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**WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY**

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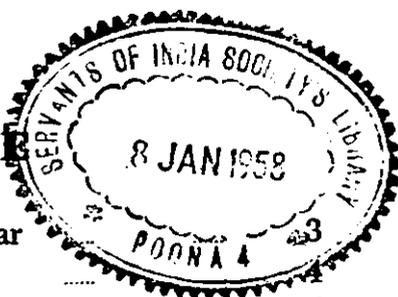
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OUR ENEMY THE STATE

BY ALBERT JAY NOCK

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What We Stand For

We Wish You A Happy New Year

TIME marches on and one more year—1957—has gone into the limbo of oblivion. We face the New Year—1958—with hopes and aspirations for better times and a world free from the tensions of hot wars or cold wars, the rivalry between the rival Power blocs on the international plane, the end of internal tensions between the “haves” and the “have-nots,” the exploited and the exploiters, the workers and the employers, between class and class and nation and nation.

To the eternal rivalry between the Power blocs is added the enormous destructive potential of the nuclear weapons and the atomic developments. Humanity is threatened with total annihilation. Underlying all these conflicts are institutions that breed exploitation, inequality and oppression. These old, archaic and anti-diluvian institutions have to be replaced by a society based on Libertarian principles, which proclaim “Equal freedom for ALL in a Free Society.”

The Libertarians have no cut and dried Plan or a blue-print. Without trying to put forth a so-called Code of Conduct to be strictly adhered to, we can indicate the general lines along which a solution for these problems could be found.

The exploitive societies of today be replaced by a new Libertarian world, free from oppression and exploitation. Freedom without equal opportunities leads to privilege and injustice. Freedom without political liberty leads to totalitarianism. The monopoly of power which is the State must be replaced by a federation of free communities, labour councils and co-operatives operating according to the principles of free agreement, healthy competition and co-operation.

Centralism, totalitarianism or Marxism means regimentation from the top down. This must be replaced by federalism which means co-operation from the bottom up.

WHAT IS LIBERTARIANISM

In a word, the world must switch back once more to LIBERTARIANISM. Libertarianism as described by Webster's dictionary means, “One who holds to the principle of free will; also one who upholds the principle of liberty, specially individual liberty of thought and action.”

Politically it means strong opposition to authoritarianism of all kinds, whether of the Right or of the Left. It is opposed, therefore, to all forms of regimentation and totalitarianism which absorb the whole field of private relations and individual life into the sphere of Government action. It is opposed to all the so-called “welfare” plans. It stands for limited Government. Government, according to the philosophy we stand for, should confine itself to Defence, Justice and the Rule of Law as against “welfarism” or regimentation.

The Libertarians oppose that the Government is above law, whether in the name of Government, administration or the State. Thus we run counter to the

present-day fashionable slogans of socialism, communism, and even Planned Economy.

The Libertarians believe that the human collectivity has no being and consciousness of its own, to override the rights and happiness of the individual citizen. The State has evolved into being, in the course of human history, to defend society against external aggression and to enforce justice between man and man. Beyond it the State should not go and if it does that, it encroaches on the inalienable rights of the individual. In the limited government the right entrusted to the State, to enforce justice between man and man, and to defend against aggression, through organised Army and the Police, is to be used strictly according to law and in conformity with the rights of the individual.

The Libertarian is not concerned with the metaphysical discussion as to the ultimate nature of the human being, whether it is a soul, a spirit, or only organic nature with an emergent consciousness. In any case, it is clear that the human being needs liberty of action to realize its full consciousness, and blossom forth to the full height of his stature. Liberty of action is part of his being, and without this liberty of action, he is reduced to a robot or a mere tool in the gigantic machinery of a totalitarian State. Freedom to choose his calling or trade, his hobbies and his pursuits, is an integral part of human nature. If these rights are denied to the individual, as it always happens under totalitarianism, such as earning a livelihood of his choice, associating with men of like mentality for the enjoyment of art, science and fellowship, the life of an individual is reduced to dead routine, without purpose and without any future.

LIBERTARIANISM DOESN'T MEAN LICENCE

Libertarianism does not mean licence or anarchy. Libertarianism, with its limited government sets a limit, both on the actions of the individual as well as the State. Liberty of one must not encroach on the like liberty of his fellow-being. Citizens of a State under libertarianism have full right to do as they please so long as they do not infringe on the like rights of their fellow-beings. Under libertarianism the State is not allowed to become the industrialist, the trader, the transporter, the educationist, the ethical preacher, the “do-gooder”. The practice of all “Welfare” States in taking upon themselves these duties invariably lead to corruption and an irresponsible and unremovable bureaucracy. As obligations of the State increase under totalitarianism, the taxes rise to ever-increasing spiral, until all incentive to production diminishes and production takes a downward trend. Added to these on the economic plane, the political trends of socialism and communism are ultimately destructive of democracy and democratic institutions.

Since the Government of India embarked on their Planned economy all these evil trends are seen in the

Editorial

NEHRU ON PAKISTAN

IN his speech on foreign policy in the Rajya Sabha on 13th December, Mr. Nehru reiterated his policy of appeasement of Pakistan. Irritated by the criticism of an Opposition member that it was "cowardly, effeminate and appeasing", he, as usual, repeated his stand without meeting the point of the criticism, while accusing his opponent for living in some bygone age and belonging to an organisation, that tries to apply the thinking of a past age to modern conditions. Probably what he means is that his critic belongs to Hindu "communalist" party, while he himself belongs to the "progressive" internationalist vanguard. It is very important to realise the exact scores on which the Prime Minister and his critics differ and their relative validity in foreign relations, particularly in our policy towards Pakistan. For the stakes are high—indeed nothing less than freedom and national independence.

The Prime Minister, who is identical with the Minister for External Affairs, began with a characteristic rejoinder accepting the charge of appeasement, "but in his own sense of seeking the friendship of everybody holding to our principles and vital interests, we want to appease everybody. I want to appease because I want to make friends with all. I am not afraid of appeasement, provided the appeasement does not involve principles or vital interests."

MERE VERBAL JUGGLERY

The question is how long the intelligentsia is going to be satisfied with this kind of verbal jugglery that does duty for thought in the Prime Minister's thinking on such grave matters as defence from declared enemies, who are unceasingly accumulating arms and entering into alliances with hostile nations like Portugal.

The criticism of our policy towards Pakistan was that it took no account of the need for firmness and deterrence of aggression that is planned against India.

(Continued from page 3)

country. It is, therefore, all the more necessary for the intelligent section of the Indian public to clearly understand what is meant by "socialist pattern of society" and what is connoted by socialism or planned economy. It is here that the Libertarian philosophy shows the way out. It may appear to the superficially-minded person that we are championing a "lost cause." It is not so, the more so when one knows how the British Socialist Party found itself against a dead wall in its crazy pursuit of socialism, and it had to be ousted. This has led to real re-thinking amongst the "brain-trust" of the British Socialist Party. The same thing is happening in the Iron Curtain countries, the hesitant policy of de-Stalinisation in Moscow, the Gomulka programme in Poland, and lastly the Hungarian revolt against communism and planned economy—all these events show that we, the Indian Libertarians, ARE CHAMPIONING A LIVE CAUSE. Man cannot be long deprived of his

There is no principle or vital interest more paramount than self-defence to be attained both through military and diplomatic means. A fair answer to the critics would show how the Government is proceeding to counter-act the machinations of the enemy—partly through increasing our military forces and civilian preparedness and partly through alliances for gaining goodwill among foreign nations, so that it may stand us in good stead when the showdown comes. The charge is that the authorities are neglecting *the vital interest* of defence and the *principle* of counteracting the hostility of the enemy, and even going flagrantly against them by appeasing him *at the cost of national resources and security*. The official answer is that "provided vital interests or principles are not affected, we will continue to appease". What a verbal answer! What an elementary fallacy of *petitio principii*, (begging the question)!

Any proper answer should afford evidence to show that vital interests and principles are NOT being neglected in dealing with Pakistan. A mere reiteration in alternative language and obstinately confessing to the charge but making a virtue of it through semantics is but a poor answer.

GEOGRAPHY AND FRIENDSHIP

In trying to justify his policy of appeasement to Pakistan, the Minister for External Affairs referred to geography as a factor that should lead to friendship between the two countries. But he confessed at the same time that it had NOT led to such a consummation so devoutly to be wished for.

Any knowledge of history should have taught Indian Minister for External affairs that geography or geographical proximity does not by itself lead to affinity or goodwill. As a matter of fact, it leads to suspicion. It has been an immemorial maxim of foreign policy, both in India and Europe, that neighbourhood should
(See page opposite)

inherent right of Liberty and Freedom.

On this New Year Day, the *Indian Libertarian* pledges itself to go ahead with its propaganda and education, strong in the belief that in the ultimate end it is bound to succeed to the glory of India and of Humanity. The Libertarian Social Institute, Bombay, with its branches at Bangalore, Baroda, Nagpur, Patna and Madras is keeping aloft the torch of Libertarianism in the country. By our consistent propaganda and education we shall fight against all the old and present-day socio-political cliches that thwart human progress, explore new roads to human happiness, along the libertarian paths, while examining anew old traditions and institutions, drawing from them all which human experience has proved valid and sound. That is our creed and our belief.

Here's wishing all our readers a Happy and Prosperous New Year and the best of life's good things.

Miss KUSUM R. LOTWALLA

—Editor, *Indian Libertarian*

be guarded against by alliances with "the enemy of the enemy beyond". Treat the neighbour as a potential enemy is a well tried maxim.

The British in India, in pursuance of this maxim, sought to check the advance of the Russian and Chinese neighbours in the North, through treaties confining their advance towards Tibet and India to certain agreed limits. The border country might take us unawares and there would be little time to resist any sudden attack. This is the rationale of the maxim—"Treat your neighbour as a potential enemy".

What reason does our Minister for External Affairs give to deviate from the 'principle' of guarding against neighbours? None beyond idealistic words unrelated to the hard realities of politics.

With reference to Russia and China as well, he made use of the argument from geography to assure us that though the Himalayas are no longer the barriers against invasion they were so long, India is *not situated in the way of these Powers*. Hence he seemed to think that we need not apprehend danger from them in the event of war.

This is but a slender reed to rely upon. This would hold good if the next war could be confined to Europe and China were not involved. But the alignment has changed now. The former position of Japan is now occupied by China. China as an ally of Russia would certainly move to occupy the *vacuum* in South-East Asia and India and Australia. And with her immense manpower *she can*. China has the advantage of land continuity with India that Japan lacked. The Chinese invasion of India to deny her resources to the Western enemy and to use her manpower and to secure the rubber and tin and oil of Malaya and Indonesia is inescapable in the next war. The geophysics of our Minister for External Affairs needs revision as also his reading of military strategy. Of course, we should like to believe in his reassuring story. But statesmanship demands not wish-fulfilment but reckoning with hard facts. To seek to assure us that there is "not the remotest chance or the remote chance of the remotest chance" is meaningless tautology and hyperbole and do less than justice to the intelligence of Parliament and of the public who have reasonable doubts about these grave matters.

IGNORING LESSONS OF ISLAMIC EXPANSION

The Minister for External Affairs also referred to history in the same speech, in justification of his policy, or lack of policy, towards Pakistan. In the first place, he reiterated his familiar sentiment that India "desires no harm to Pakistan" and that the fear of Pakistani leaders that India has not accepted partition, and, therefore, wants to annul it and absorb Pakistan is groundless. This assurance should have a stabilising and tranquilising effect on Pakistan but it is clear that with the advance of years, her fear has grown rather than diminished!

The reason is that the reading of history made by the Minister of External Affairs is too simple-minded, to say the least. As a matter of fact, it *ignores history altogether*. Muslims have not developed the *psychology of being nationals of India through the centuries*. They have fostered and maintained the mentality of a foreign dominating power, relying on force and intimidation, to rule over the conquered population. Centu-

ries of rule have bred in them the idea that they are pacifist, submissive, non-political, endlessly subdivided people of India who are moreover emasculated by a non-violent priestcraft and non-violent culture—the culture of the cow! The Muslims interpret their national symbol of the young curved moon as a scimitar, and the Germans prized themselves on their totem of the *eagle* and the British derive solace from their Lion. We, in India, cling under present leadership, to the psychology of the unresisting cow and call it the height of wisdom!

History is the maker of psychology and Muslim history the latest phase of which is League politics and ideology has prepared Pakistan for an ambitious career of bigness and conquest. Instead of building the economy and administration of their society, they rely on alliances and arms to conquer India with all her new built equipment and capital such as the Bhakra, Sindri, Chittaranjan Loco Works, HAL Aircraft works etc!

It is not the Jan Sangh critic who lives in a former age but the neighbour who is threatening our twentieth century progress with his sixteenth, or even the eleventh century mentality when Muhammad of Ghazni broke the idol of Somnath! We are building idols again without fortresses. The result is likely to be the same if our policies are not changed betimes. History has many meanings which are missed by our "idealistic" Minister for External Affairs. This is *Vedantic maya*, buddhist *nirvana* or jain *ahimsa*. In military diplomacy they have no business. The sentry has no business to absorb himself in cosmic philosophy and sentimental pacifism. He is there as the guardian, charged to vigilance, alert and sleepless, and not to preach non-violence with doubtful history and dubious metaphysics and ethics. *Self-defence is the foundation of all other values*.

THE "ANIMOSITY" OF PAKISTAN

The whole approach of forgiveness and innocent trust preached and applied by our Minister for External Affairs in relation to Pakistan is belied by the mentality he himself refers to as *animosity*. If Pakistan displays *animosity*, has our Minister any the least evidence that such animosity has been *diminished* by our friendship and one-sided concessions?

On the contrary, he himself goes on to refer to the recalcitrance of Pakistan over Kashmir and the canal waters!

Indeed over the canal waters, we find Pakistan postponing settlement again and making fresh claims and delaying the use of the Bhakra waters for our own country. The new canals she has constructed are claimed to have suffered damage during the recent rains and therefore India should postpone using her water by a further period!

It is clear that so long as India is complacent and willing to be squeezed for extortionate grants through the obliging mediation of Pakistan's American friends in the World Bank, Pakistan will find it to her advantage to continue to be recalcitrant. Here is a clear instance of the policy of appeasement or sweet reasonableness, if the latter phrase is preferred, becoming self-defeating. But it should be termed sweet unreasonableness mixed with utter unselfishness more than that of the mother for her children.

PAKISTAN'S ALLIANCE WITH PORTUGAL

In the same mood and speech, the Minister for External Affairs goes on to refer to the recent alliance of Portugal and Pakistan as an "unholy alliance." To speak of holy and unholy things comes well from spiritualists but how it is suitable to the language of a "secularist" like our Minister is hard to say.

The unholiness of the Portuguese rapprochement with Pakistan seemingly lies in being "un-Asian and reactionary."

The Asian sentiments of our Minister are well-known but their logic or relevance to Indian interests are obscure. What is there in common between Asian countries like China, Japan and the Islamic States of West Asia? None whatever. Each country has to make its own alignments for its own defence and vital interests. The uninterrupted record of the invasions of West Asia is too massive a fact to be ignored by *horizon-minded* statesmen but strange to say, *it is being ignored.*

Why should Asianism be made the basis of a *psychological homogeneity* that defies conflicting interests? Moreover, *the homogeneity does not exist.* The move of Pakistan to find alliances despite differing ideology should be intelligible to us. We, too, hobnob with dictators like President Nasser, the military rulers of Syria and the pinchbeck monarchs of Arabia, not to speak of the Communist Dictators like Khrushchev and Mao Tse Tung whose hands are dyed in the blood of countless compatriots. As for "reactionaries", self-defence remains inescapable as a *necessity* in spite of the advances in science and the progress of the twentieth century. The difference between justifiable and unjustifiable alliances lies in their object—defensive or offensive. The objection to the Pakistani Portugal alliance is not that it is an alliance but that it is motivated by unjust aggression against us. But the word *unholy* is not much of a defence against it. We have to ask how *we propose to counter-act it.* There is no information about this in the lengthy speech of the Minister for External Affairs.

