaw blocs of nations carry overtones of contempt for the historical memory of the West. Soviet performance under such pacts has been so bad and bloody that one marvels at the Kremlin's cynicism in even mentioning this diplomatic device.

Between 1925 and 1937 Soviet Russia negotiated nine "non-aggression" pacts, the first with Turkey, the last with the Republic of China. Each of them was stage-managed as further proof of Soviet dedication to peace. But for three of the hapless beneficiaries—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia—the pacts proved to be preludes to national extinction and for a fourth, Poland, the prelude to colonial puppethood.

Two others, Finland and Afghanistan, surrendered portions of their territory to the Soviets under force or the threat of force. The pact did not deter Soviet Russia from openly supporting the Communist conquest of the Republic of China. Only in the case of Turkey, which showed itself willing and able to resist aggression, did Moscow respect the pact.

6. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain in 1936, the U.S.S.R. joined other nations in an agreement not to intervene. It then proceeded to send arms and *material* to the Loyalist side and in time usurped virtual control of that side through its support of the Spanish Communists.

7. Soviet Russia entered the League of Nations, which it had until then boycotted, in September 1934. It thereby subscribed to the League Covenant not to resort to war and to abide by treaty obligations. The secret portion of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, a conspiracy to deprive six East European nations of their independence and territory, was a wholesale violation of the Covenant.

The first overt violation—the Soviet invasion of Finland in November 1939—led to Soviet Russia's expulsion from the League.

8. The fact that Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have been swallowed whole by Russia means that it violated all its treaties and agreements with those countries. The three stories are so nearly identical that it will suffice to summarize one of them.

Let us take Lithuania, which had won independence from Russia in the First World War. In a peace treaty with the reconstituted nation in 1920, Moscow "renounced all rights of sovereignty." A Lithuanian-Soviet non-aggression pact concluded in 1926, was renewed in 1931 and 1934. In 1933 the pact was reinforced with a convention defining aggression. On

(Continued on page 14)

CHINA VERSUS RUSSIA

By Philip Spratt

Disputes over territory: Competition for the leadership of the world revolution

IN his Note of September 7, 1958, to Eisenhower, Khrushchev declared that the Soviet government would regard an armed attack upon China as an attack upon the territory of the Soviet Union. In the note, of September 19 he went further, demanding, in terms inadmissible in diplomatic relations, American recognition of the People's Republic of China, the removal of opposition to its admission to the UN, the withdrawal of troops from Formosa and of the Seventh American Fleet from Chinese waters, and the removal of support for Chiang Kai-shek; and threatening the "expulsion" of American troops from Formosa by Chinese Communist forces and retabation with like means in the event of the use of atomic weapons in operations against Communist China. The communique on Khrushchev's meeting with Mao-Tse-tung (published in *Pravda* on August 4, 1958), and the reports with which it was accompanied were also marked by numerous expressions of agreement on all matters affecting Sino-Soviet internal and external policy.

WHOSE IS MONGOLIA?

An analysis of the relations of these two countries shows, however, that between the leaders of the two Communist Parties there are a number of causes of disagreement capable of developing into a large-scale conflict.

(Continued from page 4)

gymnasiums into training camps for young soldiers and let the war-song of the nation be sung from the million temples of the country.

But let us do all this peacefully and without the least hatred towards the Muslims of India. The defence of our motherland is a sacred cause. Let us not violate its sanctity by riots or rowdyism or by hatred or communalism. In moments of danger we need peace and deliberation.

What are the Praja Socialists and the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti fighting for a lingual district here and there when the freedom of the whole country is at stake? There can be no district without a country. Let us, therefore, shelve our petty quarrels for a while and apply ourselves heart and soul to the defence of our threatened motherland.

Let our people remember that Nehru has left us naked and defenceless after eleven years of his rule—eleven years which Pakistan used—effectively—to build up its army, to pile up a most destructive modern armament and to harness the natural hatred of its people against India. The years Nehru lost have been gained by Pakistan. We have paid the maximum price for the love of this man. Now we have nothing more left to give. All we have left now is 320-million Hindus and a religion as old as Father Time. They alone can save us. The agony of our burning heart is addressed to the scions of our ancient Hindus.

Arise! Awake! And Stop not till the goal is reached.

—Filmindia

Some of these points are of a geo-political nature. In the first place, there are the Chinese claims to the territory of Outer Mongolia, now known as the Mongolian People's Republic. On maps published in Communist China the frontier with Outer Mongolia is marked as being "provisional," while on Soviet maps it is shown as being final. Outer Mongolia, which is the oldest satellite and a virtual colony of the USSR, was not returned to China even after the establishment of the Chinese-Communist dictatorship, although it had for centuries been part of the Chinese Empire, and by the treaty of 1925 was acknowledged by the USSR as an integral part of China.

RUSSIA TAKES PRECAUTIONS

In the second place, China is over populated, while enormous areas of Soviet Asia, historically more or less related to China, are sparsely peopled.

Amur and Ussuri regions belonged to China until 1858 and 1890 respectively. Till 1917 these areas were inhabited by about 1,500,000 Koreans and Chinese; in 1926, their number was about 260,000. In 1937 200,000 Koreans and Chinese were deported to regions in Turkestan which are now being settled by the government with young people from the European USSR. Apart from plans to consolidate centres in the Far East, this resettlement is intended as a precaution against possible Chinese claims to these territories.

Although these geopolitical questions constitute serious complications in the relations of the two Communist states, Moscow and Peking are at present trying to by-pass them by achieving unity on the ideological planes. Even here, however, a number of points of dispute may be found.

Firstly, there is the question as to who is to exercise central control. The Chinese Communist leadership is well aware of the necessity of firm control from a single centre if the struggle for world dominion is to succeed. Hitherto this centre has been in Moscow. This situation was confirmed by China at the conference of Communist parties held in Moscow in 1957. The weakening in this position, however, caused by the death of Stalin, opened the door to competition, and the Chinese Communists are now beginning to advance claims to the exercise of this central control. This view is borne out by numerous circumstances.

Mao Tse-tung has embarked on a radical reconstruction of Chinese society. Throughout the country "people's communes" are being set up, in which peasants and workers are to work together to lead a collective type of existence, undergo military training and constitute a single military entity. Each of these communes covers one or more local districts and embraces between 2,000 and 20,000 peasant households. In each of them, creches, kindergartens, "homes of happiness," public baths and dining-rooms, tailor and barber shops, schools, etc., are being set up.

The people's commune is the best organizational

form for a gradual transition from socialism to Communism, and during the course of its development it will constitute the unit at the lowest level of the future Communist society (Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, *Pravda*, September 11, 1958.)

In this rapid reorganization of the social structure, the Chinese Party leadership is trying to avoid the mistake made by the Soviets in creating a "new" class. It is natural that the Chinese experiment should exert a considerable influence upon Soviet internal policy. The threat is growing that China will outstrip the USSR in the race to build a Communist society and so occupy the leading position in the world Communist camp.

In its search for a compromise between the orthodox aspirations of China and the social and economic situation within the Soviet Union, the Soviet Party Central Committee has during recent months been making theoretical preparations for proclaiming the identity of the fundamental laws and principles of the future Communist set-up with its present-day counterpart in the USSR. This was the purpose of the conference on problems of establishing Communism in the USSR, held in Moscow on June 23-26, 1958.

SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE

Secondly, the Chinese Army is carrying through a thorough-going Communization of life and training. Between May 27 and July 22, 1958, a conference on military questions was held at the Chinese Party Central Committee. The upper hand at this conference was gained by a point of view that was hostile to the principles of Soviet military doctrine, including the organization of military forces.

According to the new principles, which were set forth in an article by Marshal Chu Teh, published in *Pravda* on August 3, there is equality of status between officers and men. Officers are obliged to live, feed and train together with the men. Politics take precedence over technical matters. It was emphasized that blind imitation of Soviet military theory had exerted an unfavourable influence on the state and development of the Chinese Army.

Statements of this kind were, of course, a rebuff to the Soviet military theorists. It is interesting that at the banquet given at the Chinese Embassy in Moscow in honour of the thirty-first anniversary of the Chinese Army, Biryuzov was the only Soviet marshal to attend, while the other guests were of second or third rate prominence.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Thirdly, there is the question of arming the Chinese Army with atomic weapons, which is one of the most disputed issues in the relations between China and the Kremlin. During the current year, leading Chinese Communists made repeated statements on the imminent supply of atomic weapons to the Chinese armed forces.

From one point of view, it would appear to Moscow's great advantage to announce the supply of these weapons to China; by doing so, the Soviet leadership would increase the number of "atom states" to four, and so be on the way to achieving a footing of equality, so necessary for future negotiations. On the other hand, the arming of China, as of the other satellites, with atomic weapons is not expedient from the Soviet standpoint in view of the many causes of dispute.

Thus the USSR is in no hurry either to arm China with these weapons or to make a declaration to this effect, while China is doing her best to achieve this. It may be added that at the moment China is not in possession of these weapons as the "Report on the State of the Chinese Armed Forces," compiled by the Hong Kong Eastern Press, shows.

CHINA MORE AGGRESSIVE

In foreign policy, a comparison of the relative positions of Moscow and Peking shows that the Chinese Communists are developing a clearly expansionist tendency. The articles published in the Chinese press during August and September of this year and reprinted in *Pravda* show that the key to Peking's foreign policy is to be found in two basic theses.

The first is that the struggle for national liberation being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is, according to the Leninist interpretation, an essential part of world Communist revolution. All attempts, therefore, on the part of the "socialist" states, including the Soviet Union to relax tension are inadmissible. The second is that peace can only be secured by the removal of the prime cause of international conflicts, American imperialism. This can only be achieved by the formation and organization of "peace-loving" nations.

RUSSIA HESITATES

While the Kremlin is, in theory, no less aggressive than Peking, each having as its final aim the acquisition of world-power, on the other hand there is an important difference in their strategy and tactics, a difference that is enhanced by their rivalry. In view of numerous internal economic and political considerations, the Soviet leadership does not believe in the desirability of immediate armed conflict with the West and is trying to postpone a decisive struggle.

During the first ten days of the Far Eastern conflict Soviet promises of aid to China were very unspecific and were confined to offers of moral and material support. It was not until one day after Communist China had offered on September 6 to open negotiations with the USA that Khrushchev sent his Note declaring that an attack upon China would be regarded as an attack upon the USSR.

Peking's point of view is different; there may come a moment when the Chinese Communists, in their expansiveness, will not hesitate to lose one or two hundred million people in order to accelerate the realization of world Communist dominion. Here, China is in a position to blackmail the Soviet Union. Mao Tse-tung is well aware that in the event of a serious armed conflict between China and the USA, the USSR will be obliged to lend full support to China's defence, since a refusal to do so would mean the complete loss of the Kremlin's prestige in the Communist world and would deprive it of its leading position. Moreover, the Russian leaders fear that an armed conflict between Formosa and the USA on the one hand and Communist civil war within China, and so set off a chain reaction in the countries of Eastern Europe and even in the USSR itself.

