

Indian libertarian

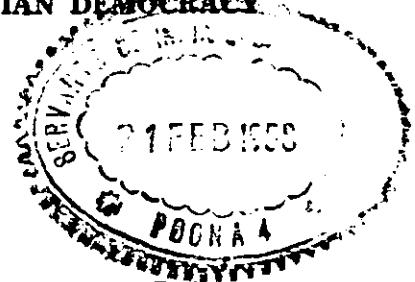
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 Conant, James Bryant: *Education and Liberty.*
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 Koestler, Arthur and others: *God That Failed.*
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 Zweig, Ferdinand: *British Worker.*
 Guillaume, Alfred: *Islam.*
 Garnett, David (Se): *Essential T. E. Lawrence.*
 Plievler, Theodor.: *Moscow.*
 Farrer, Austin (Arr): *Short Bible.*
 Vallins, G. H.: *Better English.*

Editorial

MERGER OF EGYPT AND SYRIA

PERHAPS the most important development in foreign affairs from the standpoint of Indian interests from a long term point of view is the merger of Egypt and Syria announced last week. A scheme for a Fertile Crescent, including Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq has long exercised the imagination of Arab lands. The British, too, in the days of their hegemony in the Middle East, had encouraged the idea for their own ends and under their own supremacy. A single State and administration in this area would combine the strategic area of the Suez Canal with the oil lands of Arabia connecting the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean. Oil could flow smoothly through land pipes from the Persian Gulf area to the Mediterranean and keep Britain's (Europe's) world-wide communications open.

The present news of the merger of Egypt and Syria is a first instalment of the historic amalgamation or re-amalgamation, (for the whole area was part of the Ottoman empire of pre-1914 days.) Except for the Turks and the Persians, the old caliphate territories extending to North Africa comprised Arab peoples one in blood and culture.

This merger is a confirmation of the reading of the trend expressed in this journal, and its predecessors, for some years now. It is a trend but little considered by the makers of foreign policy in India. But such neglect is detrimental to Indian long-range interests, and is strangely symptomatic of the unhistorical nature of the Indian temperament. Though India's Minister for External Affairs, Pandit Nehru, has a fine and sensitive historical imagination, that loves to contemplate broad historical sweeps, his neglect of that part of history dealing with the impact of Islamic peoples on Indian affairs for nearly a thousand years is remarkable. In this, both Marxism and Buddhism seem to have submerged the natural reactions to the tradition of conflict between India and Islamic peoples.

Now that India is free, she cannot afford to repeat the blunders of the past being continued by present policies in regard to this matter.

VISIONS OF PAN-ISLAMISM

Islam is committed to the recovery of her past hegemony and control of North Africa, India, Russia and Chinese Turkestan, Malaya and Indonesia—in fact all the lands over which the Crescent held sway in the thousand years of her past glory. People speak of the Sputnik age and think that such historic and world shaking ambitions are no longer possible. Pandit Nehru is apt to take possibilities and desirables for actualities. But it is a glaring fact that Hitlerian ambitions, natural to demagogues and military men or leaders, who combine the two roles like President Nasser are being entertained in some Muslim States like Pakistan and Egypt. The mental climate of such leaders and peoples belongs to an earlier age. They wish to begin from where their history stopped its era

of greatness in the twelfth century. They are the true backward looking reactionaries. But their peoples being what they are largely ignorant and poverty stricken, it is easy to rouse them to participate in adventures.

And it ought to be remembered that President Nasser has written a book in which he has expressed his dream of building an empire of Muslims from Morocco to Indonesia. All power to Muslims—with the crowning proviso—with Myself as their supreme leader—is the ambitious Hitlerian theme of his book which is reminiscent of *Mein Kampf*. Hitler had made his blue-print of world conquest plain for all to see in that testament of his. But the world ignored its neurotic ideas, as those of a mad man, with the result that it found to its dismay that it became a Power needing a fearful world war to deal with it.

Indian policy should show greater awareness of the psychological climate of Islamic lands and adjust itself accordingly.

It may be that encouraging Egypt and Syria and cold-shouldering Israel may be justified as a check on our hostile neighbour, Pakistan. But it should be remembered that Egypt and Syria, particularly as they are sliding into the communist sphere of influence, are also Islamic first and other things afterwards. They have not shown much inclination to dissociate themselves with Pakistan in its aggression in Kashmir. The Chanakyan policy of cultivating friendship with the neighbour's neighbour should lead India to cultivate the goodwill of the Western Powers as a check against the Islamic area. There is also no particular need from the standpoint of Indian interests to go all out to favour Algeria in open alignment against France in the name of fighting colonialism.

Our people should watch these developments in the Middle East and exert pressure on our policy-makers to keep clear of entanglements with peoples who are sure to become hostile to Indian security as soon as they are able to exert pressure on world affairs. The Sputnik age has not taught them aspirations appropriate to world federation. They think in terms of Islamic unity first, and everything else afterwards. To see this point is not to betray "a communalist" attitude as officialdom might think. It is historical realism and a consciousness of national interests.

LESSONS OF PAST HISTORY

Muhammad Ghazni succeeded in his exploits in India after several failures, and that Muhammad Ghori effected an entry into the system of kingdoms in India and established a permanent set-up are facts of history. But what happened to the leaders of Indian States still independent in the rest of the vast country? Why did they not learn, and rally the population under a united command to drive out the invaders? *The reason can only be that they had lost touch with realities and ceased to exercise a vigilant scrutiny about what was happening across the border.* They had no foreign policy. Today we have a foreign policy of sorts but its philosophy is Buddhist and re-

fuses to take account of developing realities in their aspect of menace to the future of security from across the border. This is as good (or bad) as having no foreign policy at all. We need not proclaim our suspicion of, and hostility to anybody, until we detect hostility on the part of foreign States, but it is the part of statesmanship to be ready for all developments and to stop encouraging states who harbour dreams of world conquest.

THE BAGHDAD PACT

The Baghdad Pact is another centre of interest to our foreign policy to which Islam as a political ideology cannot be ignored. Just as Congress leaders ignored it in internal affairs to the detriment of Indian solidarity in pre-independence days resulting in the Partition of the country, they seem to be ignoring developments here too. Or rather we are noticing them but interpreting the situation wrongly in defiance of actualities in the area. The Middle East or West Asian area is vital to world security or the security of free countries. Russia and the West are competing for influence in it on account of its oil resources and its geographical position at the meeting of West and East.

There is no use condemning the situation as one of cold war putting the two blocs on the same level of motivation. Communism is an empire built on the most ruthless enslavement of people known to history, its own and those of other lands that had the misfortune to pass under its rule. It is a dictatorship exercised by a small elite and built on a dogma of world revolution and ceaselessly engaged in the subversion of all independent States through a local fifth-column. Moreover it is governed by the Iron Curtain. To be benevolent to its expansion, and to say blandly that *we are not allergic to communism* argues a blindness to facts, and worse. It argues a callousness to the freedom of humanity and its progress through voluntary effort. Also, it implies a blindness to our own eventual fate if communism were to triumph in the world and realise its ambition of world rule.

WHO IS TO BLAME FOR U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN?

It will not do, therefore, to content ourselves with blaming the USA and Britain for supporting Pakistan. It is true that American arming of Pakistan is dangerous to us. But what is the remedy? It does not consist in ignoring the motive of the Americans and equating them in guilt with international communism. If we could see the necessity for containing communist influence of our Western border and cease to condemn pacts as such, we could expect greater sympathy and understanding from America.

As it is, we condemn every item of American policy like the Eisenhower doctrine in terms as strident and passion-filled as those of Soviet Russia. No wonder that Soviet Russia hails Indian policy as a tower of strength to her. *If as between Powers flatly hostile to each other we express approval of one, we should expect the other to resent such partiality, especially as the other is beyond doubt the champion of free society and of a world of independent States.* To class America, in effect, as an imperialist power as of the same species with the much worse empire of the communists is a perversity for which we will have to

suffer. That is why our protests against the Baghdad and Seato Pacts have no influence, unless it be one of arousing irritation against us in the free world.

Pakistan seems to have asked for atomic bombs which has elicited angry response on the part of our Prime Minister. Defence Minister, Krishna Menon has condemned the idea of equipping Pakistan with nuclear weapons. The proceedings of the recent meeting of the Baghdad Powers which was attended by Secretary of State, Dulles, showed the preoccupation of Pakistan and Iraq with India rather than with communist aggression. Pakistan and Iraq wanted to include India as the aggressor in Kashmir in the communique. *It was with difficulty that Mr. Dulles could dissuade them from mentioning Kashmir.* They contented themselves with a vague but comprehensive reference to the Mediterranean, West Asia and South-East Asia. But all the world knows that the reference is to Cyprus to placate Turkey, Kashmir to please Pakistan and West Iran to satisfy the Muslim State of Indonesia. The adherence of Iraq to the Pakistani lead is only natural in view of Islamic solidarity, which is bound to extend to other States in due time. *To hope to drive a wedge between Islamic States is to harbour a dangerous illusion.* Only strong States like Russia and America can hope to play this game for some time. But India will attempt this only at her peril.

THIS SHOULD BE OUR POLICY

The best policy for us in regard to Islamic States is one of watchful neutrality. We should be neutral as between the bloc of Arab States led by Nasser and those led by Turkey or Pakistan.

Americans may succeed in forming a bloc of Arab States under their hegemony to counter-act the merger of Egypt and Syria. They may induce Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, and even Iran, to merge into a rival Muslim State as a counter weight to Nasser. But it is the part of wisdom for India to observe non-involvement, both in speech, diplomacy and action, as between rival Muslim States and groups.

This process of merger of Arab States will only result in a Muslim federation, at first under foreign guidance, (Communist and Western) but later under the leadership of one of their own States, Egypt, Pakistan or Turkey. Internal consolidation is sure to be the prelude to foreign adventure. *When the time comes for such an eventuality, the road to the Khyber Pass will appear to Muslim leaders shining with the light of historic greatness.*

In the light of this possibility, it is fatuous for India's Defence Minister to speak *ad nauseum* that India will not use her growing military power for aggression, and that she will not even embark upon an arms race. No doubt an arms race with Pakistan is costly owing largely to our unintelligent policy of refusing free equal countervailing offer of arms from America. But have we any choice in the matter? America is not arming against Communist aggression out of sheer joy in arms or cussedness. The American public is critical of Governmental expenditure on arms and foreign aid and of the ever-rising levels of taxation these involve. America being a democracy, her Government cannot resist such criticism. But Russia is an autocracy and can stretch arms expenditure at the cost of public consumption and comfort. The arms race is not a matter of voluntary choice when

(Continued on Page 10)

NON-VIOLENT COMMUNISM

By Ven

CONGRESS President Dhebar is reported to have summed up the significance of the recent Gramdan Conference of the Sarva Seva Sangh in Mysore (attended by Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and Vinoba Bhave as well as leaders of the P.S.P. and Communist parties) in the statement that it was as epoch-making as the Oath of Independence taken by Congress on the banks of the Ravi on 26th January, 1929. One may agree but with a meaning contrary to that of Mr. Dhebar.

For the Gramdan conference has transformed the content of Gandhism into communism as the national policy regarding land reform. The second Five Year Plan commits the country's economy in industry and commerce irrevocably to communism and launches it in that direction unmistakably. For it envisages a form of socialism now incarnated in Soviet Russia, whose leaders consider themselves to have constructed socialism in their land preparatory to communism.

Nehru has often said that he agrees with the goal of communism, while condemning its method of violence and duplicity.

A PROBE NEEDED

The time has come when intelligent and informed patriots have to probe into this doctrine. Is communism a good form of society in itself, bringing out the best of human nature and aiding its proper fulfilment? Is its defect only a matter of the means it sanctions, namely, violence? Does it become good if it is achieved by persuasion and non-violent means generally? These questions need urgent answer, for the country is being led rapidly into the realm of communism. Non-violent communism is said to be India's way of realising the goal of social policy and of building a perfect society, an earthly paradise.

IT IS EVIL ANYWAY

It is the conviction of the present writer that this is a profoundly beguiling fallacy. Communism is an evil whether it is brought about by non-violent or violent means. If people realised clearly where they are being led and understood the consequences and implications of the order of things that is recommended to them by our present "Gandhian" leaders, they would recoil with horror from the consummation of the movements and policies now so fashionable.

Now let us take *gramdan*, for which such high claims are being made. *Bhoodan* is intelligible, and is in line with the traditional religious ethics of all high religions. It is charity to one's poorer neighbour or brother. Such charity is part of the good life.

But *gramdan* is radically different. It is surrender of private property by all the landowners of the village to the village community as a whole, trusting to periodical allotment of land to each villager for his sustenance. This is a good thing if it works. It is to ask the whole village to work like a joint-family. Now joint families are breaking down everywhere, for vari-

ous reasons, the chief of which is differential earning power on account of the emergence of occupations unconnected with land. Private property has come into existence on account of this inexorable development causing the dissolution of clans, joint families and group ownership of all kinds. Now Vinoba Bhave wants the clock to be set back and village life to begin all over again from where it declined with the development of the greater society outside.

FROM GRAMDAN TO COLLECTIVISATION

How will the land be redistributed after *gramdan* is registered and individual owners surrender their rights? Let us suppose that in the first instance land will be distributed to families in accordance with the number of their members, working as well as dependent. Those who have more mouths to feed will have more acres, irrespective of the number of workers in the family. The seed of discontent is already here and will sprout trouble—all too human and familiar. Equality of possession will breed inequality in due time, as innate differences in zeal, capacity and temperament assert themselves. The inefficient will have a lesser harvest, other things being equal. He will ask why his shortfall should not be made up by gifts from others who have had better yields. And if equality is such a supreme goal, it should be conceded to him. Refusal will lead to plots and factions if distribution is changed every year; the tiller will have no incentive to effect improvements such as bunding and fencing, planting of fruit and shade and fuel trees, etc.

If all are owners, there will be no labourers to be hired for casual work, which is urgent and heavy in times of flood or harvest or crop diseases. The village assembly will have to arrange for mutual aid teams on some basis of reciprocity.

