

**Indian
Libertarian**

Vol. V No. 10

Xm2, N5

15 July 1957

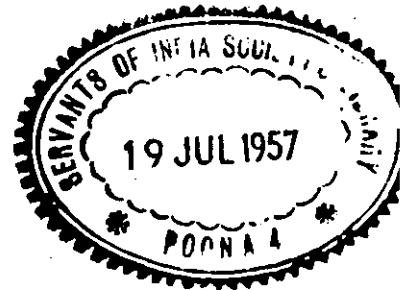
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The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Economic and Public Affairs

Edited by

MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each month

Single Copy 20 Naye Paise Annual Rs. 4.50

CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL	3
National Crisis and the Way Out by M. A. Venkata Rao	5
Nehru—His Fancies and Fixations by J. K. Dhairyawan	8
The Coming Revolt in Russia by Eugene Lyons	10
Supplement of Research Department of R. L. Foundation A to D	
Intellectual Ferment Behind the Iron Curtain by Jay Kay	11
Communism—Not an Ideology but a Conspiracy by Sumant S. Bankeshwar	12
Saint Abroad, Sinner At Home by S. R. Narayan Iyer	14
West Wooing Islamic Bloc, Danger India Ignores	15
INDIAN NEWS PARADE	15
WORLD NEWS	16
BOOK REVIEWS	17
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	19

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2. The Libertarian Perspective by M. V. Balakrishna Rao.
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(i) Kashmir (ii) Politics of Freedom
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Editorial

PAKISTAN PROPAGANDA AGAINST INDIA

WHEN Nehru reached Damascus on his way to London last month to attend the Commonwealth Ministers' Conference, the Pakistani envoy's staff there showed their jealousy and illwill as regards India's international status and Nehru's popularity in their accustomed manner, graceless beyond words. They circulated demeaning cartoons of the Indian visitor and handouts purporting to show India's injustice to Pakistan over the Kashmir and canal waters issues and her "insincerity" and "aggression", suggesting even secret designs on Pakistan's integrity. But Syria and Egypt are at present charmed with Nehru and India on account of the bold and unselfish stand we took in the Suez dispute, offending even Britain and France, for the sake of the sovereignty of Egypt. Syrian newspapers ignored Pakistani handouts and publicised Nehru's visit in a royal manner. Some even carried criticisms of Pakistan's anti-Egyptian and pro-British stand on the Suez Canal issue. They ignored the "Islamic" appeal of Pakistani officials for the time being.

The same story of intense, incessant and unscrupulous propaganda was evident in London after Nehru reached the British capital. They were successful enough to persuade MacMillan to raise the Kashmir and canal issues with Nehru in a private meeting. This, though the British Prime Minister was known to favour a period of mollification of Nehru, to make him forget the ugly British stand against India, during the recent Kashmir discussions in the Security Council! All the time many British papers have been carrying on a campaign against India, cleverly camouflaged in the guise of fairness and concern for the solidarity of the Commonwealth. Even liberal papers like *The Manchester Guardian* displayed a constitutional inability to see and understand India's standpoint which is essentially fair and correct, both legally and morally. The old diplomacy of the Muslim being "the favourite wife" in the phrase of Sir Bampfylde Fuller is still continued by Britain as umpire between the Hindu and Islamic Dominions of the Commonwealth. It is clear that India, under her Congress leaders, has not been able to throw off the shackles of the old pre-independence weaknesses vis a vis the British and the Muslim nation of Pakistan. India continues the same attitude, in a wider world, as regards Muslim nations in general and Egypt and Syria in particular, as the latter share in her neutralist or disguised pro-communist policy in international tangles. It is pro-communist in effect, if not in intention and claim.

INTROSPECTION NEEDED

The behaviour of the British press, during the Commonwealth Ministers' Conference, so ready to oblige Pakistan and so ready to throw a stone at India, and so willing to make itself a mouthpiece of Pakistan in her vendetta should induce introspection on the part of Indian policy makers.

How do we account for this partiality of the British, and indeed of the whole of the Western world without exception, to Pakistan? How do our Congress leaders and Government account for this phenomenon? India is scrupulously correct and unprecedented in her generosity to Pakistan. But she is not thought to be so.

Indian leaders, particularly Nehru, are prone to preach a psychology of fearlessness (and of the value of unilateral justice and surrender) to Western nations in their justified apprehensions about Stalinist Russia. But India cannot show any success in her own application of such a unilateral policy of appeasement or generous surrender to Pakistan.

The right lesson to be learnt from India's experience, so far with Pakistan, is that she is too deeply committed to hatred of India (and to aggressive designs against India) to show any appreciation of her generosity. It is time that this fact was openly realised, and the people taken into confidence by the Government for it is only such a rapport between people and Government that can evolve successful measures of defence.

OUR PUBLICITY FAILS AGAIN

The Commonwealth Conference period also showed up the chronic insufficiency and inefficiency of Indian publicity vis a vis Pakistani hate propaganda. Pakistan is proving that even total lies can have the form and colour of truth, and can function as such to the detriment to truth and justice if the protagonists of truth are too lazy and inept to present their claims with due force and iteration. The Indian case should be presented as often as it is traduced, and more continuously than falsehood. Publicity is an art and India should employ envoys more intelligent and zealous in her cause, and more filled with a patriotic spirit than the Congress politicians, members of the Nehru family and favoured bureaucrats, now filling the chancelleries of India in foreign capitals. Indian failure in this matter of publicity has been noticed in session after session of Parliament, and is being commented on recently even by the Big Press of the country, usually so chary of criticism on account of the vested interests of their Big Business proprietors. Small papers and the Opposition politicians have been castigating this defect from the dawn of independence but with little or no effect on the ruling circles.

THE CANAL WATERS DISPUTE

This strange dispute about sharing the canal waters, (or rather the waters of the rivers of the Punjab and Kashmir between Pakistan and India), has assumed a characteristically original phase, for everything is original with Pakistani politics. For over three years the World Bank's mediation had produced a formula, after an uninterrupted series of meetings between Indian and Pakistani officials in India and Washing-

ton, occasioning the expenditure of unconsciously large sums of money on travel allowances for hordes of officials (who had a field day in luxurious hotels in foreign capitals). The formula was that India should have the waters of the three eastern rivers that flow through East Punjab (Does it require an arbitration to get this recognised?) and that Pakistan should have the waters of the three western rivers, including the Indus. Fair enough, it would seem. But Pakistan's sense of fairness is unique in the world. She demanded and the World Bank's official (so diplomatically in line with the policy of their country, the USA, which favours Pakistan) obligingly agreed that Pakistan should have compensation from India for the loss of the waters flowing from the impounding of them in the new Bhakra Nangal Dam and its canals. They computed this "loss" at Rs. 60 crores to equal the cost of a construction of additional canals in Pakistan to utilise the waters of the western rivers flowing in her territory.

So ignoring the hundreds of crores of rupees that Pakistan owes to India on the national debt and other accounts, India has to pay Pakistan for constructing canals in Pakistan's territory! This is strange logic and strange justice. But India is nothing, if not magnanimous. Rather, her present rulers are magnanimous to the enemy country (for such enmity is declared by Pakistan herself and repeated everyday in her jihad cries) at the cost of Indian citizens. A strange way of safeguarding national interests indeed. But the story does not end here.

Asking For More

For now it transpires that Pakistan is not satisfied with this windfall of Rs. 60 crores! It appears that she now demands Rs. 170 crores for constructing the dams as well as the canals. It is clear to all, who are not wilfully blind, that as soon as India accepts this further inordinate demand (as she well might accept in consonance with the bottomless generosity of Indian leaders at the expense of the long suffering Indian masses) Pakistan will ask for a further sum of money, on some other pretext, on the principle that the cow should be milked dry without compunction. She is there for that purpose. India is there to support Pakistan, in her famines and bankruptcies as an Elder Brother, though so far her generosity has not elicited any gratitude from her protege.

The outrageousness of the Pakistani demand for Rs. 170 crores becomes glaringly apparent, when we learn that out of the total water resources of the Punjab river system, Pakistan gets around 80% while India obtains only 20% after Partition! And yet the Indian dharmaraja has coolly accepted the suggestion that she pay Rs. 60 crores to the "Younger Brother!" Should not legislators and publicists raise the question as to what constitutional authority there is for the executive to agree to pay such enormous and inequitable demands to a self-proclaimed enemy state incessantly on the rampage against us. True, diplomacy is entitled to use sama or conciliation and dana or charity or gifts. But these tactics are not ends in themselves and should receive a halt, when they have become fruitless long ago.

Look at the fate of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact which is typical in that, it is we who have unilaterally observed its behests while the other side have systematically trampled it in the dust. What remains of its mutual non-provocation and non-vilification terms in the continuous fog of hate propaganda and jihad whipped up in the country of our "Younger Brother"? We are not suggesting a retaliation, but at least a cessation of fruitless generosity at the cost of the Indian tax-payer, who is supposed to have consented to all such acts of the Government, simply by reason of having elected the party that has set up the Government.

So it is but plain commonsense when we suggest that the Government should call a halt to further orgies of cash gifts to Pakistan in connection with the canal and other disputes.

Pakistan Has To Thank Herself

If Pakistan has less water than she needs from her rivers, the fault is that of Providence and of Partition, a Partition she achieved through shortsighted fanaticism. India has no call to make good the debit side to Partition to Pakistan. Having but 20 percent of the waters of pre-Partition Punjab, whom has India to approach to make good her loss of 80 percent? Unluckily we have no "Big Brother" who is willing and capable of making good our shortcomings, natural and political.

The history of this dispute needs research, as a lesson in the devious and incredibly selfish and brazen psychology of the Pakistani leaders. They have no wish for settlement of any dispute with India! For their greatest asset to gain the sympathy of the world's "Big Brothers" is the bundle of quarrels such as those about Kashmir and the canal waters. It is time that India realised this cold war game of Pakistan.

Conspiracy in Pakistan

There have been a number of bomb explosion in Srinagar and Jammu in recent weeks. A bomb was discovered under a culvert with fuse and all complete for action by the police in Jammu. The nature of bomb show that the culprits engaged in this dastardly plot are skilled persons probably with military training. The police have given it as their opinion that a gang of saboteurs have been at work in Kashmir. Informed sources connect the incidents with Pakistan's infiltrators. This is no doubt part of the campaign of terrorism that some Pakistani elements wish to start in Kashmir. The Pakistani soul can never rest until it wrests Kashmir from Indian hands. They have learnt the lesson that if the nuisance that they create is big enough, Indian leaders will yield as they did in regard to the demand for Pakistan itself. India must see to it this time that such weakness and indifference to national interests will not prompt our leaders to yield Kashmir and Jammu. For there is no end to this inclined plane of appeasement. After Kashmir, the Pakistani appetite will grow on what it feeds, and will demand East Punjab and West Bengal and Assam and perhaps a corridor to join East and West Pakistan.

National Crisis And The Way Out

By M. A. Venkata Rao

INDIA is today in a grave crisis—financial, economic political and psychological. It is not merely a domestic crisis in regard to the Congress Party and the landslide in its popularity that was revealed in the recent elections. It is truly a crisis of national magnitude, a situation which will do irreparable damage to the country in all respects, domestic and foreign. It concerns national independence as well as internal reconstruction.

The domestic and foreign aspects of the crisis are closely inter-related, more so after the declaration of the "socialistic pattern of society" as the goal and policy of national effort, and the promulgation of the Second Five Year Plan as the first phase of the concrete master-technique for its realisation. The high targets and stress on heavy industries, necessitating higher taxes and imposing a strain on all avenues of resources, have brought about the financial crisis. Foreign exchange resources are dwindling fast, and unless foreign aid is forthcoming in abundant measure, the Plan will founder, necessitating an extension of the Plan period to seven or ten years or the abandonment of a part of the proposed investment with consequent heavy loss on expenditure already incurred.

THE GRAVE DANGER

The Government is trying frantically to obtain machinery imports from foreign countries on long term credits of five or seven years. The mass of ill-will that India has accumulated in America, Britain, France and other Western nations through her ill-considered foreign policy of non-alignment-cum-interference is creating artificial barriers against the flow of Western Aid finance to India in her hour of crisis. Socialism at home and an impracticable and unwise neutrality abroad, (a neutrality or neutralism which is more and more unashamedly leaning to the Communist camp in the cold war) have together created a situation of the gravest danger to the country.