In spite of the official Soviet attitude of "Hands off China" which dates from the twenties, and the aggressive character of Khrushchev's latest Notes, the Soviet government is in fact adopting in the Formosa conflict a waiting policy.

—Mysindia



The international furore caused by Russia's action in preventing the publication of Boris Pasternak's novel in Russia and the acceptance of the Nobel Prize by its author seems a case of the accusers protesting too much. There is hardly a single country in the world the government of which has not exercised the same kind of illiberal censorship on authors and writings which did not chime in with the views of authority. The Catholic Church has a department of its bureaucracy which scrutinises books in general and which draw up lists of them which are not to be read by the faithful. In England, there is a court official who has absolute right to interfere with the staging of plays. He can censor any portion and assign no reason for his action. It may be recalled that Shaw fought a life-long battle with that vestigial survival of ancient and unbridled autocracy. Such well known literary works as James Joyce's *Ulysses* and Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* were banned.

And to come to our own country, we can recall two episodes of recent times when the publication of great classics led to riots, loot, arson and murder. The first of them was the reissue of Swami Dayanand's *Satyarth Prakash*, while the other was the reprint by Mr. Munshi of an American classic dealing with the life and labours of the founder of the religion of Islam. In both these cases, infuriated muslim groups took the law into their hands and government had to purchase peace by truckling to them ignobly. So whoever else has the right to throw the first stone at the Russian authorities, it cannot be ourselves.

It is rumoured that poor Malenkhov was shot dead because he refused to cooperate in a plan which gave him freedom to commit suicide. It has been further stated that the officer who carried out the deed acted under an impression that he could be thereby currying favour with the all-mighty Khrushchev.

History furnishes two other similar examples of hated rivals being liquidated by zealous underlings. Henry II of England raised his Chancellor Thomas a Becket to the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and then found him a refractory rival and not, as he had hoped, a pliant tool in his hands. For Becket took the side of the Church against the state. Henry was so exasperated with him that he once exclaimed in the company of his trusted knights: 'Will no one rid me of this pestilential prelate?' The cue was at once taken by a gang of three ruffians who surrounded Becket in his own church and murdered him there. Henry II later underwent penance for the murder, but he gained his immediate objective.

Likewise did the usurper Bolingbroke feel uneasy as long as Richard II remained a prisoner at Pomfret

Castle. Some remarks let fall by him were construed by some of his followers as a command, and poor Richard was found murdered in prison one fine morning.

In the olden days, the habit of getting rid of unwanted rivals by assassination was more generally associated with the jealous Turk who would never allow a brother Turk near the throne. The record of muslim rule in India is one of the most disgustingly sanguinary chapters epitomising the follies and crimes of mankind. As the new Russian despotism in the district line of succession to the barbarities of oriental practitioners, there is no need to discount such stories. Later reports say that Marshal Bulganin who has also gone into eclipse is ill. Since he too is suffering from the 'falling sickness' we may expect to hear of his obituary ere long.

A correspondent from Amritsar writes to ask why it is that that so-called 'border incidents' are invariably reported from East Pakistan and not from West Pakistan. He himself proceeds to give an answer which is sufficiently original to merit publicity. According to him, the Bengalis are no good for two reasons. They have been the worst emasculated sections of Indians through the ages, and have little fight left in them. The second factor is that the artificial political division between East and West Bengal has not yet penetrated into their daily consciousness to the point of making them react quickly enough to the incidents that are deliberately provoked. Obviously, he thinks, that some master-mind or a master-plan is at work in East Pakistan the aim of which is to maintain an atmosphere of jitters imposed on the area by designing persons.

If, for instance, a similar game were tried on the West Pakistan Border, the aggressors or instigators or agents provocateurs would get it full in the neck with the Sikhs ready to return more than they get. And then the fat would be in the fire. This, my friend thinks, is the real reason why the Western frontier with Pakistan is quiet as quiet can be—not a mouse stirring.

One of the most euphonious titles of parties or fraternities in India is that of the Sikhs. From my boyhood days, I used to delight in rolling on my tongue the words 'Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee.' How mouth-filling, mellifluous and laden with rich associations! That organisation had been in the pocket of Master Tara Singh for a generation in which he and it made history simultaneously. But there is such a thing as a person—even eminent ones—outstaying their welcome. And so Master Tara Singh has at last been told that he is wanted no more. Unfortunately he seems a bad loser, for he has threatened unspecified penalties against those who have brought about his downfall. But as his chances of staging a come-back seem remote, here's our farewell to him.

Farewell, Master Tara Singh
 You've richly earned your rest:
 Your defeat may be embarrassing
 But such is the lot of the best!

(Continued on Page 19)

Fancy Prevails Over Reason

By Vivek

MR. Nehru has been attempting to adopt a reassuring role at the AICC meeting. To his Congress auditors he preaches courage. Many of them have been shaken by events at home and abroad. Mr. Nehru's answer to their fears is brief. He refuses to believe that the Congress, which had appeared to fashion India, is going to be swept away by the current of history. As for the trouble in Kerala spreading all over India and other problems, "This may happen and that may happen, he firmly announces, I do not apparently fancy such a thing or such things." That so far as he is concerned would seem to be the end of it!

The declaration of the Chief Minister of Kerala that if the other parties continue to oppose him and will not work with him, there will be "Civil War," which he and his party will continue until their final Communist victory, cannot but be fresh in his memory; so too, the lack of any real answer to that challenge by Mr. Nehru's Government in spite of Mr. Nehru's own statement that he was not satisfied with the replies given by the Chief Minister to him in the lengthy correspondence that had been embarked upon about this declaration.

The very non-committal tone of the resolution finally proposed on the subject at the AICC meeting can scarcely have encouraged our citizen, more especially when he saw that all attempts to strengthen it by suggesting action were stoutly discountenanced by the mover of the resolution, that no Minister from the Centre or any of the States spoke in support of it, that the President of the Congress was silent throughout, and that the debate ended as it began, leaving it a mere expression of concern.

From all this, his conclusion can only be that Mr. Nehru and his Government do not wish to, are unable to, or are not prepared to, deal firmly with the Communists in Kerala, whatever their acts. If then he thinks that the Communists are likely to be greatly emboldened and their opponents depressed, not only in Kerala but in other parts of the country, he can scarcely be held to be wrong.

STEPPING STONE

Mr. Nehru is surely aware that the Communists themselves regard, and have proclaimed, their hold over Kerala as merely a stepping stone to success elsewhere. The parlous condition of the Congress in Bengal and the extent of Communist strength there must be well within his knowledge. Does he really think that his not fancying such a thing is likely to reduce the effect of the Kerala success on Communist morale in Bengal? If he lets the Kerala Communists continue their onward course, whatever he fancies; repercussions elsewhere are bound to be vigorous and successful if no special measures are at once taken counter them: of these, there are no signs.

Had the wisdom of Mr. Nehru's Government rid the country of grievances which the Communists could exploit, the people might, in spite perhaps of this, have relied to some extent on the likelihood of his fancy in this matter proving correct. Unfortunately,

not only has it not solved the really serious grievances, but it has added to their number by its prejudice and obstinacy. The bilingual Bombay State is a case in point.

Knowledgeable men have not the least doubt that the bulk of the people of the State desire its division into Maharashtra with Bombay and Mahagujarat. Mr. Nehru's Government, in spite, it is stated, of advice from high quarters most friendly to it, refuses to budge from the stand it has previously taken. For no advantage to it or the public, it sacrifices reason to prestige. Can the result be anything else but the strengthening of the Communists throughout the Bombay State and their return in far larger number since they are the more dynamic element in the combined parties' Samiti both to the State and Central legislatures at the next elections?

In Lighter Vein

Referring to the whipping of an Indian government official and the slapping on the cheek of his wife by Pakistani authorities, a communique issued by the East Pakistan Government says that it does not represent the policy of that government.

Then it must be the policy of our government to instruct its officers to kiss the rod that chastises them or turn the other cheek when one is slapped.

Referring to the gift of a lock at one of the stands in the, India 1958 Exhibition, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said: 'I hate locks, and I hope a time would come, when there would be need to use them.'

But his love for deadlocks is so much the greater—wherefore witness what is going on about Bi-lingual Bombay, at the Benares Hindu University, on the Mysore border and elsewhere.

Besides if we go in for a few more Five Year Plans, there would be nothing left anywhere in the country to be kept under lock and key!

A revised estimate states that there are more gold reserves in the Kolar Gold fields than was at first thought.

This is equally true of the gold smugglers as well; for the more they are caught the more gold is unearthed from them!

Boosting the government plans and measures, Sri Gopala Reddi declared that our progress in the last ten years had been the cause of wonder to foreign countries.

Just as most of the ministers themselves have been a cause of wonder to us.

Speaking on Pandit Nehru's birthday, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant said he was the greatest democrat and the greatest child.

On dit
Peter Pan-dit!

RENT CONTROL ACT

Its abolition alone will solve the housing problem in Bombay

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M. A.

FOOD, clothing and shelter are the basic needs of human beings. All other wants come after them, and it is the duty of the Government, especially of a democratic government based on socialist pattern of society and on welfare principles to provide for them adequately, for, unless they are satisfied all talk of welfare is meaningless. At present what we find is that our Government and especially the Bombay Government, has miserably failed in this respect and the housing problem in Bombay has become very acute and serious. The main cause of this situation is the Rent Control Act that came into existence during the Second World War. Rent Control has long made an absurdity of the housing situation in Bombay and in recent years the absurd has become the intolerable. There could be no clearer example of the disastrous results of government interference with the normal operations of the free market. When rent restriction was first imposed during the war, nobody welcomed it for its own sake, but it was defended as a strictly temporary measure to meet an awkward situation and unexpected emergency. It is still with us and under the present circumstances there is no hope of its abolition.

The main objective of the Act was to control the rent of the buildings, so that the landlords may not be able to raise the rent as they wished and secondly to reduce the enormity of the housing problem. But unfortunately this very Act instead of solving the problem has aggravated it to such an extent that it has become impossible for a person to get a living space to lie down. The main reason for this is that the Rent Control Act, like all other Government Acts, is one-sided, inequitable and unjust. It is based on the wrong assumption that the landlord is a criminal who is always ready to exploit the tenants, who are harmless creatures. This very assumption is untenable, for, after all he is a human being and he is aware of the difficult situation. There is a proverb which says "Give a bad name to the dog before you shoot him." Unfortunately the government of Bombay has wrongly assumed that all landlords are criminals. This Act has given an opportunity to the tenants to go against their landlords, and the relations between the two which were cordial for number of years have been strained. By this Act all facilities have been given to the tenants. If one examines the Act very carefully he will find that many sections are absolutely against the interests of the landlords. All those landlords who had not seen the face of the Court during their life time were compelled to go to the court against their own tenants thus filling the pockets of the lawyers. Though the Act has failed to solve the housing problem, yet it has served the purpose of lawyers to fleece both tenants and landlords. By this Act, class conflict has increased and the result was that the Government was compelled to make many amendments in the Act.

The objective of the Act was thus never achieved and the housing problem was never solved.