MILITARY BUILD-UP IN PAKISTAN

We have further authoritative confirmation of the military build-up in Pakistan from no less a person than our High Commissioner in Karachi Mr. C. C. Desai. He called it *substantial*, while the Prime Minister had referred to it as a *menace* some time back and the Defence Minister had called its scale *phenomenal*. But none of our authorities has yet taken the public into confidence and given an account of our preparedness to meet the menace. If a public revelation of our military affairs is thought to be injudicious as it might give information to the enemy, a secret session of Parliament should be held in which the nation's representatives might be told the exact situation under oath of secrecy. Members of Parliament should demand such a secret session. Opposition members have demanded and obtained time for discussion for the policy statements made in the USA by the Finance Minister and the irritating manner of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, who instead of making new friends and influencing them in our favour is fast losing established friendships and goodwill for our country by his bad manners.

Mr. Desai in his luncheon talk at the Society of

Goodwill and Culture in Bombay on the 15th December drew reassurance from the fact that Pakistan's military personnel and administration were completely under the control of the USA. This gave point and reliability to the assurances that the USA would prevent Pakistan from attacking India. He said that there was reason for believing this as genuine assurance.

But Mr. Desai could not refrain from pointing out the fly in this ointment, namely the speeches of top Pakistani leaders, Ministers and others, who make no secret of their determination to attack India. He said that these and the writing in newspapers in Pakistan affected the relationship between the two countries.

Sometimes we find Indian States' officials pulling up Indian newspapers when they refer to this danger from Pakistan for not observing the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan Delhi Pact. But this Pact has been dead as the dodo even from the date of its promulgation. And Pakistan's newspapers have been egging their people and Government for extreme violent action against India.

The UNCIP agreement and the Security Council's recommendation that the two countries should do nothing to spoil the peaceful atmosphere by unbridled speeches and aspersions has been flagrantly set aside by Pakistan with her continual cries of *jehad* against India. Pakistan was brought into being on the strength of fanatic hatreds and continues to exist by the same means.

Mr. Desai also referred to the political instability and economic ill-health of Pakistan. He said that this instability was disadvantageous to India as well not merely by its effect on border peace, but also on the whole life of this country on account of the common culture and traditions of the two countries. Now this kind of statement is a meaningless hang-over from pre-independence. Congress philosophy of Hindu-Muslim unity was impressively shown up when we got independence in 1947, in spite of the greatest disunity between Hindus and Muslims, as revealed in the onesided civil war which accompanied Partition. Instability in Pakistan is dangerous to India for a different reason viz: that it may tempt its leaders to resort to war in order to make their people forget internal misery and to reinforce their hold on their people through the total power that war gives them.

The High Commissioner went on to refer to the canal waters dispute and revealed the same unsatisfactory point of view that characterises our Government's dealing with the problem—a point of view that renders any fair solution very difficult if not impossible. He knows very well that no co-operative spirit has been displayed by our difficult neighbour but he repeats piously like a priest that "what was required was co-operative effort on both sides to solve the problem!" India has offered *more than co-operation* and has gone out of her way to offer to pay huge sums to help Pakistan to build new canals—an offer which is unprecedented in its generosity to an implacable enemy. What *more co-operation* on our side can be given is not clear. It is this suicidal sentimentalism on our part that is preventing fair and quick solutions of the outstanding differences between us. It is the

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THE BITTER TRUTH

By Baburao Patel

ON June 25th 1957 when Nehru arrived at the London Airport for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, he told reporters that his Government planned to seek "a large loan" in the next six months. Asked where he expected to raise the loan, Nehru replied, "We have our dealings with the British and other Governments and we shall certainly be asking for a loan." Nehru wanted Rs. 300 crores to tide over the immediate difficulties of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The British people took Nehru to meet their queen and gave Indira Gandhi's family album a few royal photographs but they refused the loan. The British had not forgotten Nehru's and Krishna Menon's gymnastics over the Suez crisis. Britain, the nucleus of the Commonwealth, thus decided not to share its wealth in common. Smiles, hospitality and press photographs the British did not mind. But they decided to keep their money at home and not to risk it on a Government they did not trust.

The *Financial Times*, a leading British paper, wrote, "There are many people who do not have a high opinion of the present Indian Government and who disapprove with justice of many of its policies. Nobody thinks that its economic policies have been prudent or well adjusted." The British are essentially a nation of shopkeepers and by their talent for profits developed over centuries, they instinctively know who is a good customer.

We have Nehru's sister, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the best that we can present in our still well-fed blue-blooded aristocracy as our High Commissioner in London to plead our case for financial help at blue-blood levels which our Khers and Menons could never reach. Why then did the British, our old masters and new relations, through the Mountbattens, refuse to help us—particularly after our cancelling a big order for 14 Russian Ilyushin and purchasing 10 Turbo-propelled Viscount Aircrafts from Britain?

NEHRU ANSWERS THE REASON WHY

Nehru himself answered this question on August 16, 1957 in New Delhi when addressing a crowd of 3,00,000 persons assembled on the Ramlila grounds to pay a tribute to the heroes of 1857, revolution. Nehru said that many people outside had not been happy over the success of India during the last 10 years. They had declined to help India economically. "These things however happen and there will be people to pull us down."

That is a woman's explanation for a man's failure. Women always blame others when things go against their expectations. Though Nehru did not name the "many people outside" he meant none else than the British and the Americans.

Nehru's insinuation that the British are "not happy over the success of India" can hardly stand the test

of recent history. Whatever have been the misdeeds of British Imperialism, the grace with which the British left the shores of India in 1947, leaving us a free people with a vast well-developed country amply proves the lofty democratic ideals, which inspire the British people as a race. The British left behind in the Reserve Bank of India on 30th June 1947, Gold, coin, bullion and sterling securities amounting to Rs. 1,179,74,00,000. Our sterling balances on the day of departure of the British was Rs. 1,733 crores. We were given another Rs. 426 crores by way of repatriation of the pre-war debt. *A brigandish nation like Portugal would have carried all the plunder and denied all the debts. Had it not been for the British and their English language, Indians would never have learnt the true meaning of freedom and democracy.* It is a peculiar quality of the British boot that while it holds the worm, it teaches the worm to learn and turn. Such a race cannot be jealous of India's success and cannot seek to pull us down as Nehru thinks and says. All that the British want from us now is profit of legitimate trade. Who doesn't want it? Don't we want profit from our export trade?

That brings us to the other people whom Nehru had in mind—the Americans. America is easily the richest nation in the world. Its annual budget is over \$67,933 million—money which India cannot dream of in another 500 years. During the last ten years of our independence, America has given us Rs. 476 crores, both in public and private assistance, by way of commodities loans and grants. Why should a people who have helped us so generously, during the first ten years of our independence now "not be happy over our success" and try "to pull us down," as Nehru is at pains to insinuate?

BEHIND U. S. APATHY

There is obviously something wrong with our foreign policy seeing that the Americans are not willing to help us any more after giving us Rs. 476 crores. Usually people who lend money never lose sight of their debtors. They keep their debtors living by giving new loans to recover the old ones.

Among the white races, the British were supposed to be our best friends till yesterday seeing that the Indian Nehrus almost established a blood relationship with the British Mountbattens. Our princely Nehru even pocketed his great plebian pride and fell into his two-hundredth rank as a docile retainer of the Commonwealth at the Queen's coronation. Why have the British given us the cold shoulder all the time with a sleeveless blouse?

There must be something radically wrong with our foreign policy seeing that we are losing powerful people, who should be our first friends because of our common ideals of democracy.

Let us, therefore, examine that magic 'mantra' of foreign policy which Nehru arrogated to himself on

the very first day of our freedom, and claimed the entire wisdom of chanting it in the interest of our nation, pushing aside all his white-capped colleagues as ignorant and uncivilized 'junglies' of the day. He even turned the 'mantra' into an election slogan and put it at stake to get his favourite Krishna Menon elected to Lok Sabha.

Early in the dawn of our freedom, we declared our neutrality and announced our policy of non-alignment with either of the growling blocs: the Western democracies and the Communists. *That was a wise decision for a poor unarmed nation with 360 million starving souls just released from the fetters of slavery.* With this single decision we abjured all international power politics, ideological conflicts and territorial ambitions and simplified our design for living in harmony with the rest of the world.

That left us a simple 4-point foreign policy:

1. To sell our goods in friendly world markets.
2. To buy food and industrial machinery from all friendly countries.
3. To get loans from friendly nations for our industrial development.
4. To seek help and arms from friendly nations in case Pakistan attacks us.

To achieve these objects we soon established our embassies and commissions in over 50 countries of the world at an annual expense of Rs. 6 crores. *That all these embassies have failed in our first objective is apparent from the fact that our foreign exchange position has today dwindled down to Rs. 390 crores from the original pool of Rs. 1,733 crores in 1947.*

WHAT HURT BRITAIN AND U.S.A.

But this precarious financial position would not have taken our friends away from us. They know what we are involved in our fantastic five-year plans of building an Utopia overnight. In fact, some of them even shared our dreams is proved by the loans given to us by them.

What hurt them is the fifth dominating item in our foreign policy of free ideological advice to other nations and rushing with uninvited interference into their political conflicts under the grandiose excuse of avoiding war and maintaining world peace.

Neither our people nor our Congress leaders had anything to do with this aspect of Nehru's foreign policy. They kept aloof and watched the fun which has brought tragedy home. *This was Nehru's personal pontifical show with Krishna Menon playing the chief choir-boy. The Nehru legend in a right royal Buddhist tradition has to be established.* Peace soon became the theme, Panchshila its refrain. The Gandhian heir soon forgot his 360 million starving countrymen and rushed about the world singing his Panchshila song, jumping into other people's quarrels giving lofty sermons of coexistence and condemning others for their sadistic design on peace. To lend this role a spiritual background, Nehru revived Buddhism in India; to give it an aggressive outlook he adopted Krishna Menon and to steep it in a plebian complexion he embraced international communists as new 'Bhais.'

In the meantime, millions of people in India switched on from rice and wheats to roots and barks

of trees. The new Messiah on peace soon brought new starvation to his people.

Had we stuck to a foreign policy of selling our goods, buying food and machinery, borrowing loans and earning the goodwill of others, we would not have been so friendless today.

THE ITCH FOR PEACE

But Nehru's song of world peace had to be supplemented with gymnastics of peace. So in 1953 we jumped into the Korean squabble between America and Soviet Russia, accepted the Chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, sent our 'jawans' to Korea, spent Rs. 60 lakhs and returned home with the disgrace of failure, hurting all — the Americans, the Russians, and the Koreans. *It was not our quarrel but Nehru's itch for peace took us into the scrap.*

In 1954 we again agreed to serve on the three-nation Supervisory Commission in Indo-China. Had Nehru not beaten the drum of peace loudly and persistently, the Frenchmen would have gone back to France and Ho Chi Minh would have by now reconstructed his devastated country. But the sudden cease-fire stopped the natural evolution of a nation, and Nehru said on July 11, 1954 "I do say that at one time there was a possibility of another great war breaking out, but this was averted and India's counsel was heard with respect." So Nehru, the new Buddha, stopped another great world war. Hal Hal Nehru thinks war has ended in Indo-China and peace is reigning. What Nehru does not realise is that the first ceremony of peace begins on the last remains of the enemy. Here again Nehru's itch for world peace cost us several lakhs of rupees, — lakhs that could have bought some food for millions of our empty stomachs.

In August 1956, we jumped into Suez Canal to dredge up Col. Nasser and to chase out the British. On August 8, 1956, Nehru made his pontifical pronouncement in the Lok Sabha. "The sovereignty of Egypt over the Suez Canal is beyond question" and said that "no final decisions could be reached without Egyptian concurrence. He kept Krishna Menon shuttling between Cairo and London with such vehemence that Englishmen, who had once handed over our country to us with grace, soon began to have the very sight of every Indian they saw in the street bus. *A Muslim quarrel can never be our own but Nehru adopted it and lost the British as friends.* To go to these people again with a beggar's open palm for a loan after giving them two months of Krishna Menon is to put a severe strain on the self-respect of even a poor nation like India.

OUR "DOUBLE-STANDARDS" EXPOSED

In November 1956, we again jumped into the Hungarian holocaust and our great Krishna Menon, in silent sympathy with the Russians, *committed our people without their consent by abstaining from voting when the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution condemning Russia's military repression in Hungary.* This exposed the true complexion of Nehru's inner politics rather badly and the world accused our nation of "double standards". The mask was torn and it had to be restored. So on November 5, 1956, Nehru said in New Delhi, "We see today in Egypt as well as in
(Continued on page 18)

When Congress High Command Double-Crossed the Muslims

By Lal

IN the last issue I promised to give the reader a glimpse of the miracle that Nehru wrought, a miracle which, like that wrought by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920, transformed communalists into nationalists and nationalists into communalists. To enable the reader to appreciate the magnitude of the miracle in its true perspective, it is necessary to remind him of the country's recent past and the part played by leading Congressmen in laying the foundations of Pakistan. Had this part been played by any other party, Mr. Nehru would have been, day in, day out, calling on the Heavens to bear testimony to the infamy of their actions, which ultimately resulted in the greatest holocaust of India's history. But since Mr. Nehru himself was one of the chief actors, if not the chief actor, in that drama, no mention is ever made in the country's press of the sordid events which gave birth to Pakistan.

NEHRU RESPONSIBLE FOR DRIVING AWAY MUSLIMS FROM THE CONGRESS

In the United Provinces, now known as Uttar Pradesh, the ministry in the early thirties was formed by a combination of Taluqdars and industrialists, the latter headed by Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, and the former by the Nawab of Chhattari. Both the Congress and the Muslim League were in opposition. When the general elections began approaching in 1936, some of the Muslim Leaguers, who had been lieutenants of Motilal Nehru, and were still on talking terms with some of their old Congress colleagues, were found thinking aloud to the effect that it was not without the bounds of possibility, for a joint Congress-League front to oust the reactionaries from the seats of power. How Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded in driving away his father's Muslim lieutenants from the Congress is a story by itself and will be related one of these days. Suffice it to say here that, had any one else succeeded in doing so, he would have at once been called a communalist by Mr. Nehru.

Talk of power and you find the Congressman wide awake. So naturally the Congressmen of the United Provinces, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, jumped at the proposal. So great was their enthusiasm in favour of the joint front that the Muslim League leader, Chaudhri Khaliqzaman, became "Khaliq Bhai" again. And the election was fought from a common platform, and the parties had even a hand in the selection of each other's candidates and even their manifestoes were said to bear amending touches from each other's pen.

The result of the elections, however, proved a great surprise for everybody, and to no one more so than to Congressmen, who were returned in a thumping majority. The gentlemen's agreement between the

parties was that, in the event of the two being returned in a majority, there would be a coalition government in the province. Of what use was the League now to the Congress, when the latter by itself commanded a comfortable majority? So terms were offered by the then Congress President, acceptance of which would have enabled the League leader to be taken in the Cabinet, and one of the terms was that legislators elected on the League ticket would join the Congress Legislators' party, and be subject to Congress discipline and the League Parliamentary Board would stand dissolved. Other times, other manners.

DOUBLE-CROSSING BY THE CONGRESS HIGH COMMAND

The power-hungry Congressmen were sure that Khaliqzaman would sell his party for the sake of a ministership. They were judging him by their own standards; to give them credit, it must be said that they have no other standards to judge any one by. If any one suggested, as some did, that Khaliq was a gentleman, and would never accept the terms, he was pooh-poohed. But what shocked Khaliq, even more than the terms was the fact that at the head of those, who were laying down the ignoble terms was Jawaharlal Nehru. True, he had often been found saying, "No gentleman can work with Jawaharlal". But that was with reference to his flashes of temper. He could hardly believe that these flashes of temper would be conspicuous by their absence when the situation demanded them most, as it assuredly did when double-crossing was being attempted with the approval of the Congress High Command. One of the brainiest lieutenants of Motilal Nehru, the latter was famous for picking up brains wherever he found them, Chaudhry Khaliqzaman did not take long in coming to conclusions. "You say, 'We cannot work together!'" What you mean to say is 'We cannot live together!' (Under a campaign started by Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the favourite Muslim "Leader" of Jawaharlal Nehru, Khaliqzaman had been ousted soon after from the chairmanship of the Lucknow Municipal Board.)