Nehru wishes to exploit this situation for his collectivisation scheme. Since individual holdings will be small, and cannot afford capital for improvement and the use of scientific aids in machinery and fertiliser, etc it will be suggested that the village lands be pooled and worked as a single unit without redistribution into individual temporary holdings.

FROM PEASANT TO LABOURER

Then the holder or peasant will be reduced to the level and status of a labourer with no hold on any land. He will have to work as he is ordered and receive whatever is allowed to him as a wage. He may be induced with the bait of a small individual holding to be worked by his family for the free market. Procurement and price-fixing will then follow. The end result of *gramdan* will be the status of kolkhoz or collective farm, with a nominal democratic committee in charge but really under the control of government nominated, and dominated, cadres. Gandhism is thus transformed into Marxism. This is the secret of Nehru's interest in *gramdan*.

The motive is said to be maximisation of production.

Vinoba wants individual villagers to live a simple life, producing primarily for consumption with but little surplus for sale. Nehru wants the maximum of production possible by means of extension of scale of holdings, and increase of capital investment to extract the utmost out of land and technology and labour, irrespective of the effect on the quality of human life it may entail. "The machine as its best and man as its feeder"—is Nehru's and communism's ideal.

THE REAL MOTIVE

The motive of communism is to get control of the agricultural harvest, both food-grains and industrial crops, so that the surplus after paying subsistence wages to workers can be exchanged for industrial capital, foreign or local. Gramdan helps this policy by making individuals surrender their ownership. Vinoba may think that he is stooping to conquer communism, but communism is playing the same game by seeming to acquiesce in his gramdan movement!

When the Five Year Plans (which really have no end) continued their reconstruction of the country in the image of socialism, all means of production will come into the hands of the Government, and no one will be able to start a business of his own to earn his own income by his own efforts. Everyone will have to depend on Government work under Government conditions of wages and discipline for a living and for worldly advancement. Everyone will be a servant of the Government, that is, the party in power. No new parties can be formed, for no one will be permitted to vote for any candidate other than the party nominee. The destruction of private property will transfer all ownership to Government. The result is

a one-party dictatorship and the disappearance of all democratic freedoms. This is serfdom, and this is the logical outcome of the policies in force today.

COMPLETE LOSS OF FREEDOM

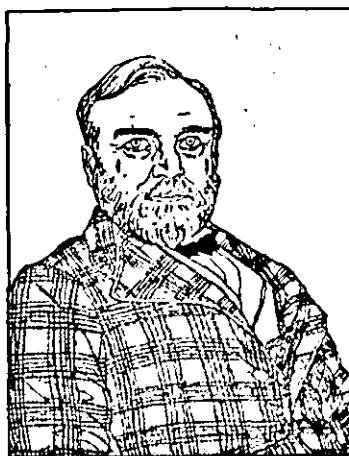
The next effect will be the loss of cultural freedom. Communism will control all thoughts and values. Literature, religion, science, art, amusement, the radio, communications of all kinds including railways airlines, wireless and newspapers will be controlled by Government. Our very souls will be denied to us. There will be no freedom even of silence and solitude! The inner life will be subjected to State moulds on pain of punishment. This is the logical outcome of communism, under which freedom of any kind will become a dream and daily life will become a nightmare.

This is the goal to which our leaders are pushing us. Freedom to teach our children what we believe regarding the best things in life will be denied to us. Children will be taught to spy on parents. Family life will be destroyed, with women becoming State servants subject to party bureaucracy more than to family loyalty. This is a living hell, and this is where we are being led by great leaders with the best(?) of intentions.

Mr. Nambudiripad, the Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, was right when he said that the policy of his Government was only to realise the policy of the Congress Government. It is no longer the case that Congress seeks to give the moral equivalent (or something superior) to Communism. It is exploiting the appeal to communism to the ignorant and fanatical in its own favour in order to entrench itself in perpetual power.

TRUE TALES—Andrew Carnegie (1st of a series)

by VERUS



CARNEGIE.—In 1848, a 13-year old immigrant boy came to the U.S. from Scotland and went to work in a cotton mill for 20 cents per day. He became one of the greatest industrialists and humanitarians the world ever knew, and before his death in 1919 he gave away over \$350,000,000.

IMMIGRANT.—Andrew Carnegie was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1835, of humble parents. After his father's handloom factory failed there in 1848, the family emigrated to the United States. Young Andrew craved an education but his parents needed his help to acquire life's bare necessities.

STUDY.—Andrew studied while more fortunate boys of his age were at play. He became proficient in penmanship and arithmetic. He left the cotton mill to become a telegraph messenger. Then his father died, leaving him the sole support of his mother and young brother.

(To be Continued)

Heaviest Taxation In The World

By Prof. R. J. Taraporevala

THREE have been striking changes in the structure of taxation in the last year. The burden of direct taxation on individuals and joint stock companies has been increased so sharply that today it is the heaviest in the world.

Confiscatory taxation has been defended on the ground that it affects a very small minority. But the indirect effect of such taxes on economic development and the livelihood of millions have been forgotten. There is such conflict in the principles underlying the different taxes that the tax structure has become highly confused. Finally there is an ever-growing tendency to give vast and undesirable discretionary powers to the tax officials.

DIRECT TAXATION ON INDIVIDUALS

There are five different taxes now directly levied on individuals and Hindu undivided families. Firstly personal income is subject to income-tax, super-tax and surcharges. The maximum rate of income-tax and super-tax is 84%.

Secondly, personal wealth of individuals in excess of Rs. 2 lakhs and of Hindu undivided families in excess of Rs. 4 lakhs is subject to wealth tax at rates which rise from $\frac{1}{2}\%$ to $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of net wealth per year.

Thirdly, personal expenditure of individuals and Hindu undivided families beyond certain low, almost niggardly, exemption limits, is taxed on a progressive scale in which the rates of tax rise from 10% to 100% of the net expenditure.

Fourthly, capital gains are taxed at the rate of income tax applicable to the total income plus one-third of the capital gains made by an individual or Hindu undivided family.

Finally, when an individual dies his estate is partially confiscated through the levy of death duties on a progressive scale in which the maximum rate of tax is 40% of the total value of the estate.

The burden of these five taxes considered separately may not appear excessive. But a study of the total burden of these taxes reveals taxation far heavier than that prevailing in any other country of the world.

Assuming a 6% yield on capital, the maximum amount which can be retained by an individual out of his unearned income after paying income-tax, super-tax and wealth-tax is about Rs. 32,000. For every increase in wealth beyond Rs. 15 lakhs there is a sharp decline in the amounts retained by individuals after paying these three taxes. Indeed a point is reached beyond which the income-tax, super-tax and wealth-tax confiscate the entire gross income and portions of the capital of persons in the higher brackets. Thus the combined effect of imposing income tax, super tax and wealth tax at the present rates is to impose an annual capital levy, a thing unheard of in any other country and not recommended even by Mr. Kaldor.

The expenditure tax on top of these taxes accelerates the process of annual confiscation of private wealth and income. The capital gains tax and the death

duties take away a substantial portion of capital appreciation realised during a person's lifetime and an even larger share of his accumulated savings after death.

COMPANY TAXATION

Joint stock companies are subject to no less than nine different taxes. Companies pay income-tax on the whole of their assessable profits at the rate of 30%. Next, they pay a surcharge at the rate of 1.5% of their total profits. Then, they are subject to the corporation tax at the net rate of 20% of their profits.

Further, profits are subject to three special "penalty" taxes, and the vast majority of companies have to pay one or more of these taxes.

First is the excess dividends tax. This is charged at the rate of 10% on dividends declared by a company amounting to between 6% and 10% of its paid-up capital, at the rate of 20% on dividends between 10% and 18% of the paid-up capital and at the rate of 30% on dividends in excess of 18% of the paid-up capital.

Second, under Sec. 23A of the Income Tax Act, companies in which the public are not substantially interested are required to distribute between 45% and 100% of their profits by way of dividends. Failure to distribute such dividends attracts a penalty super-tax of 37.5% on the undistributed profits in excess of the minimum levels laid down under Sec. 23A.

Note the conflict in principle underlying these two "penalty" taxes. The excess dividends tax aims at restraining companies from distributing their profits as dividends and encouraging them to plough back their profits into the business. Yet Sec. 23A penalises companies which do not distribute a certain percentage of their earnings as dividends and so discourages the ploughing back of profits.

The third "penalty" tax is the bonus tax. Companies have to pay a super-tax of 30% on the value of bonus shares issued to shareholders out of reserves or accumulated profits.

All capital gains made by a company are now subject to a flat rate of 31.5% of such gains. Companies have to pay wealth-tax at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}\%$ of their net assets in excess of Rs. 5 lakhs.

Finally, in order to get an allowance for their legitimate depreciation costs from their gross profits for income-tax purposes, companies have to deposit 50% of their current profits with the Government. Since such deposits are refundable only with the Government's consent and only for purposes sanctioned by the Government, they can be looked upon in the short run as being similar to a further tax on profits.

All these taxes impose a crushing and almost unbearable burden on companies. The net burden of the income, surcharge and corporation tax amounts to no less than 51.5% of profits. When the various "penalty" taxes, the wealth-tax, the capital gains tax and the compulsory deposits are taken into account, it is found that most established joint stock companies have to part with between 60% and 90% of their gross profits by way of taxation.

INDIRECT TAXATION

A wide range of excise and other duties have been imposed by successive budgets during 1956-57. In some cases the burden of the excise duties has been passed on to the consumers, so that these taxes have had an undesirable inflationary effect. In other cases the excise duties have had to be borne by the manufacturers and dealers, whose profits have been sharply reduced. Thus the excise duties imposed on cloth have had a crippling effect on the textile industry. A number of cotton mills have closed down, and the profits of all units have been severely squeezed.

Excise duties have been levied also on the products of new industries, as for example the rayon yarn industry. Once the excise duties have been levied the Government is most reluctant to remove them or reduce their burden when the industry runs into adverse conditions and makes losses.

If the revenue collected through the excise duties levied on profitable industries were used to help units which were making losses and facing adverse economic conditions on account of circumstances beyond their control, there would be something to be said for these taxes. But it is unfair to impose excise duties even on new profitable industrial ventures and to leave shareholders and the private sector to bear the full burden of losses when they occur. This is a policy of "heads we win, tails you lose." Such a policy is bound to retard industrial growth and the establishment of new industries.

EFFECTS OF TAXATION

The present structure of taxation is likely to have adverse effects on the rate of domestic capital formation. Saving and investment can be done by individuals or by joint stock companies. In India more emphasis must be placed on personal savings because the proportion of corporate income to national product is only 3%—the remaining 97% has to come from personal incomes. The burden of the new taxes imposed on individuals and Hindu undivided families is so heavy as to destroy all incentive to work, to save, to invest and to take risks—indeed in most cases it makes saving impossible.

Statistical evidence shows that personal taxation has already had adverse effects on the rates of personal saving and investment. Mr. Ashok Kumar Sen, Law Minister in the Government of India, has rightly pointed out that: "... while the incidence of tax burden increased in India, there was a fall in the number of assesses (between 1951 and 1957), indicating that the law of diminishing returns has already started operating in the field of taxation... In India the sources of personal income are drying up and the policy of increased progressive taxation has not been yielding increased revenue... The capital market is drying up fast. It is estimated that as a result of nationalisation of insurance there has been a fall of new business to the extent of Rs. 80 crores and a fall of premiums to the extent of Rs. 8 crores... Such trends will further affect the capital market and ultimately react on investment and employment... The structure of income-taxes is tending to reduce the incentive of the entrepreneur to work more and earn more."

A stage has been reached where even the most

RETARDING ECONOMIC PROGRESS

prosperous companies are left with so little out of their profits that expansion through ploughing back profits into the business has become very difficult and in many cases impossible. Since 1951 there has been a definite decline in the rate of corporate savings. It can be concluded that the present structure of taxation discourages saving and investment by individuals and by companies. It hampers domestic capital formation and is therefore likely to retard economic progress.

Our tax structure is the most important obstacle preventing the flow of foreign capital and foreign technical and managerial skills into India. An excellent survey has been published by the National Council of Applied Economic Research in their book *Taxation and Foreign Investment*. The study shows that in the realm of personal taxation the burden in India is much heavier than that prevailing in other countries of the world. This naturally deters the employment of foreign technicians and personnel. "India's taxation of foreign company investment income is in general the highest in the world... It is very much higher than that of other countries, both developed and under-developed, which are actively seeking to attract private foreign investment."

A note recently prepared by the United States Department of Commerce lists the factors which have been cited by American firms as reasons for their hesitancy to invest in India. The first is the wealth tax the very existence of which discourages foreign investors. It is pointed out that on the balance the tax liability of both foreign and domestic companies in India remains one of the highest in the world. Protracted tax litigation, which is common in India, is mentioned as another factor discouraging American investment.

As a result of these and other factors we have failed to attract private American investment. During the years 1947-57 total American Private investment in foreign countries amounted to Rs. 4,400 crores, but India did not even get 5% of this amount.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Domestic capital formation, and the flow of foreign capital and technical and managerial "know-how", are the key factors governing the rate of economic development. An increase in the rate of domestic capital formation and foreign investment will result in the creation of new jobs or greater employment opportunities and yield new incomes, which will lead to higher consumption and result in a better standard of life for the masses. This can be achieved by adopting certain measures to reform the tax structure.

Firstly, the rates of tax should be reduced. The burden of taxation should be made more reasonable and should compare favourably with that prevailing in other countries.

Secondly, the tax structure should be rationalised. The number of inequitable taxes should be abolished, and the remaining taxes should be simplified and consolidated. This will eliminate the confusion prevailing between the various tax laws.

Thirdly, the administration of tax laws must be simplified so as to reduce tax litigation. The vast discretionary powers vested in the hands of tax officials should be reduced, in order to lighten the burden of

(See Page Opposite)

A PLAN WITHOUT A PLAN

By Vivek

A CURIOUS feature of our times is that the explanation of some of the most criticism arousing failures of Government are to be found not in the statements of Ministers in Parliament or in the communique issued by Government but in articles in special numbers of financial journals contributed by high officials of Government. Ever since it became evident that the foreign exchange crisis would entail a substantial revision of the Plan, there has been public pressure for exact knowledge about Government's past acts and future proposals.