The present Rent Control Act is valid upto March 1959, and even though some members of the Opposition parties have suggested many amendments, yet it appears from the statements of the Ministers that the life of the Act will be extended with the result that the people under Congress Raj will have to suffer more in the years to come. According to Mr. Kazi, the Bombay Government is not prepared to make any alterations in the present Rent Control Act. From this, it appears that the Government is not prepared to remove the gross injustice that is caused to the landlords, and so the main hurdle in the housing shortage will not be removed.

In Section 4 of this Act there is a discrimination between the private landlords and society buildings. This discrimination is incompatible with the socialistic pattern of society. Unless this section is removed, all talk of equality, classless society etc. will have no meaning. So the first necessity is to remove this section of the Act, and when it is done, then alone the private landlords will feel that they are the real citizens of an independent free nation. Section 4 allows the society landlords to increase their rent to any level. If this is so, then what crimes have the private landlords committed if they increase the rent? In the pre-war period these private landlords were not able to maintain their buildings in proper repair and many buildings were empty. At that time Government did not think it wise on its part to come to the rescue of these helpless landlords by giving them subsidies as given at present to the sugar merchants to export sugar at a loss in order to get foreign exchange. When the time came to enable these landlords to make up the old loss, the Government immediately clamped on this unjust Act which is detrimental to the economy of this country as a whole.

The first result of this Act is obvious. A huge number of houses fall into a slum condition through the sheer impossibility of keeping them in proper repair, and they become uninhabitable. It appears from the press reports that every day many houses are collapsing, throwing the helpless tenants on the pavements and their condition becomes more pitiable during the rainy season. If the landlords had obtained enough returns for the capital invested by them, then they would have repaired and modernised the houses. The landlords sometimes claimed that the rate of obsolescence through inability to repair is equal to the rate of new house building. It is impossible to give solid proof of this claim, because many of the houses that might fairly be called uninhabitable are still inhabited. But there can be no doubt that the unnecessary wastage of the country's largest capital assets is grie-

vous. It is quite certainly true that the rent control has been the immense manufacturer of slums.

The second result of this Act is that the tenant enjoys security of tenure. His rent cannot be raised and he cannot be evicted in favour of would be tenant who would gladly and voluntarily pay an economic rent. More than this, the tenant is allowed by this Act to make any alteration in the fittings without the knowledge and consent of the landlord and when this matter goes to the court of law, the poor landlord is punished for no fault of his own and the culprit sometimes gets away scot free. The mischief created by security of tenure is enormous. The economic case for abolishing rent control Act and security of tenure is irresistible. This fact has been reluctantly recognised by all, but the people are not ready to speak out the truth on account of their fear of displeasing the ruling party.

The Rent Control Act cannot be justified on moral grounds. For all the time the rent restriction is in force, house-owners are being compelled by law to accept an artificially low return on their ownership even though their tenants have incomes higher than their own. A large number of house-owners are people of modest means. In prewar days the thrifty and ambitious artisan was tempted to put his savings in brick and mortar. He believed that this was the one investment that would be reasonably safe from the fluctuations of the national economy. He might die fortified by the thought that his unmarried daughter who had looked after him would own a house that would yield her a modest income. But that daughter today may be pinched to the last naya paisa to pay for the repairs that the law demands, while the tenants drive in their own cars and enjoy their lives to the fullest extent. This is not merely a melodramatic picture. It is a kind of thing that is happening today in our country under our very noses. Some tenants are prepared to admit that rent must go up as a matter of justice and necessity, but they wish that they should be left with security of tenure. In the prewar period this demand would have seemed quite irrational. The houseowner who let the house and the tenant who took it struck an equal bargain. Either party could end the bargain by giving proper notice, but under the present conditions and especially under Rent Control Act the houseowner cannot end the contract in any circumstance, but the tenant can end it whenever he chooses. The idea of even justice has been badly corrupted in the most unexpected quarters.

The Rent Control Act is the main cause of overcrowding in big cities like Bombay. If this Act is abolished, the private landlords will have incentive to construct new buildings and the present shortage of housing will be reduced. As it is, the old houseowners find it difficult even to make the minor repairs, as the prices of the construction materials have gone up very high. If the rent Act is removed, the value of the immovable property will go up and it will enable the Government to get more revenue for the implementation of its schemes. There will be no necessity to impose the confiscatory pattern of taxation and destroy the initiative of private enterprise. Again as the result of the abolition of this Act, people would go to their own villages which are deserted at present. Everyone wishes to come to towns where rent is low in search of jobs, but if the villages are provided with all ameni-

ties and if the rent in urban areas is raised the present congestion in Bombay and other big cities would be abolished, the great disparity between the rural and urban life would come to an end and the economic development of the country would be properly balanced. The present lop-sidedness will be wiped out, industries will be established in many parts of the rural areas and the decentralization which is essential under present conditions will take place.

If it cannot be abolished, at least it should be amended in such away as to hold the balance even between the landlords and the tenants. Housing should be considered as a public service, the promoter of which should receive whatever encouragement is possible for the Government and other local bodies to give him. For years to come the bulk of the housing activity would have to be undertaken by private enterprise. Private enterprise which has been the primary source of building activity so far, tended to shrink on account of high prices of building materials during the war and immediately after it. Besides, the Rent Control Act is hampering the free play of the laws of Economic and Public Finance. Its working has clearly proved that it is detrimental not only to the landlords but also to the tenants. Hence its abolition is imperative. There is no other solution to solve the present housing problem. Will the Government rise to the occasion and take the courage to abolish it? Government should see the writing on the wall and act wisely and in time. It will be of no use to shut the stable after the horse is stolen. It is to be hoped that the wiser counsels would prevail in official circles.

Libertarianism And Free Economy

THERE is a vicissitude in the fortunes of ideas as of those of men. Some languish in obscurity for a long time, then blaze their trail across the heavens, leaving wrecks on the banks and shoals of time. Communism and Marxism which at a distance seemed so attractive have proved on closer acquaintance to be the most reactionary forces that ever tried the spirit of man. They have been forced to expedients the very reverse of the principles with which they began their evangelic course.

Almost about the same time, a rival school of thought began to take shape; and it found in Henry George as further amplified and modified by Gessel, a prophet of a simple but comprehensive system of land reform which was calculated to ensure both freedom in the political sense and a free economy in the sociological sphere. This has been a movement of pioneers who have long been content to work in obscurity, building up small groups and using the methods of propaganda and persuasion. These have taken root in almost all the civilised countries of the world today, and there have been profitable contacts established between them so that a world-view of the progress achieved in the good cause could be collated and presented for stimulating further progress.

Mr. Norman Casserley of 'Land Liberty' 4 great smith street, London S.W.I. is one of the leaders of Georgism today, and he is operating from New York, sending out bulletins tracing the progress of the movement and outlining the details of a blue-print to make

(Continued on Page IV)

Deficit Financing And Economic Development

By "Academicus"

DURING the war and post-war periods, the Government of India has followed a policy of deficit financing. During the war it was necessary in order to meet the emergency and to meet the excessive war expenditure but in the post war period deficit financing was undertaken in order to implement the unrealistic and over ambitious plans. Our Finance Minister is of the opinion that our Plans are not over ambitious at all. If that were so, then he would not have gone to America and England with a begging bowl to solve the foreign exchange crisis that our country has been suffering from in the last two years. Deficit financing has been justified on various grounds. It is not always dangerous. It is the timing and magnitude of it that are of crucial importance. Deficit financing is dangerous when the economy is already under inflationary pressure. Resort to deficit financing is based on the assumption that no Government can finance the development expenditure on such a large scale as in the five year plans solely from current revenues. If this were not done, the resources would not be properly husbanded and the country would remain poor. There would be poverty in the midst of plenty. Secondly it is also claimed that there is no need to balance the budget every year. It is possible to take a period of five or ten years and have a deficit in some years and surplus in others, so that in the long period the finances of the government are balanced. When investment is made through deficit financing the income of the people rises. Out of this additional income people spend on consumers goods and if the supply of these goods is not increased *pari passu* there is bound to be an inflationary rise in the price level. According to Keynes there is a gap between the aggregate demand and aggregate supply, and this gap leads to involuntary unemployment. In order to increase the aggregate demand to fill the gap to the level of aggregate supply at the point of full employment, deficit financing should be resorted to by means of created money. There is no doubt that deficit financing has certain advantages, and about its efficacy of achieving the economic development of the country by making the fullest use of unused resources, but so far as India is concerned one must say with regret that deficit financing has proved to be a disaster. As a consequence of this, economic progress of our country instead of marching forward has moved backwards.

The theory of deficit financing assumes that there is no inflation and there is a large supply of unused resources which can be brought to use only by deficit financing. In India war has created an inflation which has not only lasted during the war, but it has persisted even in the post-war period. Unfortunately our Union Finance Minister is not prepared to face the fact but makes assertions contrary to it. This clearly proves that he is misformed as to the real facts existing in our country, for we can't say that he does not know the meaning of inflation! Our Government has miserably failed to tackle this serious problem with muddle headed industrial policy reinforced by a wrong monetary

credit and fiscal policy, it has created more chaos and retarded the progress of the country.

Unless these policies are completely overhauled, the economic development of the country will not take place. Although there are unemployed resources like unskilled labour, yet there is an acute shortage of skilled labour, machinery, chemicals, and raw materials which are essential for the rapid economic progress but the "beggar my neighbour policy" followed by our incompetent, khaddar-clad ministers has resulted in the closure of many firms due to shortage of raw materials and equipment. This has resulted in large involuntary unemployment. Deficit financing has created an additional purchasing power in the hands of the consumers without adequate quantity of goods in the market. This has given a golden opportunity to black-marketeers to make hay while the sun shines, and adopt anti-social policies. This has added to existing inflation a further dose of inflation and a further rise in the price-level.

The Union Finance Minister told the Lok Sabha that if the situation went out of control, the Government had its own methods of meeting it. But this is mere bluff. There is a vital difference between the conditions in India, and the assumptions of Keynesian Economics on the basis of which deficit financing is being practised in our country. The problem of deficit financing is not merely of monetary nature as some so-called Indian economists assume, but on the other hand it is a problem of our agriculture and industry to increase the output of consumer goods. It must be mentioned here that the income of the people would increase as a result of deficit financing but without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods in a short period. This results in inflation and that is exactly what has taken place in our country.

The Planning Commission, supposed to be an expert body on Planning, has emphasised the development of basic and heavy industries in the Second Five Year Plan on the wrong assumption that the problem of agriculture had been solved at the end of the First Five Year Plan. Instead of consolidating the gains achieved at the end of the First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission has failed to avail itself of the golden opportunity and allowed the Second Five Year Plan to run into difficulties from the very beginning. In order to develop these basic industries, a large amount of deficit financing to the tune of 1400 crores is necessary. Secondly this big dose of deficit financing would not increase the output of consumer goods in the short period but only capital goods in the long period. But by then we shall all be dead! As a result of this muddle headed policy, many consumer goods are in short supply thus creating a tendency for a further rise in the price level. The prices would have come down if the Planning Commission had emphasised the short period schemes which would have increased the output of consumers goods. The effects of deficit financing would not have been adverse. In India the costs of production of industry have

increased due to high wages, high raw material prices and high taxation.