Having regard to the fact that only one Muslim Congressman had been returned on the Congress ticket—even Rafi Kidwai was beaten by an independent, and the Congress came out of the elections as an almost pure Hindu body, *the betrayal of the Muslim League by Congress leaders after explicitly entering into a pact with the League was the worst possible act of communal frenzy. It remains unsurpassed in the history of the land.* No wonder it laid the foundations of Pakistan. Khaliqzaman lost no time in unfurling the flag of Pakistan, and the response in the

minds of Muslims had to be felt to be believed, but for Nehru and his friends the demand was a "bargaining counter" for a couple of ministerships!

CONGRESS LAYS THE FOUNDATION OF PAKISTAN

What was the secret of the success of Khaliqzaman? It was not just Muslim fanaticism. Educated Muslims had sincerely believed that, in the struggle for independence, morality was on the side of the Congress, and this double-crossing in U.P. that is how the Muslims put it—gave them the shock of their lives. Jinnah went about telling Muslims: "What have I been telling you all these years? By Swaraj they mean Hindu Raj. They don't want your finger in the pie. They want you only as camp followers." A greater demonstration of communalism was hard to conceive and the Congress had staged it. Pandit (now Mr.) Jawaharlal Nehru had staged it.

So it came about that the Muslims of India resolved to shed the last drop of their blood for the achievement of Pakistan. And the spearhead of the movement were the Muslims of the United Provinces, and the neighbouring Hindu-majority provinces where the Muslims had been deprived of their share in the pie. The Muslims of Muslim-majority provinces had power, and they cared little for the cry of Pakistan until, to their amazement, they saw that it was coming! And when it came with the vivisection of India, 40 million Muslims, who had resolved to shed the last drop of

their blood, for the attainment of Pakistan, were found in India that is Bharat, and all of them overnight became true and worthy citizens of India. Khaliqzaman himself gave them the lead, and ostentatiously saluted the Indian flag during the salutation ceremony in the Constituent Assembly. But, being a gentleman, he found it too good a joke, and left for Pakistan soon after. He did what he did at the bidding of his leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

But who, except a communalist, can doubt the nationalism of the 40 million Muslims, who were prepared to shed the last drop of their blood for the achievement of Pakistan? This conversion of 40 million people overnight from communalism to nationalism must be a record in the history of conversions of the world. It is nothing short of a miracle, performed by Prime Minister Nehru. To prove the miracle, Mr. Nehru soon after insisted upon Begum Aijaz Rasool (one of the League Leaders of U.P.) being returned to the Constituent Assembly on the Congress ticket. Babu Purshottamdas Tandon is one of those, who sometimes appear to doubt the soundness of the miracle, that Nehru wrought. He resented, and in fact for sometime successfully opposed, the return of Begum Aijaz Rasool to the Constituent Assembly on the Congress ticket. But then that is why he is suspect in Congress eyes. And who can say he has any one else to blame?

From: *The Organiser*

State Trading Corporation: An Indictment

By Aristides

Inefficiency, unfair competition, profiteering, unethical business practices, poaching on the Private Sector, these are some of the charges against the S.T.C., based on facts.

EVER since it was inaugurated in May 1956, the State Trading Corporation has become the centre of a lively controversy.

It has created a sense of uneasiness among hundreds of traders because in the State Trading Corporation they see the growing tendency on the part of the State unduly to encroach on a sphere which has always been in private hands.

The recent announcement that the S.T.C. has decided to associate with itself a number of businessmen in carrying on its activities is of considerable significance. It is to a large extent an admission of the inability of the Corporation to carry out its functions in an efficient manner. This is, therefore, an opportune moment for reviewing the role and functions of the State Trading Corporation.

The State Trading Corporation was set up in May 1956. It is significant to note that the Corporation was set up by an executive fiat instead of the normal procedure of Parliamentary discussion and legislation. The main reason advanced for the formation of this Corporation was to enable India to earn more foreign

exchange by increasing exports to those countries where trading is the monopoly of the State, that is, to communist countries.

It was urged by proponents of State Trading Corporation that private traders could not effectively bargain with State monopolies and, therefore, imported articles at higher prices than could otherwise have been bargained for and exported Indian goods at lower prices than otherwise obtainable.

PRACTICE CONTRARY TO OBJECTS

The activities of the State Trading Corporation since its inception have been contrary to its declared objectives.

In the first place, there are allegations on the bungling by the Corporation. For instance, it is remarked that the Corporation, in a hurry to show a big turnover, sold high grade ores to foreign countries without making provision for simultaneous sale of low grade ores.

Moreover, it entered into commitments in a haste without making sure that the supplies were available at the time, with the result that the ships sent by the

buyers at the instance of the State Trading Corporation had in many cases to wait inordinately long and in some cases even to go back without loading the commodity. This has not only resulted in financial losses but also loss of prestige to India.

Secondly: the State Trading Corporation has entered into the sphere of internal trading. In July, 1956, it took over the exclusive distribution of cement in the country. The manner in which this distribution is carried on by the State Trading Corporation gives rise to serious doubts as to whether desire for money rather than earning of foreign exchange is the prime objective of the Corporation. Cement in India is distributed through established marketing agencies of manufactures, but the S.T.C. gets an over-all commission without even setting its eye on a bag of cement!

29 COMMODITIES COMMANDEERED

Thirdly: the Corporation has taken to trading in such insignificant terms like lemon-grass oil. For instance, a firm in Bombay dealing for over 90 years in lemon-grass oil was painfully surprised to receive a letter from the State Trading Corporation that it had decided to take over the export of this commodity. In this manner, established exporters who have built up a flourishing import-export trade after decades of hard work have found themselves the targets of merciless forages by the State Trading Corporation which has neither trading experience nor flexibility of organisation and business acumen. *As a result of the activities of the State Trading Corporation which has entered into trading in no less than 29 commodities, hundreds of big and small traders have been deprived of their sole means of livelihood.*

Fourthly: the State Trading Corporation has been charged with profiteering. Representatives of private trade who have had dealings with the State Trading Corporation have complained that at meetings with S.T.C. officials the private traders have received rough treatment and brow-beating for alleged mal-practices. The business men dare not complain against such treatment for fear of inviting further wrath from all-powerful bureaucrats.

In view of S.T.C. officials' allegations against private traders, it is surprising that the State Trading Corporation itself should indulge in unethical business practices. The example of cement distribution will convince anyone that this is not a malicious and baseless charge but something founded on facts.

The Financial Notes column of a reputed newspaper summarises the situation adequately. It says: "At present, the consumer is required to pay Rs. 117.50 per ton of cement (ACC) which is inclusive of excise duty, as also profit to the State Trading Corporation. It may be remembered that the S.T.C. has been entrusted with the sale of all the cement produced in the country even since July 1, 1956. The following is a rough break-up of the price structure: Price paid to the manufacturer (for bulk cement Rs. 54.50 (per ton); packing charges Rs. 13.44; marketing expenses Rs. 1.50; average freight (estimated) Rs. 14; excise duty Rs. 20; difference, being the profit of the S.T.C. Rs. 14.06; overall price Rs. 117.50.

"Although the S.T.C. charges Rs. 117.50 per ton today, before the consumer actually gets the cement

for his use, he has to pay sales and general taxes which amount to a further Rs. 7 per ton. Thus, within hardly one year of the S.T.C. entering into the cement sales business, the actual price of cement payable by the consumer has increased from about Rs. 90 per ton to Rs. 117.50 per ton (exclusive of sales and general taxes but inclusive of excise duty in both cases). Even allowing for the latest increase of Rs. 15 per ton in excise duty, the extra price the consumer is called upon to pay works out to Rs. 12.50.

"This perhaps, more, if the actual incidence of the average freight is taken into account is the penalty, the consumer has to pay for the luxury of having the S.T.C. Literally, the S.T.C. is a fifth wheel, for it is there only in name. All the distributing agency of the cement manufacturers continue to exist; only these are now supposed to be the agents of the S.T.C. and not of the procurers, although the latter had built up this network of sales and distribution agencies!"

COMMITMENTS

Businessmen have accused S.T.C. of unfair competition. The following excerpt of Shri J. B. Thaker, Chairman of the Madhya Pradesh Mineral Industry Association, at the 6th Annual General Meeting on September 14, 1957 is a point in instance: "Now we are in the midst of a new quota period. Quotas for 1957-58 for Manganese ore have been announced. Iron ore has been completely taken over by the State Trading Corporation. The new quotas for Manganese ore allotted to established shippers are much less than the Government, after their experience of last quota period, will not grant any quota in excess of available transport capacity.

"But here again, the working of Government's mind has completely escaped us. During 1956-57 quota period, the S.T.C. was allowed a quota of 25 per cent of the total available quota. For 1957-58 quota period the Government Press Note said that the S.T.C. will be allowed adequate quota. The meaning of the word "adequate" was left to be defined by the S.T.C. themselves and they have made quite a liberal use of this vagueness. During one year beginning July 1956 and ending 1957 the total movement of Manganese ore to the ports of Bombay and Vishakhapatnam was only about 685,000 tons. The quota allotted to Private Sector for 1957-58 quota period is about 485,000 tons. It was therefore, but fair that S.T.C. should have taken the remaining 2,00,000 tons is its quota.

"But according to the latest information available, S.T.C. has registered quotas totalling nearly 6,00,000 tons. This means that a quota totalling nearly 4,00,000 tons will again lapse this year and foreign commitments to the tune of this quantity will again have to be cancelled.

"The greatest irony is, that whereas the S.T.C. has registered quotas for 6 lakh tons, it has not got commitments to buy equivalent quantity from the mine-owners. This means that out of the total wagons available, S.T.C. gets a major share on a pro rata basis and is thus able to meet its own foreign commitments fully and it can then safely turn round and tell the people, through their powerful media of mass contact, that whereas the private shippers earned a bad name

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Why U. S. Capital Is Hesitant to Invest In India?

A NUMBER of factors cited by American firms as the reason for their hesitancy in investing in India, are listed in a Note by the U.S. Department of Commerce, which has been appended to the report of the Indian industrial mission to the U.S. and other countries.

The Note is of special interest as the delegation has reported similar reactions among business and financial circles in the other countries it visited, notably, the U.K., France and West Germany.

Some of deterrents to U.S. private investment in India have been listed as follows:

Wealth Tax: While the rate of wealth tax (half per cent for firms) is not itself onerous, its very existence does tend to discourage the foreign investor. On balance, the tax liability of both foreign and domestic companies in India still remains one of the highest in the world.

Tax Litigation: Without entering into a detailed discussion of the more significant features of the Indian tax law, it may be mentioned in particular that many U.S. firms fear that once a branch or subsidiary has been established in India, the parent company in the United States may be involved in tax litigation in India.

Similarly, it is believed that such concepts in the Indian tax law as the principal-to-agent relationship and the profits of non-resident company attributable to its Indian business should be liberalised. The loss in tax revenue in such an eventuality might be more than offset by the entry of new capital.

Deposit of Reserves: With the exception of certain categories of companies, both foreign and domestic, companies in India must deposit with the Government 50 per cent of all accumulated reserves and current profits after depreciation and other allowances are claimed.

Thus far, the deposit of reserves requirement has apparently been met by U.S. Companies now in India without undue hardship, and certain administrative measures have lessened the fears, which arose when this section of the Finance Act No: 3) of 1956, was enacted.

However the implementation of the Act by future Indian administrators could, of course, adversely affect the operations of existing U. S. companies and deter the entry of new firms.

Companies Act: The Indian Companies Act of 1955 set forth in great detail certain business practices which would no longer be allowed. Designed to correct certain abuses and malpractices, which had allegedly grown up in the managing agency system, the requirements laid down are impressive in their scope.

Many of the several subjects to which the Companies Act addresses itself are generally regarded in the United States as matters best left to the management itself to decide in its discretion.

Tax on Royalties: The maximum permissible royalty rate allowed to foreign licensors is now 5 per

cent. After the Indian income-tax the "take home" profit to the foreign firm is about 1.8 per cent. This latter percentage can hardly be described as conducive to the entry of technical know-how which India so clearly needs.

MAZE OF LAWS

Labour Legislation: There exists a complicated maze of labour laws in India, which operates on both the States and Union levels. The cumulative effect seems to make it almost impossible for instance to discharge workers without lengthy and costly litigation in labour tribunals. Also, substantial numbers of surplus workers often have to be employed at the insistence of labour unions.

Nationalisation and the Fourth Amendment: Nationalisation is not the policy of the Government of India, and Indian Government spokesmen have frequently re-emphasised in the recent past the unlikelihood of nationalisation being employed except in very unusual cases.

THE MAIN OBSTACLE

Nevertheless, the fourth amendment to the Indian Constitution provides that although compensation should be paid in all cases of compulsory requisition, the amount of compensation will be determined by the legislature and cannot be challenged in courts.

The fourth amendment became law in April 1955, and compensation paid in the three instances of nationalisation since that time (one large bank, life insurance, gold mines) has been adequate and prompt.

Most observers feel that the powers bestowed on the Government, under the fourth amendment, have not been used indiscriminately against business in India by the present Government.

Nevertheless, the fourth amendment would be a lethal weapon available to a future government desiring to nationalise a private company or an industry in the private sector.

As seen by some U.S. investors, the fourth amendment has in effect removed one of the constitutional safeguards to property rights present in the United States and many foreign countries.

Private Sector and Public Sector: Despite the recent assurances by Indian Government spokesmen on the important role of the private sector in India, doubts still persist in the minds of many American business men as to the intentions of the Indian Government concerning the future scope of activities of the public sector.

A more precise delineation between the two sectors and particularly clarification as to what industries are free to the private sector to develop without fear of Government entry and competition at a later date, might allay the existing apprehensions in this regard.

Screening Procedure: The Government of India should be alive to the need of maintaining screening procedure which will expedite the consideration of investment proposals in the shortest possible time.

This Hitlerite Vegetarianism

By Tahir Siddiqui

The following article is a good corrective to the tribe of non-violent purists who meddle in the people's right as to what to eat and drink. Vegetarianism is as much a fad as Prohibition.

IN a country like India where pure milk and cheap vegetables are not easily available in sufficient quantities, any campaign against meat-eating is not desirable. In Delhi, pure milk is sold at the rate of As. 12 a seer. Nothing to say about the views of Jawaharlal Nehru, in whose opinion milk is not a "must" maintaining normal health.

While addressing Congress M.P.s recently in the Capital, the Prime Minister quoted a Chinese scientist as having attributed the resistance of the Chinese people to diseases to their avoiding milk. In these circumstances man again finds himself between the devil and the deep sea. What to eat and, what to avoid, seems to be the most pricking question which does not appear to have been solved as yet.

PILLS OF HAPPINESS

Much has been said against non-vegetarian foods. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Republic, says vegetarianism can save humanity from the devastations of the nuclear weapons. Madame Clarence Casque, President, World Vegetarian Congress, charges meat for causing cancer and other diseases to the Americans. Her advice to the Indian people is, "If you do not want diseases from the West to come to you, do not change your vegetarian food habits."

Good words and a nice suggestion indeed. But what about the bad effects of the "Pills of Happiness" widely used by the people of America to get relief from mental worries and nervous tensions. It is quite possible that the mounting number of diseases in the U.S.A. may be due to her present social, political and

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for the country due to non-fulfilment of the contracts, here was a Government body which fully met its own commitments. How fair is this attitude of the Government, I leave you to judge."

Claims about the earnings of S.T.C. are to be balanced against its operational efficiency. Answering a question in Rajya Sabha on August 12, 1957, the Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry gave the figures of business undertaken by the S.T.C., but replied that the amount of expenditure incurred by S.T.C. had "not yet been finally assessed." A private undertaking, would have gone to the wall if the cost side had not been kept track of to judge operational efficiency.

State Trading is, therefore, totally at variance with democratic institutions. The time has now come when the public should urge the Government to review the activities of this Corporation.

environmental conditions which are quite different from ours.