The interest of the public has, however, had to rest satisfied with such phrases as re-phasing, stretching out, fulfilling the core and concentrating attention on the core of the plan. What exactly was meant never became clear. An article by B. K. Nehru, Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Affairs, in the annual number of *Capital* now sheds some light on the point.

THE CORE OF THE PLAN

Says Nehru, dealing with the difficulty of finding external resources for financing the plan "On the capital or developmental side, new commitments are permitted only for the completion of the core of the Plan—the core consisting of the steel plants and the coal, power, port and railway facilities necessary for steel production. The only exception to this rule are commitments necessary for maintenance, replacement or 'balancing', in which last category fall the purchases required to be made for the completion of projects on which the major portion of foreign exchange has already been either committed or spent."

The core of the Plan thus consists of the three new steel plants and the coal, power, necessary for the production of port and railway facilities and steel,—by them alone, or by the existing steel plants also, is left ambiguous, Nehru does not disclose the amounts in-

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responsibility on the officials and to safeguard assessee from harassment. This will also remove the present great scope for corruption in the tax-gathering machinery. The salaries of tax officials must be raised substantially in order to make them commensurate with their great responsibilities.

Fourthly, there are various sources for increasing the revenues without damaging incentives or retarding development. These sources are not being tapped on account of various political, emotional and moral considerations. The abolition of prohibition and the reform of land revenue taxation would yield many more crores than the various direct taxes which have been recently introduced.

Finally, the entire structure of taxation must be viewed in a comprehensive fashion and must be based on sound economic principles. The present tendency to impose taxes on grounds of pure expediency without considering their long-run adverse effects must be reversed.

volved in this core by way of foreign exchange, and altogether, nor does he tell us about the amounts of the commitments for the maintenance, replacement or "balancing" he mentions, so that for figures we are still left in the air.

STEEL PROJECTS

However, another article in the same issue by another Secretary to the Government of India, Bhoothalingam, on the progress of the States Steel Projects, attempts to explain why the cost of the three steel projects was recently stated to have gone up by 86 crores. It again does not give full figures. We are not told what each one of the works was originally estimated to cost, the cost now estimated and the increases under particular heads. The article is so full of descriptive detail that the impression left on the mind of the reader is that the final cost will probably mean increase much beyond the 86 crores mentioned.

Be that as it may, the Government of India would seem to be right in going ahead with the schemes that are enumerated under the title of the core. They are basically valuable. Considerable expenditure has probably already been incurred. In view of the orders placed abroad, it would be difficult to stop work on them. Once production from them begins, very real help will have been accorded to the country's economy. Still, the grossness of the error remains, and no real extenuation is offered, though Nehru tries to make the best of a bad job.

There can be no doubt that the Government of India erred reprehensively in not estimating its foreign exchange needs better. Especially to blame was the Planning Commission. It had ample staff at its disposal and the fullest facilities for obtaining all information. Yet it does not seem to have paid any attention to this side of the work at all. Also, more and more has it been apparent to those who will see that the existence of this Planning Commission leads to a great deal of inefficiency.

Responsibility gets divided between it and the Ministry concerned, so that the latter does not devote to any matter the care it would if it was its sole business. The Planning Commission, on the other hand, seems to be quite content with the blissful vagueness of which its reports are so excellent an example. Its prestige, in view of its high position in Government, seems also to overcome the caution of the Finance Ministry, the natural watch-dog of Government.

GOOD POLITICS BUT NOT PLANNING

The over-all result is that half-baked proposals get embodied in plans without realisation of full financial consequences or proper calculation of the funds needed for them within and outside the country. Nehru takes refuge in the euphemism that the original estimates were over-optimistic, another way of saying that

the work of estimation was not properly done. In fact, there could be no clearer condemnation of the Planning Commission's failures than his statement of the reasons for the excess in the expenditure on imports above that estimated:

"The foreign exchange costs of the projects included in the Plan have proved to be underestimates, partly because the original estimates were over-optimistic and partly because there has been an appreciable rise in the cost of capital goods; secondly, the planners under-estimated the extent of imports of raw materials, components and other industrial goods necessary to maintain the economy at an increasing tempo of industrialisation; thirdly, the plan, whether in the private sector or in the public sector, was not phased and too many orders for goods abroad were placed simultaneously; fourthly the need for strengthening the defence of the country was accentuated after the plan was framed; and, finally, we did not in the years immediately preceding the commencement of the plan control imports sufficiently."

Assuming that for the fourth reason and for the second part of the first the planners could not be held responsible, this still amounts to saying that the planning was so defective that in fact it was no planning at all. Of resource budgeting, the Planning Commission just seems to have had no idea.

Nor is this all. Could anything have been more mistaken than the sudden raising by the Planning Commission of the agricultural targets just a few days before the issue of the Plan? Clearly, it was more an inspiration than an estimate and had its origin in manoeuvring rather than in fact. It may have been good politics but it certainly :: :: not planning. Now, when it has been totally disproved, has any attempt been made to assess responsibility? Has the Planning Commission even been challenged seriously on this issue? No. We just go on merrily from blunder to blunder. And who pays? Only the people.

As was pointed out at the time when the Plan frame was under discussion and later when the plan was issued, the whole basis of the plan regarding availability of funds was illusory. Being reasonably sure, at most, of about 2000 crores even after additional taxation, the planners went on to plan an expenditure of 4800 crores in the Public Sector. This might have been perhaps pardonable if they had then set about determinedly taking steps to ensure the emergence of the balance and to safeguard the economy against the detrimental results that were likely to follow from some of the steps. But they did neither. For a year afterwards, they made no serious endeavour to obtain from abroad the funds even they themselves had estimated to be essential.

In fact for a time the view was being expressed that large foreign aid—grant or loan—was likely to be dangerous to the country that took it. Only within the last eight months, under stress of the foreign exchange crisis, would there seem to have been a change in attitude and the Finance Department has been permitted to approach foreign lenders. The country has good cause to be truly grateful to the United States for the 225 million dollars it has recently promised to lend.

It is to be hoped there will be no hesitation in expressing promptly full and proper appreciation. The

planners again contemplated 1200 crores of deficit financing, but refused to take any of the measures such as control over food prices and stocks, that would have militated against the effect of deficit financing.

Everything considered, it may safely be asserted that the Planning Commission has served the country ill. It has been over-sanguine. It has failed to take and get taken, the most elementary precautions. Its ignorance and complacency have landed the country in grave difficulties. Its continuance in present circumstances is a clear and great danger. Almost everybody with any appreciation of realities would draw a breath of relief if it were to be wound up. India without a Planning Commission! This might hurt the self-esteem of those who buy themselves and their reputations up with words. But India without this Planning Commission or a Planning Commission of This Type would be a source of satisfaction to most intelligent well-wishers of their country.

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a declared enemy proceeds on a crescendo of arms accumulation.

UNARMED PREPAREDNESS IS DANGEROUS

An arms race with Pakistan is inevitable for India unless she changes her policy, and obtains countervailing arms from America. Either she must arm adequately to deter Pakistan from senseless adventures at the cost of India, or she must cultivate America by a stricter adherence to her official policy of non-involvement, and cease give comfort to communist policy-makers. Short of this, to declare that she will not arm against Pakistan (and obscure it in practice) is to expose the innocent population of India to needless peril. Congress policy in regard to the League Muslims and the Aligarh separatist movement was of this kind. It antagonised the British and did not prepare the people to defend themselves against Leaguers. This psychology of unarmed unpreparedness, trusting entirely to the public profession of good sentiments and innocent intentions and theoretical proclamation of love and goodwill even to aggressors has survived from pre-independence days and has become the core and stuff of present foreign policy. It is masquerading under the mantle of India's hoary philosophy and the all-conquering(?) doctrine of non-violence, ignoring the political diplomacy of Chanakya and the specific duty (ashrama dharma) of statesmanship which is one of employing Danda or rod of authority.

It is to be noted that Russia has warned Pakistan and the Baghdad Powers against carrying atom weapons in heir arsenal of the air. Pakistan has, therefore, denied publicly her having asked for them! The remedy is not condemnation in words but action to acquire countervailing power.

India seems secretly moving to such acquisition, but not from the free West. We recall the reported words of Zhukov that in the event of India being attacked by Pakistan, Russia will cover Indian skies with Russian fighter planes. Good, but how shall we get rid of them after driving out Pakistan? Hungary, Poland,

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OUR RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

By K. D. Valicha

POLITICAL sagacity depends upon the accuracy with which norms for the conduct of affairs of state are derived from human history. This truth is strengthened by the reflection borne out by history that political policies have a supreme pull over the destiny of mankind. The study of history assumes importance, apart from its purely academic character, due intrinsically to the exertion it has over national policies, both in cases where its pointers have been heeded and, contrarily, ignored.

To an uncommitted observer, who has the patience necessary for access into the heart of this hectic world, Indian policy towards Pakistan, from the time of the inception of these two countries, must appear based on fallacious observations of history and, to some extent, counteracted by contrary factors within itself. That simple gift which links us to reality known as common sense would pronounce such a policy as removed from circumstances to which it is supposed to be applicable. In view of the fact that Pakistan, with the advent of time, has risen to be a strong neighbour with armament supplies from America, is enough to crush into unmitigated insignificance the weak-kneed and sissy blunders that are sold to the average Indian tax-payer as India's policy towards Pakistan. The enormity of this factor alone is successful and competent to way-lay and offset Indian policy towards Pakistan and to render it impotent and self-defeating.

NEHRU'S SIMPLE FAITH BELIED

On December 23, 1953, Nehru said in the Lok Sabha, "He (the Pakistani Prime Minister) has stated that there is no talk of any American bases being established in Pakistan nor of any military alliances between the two countries but that there have been talks, formal and informal, about military aid being given to Pakistan. Let us take it at that and no more."

And it was not soon that these hopes, like many others, were belied. Pakistan, with all the virulence and confidence derived from a single-minded aim, has played a dual role, with a clever strategy and planning that could only hoodwink a man like Nehru. With an amazing regard for his own personal and naive beliefs, he has played virtually to the tune of Pakistan.

Even a cursory reading of history will reveal the fanatical and intolerant character of the average Muslim mind. This is particularly heightened in Islamic relations with the Hindus. The Muslim, basically, is antagonistic to idol-worship. His *raison d'être*, as far as the Hindu is concerned, is avowedly to destroy idolatory, but the more compelling reasons are loot, rape and destruction. It is this simple logic that is the motivating force behind all that has happened in Islamic invasions of India right from Mahomed Ghazni and the Slave dynasty to the horrors of Partition by Pakistan in 1947. It is in such light that the incredible Pakistani attack on Kashmir can be explained with all

the cunning of a fox. Pakistan depended upon three psychological factors for her success.

FACTORS THAT PAKISTAN RELIED UPON

1. The first was the hope and belief that India would not risk her newly acquired international reputation by sending an army to fight the 'raiders' because the task of hitting back the 'raiders' would be the charge on the Kashmir Government rather than the Government of India.

2. The second consideration was the quiet assumption that Lord Mountbatten and Sir Claude Auchinleck would passively help the Pakistan cause by putting obstruction in the way of India sending out her armed troops to meet the Pak aggression in Kashmir.

3. But the cleverest was the third factor. They banked on Gandhiji's opposition to anything like a war. Pakistan's espionage had already told its foreign office that, according to its information, Gandhiji has favoured or was likely to favour the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan and of Hyderabad to India. (Peeps Into Pakistan, M.S.M. Sharma).

And, we may add, their firm conviction that Nehru may be trusted to create problems for India. For it is this last factor that is all the more effective in this case. Not only did Nehru play right into Pakistan's hands, he also went to the extent of mistakenly taking the case to the U.N.O. under a wrong clause. Instead of admitting the case under the Aggression clause, he admitted it under Pacific Settlement of Disputes. What more could Pakistan expect from this ace problem-maker of India?

One fails to understand the inane and utterly short-sighted policies that the Indian Government has been repeatedly reiterating in the face of their open failure. This is prominently brought out over the question of the constant exodus of refugees from East Pakistan. The lack of a realistic response to this extremely disturbing situation characterizes the indifference that the ruling party has come to develop towards most national matters. It makes proof also of the tendency to over-simplify matters—an inclination which the Congress has been guilty of, time and again.

THE PROBLEM OF EXODUS FROM EAST PAKISTAN

To-day, more than 1,100,000 out of 4 million displaced persons from East Pakistan have to be rehabilitated. More than 70% of these displaced persons are agriculturists, who have given up their land holdings in Pakistan. How are we to provide them with homes, and work? The problem is immense, and occupies a major position in W. Bengal Government problems. Nehru Government has nothing to say in the matter. The actual human consequences of these figures are to be seen by the plight to which these unfortunate persons have been reduced in East Pakistan.

But the Indian Government has shown herself inexplicably inept in handling this situation. She has shown a remarkable and supine insouciance. The reaction which she has given expression to is both feeble and apathetic. The problem is not going to be solved by moving speeches and strong words in Parliament; the problem demands quick action and keen statesmanship. We cannot let Pakistan do all this and get away with, should be the refrain.

Instead of which the Government has been content with mere words and notes of protest. Indeed, the Government has gone to the extent of dubbing all those nationalists who compare the plight of the Hindus in Pakistan with the Muslim in India as communalists. To contrast the plights of these two brethren, removed from each other in geographical location and devotional beliefs and yet showing such striking difference in mode of living, is not communalism but the most human and natural response any person is capable of. While Pakistan is declaredly an Islamic state, India remains secular. This creates the basic ineptitude of the Indian reaction to Pakistan's dastardly and why disgorgement of her Hindu population. Any national government would have taken steps to safeguard her interests long ago.

The last variant of our gross ignorance of *real politik* is provided in the instance of the release of

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Bulgaria, Roumania were also "liberated" in this way but unfortunately they have not been able to get rid of the "liberators" and prevent them from acquiring a strangle-hold on their life and economy.

THE CHINESE MILITARY MISSION IN INDIA

A large military mission from Red China is now in India visiting our military establishments. It is clear that this is a follow-up of Zhukov's military mission last year. American Generals, too, have visited us but it is not known whether they were allowed to visit military establishments and get to know our military situation in the same thorough way as the Russians and Chinese.