In their wake prices too began to rise. This has defeated the objective of deficit financing. The capital available in the country is too small and the inflow of foreign capital has not taken place as anticipated by the Planning Commission. Both these factors have also defeated the objective of deficit financing. The Government meets its deficit by borrowing in the internal market or by borrowing from abroad or by drawing on sterling balances. Unfortunately government has not succeeded in raising the required amount of funds in the market and its sterling balances have been practically wiped out with the result that deficit financing has imposed a severe strain on us.

According to two renowned economists of India, deficit financing of the order contemplated in the Plan is likely to push up prices by 45% at the end of the Second Five Year Plan and that the value of our rupees which is one third or one fourth of what it was before the war will further go down by 30%. Once inflation starts it will create wasteful or socially less useful demands on the limited savings. The limited resources of the country would be diverted to the production of luxury goods for which there will be an increased demand as the income of the people would have increased due to deficit financing. Once inflation starts and gathers momentum the people will be subject to undue hardship and suffering. The best safeguard is to keep the investment within the available resources. Our Government unfortunately has failed to observe this basic principle. "Deficit Financing is not an Aladin's lamp nor Open Sesame of Ali Baba and his forty thieves. It quickly leads to a rise in prices in the absence of productivity, monetary discipline, supply of consumers goods and the readiness to postpone consumption in favour of investment. It gives rise to frequent economic disputes among the various factors of production. Deficit financing raises prices and imposes hidden and iniquitous taxation on the people and further it produces economic and

(Continued from page II)

the movement a live force in the world politics of our time.

He has inaugurated a new organisation styled 'The New Forward Look for Georgism' in New York the aim of which is to embark on a programme of ideological expansion which would be collated from a central office and which could operate simultaneously at all important centres of world thought. In addition to the study of taxation which was Henry George's primary preoccupation, the new organisation proposes to include for study such related subjects as the humanities modified by a scientific outlook. It seeks to concentrate on adult education with a view to claim membership and intellectual following among the grown-up working population so that their changed outlook might find expression through the vote. A world net-work of educational study-groups is also under planning. Annual Conferences are being held in New York where the NY HGSSS centre was first established by Oscar Geiger a devoted student of Henry George's ideas and theories. We shall publish from time to time further details of this new Organisation and its activities in furtherance of Henry George's theories of Land Reforms.

financial instability. It is a medicine to be taken in small doses, it is not food that sustains a system." We are ardently for our economic progress. But it depends more on technological than on fiscal factors. Unfortunately government policies are oblivious of this fundamental truth.

THE FINANCIER'S LITTLE GAME or THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME by The Duke of Bedford
Published by The Strickland Press, 104 George Street Glasgow; Price 2d.

In this small pamphlet the author describes in forceful language the activities of the financiers, "the most harmful people in the world." They are mainly responsible for trade slumps and poverty and over taxation, slow progress in slum clearance and growing international tension which were a feature in the inter-war period i.e. 1919-1939. They derive their power from their control of the creation and issue of money, by means of which they are able to dominate the administration and the Press. They wish the money to be created for making bank loans, for buying securities and gold. They want gold to be used as the basis for the creation of money, and in connection with foreign trade. They also want some sort of international money related in amount to gold. They are in favour of free exchanges and want an International Police Force. The financiers wanted unconditional surrender of the Axis Powers, a fight to a finish and no negotiated peace, for the simple reason that the policy of the Axis Powers would go against their own interests.

The financiers do not want that the money supply should be related to goods and services, because this would make the money supply abundant and they would lose the interest. In other words they would have no power to exploit the situation and control the policy of the ruling party. They do not want the money to be created without borrowing and spent by the Government. The financiers in order to frighten the ignorant, nervous people raise the cry of "Inflation" when new and helpful ways are suggested to create money. Anti-inflationary measures are a proper reply to these financiers. The financiers are against Axis powers because they (the Axis powers) do not bother much about gold, they are in favour of barter trade and they do not allow the "freedom of exchanges."

This is in brief "the financiers little game"; and this is evident from the policy adopted by them in the past and a policy which is not going to be changed in future unless they are thoroughly exposed. The main object of this small pamphlet is to bring out the anti-social policy of the financiers and the author has greatly succeeded in exposing the activities of these harmful people. The author wants that the people should not stand for it, and allow things to drift until a situation has developed which makes effective protest well-nigh impossible." He wants the people to take quick and prompt action against the nefarious policies of these financiers before it is too late.

Although it may not be possible to accept all that the author says, yet the pamphlet serves a useful purpose, namely to show how the financiers are the real culprits of the trade depression that the world witnessed in the interwar period. If the monopoly power of these financiers is broken down, and if free competition is allowed to work, the evils of capitalism can be remedied without resorting to socialism., .N.L.

The Dulles Dilemma In The Middle East

(Mr. Dulles is probably the best hated man in the world today. Even American opinion is growing embarrassed at the manner in which his policies are thinning out the ranks of Democracy's friends and adding to the prestige of the communist bloc. And yet, there is no courageous or clear enough formulation of an alternative policy which would subserve both the national interests of America and the cause of world peace.

Under the above caption Sidney Lens discusses the pros and cons of American foreign policy in the September issue of the Progressive, extracts from which we give below. (Ed. J. L.)

DULLES' problem is like that of the Austrian Metternich of a century and a half ago: he keeps throwing empty sandbags against an inexorable flood. No statesman in modern times has tried so hard or travelled so far to make friends for American policy. But if he befriends the people and their nationalist leaders, he offends his own best friends at home—*Standard Oil, United Fruit* and their kind. And if he befriends the tyrants and dictators, he eventually loses the countries themselves.

It isn't that Dulles is stupid or uninformed; but there is a blind spot in him that prevents him from seeing the nature of the revolution sweeping the under-developed areas of the world. He seems unable to break with those titans of American and European industry whose politics stoke the fires of revolution the world over. The process is all too familiar. The great corporations invest their money abroad to earn profits far greater than they can earn at home. A barrel of oil that sells for \$ 2.12 dollars in the U.S. costs only from 10 to 30 cents to produce in the Middle East, and earns an enormous gross profit of more than one thousand per cent. To maintain this source of huge profits however they must have safe regimes. Hence their deal with reactionary juntas in the oil sheikdoms of the Middle East.

Despite its oil riches, the per capita income of Iraq is only \$ 115 a year,—about one-fourth that of Israel, one-fifteenth that of the U.S. And the gap between the rich and poor is so great that the average *fellah* is fortunate if he earns 30 dollars a year. In contrast, not a few of the Sheiks enjoy an annual income, after taxes, of more than a million dollars a year.

When the British first occupied Iraq in 1919, there was no oil production in Iraq. But the Middle East has always been the strategic cross-roads between Europe and Asia, and there were other resources such as high-grade cotton in Egypt. For these reasons the British decided to keep the area backward so that they could exploit its resources more easily.

For forty years therefore the youth and intelligentsia of the Middle East have been bitter against Britain and France—and now America—for thwarting Pan-Arabism, for keeping the area disunited. In nations like Lebanon where western oil interests are not the direct issue, it is the policy of keeping Arabia disunited which evokes hatred against the West. They recognise in federation a major step towards breaking the sinews of semi-feudalism and backwardness.

Saudi Arabia where the United States has the greatest influence is probably the least changed from a social standpoint. Per capita income in this nation of seven millions is only \$ 70 per year, even though \$ 600 millions a year in oil profits are shared by King Saud and his feudal friends. The high living of this small clique of robber barons is an international dis-

grace. In Saudi Arabia there are no unions, no democratic rights whatever. A man may have his hand cut off for stealing a trinket!

Following world war II the United States picked up the mantle which the British had to discard. But its policy has lacked the old British consistency; instead it has tried to accomplish its ends through economic bribery; it has lavished hundreds of millions on corrupt regimes in the hope that this would strengthen them. Caught between the interests of *Standard Oil* on the one hand and the world-in-revolution on the other, the American Secretary of State has been incapable of consistently supporting reaction or consistently planting his feet with the inexorable revolution. The same pattern has been emerging in Egypt and Lebanon and Iraq. Dulles seeks his friends from the most conservative rather than from the most progressive elements of these nations.

In presenting his case to the American public, Dulles glosses over these details. He insists that he must follow the current courses because of the greater enemy—Russia. In the Dulles political rainbow, those regimes that side with the United States are 'good' regardless of their social crimes, and those that are neutral or revolutionary are 'bad' regardless of their social achievements. His insistence that neutralist governments help Soviet foreign policy and must therefore be challenged on that score alone has contributed greatly to American reverses in the Middle East.

The leaders of the Middle East revolution like Jumblatt, Sammeraiey, the Baah party and others who are just as opposed to the Soviets as to Dulles correctly denounce this argument as specious. Until it can stabilise its power, free its economy from the fetters of the past, and industrialise, a revolutionary regime has little choice but to manoeuvre between the great powers. The United States, during its own revolution of 1776, accepted liberal help from the French monarchy against the British. Washington's policy of 'no entanglements' was not much different from that of modern neutralism. But the Dulles policy of combating the nationalist revolution only drives our best potential allies further towards the Soviet camp. The danger to American policy can hardly be repaired until we make the present revolution, including Pan-Arabism, the pivot of our strategy for the Middle East. So long as this area festers in poverty and remains inhibited by near feudal social institutions, it can only be a source of never-ending strife and war-potential. If both the West and Russia would stop trying to use the Middle East as a pawn in a power-game or as a field for exploitation, and permit it to develop its own—neutral way.—there would be a genuine prospect for peace in ancient lands.

(Au, there's the rub—in that 'If. As the poet put it, it is the only peace-maker on earth!—Ed.)

NEGOTIATING WITH THE KREMLIN—Cont'd from Page 8

March 28, 1939, Moscow publicly gave assurances that it would respect not only the independence of Lithuania and the other Baltic states but also their political, social and economic systems. Never had a small nation been so thoroughly shielded against a big neighbour by paper defences.

These defences went up in flames in October 1939. The Prime Minister of Lithuania, summoned to Moscow in the imperious Hitlerian manner, was forced to sign a pact giving the Soviets the right to set up bases on his country's soil. Article 7 guaranteed that this would "not in any way affect the sovereign rights of the contracting parties," and reaffirmed "the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs."

At the time Molotov executed this document, he had already worked out the secret codicil to the Hitler-Stalin Pact imposing a death sentence on Lithuania as an independent nation. The final act in this classic drama of duplicity came in June 1940. A Soviet ultimatum demanded the resignation of the Lithuanian Government. A month later the Red Army occupied the country. The experience of Latvia and Estonia was the same as Lithuania's.

Finland broke the pattern set by the Soviets in the Baltic states by choosing to resist aggression. Full Finnish independence had been recognized by its colossal neighbour within weeks after Lenin seized power in Russia. A non-aggression pact signed in 1932 was still valid when the Red Army attacked Finland. After three heroic months of struggle, the Finns capitulated, handing over the Karelian Isthmus and a naval base to the conqueror.