To say that man by nature is vegetarian, is baseless and misleading. Primitive man lived by hunting, and man by nature is violent which is why wars have not yet ended. The way of living of the various tribes in India and other parts of the world is enough to support this view.

HITLER WAS A VEGETARIAN

Moreover, one may also agree with the argument of Hakim Abdul Hameed of Delhi, who has discussed the subject of vegetarianism in the editorial columns of his fortnightly news-magazine "Hamdard", an organ of the indigenous systems of medicine.

While quoting three staunch vegetarians from Cabel to Hitler and Godse, Hakim Hameed asks in his editorial "Is it possible to popularise vegetarianism without studying the various aspects of man's life such as his physiological system, individual temperament, geographical conditions, economic problems, social environment etc.?" Cabel the eldest vegetarian son of Adam, killed his non-vegetarian brother Abel in a love affair. Hitler, the staunch vegetarian of his time, and whose cook also used to be a vegetarian, launched the Second World War. And vegetarian Godse assassinated vegetarian Mahatma Gandhi.

"Suppose if the philosophy of the vegetarians is accepted in its present form, various new animal problems will arise along with the present food difficulties of the human beings", Hakim Abdul Hameed adds in his article under reference.

Of the ten basic rules of Buddhism, the first is "I accept the precept to refrain from harming living beings". But there are historical evidences that it did not involve complete vegetarianism, though it came to do so in many Buddhist communities. A monk might eat meat if the animal providing it was not specially killed for his benefit.

When a Chinese traveller Fa-hsein visited India in the 5th century he reported that no respectable person ate meat the consumption of which was confined to low castes. The growth of vegetarianism in India was of course linked with the doctrine of non-violence, which was already old at the time of Fa-hsien.

MEAT EATING AND DRINKING NOT AGAINST INDIAN TRADITION

But the Arthashastra accepts meat-eating as quite normal and lays down rules for the management of slaughter-houses and the maintenance of the purity of meat. Medical texts even of ancient India go so

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offer of more than what is fair that tempts the other party to demand more, for apparently, to judge from our concessions, there is no limit to our self-sacrifice! Recently the Minister for External Affairs made an open admission of this policy of appeasement in reply to a critic in Parliament and gloried in it as a symbol of India's universal friendship. This is no answer. He has to show how far such a policy has borne fruit so far—the fruit of insecurity and threat or menace from an opponent that has built up a phenomenal military power animated by consuming hatred and hostility to India!

Mr. Desai said regarding the Punjab waters that "they should be allocated between the two countries in such a way that both derived maximum benefit from their use." Now this is a totally wrong basis for a solution. The two countries in international law should have the amount of the waters collected in the catchment area of the rivers falling in their own territories. If one of the countries on this basis has less than another, it has to reconcile itself to the fact flowing inevitably from the fact of Partition and the boundary line determined by it. The dispute has never been put on this basis of international law, presumably because it does not favour Pakistan and India is too complacent to insist on her inherent rights!

AMERICAN CAPITAL

The report of the Indian Industrial Delegation led by Mr. G. D. Birla (that was in the states when the Finance Minister was making his heroic efforts to win a favourable hearing for assistance to India) makes it clear that while American business is friendly and would like to invest in India, it is repelled by the policies in force in India regarding capitalism. There is here in India an ideological hostility to capitalism and its profits stemming from the commitment of the country to socialism.

If American capital is to be induced to come to India, fair conditions should be created and maintained. There should be an assurance against nationalisation, for even the fairest compensation is no consolation for the time and effort wasted. There should be assurance of reasonable labour discipline. American capital is more considerate to labour than the Indian Government to their employees in their public sector installations. There should be assurance that there will be no great increases in taxation for considerable periods of time. There should be facility to remit profits and to pay adequate salaries to their staff, which may be startlingly higher than what we are accustomed to in our country. There should be confidence that the Government led by communist trouble-making will not object to profits fairly made and that the terms of the contract entered into between Government and foreign capitalists will be adhered to.

None of these conditions is forthcoming, which renders it foolhardy to invest capital in India, whether for Indians or foreigners. The Government should consider whether such conditions cannot be created. Otherwise, even partnerships between Indian and foreign firms will be impossible, for Indian firms cannot raise rupee capital in the country to match the

dollar capital ready to come in. The Indian capital market is well-nigh strangled. The conditions for fair enterprise are fast disappearing in pursuit of the mirage of socialistic pattern which is supposed to bring us all good things like a good fairy. The Prime Minister's reference to private capital as committed to "cut-throat competition" in the Federation of Associated chambers of commerce in Calcutta in answer to its President's reference to the "confusing goals" of the socialist pattern of society was far from reassuring. Unless India change their outlook on capital and private enterprise, it is useless to expect any inflow of foreign capital. If a twenty year guarantee of stable taxes and of freedom from nationalisation and drastic changes in labour laws and permission for remission of profits can be given, India can get all the capital she needs. But this will need a jettisoning of socialism which involves self-restraint on the part of Government and politicians, who are egged on to nationalise further sectors of the economy, more by a lust for power and patronage than by any clear realisation of the benefits accruing therefrom to the country.

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far as to recommend the use of both meat and alcohol in moderation and do not forbid the eating of beef. It is doubtful if complete vegetarianism has ever been universal in any part of India. With the prohibition of meat-eating some religious texts included that of eating garlic and onions.

But the Russian scientists have developed a science of "Oninology" for the treatment of the decayed gums and other diseases of the mouth and stomach.

For such a controversial subject like vegetarianism, it will be very difficult to determine the category of fish and eggs. Because fish has life, it has bones, sinews and blood. To eat fish one has to catch and kill it. And also, an egg is intended to be a chicken and those who eat it, do really eat chickens in the embryo. It is an act of infanticide.

If you leave eating fish and egg, you are deprived of two most potent foods. Eighty per cent of an egg is said to be protein. Fish provides you with Vits A and D. And it has been declared by some American scientists recently that cod-liver oil is specific for T.B.

VEGETARIANISM — A FAD

Further-more animal protein is generally accepted to be more valuable than vegetable protein for growth because the creation of new tissues requires, abundant supplies of essential amino acids which are more readily available, and in appropriate quantities and groupings, in the animal product. The truth is that much depends upon the appropriate mixing of animal and vegetable proteins. Investigations have shown that milk and eggs, alone of the animal protein foods, exceed in value the mixed proteins found in normal dietaries.

And if, man is unfortunately persuaded to avoid non-vegetarian foods like fish, eggs, meat etc. nature knows better what will happen to him.

The Intellectual and the Masses

By Eric Hotter

THE intellectual goes to the masses in search of weightiness and a role of leadership. Unlike the man of action, the man of words needs the sanction of ideals and the incantation of words in order to act forcefully. He wants to lead, command, and conquer, but he must feel that in satisfying these hungers he does not cater to a petty self. He needs justification, and he seeks it in the realization of grandiose design, and in the solemn ritual of making the word become flesh. Thus he does battle for the downtrodden and disinherited, and for liberty, equality, justice, and truth though, as Thoreau pointed out, the grievance which animates him is not mainly "his sympathy with his fellows in distress, but, though he be the holiest son of God, is his private ail." Once his "private ail" is righted, the intellectual's ardour for the under-privileged cools considerably. His cast of mind is essentially aristocratic. Like Heraclitus he is convinced that "ten thousand (of the masses) do not turn the scale against a single man of worth" and that "the many are mean; only the few are noble." He sees himself as a leader and master. Not only does he doubt that the masses could do anything worth while on their own, but he would resent it if they made the attempt. The masses must obey. They need the shaping force of discipline in both war and peace. It is indeed doubtful that the typical intellectual would feel wholly at home in a society where the masses get their share of the fleshpots. Not only would there be little chance for leadership where people are almost without a grievance, but we might suspect that the cockiness and the airs of a prosperous populace would offend his aristocratic sensibilities.

INTELLECTUAL TURN-COAT

There is considerable evidence that when the militant intellectual succeeds in establishing a social order, in which his craving for a superior status and social usefulness is fully satisfied, his view of the masses darkens, and from being their champion he becomes their detractor. The struggle initiated by the prophets in the eighth century B.C. ended, some three hundred years later, in the complete victory of the men of words. After the return from the Babylonian captivity, the scribes and the scholars were supreme, and the Hebrew nation became "a people of the book." Once dominant, these scribes, like the Pharisees who succeeded them, flaunted their loathing of the masses. They made the word for common folk, *am-ba-aretz*, a term of derision and scorn—even the gentle Hillel taught that "no *am-ba-aretz* can be pious." Yet these scribes had an unassailable hold on the masses they despised. The noble Carpenter from Galilee could make no headway when He challenged the pretensions of the solemn scholars, hairsplitting lawyers, and arrogant pedants, and raised His voice in defence of the poor and meek. He was

ostracized and anathematized, and His teachings found a following chiefly among non-Jews. Yet the teachings of Jesus fared no better than the teachings of the prophets when they came wholly into the keeping of dominant intellectuals. They were made into a vehicle for the maintenance and aggrandizement of a vast hierarchy of priests, while the poor in spirit, instead of inheriting the earth, were left to sink into serfdom and superstitious darkness.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

In the sixteenth century, we see the same pattern again. When Luther first defied the Pope and his councils he spoke feelingly of "the poor, simple common folk." Later, when allied with the German princelings, he lashed out against the rebellious masses with unmatched ferocity: "Let there be no half-measures! Cut their throats! Transfix them! Leave no stone unturned! To kill a rebel is to destroy a mad dog." He assured his aristocratic patrons that "a prince can enter heaven by the shedding of blood more certainly than others by means of prayer."

MARXISM IS ANOTHER PROOF

It is the twentieth century, however, which has given us the most striking example of the discrepancy between the attitude of the intellectual while the struggle is on, and his role once the battle is won. Marxism started out as a movement for the salvation of both the masses and the intellectuals from the servitude and degradation of a capitalist social order. The Communist Manifesto condemned the bourgeoisie not only for pauperizing, dehumanizing, and enslaving the toiling masses, but also for robbing the intellectual of his elevated status. "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe." Though the movement was initiated by intellectuals and powered by their talents and hungers, it yet held up the proletariat as the chosen people—the only carrier of the revolutionary idea, and the chief beneficiary of the revolution to come. The intellectuals, particularly those who had "raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole, were to act as guides — as a composite Moses — during the long wanderings in the desert. Like Moses, the intellectuals would have no more to do once the promised land was in sight. "The role of the intelligentsia," said Lenin, "is to make special leaders from among the intelligentsia unnecessary."

The Marxist movement has made giant strides during the past forty years. It has created powerful political parties in most countries, and it is in possession of absolute power in the vast stretch of land between the Elbe and the China Sea. In Russia, China, and adjacent smaller countries the revolution

envisaged by Marxism has been consummated. What, then, is the condition of the masses and the intellectuals in these countries?

In no other social order, past or present, has the intellectual so completely come into his own as in the communist regimes. Never before has his superior status been so self-evident, and his social usefulness so unquestioned. The bureaucracy, which manages and controls every field of activity, is staffed by writers, poets, artists, scientists, professors, journalists, and other engaged in intellectual pursuits, all of whom are readily accorded the high social status of the superior civil servant. They are the aristocrats, the rich, the prominent, the admired, the indispensable, the pampered and petted. It is the wildest dream of the man of words come true.

COMMON MAN CRUSHED UNDER COMMUNISM

And what of the masses in this intellectual's paradise? They have found in the intellectual the most formidable taskmaster in history. No other regime has treated the masses so callously as a raw material, to be experimented on and manipulated at will and never before have so many lives been wasted so recklessly in war and in peace. On the top of all this, the communist intelligentsia have been using force in a wholly novel manner. The traditional master uses force to exact obedience and lets it go at that. Not so the man of words. Because of his professed faith in the power of words and the irresistibility of the truths which supposedly shape his course, he cannot be satisfied with mere obedience. He tries to obtain by force a response that is usually obtained by the most perfect persuasion, and he uses terror as a fearful instrument to extract faith and fervour from crushed souls.

To sum up, the intellectual's concern for the masses is as a rule a symptom of his uncertain status and his lack of an unequivocal sense of social usefulness. *It is the activities of the chronically thwarted intellectual, which make it possible for the masses to assert themselves and get their share of the good things of life. When the intellectual comes into his own, he becomes a pillar of stability and finds all kinds of lofty reasons for siding with the strong against the weak.*

It is, then, in the interest of the masses that the struggle between the intellectual and the prevailing dispensation should remain undecided. But can we justify a continuing state of affairs in which the most gifted part of the population is ever denied its heart's desire, while the unenterprising masses go on from strength to strength?

EDUCATED DISCONTENT — THE CAUSE OF PROGRESS

Actually, antagonism between the intellectual and the powers that be, does more than merely advance the masses; it keeps the social order from stagnating. The causes of creative vigour and of stagnation are many and complex, but it seems clear that the relations between the educated class and the ruling class must be taken seriously into account. It is impossible

for instance, to understand why societies in the Orient are stagnant without recognizing that in these societies the educated are not only few, but almost always part of the government. The first step in the awakening of a stagnant society is the estrangement of the educated minority from the prevailing dispensation, which is usually effected by the penetration of some foreign influence. *This change in the relations between the educated and the ruling group has been a factor in almost every renaissance, including that of Europe from the stagnation of the Middle Ages. And it seems to be the continued antagonism between the unattached intellectual and a governing class made up largely of sheer men of action that, more than anything else, has given the modern Occident its peculiar disquiet, drive, and creative vigour.*

The strange thing is that where the intellectuals are in power they do not usually create a milieu conducive to genuine creativeness. The reason for this is to be found in the role of the noncreative pseudo-intellectual in such a system. The genuinely creative person lacks as a rule the temperament requisite for the seizure, the exercise, and, above all, the retention of power. Hence, when the intellectuals come into their own, it is usually the pseudo-intellectual who rules the roost, and he is likely to imprint his mediocrity and meagreness on every phase of cultural activity. Moreover, his creative impotence often brews in him a murderous hatred of intellectual brilliance; he may even be tempted, as Stalin was, to enforce a crude levelling of all intellectual activity.

THE ROLE OF PSEUDO-INTELLECTUALS

The pseudo-intellectual exerts his pernicious influence not only as a leader but also as a follower. The lesser pseudo-intellectuals feel happiest in a society where intellectual distinction and the rewards that go with it are attained not by a creative effort, but by the more or less mechanical mastery of a body of learning. They are most satisfied with an arrangement where assiduous application enables a student to pass difficult examinations which automatically confer on him a distinguished degree and entitle him to a status of unquestioned superiority. Such was the state of affairs in which thrived the Egyptian literati, the Chinese mandarins, the Rabbis and their disciples, and the priests of the Middle ages. *Such, too, is the pattern now taking shape in the communist regimes. It creates a milieu which saps intellectual confidence and independence, and engenders a deadly orthodoxy that spells stagnation.*

In general, wherever the educated minority is in close alliance with, or a part of, the ruling group, there evolves a social order that is stable, long-enduring, and tending toward stagnation. In such a society the masses form an unmistakable lower order, with a way of life befitting their station. If, then, the masses advance by virtue of a continued antagonism between the intellectual and the powers that be, their thanks are due not to the intellectual's altruism (which, as we have seen, is non-existent), but to whatever force has decreed that the intellectual shall struggle, suffer, and create for the salvation of his soul.

From: *The American Review*

IN THE DRIFTWAY

By Jay Kay

"India will go on, even if all the world is against us. We will starve if necessary, we will die if necessary. We have seen bad days, we will see bad days again, but we will go through them till we see better days."

THIS is the sort of rhetoric that Nehru indulged in when TTK returned empty-handed from his begging-bowl mission to the U.S.A. and Europe. And this is the rhetoric that Nehru can afford to indulge in, on a full stomach and surrounded as he is by all the creature comforts, that his elevated position can give. Sweet words, they say, butter no parsnips. Equally so, brave words, uttered by the Prime Minister, fill no empty stomachs. Nehru need not have reminded the people that they will starve, if necessary; they are doing it already, at least the majority of them; and not only starve, but he added that we will die, if necessary. "If necessary" is redundant, because the shortage of food is going to bring about the deaths of thousands if not millions of Indians. That is the end-result of the second Five Year Plan. "Long Live the Plan and To Hell with the People" seems to be the slogan of the New Delhi authorities.