It is clear that these visits from Russian and Chinese military leaders is India's answer to Pakistan's menacing threat. We recall that Sri Krishna Menon declared to the American people, in a press conference or television programme, that India *does not wish to take American arms as she has armed our enemy Pakistan*. This is strange from policy-makers who have no enemy at all, and who proclaim their intention of remaining friendly with Pakistan, even though she may hate us and wish to destroy us. But it is to be guessed that the driving motive in such a declaration is to prepare the public mind to receive open military aid from Communist Powers when the situation seems ripe. One is afraid that we are already in the Iron Curtain bloc. The public should demand, that if we need arms (as was tacitly admitted by the purchase of bombers from Britain) and if we need military allies, we should not take them from Communist Powers. We should not slide into a position when the Indian public has no option but to approve military commitment to the Communist bloc. We should not owe our security to Khrushchev and Mao Tsetung. This is the inevitable result of refusing to arm in a straight-forward manner, and to form alliances in the open. We may be forced into clandestine alliances willy nilly by allowing events to outstrip us.

Sheikh Abdullah. Abdullah is the snake that India reared in her bosom. To-day, he has the cheek to say that he has been "betrayed" by friends. But this is only too true of the Islamic character. Treachery, lying, betrayal, are some of the chief characteristics of the average Muslim mind. Sheikh Abdullah is no exception. He realizes only too well the possibilities of falling in with Pakistan. Pakistan is, as ever, in perpetual turmoil over leadership. It will be easy for Sheikh Abdullah, with the help of his reputation for trouble-making and double-dealing — a reputation which wears a mantle of respectability in Pakistan—to create difficulties for India and entrench himself in Pakistan politics. This is how we are paid by the Muslim "allies" we trust.

It arises essentially from our unwillingness to pay heed to the most striking lesson of history—the constant and perpetual hostility of the Muslim to all that is Hindu. *Pakistan has expressed this Islamic sentiment in both words and deeds. Any policy or political device which ignores this lesson of history is bound to end in utter failure and disillusionment.* And precisely that has been the fate of all Indian efforts to approach Pakistan on amicable terms. What is needed now is careful reassessment. Indian interests have got to be protected; the first practical thing to do towards such protection is to realize the true motive of the Muslim mind, and especially of the Pakistani mind, as it has manifested in the various dealings which India has been party to. In view of repeated declarations of hostility towards India by Pakistan spokesmen our reciprocal slogan should be: PAKISTAN IS INDIA'S ENEMY NUMBER ONE.

LIC CHEQUE BOUNCES WHILE MONEY FOR MUNDHRA DEAL WAS AVAILABLE

"Bombay: About the same time — in fact the same week—the Life Insurance Corporation's official were negotiating — on the "advice" of the Finance Ministry — with Mr. Mundhra for the purchases of shares for over Rupees One Crore, a cheque issued by the L.I.C. in settlement of a death claim of a deceased policy-holder was BOUNCED by the Bank on which it was drawn by the L.I.C.

The amount of the cheque was little under Rs. 19,000.

The insured was reported to have died on February 1957 and the claim was made by the beneficiaries on March 2, of the same year.

The whole of March went by, the whole of April and May and only on June 8, 1957 did the "Assistant Senior Officer" decide to write to the claimants, and enclose a crossed and non-negotiable cheque in settlement of the claim.

This was not received by the claimants till 15th June. When the L.I.C.'s cheque was lodged by the claimants in their Bank account, they were horrified to discover that the cheque was returned by the L.I.C.'s Bank.

It had in fact, BOUNCED. The marking of the Bank read: "NOT ARRANGED FOR".

When the claimants anxiously wired the L. I. C. they received a telegram in reply, saying:

REGRET INCONVENIENCE
REPRESENT CHEQUE TWENTY-SECOND
On representation the cheque was honoured.

—The Current

A Story Of A Neglected Freedom Fighter Of India

By J. Mazumdar

ONE of the freedom fighters of our country Shri M. P. Acharyya passed away on 20th March 1954 at the Bhatia General Hospital, Bombay. He bravely fought for half a century for freedom of our Motherland in utter neglect and poverty, unattended by his countrymen. His full name was Mandayam Prativadibhayankaram Thirthmalla Acharyya. He died of T.B. None came to honour him and perform his obsequies. He left no European capital city unvisited, for the propagation of the torch of freedom of his Motherland and yet his passing away was so singularly record-breaking in its tragedy.

Not only Madras but the entire South India, who take pride for the patriotic songs of Shri Subramanya Bharathi will always recall to their minds that Shri M. P. T. Acharyya joined him in publishing a Journal of Freedom's fight early in 1906. After a year he joined Lokamanya Tilak at Poona for direct instructions, and also attended the Surat session of Indian National Congress. He hated the Liberals and followed the camp of Lokmanya Tilak and other leaders like Aurobindo Ghosha, Khaparde and Ajitsingh, who were confirmed nationalists.

When Government banned the publication of his journal, he visited Pondichery to see if he can publish it from that place. As expected, no financial help could come to his aid, and he dropped the idea and left for Europe in 1908. There he joined the Savarkar group and published from Holland the famous book "Indian War of Independence" in the teeth of the British ban. Side by side he also published a journal *Talwar* (Sword) under the leadership of Shri Savarkar.

Shri M. P. T. Acharyya was arrested as an accomplice in the murder case of Colonel Wylie with the freedom fighter Shri Madanlal Dhingra. At the meeting that disapproved such an act of violence of Dhingra Shri Acharya was present. Shri Savarkar and he opposed the accusation at the meeting. A great uproar ensued and Shri Acharyya was accused of attacking Barrister Palmer but he was acquitted of all charges later on.

He abruptly left London for Morocco. He intended to help the Riffs in their revolt against Spanish Government. But the Government of Portugal, headed by Victor Emanuel, did not allow him to proceed further under advice of British Consul there. Shri Acharyya left for Berlin via Paris, and there he carried further the torch of freedom under the first National Flag, designed by famous freedom-fighter, Madame Bhikhaji Rustomji Cama, with an emblem of "BANDE MATARAM" upon it. Madame Cama was the active centre of freedom fighters of India in Paris and Shri Acharyya joined her immediately.

In 1912, he left Berlin for U.S.A., and studied Industrial Chemistry there. He worked as a farm

labourer to meet his expenses. But when the First World War broke out, he left off his studies and left for San Francisco, where he enrolled himself in the Gadara party led by Maulvi Barkatullah. In the meantime Shri Virendra Chattopadhyaya had established a "Hindi Swatantrya Samiti" at Berlin. When Shri Acharyya heard about it, he left New York where he managed to obtain a passport as a resident of Persia that was neutral and as a citizen of that country he arrived in Berlin. There he tried his level best for the overthrow of British Government under the lead of Freedom Fighters League. But the defeat of Germany in the First World War threw cold water on all the efforts of Shri Acharyya. The League was disbanded and suffered great privations. Russia expressed lip sympathy towards Indian Freedom Fighters but did not offer any solid help for the cause.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN

Raja Mahendra Pratap and Shri Acharyya saw a ray of hope when Amanullah ascended the throne of Afghanistan. They both arrived in Kabul together within six months. They crossed Hindu Kush mountain on horse back after 28-day's journey. King Amanullah received them well. But he refused to offer any help in their mission to overthrow the British. Shri Acharyya was much disappointed but he left for Russia to attend the Communist International —(Second Session). There he met the Indian Freedom Fighter Shri M. N. Roy to his great delight.

But in course of time Shri Acharyya was dissatisfied with Shri M. N. Roy as regards the ways and means employed by the Russian communists. Both were convinced that they were mere political prisoners in Russia. He narrowly escaped from this sorry plight by the help of his Russian wife and fixed up his residence in Berlin. (Mrs. Acharyya was none else than the famous painter Nagda Natchman.) Shri Subbash Bose of the I.N.A. fame arranged for his return to India for the Acharyya family in 1933 which was till then disallowed by the German Government. He even managed to get his return to India approved by the Government of India. Thus he was enabled to return to his mother country at long last.

Shri Acharyya had to maintain himself in India with the little amount that was available to him from his stray articles that were printed by various journals, and what could be supplemented by a small sale of Mrs. Acharyya's pictures of Art. After the death of Mrs. Acharyya, four years ago, Shri Acharyya was reduced to abject poverty. Though India attained Independence this veteran freedom fighter breathed his last in utter poverty, unsung, unwept and unhonoured.

Ebbing Away Of Hindu National Life

THE current of Indian history appears to have run from the earliest glimmer of patriarchal legend down to the monarchical age when the Brahmanical system, which is defined and explained in the code of Manu, began to exercise a dominant sway over the people of Hindustan. The earlier process by which the Vedic religion was gradually set aside by Brahmanical law must for the present be left to conjecture. In all probability the Brahmins rose from the condition of mere mercenary sacrificers to that of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, by the ordinary means which accompany the rise of a priest-hood to political power. In the first instance the Brahmins appeared in their sacerdotal character as medium between the worshippers and the deity worshipped; and in that capacity they probably first pretended to explain such religious omens as might be gathered from the manifestations and motions of the animal that was sacrificed. In connection with this pretended knowledge of the will of the deities, the Brahmins seem to have practised astrology, and to have assumed the possession of supernatural power, such as the production of rain or drought, health or disease, prosperity or calamity. Finally they asserted for themselves a divine origin from deities. Consequently they arrogated for themselves a superiority over the popular gods, under which they promulgated new religious dogmas, and introduced a multiplicity of rites of purification and consecration. Subsequently at every birth, marriage, or death, there was the inevitable Brahmin, who thus became associated in the minds of the people with every household event that gladdened their hearts or moved them to tears.

IN FETTERS OF BRAHMINS

Moreover the prayers and incantations of the Brahmins were supposed to be always necessary to insure the long life and prosperity of all individuals and

families; to procure a favourable seed time and abundant harvest; to increase the profits of every bargain and promote the success of every undertaking; to purify the water of wells and strengthen the foundation of dwelling houses; to consecrate and impart new powers to weapons, armour, ensigns, implements, books and tools, and to ward off every danger and every calamity which can befall a human being and his belongings. In this manner every Hindu has moved for centuries in the fetters of religious superstitions from cradle to his grave and the result has been that the national life has ebbed away.

THE EVILS OF BRAHMANICAL ASCENDANCY

The evils which have resulted from the establishment of a Brahmanical hierarchy have indeed far exceeded those which have followed the establishment of any other ecclesiastical ascendancy. Other priesthoods like the Jesuits in Spain have dominated over the minds of men, and crushed out the national aspirations and deadened the intellectual energies; but then such priests have generally sprung from the people and have occasionally appeared as the protectors of the oppressed and have stayed the hand of the tyrant and marauder by the threat of anathemas and excommunications. The Brahmins, however, whilst occasionally exercising similar powers for the furtherance of their own ends have been themselves the victims of a caste system which has necessarily shut them out from all sympathies with the masses. In other words they formed a hereditary caste of priests, which had laboured to degrade the Sudra instead of supporting him, and fattened upon the credulity of the people whom they had neither the power nor will to serve.

From *Past and After Vedic Period*

Islam And Western Civilization

THE political evolution of the Middle Eastern states forms part of a bigger historical development: the adjustment of Islamic society and other old-established non-European civilisations to the impact of the scientific techniques and political and moral concepts of the Western world. This process has been going on for several decades at a varying pace and is now going on faster than ever before. Consequently the whole Islamic world from Morocco to Indonesia is in the throes of one of the deepest crisis in its history.

Even in the easiest political circumstances the social changes produced by increased intercourse between Islamic society and the West would have created serious difficulties inside the predominantly Moslem countries of the Middle East. But the circumstances have been far from easy because the primary impact of Europe was in terms of superior military and poli-

tical power. In those parts of the Middle East where Britain and France were imperial and mandatory Powers, their presence undoubtedly hastened social and technical development in the Western sense. But the political strains caused by their presence increased local instability and above all the moral confusion which accompanies social change.

UNRESOLVED CONFLICT

For Western civilisation has brought to the Islamic world and the Middle East not merely its technical successes but also its own social and philosophical weaknesses, its still unresolved conflicts. Moreover, the two most important conflicts spring from the very elements which gave the West its superior power against the rest of the World—the development of science and the creation, through scientific application,

of highly organised techniques of economic production. The West has not yet resolved the clash between science with its philosophical cousins of rationalism and materialism, and religion; it has at best accepted a truce and co-existence between them. Nor has it yet found a really satisfactory answer in human terms to the conflict between modern economic organisation plus centralised political power and the thirst of the individual human soul not merely for political freedom but also for a sense of personal significance and a creative role in the universe.

These conflicts are also now entering the Islamic world. They are all the more intense there because the questions which Western civilisation poses have not sprung spontaneously from the internal evolution of Islamic thought and society, but have appeared from outside formulated in an unfamiliar way. Moreover, they are entangled with the more visible conflicts between different civilisations in customs, clothes, manners, and style of living.

WHERE COMMUNISM STEPS IN

The capacity of the Middle East to adopt Western scientific techniques in a creative rather than superficial and imitative manner depends in the last resort on its stability and ability to face the question raised by the scientific process of thought. But it has to deal with their culture, by its very nature, does not provide complete ready-made answers. Part of the attraction of communism is that it seems to offer a way out of this dilemma. It appears to offer a complete philosophical and political frame work for the application of scientific techniques of power.

The multiple impact of the West has meanwhile produced a complex effect in the Middle East in which acceptance and imitation are mingled with revulsion and rejection, in differing proportions according to circumstances of time and place.

One of the first effects was the creation of the nucleus of a Western-educated upper and middle class which sought to apply the principles of constitutional liberalism and national self-determination which it had learned from Europe.

Such was the inspiration of the earlier attempts to constitutional reform in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia, and in Egypt, and one of the stimulants of the Egyptian and Arab nationalist movements. Together with these movements went a general desire for 'progress' and 'modernisation' and usually a secular approach to politics.