It is high time that both aspects of policy are subjected to competent and impartial study out of which valuable constructive suggestions tending towards a revision of policy could be made and urged on the Government through enlightened public opinion. It is proposed to indicate here the lines of change in foreign policy that is urgently called for in national interests.

DEFENCE BUDGET IS TOO MEAGRE

The fact that out of the 80 crores of rupees raised by the new taxes, some Rs 50 crores are to go to the defence budget is symptomatic of the danger facing the country. It is to be realised that this danger and the general instability facing the country today are entirely the result of the wrong policies pursued by our Government in flagrant defiance of common sense.

This addition to the defence budget is too meagre. Defence should have received top priority from the beginning, partly owing to the international situation, wherein the immense Power Potential of Russia and China is growing at unprecedented speed, and partly on account of the continued hostility of Pakistan. The history of the forces of Muslim separatism that led to the Partition of the country, (more out of the inept handling of the situation by Congress leadership than out of the inherent nature of the situation,) should have warned our top leaders (or the Leader) that the ill-will, jealousy, active hostility and implacable hatred, evinced by Muslim League leaders, would be consolidated and strengthened infinitely, by the creation of Pakistan as an independent nation State. The cry of jihad raised during the partition riots was soon re-inforced by the unjust demand for Kashmir, and has never ceased for a moment. The continuous and unabated propaganda that Pakistan has indulged against India and the crooked ways and unceasing ingenuity displayed by her leader to blacken India's name in the international forum, and to create ever new means of giving trouble to India, should have opened the eyes of our authorities to the real nature of Pakistan as an implacable enemy of India. Such a realisation on their part should have led them to strengthen the military resources of the country in manpower and modern arms.

But contrary to such prudence and common sense, our authorities have insisted on ignoring the growing menace from the hostile neighbour and mouthing the philosophy of non-violence, in season and out of season. They have gone further and have had the irritating temerity of preaching to the Western powers a policy of non-violence, unpreparedness, fearlessness and of trusting those who are obviously planning aggression on them! This has lost India the goodwill she had inherited from her position in history as one of the oldest and most civilized of nations unfairly held in subjection by Britain.

Grave Mistakes of Congress Leadership

The main reason is the crass unimaginativeness of Congress leadership, of Gandhi and Nehru chiefly, during the war. At a time when Britain, and the Western free world generally, were in mortal danger of being defeated by Hitler's Germany and Tojo's Japan, Indian leaders affronted them by a policy of non-co-operation and active opposition to the war effort through their "Quit India" campaign. They said they preferred to meet Hitler or Tojo and take their chance by offering them satyagraha! Hindu leaders like Savarkar and Moonje were more sensible and level-headed, and suggested that India should take advantage of war training and militarise itself and learn modern warfare and that Indians should

demand freedom at the end of the war. Only if the British had refused should opposition have been organised against them after Western victory. We were callous to the cause of world freedom, in which our own was inextricably entwined. And we now suffer the consequences of that blindness. For Nehru has continued that blind policy of opposition to the Western Powers, in their moral combat with international communism to the cold war. Under the pretence of impartiality and neutrality, and noninvolvement and non-alignment, (words without meaning in view of the absence of any middle position between freedom and slavery) India has antagonised the Free World which alone aid without strings could come in any significant measure. Now he wants aid of the order of 1000 crores to get him out of the crisis which he has created for his long-suffering country.

Karachi More Realistic

America is showering financial aid in unprecedented measure on all weak States threatened by international communism, with a view to buttressing them up against absorption by the Soviets. Pakistan has seized the opportunity and entered the Baghdad Pact to avail herself of the wonderful largesse. Earlier she had obtained military and economic Aid on a large scale by her policy of sympathetic understanding with America in her struggle for world freedom from the increasing pressure and growing strength of international communism. It was a matter of enlightened self-interest to the USA to strengthen, through military and economic assistance All States willing to resist Soviet pressure exerted through subversion in peace and military attack in war. The result today is that Pakistan has been enabled to develop a military power, equipped with the latest weapons and planes, and armour of all kinds, including atomic warheads. Her forces have been trained by American military officers, both in American institutions and in Pakistan. Military exercises have been held, both in West and East Pakistan and dummy warfare arranged several times to which the Indian High Commissioner and his staff have been carefully singled out for exclusion! America has done nothing to persuade Pakistan to abate her Jihad propaganda.

Where is the Success of Our Foreign Policy?

In the recent Security Council debates, it was clear that India had no single sympathiser for her legitimate stand on Kashmir. America followed Britain in regarding Pakistan as "the favourite wife." India's standpoint on Kashmir is transparently just and fair but not one Power in the whole world is willing to recognise it. If this is not a failure of our foreign policy, it is difficult to know what failure means. Yet Indian opinion, led by the Big Business papers and the Congress Party leaders, repeats the parrot cry that India's policy is correct and even the only moral policy! It would be difficult to conceive of a more ludicrous situation. It shows that Dr. Jung is right in his thesis, that a whole nation can be led to adopt wrong and unhealthy policies, through the soporific influence of leaders, who have acquired a hold

on the people in virtue of other services. A whole people like the Germans, under the Nazis, could become neurotic! It appears that India is in some such psychopathic condition today in relation to Pakistan and military security generally.

Balance of Power Upset

The net result is that the balance of power in India and her neighbourhood has been upset and Pakistan has acquired sufficient power to threaten an invasion of our country with a view to conquest. This is a **COLD FACT**. The ostrich policy of our Government does not make it a chimera of the imagination. The Aligarh movement and the threats of the Muslim League and the agitation for Pakistan, reinforced by inhuman, riotous attacks on innocent people in the streets of Indian cities etc. did not open the eyes of our Gandhian leaders. The pathetic trust of our masses and intelligentsia in their Gandhian leaders led to the appalling horrors of the Partition riots and Partition itself. Partition brought untold power to the enemies of India through sovereignty. Yet our Gandhian leaders have not learnt the needed lesson and changed their attitude to this question. Our people have to realise, before it is too late, that the danger from Pakistan is **REAL** and **URGENT** and have to put pressure through all legitimate and constitutional means and public opinion on Government with a view to obtain a radical change in its policy.

The First Steps

That is the first step. Next or alongside with it should follow a reorientation of our attitude to America and the free world. India has so far objected to American aid to Pakistan and to the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts. Sri Krishna Menon has even said that they amount to an encircling of India, as if the Western Powers were enemies of India and that Russia and China were genuine friends with no designs on us!

But the terms of the new Eisenhower Doctrine for West Asia suggest that the USA is capable of adopting more flexible policies, without requiring membership in military alliances. Jordan and the other West Asian States are offered military and economic Aid just for defending themselves against subversive and military attacks from outside without any membership in military alliances. Jordan has been saved by this move of America. And Pakistan has been quick enough to obtain added assistance under this new Doctrine, in addition to the Military Aid she is already receiving as a member of the Baghdad Pact! Pakistani leaders know how to get something for nothing.

The most urgent thing to do for India in this predicament is to negotiate with the USA for economic and military Aid of such proportions as would be capable of arming and training the largest number of recruits of all levels from the ranks to technical and fighting officer corps and in all the four Arms—ground, air, naval and submarine forces. During the last war, India had two million men under arms and Indian economy was capable of supplying it most of the arti-

cles of military necessity by way of consumer goods. Today we need a war effort, by way of armament and training and recruitment, with a view to possible emergencies. And such a war effort will also form part of the Five Year Plan, especially in the matter of foodgrains, reserves and armament production. Canada and Australia made use of war opportunities to accelerate their industrial power on an unprecedented scale. It is such a war policy that India should today embark upon with America's Aid.

We Still Can Turn the Tables Against Pakistan

America will be disposed and only too willing to assist on India's own terms. India can stipulate that she will not engage her new forces in aggression against any power. The false propaganda by Pakistan that India is threatening her security can be countered by a guarantee that she will not attack Pakistan with a view to annulling the Partition and absorbing her territories. The guarantee may be addressed to the UNO and registered in its archives. India could take a pledge that she will use her newly armed forces only for defence against any would-be aggressor—whether it is Pakistan, Russia or China, or even any Western Power or combination of Powers. She could define the periphery of her defence area and promise to deploy her armed forces only if it is invaded by an aggressor.

The matter is urgent for Pakistan is only waiting for an opportunity for attacking India. Her officers are boasting of occupying Delhi. Her rulers are dreaming of establishing an Islamic empire again as in the days of the Moghuls. It may be fantastic and incredible for Gandhians and people inured in to the long peace of the British regime which protected India so effectively for centuries (no doubt in its own interest) that the bulk of Indians have lost all consciousness of the hard military reality surrounding national independence.

All peaceful enjoyment of life in the routine of business and work, religion and the arts and sciences are only made possible by the presence of an army, ever ready to take the field against aggression. Life is cannibalistic, in the sense, that it has to be paid for by death and suffering. Men can sleep in their beds securely and serenely only if police men are going their rounds all night.

"Dog-in-the Manger" Policy Has to Go

Once India makes such an offer, America will respond with a sense of relief, for the vast military vacuum from Aden to Singapore will then have been filled. India is today adopting a "dog in the manger" policy. She takes no measures to fill the vacuum but on the contrary, she prevents others from filling it themselves; America's arming of Pakistan stems from the need to enable her to fill this vacuum on India's behalf as well as on her own! For it is known that Russia has a desire to penetrate to the Persian Gulf. It was agreed upon between Molotov and Ribbentrop before the second World War that the region of the Persian Gulf should be included in the Russian sphere of influence. And Pakistan's Baluchistan Coast is

situated right at the entrance to the Gulf. The area of the Persian Gulf has become a cockpit of international struggle because of the immense oil resources discovered there by the Western Powers during the war.

It is high time that the Indian public, awakened to the realities of the situation, and instead of blaming the Western Powers for the cold war and war-mongering etc., started to ask their own Government and policy-makers to start negotiations with them for military and economic Aid. India cannot continue to oppose Western military preparedness and at the same time hope to get substantial Aid. The Aid is more urgent for military defence than for realising the targets of the Second Five Year Plan. But we could fulfil both aims if we show a greater measure of understanding of the perils of the international scene and of the motives of Western Powers.

WHOSE BREAD I EAT THEIR SONGS I SING

THE French Socialist Delegation walked out of a Socialist International Conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark, protesting a resolution condemning the invasion of Egypt. The resolution was introduced by Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the British Labour Party. This Party as an ally of the Rockefeller interests, took the same stand in the British Parliament. On principles, the two Socialist parties should have the same stand. But why are they opposed to each other? Here is the "Why":

The financing of a political party has always been a problem, and more so if the party's members are chiefly people with the lowest incomes. Therefore, generous donations are ALWAYS welcome. The Rockefeller subsidised British Labour Party has always been opposed to British oil interests. The French Socialist Party is NOT subsidised by the Rockfellers, AND FOR THIS REASON was not obliged to them. Therefore the difference in opinion. Yes, all principles fall WHEN MONEY TALKS.

—Answer, (California, USA)

RED RULE IN KERALA THROUGH AMERICAN EYES

..... the Communists in India have for the first time won control of one of India's constituent states. With the help of five "independents" (read fellow-travellers) the Communists will have a majority in the legislature of Kerala, a state with 13,500,000 population formed only last year after the communist-led riots-anticipating the current electoral success—had led to its split-off from Madras. The Communists will now be in a position to build a "Yenan-type" local government, on Chinese precedents, as an interior base for their Indian operations. There is an added strategic significance in the location of Kerala; on India's south-western tip, just opposite Ceylon, where the Sinhalese communists have Prime Minister Bandaranaike in the grip of a united front.

—National Review (USA)

NEHRU--HIS FANCIES AND FIXATIONS

By J. K. Dhairyawan

.....