9. In 1920 the fledgling Soviet state attempted—but failed—to take over Poland by force of arms. The peace treaty of 1921 acknowledged that country's independence and fixed the Soviet-Polish frontiers. In 1932 came the standard non-aggression pact, bolstered the following year by Polish adherence to a Soviet-initiated convention defining aggression.

These and an array of other commitments to Poland were blatantly violated by the Soviet invasion of the country in September 1939. Secretly, of course, they had already been dishonoured by Stalin's agreement with Hitler to kill Poland and partition its territories.

10. In adhering to the Atlantic Charter in January 1942, the U.S.S.R. assumed the obligations to "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;" to seek "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;" to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live." In Teheran, less than two years later, the U.S.S.R. reaffirmed these undertakings.

These pledges have been dishonoured by the Kremlin on an all-embracing scale. It has "aggrandized" itself at the expense of entire nations and parts of nations in utter contempt of "the wishes of the peoples concerned." It has imposed governments and social systems of its own choice upon hundreds of millions of Europeans and Asians. In all the history of humankind, it is not easy to find an example of broken promises so immense in scale, so catastrophic in consequence.

11. After the Germans attacked the U.S.S.R., Moscow formally recognized the Polish government in

exile headed by Premier Sikorski. It signed a Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with it. But in April 1943, the Kremlin summarily broke relations with the Sikorski government. It then organized a group of Polish Communist agents as the Polish "government."

At Yalta conference between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin in February 1945, Stalin pledged "free and unfettered elections" for Poland. The elections, finally staged in 1947 after a campaign of terror against non-Communists, were patently fraudulent.

12. An Anglo-Soviet-Iranian treaty signed in January 1942 provided that all Allied forces be withdrawn from Iran not later than six months after the close of hostilities with Germany. At the Teheran conference Stalin joined Roosevelt and Churchill in guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Iran.

Long after the expiration of the six-month Soviet troops were still in Iran. Shielded by those troops, a Communist regime was created in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan and Red Army openly prevented the Iranian Government from suppressing the rebels. Action by the United Nations, backed by President Truman's notice of readiness to employ American force to safeguard Iranian sovereignty, finally induced the U.S.S.R. to withdraw its forces.

13. The Moscow conference of 1943 pledged that Austria, as "the first free country to fall victim to Hitlerite aggression," would be promptly re-established as an independent democratic nation at the war's end. But Austria had to wait ten years to gain that independence. Its Soviet Zone was stripped of equipment and materials, its citizens subjected to arbitrary arrests and kidnappings. Soviet forces were not withdrawn until 1955.

14. At Yalta, a formal Declaration undertook "the establishment of order in Europe" by processes enabling peoples "to create democratic institutions of their own choice.... to form governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population.... to establish, through free elections, governments responsive to the will of the people." Soviet Russia has violated all Yalta commitments not clearly to its own advantage. Every rigged election under the aegis of Soviet armies and secret police in East Europe, including the Soviet Zone in Germany, was a flagrant violation of the Yalta agreements. The same is true of the suppression of non-Communist political parties.

15. The Allied conference at Potsdam in July-August 1945 was essentially a repeat performance of Yalta. It reiterated the promises of freedom of speech and Press and equal rights for all. But wherever the Red Army was in control, the Kremlin imposed one-party dictatorship, destroyed non-Communist organizations, expunged all elementary rights and employed unlimited police terror.

Having agreed that Germany would be treated as an economic and political whole, the Kremlin quickly sealed off its zone of occupation and turned it into a separate and iron-curtained entity.

Having agreed to Four-Power rule of all Germany and all Berlin, the Soviets then sabotaged the Allied Control Council and imposed Communist puppet regimes on East Germany and East Berlin.

Armistice agreements concluded with Bulgaria,

Rumania and Hungary in late 1944 and early 1945 and confirmed at Potsdam provided joint Three-Power rule by Allied High Commands. But the Soviet member of the respective Commands frustrated their operations, exercised sole control and in the end imposed sole control by all-Communist puppet regimes.

16. The Cairo agreements, to which Moscow subscribed, provided that all Chinese territory seized by Japan would be returned to "the Republic of China. At Yalta, moreover, the U.S.S.R. promised to deal only with Nationalist China.

But withdrawing its occupation forces from Manchuria, Soviet Russia turned over territory, administrative control and vast quantities of Japanese arms to the enemies of the Chinese Republic, the Communists, and gave them full support in their war on the established government.

17. The Council of Foreign Ministers, meeting in Moscow in March 1947, agreed that all German prisoners of war be repatriated by December 31, 1948. The Kremlin ignored this decision. Even today there are thousands of German POW's in Soviet Russia, and they are being exploited by Soviet diplomacy to blackmail the Bonn Government.

18. In June 1948 the Soviets, in violation of the Potsdam commitments, clamped a blockade on West Berlin and intended to starve the city into submission. Not until May 15, 1949, was the end of the blockade formalized, in an agreement signed in New York. And ever since then the United States, Britain and France have been obliged to protest frequently against crude breaches of the New York accord.

19. With the sole exception of Austria, every "temporary" Soviet occupation of alien soil turned into illegal permanent occupation. Korea is a case in point.

The Yalta and Potsdam agreements foresaw an independent and united Korea. But above the 38th Parallel, Soviet Russia crushed non-Communist Parties and established a puppet government which claimed jurisdiction over the whole of Korea. Then, having built up large military forces, again in contravention of signed promises, the puppet state attacked South Korea, touching off armed resistance by the United Nations. Soviet Russia not only opposed U.N. efforts to thwart the aggressor but gave North Korea military and economic support—a clear violation of the United Nations Charter.

A Korean armistice was signed in July 1953. Two years later Major-General Harlan Parks, senior U.N. Command member at the Armistice Commission presented evidence that the Communist had "flagrantly violated every basic provision of the armistice agreement." They had illegally built up bases, stockpiles, land and air forces in North Korea. That illegal build-up has continued ever since.

20. The ten-year-old occupation of Austria was the Kremlin's pretext for maintaining large forces in Hungary and Rumania; ostensibly those forces were necessary to protect Soviet lines of supply. That pretext was cancelled out in 1955 when Soviet forces left Austria. But the Red Army contingents remained in Hungary and Rumania notwithstanding. In Hungary they were enormously increased after the brutal Soviet suppression of the popular revolt in that country.

THIS INVENTORY of fractured pledges is far from complete. But it leaves no margin for doubt that those "tensions" which Khrushchev professes himself

anxious to relax are primarily the result of high-handed Soviet betrayals of solemn agreements.

And there are myriad instances of the Soviets' bad faith that do not fit into the pattern of concrete violations of specific documents. They must be grouped under the heading of *Deceptions*.

21. In the spring of 1945 the Red Army occupation chiefs in Poland called upon democratic leaders, then in hiding, to confer on making peace with the puppet regime. British and American representatives naively supported the proposal. Sixteen leaders of the Underground, on the basis of solemn written assurances of safe-conduct, emerged from hiding. They were immediately flown to Moscow—and disappeared. Not until they were brought to trial as "traitors" many months later did the world know their fate.

22. Eleven years later Stalin's successors demonstrated that they were as skilful in pulling such tricks as their dead master had been. In Budapest, at the height of the Hungarian revolt, General Maleter and other leaders of the uprising were lured into negotiations with the Soviet military commanders, under guarantees of personal safety. In the midst of the negotiations, a detachment under the personal direction of General Ivan Serov, head of the Soviet secret police, arrived and arrested the Maleter group. The subsequent execution of the Hungarian leaders has shocked the world.

NEGOTIATORS with Soviet Russia have to remember that lies, betrayals, infringement of treaties are part of the Red creed to which Khrushchev subscribes as completely as Stalin did.

The present Red rulers have never renounced Lenin's golden rule: "It is necessary to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of the truth." Or one of his favourite maxims: "Promises are like pie-crust, made to be broken."

Thus the Kremlin's record of broken pledges derives from a perverted code of conduct sanctioned by Communist doctrines. And it poses a major risk in negotiating with the Soviets.

When Kremlin leaders enter a new round of talks, they know exactly how we feel, what we hope to accomplish—things spelt out in the free Press and in free political debates. They are aware of the high value we place on sportsmanlike give-and-take, our endemic urges to compromise and accommodation and, above all, our respect for agreements.

The West, by contrast, goes into such talks virtually blindfolded. It can only grope for some token of the real mood and intentions of the Communists knowing these have been concealed or misrepresented to divert our attention and blunt our vigilance. There is no real public opinion at home to which Soviet negotiators must give an accounting.

The West has never ruled out negotiations. But in view of the shocking Soviet record of perfidy on its pledged words, it is learning to rule out illusions and exaggerated expectations.

Conferences with the Soviets will not menace Free-World morale and interests if the West engages in them realistically, without losing sight of the inside-out moral code of Communists, and remaining clear-headedly aware that an agreement with them is worthless unless backed up by fool-proof provisions for enforcement.

—Reader's Digest

deal of adaptability, and has brought many immiscible or disparate groups together on what may be termed a 'Hail-fellow-well met basis.' It has swallowed such a major anomaly as a republic being a member of it whose head is a crowned monarch. If that political or constitutional solecism can pass muster, there is no reason why a military dictatorship and parliamentary institutions should not also lie cheek by jowl.

If we dislike the arrangement or have reason to fear that there is malafide in some other part of the Commonwealth of which we are also a constituent, the remedy lies in our own hands. We are free to resign and get out of it. As this also would suit the books of our communist friends, no wonder that Pandit Nehru does not pursue his theses to their logical conclusion.

The Indo-pak situation cannot be held in hand so long as our side is not empowered to deal with aggression or trespass in the only way in which it has to be met. When the other side learns that we too mean business, then alone will it bring sobriety to the hot-heads who seem trigger-happy on the other side.

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

The first round of elections in France has disclosed a gratifying measure of support to De Gaulle which augurs well for the future of that country. Even more reassuring is the eclipse or the considerable weakening of the Communist party. Not long ago, they were the biggest single organised group and contributed not a little to the instabilities of French government in the post-war years. Final results are not to be expected until the second round of elections is completed next week. But commentators agree that De Gaulle is assured of a comfortable majority for his policies. These represent not reaction as often facetiously described in hostile quarters, but a sober and realistic appreciation of French opportunities no less than obligations both to the people of metropolitan France and of the territories beyond. It is an experiment in co-existence on the broad and still dynamic principle of the French Revolution of 1789 which De Gaulle is committed to work out, and all men of good-will should wish him success. The example of France is a further reminder of the truism that, given free and fair conditions and peaceful methods of appealing to the public, Communism has always failed to win support. It has always depend upon violence and fraud to make its way, specially among backward and hence easily misguided people.

