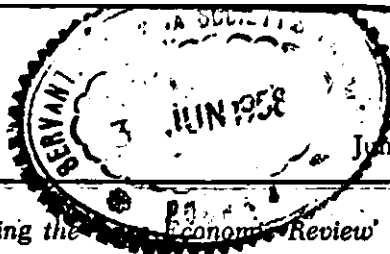


The Indian Libertarian

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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

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Letters

To The Editor

ARE WE A DEMOCRACY

Dear Madam: India has adopted the parliamentary system of government modelled on the British pattern. We have a written Constitution. But where express provisions of the Constitution prove insufficient, we follow the conventions of the British Parliament. Consequently, our parliamentary practice and procedure cannot deviate from the British unless expressly permitted by the Constitution.

But the happenings of the last few years perturb one. What is the status of the Speaker? He does not seem to command the respect in which his British counterpart is held. Our Speaker is heckled and booed. Can we claim to be following British conventions?

Shri Chintaman Deshmukh, after his resignation, spoke critically of Prime Minister Nehru's "inner cabinet." Shri Siddhartha Sankar Ray's marathon speech in the West Bengal Assembly, after his resignation, has let loose a series of charges and counter-charges, both within the Assembly and without. Some people are hailing Shri Ray as a patriot and a friend of the "have-nots"; others are denouncing him as an opportunist, a selfish damagogue, a disillusioned agitator. Mr. Nehru dubbed him as irresponsible and immature.

In fact we have no joint responsibility in the Cabinet. The Cabinet ministers are more of courtiers of Mr. Nehru than responsible minister. We have a facade of a democracy of some sort but no real democracy.

Poona M. B. Sahasrabudhe

NEHRU BRAND OF SOCIALISM!

Dear Madam: As is well-known, Government policy has been to discourage any introduction of new models among cars. The reasons for such a policy are that a multiplicity of models among cars might tend to have adverse effects upon the cost of production.

It is surprising then that Mr.

Manubhai Shah, Minister of Industries, has granted a license to Hindustan Motors for 250 baby cars, which is very much against the policy at present pursued by the Government of India. It is surprising further that no satisfactory explanation has been offered by Government to clarify this outrageous behaviour on the part of our Minister. What is one to make of it? Is it another instance of Congress favours to their favourite capitalists? Long live Nehru form of Congress "socialism"

Bombay —Kishore Valicha

THIS UNDECLARED WAR

Dear Madam: From the news that come from the Assam border it seems that Pakistan has once again started the undeclared war on India and we in our turn, are evacuating in order that the Pak troops can occupy the evacuated villages. While Pakistan is engaged in these war-like measures we, on our part, are carrying on rehearsals in non-violence, and perhaps practising "panchsheela" and co-existence! The latest news is that a "cease-fire" has been agreed upon between East Pakistan and India. If one remembers aright this is perhaps the sixth "cease-fire" in that area. "Cease-fire" agreements on the part of Pakistan seem to have no value, as previous experience has shown.

Violations of India territory, both by the authorities of East and West Pakistan, have been regular features since the beginning of partition, and there seems to be no end to them. During the negotiations the Pakistan authorities promise compensation to the victims of their aggression, but hardly had the ink on the agreement dried they forget all about it. It has become a regular farce.

It is often argued on behalf of the supporters of the Indian Government that we have a long and unguarded border and that such incidents cannot be avoided. If that is so, where is the use of maintaining a Defence Force and spending over crores of rupees in maintaining it? Again the latest firing across the borders of Assam shows that the Pakistanis know the soft spots in our defence measures, and are also aware of the buddhist mentality of our rulers.

New Delhi

Teja Singh

PAK-FIRING ON CACHAR BORDER

PAKISTANI troops resumed firing across the border at Indian villages in Cachar district (Assam) on the morning of the 14th May, as also at Madanpura, Mohisashana and Baripunji and the surrounding areas ten miles from Karimganj. The firing continued throughout the day.

Three cease-fire agreements have been signed between Indian and Pakistani officials on this border. But every time these agreements have been violated by the Pakistanis within a few days of their signing!

Pakistani soldiers entered Indian territory, and ordered labourers in Madanpur tea gardens to stop work! They then started firing, and kept it up for seven hours! Firing from Pakistan side has been continuing sporadically at different points on the border of Cachar. Using machine guns, Pak soldiers damaged the bungalow of the manager of the Madanpur Tea Garden and a large number of huts of plantation labourers.