Despite the fact that Nehru occupies the responsible post of the Prime Minister of the country, he seems not to have forgotten his whirlwind campaigns for the Congress elections and his soap-box oratory days. He speaks for the mob, the sentimental audiences one gets in mass meetings, and the sort of speeches he makes for them, he thinks are good for intelligent and intellectual audiences that one expects in the colleges and at seminars of students. Otherwise how could a responsible Minister of the GOI like Nehru make startling and confusing statements before a seminar of Delhi students, that "there is going to be an increasing conflict between parliamentary democracy and private enterprise," that he failed to understand what was there between parliamentary democracy and private enterprise. And all this confusion, according to Nehru, was due to past habits of past times and that the world was moving too fast for the working of human minds.

Here if anybody was confusing the facts it was Nehru and NOT the past habits of past times. Even tyro, with a nodding acquaintence with politics and economics, would have told Nehru that there is every, and very close, link between private enterprise and democracy. That once the State encroaches on the domain of private enterprise it is the thin end of the wedge for the destruction of democracy and parliamentary system of government. Private enterprise and democracy go hand in hand—one cannot exist without the other. If private enterprise is threatened, democracy is threatened. That is the experience of Soviet Russia, eastern European countries, and Nazi Germany under Hitler, and fascist Italy under Mussolini. No amount of Nehru's juggling of words or

oratorical acrobatics will hide the stark fact that the various steps of the New Delhi authorities are taking have already started digging the grave of democracy and parliamentary government. It is here that the intelligent people must be educated, and warned against the totalitarian policies of the New Delhi authorities.

The increasing conflict that Nehru foresees is NOT between parliamentary democracy and private enterprise, BUT between his schemes of nationalisation and regimentation on one hand and parliamentary government and private enterprise on the other. If he had so he would have had the credit of being honest and blunt. But as the sole and only salesman of the Plan he had to say that other "wares," namely private enterprise, and parliamentary democracy, cannot go on together. What was at the back of his mind was to flaunt his "wares," namely the Plan with its nationalisation and regimentation, and was preparing his hearers, unconsciously perhaps, for the doom of parliamentary democracy. His "socialism" or "socialistic pattern of society" are hollow sounding when one looks at the actual practice of the Government.

Bhilai steel plant, we were told, was going to be a Government concern. If the latest reports that are current, correct, Bhilai plant is to be handed over to the Birlas for running, and for exploitation. That is socialism *a la* Nehru. Again the white elephant, the Ashoka Hotel in Delhi, was started and built at Government's expenses. But there are talks that the New Delhi authorities are putting on pressure, or persuasion of the socialist variety, on the Tatas to take it over. Tatas are already in the catering business in Bombay and they are to be saddled with this white elephant of Nehru conception.

With socialism in the air and private enterprise in bad grace with the authorities, the biggest stick that the sponsors of State Capitalism use against the private sector is that it is motivated by private profit. And private profit, according to the socialist pundits, is the bane of the whole business, which "exploits" the workers and the people. And once the private profit motive is banished from the country, the country will be running with milk and honey.

But do the State-owned and State-run institutions have no eye on profits? If so, how will Government explain the subtle devices made to fool the public and place it in the name of State owned bodies. Take the case of the Telegraph and Telephone Services which are fully nationalised. The public are told, according to the Telephone Directory, that inland trunk calls will be charged half-rates between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. to midnight; one-third rates between midnight till 6 a.m. This is a tempting offer to men of limited means to talk to their friends or

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Hungary both human dignity and freedom outraged and the force of modern arms used to suppress peoples and to gain political objectives." The choirboy had blundered and the pontiff hurriedly saved the situation which threatened to be awkward. But the result was that our Russian 'bhais' were hurt.

And that is why perhaps our Deputy Defence Minister, Sardar Majithia, had to state in the Rajya Sabha, on August, 22, 1957, "Unfortunately, we have not any army equipment from the Soviet Union as yet." The word 'unfortunately' implies that we even begged for it. *So even our Soviet 'Bhais' are denying us their friendship in spite of their two greatest champions outside the Communist world Nehru and Krishna Menon, pushing the nation towards Communism under the cloak of establishing a socialistic pattern of society.*

We have quoted only a few outstanding instances of Nehru's pontifical interference in political conflicts of other nations. The other pin-pricks by way of lofty and unsolicited advice on Formosa, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Oman, South Africa, etc., have been too many to waste our time and space on.

By all this we do not mean that we should straight away walk into the American Camp and be their camp-followers. That would be a very dangerous thing to do. Americans are a worse people to deal with than the British who, at least, have a democratic conscience. Besides, *the pitiable slavish dependence in which we find today Turkey, Japan, Pakistan and several South American countries, which took American 'Aid,' should be a constant warning to us not to go blindfold into the American camp under the anaesthesia of democracy.*

NO NEHRUVIAN SERMONS ON THE MOUNT

But we need not make the Americans antagonistic unnecessarily by giving them high-sounding sermons on their political designs. We have, of course, a right to protest where our security is threatened by wrong American action, such as supplying arms to Pakistan. But that protest again need not be a sermon from the mount setting out lofty canons of rectitude delivered in a tone of self-righteousness. *If we are a mature nation, as Nehru insists on saying a million times, our protest should contain mellow words of diplomatic wisdom rather than hot censure of an evangelical maniac of peace.*

America has helped us with Rs. 476 crores in the last ten years not because Americans are in love with Indians. Their professions of democracy in doing so are not necessarily the confessions of their designs. Nor have we got all that money because the Americans are fascinated by the novelty of our Five-Year Plans or hypnotised by the dynamic personality of Nehru. *Money lenders never bother about the personality of their debtors.*

WHY U.S.A. HAS HELPED US

America has given us money because of the strategic importance of our geographical position and the weight of our vast population—Both decisive factors in her cold war against Communism. These are permanent assets, which, without pledging, we can always exploit to get funds from the Western democracies—

and more so because democracy is also the sheet anchor of our existence.

But Nehru devaluates these permanent assets when he embraces Russian and Chinese Communists and calls them 'bhais', when he covertly seeks to introduce Communism in the country under the handy cloak of establishing a socialistic pattern of society and when he rushes to interfere into other people's political conflicts with unsolicited high-sounding sermons of peace and international morality.

But while he does all this, perhaps to stabilize the Nehru legend of peace in future books of history, he forgets that such acts militate against our basic principle of neutrality and non-alignment with the two warring blocs of the world—a principle which is the very bedrock of our foreign policy.

People who need money, as badly as we do today, to waste on our Five Year Plan, cannot afford to abuse their creditors. *The example of West-Germany, which Nehru himself quotes so often, should be an object lesson to Nehru. The Prime Minister of West Germany never gives sermons of peace to others.* Inheriting a truncated territory, covered with ghastly ruins of war, the Prime Minister of West Germany bravely and silently set about the reconstruction of his country. *During twelve years no one heard him speak—not even to his own people.* Taking American help, the German people quietly worked under their silent leader—who worried neither about peace nor about Korea—and within twelve years of hard and silent work rebuilt the industry and economy of their country. Today, West Germany is again one of the largest industrial countries in the world, with half the world owing her money. The German people and their silent leader performed this miracle. Their great leader did not waste national energy in talking politics or giving sermons of peace to others.

NOT FOR THE NATION BUT FOR NEHRU LEGEND

The story in our country has been entirely different. *People in our country have not been called upon to build a prosperous nation but to erect an altar for another demigod-Nehru.* The entire nation has been harassed to build a legend round one man and to such an extent has this individual design been pursued that millions of people now ask helplessly the question: Who after Nehru? As if India never existed before 1947, as if we had no heroes in our history, as if we have no one left in a crowd of 360-million people to lead us, as if the world is going to come to an end immediately Nehru leaves the scene! All that we have achieved in the first ten years of our independence is this impotent helplessness created by the frowning tyranny of a man we loved most.

It hurts us to say so, but the switch-over from rice and wheat to roots and barks of trees in millions of homes leaves us no choice but to state that as long as Nehru rules the roost neither will our foreign relations improve nor will our internal conditions brighten to build a new nation of our dreams. Make no mistake about that.

Nehru and his stooges must go if India is to live and prosper.

—Courtesy: *Filmindia*

SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE spectacular success of the Russian earth satellites called Sputniks brings to the fore the vexed question of the relation between science and democracy, which is a special case of the relation of thought and action. Science is the product of the free development of the life of thought when it can pursue its own inherent rhythm. Obviously it can flourish fully only in a free country, a country that has a social and political system, that encourages free thought and free action. Democracy, therefore, should acquit itself as nurse of science (and all the arts), surpassing totalitarian systems in this respect.

Japan, Germany, and now Soviet Russia, however, appear to give the lie to this natural expectation and raise the question of the inherent relation between science and democracy.

SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM

It is worth noting that Marx, the founder of socialism (of the communist variety) insisted that his view of history and social development through the dialectic was the only scientific form, while all other forms were Utopian, impracticable and ineffective. He claimed a specially close relation between science and socialism. Soviet Russia has in this spirit built herself on science. Lenin used to say that the amount of progress in a country is to be measured by the amount of electricity produced in it! But we do not see any correlation in actual fact between science and freedom in the totalitarian society of Soviet Russia. The Sputniks have shown (just as the rockets and atomic science in Hitler's Germany showed during the last war) that a high degree of scientific development can take place even in the worst dictatorship. It is a question of the economic conditions and incentive provided to scientists.

Scientists like other people have to live and need a favourable economic environment such as pay and good conditions of living. It is clear that in Russia scientists have a favourable climate by way of economic incentive. They get good pay and can live in comfort and obtain all the funds necessary for research-laboratories, raw materials, servants, apparatus etc. High ranking servants are paid more than cabinet ministers and industrial managers. Even the phenomenal expenditures on military industry in the USA seem to take second rank when compared with Soviet standards! It is clear that though the rest of society live under conditions of the harshest dictatorship, science, (at least, applied science) can grow fast. Scientists can derive psychological comfort from the feeling that they are contributing not only to the glory and power of their nation but also to human progress in accordance with the Marxist doctrine of world Communism.

And yet the matter cannot be allowed to rest here. A calm and impartial consideration of the nature of science as a human activity, cradled in freedom and

moulded on truth, (truth natural and human) cannot but raise thoughts of a deeper and more intimate relation between science and democratic or free society.

SCIENCE AND FREE SOCIETY

First of all, it is clear that Marx's claim that his theory of communism as the outcome of dialectical materialism (and historical dialectic) is *scientific* cannot be conceded if the word *science* is used in any straightforward manner, without special distortions springing from pre-conceived notions or dogmas. Marx calls his social theory scientific, in a peculiar sense which is far removed from the meaning of science, as an activity seeking to understand the structure of nature. He uses science here in the sense of an insight into the process of history, as consisting of class conflicts between the "haves" and have-nots." He conceives of this conflict "dialectically" as the synthesis of opposites, *a la Hegel*. Apart from a tendency for human activity to go from one extreme to another, there is nothing necessary and universal, ranking as a law of development in history. To see such a law is to foist a preconceived notion on facts. Nor does a knowledge of past conflicts and past syntheses show any "inevitable wave of the future".

Leaving the fog of Marxist dialectic and the iron-clad dogmas and plenary inspirations of communist ideologists, we may pass in review the relations between science and democracy that spring to view on a straight-forward contemplation of their nature without any axe to grind, any *ism* to protect or prove.

SCIENCE IS THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH

Science is the pursuit of truth by the pure reason of man. We say pure reason to distinguish its activity when motivated by a self-conscious method as it is in scientific investigation. Science today is no longer a haphazard activity pursuing happy inspirations. It proceeds through a self-conscious method consisting of observation, hypothesis, deduction of consequences, verification and formulation of laws. All these methods have been perfected, with a view to enable reason to follow the nature of fact objectively, with the least interference by the personal equation. The tendencies to error are listed and guarded against. Verification has to be repeated under different conditions by the same scientists and others before any conclusion is relied upon as an assured piece of truth.

In this pursuit, the mind should be absolutely free to pursue its own ideas or appreciations of fact or clues to further aspects of the truth revealed to the investigator's mind. *It is here that the claim of the Marxist dictator to direct the attention of the scientist to ideas and to force him to accept unverified ideas as truth in the interest of political dogma becomes so obnoxious and betokens a return to barbarism.* An idea does not become truth at the behest of political rulers or religious rulers.

The case of Lysenko who, had to prove or take as proved the inheritance of acquired characters in biological heredity and of Galileo who had to agree despite his knowledge to the contrary that it is the earth that moves and not the sun, are notorious examples. Discovery does not proceed at a uniform rate of acceleration like production from a factory, which can be regulated through additions of capital to expenditure. With every convenience round him in the laboratory, new inspiration bloweth where it listeth and cannot be commanded at will by the totalitarian dictator. The scientist cannot hit upon new hypotheses even, at the point of the sword or threat of the firing squad or the gas chamber. He must await the wind of inspiration after steeping himself with the relevant data and supporting theories.

It is possible for totalitarian regimes to urge the scientists to use existing theoretical knowledge to derive new applications of them and the rate of such new applications can be hastened through ample provision of facilities and incentives. This has happened in Soviet Russia *but in the long run only a free society which does not couple scientific facility with political strings*. Knowledge in theoretical science is the basis of all inventions. It is also possible to increase the chances of discovery by multiplying the number of investigators through ample economic provision for them. This is also a feature of Soviet Russia which has neglected the needs of the ordinary people to promote science at an abnormal rate.

REAL SCIENCE CAN PROSPER ONLY UNDER DEMOCRACY

From another point of view, the close relation between democracy and scientific method comes into full view. Far from totalitarian society being scientific, it can be said that, it is the very opposite of any exemplification of scientific method. It is founded on Marxist dogmas and dare not to risk its being questioned by the people. Hence the system of police terror in such societies. But democracy is predicated on truth and open ways of seeking and realising it. Democracy is not committed to materialism or idealism or any other ultimate world view. It is only committed to reason and human experience. It is only committed to values realised in human experience.

Man is free and desires the exercise of activity seeking free fulfilment of his needs, and aspirations. He recognises, or ought to recognise, the equal right of other persons to such freedom. Such recognition of the equal rights of all persons to the realisation of human values—food, shelter, health, education, play, knowledge, relaxation, comfort etc.—is justice. Democracy is a social system in which justice is sought to be realised to a greater degree than in monarchies or oligarchies or dictatorships.

Democracy, therefore, aims at the realisation of the common good through the participation of the representatives of the common man in the regulative processes of government. The discovery of such common good in actual circumstances, legal, political etc. is the task of the administrator. The laws of a democratic society help to regulate the relation between man and man in terms of the maximum practical degree of justice. The changing policies of Govern-

ments seek to sum up patterns of social good practicable in the circumstances. Socialism claims that its policies give better recognition to the interests of the common man without the advantages of high property. Capitalism claims that its freedom to produce through control of production is actually in the interest of the masses as it produces the greatest sum of goods and services.

These claims have to be judged on their merits through trial and error and through a consideration of consequences where pure examples are available. It is a question of objective appraisal of conditions, human and economic. It is not a question of dogma. Marxism here errs grievously in taking up a blind position that property in productive apparatus is inherently and always and everywhere pernicious. Here is the need for the play of scientific method, of objective reason. Marxists seek, to bypass this need with the dogma that ideas are determined by class and that social or economic truth is determined by the economic system. The position of a class in the relations of production—whether as capital-owners or mere workers is supposed to determine the truth of the economic process. Marx goes the length of saying that there is no objective truth in this matter. There truth of the owners and the truth of the workers are irreconcilable owing to class-war and the labour surplus theory of value!

MARXISM IS UNSCIENTIFIC

It is the first lesson of science that such dogmas, should be discredited. Science is inherently akin to democracy in this matter. Both demand that the merits of any economic policy—such as free economy, private currency or public currency uncontrolled by extra-market powers like governments, mixed economy, capitalism, Georgian Land views etc. should be tested by a rational consideration of the actual benefits to society in the short and long runs.