PRIME Minister Nehru has had a successful and a very pleasant tour of the Scandinavian countries. He was in his best form and the sentiments and the utterances that he had given expression to were those of a born democrat. Throughout his tour in the Scandinavian countries he has laid stress on the freedom of the individual and the need of democratic institutions. This is good so far as it goes. Speaking at Copenhagen to the members of the Danish Parliament, Mr. Nehru is reported to have stated:—

“Like you in Denmark, we value freedom of the individual. We value freedom of India of course, but we value the freedom of India so that we may give freedom of the individual, and the structure of democracy politically, and extend it to the economic field also.”

Practice and Precept

These are highly commendable statements and show that the Prime Minister is a votary of the freedom of the individual and is interested in the progress of democratic institutions in the country. But to any one, who is conversant with the latest trends of the Congress Government in the country, the forced marches to socialism from Avadi to Amritsar, the latest communist Budget, the restrictions on travels to foreign countries, the abolition of licences for the import of foreign goods, except without the permission of the Government, the rapid progress towards nationalisation of industries and trades in the private sector, all these and many more are signs that point definitely to the shrinkage of the freedom of the individual and the trends of the Government, away from the democratic practices to a totalitarian form of society, with the State as the moral, social and economic monitor of the Indian people. One wonders, if the present trends of the Government continue, as they are bound to continue, what remains of the freedom of the individual and the democratic structure of the nation. Every dictator, in the past, has sworn by “democracy.” Even the communist totalitarian States style themselves as “people’s democracies”, though the people hardly count and democracy is absent throughout.

The fact of the matter is that Mr. Nehru is a good public speaker, and one can say, also a consummate actor. He pitches his speeches to the moods of the audiences, and knowing that the Scandinavian countries are democratic, the theme of many of his speeches was democracy and the freedom of the individual. If Mr. Nehru were sincere, both for the freedom of the individual and for the progress and advancement of democratic institutions, he would certainly not have advocated the “socialist pattern of society” at Avadi, then again at Amritsar to socialism, pure and simple, and lastly his decision to see to it that the economically non-feasible and over-ambitious Plan is carried through at all costs, despite the intelligent and reason-

able criticism of the Plan from eminent economists, intelligent industrialists and non-Congress section of the nation, all of whom are not capitalists and are as patriotic as Mr. Nehru himself.

A Democrat Abroad, A Communist At Home

It is a strange and distorted picture that Mr. Nehru presents himself—a democrat abroad and a socialist or communist at home. For this habit of Mr. Nehru, facing both ways, one has some sort of an explanation in his biography written by Frank Moraes. Incidentally it is an irony of fate that Moraes, who all his life, has been editing an Anglo-Indian paper, condemning and criticising both the Congress and the Indian Freedom Movement, overnight became an ardent admirer of Mr. Nehru and was commissioned to write the biography of the Prime Minister. Naturally in the whole biography there is hardly any enthusiasm for the Freedom Movement, for Gandhi or any of the stalwarts of the Congress, except Mr. Nehru. Moraes has no warmth and feeling for the Congress movement, and a superficial admiration for the hero of his book. Says Moraes about the fixations in Mr. Nehru’s mind:

“What most people do not realise is that Nehru’s ideas on political, economic and social matters have been fixed and consistent for at least a generation”, and adds that his love for communism can be traced to the beginning of the Russian revolution, which was hailed by many intellectuals in 1917. Says Moraes:—

“he (Nehru) was like many intellectuals none the less impressed by the will and effort of the Russian people and government to lift the country, literally by their bootstraps, to better conditions of life.”

Moraes goes to say that Nehru is impressed by Marxism for its “scientific” basis and “while he was not attracted by all its facets he was impressed by its spirit of “scientific” inquiry.”

In a way it is good that the unofficial or official bard of our Prime Minister should have given to the world the fixations in the mind of Nehru, which are clearly discernible in the totalitarian trends of his Government, since the Avadi and Amritsar sessions of the Congress. It is clear to any intelligent reader of Moraes’ book that both Nehru’s socialism and its treatment by Moraes have the same stultified quality. Moraes constantly reminds his readers that Nehru is a socialist, that socialism is his “goal” but paradoxically Moraes adds that Nehru insists on “clarity” of thought.

Where Nehru has Failed

If one has to take Moraes seriously that Nehru can be credited with clarity of thought and vision then one is afraid that Moraes has certainly failed to really grasp

the true character of Nehru. If Nehru had the clarity of thought he could not be "consistent" for a generation. Many things have happened since the Russian revolution, for any intelligent person to modify and adjust his views in the light of what has happened in Russia and other satellite countries, how Marxism within itself harbours fallacies, how any scheme of planning tends to the shrinkage of the freedom of the individual and democratic institutions, how in the name of class-warfare, equality and other sentimental nonsense, Marxism has tried to go counter to human nature. Today in fact communism or socialism is confronted with contradictions within its ranks, and how some of the better minds of the socialist world, like Hugh Gaitskell and Crosland in Britain, have practically, though indirectly, admitted the fallacies of marxism. If Nehru had the clarity of thought and not permanent fixations he could have known from the experience of the last British Labour Government how many of their socialist fads were boomeranging. The events in Poland and in Hungary, are there for any intelligent person to see where communism or socialism leads to. If Mr. Nehru can be credited with clarity of thought and vision, all these things would not have escaped his attention. That they have been ignored, or that he had no time, between his world-wide tours and addresses to large audiences, to understand the true import and the fallacies of Marxism is not only a personal loss to Nehru but a national tragedy, since the destinies of the nation have been consigned to his care.

The fact of the matter is that Mr. Nehru is by leanings and sentimental attachment a communist. This trait in him was hardened by his visits to Soviet Russia, where he received one of the greatest stage-managed ovations. Despite the omission in Moraes's book, Mr. Nehru is very susceptible to flattery and self-adulation. The rulers of the Kremlin worked on this weakness of Mr. Nehru, he was shown the show-pieces of Soviet Russia, and Mr. Nehru's communist fixations received further hardening. Then came the visit to Red China, and again the astute and clever Chou En-lai played the same tricks on Mr. Nehru's impressionable and sentimental mind. These two visits to Soviet Russia and Red China finally decided the fate of India. It was after these visits that Mr. Nehru openly advocated the "socialist pattern of society" at Avadi and then to socialism at Amritsar.

The Real Nehru

The rulers of the Kremlin and of Peking gave to Mr. Nehru a revolutionary halo as well as the halo of an international figure, for sponsoring the policy of Panchasheela, co-existence and world peace. Susceptible to flattery and praise this action of the rulers of Russia and China flattered Mr. Nehru's vanity. As a communist at heart this praise from Moscow and Peking bore the stamp of "progress". This was more than the West—Britain or America—could offer. While perhaps Mr. Nehru might have been baffled, he was not displeased with the turn of events. With the stamp of being a socialist Mr. Nehru could very well train his guns against the local communists, for after all is said and done, Mr. Nehru is also a dictator at heart, and he would not brook any opposition from any

source, even the Indian communists. Thus Mr. Nehru could appear as a socialist or a communist abroad to the nations behind the Iron Curtain, though he could defy and sneer at the local communists that communism is "out of date and reactionary." And since Mr. Nehru's foreign policy was furthering the cause of Moscow and Peking a definite directive came to the Indian "comrades" to softpedal Mr. Nehru, and not to attack him strongly. Thus we have the Indian communists supporting Nehru's Plan but only saying that the Plan is not sufficiently socialist. Here is the real Nehru.

That Mr. Nehru's pretensions and professions of democracy are not only skin-deep but are absent could be proved by references to his speeches in the country recently. He has stated a number of times, that if the success of the Plan could not be achieved through democratic methods "some other ways" would have to be found out. He has again stated, a number of times, that democracy and free enterprise cannot go together. That shows the working of his mind. He has fixed his goals and he is determined to achieve them and they surely cannot be achieved through democratic processes. Democracy seems to be merely a cloak to cover up the totalitarian trends of the Congress Government. If he was a believer in freedom of the individual and democratic institutions he would have taken into consideration the criticism of eminent economists, industrialists and publicists in the country, who have shown how the second Five Year Plan was economically unsound, and how the Government schemes of nationalisation aimed at the loss of the freedom of the individual and the progress of democratic institutions. Mr. Nehru was not only not tolerant enough of this criticism, but in one of his fits of temper, called ALL critics of the Plan as either foreign inspired, agents of foreign powers, reactionary and what not.

Flights of Fancy

Mr. Nehru's occasional praise of democracy and his reference to the freedom of the individual should not beguile the intelligent men in the country to his real motives. His real motives are to take the country to the communist path. And that he is systematically doing it is clear to any one except the gullible and the ignorant. That he could do so, despite the intelligent opposition, because he commands the backing and the support of the illiterate and ignorant 80 per cent of the population to whom he holds the carrot of Gandhism.

Nobody can today dispute that Mr. Nehru is the uncrowned king of the country. But if Mr. Nehru were a democrat he would have definitely given due importance to the criticism of the Government actions and more so of the Plan. But that is no reason to applaud all the actions of Mr. Nehru, and to be carried away by his occasional references to democracy and the freedom of the individual. These references to the freedom of the individual and democracy are the tactics, and perhaps the occasional flights of fancy and imagination of Mr. Nehru. His fixations have been clearly given by Moraes and they are permanently there in Mr. Nehru's mind.

(Continued On Page 14)

The Coming Revolt In Russia

By Eugene Lyons

Russians, like Hungarians, will rise up against Soviet tyranny when the time is ripe, predicts the author of "Assignment in Utopia."

WE all know the argument that successful revolutions are inconceivable against tyrants possessing huge modern military forces. Hungary, and in lesser degree Poland, have cancelled out the familiar assumption.

When the time is ripe, when the climatic hour has struck, the size of a government's military establishment, the number and equality of its weapons become irrelevant. Not only are the armed forces swept along by the national tide, but in the measure that they retain some discipline and leadership these are placed at the disposal of the revolution.

Whether and when real uprising on a nation-wide scale will take place is wide open to argument, but the magnitude and power of the Soviet military machine is no longer pertinent to the inquiry. Not the dimensions but the decisive loyalties of the military set-up will tell the story. If it sticks by the regime, a small, old-fashioned army can crush a revolt as effectively as a huge modern army, but Hungary attests that in the time of supreme crisis it will side with the populace. And in the case of Soviet Russia there will be no foreign power to crush the people. In theory, China, if still in Communist hands, could attempt this, but practically geography is most unfavourable to such an intervention.

A Significant

A second Hungarian fact seems to me tremendously meaningful for all Communist countries, Russia included. This is the swift and thorough disintegration of the ruling Communist Party under the impact of popular eruptions. Almost at once the Hungarian people discovered the extraordinary truth that there were no Communists in their country, not in the sense of fanatically dedicated supporters of the regime.

"The best among us," said Jules Hay, a prominent and formerly enthusiastic Hungarian Communist, "suffered in this climate of mendacity. We have paid dearly for our lies; we saw our productivity falter, the level of our work sink, while drifting farther away from the philosophic foundations of our literary existence: Marxism-Leninism."

Here was a cry of inner anguish by a man who had everything to gain from playing the regime's dirty games. And to me, who long ago lived in Moscow, largely among Communist intellectuals, Hay's words seemed an echo of the time and place. Again and again Soviet journalists, — writers, actors who outwardly were "sincere Communists", who were trusted by the Kremlin and lived a good life by Soviet standards, talked to me in just that vein.

Sometimes it was in vodka that they suddenly found

the courage to protest their fate. More often it was some new excess of official ghoulishness that moved them to break silence. And always I knew that it was not to educate a foreigner that they risked talking but to assuage their own stricken consciences. In six years residence in the USSR I got to know a good many well-placed Communists but in not one of them did his Communism go deeper than surface conformity. In a few cases they posed—not only to me but to themselves—as true believers for years but always a time came when the pose collapsed.

Of this I am very sure: that, except among the very young and as yet inexperienced, there are no Communists in the Soviet Union. Support of the regime rests on self-interest, national patriotism, fear of the vacuum that would be left by overthrow of the regime, on cynicism and hopelessness and sheer inertia, but not on faith. These are all powerful bulwarks and may sustain the weight of the dictatorship for yet a long time. But only dedicated faith, the kind of faith still found among Communists in the non-Communist world, can withstand the pressures of a popular revolt, if and when it comes.