THE ISLAMIC DILEMMA

But the Western impact also brought a sharp reaction from Moslem thinkers. Some religious thinkers advocated a liberalising of Islam to adjust it to the new ideas. Others sought refuge in a simple conservatism while yet others reacted by preaching reformism of a different kind, a return to a more fundamentalistic and puritanical form of Islam. The latter rejected Western culture as a whole while the secular nationalists opposed only the political manifestation of Western rule or power. A few original thinkers grasped the real problem of modernising ISLAMIC society from a technical and social point of view without destroying its moral basis.

In more recent times this picture has been com-

plicated by new factors. There has been a split inside the Western-educated class caused by the spread of that class outside the confines of the wealthy and by the influence of European radicalism. This has led to the emergence of new movements in which nationalism is linked not with political liberalism but with radical ideas of social reform. In the Arab countries, especially Egypt, radicalism has also been Moslem brotherhood. The fact that the ruling classes were to a large extent westernised in habits and manners and that luxury is sometimes represented by the more sordid aspects of Western life, intensified the revulsion of these religious radicals from Western culture.

A third factor has been the rise of communist Russia, joined now by China, not merely as a great Power bordering on the Moslem world and engulfing part of it, but also as an alternative source of inspiration for the modernisers.

What has been the result so far of this ferment, this confused but very real social and political revolution which is the most important fact in most of the Middle East today? Judged by the standards of West European society, the results may seem meagre. But set against past conditions in the Middle East itself, they are in many ways remarkable.

From *Political Quarterly*

Every Time Is Reading Time

There is an old story of the man who read Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" in the intervals of waiting for his wife to dress for dinner and then said to her as under:—

1. Talk less (and watch less the TV programmes unworthy of your maturity. Watch more, if you please, the good ones; fewer of the poor ones).
2. Carry a book in your bag (your brief case, your topcoat pocket).
3. Put a book under your pillow at night; if you can't sleep read.
4. Wake up 15 minutes earlier every morning, and read.
5. Keep a book handy to pick up (at home, when waiting for the dinner; at the office for waits between engagements, or for long-distance phone calls to come through).
6. Have a book ready when meeting unpunctual people (or waiting for meetings to get under way).
7. Take along your own book when going to the dentist or doctor (or an appointment with the man who may keep you waiting 15 to 45 minutes in his anteroom). Why read their old magazines?
8. Keep an unread book in your car in case of traffic jams or a wait for repairs (or wait for your wife to do her shopping).
9. Never go on a journey in a public conveyance without a book.
10. Remember that a book in the hand is worth two in the bookcase (and a good current magazine in hand is worth two in the bookcase (and a good current magazine in hand is worth three in the wastebasket)).

—Freeman

A POLISH PLEA FOR LIBERTY

By Sydney Gruson

A YOUNG Communist philosopher has unleashed controversy here by re-opening the case for the existence of an "independent Left" alongside the ruling Communist party.

When this right is not granted and social criticism is stifled or prohibited, the rulers must inevitably be led to govern by Stalinist measures of repression, Leszek Kolakowski maintains in three long articles written for *Nowa Kultura*, the organ of the Polish Writers Union. The articles are entitled "History and Responsibility."

He concedes that he was a Stalinist after World War II and that he used the same arguments against the advocates of greater freedom then that are now being used against him. Over the last two years he has become the ideological leader of a large group of young Poles seeking the reformation but not the replacement of communism.

Echoes of M. Kolakowski's article are only beginning to be heard in Poland. His arguments were clearly meant to apply to the world-wide Communist movement and not only to the Polish situation. They can hardly be left unanswered for what he preaches is heresy by orthodox Communist standards and all the more dangerous to orthodoxy for coming from within Communist ranks.

M. Kolakowski approaches the main theme of his argument by discussing the problem of the intellectual who refuses to engage in political activity when faced with the choice of going along with the ruling party or being counted in the ranks of reaction. The young philosopher describes this as the "traditional Stalinist blackmail of one alternative in political life." He contends that "to save in man what counts for most, his ability to think," no crisis can be permitted to undermine the "indestructible virtues."

M. Kolakowski begins with a dialogue between an intellectual who has withdrawn from political struggle and an opponent easily identifiable as an orthodox Communist. The writer calls him the "revolutionary." In this dialogue, the intellectual rejects fundamental tenets of the revolutionary.

WHERE LASTING HUMAN VALUES ARE IGNORED

For one thing, the intellectual denies that the end justifies the means. The "lasting moral values worked out by mankind" are the best foundation for any system of society, the intellectual says. These values are lost unless they are applied to the means since the means used for any goal inevitably affect the end.

Second, the intellectual denies that history is on the side of the revolutionary. The revolutionary's view of history is no more inevitable than any other that has fallen by the wayside throughout the ages. The future cannot be used to justify the evils of the present.

Third, the intellectual denies that an effective struggle for improvement requires total conformity. Total

conformity is paralysis. Even among revolutionaries there must be room for criticism and debate if the revolutionary society is not to fall under the blackness of terror.

"I will never believe," the intellectual says, "that the moral and intellectual life of mankind follows the laws of economics, that is, that by saving today we can have more tomorrow; that we should use lies now so that truth will triumph or that we should profit by crime to pave the way for nobility."

NEED OF CRITICISM

At another point in the dialogue the intellectual rejects the idea of relative moral values.

"Your relativity is masked by a false facade of immutability," he tells the revolutionary. "Your values change drastically every day and every day they are proclaimed eternal. This is the worst kind of relative values, for it buries historical thinking as well as the unchangeable and lasting achievements of mankind."

"The possibilities of Socialist criticism." M. Kolakowski continued, "are an indispensable condition for overcoming counter-revolutionary criticism effectively."

Regardless of the best intentions, the writer added, where criticism is impossible, terror becomes an increasingly important tool of government.

"The pressure to paralyze Socialist criticism would inevitably be followed by repressive measures directed against the great mass of people," M. Kolakowski declared, "because then all criticism becomes an instrument of political reaction and can be undertaken only on its account."

Stalinism, M. Kolakowski asserted, had forced worthy dissidents to become renegades because nothing else was open to them. He added that the system had created a situation in which every critic was considered an "automatic defector to the camp of reaction," and his criticism an "automatic declaration of solidarity with capitalist imperialism."

From: *The New York Times*



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

India as A Taxless Magnet

By G. T. Olarensaw

IF India wants Kashmir to remain as integral part of its economy, it can easily accomplish this desirable condition by so governing India as to make it a desirable economy for Kashmir to stay. What sort of economy would create such a wish by Kashmir and Pakistan? First of all, it must be evident that no one will rush for inclusion in a Tax State which is the Highest Taxed State in the World. That is quite certain. The adjacent states and peoples to India are not likely to. Fancy being bled white by Taxes so that a good time can be had by a few Foreign Bankers and International Crooks. To draw Indian mankind together as one people striving to create a stable and debt free economy must be India's aim and determination if it is not to fly apart still further and be the centre of destruction. Indians can see that the so-called Free Nation's are not free, but are the slaves of the Taxes like themselves. What would India have said had Britain taxed it Higher than any other country on Earth? It seems as though India was given over to its own devices providing it taxed itself to death on behalf of International Debt Incorporated of which Britain and the U.S.A. and Russia are agents. India is being taxed to a greater extent than Britain dare have done as agents of International Communism. But Indians are doing so and the money taken out by Taxes is lent back again at interest. Their own money lent back at interest, the interest being greater than the Total money in the Indian Banks and people. The Total money annually evaporates into the thin air of East and West. India is not Independent any more than an Elephant's Trunk is independent of the Elephant.

FOR WHAT PURPOSE TAXATION?

Taxation will not make India a desirable Economy for Kashmir to join and as Taxation destroys purchase power. For what purpose is Taxation? It is for depriving people of their wages and earnings so that they have to borrow False money as Loans from foreign powers at interest. Taxation creates hoards of unemployed, for every Tax gatherer is a non-producer, and a creator of famine. State Departments produce nothing basically Taxable. The whole Tax system is Communist. To keep out Communism, Taxation has to be kept out, for taxation is the Theft System. Every Tax State is an agent of World Slavery under International Communism, masquerading as U.N.O. and the so-called Free Nations on the one hand and as Communist countries on the other. If there is any difference between these economies, it has yet to be found. There is no such animal as a free nation for the Taxless nation is yet to be born and nourished in a World of Sharks and Crocodiles. The Tax System creates the strikes for more money. It creates Poverty and Famine and War as a pastime to increase the False Debt to the International Slave Bosses. These

Slave Bosses are the same people as tax Russia, the U.S.A., Britain and India. It is just one Fraudulent International set up and leaves India still a Taxed Colony of International Debt Incorporated — an Empire in which democracy has never existed and in which capitalism has never been known.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Mr. Clarensaw pleads for a Taxless State. His arguments against taxation are appealing but not sound. For, it is not possible to do away with taxation outright. Anarchist ideology advocates elimination of the State. Taking into account human nature and the prevalent social order we cannot do without the State under present circumstances. The State is there to preserve internal peace by maintaining law and order and to defend the country against external aggression. To fulfill these primary responsibilities the State needs money and that means taxation.

But we do agree that the functions of the State should be limited to political functions only and the State should have no hand in pure economic affairs.

Taxation should be on the minimum level. In this connection Henry George's proposal for land-value-taxation is worth considering. All lands used for agricultural residential and industrial purposes shall be taxed on the basis of land-value. However, his Single Tax is quite inadequate for the needs of a modern State which has complicated functions to perform, and therefore we suggest a flat Income Tax be levied in addition to Taxation on Land Value.

—EDITOR

FLIGHT OF CHINESE FARMERS TO CITIES— FRUITS OF COLLECTIVISATION

Hong Kong: Communist China is desperately trying to halt a mass flight from the farms to the nation's cities.

Official announcements reveal that 570,000 peasants left the countryside for the cities between the autumn of 1956 and last year's summer harvest. Another 110,000 left the farms last autumn in the provinces of Shauntung, Honan, Anhwei and Kiangsu.

"Though the Governments of the areas concerned have succeeded, in a measure, in preventing the outflow and in sending the persons home, they are still short of completely checking the tide," the official People's Daily reported.

The campaign to keep farmers where they belong —back home on the farm—coincides with a vast drive to resettle millions of intellectuals, shop-keepers, engineers, Government workers and party hacks in the country.

Welcome Deviation From Appeasement

By Jay Kay

FOR the first time in living memory a representative of the Government of India has spoken in a forthright and unambiguous way that the section of the Muslim population that cannot be loyal to the Constitution of the country, should better pack themselves off, and then carry on their propaganda of Islamic fanaticism. And this credit, it must in fairness be said, goes to our Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon. For this act of courage and forthrightness the nation owes him many thanks.

Speaking at a meeting of the committee formed in Bombay for the dissemination of correct news about the Kashmir issue, Mr. Krishna Menon, made a direct reference to the utterances of Sheikh Abdullah, and those who spoke about the accession of Kashmir to India being not final, stated that such people should FIRST get out of India and "join our enemies' camp". They cannot remain in the country and carry on treasonable propaganda. To say that accession is not final is a direct attack on our Constitution and our secularism. No Indian national can attack the Constitution without incurring the risk of being prosecuted for sedition.

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This was really a waft of fresh breeze in the choked "secular" climate of the country, in which any and every member of the minority communities could indulge in anti-national activities and get away with them, under the alleged cloak of their "secularism" and so-called fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Fundamental rights are there for loyal and patriotic citizens. Disloyal and anti-national section of the population cannot take cover under the Fundamental Rights for their actions of sabotage and disruption, as has been allowed so long by the Nehru Government. We are glad that our Union Minister for Defence has taken the courage in both his hands and given vent to the patriotic sentiments of every blue-blooded Indian nationalist. The order to quit India, given to persons like Sheikh Abdullah and his fellow Islamic agitators, has not come a day too soon. One only hopes that these utterances of Mr. Krishna Menon are symbolic of the changed attitude of the New Delhi authorities, who have been so far, riding the horse of secularism and appeasement of the Islamic fanaticism to death.

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In this connection one has to turn to the other part of India where the same wave of Islamic fanaticism is trying to raise its head. The notorious organisation of *Majlis Ittehad-ul-Musalmeeen* of Hyderabad which was re-formed by Kassim Razvi again, just before his *hijrat* from Hyderabad to Karachi, has been active of late. The very first article of that organisation, namely to work for the re-establishment of the rule of the

Nizam, should have long put that organisation out of the pale of legality. But the fact that the authorities of the State of Andhra, as well as the Union Government have tolerated its existence, despite such treasonable objects, show how complacent and lethargic are the authorities when it comes to dealing with minority organisations. The organisation has been holding mass meetings and rousing the fanaticism of the ignorant section of the Muslim population of the State, which are pregnant with dangerous possibilities.

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It was, therefore, heartening to note that reference to these anti-national activities of that organisation were made by the Governor of the State during his Republic Day address. Said Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, "The government would have no hesitation in taking strong measures against all those who were busy rousing communal passions in the State." The Governor thought it fit to give this warning to all these anti-national organisations as he thought that they were reaching the limit of the patience of the Government. Though Mr. Sachar did not specifically refer to the *Ittehad-ul-Musalmeeen*, but later on in their speeches both the Chief Minister Mr. Sanjiv Reddy and the Home Minister Mr. Range Reddy referred explicitly to the organisation and stated that at present the existence of *Majlis Ittehad* was proving a danger to the security and peace of the State and unless the *Ittehad* desists from these anti-national and treasonable practices the authorities would have to take serious notice of their "communalism"! This is a type of Congress "secularism" that is afraid to call a spade a spade.

Mr. Krishna Menon was correct in calling the actions of Sheikh Abdullah as treason. That is the only proper word for the activities of a section of both the Muslim and the Christian communities. But owing to Gandhian demoralisation of the Congressmen in general, and of the Congressmen in authority specially, "communalism" has become a sort of an obsession with them. They attach this label of "communalism" to the seditious and treacherous activities of the Muslim fanatics as well as to the subtle but equally deadly activities of the Christian missionaries and their priests, as well as to the warnings sounded by eminent Hindu leaders like Dr. N. B. Khare, Shri Golwalkar, the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji and others.