For instance, the Indian Government, now seems to have accepted the claims of co-operative farming on the strength of communist experience, or rather of the claims of communist propaganda. Indian authorities have begun to repeat without much proof or, evidence—in fact in flat contradiction of the evidence available in the free world—that co-operative farming is the ONLY way of increasing the production of food grains and cash crops. This is a matter not of authority or political power but objective fact and probability. It has to be decided by a scientific, that is, objective appraisal of the evidence available and of the probabilities of human nature. But India is proceeding to a rapid multiplication of co-operative farms involving the expenditure of crores without adequate consideration. This is contrary both to science and democracy, for democracy demands, the building of policy on proved fact and not on power-enforced dogma. *No amount of power can make a human mind accept the "demonstration" that 2+2=5*. Totalitarianism is committed to such an irrational procedure.

In parliamentary procedure, too, the policies of the Government in power are examined in a rational spirit. Opponents should attempt to disprove or modify them on the ground that they do not conduce to the

greatest social good possible (including social justice practicable at the moment in relation to the urgencies of the hour in the matter of defence and so on). In a totalitarianism this free play of mind on policies is anathema and is punishable like high treason. Hence its monolithic character.

Law and justice in a democracy proceed in a similar spirit of respect to truth which in human relations appears as justice. Justice is determined through the clash of opposing views represented by lawyers defending opposed parties. The relevant evidence, is admitted freely and tested through cross-examination and sifted in the light of human nature and probability. There is no attempt to steer proceedings to a pre-determined conclusion. This is especially prohibited. There is provision for appeal and revision by

higher courts. The procedure of law in a democracy exhibits the scientific spirit in action.

So, too, the role of the press in a democracy. And the fundamental rights of freedom from arbitrary arrests, of association and assembly and publication, of public meeting and discussion are all aspects of the application of scientific method to discover the greatest social good through free reason and experience and free exchange of such experience.

Socially, therefore, science entails democracy with institutions such as fundamental rights, law and parliament forming the framework of an open society. Science is not merely a way of discovering truth and its distillation into military power. It is a way of life which when fully understood and allowed to permeate all the spheres of life will inevitably lead to democracy.

Nehru Government Flayed--Analysis of Financial Chaos

By A. D. Shroff

MR. A. D. Shroff, one of the main sponsors of the Forum of Free Enterprise, in a speech delivered recently in Bombay, has made a scathing condemnation of the financial policies, followed by the Congress Government, which has brought the country to the brink of ruin and chaos. All this because, according to Mr. A. D. Shroff, Mr. Nehru, our Prime Minister, who is the chief architect of the Plan, whose weakest point is Finance. And this fact, coupled with a Finance Minister, whose knowledge of economics and finance are equally of a doubtful character, is responsible for issuing of wholesale import licences, which have drained our foreign resources.

Mr. Shroff's speech is a masterpiece of financial analysis, which should make every patriotic Indian sit up and wonder as to what a perilous position the country has been brought to, during the ten years' regime of the Congress Government.

Here are some of the startling disclosures made by Mr. Shroff:—

The Plan has broken down at various stages and for various reasons. Some of the causes could at least, have been foreseen, and the rest would have been easily avoided but for wishful thinking.

Earlier, criticism of the Plan were met by the statement that the Plan was flexible, and that the idea of annual review was impracticable. You embark on certain projects which would take two, three or five years..., you make commitments, both internally and externally, on the completion of these projects, and it is only self-delusion to believe that you can revise the decisions at the end of each year, whether to proceed with the project or not..., any suspension of the projects

would be a costly affair, apart from the demoralising effect of the suspension.

Necessity is the mother of invention and therefore the authorities have invented a new fiction called the "core of the Plan." This word does not occur anywhere in the text of the second Five Year Plan... more the "core" has NOT BEEN YET DEFINED.

The Finance Minister has told the Parliament that he could not give a complete picture where the Plan at present stands.

The crazy manner in which licences were issued in 1956 has created in the country a very serious crisis. *Incidentally the country was never told on what basis the licences were given* and whether there was any administrative machinery, at any given time, to apprise the Government of the number of licences issued... In the absence of official statistics, the outstanding commitments have been variously estimated, and they have been placed anywhere between Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,000 crores:

Speaking on the heavy and crushing burden of taxation, Mr. Shroff very graphically described how it affects the ordinary man, the small business man as well as the industrialist. In a word, the taxation burden acts as the greatest check to capital formation and a dead weight on the investment market. Here is what Mr. Shroff had to say on the subject:

You have got the Income-tax, if you earn money, if you earn in excess of certain limit, you pay Super-tax, if you are lucky enough to have accumulated some savings, after 20 or 25 years of hard work, and collected over Rs. 2 lakhs you become an assessee under the Wealth Tax.

(See next page)

(Continued from p. 17)

business acquaintances at Delhi or Calcutta and save some money in the bargain. But invariably if you put a call, say at 4 or 5 a.m., to any of these places, the Exchange rings back to say that the lines "are choked." Usually at 8 a.m. when the usual rates begin the Exchange rings you back saying that you can get the connection, but adds that the lines are heavy with calls, and quietly drops a hint, would you mind making it Urgent? If this is not nationalised cheating and socialised exploitation, one fails to understand what it is. If profit is the motive of the private sector, there is also the competition in private sector, so that the consumer has, at least, the choice to select the best and cheapest in the market. But with socialised service and government having the sole monopoly, they can go on wholesale exploitation with impudence, and that is what has happened in nationalised Telegraphs and Telephones Services, in State Trading Corporation and other "nationalised" concerns. Take the case of STC, which by a stroke of an order from the GOI, took over the distribution of cement all over the country. Originally the country was given to understand that the *raison d'etre* of the STC was the export trade, specially in dealing with communist nations, on government to government basis. There was, therefore, no justification for taking over the internal trade of cement. And more so, when cement trade has an excellent marketing organisation all over the country in the ACC. By taking over the trading of cement, the STC, without handling a single bag of cement, was pocketing nearly Rs. 14 per bag as its commission, because the marketing of cement is still done by the ACC. And the consumer of ce-

ment is burdened with the additional Rs. 14, plus the Excise duty on the commodity. This is "nationalisation" in action. And yet when the activities of the STC were criticised by M. Ps. the Commerce Minister stated that he did not see anything "immoral" about it! If Government profiteer, it is moral, but when private businessmen earn a moderate profit it becomes "anti-social" in the eyes of our "socialist" Government. And Nehru talks of stopping "cut-throat" competition in the private sector leaving the field wide open to "Socialized" profiteering by Government.

(Continued from p. 21)

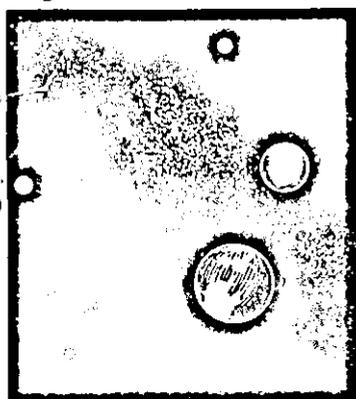
Again if you are fortunate enough to be in a position of spending Rs. 36,000 in a year, then you come in for this new tax, the Expenditure Tax. If you travel more than 15 miles, you are another lucky contributor to the Exchequer!

What is not realised by the Government is the simple fact which was told to the British Parliament many years ago by a very eminent Chancellor of the Exchequer that money fructifies better in the pockets of the private individual than in the Exchequer.

Concluding Mr. Shroff stated, "I am sorry to note that some of the recent speeches of the Prime Minister leave the public more bewildered than ever before. I AM SURE THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE THE FIRST TO ACKNOWLEDGE that any knowledge and understanding of ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT AMONGST HIS STRONG POINTS."

DID YOU KNOW . . .

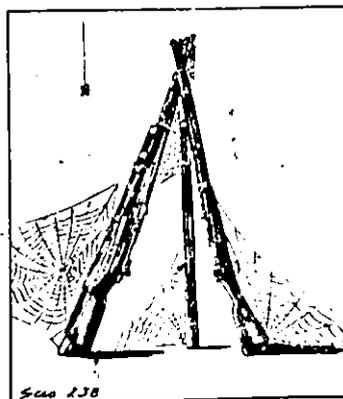
By Scio



Only a half-century ago, the earth's galaxy, the Milky Way, was thought by most astronomers to be the whole universe. Actually the Milky Way, despite its population of more than 100 billion suns, is but a drop in the fathomless ocean of space.



Elephants make a dreadful din while feeding in the forest. Branches crack like pistol shots, and trees crash to earth. Yet, on scenting danger, the herd can move away almost in silence, hardly disturbing the foliage.



If the Free World disarmament plan were accepted by the USSR, nuclear tests would stop on the first day, the first reduction in armed forces could start as early as the 2nd month, "Open Skies" air inspection could start in the 3rd month and the monthballing of the first batches of weapons under international supervision could start by the 7th month.

The Cult Of The Assassins

THE Shia sect, which was established A.D. 765 by Ismail, the eldest son of the sixth Imam, Jafarus Sadiq, maintain that their founder was the true Imam, and not Musaul Kazim, who succeeded to that position. They also hold that God was neither existent nor non-existent, nor intelligent nor un-intelligent, nor powerful nor helpless; for, said they, it is not possible for any thing or attribute to be associated with God. Seeing that He is the Maker of all things, even of names and attributes. They further hold that the world never has been, nor ever will be, without an Imam. Whoever is Imam, his father, and his grandfather have been so before him, and similarly his ancestors, until the line terminates with Adam. The sons of Imam are also Imam, and his descendants after him to the end of time. It is not possible for an Imam to die until a son has been born to him to carry on the succession. The Imam is not always visible: at times he manifests himself; at times he draws into seclusion. Where the Imam is manifest, the doctrine is concealed; when the Imam is hidden, the labours of the missionary commence. The prophets possess the gift of revelation, the Imams that of interpretation. From the time of Ali until that of the seventh Imam, the Imams were visible. Then commenced the succession of concealed Imams. The notoriety of this sect is due largely to the terrible means adopted in after years to establish their power by Hasan Sabah, who passed into history as the "Old Man of the Mountain", or, perhaps more generally, as the Chief of the Assassins.

THE ORIGINATOR OF THE CULT

Hasan Sabah started life as a mace-bearer to Sultan Alp Arslan, the Saljukian monarch (A.D. 1063-1072), but in consequence of a quarrel, he retired to his native country Rai, and thence passed to Syria, where he entered into the service of a chief of the Ismailities, and eventually adopted the tenets of that sect. In A.D. 1090, partly by force and partly by stratagem, he obtained possession of the Castle of Alamut (or the "Vulture's Nest", so called from its impregnable position) situated some distance north of Kasvin, and he at once made this citadel his capital. With a view of carving his way to the throne, he employed a semblance of devotion, so as thereby to ingratiate himself with his subjects, whilst, a free use of the dagger seemed to fix the fear of him firmly in the hearts of his enemies.

"For the purpose of winning proselytes" says the well-known writer, Major Osborn, "Hasan created a hierarchy of seven grades, which spread themselves through all Asia, doing the work of missionaries. But behind these, and concealed from the knowledge of the world — an inner circle within the large were carefully selected proselytes, initiated into the secret knowledge which should fit them to become the co-operators and lieutenants of the Ismailite chief. This, as at Kairo, consisted in the passing through a variety of stages up to the inculcation of the utter indifference of human actions. Hasan was himself Grand

Master of the Order: next to him his Grand Priors, or Lieutenants, scattered through Persia and Syria as the sect won adherents in those countries; then came the *Dais*, or missionaries, the teachers of the secret doctrines: the *Rafiq*, or those engaged in learning; then the Devotees, or those who had taken the oath of unquestioning obedience: and lastly the *Aspirants* who waited for the permission of the Grand Master to commence the process of initiation.

THE ASSASSINS

Of these different classes, the one with which history is chiefly concerned is that of the *Devotees*. These were "The Assassins". They were young men, selected on account of their physical strength and courage. The whole object of their training was to inspire them with the spirit of absolute submission to the Grand Master, founded upon a conviction of his divine authority. The practice of murder in a just cause was justified by the most valid precedents. Had not the blessed Prophet slaughtered a whole Jewish tribe, numbering some seven hundred men, after they had surrendered themselves to his mercy? Had not the blessed Prophet on more than one occasion made use of the secret dagger and the midnight assassin to rid the world of enemies dangerous to himself and the true faith? Hasan Ibn Sabah would not, therefore, lack instruments to execute his purposes if he could only convince them of his right to command them, and his power to reward their devotion. The Muhammadan conception of Paradise rendered this not a very difficult matter. The process of manufacturing a devotee was exceedingly simple. He was asked to the table of the Grand Master, and when there, laid under the influence of a strong opiate. While still unconscious, he was conveyed to a delicious garden, and there awoke amid the perfume of flowers, and the cool splashing of fountains, with crowds of dark eyed and obsequious damsels flitting around him. After a few days passed in this Paradise, he was again rendered insensible and retransferred to the light of common day. To the credulous unquestioning mind of a bigoted Muhammadan, what further proof was needed of the supernatural power of the Grand Master?

THE DUPES OF "PARADISE"

"Paradise was no longer an anticipation: he had actually seen it and tasted of its pleasures. The momentary agency of death alone divided him from their unbroken fruition. He was only asked to obey and die—a small thing when faith had been turned into sight."

From the day he entered Alamut until that of his death, in June A.D. 1124—a period of thirty-five years—Hasan Sabah never emerged but upon two occasions, from the seclusion of his home. Pitiless and inscrutable as Destiny, he watched the troubled world of Oriental politics, himself invisible, and whenever he perceived a formidable foe, caused a dagger to be driven into his heart. The roll of his victims would be too long to enumerate here. Warriors, statesmen,

Congress Is Dying

By S. P. Agarwala

THE Congress is slowly becoming a disorganised and petty organisation day by day. It no longer represents the interests of all. The best among the old and tried workers are leaving its fold. The leaders at the top also want only camp followers and stooges, who would seemingly join the institution and serve their (leaders') own selfish ends. There is absolutely no scope for free thinking and honest expression of views. Its claim to large membership and immense following is simply a myth and it is all stage-managed.

NO PROGRAMME

There is no countrywide programme and no constructive activity at all. Much of the time and labour is employed in fighting out elections and quarrels for loaves and fishes of office. Village reconstruction work or Bhoodan activity has no great meaning for the Congress workers at present. All that is done is on party lines.

'The King can do no wrong' is the right epithet that can be applied to the Congressmen today. They can commit all kinds of wrongs and yet escape prosecution, for there is a pious hand of the Congress Ministers at the back, who themselves are under deep obligations in times of need. The opponents are purchased, their morals looted and contracts made by extension of the same dirty tactics and the majority is any how maintained.

The plight of the servants of the State can better be imagined than described. The orders of transfers, appointments and dismissals are in their own hands. Even in the questions of executive decisions and judicial matters, they are invariably not free. The most obnoxious situation comes when the public records can be interpolated and decisions challenged and changed, after they are once made and published.

(Continued from page 23)

merchants—he spared none. But to the last he enforced among his followers the most rigid adherence to the letter of the Quoran; and one of his latest acts was the execution of his son because he had presumed to drink wine. His own time, it is said, he spent chiefly in prayer, and in the composition of treatises setting forth and defending his religious beliefs.

He was succeeded by his son, Buzung Umaid, who reigned for twenty-four years. On his death the reins of power passed into the hands of the son of the latter—Kaia Mulammad, who exercised sovereignty for twenty five years. The last of the race was Rukn Uddin, better known as Qahir Shah, or Khur Shah, who was made prisoner by the Tartar King, Hulaku Khan and his strongholds dismantled. This happened A.D. 1256, from which date the power of the Assassins dwindled away and the sect passed out of history.

From: "The Sword of Islam"

On goes the Congress today to the feet of the Deputy Minister, who uses his office to bring about the necessary changes and please him so that his willing services may be always available to him on the proper occasion to vote him back to the position, post and power of the Deputy Ministership. Any one raising voice against is either dubbed as traitor or faces arrest and detention without trial.