The Double-Mind

One more aspect of the Hungarian experience seems to me particularly relevant to Soviet Russia. As you or listen to the personal stories of escaped Hungarian freedom fighters, you realize that few of them had planned to revolt or to join revolt by others. Mostly they were unconscious of being rebels, certainly not to the degree of staking their lives, until they found themselves shouting slogans and shooting guns and throwing Molotov cocktails. An intelligent Soviet fugitive has described this phenomenon, common to the subjects of all totalitarian states, as "double-mindedness." A Soviet citizen, he explained, as a matter almost of biological necessity, develops two nearly unrelated minds. There is the public mind, obedient and conformist, stocked with the prescribed slogans and doctrines, suffused by the officially favored emotions. And there is the inchoate secret mind, where suppressed resentments and frustrations breed and fester, where dangerous knowledge and moral intuitions are filed away.

What happened in Hungary, without planning or leadership, is that the hidden mind erupted to the surface and took command. The rulers and the resident foreigners and the experts were utterly astonished, but most astonished of all were the rebels themselves. This is what can be expected in Soviet Russia, too, when the time is ripe.

—National Review

Supplement Of The Research Department Of The R. L. Foundation

Edited by B. S. Sanyal

No. 3

WELFARISM AND POVERTY

By B. S. Sanyal

WELFARE propagandists have written volumes on the various ills of society tracing them all to the capitalist system. The contents of their works, talks and speechifying however do not show any arguments against the market principle. It is all frothy sentimentalising about the existing poverty, inequality and insecurity which they trace romantically to the bad ways of capitalism and which, of course, can be dissolved, according to them, by themselves. Besides, their method being political and not economic the net result is ill-fare. Welfare economics is thus neither economics nor productive of welfare.

WHAT IS POVERTY:

By poverty we generally mean a low standard of living. This is a relative concept. As Dr. Mises says, 'In the eyes of an Indian or a Chinese coolie the American automobile worker is an aristocrat.' Yet in a sense, it is correct to say that poverty prevails in the underdeveloped countries like India. In these countries the society is predominantly agricultural primarily made up of poor land-owning farmers and landless labourers. In the capitalist societies of the West, the notion of poverty refers only to those adults who are unable to take care of themselves—the invalids.

The notion of 'underdeveloped' again is vague and controversial. The usual test is 'the low level of per capita real income.' The level of average real income, of course, varies from country to country, and in the same country, from time to time. Since there are many factors causing poverty, there is no necessary connection between absence of poverty and an efficient utilisation of the available resources. Yet, as a U.N. Report tells us, there are no such countries where poverty coexist with an efficient economy. Jacob Viner has extended the use of the term so as to entail 'poor economic performance plus the potentiality of improvement through known means.'

Poor economic performance can be tested by a low level of agricultural productivity per person or per acre, low ratios of industrial output to total output, of industrial population to total population, shortage of capital supply, etc.

The pointers of the level of real income are availability of food, clothing and shelter, the general health of the people, indices of life expectancy, mortality rates etc. These are descriptive characteristics in relation to real income but causal factors in relation to one another.

CAUSE OF ASIAN POVERTY

The general cause of poverty in Asian countries is absence of capitalism and prevalence of feudalism mentality. Increase in population results in progressive poverty. Division of estates among the heirs on the death of a holder leads to fragmentation of holdings. As a result, landowners are supernumerary but all are extremely poor. A huge mass of landless proletarians has come to exist. In the developed countries, industrialism and laissez faire turned them into wage-earners. But in the underdeveloped countries, 'they still vegetate on the verge of starvation.' (von Mises).

No amount of welfarist blab can prove that their poverty has been caused by capitalism. On the contrary, it is the absence of capitalism that is the root-cause of their poverty. And the absence of capitalism may be traced to the vestigial ascetic and feudal mentality, hostility to foreign investors, lack of energy honesty and righteousness, increasing population, little capital accumulation, extremely low per capita quota of capital investment, low capacity to absorb capital, encysted market, and, above all, the new found love for escapist and self-stultifying method of realising economic good. All these and many other factors checkmate the growth of a healthy and virile profit-seeking entrepreneurship.

No amount of welfarist nationalist sentiment, again, can blame the erstwhile colonial powers for the poverty of the Indian people. That the Imperialists in India did some harm to our age-old cottage industries is offset by the fact that the foreign rulers imported and invested capital and did all they could for the material well-being of the people. Neither has the poverty of the Indian people been caused by the microscopic minority of the allegedly privileged groups inside or outside the country.

WELFARISM CREATES SLAVERY & POVERTY

And, even an ignoramus like the present writer has no difficulty in seeing that the political short cut to the welfarist utopia is like Belzezebub's driving the special train along the celestial rail-road. Again, no amount of welfarist wish-fulfilment and futurist illusion can remove the poverty of the Indian people. The operation of the Free Market alone can deliver the goods.

The relationship between consumption and investment being that of inverse variation, quick economic development makes the problem of poverty and backwardness acute. Besides, look into the aspirations of erstwhile colonial peoples. Individually, they would

like to have the prosperity of an American, and nationally, the security of the British Welfare State. Given the above relation between investment and consumption and the above aspirations of the people, the welfare politicians will have to give them only regimentation and totalitarianism.

We are not taking an alarmist view. To add to the available resources, the plough-back of resources and the pace of development, the State takes over and actually runs the industries; it tries to mobilise the saving potential latent in rural unemployment and then begin to control production in the rural sector. And one dark noon it reaches autarchy. That this will not be a mere transitional phase followed by a release of private initiative is more than well-founded on the contemporary experiments in totalitarian economies in the backward countries which are now communist states.

Neither can state action be justified on grounds that a mixed economy involving coexistence of a public sector and private sector 'amounts merely to a modification of the components of the mixture and hence constitutes no threat to freedom.' The reason is, as Prof. G. D. Parikh has pointed out, that "with the replacement of atomistic decisions about investment by the so-called social priorities, the private sector in such controlled economies ceases to be private and the entrepreneur is often reduced to a semi-civil servant. There being no theoretical basis for determining the nature of the sectoral mixture, a mixed economy remains an inherently unstable pattern subject to pressures of diverse kinds. And the pressures that generally assert themselves in underdeveloped countries are those leading to increasing centralisation and bureaucratisation." (RIVALRY BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND TOTALITARIANISM, *The Future of Freedom*, p.302).

Mixed economy of the welfarist is a myth. By definition, it is a negation of the market economy. Interventionism is the beginning of totalitarianism. We are already in the throes of it. It uses the method of compulsion. That the government would graciously give the private sector "encouragement in every way" and "would not touch them for at least ten years, may be more" does not do away with the grim facts that the government has already taken control of the economic life of the people, and that the government may nationalise whatever and whenever it leases. The words quoted were recently spelled by the arch welfarist of India, namely, Nehru, who also added, "We do not know when we shall nationalise them." (Jawaharlal Nehru, *Independence and After*, p. 192). So it is coming—the day of universal pauperization and regimentation.

Thus, we are left with only two alternatives: the free market economy and the totalitarian economy. The free market implies that people use their own money and skills to realise their own economic decisions and either gain or lose. If their judgements are correct, they gain; if wrong, they lose. There is thus a freedom and there is an equality of freedom which is justice. The socialist pattern works through compulsion. The market is by-passed. The bureaucrat collects taxes and compels the participants against their will and judgement to give a portion of their

money or energy to realise the official plans and schemes.

The welfarist may argue, though he does not, that this proves only loss of freedom and that this does not prove that poverty is not removed. The capitalist rejoins that welfarism creates poverty too. Bureaucrats have won a notoriety for their inefficient utilisation of the available resources. Credit expansion and inflation foil the common man's attempts to save. Taxation appropriates savings for the public sector and atrophies the private sector. Private sector retaliates by diverting the savings. A part of the tax-receipts may represent the potential savings of the taxpayers: heavy taxation thus reduces the national saving and retards economic progress. The bureaucrats cannot increase savings by tampering with the usual devices: they cannot invest resources which are simply not there. A part of the tax-receipts is consumed by administrative expenditure. Tax measures thus produce the opposite effect. Deficit financing is a plain fraud. Over-investment diverts a part of the resources away from the Public investment.

The various big Hydel projects like TVA, Dneprostroi, Aswan and our DVC are glaring instances of colossal waste achieved by our politicians turned economic bosses. Also look into the repercussions of the tax proposals towards the financing of the Second Five Year Plan. The artificial pressure of the expected heavy taxation has already resulted in a decline in the prices of industrial equities. The fall in share values is showing a tendency to cause a diversion of savings (into less essential urban property, concealed investment overseas or into gold hoards) and also a withdrawal of private foreign capital and a further flagging in national product. Thus, tax-measures to accelerate progress may produce the opposite effect.

THE CAPITALIST ATTITUDE TO POVERTY

The capitalist attitude to poverty is more rational than that of the welfare propagandists who are suffering from a fixation on feudalist mentality. In a capitalist society, the notion of poverty refers only to those who are invalids, have no property of their own and are not taken care of by their next of kin. And in the capitalist society, both the government and private charitable institutions, religious or secular, vie with one another in charity.

Welfare romanticists do not approve of charity on two counts, economic and psychological. Individual charities can never yield sufficient wherewithal with which all invalids can be fed clothed and housed. The psychological objection rests on a sentimental reason that charity is mere charity and mercy, that there is an indignity inherent in it.

The capitalist rejoinder to the first objection is that the progress of capitalism will add to the capacity for donation and reduce the number of the beneficiaries. Besides, as Dr. Mises sardonically points out, it is highly probable that had there been no interventionism sabotaging the market economy, the charity funds in capitalist societies would be more than sufficient. Credit expansion and inflation foil the common man's attempts to save for bad days. Thus the majority of the beneficiaries are needy only because of interven-

(Continued on page D)

THE SOCIALIST MYTH

By M. V. Balakrishna Rao

“WE are all Socialists now”—Are We?

We all want more food and shelter, and the comforts of life. We want more social equality than we have at present, it is true. But that is not enough to characterise Socialism. It is a movement in favour of the politician running the economy instead of the industrialist. It is taken for granted that the politician will manage our economic affairs better than the businessman. But the vital question is: Better in whose interest—the worker, the industrialist, the consumer, or the politician?

The Marxians define a class as comprising of all those persons who stand in the identical relation to the means of production. The worker is a class, the industrialist is a class, but why not the politician? He is also in the ‘identical relation to the means of production,’ because he is no producer. He is a non-producer intending to distribute what is already produced according to his own notions of welfare. For this purpose he seeks the service of the coercive apparatus—the police, and if necessary the army. Thus he becomes a member of a socialist party. Once a member of the party, he alone is the welfarist, and by the ‘logic of his position’ all others are ill-farist. And now the ‘progressive’ is out on his merry game of emancipation of the ‘exploited peoples,’ the liberation of the ‘enslaved masses.’

THIS LEADS TO STALINISM

What these socialist myth-makers ignore is the difficulty of finding the concrete counterparts of these classes in a ‘capitalist society.’ “The English proletariat is becoming more and more bourgeois,” mourned Engels in a letter to Marx, “so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie.” (Quoted by Heilbroner, p. 163. *The Worldly Philosophers*, Simon and Schuster: New York, 1953.) The airtight division of society into classes is fictitious because of the simple fact that ‘worker’, ‘industrialist’, ‘politician’, ‘government’ and ‘state’ are merely names we give to denote the actions of individual men and women while they are engaged in one function or the other. It is therefore possible that the worker of today becomes the capitalist of tomorrow, or the industrialist of today becomes the politician of tomorrow. To the extent that social, economic and political institutions hinder this mobility between classes, there is social inequality. The class division of society is based on the fallacy that society is a unity of identicals. The richness of human individuality and creativity is done full justice only in a libertarian humanist society which is based on the social principle that society is a harmony of differentials. Libertarian institutions will therefore encourage only those differences which will contribute to the enrichment of social life and will restrain only those individual

modes of behaviour which eventually throttle spontaneous human creativity and enjoyment of values.