OVER 300 "INCIDENTS" IN 5 YEARS!

Border raids from Pakistan started on the day of partition. Even 5 years ago the number of such armed attacks and incursions into Indian territory had reached the figure of 3500! Now these incidents on the Assam border have assumed a graver character. They are the activities of Pakistani military units and range over great distances. Sometimes ago the Prime Minister, in an answer in Parliament, asked us not to pay any attention to these border incidents. *He denied that there was any massing of Pak troops on the border.* He said that there might have been some movement of platoons along the border *on both sides.* We have yet to hear when Indian soldiers made incursions in Pak territory. He discounted reports of trenches and bunkers being prepared on the Pakistani side.

This is perfectly intelligible in the mouth of our Minister for External Affairs. He has never been known for any realism. On the contrary, he has been remarkable for his *ostrich-cum-buddhist* policy of ignoring militant hostility and preaching non-violence. It is time that his colleagues in Cabinet and party urged upon him the grievous insufficiency of such a policy to contain Pakistan and the urgent need to revise it in favour of a more robust and realist policy, based on a recognition of the irreconcilable hostility of Pakistan to India.

In recent sessions of Parliament, our Prime Minister has confessed that all his efforts to appease and conciliate Pakistan, (made at the cost of India) have failed. It was clear even from pre-Independence days that he and his master, Gandhi, had betrayed an incapacity to understand the Muslim League mind, and its inspiration in Islamic tradition.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN JEOPARDY

Now that Pakistan has armed itself, on a scale sufficient to out-match Indian military resources, the old Gandhian policy of conceding everything to Pakistanis, and giving them the benefit of the doubt in regard

to their intentions, and maintaining an attitude of unarmed, unprepared trust is extremely dangerous to the security of India. It places national independence in jeopardy. The Government have no right to rest content or adopt an attitude of despairful quiescence in such a situation. They are not *sanyasis* to preach and practice extreme non-resistance to violent attack. They are secular officials, placed like sentinels and soldiers, to be vigilant about the intentions and doings of hostile countries on the border, *and to take measures to retaliate in kind in defence of the country.*

If, as the Prime Minister avows, he is unable to earn the goodwill of Pakistan, he should adopt the alternative plan of containing and immobilizing Pakistan, partly through superior forces, and partly through alliances. That such a vast country as ours should have been brought to tremble at the hostile gestures of such an inefficient small country as Pakistan is a measure of our incompetence to govern ourselves. The incompetence applies only to the present set of Congress rulers. If there are in Congress a more realistic and patriotic group who have taken the measure of Pakistan, they should assert themselves and get the Prime Minister to change his disastrous policies.

NO MORE APPEASEMENT

The country will not easily excuse and ignore any disastrous encounter with Pakistan, brought on by failure of insight and lack of timely vigilance on the part of her leaders. There is no use seeking scape-goats for their failure in Hindu communalism in the face of official encouragement of Muslim communalism in all ways. Encouragement to Indian Muslims is one thing and may be excused for reasons of their being nationals of India, according to our generous constitution. But there is no justification for appeasing Pakistan, which has declared itself of her own accord, hostile to India and never tires of rousing its population to consume themselves in wrath and hatred and to cry for *jehad* against us, day after day, year after year.

In Western countries, there are associations among the public to study defence problems and urge recommendations on their Governments to improve army, navy and air forces, in equipment and training, as compared with foreign forces. In addition there are foreign policy associations, containing retired experts from the Defence Forces, academic scholars, and men of standing from the general public. It is time that we formed such "ginger" groups to prod our "light-hearted", "idealistic" Government and make them recognise the grim danger of the situation to which they have brought the country.

What is the response of our Government to the country generally, to shut their eyes and ears to the sinister omens on the Assam border, we have had nothing whatever to re-assure ourselves.

WHY IS UNION GOVT. SILENT?