Such is the sorry and painful state of affairs in the Congress today. The principles of 'Satya' and 'Ahimsa' are carried out more in their breach. There is, however, a timely warning. Unless we, as Congressmen, completely spiritualise the present-day politics and work with an iron hand, sagacity of purpose and conviction, for the common good of all, irrespective of party affiliations and groupings, we are doomed and have a very dismal future.

LIBERTY

"O H. Liberty!" Madame Roland is said to have exclaimed as she passed a statue to that goddess on her way to the guillotine. "what crimes are committed in thy name!" Looking at the world today, we are tempted to stress the intellectual crimes committed in the name of liberty as much as the moral crimes. Never were men more ardent in defense of "liberty" than they are today; but never were there more diverse concepts of what constitutes true liberty.

Many of today's writers who are most eloquent in their arguments for liberty in fact preach philosophies that would destroy it. It seems to be typical of the books of our intelligentsia to praise one kind of liberty incessantly while disparaging or ridiculing another kind. The liberty that they so rightly praise is the liberty of thought and expression. But the liberty that they so foolishly denounce is economic liberty.

—Free Man's Library

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HISTORY OF THE ASSASSINS

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REVOLUTION AGAINST COMMUNISM

By Sidney Lens

.....

SITTING in the Polish capital, one gets the feeling that history has reached a turning-point in this part of the world. This is true despite the criminal intervention of the Soviet against the Hungarian people last year, and other acts which digress from the new trend. The pronouncements of Khrushchev on decentralization, the exhortation by Mao Tse-tung on the need for a hundred flowers to bloom, the process of democratization in Poland, and the development of the new economic model in Yugoslavia—from here, these add up to more than empty gestures.

The leaders of world Communism are learning at last that they cannot effectively build an industrial society with a terrified populace, that a measure of freedom is an essential ingredient in economic development. Nor are they learning this from text-books; at the lower levels, in the factories and on the farms, among the students and the intelligentsia, there are rumblings even hard-headed Communists can understand and must respond to.

Officially the Khrushchev line continues to prattle that "imperialist agents" were responsible for the Hungarian Revolution, but the men of the Kremlin, and their counterparts in the Communist orbit, have learned something from East Berlin, Vorkuta, Poznan, and Budapest. They know that it was a miracle for them that Hungary didn't bring the whole house toppling down.

FROM THE LABOUR CAMPS

Why is Stalinism changing? I asked that question to leaders of the United Workers (Communist) Party in Poland. Their view of the situation is worth recording.

One of the factors leading to Khrushchev's famous speech at the 20th Congress in February, 1956, they claim, was the release of millions of people held in "corrective" labour camps. The stories these people brought back and the pressure they generated inevitably made an impact on the men of the Kremlin. This development coincided with rumblings within the Communist bureaucracy; men who were responsible for running big enterprises; instead they had to be assured of legal safeguards. They could not operate with the shadow of prison constantly over their heads if they made mistakes, or with the constant interference of the secret police in economic matters they knew nothing about.

Why did Khrushchev release so many slave labourers in the first place? The answer here too is not mysterious but grounded in genuine social pressures. Khrushchev and his associates had to weaken the secret police if they were to stay at the helm. In the scramble for power after Stalin's death the leaders of the Party could reach a *modus vivendi* with one another only if they checked the power of the secret police which stood over them. And in weakening the secret police they had not only to cut down the untrammelled

right of arrest but to emasculate its slave labour empire as well.

BERIA'S DEATH THE TURNING-POINT

Here, I feel, is the basic underpinning for a new era of world Communism. Future students of Communism will conclude, I am convinced, that the shot that killed Beria, in the struggle for power after Stalin died, was a turning-point. It was a shot that ended a whole epoch. The downgrading of the secret police has resulted in the slow unwinding of the taut, monolithic monstrosity that Stalin built over thirty years.

At its height, in its worst and final form, Stalinism represented not only a dictatorship of the Party over the people, but of a few key leaders over the Party, and above all, of the secret police over these few leaders.

STALIN'S SYSTEM

The Stalinist economic system, which was the underpinning for the secret police system, was one of permanent *under*-production. The impressive statistics produced by the Stalinist theoreticians always spoke of enormous increases in the production of steel and other ingredients of heavy industry. But they never mentioned the price the people had to pay for this increase—in the under-production of consumer goods, desperately low living standards, and shortages in virtually every phase of living.

Under such a system, the first victim of these shortages is the peasant. Ordinarily he would be happy to bring his grain to market, sell it, and buy consumer goods, in return. But because the State is short of consumer goods, and because in the normal course of events the peasant will hold back a part of his produce for a better day if he can't buy what he needs, the State must *force* the peasant to give up his produce.

ALL-ROUND SHORTAGE

As for the worker, from the moment he rises in the morning until he goes to sleep at night he is plagued by shortages, high prices, and inferior quality of goods. In every city I visited in Poland, there was not enough transport to take workers to their jobs. Textiles were short in every Communist country I toured. A yard of cloth which costs 80 zloty to produce is sold for 500 to 600 on the market. The rest is a hidden "turn-over" tax which gives the State the money for investment. The worker therefore pays perhaps five times the real value of the cloth in order to finance new industry.

Thousands of little items like needles, nails, toilet articles, kitchen utensils, and tableware were all in short supply or unavailable except in the black markets. Housing conditions are equally bad, perhaps worse. Even the houses and apartments that do exist have a short life expectancy.

The decline in moral standards is evident everywhere. Sales-people have rackets with black marketeers whereby they sell these men choice articles.

to be resold just outside the store or sometimes in the store itself, for two to five times the price. A saleslady's job, under these circumstances, can be such a boon that blackmarketeers often buy such jobs from store managers for \$400 to \$1,600 apiece, and place their own underlings in those berths. Store managers work the racket themselves. Directors of factories make deals with other factory directors to exchange merchandise with each other for personal use.

Under Stalinism the regime is hysterically afraid of its own people. It watches them relentlessly and it creates an atmosphere of terror to dissuade people from either stealing "state property" or political combating the whole system of consumer shortages and false planning.

DECLINE OF INITIATIVE

Another by-product of the system has been the destruction of personal initiative. Nothing stands out so glaringly: no one in Stalinist Poland seemed to care one whit about the state or its interests or its property. The State trusted no one; no one, in turn,

was willing to work freely and fully for the state. Left wing (liberal) Communists freely admit this today. The Catholic Church, they concede, was able to recruit thousands of young people away from Communism because the Party failed to give them a true ideal, and the Church was the only place where one could stand in opposition.

In the bureaucracy it takes ten to fifty times as long to get things done because no one wants to risk exercising his own initiative. The director of a factory merely carries out orders set by the State plan; he could not alter the plan without fearfully long delays. Few persons are permitted to make decisions, and few want permission.

This, then, was the system of Stalinism in its worst form, a combination of four facets: 1. far too great investment of capital for industrialization; 2. consequently far too small amount of consumer goods for the people; 3. enlargement of the secret police to control the disaffected people; 4. destruction of personal initiative.

ON THE NEWS FRONT

PRICE FOR PEACE IS TOO HIGH, SAYS IKE AT NATO

Paris: The momentous conference of North Atlantic Treaty Organization opened with 15 heads of Government grouped around the circular conference table to hear an opening address by Prime Minister Jose Bech of Luxemburg.

President Eisenhower declared at the opening session of the NATO "summit" meeting that price of peace in the future would be high. Continuing the American President stated, "That while the margin of power is still with us, we should make sure of policies and effort that will always keep us so."

Holding the hope of the decaying of the "despotic rule" of the Soviet Union, Mr. Eisenhower said that there was before the free nations a clear possibility of triumph, of peaceful triumph. There is the noble strategy of victory—not victory over any peoples, but victory for all peoples.

FURTHER U.S. AID TO INDIA

New Delhi: Informed circles here are inclined to believe that the Washington reports that U.S. might offer India economic assistance to the tune of 300 million dollars early next year.

It is considered almost certain that U.S. Administration will not ask the Congress to undertake special legislation for aid to India next January. Congress is economy-minded and the year 1958 is an election year.

The concensus of opinion seems to be that an acrimonious debate on special aid to India at this stage would be better avoided in the larger interests of Indo-American relations.

—Times of India

CLOSER INDO-U.S. TIES VITAL FOR WORLD PEACE

Bombay: "The two great democracies—the United States of America and India—should in the interest of world peace and progress come closer to each other," Mr. Dulip Singh Saund, the first India born American to be elected to the U.S. Congress, said in Bombay during a reception to him by the Progressive Group.

Mr. Saund remarked there were many misunderstandings in the U.S. regarding India and many more in India about America. These misunderstandings should not detract from the fundamental need for great goodwill and friendship between them.

If there was not greater appreciation of the American viewpoint on various issues he blamed the Americans for the failure to "sell their attitude" to India. This was unpardonable because Americans were known to be the best "super-salesmen" in the world.

Referring to American military aid to Pakistan, Mr. Saund said that America would not allow the weapons given by her to Pakistan "being used against friendly, free and independent India."

JAI PRAKASH SEES THE TOTALITARIAN FUTURE FOR INDIA

New Delhi: Mr. Jai Prakash Narain said here that the chances for democracy were very meagre in India, addressing the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

He believed that the most sound foundations for democracy could be laid on the ideals of Gandhism. However he saw little hope of these ideals being fructified in the immediate future.

"India is a big country of 37 crores and it fits in with the idea of gigantism of America and Russia. I have not the least doubt that we will end up in some sort of dictatorship, either communist or Hitlerite."

CONGRESS M.P. URGES PREVENTIVE DETENTION OF KAIRON

New Delhi: Speaking on the Preventive Detention Bill in the Lok Sabha, Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, a senior Congress member of the House, from the Punjab, compared the police repression in Babu Akbarpur (Rehtak) in connection with the Hindi agitation with the Jallianwalla Bagh incident during the British regime.

Continuing Pandit Bhargava said that there was terrific police repression in the State. In Punjab 90 persons out of 115 detained at one stage, had to be released on revisional application as the grounds for their detention were found to be frivolous.

Concluding Pandit Bhargava said, "The Preventive Detention Act should be used against the Ministers of Punjab who were responsible for such a state of lawless regime."

IN "SECULAR" INDIA—CHRISTIANS DEFILE A HINDU TEMPLE

Trivandrum: The Police Inquiry Report on the Sabarimalai Temple atrocity, which was maintained a closely-guarded secret by the Congress and the PSP Governments for the last seven years, was laid on the table of the Kerala Legislative Assembly by the Communist Government.

According to the Police Report, the atrocities committed were deliberate and well conceived. The deity of the temple stood as a permanent barrier against conversion to Christianity and other religions.... The Temple stood as the beacon light and guidance of equality of all persons before God.

The temple was situated in the fastness of a jungle. According to the Police Report, the Christians were the only people "who hunt and poach in the vicinity of the temple, day in and day out. The Report mentions certain Christian names who were found in the vicinity of the temple, on the day of the atrocity.

Murarjibhai Vaidya On Second Five Year Plan

Speaking at a meeting held under the auspices of the Libertarian Social Institute, Bombay, Shri Murarji Vaidya pointed out that most current discussions of the Second Five-Year Plan treated the subject as if it were a mere issue of capital formation or a particular taxation policy. But what was much more important to remember about the Second Five-Year Plan was that it is a Plan designed to change the social order itself. The aim of the Plan is to increase the standard of living of the people and ensure an equitable distribution of wealth. What we are aiming at is a Socialistic Pattern of the British type. Such a Plan has to be implemented democratically. The aim is not to produce a Sputnik at the cost of the living standards of the people, said Shri Vaidya.

Shri Vaidya further said that the Second Five-Year Plan had to raise its resources through the internal economy, through the private sector, through foreign aid, through taxation and deficit financing and through voluntary small savings.

Even as the targets of the Second Plan were announced, many experienced Indian economists doubted the capacity of the Indian economy to yield the resources required by the Plan. Since the Plan is not intended to be a mere blueprint, greater attention should have been paid to the actual size and

strength of the Indian economy. Another factor creating difficulties in realizing the Plan targets is the higher costs of implementation, resulting from inflationary measures undertaken by the Government, observed Shri Vaidya.

No country in the world, continued Shri Vaidya, had ever developed its economy, relying entirely on its internal resources. The United States of America, as even Russia, obtained foreign aid in some form or other during the initial phases of economic development. India, today, is in that same situation when it has to lean to some extent on foreign capital. From this standpoint, Shri Vaidya said, the policy followed by the present Government as regards foreign investments in India is not sufficiently encouraging. It needs fair incentive and guarantee.

Proceeding further, Shri Vaidya said that it was a legitimate fear that foreign capital might acquire a stranglehold on the Indian economy if sufficient precautions were not taken. But a democratic republic like India which had the peoples' interests at heart could learn to master foreign capital without scaring it away. Given sufficient care and effort, it is possible to attract foreign capital and at the same time safeguard India's vital interests, he said.

He also pointed out that what

the foreign investor looked for when investing was the condition of the private sector in India. If the private sector at home is not sufficiently free, the foreign investor can have no guarantee of safe investments.

Coming to the raising of resources by taxation and deficit financing, Shri Murarji Vaidya pointed out that no systematic principles of planning were uniformly followed by the framers of the Second Plan. For instance, the expenditure tax, which was suggested by Kaldor to meet the requirements of socialist Britain, has been imposed in addition to the Income-tax. But Kaldor developed expenditure tax as a superior alternative to income tax. The expenditure tax exempts the savings of the individual from taxation when it is not imposed along with the income tax. This measure, therefore, is intended to induce savings. In this way, the expenditure tax becomes an additional burden and does not contribute to savings in India. The whole Indian taxation policy, Shri Vaidya said, is a hotch-potch affair with links borrowed from here and there.

Another defect of the Second Plan is that while fixing the targets for the private sector, it does not consider the difficulties of raising the required resources due to the Government's simultaneous de-

mands on resources for the public sector.

The inflationary trends released by deficit financing have made it next to impossible to permit small savings to accumulate.

Shri Vaidya answered successfully the several questions put to him. To the question whether John Gunther, an American writer, was right on saying that the average American worker was a decayed soul, Shri Murarji Vaidya said that the stress on material values in the West was no result of the economy. It was the general cultural atmosphere which generated such values.

Mr. M. V. Balakrishnan Rao, Research student, Libertarian Social Institute, wished to know as to what extent the arguments of Von Mises and his school that socialism cannot sustain itself, were correct. Shri Vaidya replied that, if we followed the arguments of Hugh Gaitskell, it was possible to sustain socialism. To a further question referring to American imperialism Shri Vaidya answered that the issue was largely relative. In Ceylon, for example, India's actions were considered imperialistic.

Earlier, Shri M. A. Master, intro-

ducing Shri Vaidya to the audience, said that Shri Vaidya brought an analytical and penetrating intellect to bear upon any subject he happened to handle. Shri Master said that the psychological atmosphere of the country created by the wavering industrial policy statements by different members of the Government was not a good example of equality of opportunity promised to the private sector along with the public sector. In such a context, Shri Murarji's subject was very pertinent.

Summing up, Shri Master pleaded for greater incentive and better opportunities for the private sector to contribute a share to the development of the Indian economy.

Among those present were Shri M. R. Pai, Asst. Secretary of the Forum of Free Enterprise, Miss Kusum Lotwala, Secretary of the Libertarian Social Institute, and Shri Hemendra Shah, Superintendent of the R.L. Trust Hostel, who passed the vote of thanks.

The meeting was held on Thursday, 19th Dec. 1957 and lasted for about two hours. During refreshments, Shri Vaidya had informal chats with the audience in a lighter vein.

ment, with the concept of private property abolished, a violent departure from his own earlier Bhoodan movement wherein the concept still existed? Why was the Gramdan Sammelan held in camera? Why were they not prepared to share with the people what they said at the meeting? Is Bhava spiritualising Communism or communising Gandhism?