Without recognising the monistic fallacies of Socialism, political myths are created by a few who may or may not be able to fulfil their promises. The ‘may or may not’ is not determined by the fantasies of the politician, but by the structure of the world we live in, a world of natural laws common to the worker, the industrialist, the politician and the bureaucrat. A politician can tell a lie, but he cannot ignore the structure of the world we live in. All he can do is to rob Peter to pay Paul provided Peter has something which Paul wants. If neither Peter nor Paul are there the politician is out of his job. He turns a tyrant. For, once Peter has petered out, only Paul remains. The politician is still undaunted—he will treat Paul as if he were Peter, and treat himself as if he were Paul. That is to say, the burden of taxation would far exceed the price of the politician’s services. When the citizen revolts, the secret police and the army are ready. That is Stalinism.

We have only to look around us to learn this lesson. Are we still Socialists?

WHEN RELIGION WAS PRESSED INTO SERVICE

The art of creating political myths like socialism originates, as most great things do, from the Greeks. Plato said in his *Republic*, “Then it pertains to the guardians of the city, and to them alone, (i.e. to the welfarists alone,—author.) to deceive either enemies or citizens for the city’s welfare.” Plato continues, “Well, then, can we contrive anything in the way of those necessary lies of which we spoke a little while ago, so that by means of one noble falsehood we may convince, preferably the rulers themselves, but in any case the rest of the citizens?” Then follows the myth of the Earthborn. Plato was not as advanced as our present politicians. Otherwise, he would have adapted his myths to the mental currents of his age instead of merely interpreting his own fantasies of an ideal past.

After Plato came the great Renaissance figure, Nicolo Machiavelli, whose sagacity did not fail to use religion as an aid to political power. “Those Princes and Commonwealths,” writes Machiavelli, “who would keep their governments entire and incorrupt, are above all things to have a care of Religion and its Ceremonies, and preserve them in due veneration. . . .” Lenin was therefore right when he said, ‘Religion is the opium of the people.’ Here religion is the politician’s tool for maintaining political supremacy.

The next historical period for political myths is to be found in Germany. The superiority of the German race, the German nation, the German state and the German people was included by the leading romantic philosophers—Hegel, Fichte and Schelling. About these thinkers Schopenhauer said, “. . . These so-called philosophers do not attempt to teach, but to bewitch the reader.”

A critical analysis of the statements of these myth-making philosophers can yield nothing but emotive abstractions. "Yet the fact remains that such statements make a successful appeal to the desire for identification with a greater whole, for immersion in a victorious collectivity, which is present in many people and is related to their fear of freedom and responsibility. Foolish as they may seem, phrases and myths very similar to those concocted by Hegel played a decisive part in the Nazi assumption of power in Germany and the German campaign of conquest and expansion". (George Woodcock, p.35, *THE WRITER AND POLITICS*. The Porcupine Press, London. 1948.)

THE MARXIAN MYTH

The political myth originated by Marx reveals another characteristic of the myth: that it need not be deliberately fabricated with a view to defraud a people. But a political myth does not any the less become a myth for being sincerely believed in by its author (cf. our Prime Minister). If Marx was an unconscious myth-maker, Georges Sorel, the syndicalist of France, was not. He realised the possibilities of the myth as a political weapon. Though his fellow syndicalists took it seriously, Sorel treated the application of the general strike as a useful myth to regenerate the working classes.

Sorel held that men caught up in the swirl of a social movement would "always picture their coming action as a battle in which their cause is certain to triumph." According to Sorel myths should not be analysed. They must be taken as a whole. We should be careful not to compare the results achieved through the myth with the picture presented by the myth before the action. "A myth cannot be refuted, since it is, at bottom, identical with the convictions of a group, being the expression of these convictions in the language of movement, and it is, in consequence, unanalysable into parts which could be placed on the plane of historical descriptions."

Sorel further explains: "These results could not be produced in any very certain manner by the use of ordinary language; use must be made of a body of images which, by intuition alone, and before any considered analyses are made, is capable of evoking as an undivided whole the mass of sentiments which corresponds to the different manifestations of the war undertaken by Socialism against modern society." It is clear from this statement that the myth-maker takes his arguments completely out of the realm of reason and objective truth. He no longer cares to argue. He clings to the images and generalisations which make an emotional appeal to the irrational elements of human nature. This well formed insight into the uses of the political myth gives the unscrupulous politician a free hand to do whatever he likes under the facade of welfarism. All that the politician has to make sure is that only he decides what the myth shall be and when exactly it should be initiated and when exactly withdrawn. Here is the root of the iron curtain.

George Woodcock brings out revealingly the important elements of the political myth:

First: The political myth is not concerned with the present and is laid, usually in the future, but always, even if in the past, at some period outside history.

Second: Not being dependent on ascertainable facts, it cannot be proved true or untrue. Third: If not immediately fulfilled, it can be projected farther into the future. Human hope and patience make the successful myth a long-term asset. Fourth: It is rooted in the desires of the people. It may be contrived by an individual, but unless it represents the satisfaction of some popular yearning, it will never make good. Five: It is subject to decay in time. People will not wait indefinitely for fulfilment, and the discredited myth has to be replaced by something new. And six: The more nearly related to actual circumstances, the less hardy is a political myth. If linked too closely to events, its achievement may be made impossible by the course of history.

As we cast our glance at history, we see that almost all tyrants have risen to power by inducing the people to struggle for their freedom! The Bolsheviks, for instance, promised all power to the Soviets. They promised land to the tillers, factories to workers. Once in power, they put the land and the factories under state control. The Soviets were reduced to a body of yes-men. The Fascists of Italy, again made a free use of the political myth to gain political control. And quite recently we learnt that all is not well in Hungary.

The Socialist myths thus, favour not the working classes, but the politicians. Today the capitalist has only money power and the politician only constitutional power. But under socialism, the capitalist merges into the politician and the two-in-one boss on the 'workers' with the help of the police. And—the rulers are above law!

"WE ARE ALL SOCIALISTS NOW"—Are we?

(Continued from page B)

tionism. Besides, inflation and interventionist tampering with the rate of interest bringing it down below the potential market rate virtually expropriate the endowments of orphanages, asylums, hospitals etc. Dr. Mises thus rightly concludes that in lamenting the paucity of charity funds, the welfarists lament one of the results of their own policies.

The other objection of the welfarist is valid. The element of indignity and humiliation in becoming an almsman cannot be denied even by the greatest of rational Spinoza-like egoists.

But then, no interpersonal relationship can escape a similar fate. The chances of indignity and humiliation will always be there, may be in changing forms. On the contrary, the chances will be greater when a professional class of 'do-gooders' in power will dispense their providential care to the class of 'done good to'.

Compare this with the capitalist's attitude. The invalids' right to sustenance is justified on grounds of the metaphysical doctrine of natural right, that before God or Nature all men are equal and have an inalienable right to live. While fully endorsing the religious and moral duty in this respect, we may very well question whether the recognition of this duty enjoins the choice of uneconomic methods. The methods of the welfarist reduce the productivity of the human effort and thus affect the welfare of the invalids as well as of the able-bodied. This is a greater injustice.

Intellectual Ferment Behind the "Iron Curtain"

By Jay Kay

SINCE the de-Stalinisation wave in Soviet Russia and Mao Tse Tung's exhortation of "let-a-hundred-schools-of-thoughts contend" to the people of China there has been an upsurge of youthful enthusiasm to give expression to their thoughts in many of the educational and university institutions, both in Soviet Russia and in China. These expressions of free thought were, of course, unpalatable to the authorities and the governments. But given a little freedom, youthful minds have shown their aversions to the rigid confirmation of marxism as well to the cast-iron code of conduct required by the communist regimes.

It is not only in Poland and Hungary that the students, workers and soldiers have revolted against the foreign Soviet dictation but even in Russia and in China the same trends are observable amongst the student community, to challenge the whole apparatus of government and educational system under which they are chafing.

All this ferment amongst the student community, both in China and in Russia, could be described in one word; it is "Diversity" as against the communist regimentation. It is the human desire for the blossoming of the individual personality. After 40 years of inhuman crushing of individuality of the Russian citizen, the regime has not succeeded. That the present Soviet generation should display this human quality is very significant and heartening. By condemning the "personality cult of Stalin" Krushchev had opened the door for a broader sweep for reforms than he had bargained for. In the same way when Mao Tse Tung called for "a hundred schools of thought to contend" in China, the students have come out with their free views, and they are certainly not for communism BUT for an open and free society as against the straight-jacketed system of communism. All the various forms of the expressions that have taken place in Soviet Russia and in China relate to the demand for more information, "awkward questions" to the professors and teachers and definitely far from communism to democracy.

Where the student unrest in communist countries will lead to is a matter for speculation. It might be crushed as the revolt in Hungary was done, but in the long run, no dictatorial regime can hold back the freedom of a people and its urge for liberty and free expressions of views. The fact is that communism is on the downward plane.

"Diversity in Unity and Unity in Diversity" has been the bedrock of Indian or Hindu tradition as also of the tradition that has developed in democratic countries. Dull, soulless regimentation and uniformity that is associated with communism is counter to human nature. And human nature is bound to assert itself in the long run, and that is what is happening in Russia and China. Following are typical instances of the intellectual ferment behind the "Iron Curtain."

IN RED CHINA

"Wipe out Communist Bandits" Posters in Nankai Varsity

Hong Kong: Nankai University, Tientsin, where China's Prime Minister Chou En-lai was educated, has been plastered with posters urging, "Wipe out the Communist Bandits", the New China News agency reported here.

In a dispatch from Teintsin it said that anti-communist campaign by "rightist" students—now defeated—reached its climax a month ago.

There were such slogans as, "Dictatorship of the proletariat is the source of bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism" and the "net result of wiping out the counter-revolutionaries is nothing."

Other "rightist" posters in the University branded the Communists of China as high-minded in its wording but just the opposite in practice.

Since then a counter-campaign has been under way and as a result "the majority of the rightist students" repented.

Two men blamed for this display of anti-communism are Lo Ling Chi and Chand Po-chun, both Vice Chairman of the China Democratic League, who had played "a sinister role" and who are both against communism and socialism. —Reuter

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Hitting the Nail on Marxism

Following is a letter from a Moscow student, who of course remains nameless in his own interests.

"For us Russians and specially students, November 30, 1956, is a memorable day, some say, a historical day. After the compulsory lecture on Marxism-Leninism by Prof. B. E. Syroyechkovich the usual discussion took place, in the course of which a student asked a question of decisive importance, perhaps the fateful question for Marxism.

He (student) first expounded the irreproachable Leninist tenet that general strike is the weapon of the proletariat, and that under certain historic conditions the general strike can come to a political climax and finally erupt into an armed rebellion.

Continuing further the student asked how it was possible for a general strike to develop in a socialist state, specifically in the Hungarian People's Democracy, since after all there could be no such thing as a general strike against the communist Workers and Peasants' Government. In reply to this the Professor could only cite what appeared in our daily press. That was little for discussion in a university. He began to talk of the fascist offices and the diversionist activities of the Western imperialists but his remarks were drowned in the noise of protests from the students, who flooded him with quotations from Lenin that the

(Continued on page 12)

Communism--Not an Ideology but a Conspiracy*

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

THE result of the last general elections in India have shattered the hopes of all lovers of democracy who had hoped that strong democratic opposition would emerge in our parliament this time. While the national democratic opposition is weakened further, the C.P.I. a party ideologically committed to seize power, through armed insurrections and affiliated to the Communist International, has not only gained three seats more than in 1951 and increased its vote from 4.4% to 9.8% but has emerged as the biggest opposition in the Parliament, besides capturing power in Kerala.

The C.P.I. had completely lost its hold on our people at the end of the second World War on account of its collaboration with the British imperialists against whom our people were fighting for freedom in 1942. Its prestige further declined after Ranadive's policy of massacre, arson, loot, rape and armed insurrections in Telangana, in which thousands of people were looted and butchered in cold blood.

Khrushchev's disclosure of Stalin's crimes and Russia's rape of Hungary had demoralised the C.P.I. com-

(Continued from page 11)

Professor had not gone into the real question. In conclusion, Lenin's classic statement was cited by the student regarding the function of the "new type party whose duty it is to espouse the demands proclaimed by workers in the general strike and to give them direction." However, the new type party could never proceed against a general strike, with the methods of the bourgeois exploiter state, with summary court-martials, armed suppression and forced dissolution of workers' councils. At this point the discussion reached a noisy point and the professor thought it better to leave the place.