While in the case of the Hindu leaders, their warnings are prompted out of patriotic motives and out of a sense of loyalty to the nation as against the phony type of lip-service to India, which is shown by the so-called "national" minorities, the communal propensities of the Minorities, specially the Muslims, are definitely such as to be characterized as TREASON—pure and simple.

While we have in the North, Sheikh Abdullah preaching sedition and treason during the Friday prayers at the mosques and deluding the ignorant Muslims of Kashmir to act as saboteurs, we have similar picture in the South, thanks to Kassim Razvi, who when the "Police Action" was successful could have been rightly punished by a drum head court-martial, and there would have been an end to his anti-national activities. However, the appeasement policy, so beloved of New Delhi, only sentenced him to a short prison term, and he was recently released. That itself constituted one of the gravest mistakes on the part of the authorities. But the mischief does not end there. Soon after his release from the prison, he decides to leave for Pakistan, ONLY after reviving the notorious communal organisation—the *Majlis Ittehad-ul-Musalmeen*. Again, the appeasement policy of the Government allowed Kassim Razvi, to keep in the country, a sort of a "time-bomb" to explode at the opportune moment. Lack of statesmanship and appeasement of the minorities could not go further than this. It is an unpardonable weakness on the part of the New Delhi authorities to allow a treacherous and seditious organisation to function openly in Hyderabad, and pollute the atmosphere of that state, and to some extent of the country as a whole. However, it is to be hoped that with the latest awareness of the State authorities to the dangerous propensities of the organisation, that treason and sedition shall not go unpunished, even if they are practiced by the members of the minority communities.

As an organ advocating the continuance of English as the official language of the nation, the *Indian Libertarian* is in full agreement with the championing of English by Shri C. Rajagopalachariar. We think that he is on the correct national side, taking nationalism in its broadest sense, and not its parochial meaning. Even the advocates of Hindi are not logical when they maintain that English is a "foreign" language. It is not; it is the language of the Anglo-Indian, a majority of the Christians, and as the ONLY language that binds the intelligentsia of the whole country, from Rameshwaram in the farthest South to Himalayas in the North. It is thus an Indian language. We can understand the crusade that Rajaji is carrying on in the country for the retention of English as the official language of the Union. But we strongly oppose the latest twist in his mind in his support of English which Rajaji has been exhibiting. Rajaji has a good case, but we are afraid, he is spoiling it by his alliance with anti-national elements in the South, when he has joined forces with the followers of ex-Justices and of Naicker. One is known by the company he keeps, and Rajaji seems to be infected with their poison. For recently, Rajaji is talking of two federations in the country—one of North India and the other of South India, with even the threat of opting out, in case Hindi is foisted on the South. This is, we think, exceeding the bounds of legitimate propaganda for English, and helping the reactionaries in the country in Sanyal to the audience.

Between the Devil and the Deep Sea

WHERE STANDS JAN SANGH TODAY

By M. A. Venkata Rao

JUST how strong is Jan Sangh today? The elections registered some slight advance in its membership in legislatures in the Punjab, UP, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bombay and in the Lok Sabha it secured four in place of two members. It made some attempt to put up more candidates in Mysore and Andhra.

But in view of the power vacuum that is rapidly developing, and the advance of the communist party, people in all parts of the country are becoming acutely aware of the urgency and necessity of new parties or party. But the mind of the intelligentsia is divided between secular and spiritual embodied in traditional idioms) outlooks making a single opposition party well nigh impossible to express the full mind of the nation. The utmost that can be expected is the emergence of two defined parties—both anti-socialist, but one of the secular liberal school and the other of the spiritual liberal kind. Gokhale and Tilak of the last generation would be types that symbolise these attitudes and philosophies. The Congress of Gandhi had held these groups in an undifferentiated unity in the national liberation movement, but after the advent of independence they are naturally drifting apart. Patel Sampurnanand, Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Pant, Raja-

gopalachari typify an attitude to tradition that can hardly be reconciled with Nehru's socialist pattern and Leftism in foreign policy.

Today when Congress is disintegrating (which is far from being unhealthy) and a socialist "ginger-leaven" is being injected into its bloodstream, the Rajendra Prasad type can no longer function within Congress.

"RIGHT" VERSUS "LEFT"

There is a demand for a Rightist group or Party to offer an effective opposition to Congress Leftism and to furnish an alternative leadership.

The very word Rightist is symptomatic of the lack of an independent orientation in Indian political thought today. It assumes the dichotomy between Right and Left as covering the full circle of political thinking. It cannot think of other ideas and terms to furnish lines of policy cutting across current interpretations. "Right" means preservation of property and the *status quo* in social affairs. It spells conservatism which has its own value, as C.R. suggests, in offering brakes on too rapid a radicalism in social change, and in forcing gradualism in the realisation of revolu-

tionary policies. The word "Left" spells radicalism of the kind today going by the name of progress, namely Marxism and Communism and Sovietism, which stands four-square for the abolition of property as privately-held capital, the dictatorship of the proletariat (meaning thereby the dictatorship of the communist party in the name of the proletariat), and the creation of the New Socialist Man by the introduction of mechanisation in every sphere of life. Thinking people have to choose between these roads to social salvation today.

It is no longer possible for Congress to hold the loyalty of *all* thinking people now that its affiliation to Leftism of the Communist variety is no longer in doubt. Congress can revitalise itself only by shedding "Rightists" and stream-lining the adherence of "Leftists" through "ginger" programmes to secure uniformity of faith. The sentiment of nationalism can no longer hold all types of thought. Nationalism points to divergent policies needing different groups of people to articulate them in coherent programmes.

THE PLACE OF JAN SANGH

In this situation increasing numbers of people are looking to Jan Sangh as one of the parties of the future. It will attract intellectuals of the type of Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Rajaji, Sampurnanand, Tandon, Tilak, Aurobindo, Vivekananda who will do some re-thinking to evolve economic and political programmes with a *positive content* of national progress, which will be different and opposed in their general tendency to the socialist pattern or structure of society embodied in Russia, China and the East European States.

A study of the election manifesto of the Jan Sangh Party will reveal this trend and aspiration in sufficient detail. It will show that the word "Rightist" does not apply in any strict sense to the programme and orientation of Jan Sangh. It includes the element of private enterprise on the basis of private ownership of capital which is the central ingredient of Rightism. But it is worlds apart from Rightism in the current sense of conservatism opposed to equality and social amelioration and connected to *laissez faire* and "ganging up" with the rich in all ways. For instance it has taken over the communist cry of "land to the tiller" with ceilings on land holdings, and has indicated Rs. 2000 per month as permissible expenditure income and Rs. 500 as salaries to ministers. But it is not committed to expropriation of owners, whether of land or industrial capital. *It will seek to realise equality of opportunity without expropriation.* The economic and social goals of a more equalitarian society will be realised by Jan Sangh without tearing up the roots of social institutions and introducing nomadism and parasitism promising "something for nothing" to the poor.

The word *centralism* would represent this golden mean better than rightism, for the essentials of free economy and free society based on the freedom of the individual and property within the limits of social beneficence are specifically sought to be guaranteed by Jan Sangh. Regulated Economy would be a title better suited to its point of view than Free Enterprise, better suited to its point of view than Free Enterprise, for the freedom of all classes to do as they like is limited in this view by the necessities of common good.

But how is the party faring after the elections? For the demand for a party other than Congress can be

an opportunity for Jan Sangh only if its workers seize it and mobilise public support. This means devoted work on the part of the few at the helm and many who have a vague sentimental affiliation with its aims and climate.

RECORD OF JAN SANGH

In the Punjab, Jan Sangh has received an access of strength by its championship of the Hindi Bhasha movement of the Arya Samaj. It was a championship characterised by courage and sacrifice and strength of conviction. It stood up against the militant and illegal persecution of the Sikh-dominated Kairon Ministry. The resistance of the Jan Sangh was not motivated by narrow sectarian or communal or reactionary sentiments as unfairly and unintelligently charged by Pandit Nehru and Congress. It was animated by nationalism that abhorred the Congress policy of ganging up with the separatist Akali Sikhs for election purposes. This was in effect a powerful encouragement to Sikhistan in that contradiction to the declared policy of the Congress in favour of national unity and non-communalism.

Jan Sangh is helped in this sense of national unity by the element of RSS membership which is its base, so far. Others are welcome to join but so far the RSS base has been naturally dominant. The central aim and *raison d'être* of the RSS is the inculcation of national consciousness carrying a vivid emotion for India as a single society for which the historic homeland from Kashmir in the north to Rameswaram in the south and from Gujarat in the west to Manipur in the east is sacred country (*punya bhumi*). The land and people are one and integral and constitute a spiritual unity or organism, an idea to which all nations of separation and self-determination for parts of the country are treacherous and anathema, to be resisted unto death. There is nothing in this to prevent Muslims and Christians and Jews from participating. It is the apotheosis of national patriotism, consistent with internationalism, in so far as the sentiment is rooted in Hindu philosophy, which is universal in spirit and tendency. A State permeated by Hindu philosophy and ethics is by definition universal and non-communal.

GRASS-ROOTS IN KARNATAK

I had an opportunity of seeing Jan Sangh meetings and watching public reaction to them to Gadag, Hubli and Dharwar last week. The State Jan Sangh conference met at Gadag (north Karnatak) on the 24th
(Continued on page 21)



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

for its annual session to elect a President for the ensuing year and to take stock of affairs in the different districts of the State. About a hundred delegates were present from all parts of the State, the smallest number being from old Mysore. Going from Bangalore, the extent of grass roots support that the party has won in these parts was a surprise to the present writer. He had known the despair-laden situation in Bangalore while engaged in his campaign for election to Lok Sabha in February last year. He had known the disagreeable climate in which thinking people approve in private but refrain from public support, even by presence in public meetings, let alone contribution of funds and service. The Gadag Jan Sangh men secured the support and participation of prominent lawyers, merchants, doctors, teachers and others for their activities. The delegates' meeting was a fair cross section of the public, with the accent on the middle and lower middle class, not altogether excluding labour, for there were a couple of agricultural workers coming from distant parts of the State.

JAN SANGH IN MYSORE STATE

There was a trade union leader, a lawyer, who was working for 1,000 cashew nut factory workers in Mangalore. Weavers demanded protection from competition from mills. Small shopkeepers were keen on modifications in the administration and levy of sales taxes. Wholesalers wanted free transit of goods with a minimum of restrictions with single-point taxation at production or consumer points.

In addition to resolutions referring to local needs such as electricity and interior village-to-village roads, matters of national importance attracted keen attention. One resolution asked for fresh legislation demanding a clear definition of treason in relation to agitation for separation of parts of the country under which people like Abdullah, Naga leaders and Dravida separatists could be checked. The principle that secured strong and unanimous support was that self-determination cannot be conceded to parts of the country which was one and indivisible. No one has the right to barter a part of it away to please any community or to secure international support.

The plight of the HAL employees was discussed and a resolution condemned the attitude of the Management who seem to have refused even a reference to the industrial tribunal. The action of the Government too, in misusing Section 144 to prevent peaceful and orderly demonstrations (and fasting) was also disapproved and solidarity with the employees in their legitimate demands expressed.

With regard to land reforms, the delegates expressed themselves in favour of giving land to deserving tillers, but in ways different from those association with communist technique, such as expropriation of landowners with nominal compensation. Ceilings were to be imposed if they were unavoidable only after all existing free land in Government hands has been allotted to the landless. The right remedy is to diminish the pressure on the land by providing alternative employment by opening small and big industries in rural areas. The principle must be supporting self-support and demoralising by free grant.

The way in which such a miscellaneous gathering

representing a cross section of the population from the poorest to the upper classes lived together and discussed national affairs on the background of a common national sentiment, with caste so completely put away was encouraging.

Another heartening feature was that all the expenses were contributed largely by the visiting delegates which were minimised by their sharing in the work of the camp, serving at dinner and arranging public meetings etc. Also, there was strict adherence to time schedules with but little time for dinner and rest. There was no allergy to intellectual effort or discussion; on the contrary there was keenness. It was a sight to witness cycle-shop keepers, weavers and small shopkeepers vying with doctors, lawyers and teachers in discussing national questions.

Public meetings were held at Gadag and Hubli. People mostly of the lower and middle classes with a sprinkling of the upper classes squatted in the municipal grounds and in the centre of the bazar square and listened for hours on end to criticism of Congress policies, not only without dislike (which was the case till recently) but with positive appreciation and open encouragement. Messrs. Thengdi, the Jan Sangh trade union leader and Jagannath Rao Joshi, the Goa hero, have developed characteristic types of oratory that are effective for mass audiences. But the content of the thought and the items of attack are the same. Ironical criticism of the foreign policy that is wrapped up in saving the world but neglects the fate of Indians abroad and is incapable of "solving the Goa and Kashmir problems elicit approval so spontaneously that the official claim of universal support seems strange. This is an indication of the gulf that exists between ruling policies and the people. A small oligarchy is governing the country on borrowed ideas with but little roots in the soil or common sentiment and ways of life.

It is clear that there is significant grass roots support for Jan Sangh in north Karnataka. A larger proportion of the educated and business classes respond sympathetically and furnish workers. Doctors, merchants, lawyers, students are among workers and members of local Jan Sangh committees.

The capacity for liberal Hinduism (basing itself on historic consciousness and shedding caste and untouchability) to adapt itself of modern requirements by way of social progress ready to welcome Christian and Moslem communities on the basis of integral nationalism was proved by the Congress of Gandhi. This is continued more logically and with greater intensity by Jan Sangh and as such it is sure of growing influence in the times to come.



Courtesy: "Filmindia"

Libertarian Movement Spreads To Patna And Calcutta

By A Contributor

THE Libertarian Social Institute was invited by some libertarians at Patna to open its branch there. The Institute sent Mr. S. B. Sanyal to organize the branch.