A DOUBLE CHALLENGE

In his references to the new military regime in Pakistan at his party conference the Prime Minister only shared the fears of his people. The fact that the regime is not answerable to anyone increases the danger of its seeking a military solution to its disputes with India. This possibility cannot but cause the utmost concern to the people in this country. The casual and almost threatening manner in which General Ayub Khan talked of the possibility of war with India the other day has done nothing to lessen this fear.

The new Pakistani leaders cannot, of course, be unaware that by imposing a martial law regime on the country, they have forfeited whatever moral right they might have had otherwise to demand a plebiscite in any part of the territory in dispute between the two countries. But moral considerations have never deterred a military dictatorship from embarking on adventurist policies. It is here that this country has to be doubly wary. While doing all it can to live at peace with Pakistan, it cannot altogether discount the possibility that desperation may make the new rulers of Pakistan embark on a military adventure. The Indian Government has to be prepared for the worst, though it will be a short-sighted policy for it to look upon the emergence of a dictatorial regime in Pakistan as a purely military challenge and a call for greater military preparedness. It must look upon the political changes in the neighbouring countries equally as a challenge to democracy. Though we have reason to be proud of such democratic institutions as we have built up, we must remember that democracy has by no means struck deep roots yet, and that undemocratic forces in the country will not hesitate to exploit popular economic and social discontent for their own ends. Viewed in this larger context the totalitarian trend in some of the neighbouring countries is a socio-economic challenge more than a military threat.

MARTYR'S MEMORIAL CASE JUDGEMENT

Mr. Justice Desai of the Bombay High Court has allowed a Writ petition which challenged the acceptance by the City corporation of a memorial for the martyrs of police firing over the Bi-lingual Bombay issue offered to be erected by the leaders of the Samyukta Maharashtra Party. The result of the judgment is that the Corporation will not be allowed to accept or erect the memorial at the Flora Fountain Site.

In the course of his judgment, the learned Judge held that the proposal did not fall within the legitimate spheres of activities of the Corporation, that it was political in intent and that therefore it was *ultra vires* of the Corporation and its powers under the act. The learned Judge also made a distinction between a historical incident and a burning political issue, and implied that while a memorial to the victims of the Jallianwalah Bagh massacre would be of historic value, a similar memorial to the martyrs of Sanyukta Maharashtra agitation would merely embitter prevailing asperities and add fuel to a currently burning problem.

But there are two considerations which follow from this judgment. One is that the corporation must in future behave like the cobbler—sticking to his last. Almost all our municipalities or corporations have been wasting much of their time and energy and resources canvassing political issues. In future, any enterprising civic father can get writs against the civic bodies for exceeding their powers which are being done almost daily.

The second result would be the very reverse of pacifying the public. The admittedly political character of the agitation will grow more fierce and lead to further uglier manifestations which it was the ostensible aim of the plaintiff to put an end to. Thus the remedy might well prove worse than the disease!

(Continued on Page 19)

Chancellor Borsodi's Peace Mission

American Educator emphasizes Need of Moral Bias in Education

By Prof. Om Prakash Kahol

"The world leadership was lost by the priest to the warrior, by the warrior to the banker and by the banker to the politician; and the time seems to have come, as evidenced by the series of crises throughout the contemporary world, that the politician is passing it on to the teacher, if a collapse of human values is to be averted. By 'teacher' is not meant a mere instructor in arts and crafts, or even a transmitter of literacy, but one who *influences* others. In that sense, a painter, or the editor of a paper, is a teacher, no less than a University professor. His main prop should be moral excellence and intellectual influence, rather than political power."

Imbued with these ideas, Mr. Ralph Borsodi, former Chancellor of Melbourne University in Florida (U.S.A.) has undertaken a lecture-cum-study tour of India in the evening of his life. His writings, particularly *'The Challenge of Asia'* and *'Education and Living'* have had a tremendous influence on some sections of the Hindu intelligentsia; and since the day he landed in India in late September, he has been attracting ever more and more audiences. The Vallabha Vidya Peeth of Anand in the Bombay State is considering the possibility of incorporating some of his ideas in their general educational scheme; and Mr. Patel, the Vice Chancellor, has invited him to prepare a detailed 'text-book' in this behalf, for use in that university.

At Chandigarh, the capital of the Punjab. Mr. Borsodi was a guest of the Punjab University and had talks with Chancellor N. V. Gadgil and Vice-Chancellor A. C. Joshi about various educational problems, besides addressing gatherings of University post-graduate students and pupil-teachers of the Basic Training College. He also visited the newly-established University in the historic city of Kurukshetra earlier in November. Swami Satyananda, monk-in-charge of the famous Hindu shrine at Jyotisar evinced keen interest in his educational scheme which, the Swamiji hopes, can go a long way to keep humanity along the path of peace and harmony.

MEETING WITH TARA SINGH

Mr. Borsodi's Punjab tour was highlighted by his meeting with Master Tara Singh, the well-known

(Continued from Page 5)

political organisation, at any rate divorce it from any political significance. Pandit Nehru should be man enough to face the electorate with a party of his own which is not propped up by the prestige of the National Congress and the holy name of Mahatma Gandhi. If he does that, he would have acquired the right to criticise Pakistan and other military dictatorships springing up around our country and menacing our own freedom. Otherwise, he would share the fate of the person in the glass house throwing stones at others.

Sikh leader, who paid a courtesy call on him while passing through Ambala. Mr. Borsodi is an advocate of regional autonomy, and felt intrigued by Master Tara Singh's view that the administrative units of a large state should be small enough to be homogeneous, culturally and linguistically.

Comparing the political trends in India and America, Mr. Borsodi remarked, at a meeting of the Gandhi Study Circle at Ambala, that just as America had enshrined Jefferson and was following Hamilton, so had India enshrined Gandhi—the moving spirit behind the philosophy of 'Khadi' and the spinning-wheel—and was following the Western ideal of industrialism. In a profile appearing in *The Tribune*, a Punjab daily, he was described as 'an American Gandhi'. His plea for more harmonious relations among nations, his emphasis on elevation of moral values in educational procedure and his warning against over-industrialisation, have struck a resonant note in the minds of all those, who have faith in Gandhian ethics.

RAM LILA AND DEEPAVALI

Chancellor Borsodi's visit to Ambala synchronised with the celebration of the Hindu festivals of Dasha-
ra and Deepawali, which reflect, more vividly than anything else, the mass spirit of the people; and as a student of folk arts and culture, he took keen interest in observing them. During his stay of about three weeks in Ambala, Mr. Borsodi was a guest, either at lunch or dinner, of almost all the prominent citizens, official as well as non-official. There was hardly any public club or educational institution—Study Circle, Rotary Club, Gandhi Study Circle, Sanatana Dharma Sabha, One World Fellowship, and so many others—that did not invite him to speak, though, of course, he could not accept all the invitations.

Free exchange of intellectuals and men of character can bring about and promote amity among different peoples better, and make cultural ties among them stronger, than formal diplomatic services—that is the impression, Chancellor Borsodi has left behind him.

PERSONAL CARRIAGE

Lean and thin, but sparkling with intelligence, the seventy-year-old 'saint without saffron robes'—that was how one of his listeners described him after a meeting—is neither addicted to smoking nor very fond of non-vegetarian food. When asked to comment on Hinduism, he said: "Of all the ethical values, toleration is the highest, and the Hindu philosophy is pan-human philosophy *par excellence* in that it is essentially tolerant. It is inconceivable to followers of dogmatic creeds how an atheist, an agnostic, a pantheist, a polytheist and a monotheist can co-exist peacefully within the same social fabric."

Borsodi is thinking of spending the winter in India, preparing his thesis on what he calls 'Problem-Inte-

(See next page)

ON THE NEWS FRONT

BID TO KEEP ENGLISH ALIVE IN INDIA U.K. INFORMATION SERVICES BEING STRENGTHENED

Besides strengthening the British Information Services in Asia and Africa, Britain is to make a major effort to keep English alive as the principal language of education, culture and commerce in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent.

The British Government is of the view that while Hindi and Urdu will progressively take the place of English as the respective national languages of India and Pakistan, English as a language of international contact and higher education, need not necessarily lose ground on the sub-continent.

After his recent visit to Asia and Africa, Dr. Charles Hill, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, has submitted a report to the British Cabinet strongly recommending a substantial expansion of the Government's political and cultural information services in these two continents, where both nationalism and Communism are seriously undermining British prestige and influence.

COMMITTEE SET UP

The Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, has appointed a small Cabinet sub-committee which, in turn, has set up a number of Ministerial study groups to make specific recommendations in the light of Dr. Hill's observations.

EXPORT OF BOOKS

It has been estimated by the British press that about 4,000,000 books a year are going to India from the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow. This

(Continued from Previous Page)

grated Education for use in various Universities. "A University ought to be a 'University' and not a mere 'Westernity' or a 'nationality.' Education, like Physics or Mathematics, is a preter-national or pan-human subject; and if it is contrary to the scientific spirit to teach pupils Soviet Science, or American Physics or Indian Mathematics, it is even more so, from a humanistic point of view, to impart Soviet, American or Indian Education at a seat of learning, we fashionably describe as a 'University.'

AN ECONOMIST TURNED EDUCATOR

Though originally an economist by profession, Borsodi changed over to education when he gained the realisation that economic planning, to the neglect of moral education, can solve none of the human problems. Economic disparities, according to him, are themselves traceable to low moral standards of the people, which can be raised only by imparting the right type of education. The central aim of education should be, not to produce skilled technicians, not to turn out efficient mechanical workers, not even to promote literacy; but to make man more human—more just and more honest. It was with this end in view that he founded the 'School of Living' in America and played an important part in bringing into existence the University of Melbourne. He was elected its Chancellor at its very inception and held that post till recently.

might be an exaggeration, but in any case British publishers are unable to export books to Asian and African countries on this scale without substantial Government subsidies. There are also exchange controls and import restrictions which stand in the way of the large-scale dumping of foreign publications in India and Pakistan.

The Americans, by means of a complicated procedure, have more or less overcome these difficulties, while the Russians and the Chinese manage to operate through local agencies and, in some cases, utilising the sale proceeds, to reprint locally more copies of the same publications. The British Government is on the look out for a comparatively less expensive middle way which, without involving big expenditure on the Soviet or American scale, would at the same time yield substantial results.

"The Times of India" News Service

END CONGRESS MISRULE

Dr. P. J. Ghosh, P.S.P. leader of West Bengal and former Chief Minister of West Bengal, speaking at Lucknow, said that the only way to end Congress mis-rule was to rally round a strong and honest organisation in the country. No power on earth could purify the Congress, he said;—neither Nehru nor God. 'I say that even chaos is preferable to mis-rule. For out of chaos cosmos can emerge, but out of corruption nothing can come'. He added that Congress was today deeply emmeshed in capitalism, communalism and corruption.

Mr. Nehru was a very honest and able man. But he was weak. Before becoming Prime Minister he declared that black marketeers should be hanged by the nearest lamp-post. Many people ask me: 'After Nehru What?' To them my answer is that men like Gandhi, Tilak and Gokhale were also there. They died but India is alive. And if today the situation is that we cannot survive after Nehru it is better that the whole country sinks in the sea.'