—Problems of Communism No 3 Vol. IV.

ANOTHER TREND AMONG STUDENTS— REJECTION OF MARXISM

Soviet newspapers have recently published news stating that students in many cases are rejecting the official claims of the achievement of communism, specially in the cultural field and challenging the validity of the principles of "socialist realism" in literary and artistic works. The press, however, has branded such ideas as "unhealthy" "alien" and "harmful".

At the Philosophical Faculty at the Moscow University there appeared amongst the students a so-called "epistemological trends" which apparently advocate an idealistic interpretation of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and deny that dialectical materialism is concept and historical materialism a philosophical science. The Soviet press stated in this connection that there was a definite connivance on the part of the teachers, some of whom, also regarded philosophy as limited to epistemology and logic.

pletely. But after the communist victory in Kerala, the C.P.I. has now suddenly come out like an imprisoned animal out of the zoo and its leaders have once more begun to move and mingle respectably with the people of India as patriots and democrats! The formation of Kerala ministry by the communists has not also blurred whatever distinction had hitherto existed in the mind of our public between genuinely national and democratic parties and the communist party, which is affiliated to Communist International of Russia and a criminal conspiracy to overthrow our constitutionally elected government.

NEHRU TO C.P.I.'S RESCUE

Pandit Nehru's words and deeds also encouraged the C.P.I. By openly associating himself with the communist countries, eulogising their ideology and achievements, by exchanging cultural delegations with these countries frequently and by inviting Bulganin, Khrushchev and Chou-En-lai and idolising them in India, Pandit Nehru himself raised the declining prestige of the communists. By accepting their ideology, he spiritually lost the battle to the communists. The mind of our people were prepared by Pandit Nehru for the acceptance of the communist ideology. The communist countries did rise to a certain extent in the esteem of our masses.

A moral atmosphere favourable to the communists was created with the result that the C.P.I. could function smoothly and make rapid advances in the recent general elections. The communists could quote Nehru himself in support of their ideology and the achievements of communist Russia and China. Such of these who made an attempt to expose the communist conspiracy in India, and who protested against the Russian rape of Hungary were denounced by Pandit Nehru in the usual communist language. Thus, to a very large extent, Pandit Nehru himself was responsible for the communist victory in Kerala and the rapid progress they made in the rest of the states, particularly in West Bengal.

A criminal conspiracy planted into the heart of India by Russia to overthrow our constitutionally elected government through armed insurrections, and knowingly or unknowingly aided by our ignorant liberalism, shallow intellectualism, reactionary leftism, and denationalised upper middle class (who are always ready to lick the dust at the feet of power and wealth and jump on the fastest bandwagon) has now become respectable in the eyes of our public. In a democracy such a criminal conspiracy, to overthrow constitutionally elected government, through armed insurrections, should find no quarter at all but unfortunately, rightly or wrongly the C.P.I. has been recognised by our

* This is the concluding part of the article. The previous parts appeared in our issue of June 1, 15 & July 1.

government as a legitimate national party, treating it on equal footing with the genuinely national political parties like Congress, P.S.P., Jan Sangh, Socialist Party etc.!

"YENAN" IN THE OFFING

There is now every possibility of Kerala being made the Yenana of India by the C.P.I. They are likely to build up a secret army for future use and for the eventual "liberation" of the rest of the States. As the C.P.I. has learnt a good lesson in Telangana, it may not immediately resort to armed insurrections, unless and untill, at least, three or four States in India go "Red". If the communist ministry in Kerala succeeds, it may induce the rest of the States also to go "Red" but if it fails, it will put the whole blame on the Centre where Congress is in power, and do intense propaganda against Congress and consolidate its position in Kerala further. It will ruthlessly wipe out all Opposition parties by all possible means but without violating our Constitution (lest the President may declare an emergency in Kerala). Students and the younger generation will be completely indoctrinated in the next 5 years with communist ideas and philosophy. Communist and pro-communist journals will be subsidised and encouraged by the Kerala Government. Film actors, musicians, artists, dancers, poets and so-called "impartial" observers and "neutrals" will be invited to Kerala to see the "achievements" of the Communist ministry in Kerala, bribed and asked to do propaganda for them in rest of the states.

HOW TO SAVE KERALA

There is, yet, a chance for the lovers of democracy to save Kerala for India from the hands of the communists. The majority of the Kerala voters are educated, and it will not be difficult to wean them away from the communists, if all national parties make a united front against the communists, and launch a big propaganda drive in Kerala, informing them of the true nature and character of communism, its conspiratorial activities to overthrow the government through armed insurrections, its extra-territorial loyalty and the fate of the people in communist countries.

The communists gained majority of seats in Kerala, mainly on account of the division of democratic votes. If all national democratic parties in Kerala unite against the common enemy and enter into an alliance, the communists can be ousted out of power, at least, in the next general elections.

Let the opportunist parties which may be tempted to join or make an alliance with the communist party, and fall into its trap of united front tactics, know the statements of Lenin and Mao Tse Tung. Lenin has said: "We shall support other parties like a rope supporting a hanged man". Mao has said: "We shall fully utilise other parties, squeeze them like a lemon and then fling them away".

The attitude of our leaders ranges from inane misconception of the nature of communism to passive sympathy and active complicity. They have not understood the frightful character of the communist regimes in Russia and China, or the nature and power of its international criminal conspiracy to overthrow

all constitutionally elected governments in non-communist countries through armed insurrections. So long as there is a strong communist movement in India, Russia and China will be tempted to commit aggression and swallow India into the Communist Empire. We can defeat Russia's aggressive designs against India only by destroying her "shock-brigades" in India, namely the Communist Party of India.

Arguments are of little use against the power of faith and illusions. That our leaders still believe that imperialist and aggressive Russia (which is ideologically committed to world conquest through conspiracy, subversion, and armed insurrections with the help of her hirelings and lackeys, namely the C.P.I.) is a peaceful and democratic country believing in Panch Sheela (even after the recent rape of Hungary by Russia) is only an indication of the strength of the myth-producing forces that are working amidst us. Our leaders have ears but hear not, they have eyes but see not! If they fail to understand the communist threat to India's freedom and culture and eliminate it while it could still be done at a relatively small price, and fail to learn any lesson from the recent events in Poland and Hungary, it will not be long before India finds herself swallowed into the Soviet Empire.

Communism is a cancer within the body of our Nation and its natural function is to destroy the wealthy tissues of our infant democracy and sap the vitality of our cultural heritage. Already, a tumour has developed in the body of India in Kerala which will slowly eat into India's living tissues of democracy.

Communism means fear, terror, vilification, colonial exploitation of peasants by a small oligarchy in the name of the party, loss of freedom, religion, national culture, and moral and spiritual degradation of all masses who will be reduced to the status of molecules in an amorphous mass.

Mao Tse Tung in his book "China's New Democracy" says:

"All the political, economic and cultural forms which prevailed are the ones which we aim to destroy by our revolution".

So this is what will happen to us if the communists come to power in India.

THE DUTY OF PATRIOTIC INDIANS

There is no room to doubt about facts, facts which are verifiable. If we have to save our parliamentary democracy, our cultural heritage and religion, we have to limit our Liberalism, lest our democratic freedom, guaranteed under our Constitution is exploited by traitors and sworn enemies of democracy for the final destruction of our democracy, religion and culture. We cannot afford to be complacent any more and remain indifferent when a conspiracy directed, aided and financed by a foreign power (which is ideologically committed to world conquest and the destruction of the bourgeois freedom, religion and culture) is working amidst us. It is high time for the public to make up its mind and assert itself.

As Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari said sometime back, the obligation to preserve the Constitution also imposes the obligation to fight the ideas which seek to destroy the fundamentals of the Constitution.

SAINT ABROAD, SINNER AT HOME

By S. R. Narayan Iyer

OUR Prime Minister on 16th May in Lok Sabha said that "I want to know now from those who do not like this Policy, or ask us to do something else, to tell us clearly what should be done". Then he detailed the answer himself by stating that others want him to join one Bloc or the other and rightly pointed out the dangers of doing so. But may I point out that a large majority in India will be glad if he is really neutral. Our vocal interference in the various quarrels in this world has only brought trouble to our country. For instance if he had not taken so much open and prominent part in the Suez Canal issue, Britain would never have encouraged Pakistan to rake up the question of Kashmir in the U.N.O.

We are not militarily strong as our Prime Minister has often stated and hence why should we provoke England and France for the doubtful friendship of Egypt? The latter has not uttered one word about Kashmir, though morally and legally Pakistan is in the wrong. Again, immediately after his return from U.S.A., our Prime Minister was the first to protest against the Eisenhower Plan for the Middle East. We were not directly affected by it and hence why should India criticise it and thus provoke the feelings of America? It is a tragedy for our country that our Prime Minister in his nobility does not realise that no Muslim country can ever side with us against their co-religionists in Pakistan, even when we are absolutely in the right. As regards Goa this tiny dot of Goa cannot escape India. Hence why should we make so much noise about it? If our merchants have only been really patriotic, Goa would have been forced to surrender to us by this time. Our Prime Minister can change his policy in all these respects without joining any Bloc.

His foreign policy towards Pakistan is opposed by many, but they do not want that we should go to war with Pakistan. We object to his Policy of surrendering to, and co-operating with, Pakistan, especially when not a day passes without some injury, insult or infiltration being done by Pakistan against India. The 'cause of four million Kashmiris, who have got their own Government with their own chosen leaders, is talked about throughout the world; but the misery of Four and a half Millions of Hindus, who have been mercilessly driven away by East Pakistan is not even taken any notice of by any one in this world outside India. What is the reason for this? We want Pt. Nehru to change his foreign Policy towards Pakistan and this will not force him to join one Block or other.

In Assam—the late Mr. Jinnah wanted to annex it to East Pakistan—daily infiltration of Muslims is taking place on account of the generosity of our Prime Minister. The Naga trouble is mainly due to the fact that foreign Missionaries were allowed to meddle with

our people in the name of Secularism. It is a historical fact that if the Pandits of Kashmir had not opposed a century ago the wise Maharaja to reconvert the Kashmiris to Hinduism wholesale, we would never have had the problem of Kashmir. Hence taking a lesson from this, our Prime Minister can change his policy to consolidate the Hindus without trying to please outsiders.

Our Ambassadors in foreign countries have not succeeded in turning those countries in our favour because our foreign Policy has not taken any steps to put our ancient culture before those countries, lest we are accused as "Hindu Communalism" by the minorities. Finally I would say that if he does not express his views on the many conflicts outside India, that itself will be a great blessing to our country. In the words of Mr. A. P. Herbert ask our Prime Minister "Haven't you got enough of misfortunes at home for you to meddle with the affairs outside India?" Our Prime Minister speaking in Colombo said "I cannot function as a Saint. I am not a Saint. I am only a democratic leader." I am forced to state that in our Foreign Policy our Prime Minister is acting as a saint and not like a Kshatria and that is the whole trouble in our country.

—Organiser

(Continued from page 9)

And one cannot forget that Mr. Nehru is the leader of the country's ruling party and shares the Kuomintang's love for power at all costs. His justifying the shootings of unarmed people in Bombay and Ahmedabad, during the linguistic troubles, and comparing them with the communist action at Poznam in Poland where they used tanks, Mr. Nehru was not surely betraying his democratic conscience. At the most, it was exhibition of an attitude of mind, that even if he did not approve of the Polish government action, he could not put himself in a position to condemn wholesale the Soviet action in Poland and Poznam. Again his Government's apologetic action at UNO, when the events in Hungary took place, show once again his sneaking admiration of Moscow and equal but unintelligible condemnation of what he is pleased to call Western imperialism and colonialism. As a student of contemporary events he should know that what was imperialism before the World War II has lost many of its teeth, as the independence of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Ghana and the forthcoming independence of Malaya show. Mr. Nehru is trying to stand on both the stools, to pose as a democrat and yet act as a communist, but the real Nehru stands out clearly to those who have eyes to see and a mind to understand.