By the bye, *why should the Assam Government try feebly to contact Pakistani officials while their troops are violating our territory and using machine guns*

for days on end and over a long stretch of the border? Is not defence the primary and even sole responsibility of the Union Government? Police matters may rightly be left to the local State Government. But machine guns, trenches and bunkers and actual attacks by military units are quite a different story. Members of Parliament, and influential members of public, should take up this matter seriously and galvanise the somnolent authorities at Delhi. The Armed Forces are there to be used and not for parades on Independence or Republic days nor for service abroad under UNO to pull chestnuts out of the fire for other nations, who can quite well look after themselves.

In a situation like this when the nation's security is in danger, in other countries there would have been great popular indignation expressing itself in organized demonstrations with the slogan "..... Should Go". During the war, such crowds gathered in Trafalgar Square and in front of Downing Street in London, with the slogan "Chamberlain Should Go." And he did, giving place unwillingly to Winston Churchill. That is Democracy in action. In democracy when leaders are apathetic they have to be roused to action or else asked to quit.

BOMBERS FOR PAKISTAN

Dr. Radhakrishnan elicited an assurance from President Eisenhower and Secretary John Foster Dulles (during his recent visit to the U.S.A.) that America had not given, and had not the intention of giving bombing planes to Pakistan. But now comes the rumour after the visit of Pakistan's Commander-in-Chief, General Ayub Kyan, that America is, after all, giving some bombers to Pakistan! So we have to ask: *What price American assurances?* Will this be the colour of the earlier basic pledge that President Eisenhower has given India that he will not allow Pakistan to attack India using American arms?

In any case it would be folly for us to rely on the American assurance and neglect armed preparations. There is no use taking up a lofty moral attitude and refusing to enter the armed race between Pakistan and ourselves. We may feel obliged to disavow all intentions of starting an arms race, just because it would be inconsistent with our exhortation to the Great Powers not to indulge in a nuclear weapons race. But India demands of her Government not the role of adviser to the world at large, *but the plain fulfilment of their duty of assuring the defence and security of the country.*

MONROE DOCTRINE FOR INDIA

The attitude of Pakistan, and the support of Britain and America to her (may be to contain India and prevent her from outgrowing their influence too rapidly!), has necessitated urgent rethinking on the part of India's foreign policy-makers. One of the lines of thought to be pursued in this connection is the possibility of declaring a sort of Monroe Doctrine, as a part of our foreign policy. It is necessitated by the geographical position of Pakistan's two halves at the eastern and western gateways of India. Times without number, invaders have entered India from the north-west passes and wrought havoc. Today the northern and north-eastern borders have also become vulnerable. China with her huge military potential is entrenching herself in Chinese Turkestan, Tibet and

above the Burmese northern Frontier, where Assam's border marches with the Chinese. In such a situation, it becomes obligatory for us to devise measures to neutralise Pakistan's potential for mischief. The best way is to have the Great Powers recognize Pakistan's status as a buffer state. This was the status that British diplomacy had negotiated for Tibet, with Russia and China in a series of treaties from the second half of the nineteenth century. The latest treaty was concluded in 1911 when the new border over the Himalayan heights, from Bhutan round the Brahmaputra bend, down to the northern borders of Burma, was established. But the Chinese Revolution of 1911 prevented China's signature being affixed. And this has given a loophole to Red China to reopen the question of the status of Tibet and annex it unceremoniously.

"PANCHASHEELA" — AN EMPTY SHELL

Today the emergence of Pakistan has reopened the question of India's frontier defence with its contour of the Sindhu, Brahmaputra and the Irawady, flanked by the mountain ranges from Baluchistan through the Hindukush to the Himalayas and Burma. India's defence requires the *mastery of all the area within this perimeter.* The military forces of alien states, within this perimeter, should be subject to overall supervision and control by India. Arms supplies to them should be made through India, subject to India's control. This is the only way to bypass the Baghdad pact. Panchasheela is an empty ritual without some such realist network of defence combining military strategy with sound political alliances. We boast of an influence with both the warring blocs. We should cash this influence into a concrete, reliable and impregnable line of defence. That would be our Siegfried or Maginot line.

AMPLIFIER FOR HEART

A tiny transmitter amplifier connected between the auricle and ventricle of the heart can save lives in cases of heart block, physicians at the clinical congress of the American College of Surgeons told their colleagues recently.

The amplifier, which weighs less than 2 ounces and has a very small battery that can be charged, can pick up the 10 milli-volt electrical impulse from the auricle and amplify it to the 450 milli-volts necessary to stimulate contraction of the ventricle and complete a good strong heart beat.