Referring to the Finance minister's trip to Europe and America with a begging bowl, he said: 'Even death would have been preferable to this begging bowl. He also denounced Mr. Jai Prakash Narain's suggestion of cooperation with the government. If the Congress government is cracking, the sooner the process was completed the better.'

According to *Newsweek* (Nov. 10) Mr. Eric A. Johnson, President of the Motion Picture Association of America, was *feted* by Khrushchev during his recent visit to Russia. In the course of its report it says: 'Lunch over, waiters brought in baskets of fruit. Khrushchev chose an over-ripe mango and offered one to Johnson. 'How do you like these?' he asked. 'I got them from my friend Nasser. They are good, but not half as good as the ones I get from Nehru. Nehru sends me a fresh shipment every month.'

"Don't over do it. It is said that 'too little and too late' led to the undoing of the British empire. Let

it not be said of us that 'Too much and too soon' came in the way of Independent India's progress and happiness.'

M.A. Srinivasan

PLANNING OF ECONOMY: BORSODI WANTS MINORITY OPINION TO BE EFFECTIVE

Mr. Borsodi was the chief guest of the Rotary Club, Ambala Cantonment at its dinner meeting. The Rotarian President, Dr. H. S. Kohli, was in the chair and Mr. K. L. Budhiraja, Commissioner of Ambala Division and Mr. C. D. Kapur, Deputy Commissioner, were among the other guests.

Mr. Borsodi, speaking on 'free enterprise in a free Society', said if the state took in its own hands the production of all sorts of goods and machinery and the circulation of news, and also itself fixed the prices, it might make it impossible for any group of people to voice an opinion against its policies. Such a system, however efficiently implemented, would be a negation of freedom. If people were poor, it would be difficult for the Government even to manage the so-called public sector properly. A naturally evolved system, in an atmosphere of maximum freedom possible, could alone be able and effectively solve the problems of people.

Mr. Borsodi distinguished the free economic systems from those he described as "economic systems based on compulsion", and in the latter category he included socialistic and communistic systems as well as capitalistic and state-controlled systems. Quoting an ancient Chinese savant, Mr. Borsodi said that, left to themselves, people at large had the ability to evolve a system best suited to their requirements. Any curbs, however well-meaning they might be, tended to suppress individual genius and the spirit of free enterprise was thwarted, no matter whether the restrictions on free enterprise were imposed by foreign rulers or by national dictators.

He made a subtle distinction between free enterprise and private enterprise and maintained that as long as there was an element of compulsion, a system could not be called free, no matter how fashionably it was described. "A leopard will not shed its spots if we begin to call it a cat", he said.

IN LIGHTER VEIN

It is understood that the Norwegian Prime Minister who is shortly to pay a visit to our country is bringing a 'bridal crown' as one of the presents to be given to Pandit Nehru. It is recalled in this connection that a 'spinning wheel' had already been given to our Prime Minister when he last visited Norway.

The rumour that General Ayub Khan of Pakistan intends on a suitable occasion to present a distaff to our Prime Minister to complete the picture is however lacking confirmation.

The East-West talks on how to avoid surprise attacks with nuclear weapons has so far failed to arrive at any agreement.

This at least should cause no surprise.

BEHIND THE NEWS (Continued from page 16) THE FUR-COAT THEORY

Welcoming the Canadian Prime Minister in our midst, Pandit Nehru made a reference to the Indian demand for Self-Government during the early years of this century made by Indians in England, and quoted the remark of Lord Morley about the unsuitability of a fur-coat as an article of dress in the Indian climate. Pandit Nehru did not get all the facts straight. In the first place, the Indian demand for reforms in those days was very modest indeed. There was no reference to Self-government or dominion status by any Indian. The remark was made by an English M.P. who came on a tour of India and who made the suggestion. Perhaps it was Keir Hardie the first Labour M.P. in Parliament or Wedderburn. Morley did not say that the fur-coat was unsuitable for the Indian climate, but that 'one could not wear it in the Dekhan.' He had in mind the implanting of representative institutions in India and the party system of democracy after the British model. These he held were not for export and incapable of acclimatization in foreign countries. Who, looking at the posture of affairs in Asia today, can assert boldly that Democracy has come to stay at least in the greater part of Asia? It still remains to be seen if we are going to prove the solitary and splendid exception.

PEDLAR'S PACK—Continued from page 11

From Delhi comes the news that its bachelors have decided to form an association to safeguard their interests. It has been stated on their behalf that they are *persona non grata* with landlords who refuse to give them lodgings, that they are suspected by jealous husbands and are not even fancied by parents with too many marriageable daughters. They demand that this sort of *apartheid* against them must end.

Come one and all, ye celibates
Victimised by unkind fates:
Our state of single blessedness,
has provoked landlords' cussedness,
For they have learnt how to dodge
Our honest request for board or lodge.
They've portions to let in their houses
But dread our meetings with their spouses!
Jealousy makes them suspicious
of us as utterly vicious.
We must prove that we're not rotters
To run away with their daughters:
Here's a crusade for us to fight
Against uxorious *apartheid*!

—Libra

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LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE, BANGALORE

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE PERIOD 1 SEPT., 1957 TO 7TH NOV., '58

Office bearers: Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao. Hony. Director, P. Spratt Hony. President.

The routine activity of the Institute consists of running a free reading room and arranging lectures and discussion meetings. The general aim is to develop interest among thoughtful citizens on the implications of free economy and free society and to spread sound ideas concerning democracy.

The papers subscribed for and the pamphlets put on the table and the books stocked in the library are selected to help these purposes in view.

Books and pamphlets expounding libertarian thought in Europe and America as well as those published by the Bombay Head Office are made available to members and discussion stimulated on their ideas.

The response on the part of several groups of citizens has been encouraging after the Institute was shifted to Chamarajpet, which is a suburb inhabited mostly by educated and intellectual middle classes who have evinced interest in libertarianism and current political and economic problems. Much of current socialism and communism has come under critical scrutiny in the meetings held. The ground covered has been very wide and topics are followed into debate in later meetings summoned for the purpose.

In addition to these activities, Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao is giving a series of lectures on modern social philosophy, a synopsis of which in cyclostyle has been distributed in advance to likely members. The fourth in the series was given on 7 Nov. 58, it was on Mill's chapter on freedom of thought and discussion. The series is attracting steady audiences of young and old genuinely interested in ideas, though the lectures deal seriously with political classics and fundamental ideas. It is hoped that the Institute will succeed in training leaders of thought capable of assessing and expounding critical principles in the light of libertarianism.

The number of potential members who attend sessions more or less regularly may be put at around 100. There will be more progress if better accommodation for the

activities of the Institute is made available.

List of Lectures and Meetings:
9-9-'57

A Public meeting addressed by Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao, on ideals of the Libertarian Movement.

16-10-'57

Lecture on Land Reforms by Sri. V. Krishna Murthy, Advocate, at Servants of India Society. Sri. P. Kodanda Rao presided.

4-11-'57

Public meeting at Kannada Sahitya Parishat: Sri. G. K. Govinda Bhat delivered a lecture on Land Reforms. Mr. Venkata Rao presided.

27-11-'57

Sri. M. A. Venkata Rao spoke on Free Economy at the Institute Basavangudi.

Visit to Coorg

In the month of December 1957 Mr. Venkata Rao went to Coorg on invitation by a Coffee Planter. Address at Rotary Club on Freedom and Land Reforms. Mr. Davis an ex-I.C.S. British officer and now a coffee planter presided.

Public meeting held at Town Hall of Mercara addressed by Rao and presided over by Mr. Kushalappa, the ex-Speaker of Coorg Assembly.

19-1-'58

Mr. Venkata Rao spoke on The New Horizon of Socialism at the Institute.

Visit to Gadag, Hubli and Dharwar

Mr. Rao gave 2 lectures at Gadag, one at Pre-University College on Education and Democracy and another at the Municipal Hall at the invitation of Rotary Club on Communism.

29-1-'58

At Dharwar Mr. Rao spoke at Economic Society of the University which was presided over by Dr. Borkar. The subject was Free Private Enterprise.

14,15-2-'58

Mr. Venkata Rao, spoke on land reforms at the Madras Woodlands, Bangalore at the Agriculturist Conference, presided over by Sardar Lal Singh—to an audience of 1200 persons.

16-2-'58

Mr. Venkata Rao delivered a lecture at the Arya Samaj Hall presided over by Sri. D. R. Ramaiah,

Principal Information Officer of Mysore State.

Press Conference At the Woodlands Hotel addressed by Mr. Venkata Rao and Mr. Philip Spratt in the month of Feb. '58. The subject was the Libertarian Movement.
15-3-'58

Symposium on India and the Middle East at the Kannada Parishad Hall. Speakers, Iqbal Husain, (the High Court Judge), T. L. Kantam, M. G. Bailur, Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, Philip Spratt, Presided over by P. Kodanda Rao.
9-5-'58

Mr. Philip Spratt spoke on Karl Marx and Democracy at the Inst. Mr. Venkata Rao presided.

16-5-'58

Mr. Rao's visit to Shimoga. 'Lecture on Socialism at Town Hall' 2. Talk to Journalist's Association, 3. Talk on Free Economy to R.S.S. Camp.

16-6-'58

Inauguration of the Inst. at Chamarajpet, by D. R. Ramaiah, Sri M. A. Venkata Rao spoke on Libertarian Ideals.

12-7-'58

Lecture on Welfare State by T. L. Kantam, president, Venkata Rao: Mr. Spratt also spoke.

20-7-'58

Discussion on Welfare State. Lecture by Mr. M. A. Rao

18-7-'58

Lecture on Gramadan By Mr. D. G. Groom, presided over by Deputy Mayor Miss. Sharada.

29-7-'58

Lecture on Middle East Crisis By Mr. Venkata Rao presided over by Philip Spratt.

4-8-'58

Discussion on Sarvodaya: Lecture by Groom followed by discussion.

12-9-'58

Introductory Lecture on Social Philosophy by Mr. Rao.

26-9-'58

2nd Lecture on Social Philosophy by Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao.

26-10-'58 Visit to Mangalore

Lecture by M. A. Venkata Rao at Public Grounds on The Evils of Socialism.

Lecture to Jana Sangh Training Camp on Nationalisation and Indian Culture.

3-11-'58 Visit to Udipi

Criticism of Congress Policies of Socialism, Five-Year Plan and Land Reforms.

2 & 3 Nov. Lectures on Gandhism in Foreign Relations.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Social Philosophy Series: Lecture 4. Lecture on "J. S. Mill on Freedom of Thought and Discussion" 7th November, 1958 by M. A. Venkata Rao:

After giving a brief resume of the three previous lectures, and indicating the place of J. S. Mill in the development of democratic thought posited on the basis of philosophical individualism, Mr. Venkata Rao gave a resume of Mill's views on the value of freedom of thought and discussion from the stand-point of intellectual and moral progress. It is vital to democracy and to healthy and vigorous spiritual life.

1. Freedom of thought and discussion is essential for correcting in a spontaneous way errors in social thought and institutional thinking. It is only the impact of new thought on received opinions that can induce a reflective reconsideration of them in the elite.