West Wooing Islamic Bloc, Danger India Ignores

ALL the intelligent criticism against the wrong and mischievous policy of India always trying to back the Arab nations and the Islamic nations from Morocco to Indonesia, has always been dismissed by the Prime Minister as "communal" or "reactionary". In view of this shortsightedness of our Prime Minister it is significant to refer to the editorial of the "New York Times" of May 26, which clearly show which way the wind is blowing in the West;

Under the caption—"Islam and the West"—the "N.Y. Times" writes in the editorial;

"Mr. Anthony Nutting's report on his 20,000 mile journey from Morocco to India—which concluded in Friday's edition of this paper—deals with many complex problems and many tangled issues. But the concept that emerges from it is basically simple. Mr. Nutting, who resigned as a Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Sir Anthony Eden's Cabinet over the Suez question, believes that the master key to the free world policy in this vast region is the encouragement of Islamic unity,

"This concept goes far beyond" a repetition of the

ineffective Arab League. It would mean more than narrow nationalism; it would soundly be based on economics and have the Moslem faith as a "cohesive factor". If it can be realised, Mr. Nutting believes, "we shall not only have established an unbroken line of resistance to communism from Casablanca to Karachi; we shall have gained the friendship of one of the greatest powers in world politics for generations to come—reawakening strength of united Islam; and we shall have helped to fulfil the essential condition whereby the Arab and the Jew may live at peace.

"Pakistan is already the eastern anchor of the Baghdad Pact. It could play the same role for an Islamic union. Mr. Nutting points out that India is opposed to such a union for several reasons; Premier Nehru would prefer Pakistan to be isolated; he fears the attraction of united Islam on the Moslems of Kashmir; and his efforts to be arbiter of Asia would be challenged by a bloc of 300 million Asiatic Moslems. As India's neighbour as well as in its own right, Pakistan therefore plays a very important role. That role should be enlarged; Pakistan should be encouraged to take an active part in Middle-Eastern affairs."

Indian News Parade.

PAK EXPLOSIVES SMUGGLED INTO KASHMIR

Srinagar: Explosive materials smuggled from Pakistan into Kashmir have been seized by the Kashmir Police in the course of their investigations into the series of explosions in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar during the last fortnight, it was authoritatively learned here.

These explosives, it was stated, were fitted with automatic detonating devices, and could be operated by people trained in their use.

In a number of raids, carried out by the Police since the explosion near a cinema theatre, the Police have seized considerable quantities of explosives.

The explosions in Jammu and Srinagar are believed by the Police to be the work of gang of saboteurs bent on creating panic and internal disturbance.

—Times of India

PAK CONSPIRACY TO CREATE PANIC IN KASHMIR

Srinagar, July 1. The Kashmir police, it was learnt is "very much

on its toes" to swoop down on the gang of saboteurs who, it is believed, have crossed into Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan "to create internal disorder."

Police scout parties have spread out in all parts of the State to track down the gang and the authorities here are alive to the needs of the situation.

Meanwhile, police have recovered some high explosives near Srinagar which provide important clues to the recent explosions which took place in the State. Since these explosives can be handled only by experts and not by amateurs it shows that "there is a deep laid conspiracy to create trouble in the State."

Those arrested so far are being interrogated. More arrests are expected to follow.

PAKISTAN DEMANDS RS. 170 CRORES MORE FROM INDIA

Karachi: Pakistan's Prime Minister Suhrawardy has rejected the World Bank proposals of 1954 for the conservation of the waters of the three rivers of the Indus system

in India, the local press reported today.

Mr. Suhrawardy is reported to have said, "the gap between us and India is so great that it seems that she does not desire to meet the real costs. It looks that India is fooling us."

Pakistan is now demanding Rs. 170 crores from India on account of the canal waters dispute.

—Organiser

PAKISTAN APPROPRIATES KARACHI COTTON ASSN. PROPERTY

Karachi: The Custodian of Evacuee Property declared the Karachi Cotton Association to be an evacuee property left over by the Hindus.

The Cotton Association had a daily average business of Rs. One Crore and had more than Rs. 10,000,000 in bank deposits.

The Custodian of Evacuee Property, Mr. Justice Mohamed Gaksh Memon, said in his Order that there were 318 members out of which 306 were Hindus', who have gone to India.

—PTI

"BIG" BURGLARS OF PAKISTAN

Karachi: Files pertaining to the assassination of Pakistan's first Prime Minister Mr. Liaquat Ali and dossiers of what is described by the Police as an "international smuggling racket" involving Government officials, have been stolen from the house of the Inspector-General of Police, according to press reports here.

The reports said some "mysterious intruders" had ransacked the room of Mr. S. N. Alam, the Inspector-General on the night of Saturday last and stolen the documents. At the time of the theft Mr. Alam was away at Lahore.

This is reported to be the third burglary at the residence of Mr. Alam.

—Organiser

PAKISTANI RAID ON INDIAN BORDER TOWN

Krishnanagar: Reports have reached here of a Pakistani raid on the border town of Kachripura where 200 armed Pakistani raiders attacked the town, and were trying to carry away some of the Indian nationals. As the Indian nationals put up a fight and resisted them, the Pakistanis resorted to firing, injuring seven Indian nationals. One of the severely injured person has been removed to Krishnanagar hospital.

The Pakistani raiders, after creating the trouble, crossed the border.

—Nava Kal

PAK MOVE TO SQUEEZE OUT INDIAN NATIONALS

Karachi: The Pakistani Government seems to have intensified of late process of "gradually squeezing out" Indians working in Pakistan, according to a highly placed Indian source.

This, the source, said was in marked contrast to the "general attitude" adopted by Indians on the question of Pakistanis employed in India according to an estimate of over three and half lakh Pakistanis are employed in India as against nearly 30,000 Indians working in both wings of Pakistan.

"Harassment is an old method by which the authorities and interested persons got a number of minorities, mostly Indians, out of

Pakistan. The new method is refusal to grant and renew visas to Indian employees here."

—Times of India

OTHER MINORITIES TOO TO MAKE WAY FOR "PAK NATIONALS

Lahore: An Action Committee of the Christian and Scheduled Classes minorities has been set up to fight for the minority rights and to wage a "constitutional struggle" against the imposition of "joint electorates."

The meeting also deplored "displacement" of a number of Christians and Scheduled Classes minority cultivators from lands they had tilled for ages in West Pakistan.

—Times of India

CONGRESS "SIMPLICITY" INDEED

Nainital: The proposal for withdrawing the U.P. Government's mammoth fleet of 2000 motor vehicles from use by officials, devised as an economy measure, HAS BEEN ABANDONED; under pressure from the benefiavials.

The use of staff cars in U.P. was a post-Independence measure. Till then, however important a touring official might be, the Government did not provide a Government vehicle. He often toured in his personal

vehicle and charged T.A. at the rate of annas 8 per mile.

—Times of India

TRIAL RUN OF NEHRU'S PLANE COSTS ONE LAKH

While the nation is being impressed with the economy cuts effected at the ministerial level some people here (New Delhi), especially in the oil world, are trying to work out the cost of the trial run made by the plane allotted for Nehru's European visit.

It is estimated that the cost of the trial run.....was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rs. One Lakh!

—Current

PROF. VENKATA RAO ON "FREE ECONOMY"

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao, speaking in the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, dwelt at length on "FREE ECONOMY" and explained how it differs from both the Capitalist and Socialist economy. Free economy, he said, stood for the abolition of monopoly, which was inherent in both the Capitalist and Socialist economy. Free Economy did not mean unregulated private sector. It stood for such regulation of private sector as will maximise freedom. Free economy stood for free land, free credit and limited Government, concluded Mr. Venkata Rao. Miss Devaki Sreenivasan presided over the meeting.

WORLD NEWS

KHRUSHCHEV PURGE! FOUR TOP LEADERS SACKED FROM THE PARTY

London: The Soviet Union Communist Party today ousted several topranking members from leadership.

Moscow Radio broadcast in Arabic the text of a communique issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The communique announced the removal from the Party's Presidium of Mr. George Malenkov, Mr. V. M. Molotov and Mr. Lazar Kaganovich.

The London monitors have listed the name of Mr. Dimitri Shepilov, former Foreign Minister and also a

Secretary of the Party as also having been removed from the Party.

—Times of India

KHRUSHCHEV FOLLOWS STALINIST METHODS

Paris: The dismissal of four top-most Soviet leaders from the ruling hierarchy of the Communist Party marks the consolidation of the Party; chief Nikita Khrushchev's position writes AFP's political correspondent.

The expelled leaders were removed for opposing the Khrushchev-sponsored line on both foreign and economic policies.

New members proposed to the Presidium are close collaborators of Nikita Khrushchev.

The reshuffle was the culmination of one of the most serious crises which has rocked the Party leadership since the death of Stalin.

—F. P. Bulletin

IN CHINA TOO, A PURGE IN THE GOVERNMENT

Hong Kong: A member of the Chinese Communist National Congress charged that two Chinese Ministers jointly worked out and implemented a "sinister plot" aimed at ultimately "overthrowing" the Communist Party, the Peking Radio reported.

The Congressman named the alleged plotters as Chang Po Chun, Communications Minister and Lo Lying Chi, Minister for Forestry.

Chang admitted his "anti-Party" views at the meeting of the People's Congress and pledged to appear at the meeting again. Lo who did not appear at the meeting came under a severe fire from many Congressmen.

The Congressman charged that the two Ministers, both leaders of a group known as the "Democratic League", attempted to sway the League to their views "to cause the downfall of the Communist Party."

—F. P. Bulletin

RUMANIA FOLLOWS RUSSIA AND CHINA

Vienna: The ruling Rumanian Communist Party announced the ouster of two leading members of its politbureau.

Those removed are Josef Chisovischi and Mr. Miran Constantinescu.

The Rumanian communique gives no reason but states that they were ordered by the Party's First Secretary.

—Times of India

"HEALTHY" TRENDS, SAYS NEHRU

London: Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, described the changes in the Soviet Union as "a move in a healthy direction". He said, "We see in them, if I may say so, a progressive return of normalcy and that is a move in a healthy direction."

—Times of India

Book Reviews

"RATIONALIST" EDITOR CAUGHT IN RED BOOBY-TRAP

THE INDIAN RATIONALIST—Vol V Nos. 4 & 5: Edited by Prof. Yadava, Meerut.

THIS issue is the first of the new series of the Journal of the Indian Rationalist Association. The veteran rationalist Mr. S. Ramathan of Madras has vacated in favour of Prof. R. S. Yadav of Meerut.

"The Significance of Red Kerala" by Prof. Yadava shows the sorry plight of a rationalist, who has fallen into the booby-trap, set up by the communist propagandists all over the world. He is yet to learn that all the inconsistencies of the communists cohere with their final end. They aim at world conquest by any means, fair or foul, and hence foul on the whole and in its inwardness. Besides, since Prof. Yadava, is also a radical humanist, it is not irrelevant to express our conviction that had Roy been living at this hour, he would have by this time organised the Anti-Communist Front, as he had organised the Anti-Fascist Front during the last world war. We may also point out that some of the foremost Royists (V.B. Karnik, G. D. Parikh, K. K. Sinha, Philip Spratt, Ram Singh, A. K. Mukerji) are among the finest and most indefatigable anti-communist propagandists of India to-day.

Prof. Yadava says he is rather happy about the Red regime in Kerala, without at all being a communist or even a pro-communist. A rationalist, with his univocal logic, naturally fails to understand the dialectic of the communists. The latter do not understand the logic of co-existence and contrary negation; they understand only the logic of either/or, i.e. of contradiction. This, of course, involves negation which, in practice, stands for physical extermination. Either you are a communist and hence a friend, or you are an enemy. If so, for a non-communist there is no go: he must be an anti-communist; or else he has already surrendered to the communist. But then, because of Kerala, Nehru's latest wonder child, dehydrated rationalists do not appreciate this piece of dialectic.

WRONG PRE-SUPPOSITION

According to Prof. Yadava, Red Kerala's impact upon the non-Red India will be on the whole good. It will make the latter more active, constructive, moral, careful, honest etc. Here is a gullible rationalist waxing voluble on communist virtues. He has fallen into all the popular traps, set up by the communist propagandists for the unwary including the conscious Yudhistivian morality. Let him look into his optative statements. The pre-suppositions are that communism is moral, good, honest, constructive etc., that it gives a better social order, that a better economic order is a safeguard against the onslaught of communism. All these pre-suppositions are wrong. Communism does not give a better economic order; a better economic order is no safeguard against the communist onslaught. Communists believe that communism is the best order and must be imposed upon by force, and replace all other orders, even if they are better than the communist order. And the fact is that they ARE all better than the communist order, even if some of them are undeniably bad.