Gramdan, like its predecessor Bhoodan, is bound to fail. When Gramdan fails, Bhava will embark on Taluk-dan and when Taluk-dan too fails, he might talk of District-dan. Ultimately, when Bhava fails in all his ventures, he might at last launch his "Sarvaswadan" movement and might ask us to retire to the Himalayas!!! Or, he might even ask us to sacrifice our lives (euphemistically he might prefer to call it "Jeevadan") to make his "great" movement a big success!!! The ultimate aim of Bhava is, of course, to send us all to HEAVEN.

Bhava's "economics" means depriving all of whatever little they possess but not raising the standard of living. He has no solution to offer for any of our problems. His only solution to our problems is that we should ignore them. So, if there is food shortage, we must eat less. If there is shortage of cloth, we must go half-naked like him, to illustrate the virtues of simple living. When we have nothing to eat and nothing to wear, he might either talk of "Jeevadan" or ask us to live as happily as Adam and Eve who, though they had no food or cloth lived happily or at least thought so.

The Ganga of SARVODAYA, Yamuna of Nehru's Socialism, and Saraswati of Bhava's every conceivable kind of "Dan" movement met at the Trivenisangham of Yelwal near Bangalore, are as Mr. C. R. M. Rao says in his article on Gramdan in the New Socialist (a monthly organ of the P.S.P.) might ultimately merge into the MAHA-SAGAR of Communism.

It was Jinnah, who when asked to comment on one of Gandhi's statements, replied "I am not here to answer every crank, crook or fool". This statement of Jinnah fits Bhava to a "T". But in India every crank gets a following and that is the national tragedy.

Vinoba Bhava and His Pranks

Sumant S. Bankeshwar

HAS Vinoba Bhava fulfilled his tall mission of collecting 50 million acres of voluntary land gifts, redistributing them all among landless tillers of the soil, and bringing about an economic "revolution" in this country by 1957? Not only none of his lofty aims is anywhere near fulfilment, but much of the enthusiasm and sympathy felt for his movement has waned. Bhava's movement lacks today even the element of drama, excitement and tamasha, originally associated with it. Even after six long years, Bhava has failed to bring about even the slightest change in the people's hearts. Is there anything more stupid than to think of building a movement on the capricious change of people's hearts and bringing about an economic revolution? To hide the utter failure of his Bhoodan movement in achieving even a single of his lofty aims, he has now conceived of

Gramdan. His new movement appears to be a clever device to divert public attention from the failure of his Bhoodan which has so far succeeded only as a propaganda. What has happened to the lakhs of acres collected for Bhoodan by Bhava? Who is cultivating the Bhoodan land? Is it already distributed among the landless peasants? Who distributed it, and when? Are the title deeds transferred to the transferees?

WHAT IS BHAVA UP TO?

What is Gramdan, and how does it differ from collectivisation to which the communists are committed? Is Gramdan only a facade of charity and non-violence to conceal the communist policy of collectivising agriculture? Why did Mr. Nambudiripad think of attending the Gramdan Sammelan and blessing it? Is not Bhava's Gramdan move-

VENKATA RAO'S LECTURE AT COORG Free Economy and Land Reform

AT the invitation of Mr. G. M. Gopala Krishna, Coffee Planters, Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao, Vice President of the Bangalore Centre of the Libertarian Social Institute, visited Coorg and delivered two lectures on Free Economy at its capital, Mercara. The first address was given to the Rotary Club on the 6th December, with its President Mr. Davis in the chair. Mr. Davis was a Collector and an Army Officer before 1947 and is now a Planter.

Mr. Venkata Rao spoke on "Property and Freedom." He contrasted the two competing views of Hegel as the first reality of freedom i.e. the condition necessary to enable individuals to realise freedom, and that of Karl Marx and other socialists and communists, that property is theft and robbery.

INEVITABLE END OF SOCIALISM

Socialism of the Marxian variety proceeds in its plan of social reconstruction to abolish property, both in the industrial and agricultural spheres. All economic power in society is added by socialism and communism to the political power of the Government with the result that a thorough totalitarianism becomes inevitable. Though socialism may be started by established democracies like those of Britain and the USA., the democratic structure will suffer attrition, in course of time, as socialism develops. Intentions apart, this is the irresistible trend of socialism, for no class will have any economic independence left which is essential if autocracy is to be resisted.

LAND REFORMS—THE RIGHT AND WRONG WAY

The second lecture delivered to a large audience in the Mercara Town Hall (convened by Mr. G. Manjanathiah, a Member of the Indian Coffee Board and one of the leading Planters in Coorg) dealt with the same theme in greater detail but with special reference to the land reforms, proposed by the Planning Commission and the Mysore Committee presided over by Mr. Jatti. Landowners have been

startled by these proposals of the Jatti Committee to transfer ownership to tenants, on inadequate compensation with a view to abolish the class of landowners altogether, to impose ceilings on land holdings and to prepare the ground for co-operative or collective farming.

Mr. Rao contrasted the destructive scheme of socialism and communism in regard to land, put into force in Russia and China) with the constructive revolution carried out in Denmark in the turn of the century. The former reduces the tiller to the position of a mere labourer while the latter created a class of peasant proprietors. In Denmark today half the land is owned by small holders with 15 to 25 acres and the bulk of the other half have from 25 to 150 acres.

They derive the advantages of large scale purchase and sale of easy credit and the benefits of technology and modern medicine for man and animal through a wise use of co-operative societies. This is co-operative farming where the

holdings of the individual are NOT merged into the collective farms, depriving him of the freedom and responsibility of planning his farm work on his own. On the contrary the system helps the former to make the utmost use of his private property in land.

In India the Planning Commission, under the direction of the Prime Minister, is holding out the goal of collective farming as the objective of agricultural reform, using "betterment co-operatives" as only a stage on the road to collectivisation.

The unsettlement these objectives have caused among the agriculturists is holding up the progress of production.

Mr. Rao commended the example of Denmark for emulation, which would both promote production and restore confidence. It would also safeguard democracy by providing an economic basis for a class of independent farmers with capacities for self-government and zest for the use of science and co-operation for advancement. There is no use of national independence if individuals are deprived of free life in work and culture.

Book Reviews

MARXIST INDICTMENT OF COMMUNISM

THE NEW CLASS. By Milovan Djilas. Published by Frederick A. Praeger, New-York, 1957, 214 pp.

It is a sign of our disillusioned age that any murmur of dissent from within the communist countries ever so slightly critical of the totalitarian system of government, causes in us a noticeable sigh of relief and hope. And yet, by implication, our age is little to blame. When the human battle is pushed out to its logical end, the thin veil of diplomacy loses lustre. Particularly so, when the conflict is divided into two camps with no alternatives other than the annihilation of one by the other.

Th latest murmur from within the communist bloc is that of Milovan Djilas and his book, *The New*

Class. Intrinsicly, the book is an attempt to retrieve the human mind from the enmeshes of a callous system that digs deep into the subconscious and corrupts the thinking of man. It is a breath-taking feat to watch the struggle of a regimented system, scientifically injected into the pattern of human life, and the last protests of a rational human being. To the extent that Milovan Djilas has got free, he is to be congratulated; to the extent that he remains, in spite of himself, trapped in the web of communist thinking, we are confronted with the appalling success of the subliminal method.

MONSTER THAT IS MARXISM

Djilas contends that such evils as purge terror, slave labour, thought

control, flow inevitably from the communist ideology. Communism must necessarily lead to a new class, to a class of owners and exploiters, composed of those who have special economic privileges because of the administrative monopoly they hold. "This is a class whose power over men is the most complete known to history.... Having achieved industrialization, the new class can do nothing more than strengthen its brute force and pillage the people. It ceases to create.... Its method of control is one of the most shameful in history. Men will marvel at the grandiose ventures it accomplished, and will be ashamed of the means used to accomplish them.

"When the new class leaves the historic scene—and this must happen—there will be less sorrow over its passing than there was for any other class before it."

And in this speaks also the dialectical mind of Djilas, the mind that has undergone, in spite of its pitiful clinging to truth and reason, a process of indoctrination. To shake off the crust of an old structure that has grown rigorous and static and has made remarkable and impossible inroads into the human personality and which has feasted on the weaknesses of human character requires the strength of a Titan. There is thus an element of prejudice and dogma in Djilas.

THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE PARTY

Communism, according to Djilas liberates the proletariat from imperialist exploitation in underdeveloped countries. This achieved, its role is to industrialize these countries. Totalitarianism then is the pre-condition for the rapid industrial advancement of a backward economy. But, directly success is attained, a degeneration sets in. It is the inevitable result of the dogma and ideology which is necessary for a revolution. From this conflict the outcome can only be personal dictatorship, which forms the bedrock of the new class, a class of bureaucrats who enjoy special privileges and who strengthen their position by pillage and plunder. "The party makes the class; but the class grows stronger while the party grows weaker."

In such manner writes Djilas as if he were expounding scientific

truths. Here is evidence of the dogmatic and 'dialectical' heritage that he has imbibed. Yet the greatness of Milovan Djilas and his acute understanding and insight lie in his understanding of the communist economy. He brands it as State Capitalism, an economy where the state is used by a few for exploitation of the many.

"Communist leaders really believe that they know economic laws and that they can administer production with scientific accuracy. The truth is that the only thing they know is how to seize control of the economy."

PLANNED CHAOS

"The Communist planned economy conceals within itself an anarchy of a special kind. In spite of the fact that it is planned, the communist economy is perhaps the most wasteful in the history of human society."

"In the Communist system insecurity is the way of life for the individual. The state gives him an opportunity to make a living but on condition that he submit.... Power or politics is the ideal of those who have the desire or the prospect of living as parasites at the expense of others.... Consequently, unscrupulous ambition, toadyism and jealousy inevitably must increase. Careerism and an ever-expanding bureaucracy are the incurable diseases of Communism."

GHOST OF MARXISM IS TOO STRONG

The book has its worth in the fact that it is a Marxist critique of communism. Milovan Djilas accepts the presuppositions of the Marxist standpoint. He accepts the validity of the dialectic in social change. He sets out, nevertheless, to view the communist system of government and bases his criticism on its own postulate. The ghost of the communist dogma is incurable, and hence assertions such as, that the Western society is an anti-thesis to communism, that communism alone offers the possibility of revolution and consequent industrialization in underdeveloped countries, that a reform is inevitable in Western society, etc. Finally, the book may be truly classed as an examination into basic principles. It is not the usual story of intrigue and bids for power. It is a work of a high intellectual order. Its outstanding merit is that it prompts in us a

badly-needed hope. It is an indictment of the communist system by a communist himself.

—K. D. Valicha.

THE RUPTURED INTEGUMENT THE NEW CLASS by Milovan Djilas. Published by Frederic A. Praeger, New York, 1957, Pp 214.

NEAR the beginning of his re-examination of the Communist system, Milovan Djilas, the erstwhile theoretician of Yugoslav Marxism, asks a simple and startling question about the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. He quotes a little known March 1918 speech of Lenin at the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party to the effect that the necessary social forms for a socialist society did not exist in Russia, and asks: "If the conditions for a new society were not sufficiently prevalent, then who needed the Revolution?"

Who Needed the Revolution?

The question is the key to his challenge. It had always been accepted in Marxist theory that the "seeds of the new society" ripen in the old, and only when capitalism, had exhausted all the potentialities, would, as Marx puts it in his great botanical metaphor in the Communist Manifesto, "the integument burst asunder," and a new society emerge. But in Russia, more than in any country in Europe, these objective conditions were lacking. Thus, truly, "who needed the revolution?"

Whatever the merits of the contention that the war-weary masses supported the Bolsheviks in October 1917, it is quite clear, as Isaac Deutscher and other historians have admitted, that by the end of 1920 the Bolsheviks would have been swept from power if free elections had been permitted in Russia. Lenin himself recognized the temper of the times by taking "one step backward" with the New Economic policy, which allowed a measure of individual initiative and economic freedom. But then the screws tightened, and by the early 1930s the savage collectivization and the forced industrialization had begun.

For Djilas the main function of the Communist system has been to spur a forced industrialization on a backward country. The apologists for the system argue that the effort did create an industrial society.

achieving in four decades what Western Society achieved in ten. But that effort has been accomplished through a repression of freedom, a ruthlessness rarely if ever seen in human history, and the establishment of a new system of privilege and a new class which rules in the name of the proletariat. And the further witless irony is that the Soviet economy has achieved the goals it has only through a frenzied mobilization and extraordinary waste of resources.

Anarchy In "Planned" Economy
 "The Communist Planned economy," says Djilas, "conceals within itself an anarchy of a special kind. In spite of the fact that it is planned, the Communist economy is perhaps the most wasteful in the history of human society. Much of this waste is hidden by impressive figures of steel production and the like. But from the start, the Bolsheviks have had little sense of economic rationality.

In the first days after the Revolution, the days of so-called War Communism, money was abolished because money was presumably a means of exploitation rather than simply a measure of exchange. Even to this day, the Russian economy has little sense of comparative costs, or of efficient use of capital. The planners rarely know it would be more economic to exploit one resource or another, to build one type of factory rather than another. As in the case of a military commander, who seeks to reach a hill at any cost, the troops are expendable. With its huge natural and human resources the Soviet Union can, like the United States, often hide enormous waste. But the other countries of Eastern Europe, which have mechanically copied the Soviet plan, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, have found themselves in distress while the Yugoslavs have to dismantle their centralized planning apparatus, re-introduce market mechanisms, and restrict the role of planning to broad investment goals.

The Residue

So, what is left in the end is a new privileged class, "unable to accomplish that in which they so fanatically believed," and "unable to acknowledge the fact since they themselves had become superfluous."

In its broad outlines, what Djilas has said is not new. Before the Revolution, a Polish anarchist named Machajski made the melancholy prediction that a revolution in the name of the working class, led by intellectuals and professional revolutionaries, would end only in a new class domination, and in a renewed class struggle. Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of the German Spartacus party and a founding member of the Communist International, in her sharply written pamphlet, *The Russian Revolution*, warned Lenin in 1918 that the suppression of democracy in the Communist Party could only lead to a dictatorship within the party. Trotsky, in his *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), foresaw the dangers which bureaucratization would bring.

OUT OF THE DARK TUNNEL OF MARXISM

But two elements give the Djilas book its special point and bite. First, that as one of the "new men," wholly educated within Marxist walls, he has worked his way out of the dark tunnel with such brilliance and clarity. And secondly, his insistence that the privileged group in Russia constitutes a "new class."

At first glance one may ask, why such a man has anything to do about the term "class?" Such a question fails to take into account not only the history of Marxist dogmatics and its crucial bearing on ideology, but more, the entire moral basis of the Communist appeal. Over a period of 40 years, the substantive basis of Communism has changed considerably: equality of wages has given way to unequal and startlingly high differentials; freedom and experimentalism in art to bleak conformity; workers' control to bureaucratic management, and so on. But what has remained always, as the myth, is the notion of selfless purpose, the argument that all these changes were necessary since the Party was in the "service of the people." Leon Trotsky, although he saw every step of the way, stopped short of a complete break with the system because, in his mind, Russia was still a "workers'" state and therefore historically "progressive." President Eisenhower recently re-

marked that when he first met Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet marshal said to him: "In your system, people only think about their self-interest; in ours, we serve the community." Eisenhower found it hard to find an answer.

Djilas' book provides the answer: the Communists are not serving the community, but a new class—and this provides the moral basis for the complete rupture with the Communist system.

This, then, is the unique feature of *The New Class*. It is not, as so many recent books by former Communists, an inside story of the Byzantine intrigues for power, though such accounts are important in understanding the nature of power; it is a book which goes back to first premises. And on that basis, it stands as a challenge to every Communist ideologist the world over to re-examine, as Djilas has, the basis of his allegiance to the Communist cause.

Daniel Bell,
 from 'Bulletin'
 September, 1957. No. 9.

U.S.A. AND FREE WORLD

Certainly we have an interest and a stake in the well-being of the rest of the world. But America will perform its role better in the world affairs, if instead of being a Santa Claus to all the nations, it first of all protects the rights and the liberties of its own citizens and conserve its own economy and its own strength, and encourages other nations to stand on their own legs.

—Frank Holman in "Dangers of Treaty Law."

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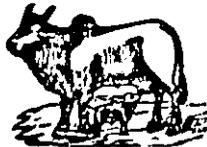
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