Courtesy: Filmindia

NEHRU AND THE CONGRESS CRISIS

By M. A. Venkata Rao

A CARTOON in the daily newspapers hit off the meaning of Nehru's recent ultimatum to Congressmen neatly and precisely. A shadow of the squatting Mahatma appears in midair in front of a scowling Nehru. The cartoon bore the legend, "In times of crisis, the Mahatma threatened a fast: I threaten resignation". Both the threats belong to the same kind, and are intended to rally the flagging faith of the followers in their master. The procedure (whether fast or threat of retirement) is irrational, and belongs to the realm of magic and glamour. Democracy cannot be built in this way. It is reminiscent more of Hitler and Mussolini, than of Gladstone or Abraham Lincoln.

LASHING ALL ROUND

The Prime Minister advanced grave charges, both against his own and the Opposition parties and the prevailing climate of opinion in the country. He lashed out at the corruption in his own party, evidenced in wide-spread casteism, communalism, jobbery and the rush of office and position. It is noteworthy that even in such a critical mood the Prime Minister did not condemn nepotism and the misuse of official power and influence for private and sectarian advantage. In Parliament, he defended the officer class, and in answer to Mr. Dange, defended even the Ministers, while all the world is scandalised by the frequency and gravity of scandals like the Mundhra affair in which both these groups are involved.

Among the Opposition groups, he condemned both the Communist party and the Jan Sangh, though he camouflaged his reference to the latter under the formal title of Hindu "communalism." It is clear that the *malaise* from which Mr. Nehru is suffering is fear of the melting away of his party, caused both by the growing intransigence of his own followers in the Congress, and by the increasing influence of the opposing Jan Sangh.

THE GATHERING REVOLT

In his own party, leaders of State Governments are asserting themselves against his distinctive socialist policies. They are delaying the implementation of his "land reforms" aiming at the liquidation of large estates, and the pampering of tenants and smallholders at their cost, some of them like Mr. Hanumanthiah of Mysore, openly express disagreement, but the large majority of legislators register a silent resistance. The attempt at dragooning legislators in the States into support of the land liquidation, and redistribution laws through the Planning Commission, is one of the major reasons for the intransigence of local Congress leaders.

For the first time Nehru is confronted with wide-spread resistance to his authority. The resistance of the Maharashtrians to the bilingual Bombay State led the way. The Madras Government, influenced by their Dravida Kizagam supporters, next swelled the opposition ranks challenging Nehru's leadership, under cover of the anti-Hindi agitation. The fact

is that they want to get rid of the authority of Nehru and of all future Nehru's from the North, once for all.

Now comes massive opposition from the ranks of the agriculturists. They held a convention at Bangalore in February, and prepared a memorandum summing up all that could be said against the destructive ideas of the Commission (in effect of Nehru) modelled on Russian and Chinese examples and pointed the Communist moral. They interviewed Nehru in Delhi, and elicited from him a disavowal of any desire to collectivize agriculture. But they are too shrewd to take him at his word

SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN ON THE ROCKS

In Industry, the Second Five Year Plan has come to a deadlock. It has been halted for lack of resources and foreign exchange. Taxation has reached saturation point and the stage of diminishing returns. Foreign aid has not been forthcoming in the astronomical amounts expected (of course, wrongly expected, contrary to competent advice.)

Thus both in industry and agriculture, Nehru has been confronted with stern and unyielding reality which he cannot ignore or bypass in rational and sober ways.

The crisis is showing itself in the demoralisation of his party men in the face of public criticism. They have to change Nehru's policies by pressure from within, or share the odium of high prices, high taxation and wide-spread misery brought on by his policies. Nehru or the country's good to their own future are the alternatives confronting them insistently. They can no longer postpone a decision.

NEHRU'S NIGHTMARE

Communists have been profiting from this situation so far. But the recent Delhi Corporation elections in which Congress received a severe set-back winning only 31 seats out of 100 and the Jan Sangh registered a startling advance by securing 25 out of the 54 seats they contested and mass enthusiasm evoked by the Jan Sangh Annual sessions of Delhi (1957) and of Ambala (1958) have brought the Jan Sangh into the political picture as a possible non-communist alternative to the Congress party. Both local communism and Jan Sangh are "nightmares" to Nehru as he confessed to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. But he is more opposed to Jan Sangh for it has roots in the culture of the country and has all the possibilities of absorbing Congress within its growing movement. If the Hindu translates his Hindu "subconscious" into political terms, the "Gandhian" Congress will find its occupation gone.