He thinks that "the communist world would now be much more sympathetic, and helpful to the Congress Government, in order to win over India to their side and that this would help in making the Nehru Government more self-reliant and socialistic." The Professor has not tested his belief in the inherent goodness of communism and socialism. Or else, he would not have gleefully welcomed India's turning socialistic by the growing 'sympathy' for her of the communist world.

CONFOUNDING SOCIAL VALUES WITH SOCIALISM

The rationalist here talks like a dangerous crypto-communist. Probably the honest rationalist is here confounding social values with socialism. He must be knowing that communism and socialism have

no monopoly over social values, that communism and socialism are unscientific, immoral, sentimental and foolish techniques and methods of trying to realise social values and in the process, destroying both social and non-social values.

BETTER SIDE OF RATIONALISM

Dr. J. T. Cornelius in his article on Caste system rightly observes: "Man does not live by bread alone; he craves for power and prestige. In India the latter craving is satisfied by caste-system through birth and not through achievement." He hopes and recommends that "the spread of humanism, which is based upon scientific technology and democracy, and which emphasizes the dignity and the worth of the individual, will eventually eradicate the caste system.

Dave Shipper in "The Promised Land" says that Jewish secularism in Israel shows quite a promising future. And this, against the working of some fanatical religious political parties like Mizrahi, Hapoel—Hamizrahi, Agdat Israel and Poalei Agdat Israel.

In 'Human Basis of Morality,' G. Sambasiva Rao demolishes a fictitious opponent of morality. Neither the hypocrite nor the pietist rejects morality. To fail to be good or do one's duty does not imply a denial of validity of the proposition that one ought to be good or do one's duty. Morality, Mr. Rao thinks, belongs neither to the market wherever and whenever there be human behaviour. Mr. Rao conceives of morality on the level of only the social self: a static concept. Dynamically conceived, we may have both moral and immoral behaviour on each and every level—Reflex Action, Instinctual, Rational (Natural, Social, Spiritual). There is a morality of the market place; there is a morality of the ivory tower. He says, "Nowadays, morality is at a low ebb since the relation between man and man is looked at solely from the economic viewpoint." Mr. Rao seems to have looked into the whole history of mankind and each and every biography in it; or else, he could not have made such a statement. Besides, if his statement be true, he cannot fire his broadsides against the poor pietist and the weak hypocrite, simply because on his own

assertion there are no such people nowadays.

If Nature is without passion, where are human passions to be located? Yet, when in 'Death Ends All,' Andy Dickson, the rational naturalist, also says that when death ends all, we feel like agreeing.

In 'This Hindu Marriage System' Prof. Jitendra Mohan says: "I am taking it for granted that . . . any attempt to neutralize or—obviate the consequences of mating activity with the aid of contraceptives and other birth-control appliances and techniques is immoral, involves as it does an effort to reject or refuse to accept the responsibilities of our actions. Either no mating is indulged in, or its results must be accepted." A queer rationalist! Here he is a votary of Society. But when he recommends marriage by courtship as against arranged marriage he is all out for the individual. He also recommends that marriage must be de-commercialized and despiritualized. Prof. Jitendra Mohan is—nurturing some feudalist and socialist prejudices against Capitalism and Hinduism. That is not rational. Dowry where it is not a burden does help the young couple to start life. The religious ceremony at the wedding does create the feeling of purity and mystery without which love remains incomplete. B. S. S.

UNDER THE SUMMIT

THE LOOKING-GLASS CONFERENCE by Godfrey Blunden Vanguard, pp. 258 Dollars 3.75.

This hilarious book by Godfrey Blunden, author of the poignant novel, 'A Room On The Route', is high level five Power conference, with American, British, French, Soviet and Red Chinese bigwigs and smallwigs participating.

The Conference is being held in the lovely Alpine City of Colmeo, which I strongly suspect, is Geneva, and is dealing with the fate of Far Eastern country named Khaos, which also suspect, is Indo-China. Unfortunate Khaos is torn by a civil war and split into two parts, one communist, the other non-communist—Inevitable Khaos and Incredible Khaos.

The delegations (numerous and vociferous) of their respective countries are headed by Joseph

Fogg-bottom, Secretary of State, USA; Right Honourable Albion Asp, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, UK; M. Pierre Lion, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France; Comrade Yefin Golikov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, USSR; and Comrade J'o Wow, Prime Minister of the Dominant People's Republic of China.

I suspect that Messrs Fogg-bottom, Asp, Lion, Golikov and Wow are the prototypes of . . . but never mind that. If you read the book, as you should, you will recognise them at once. Nor will you have any difficulty in recognising all other grotesque characters, who move in and out of the pages of this witty, biting satire on the incongruous contemporary international scene.

SHEER IDIOCY

Mr. Blunden knows whereof he writes; a conference of five Powers to decide the fate of the sixth, held against the background of petty jealousies and silly ambitions, intrigues and counter-intrigues and sheer idiocy. He knows exactly what goes on around a negotiating table, or in the august skulls of the foreign secretaries, or in the somewhat less august but no less formidable skulls of the under-secretaries, the ambassadors, security officers, society matrons and a few plain, innocent mortals caught in the net of international co-existence.

It is a lampoon, of course, an extravaganza, but it is extremely funny. Godfrey Blunden does not try to be subtle. He uses a huge canvas, and he paints with broad strokes. Yet when you put the book down, you have the feeling that the author's portraits are disturbingly life-size. These are the people who make news-paper headlines, who direct the destinies of nations, who utter sanctimonious banalities with the air of saviours of mankind, who create at each new conference a new mess that makes one long for the good old mess that existed before the conference.

All good satires contain the portentous elements of doom. The "Looking-Glass Conference" is a hilarious book, but it left me saddened—the highest tribute one can pay to a satire.

—K. M. Argus in *New Leader*

Letters

To The Editor

INDIA, A REPUBLIC WITH AN UNCROWNED KING!

Dear Madam: I had to rub my eyes when I read the speeches and the statements that Prime Minister Nehru made during his tour of the Scandinavian countries. He profusely praised the democratic system of government and democratic institutions and talked a lot on the freedom of the individual. That was something of a surprise to intelligent Indians, who know to their cost, how democratic system is under the shadow of totalitarianism in the country under Nehru's regime. We have the second Five Year Plan, the communist budget, the restrictions on travel for pleasure or for education, the restrictions on the import of foreign medicines and other essential items of consumer goods, and lastly we have the crushing burden of taxation, unknown to any democratic country.

We, Indians, are a patient lot, and sometimes I think, too, a sheepish lot. Some of the modern Indians may have given up their idol worship but they have NOT given up their hero-worship, and therefore they seem to have installed Mr. Nehru as the nation's idol, who according to them, like the king, can do no wrong.

India is an example of many paradoxes. We are a Republic within a crowned Commonwealth and we are a Republic with an uncrowned king in Nehru. Can any of your intelligent readers correctly describe the political and economic status of India?

Poona

S. M. Phadke

[In the course of 10 years, India has traversed in rear gear from Co-operative Welfare Democratic State to the "Social pattern of Society" and currently to full-blooded Socialism (read Communism). Since Mr. Nehru is denouncing local communists, it may develop into the other side of communism, a dictatorship of Congress variety—benevolent or otherwise—future alone will show—Editor]

RAJAJI AND "PEACE" COUNCIL

Dear Madam: The World Peace Council is holding conference after conference, protesting against the experiments with the atomic explosives. Why is it that we hear no murmur of disapproval from this Peace Council when Russian conducts experiments with atomic explosives without giving any clue even? For this Peace Council, there is nothing wrong in conducting explosives but what matters to it is only who does it.

It is a pity that Rajaji should have inaugurated the conference of the Peace Council which Rajaji himself had once described as a Communist Front organisation. That Rajaji should have associated himself with the Communists, whom he had once dubbed as "Enemy No. 1" of our country, is a tragedy.

The peace campaign is carried on by the Peace Council in accordance with the fundamental principle laid down by the famous German Communist, Clara Zetkin, in the following words: "These organisations must not carry placards with words "Communist Organisation" visible from afar by their red letters. On the contrary, they should appear on its outside as "Neutral Organisations."

No, why should the hirelings of totalitarian imperialist Russia preach "Peace" to peace-loving Indians, when in the long history of India, we don't find even a single instance of aggression, militarism or imperialism?

Bangalore Sumant S. Bankeshwar

DANGEROUS LAND POLICY

Dear Madam: The Congress Government has been trying to force equality upon rural society more rapidly than on the towns and cities. In a period when the increase of production is more important than equality of distribution, this is a mistake. There is no case for ceiling on land-holding, when there is no case for a ceiling on urban incomes. Ceilings on land-holdings will adversely effect the agriculturist's income forcibly levelling down his standard of living.

The attempt to abolish absentee landlordism has led to real or pretended self-cultivation by land-

READERS PLEASE NOTE

The Editor of the *Indian Libertarian* invites letters from readers on topical subjects and matters of public importance. All letters meant for publication should be brief and to the point, preferably typewritten and on one side of the paper.

Letters that are adjudged as good and interesting will be awarded prizes. The writers of such letters will be sent the *Indian Libertarian* free for one year.

Here is an opportunity for the intelligent readers to try their hand at journalism and also win a prize.

Letters should be addressed to the Editor, the *Indian Libertarian*, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

owners and the eviction of many tenants of long standing and high standing and high skill at agricultures. Such tenants must be reinstated and this programme of uprooting landlordism must be slowed down.

The Government in its mad rush towards socialism is contemplating the abolition of ownership over land and establishing collective farms, managed by the State, in blind imitation of the methods adopted in Stalin's Russia.

Experience has shown that co-operative and collective farming is disliked by farmers and results in lower production. The Congress campaign for co-operative farming must be opposed as a dangerous first step towards the totalitarian collective farm system.

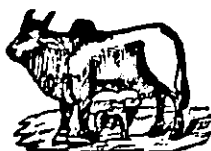
The soundest agrarian system is individual cultivation of farms of reasonable size with machinery supplied co-operatively so that a farmer can make a decent income with the help of a small number of employees. Surplus labour in the off season should be employed, not in cottage industries but in public works, i.e. in making contribution to the country's resources.

Bangalore:

S. S. B.

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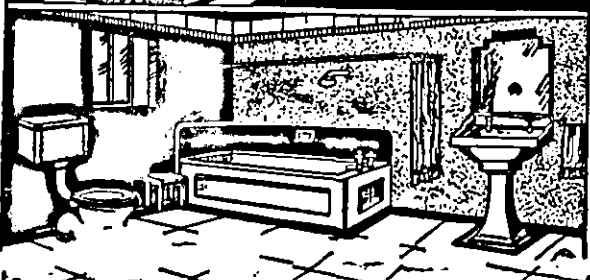
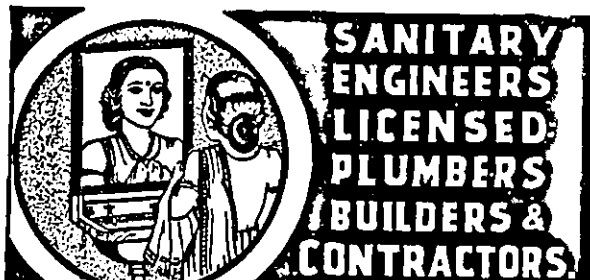
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*For every intelligent student this book shows
the way out of present day chaos*

THE ANALYSIS OF USURY

By Jeffrey Mark

Published by

The Libertarian Publishers Ltd.,
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,
Bombay 4.

Price: Rs. 3/-

This is a book that analyses the basis and foundation of Usury. Today in Capitalist countries the control of credit is monopolised by banking system. This is a perversion, for the community is made to pay large sums of money by way of interest to banks for hire of money which in the last analysis, is its own credit. On the other hand Socialists understand this perversion but Socialism is corrupted by political and personal ambitions and its leaders.

This book suggests a way out

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