Mr. Sanyal stayed there for two months during December 1957 and January 1958. He met about fifty persons and discussed the principles of the Government in the light of those principles. Among libertarian movement and the critiques of the present policies of the Government in the light of those principles. Among the persons met mention may be made of the following:

Mr. R. K. Desai (Mg. Director of Bihar Industrial Finance Corporation), Mr. Mohanlal Bishnoi (Mohan Press, Patna), Dr. Sachin Sen (Editor, *The Indian Nation*), Mr. Shambhu Nath Jha (*The Searchlight*), Mr. Arun Roy Choudhury (Editor, *The Bihar Herald*), Mr. Benoy Roy (*The Indian Nation*), Mr. D. N. Sircar (*Free Press*), Prof. J. N. Ghosh (Ram Mohun Roy Seminary and *Bihar Herald*), Prof. Narmadashwar Prasad (Head of the Department of Sociology, Patna University), Prof. S. K. Bose (Head of the Department of Economics, B. N. College), Prof. Santlal Sinha (Head of the Department of Politics, B. N. College), Messrs. Sachchidananda and K. N. Verma (Commerce College, Bihar University), Mr. C. P. Thakur (In-charge, Planning and Economics Research Section, Bihar P.C.C.), Messrs. N. K. Tiwari and J. N. Sinha (Patna College), Principal (Mrs.) Romola Nandi and Prof. (Mrs.) Ashalata Bose (Magadh Mahila College), Messrs. Rewatiraman Saran and M. L. Sen (Advocates, Patna High Court), Mr. Amitabha Das Gupta (Businessman and Humanist), Mr. N. B. Ghoshal (Ram Mohun Roy Seminary), Dr. P. L. Kundu (Physician, Katihar), Dr. Kishori Lal Kundu (Sarvodaya leader, Katihar), Dr. Pinakiranjan Roy (Surgeon and ex-Landlord, Malda), Miss Geeta Roy (Teacher, Harishchandrapur), Mrs. Kalyani Sen Gupta (Social Worker, Katihar), Principal Brahma Dev Narain Sinha (Katihar College), Mr. C. K. Guha (B. N. College), Mr. Durga Prasad Gupta (Social Worker, Katihar), Miss Bela Choudhury (Bagodar). As a result, many of them become subscribers to the I. L. and agreed to support the libertarian movement as against the equalitarian movement gone astray.

Prof. S. K. Bose and Prof. Santlal Sinha mentioned above invited Mr. Sanyal to address the staff and students of the Economics and Politics Department, B. N. College on the libertarian approach to social problems and libertarian system of ideas. The meeting was held in one of the lecture halls of the College between 5.30 P.M. and 8.30 P.M. on the 18th January. After a light refreshment, Prof. Bose introduced Mr. Sanyal to the audience.

Mr. Sanyal briefly introduced the Institute, its Founder-Director, Mr. R. B. Lotvala, and the general

aims and objects for which he stood. He then presented the philosophy, the politics and the economics which the Institute has been propounding through its Research Department. The libertarian keeps his mind open, and avoids the pitfalls of fixation of feeling for incomplete systems of ideas, of finding satisfaction in an ideology. This kind of fixation is the root of all evils. There must be a feeling for the highest system—the universal rational scheme of values. This sustains the adventure of spirit towards the discovery of rational system in the light of which alone all ideologies can be critically judged. Partial systems contain partial truths which must be put in their proper places in the gradation of values. They must not be mistaken as the whole truth.

EVILS OF TOTALITARIANISM

But any and every method does not lead to the realization of social value. The methods of Islam or Communism, for example, usually do away with the equity (either liberty, or equality, or both) or physical well-being (or even physical existence). Such self-stultifying methods are bad or immoral. Both Communism and Islam lead to a closed society and the atrophy of thinking power.

THE BASIS OF FREE ECONOMY

The libertarian economy calls for abolition of privileges in the form of monopolies in land and in money. *There is nothing wrong in private ownership. Rather, the good lies in making every body an owner of property: an open society cannot but be a property-owning democracy.* There have been various methods suggested for the abolition of twin monopolies. *But oligopoly or state monopoly would mean a remedy which is worse than the malady.* The present experiment in socialist pattern by way of state planning is a self-stultifying method.

In the vote of thanks proposed by Prof. Sahay, he paid compliments to the Institute and the speaker for having presented a rare and provocative line of thought and movement. He, however, refused to accept the distinction of higher and lower, which Mr. Sanyal further clarified in a letter to him the next day.

PATNA BRANCH

The Patna branch is located at Cine Radio Service, New Market (North), Patna-1 and has been put in charge of Mr. G. C. Moitra.

Mr. Sanyal then left for Calcutta and discussed with Prof. G. P. Bhattacharya both ideological and organizational problems. Prof. Bhattacharya is in charge of the Calcutta branch situated at 40-F, Palm Avenue, Calcutta.

ON THE NEWS FRONT

India is Kashmir's "Enemy", Says Abdullah

Srinagar: Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah told a Friday congregation at the Hazaratbal shrine that those countries which did not support Kashmir's "right of self-determination" were "our enemies, though they be our neighbours" while those who did so "be they in the East or West, are our friends."

Observers regard this statement as a step forward in the line followed by Sheikh Abdullah in his speeches since release from detention, of condemning India while attempting to absolve Pakistan of all blame of aggression.

Today's speech is regarded by these observers as Sheikh Abdullah's indication to his followers that India should be regarded as an "enemy" while Pakistan should be considered as "friend".

-P.T.I.

ABDULLAH IS COMMITTING TREASON SAYS BJS PRESIDENT

DELHI: "By challenging the validity of the ratification of Kashmir's accession to India by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, and by campaigning for independent Kashmir—which means secession of that territory from India—Sheikh Abdullah is committing an act of treason against the Indian State and Indian Constitution, in the making of which he too had a hand," declared Prof. Balraj Madhok, President, Delhi State Jana Sangh, at a public meeting at Rajendranagar, New Delhi. His utterances, Prof. Madhok added, had completely exposed him and presented him in his true colours even to those who persistently tried to deceive themselves and the Indian public about the real character and ambitions of Sheikh Abdullah.

"The game of appealing to, and rousing religious sentiments of Kashmir Muslims that he has been pursuing to rehabilitate himself in Kashmir, is too dangerous to be allowed to go on undisturbed. He must be clearly told that Kashmir belongs as much to every one of the 38 crore Indians as to him, that he will not be allowed to tamper with Indian unity and integrity and that if he persists in his antics, he can have no sympathy in this country."

ABDULLAH IS WORTH A WHOLE DIVISION TO PAKISTAN

KARACHI: Prime Minister Feroze Khan Noon has held two full Cabinet meetings and a number of discussions with his Government's "brain-trust" on Kashmir, since Sheikh Abdullah's release. He has also had long discussions with President Mirza on the developments.

The secrecy and silence maintained by the Pakistan Government by the Pakistan Government on such a vital issue bode no good to India or Kashmir. While the Pakistani and Western press has given full publicity to the Sheikh's hysterical outbursts, particularly in connection with the maltreatment of Muslims by Hindus, governmental sources refuse any comment.

According to one view, the silence is due to the

TERROR UNLEASHED IN EAST PAKISTAN, SAYS CHATTERJEE

New Delhi: The Hindu Mahasabha leader, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, stated that a large-scale terror campaign had been launched against Hindus in East Pakistan recently. Addressing a public meeting organised by the Delhi State Hindu Mahasabha, he said that this was the outcome of the Pakistan premier, Mr. Feroze Khan Noon's latest threat to round up Indians and put them in concentration camps and make them build mud roads.

In the name of teaching a lesson to the Indians and taking advantage of the tension over the Kashmir issue, a systematic minority-baiting had been started in East Pakistan he added.

Shri Chatterjee said he has already drawn the attention of Prime Minister Nehru to the utterances of the Pakistan Prime Minister, and Shri Nehru had assured that he would look into the matter.

"It is high time that the Prime Minister took some definite action," he said.

Shri Chatterjee warned that if the leaders conveniently forgot the solemn pledge given to the Hindus of East Bengal on the eve of Partition, history would not forgive them.

SECRET CIRCULAR

A secret circular had been sent to all district magistrates, superintendents of police and officers-in-charge of police stations under the signature of the G.O.C., East Pakistan, asking them to take strong action against so-called Indian agents and smugglers, he said.

In the name of prevention of smuggling, the border was being sealed. A large number of persons had been rounded up, and some of them taken to unknown destinations—sometimes in the distant and desolate islands in the Bay of Bengal.

-U.P.I.

fact that neither Mr. Noon nor General Mirza are sure whether Abdullah is burning his boats finally so far as India is concerned or mounting a big bluff to force Delhi into negotiations with him.

Another view holds that Pakistan is secretly conspiring a major Hungary-type operation against Kashmir this spring or autumn. Hence the silence and the secrecy.

Weight is lent to this view by the presence of General Akbar Khan, who led the Pakistan invasion of Kashmir in 1947, in Karachi during the past 10 days. General Akbar Khan was reportedly present at the highest level discussions on the Kashmir situation.

If President Mirza's secret thesis on a "Five-Year Plan to Grab Kashmir," put out early in December last, provides any clue, then Karachi expects the internal situation in Kashmir to deteriorate to such an extent that a couple of jolts from the Pakistani side would bring down the whole fabric.

In this context, Abdullah's present mood would naturally provide Pakistan with a weapon worth a whole division—Blitz.

Book Reviews

TITO — MOSCOW'S TROJAN HORSE

TITO-MOSCOW'S T R O J A N H O R S E, by Slobodan N. Draskovich. Publishers: Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, Price \$ 5.

One of the most interesting and significant political phenomenon of our times is the history of Titoism—from Tito's break with Kremlin until his reconciliation. Tito's break with Kremlin was considered by the West as the beginning of the end of Communist Imperialism and as the turning point, the passing of the highest crest of the Soviet Communist tide. The West read too much into the Kremlin-Tito rift which was after all only a Communist family affair, and lavished money, food, arms and technical aid to make Tito's tottering regime a going concern. But these hopes which were based on wrong evaluations of Kremlin-Tito rift, on wishful thinking, and on ignorance of the nature of Communism and Tito's role in the cold war, did not materialise, and his present reconciliation with Kremlin has inflicted the most absolute defeat to the expectations of the West. As the author says, what makes the case of Titoism tragic is that the West still continues to repeat, in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that in case of a world war, Tito would fight on the side of the Free World against International Communism led by Rus-

sia. The whole mistaken policy of the West towards Tito and Titoism stems from its wrong reading of the nature of Kremlin-Tito rift, and because of its ignorance about the main factors and developments which carried Tito to power in Yugoslavia, and the result is that in no other important issue has the West bungled to such an appalling extent as in the case of Tito and Titoism. The author needs to be congratulated on the signal service he has rendered to the Free World by raising the iron curtain of fallacies, half-truths and plain lies created by the wishful thinkers in the Free World.

AN INFORMATIVE BOOK

In this well-written and informative book, the author has analysed well Tito's role in the cold war, and made a detailed study of Titoism in all its aspects—his unconditional support of Communist aims, the West's mistaken policy of building up and helping a Communist regime as a means of fighting communism and Moscow's desire for using the democracies' obsession with Tito's allegedly "different" communism to penetrate the defenses of the West and disarm it, his service to the Communist plan for world conquest, and the harm he has inflicted on the West and the cause of freedom everywhere.

The Kremlin wants to use Tito and Titoism only to defeat the West mentally, confuse its thinkers, paralyse its will, and ultimately condition the democratic mind of the West for surrender. The author has analysed very well the consequences of the Western Titoist policy, and his conclusions are drawn from plain and irrefutable facts and not by arbitrary theorising.

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

The author has quoted profusely from Tito's own speeches after his break with Kremlin to prove that Tito is not Moscow's enemy but the most loyal supporter of Soviet Imperialism.

In June 1950, at a time when the

West was singing hymns of praise to Tito's alleged political warfare against the Soviet Union and his "great" services to the cause of freedom, the central committee of the Yugoslavian Communist party issued a statement of undying loyalty to the Soviet Union. The statement concluded hat "Yugoslavia would remain faithful to the Soviet Union despite all that has taken place because the Soviet Union represented the main strength of the International workers' democratic movement." While Yugoslavia pledges its undying loyalty to Russia, she has no compunction whatever in receiving economic aid from the "imperialist, reactionary and capitalist" America. Tito's sweet words satisfy America though his actions promote the cause of International Communism!!! The theory of "different" Communism and "Titoism", the author says, was devised as a tactical move by Tito and his friends to keep his tottering regime in power, to extract aid from the "imperialist, reactionary and capitalist" West and keep its place in the Communist world movement.

If we really mean to fight Communism, the author insists, we must first expose the Communist robot—Tito of Yugoslavia. In helping Tito, the West is helping to dig its own grave. To promote Titoism for the sake of Communist world conquest makes sense, but to promote Titoism for the sake of freedom does not. Titoism is not an ideology. That Tito stands for national communism different from the Russian brand, is the greatest hoax of the twentieth century, and the author has done well to explode this myth. As a Communist, Tito is fighting the communist battle on one sector of its world-wide front. As a communist, he is using communist strategy and tactics, Communist vocabulary and semantics which makes it possible to pretend to be defending the cause of freedom, while destroying the very foundations of the free world. In newspapers, periodicals, speeches and official statements, all the Leninist-Stalinist theses and slogans are used, repeated, and propagated to remove any possible doubt that the ouster from the Kremlin might have affected the thoroughly communist character of Tito's regime.

Tito, despite his quarrel with the Kremlin, not only still thinks of himself and his partymen as com-

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munists but as being better communists than Russians. In the final outcome of the momentous political war between the International communism and Free World, Yugoslavia would certainly prefer to fight on the side of Russia which she still considers as the representative of the international working class movement. What the Yugoslavian communists have in common with Moscow is, the author says, the victory of communism in the world. What separates them is a momentary difference of opinion on the best road and methods. What divides Tito and the Free World are the fundamentally opposed aims, and the only thing Tito has in common with it is its help to make easier the consolidation of Communist power in Yugoslavia. The only "concession" that Tito has given to the West is the acceptance of its aid to keep his regime in power and build communism in Yugoslavia. The other one was to make occasionally general statements in which everybody was free to read any desirable political meaning, and the West happily accepted them at their face value. Tito's assertedly pro-Western statements, the author goes on, either had any declaratory meaning, without any political substance, or the key to their political meaning was in communist semantics. The Kremlin was quick to decipher them and was perfectly satisfied.