When governments obstruct the free play of such new thought in any sphere of life—religion, social custom, political principle or moral value—they claim to know final truth about them: this is manifestly absurd.

There have been many notorious instances in history of disaster ensuing from punishments inflicted on great men by dogmatic persecutors in authority. The death of Socrates, the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the persecution of Christianity by Roman emperors (among whom are included even noble personalities

like Marcus Aurelius) are examples cited by Mill to show that the mere feeling of possessing the truth on any matter on the part of intolerant authorities is no guarantee of their actually being right.

2. Truth is so complex that no idea or principle concerning any sphere of experience can claim to be totally true. Conflicting doctrines should be allowed to be discussed freely in society, if the full truth is to be discovered.

In the absence of such free opportunity, the stock of ideas current in society is likely to become stale and dogmatic. Even truth has to be constantly re-thought in the light of its grounds and applications if its vitality and creative power are to be retained.

The practice of reserving freedom of speculation to a chosen elite like the clergy in Catholicism has its own evil. It discourages thought on the part of the common citizen. The elite themselves will lose the stimulus of facing criticism and the common people will stagnate.

3. The views held by authority will lose their power of influencing character and conduct if taught without genuine conviction and do not commend themselves to reason and experience. Ideas accepted on the ground of authority lose their moral influence on the springs of conduct.

4. There is a morality of public discussion which demands the presentation of public affairs or ideas of public importance in an objective manner, without distorting them through suppressio veri and

suggestio falsi, and without vituperation and emotional intensity clouding the issues.

Mill goes the length of saying that even systems of religion and ethics like Christianity require to be supplemented by other codes and ideas like the Greek and Roman or modern secular humanitarianism, for Christian ethics like the Sermon on the Mount are too narrow, ascetic and world-negating and leave out much of the glory of human nature.

In these days when totalitarianism of the communist and other varieties is so popular and democratic ideals are in retreat, it is very necessary to spread the doctrine of democratic freedom in thought and discussion as the indispensable foundation of free society in all spheres like economy, political rights, religious or secular belief, free culture and free science. The phenomena of the Soviet Government punishing authors of novels like Not by Bread Alone and Dr. Zhivago for expressing views contrary to official directions are instances of the danger of official intolerance. In India, we have official histories (e.g. the book on 1857 by Dr. Sen) published by the Government to popularise official interpretations of history and the indoctrination of the young through official text-books, (not alone in Kerala.) These are portents that need to be resisted with vigilance by lovers of democracy and free society. Mill's views will help us in the formulation of the principles implied in the fundamental rights of free thought, expression and public discussion.

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Book Reviews

THE NEW PROGRAMME

THE NEW PROGRAMME by Edward Kardelj.

This is a publication of the Yugoslav Communist party; and it sums up the official attitude to orthodox Communist ideology in a jargon that is distinguished by verbiage and plentiful quotations from the writings of Marx-Engels-Lenin. But reading between the lines, we can easily find out in what ways the deviationism of which Marshal Tito has been accused is a source of potential danger to the growth of the unchallenged communist empire functioning from Moscow.

The pamphlet represents the trends of discussions which took place at the Yugoslav party congress held last spring, and throws into strong relief the determination of tiny Yugoslavia to go its own way towards the establishment of a perfected communist state. The hostility to Soviet Russia furnishes a pervasive undertone to the document while, at the same time, the devotion to Communist aims is reiterated strongly.

Rejecting the satellite status that alone was offered to it by the Soviet dictators from Stalin to Khrushchev, Marshal Tito has been shrewdly capitalising the east-west antagonisms to build for his countrymen a half-way house to ideal communism which is distinguished by the twin phenomena of state socialism and bureaucracy. Both are recognised as intermediate stages in the development of the full-fledged communist state, and are sought to be justified on the ground of varying realistic factors governing the conditions of life in

different states. Thus Tito-ist protestantism claims and concedes to other socialist states the right of freedom to shape immediate courses of action independently of external dictation.

The newness of the programme consists in the declaration that Yugoslavia would work in loyal co-operation with socialist countries without however sacrificing its own individuality. Secondly, it is brought out that the dividing line between evolution and revolution is not as clear-cut or final as is believed by extremist sections of Marxists, but that both are valid means to a single and desirable consummation—namely the establishment of communism. A novel interpretation of the doctrine of co-existence is also offered which should make unwary democrats on the capitalist front to pause and ponder. For it is said that the slogan is intended merely to sap the enemy without surrendering any part of the communist ideology or outlook. Finally a plea is made that varieties of

approach to communism should be encouraged or not frowned upon in the interests of the common cause, since only such freedom of approach would answer the needs of different countries at different levels of progress.

That the manifesto as a whole is an attempt to formulate a middle of the road policy which would not offend either Russia or the West is obvious enough. But in the sequel it is quite as likely that it may result in leaving both camps equally dissatisfied with it. One thing however is made explicit, and it is that Yugoslavia would never retrace its steps back to the capitalist or the western democratic camp. The workers of the world are invoked towards the end, and the promise of world-communism is held out as the crown and consummation of the unfolding struggle that is now going on all round us today.

The pamphlet is badly written and is full of tortuous and round-about turns of phrase and a superfluity of words since there is an obvious disinclination to commit oneself to categorical affirmations. Every statement is followed by qualifications or exceptions which water down the original intention or meaning. P.M.

Population: An International Dilemma

This booklet entitled **Population: An International Dilemma** has summarized the informed opinions of a committee of eleven-comprising clergy (both Protestant and Roman Catholic), economists, scientists and laymen with knowledge of technical assistance-convene by the American Population Council. At a succession of meetings this Committee considered some two dozen papers prepared by "guest discussants", specialists in various fields, and Mr. Osborn has condensed the Committee's conclusions with a happy combination of factuality and caution. The first part of the booklet is concerned with facts: with demographic trends, with attitudes and practices affecting fertility and with the teachings of the world's great organized religions. Especially valuable are the summaries of the attitudes of non-Christian religions towards family limitation.

The second part indicates lines

of action. In the Committee's view the use of direct propaganda is apt to arouse suspicion. Xenophobia being widespread it is best, through local leaders who know how to give respectability to new ideas in terms of patriotism and piety, to stress the reliefs that family planning can bring rather than the miseries entailed in uncontrolled fertility. In the final chapter excellent reasons are given why industrialized countries should limit their numbers: among them, the point already well made by Mr. R. A. Piddington, that the higher the standard of living, the heavier is the tax on space and mobility. When the populations of industrialized countries grow too fast their inhabitants are not the only ones to suffer. From the inordinate demands they make on the world's limited resources others must also suffer.

—News of Population and Birth Control

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"A BUNCH OF OLD LETTERS"—

Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

The Asia Publishing House, Bombay, is coming out with 'A Bunch of Old Letters'—being Prime Minister Nehru's correspondence with distinguished leaders. There is Motilal Nehru chastising local politicians as "gangsters" and an elected candidate as a "nincompoop." There is Jawaharlal Nehru, as Congress President, clashing with members of the Working Committee, who hand in their resignations drafted by none other than Dr. Rajendra Prasad, now President of India.

In these pages are also the voices of restraint, and rebuke as when Mahatma Gandhi, who never minced his words, wrote to Nehru: "I love you too well to restrain my pen. You are going too fast." Or later, "If they (the Working Committee) are guilty of intolerance, you have more than your share of it." Again: "Resume your humour at the committee meetings. That is your most usual role and not that of a care-worn irritable man ready to burst on the slightest occasion."

There is Subhas Bose writing bitterly to Nehru pointing out candidly what he thought were Nehru's hundred limitations, and Nehru admitting that "So far as the failings are concerned, or many of them at any rate, I plead guilty, well realizing I have the misfortune to possess them."

More of such documentary history would help a better understanding of men and matters during the recent past.

—Organiser

Letter To The Editor

Dear Madam, Prof. G. N. Lawande's article on 'Do Banks create money?' is highly to be commended for throwing valuable light on an aspect of banking which few laymen would have ever thought about. But his main thesis that banks do create money to some extent whenever they extend overdraft facilities to their constituents requires some modification. There are two considerations which Prof. Lawande has not allowed for. The first of these is that when an overdraft is given to a businessman, he almost invariably manipulates it with the result that the cheques issued by him to outside parties must be paid out by the bank from its assets. To the extent that such payments go out from its resources to other banks, it stands to reason that the bank must be denuded

of such over-draft amounts. Instead of creating new money, what it does in such cases is to tap its long-term deposits and other current accounts not depleted fully, putting them to fresh uses out of which it makes extra interest. It is this interest that may be called new money; in big exchange and other banks financing business, this day to day accretion of interest results in substantial turns-over in the course of a half year or other shorter monetary rests.

The second consideration is that such over-drafts have to be represented truly and factually in the weekly statement of accounts which every bank has to prepare and publish. If it were new money, it would stand out awkwardly, since it would not fit into any of the regulation items of which the bank's statement is made. That is, it could be offset against deposits etc., but under the heading: "Loans—unsecured, or secured but considered by the bank authorities to be good."

Subject to these two considerations, it would be broadly true to say that the main advantage which a bank enjoys is in its ability to put the deposits to more extensive and recurrent use; for the over-all total at any given point can never provide for more outstandings than for assets.

Yours faithfully
An Overdraft-wallah.

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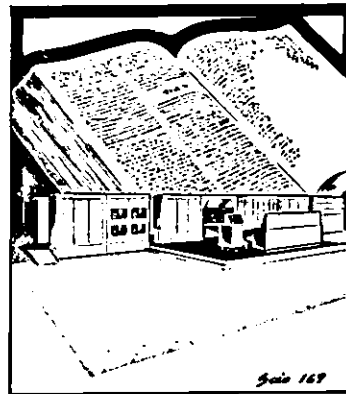
By Scio



The sunfish has the smallest brain—in relation to its size—of any vertebrate in the animal kingdom.



The coldest high-altitude readings recorded by weather balloons are not over the polar regions, but over the hot and humid mid-Pacific Marshall Islands located slightly north of the equator.



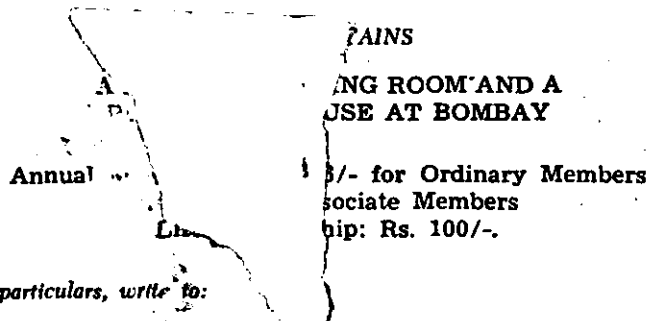
With the assistance of UNIVAC, an electronic "brain" manufactured in the U.S., scientists are compiling a revised concordance of the Bible. American scholar James Strong completed a concordance in 1894 after 30 years of work. With UNIVAC it will take only two years.

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