HELPING COMMUNISM

Tito has poisoned the mind of the west sowing spiritual, political and moral confusion, weakening the determination to oppose communism, lulling back to sleep the public opinion of the West which had been aroused by Stalin's blunt Imperialism. To fight Russian Communism and promote Yugoslavian communism at the same time does not make sense; it is suicidal and self-defeating. A bullet sold by America to Tito is sure to find its way back to America by being shot into some American's head, warns the author.

Those who favour democracy for their own country but are ready to accept communism as far as any other country is concerned, the author says, are not helping the cause of democracy but that of Communism. The pity is democracy is not defended unanimously by all democrats in any country while communism is promoted by all communists in all countries. The

resolute rejection of Titoism by the West will unleash everywhere the forces of freedom which can change the course of history and make an end to communist conquest, nullifying all their plans of world domination, concludes the author.

—Suman Bankeshwar

Feeling As the Metaphysical Principle

A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY by Dr. N. V. Joshi, M.A., D.Litt. Current Book House. Pages 213. Price: Paper bound Rs. 5.75. Library edition Rs. 7.75.

It is with pleasure and relief that one welcomes the book by Dr. N. V. Joshi, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Ramnarain Ruia College. The book has an important and a significant virtue to recommend it, that it is a history of philosophy promising not merely to 'tackle' various philosophers in isolation from each other or to perform intellectual acrobatics with metaphysical systems, but it seeks, on the other hand, to trace the very dialectic along which philosophical thought has flowed down the ages.

For philosophical thought has not been blind or arbitrary activity, deriving its mode of progress solely from the subjective make-up of the philosopher concerned. It has been a single, continuous attempt to treat of a specific problem, the problem of Being or the ontological problem.

THE ETERNAL PROBLEM

Philosophy then has a specific problem and philosophers have tried to solve that problem—with failures that have tenor and significance because they have acted as milestones in the unique and singular attempt to meet the problem of man and God. It is this ontological problem, the problem of the relation of the finite to the Infinite, of the search on the part of man to find an absolute principle or ground whereby the finite, fluctuating world of experience might gain meaning that metaphysicians of the past have confronted, with varying degrees of success in solutions they have offered. In a way, Dr. Joshi has set down the metaphysics of philosophy itself.

And the treatment of the ontological problem has necessitated the

adoption of a method of approach. These methods have chiefly been the epistemological and the axiological. It is the author's contention that these two methods are seriously deficient and have no validity to the treatment of the problem.

Socrates, with one stroke of error, gave primacy to the epistemological method as alone capable of resulting in knowledge of the real. The effects of the Socratic choice are manifest in the internal disruptions that have been the fate of nearly all the metaphysical systems that have employed it.

In epistemological metaphysics, finite existence is set over against the Infinite. For the Infinite is not only all that is not finite, but it includes all that is non-finite. With such contradictory relations between them, it is almost axiomatic to suppose their mutual opposition to each other, and hence the exclusion of one in preference of the other from the sphere of reality. If the spatio-temporal world is real, the Infinite necessarily loses all claims to reality. An affirmation of ultimate reality, on the other hand, gives rise to such desultory notions as that of appearances and of degrees of reality—ridiculous attempts to bridge the yawning gulf between the finite world of experience and the ground of all existence.

A LOGICAL METHOD

The epistemological method is purely logical and identifies logic with reality. "It simply has regard for those aspects of the real, which, owing to their outward similarity, are capable of being classed together. From this apparent similarity, it sifts its various concepts and axioms. Feeling confident that these concepts provide a good explanation of the phenomena which fall under it, it substitutes these abstract concepts for the facts themselves. When this has been done, the representatives of intellectualism think that reality is nothing but a system of such concepts. Such was the case with Hegel's Absolute, which, according to the neo-romanticist, is nothing but an 'unearthly ballet of bloodless categories'; and also with the scientific philosophy, which is an outcome of the hypostatization of the various concepts obtained by means of the intellect." (p. 151).

Plato thus could not reconcile the

opposition between the world of Ideas and the world of finite things. Similarly, Aristotle's form and matter defy all efforts to bring them together.

THE ZIG-ZAG WAY TOWARDS SOLUTION

Dr. Joshi holds that Descartes was confronted likewise with the double dualism between mind and matter, on the one hand, and between the finite and Infinite substances, on the other. Spinoza tried to bridge the hiatus between them, but, due to his tacit faith in the epistemological method, he too found that his ultimate and infinite substances could hardly have anything to do with finite modes. Leibnitz tried to concede reality to finite existences by conceiving them as centres of spiritual force (monads); but he was faced with the problem of synthesizing the manyness of the monads into one unitary principle. When he invokes the help of God, who seeks to give the best possible world by means of the pre-established harmony, Leibnitz no more speaks the language of reason.

Locke, who accused the Cartesian school of dogmatism, did not however react against their method. Locke, accepting that experience is the sole source of all knowledge, conceded reality to the particular.

If then the particulars are the only things that really exist, the universal principles are denied reality. Locke himself did not go to the extent of admitting this. He had a soft corner for metaphysical entities like the world, the self and God. But these entities could not be fitted into his scheme of empirical philosophy, because none of them was accessible to experience, which, according to him, consisted of sensations and ideas only. Those who followed Locke, however, tried to banish these existential entities altogether. Berkeley was hard upon Locke's doctrine of material substance. But he retained spiritual substance and God. Hume, who adhered to Locke's formula rigorously, banished outright the self and God and thus landed philosophy, according to Dr. Joshi, into abject scepticism.

Kant tried to effect a synthesis of the standpoints of both rationalism and empiricism. But the distinction between the thing-in-itself and the phenomena looms large throughout Kant's writing—a distinction

that led to the disruption of all his attempts at a constructive metaphysical outlook.

After Kant, Hegel tried to eliminate the thing-in-itself. But because his philosophical outlook was wedded to the same ontological method, he too was not successful. The Absolute as the self-fulfilled Infinite is set over against the finite world, which, Hegel believed, is nothing but the Absolute as self-fulfilling itself. But the disparity in the nature of these two Absolutes is so obvious that on the strength of the principle of contradiction their opposition is beyond any reconciliation.

Thus Dr. Joshi arrives at the conclusion that metaphysics, when subordinated to the epistemological method, has failed. The epistemological method has reared in its bosom only a futility and a persistent cul-de-sac.

It was against this over-intellectualization and bare logical reasoning that the movement known as Neo-Romanticism first laid its principia. Bergson, the pragmatists, the philosophers of value are primarily a recusant protest against the epistemological method which commanded such genuflexion from the Idealists.

WHERE BERGSON FAILED

The philosophy of values, by stressing the meaning of value, creates a new standpoint, namely, the axiological. But, continues Dr. Joshi, the axiological method, like the epistemological, is wedded to the law of contradiction. The synthetic character of the axiological method together with its complete subordination to the law of contradiction is enough to discredit it *prima facie* as a metaphysical method. The entire philosophy of values is internally subverted on account of the irreconcilable dualism of the Ought and the Is or the Sollen and the Sein. Since every attempt to realize a value which is absolute and infinite is met with reference from the objective world which constitutes the various degrees in the realization of the value and hence remains finite, the Ought as the Infinite and the Is as the finite stand opposed to each other as contradictory.

The same fallacy is at the root of Bergson's errors. "If we consider a little we shall find that the root-cause of all the inconsisten-

cies in Bergson's system is his identification of ontology with axiology. That is to say, Bergson has made reality one with the practical aspect of individual's life. This is the reason why the theoretical aspect is completely ignored in Bergson's philosophy. But reality can hardly put up with one-sidedness. The truth of this statement is amply borne out by the fact that the theoretical aspect continually asserts its identity in the form of the theory of matter and foils all attempts of Bergson to give us a consistent view of reality as such." (p. 162).

Pragmatism too leads to group subjectivism and pluralism because it emphasizes unduly the practical or the axiological aspects and neglects sorely the theoretical. "In the theoretical activity, our experience is essentially kept linked to the objective world. But in the practical activity, we draw ourselves into our own private selves and have no direct concern for the world of objectivity. Hence, the neglect of the theoretical function is apt to lead us to utter subjectivism by making us deny all objectivity as such. That subjectivism cannot be a satisfactory solution is obvious from the circumstance that the pragmatists... have to maintain, inconsistently with their own position, that there exists some objective reality, which is incapable of being moulded in accordance with the subject's views, but which, on the other hand, compels the subjects to conform to it." (p. 168).

Thus philosophy, under epistemological and axiological methods, has tended to result in a quandary. Yet it is not with such an arid feeling of despondency that the book ends. For, as the author says, amidst the turmoil and confusion of present-day tendencies, a ray of hope is held up by the contemporary philosophy of existence. Existentialism, though it by no means has solved the perennial problems of philosophy, has provided it with a badly-needed re-orientation. It has stripped the ontological standpoint of the damaging epistemological and axiological methods. "In maintaining that existence is prior to essence, the idea is to discard absolutely the primacy of any discipline which owes allegiance to any logical law. That is to say, both epistemology and axiology, which are guided by the logical laws, are at once denied any privilege to have

anything to do with the absolute reality. This is followed by the positive stand taken by the existentialists in declaring that it is only feeling which can give us an access to the absolute reality. It will be seen that feeling is looked upon by the existentialists as both dynamic and abstract, although such a view of feeling is not understood in all its momentous implications." (p. 183).

The existentialists are like-minded in raising feeling to the status of an ontological principle. Kierkegaard thus invests such a feeling with the power of realizing an idea. "Without such a feeling such an idea can never exist or be real at all. Such a spontaneous and creative feeling is not accessible through ordinary knowledge, because it is inward and subjective, that is, quite abstract in its nature." (p. 189). Feeling is not opposed to reason, but "it is a force which gives rise to reason in the course of its operation." (p. 190). "God is the result of the supreme individuation of such an abstract infinite feeling." (p. 191).

The book, on the whole, deserves serious reading. It is an earnest examination into the very heart of genuine philosophical thinking of the past so many years; it grapples with a very central issue of philosophy. It is clearly and pleasantly written.

Finally, a word must be made of the author's review of Greek philosophy from Thales down to Aristotle. It is a masterly presentation and many readers will find it surprisingly illuminating.

—K. D. Valicha

SIXTY YEARS OF PUBLISHING NATESAN SOUVENIR

Messrs. G. A. Natesan, and Co., pioneer publishers of Indian patriotic literature, have brought out a Souvenir in commemoration of their sixtieth anniversary. It is a beautifully got-up volume of 300 pages, with illustrations on art paper. Messages from the Indian President, the Vice-President, Jawaharlal Nehru, prominent businessmen, leaders and other public personalities are published. Articles ranging from Philosophy to Labour are some of the fare that the volume promises. Another feature is the inclusion of extracts from the writings of Gandhiji, Dr.

Besant, the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Prof. Hiriyanna, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, and Dr. Radhakrishnan from their forewords to the Natesan classics. Altogether it is an interesting volume and is capable of commanding public attention. It is priced at Rs. 5/-.

K.D.V.

Letters To The Editor

ABDULLAH AND RAZVI

Dear Madam: In any other country, a person like Sheikh Abdullah and Kasim Razvi would have been put against a wall and shot for their anti-national activities and treason. Abdullah's latest slogan "Kashmir for Kashmiris" is fantastic nonsense. A right of self-determination can be given only to sovereign nations and not to every province, district, taluk, village, town, street, lane and by-lane. If such a right of self-determination could be given to every unit, from province and district to lane and by-lane, Bhendi Bazar would go to Pakistan, Kerala to Russia, Naga State to America and so on. Our Motherland is not a private property to be distributed among reactionary and communal politicians. It is high time Abdullah realised the difference between Nation and Property.

Bombay !

Basheer Hussain, M.A.B.L.

BHARAT, PAKISTAN AND KASHMIR

Dear Madam: The Kashmir issue which devils both Pakistan and India will continue so long as Pakistan harbours the illusion that the Hindus are cowards and that they, the Muslims, are brave. If Pakistanis care to disabuse their minds of this hallucination the better for both the countries and the peace of the world. I had sent a letter on these lines to Dr. Graham when he came last. If once the Kashmir issue is settled, ALL other, "problems" of Indo-Pak. relations, like the Canal waters dispute, the evacuee property dispute and others, could be automatically solved.

The remedy for bringing about this change over the Pakistanis is essentially a Hindu responsibility—New Delhi must try to impress upon Pakistan that the Hindus do not want war but if it comes to it, then the Hindus can, and would give, a good account of themselves. This should be daily dinned into the ears of the Pakistanis. Whether New Delhi welcomes it or not, as things are at present, a showdown is inevitable, unless a miracle overtakes Pakistan.

What pains the patriotic Indians is the systematic and consistent provocation offered by Pakistan to India. Can we forget that we are over 300 million and the Pakistanis are hardly one-fourth of our number? Military-preparedness is the first need of the country, and a shake-up of the Hindu community and a severe jolt to the outmoded and time-worn castes and sub-castes must be given. The whole nation should be welded into one homogeneous nation. The regeneration of the Hindu society is an urgent necessity. Hindu nation MUST LIVE and SURVIVE. The Indian nation may not have the attributes of a tiger or any other wild animal, BUT it must show that it has the patience and strength of an elephant, which NEVER forgets an offence offered to it.

Bombay Kailash Chand

THE LONE CRUSADER

Mr. Kailash Chand has been crusading all these years to get recognition by law for his desire to be known as the son his mother, and not by his father's name. He thinks that it is more logical and trustworthy to be known by one's mother than by one's father, perhaps on the presumption that while maternity is definite paternity is doubtful. When Mr. Kailash Chand wanted his name to appear on the Electoral rolls as Kailash Chand, son of Smt. Pista Devi Garg, the officials of the Election office refused to do so. Undaunted he took the matter to the High Court, and he has now the satisfaction to see his name on the Election rolls as Kailash Chand, son of Smt. Pista Devi Garg.

Call it quixotic or call it eccentric Kailash Chand has the satisfaction that he has succeeded in his lone crusade to trace his ancestry through maternal line.

February 15, 1958

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