Nehru expresses this fear of his in vague terms such as that "He finds himself out of tune" with the emerging atmosphere in the country, that there is an unhealthy "revivalism", that the Hindu "communalism" is more dangerous than minority communa-

lism and so on. Of course, the minority communalism of the Muslims and Christians cannot oust him from his leadership, for they do not have the numbers. So they are considered less dangerous!

The crisis in the Congress is thus primarily a crisis in Nehru's career as leader of Congress, and, therefore, as leader of Government and the country. To the people as a whole, Nehru presents himself in diverse roles. He is head of Government, leader of Congress, exemplar and teacher of Westernism, sponsor of socialist economics, sponsor of Hindu social reform, of secularism and materialism. All these roles are not accepted by all the people in an integral way. Different groups accept different aspects of the Nehru message. Nehru's insistence on including socialist economics and secular materialism in one and the same package, which, (apart from personal defects such as indifference to corruption and proneness to favouritism, irrespective of principle) is the main source of the crisis which confronts him. The fate of Amanullah of Afghanistan may overtake Nehru if he strains the loyalty of the country too far. This is the deeper implication of the present unrest in Nehru's mind.

Nehru resents this dead-end, this scattering of his following, this confrontation with the parting-of-the-ways or cross-road situation. He wants to go faster along the Moscow-Peking road.

To this end, he has administered a shock to his Congress henchmen with a view to separate the sheep from the goats. There will no doubt be a crossing of more goats to the company of the sheep, but a few goats have been bold enough to criticize the High Command and show their horns with a distinct gesture of defiance (Hanumanthiah and others). This is menacing.

HIS MESSIANIC MISSION

Nehru said (during these sessions of confession, house-cleaning, mutual criticism and washing dirty linen in private and public) that he is aware of a mission for a greater tasks than he has already done so far.

It is important to know what it is. The answer cannot be much in doubt. He wishes to go down in history as the architect of socialism in the Indian Revolution of 1947 *a la* Lenin and Stalin; Mao and Chou. He has already introduced some 20 per cent of socialism. He has constructed the framework of socialism with his Industrial policy resolutions of 1948 and 1956, and the Second Five Year Plan. In agriculture the next step after the abolition of the zamindari system is the introduction of collective farming and State farming. But there is a hardening in the rural leadership which threatens a widespread revolt. The emergence of the Ganatantra Parishad is a dark cloud bearing thunder and lightning on the Congress horizon.

Nehru is watching Mao Tse-tung, who telescoped his forty-year plan of socialism into a three year programme, when confronted with the need to pay astronomical sums to Russia in return for aid in the establishment of 135 large-scale manufacturing plants. Mao had to get command of the agricultural harvests, so that he could send the maximum quantities possible to Russia. In India, Nehru wants to obtain from the land the maximum possible of rice and wheat, cotton and jute. He thinks that collective and state farms using the latest machinery, and methods, and the best

fertilizers and seeds can raise production to unheard of levels.

SHAPING CONGRESS INTO SERVILITY

He also wants to tap the hoarded gold of the country in exchange for government loan bonds sold by massive shock-brigade tactics. Dr. D. R. Gadgil had suggested two years ago that normal methods of public finance will not be able to raise the resources to pay for the II Five Year Plan. His recommendation was that India should nationalise all industries and annex their profits. He thought that there was no need to allow a large private capitalist class to divert profits to themselves.

Mr. Nehru is no doubt impressed with the vision of mobilization of finance thus dangled before his eyes. But he is aware of the "rightist" restlessness in his party. The productive classes are hit by high prices already. The middle classes are being squeezed. To withstand this popular unrest and push his socialist plan through,—past the present crisis to a new phase of accelerated development comparable in scale to Russian and Chinese rates of progress, Nehru needs a compact, servile party with sufficient faith in him to vote for all his dizzy plans without a murmur, disregarding the cries of misery and indignation.

For these purposes, he has inspired a Socialist Forum to keep the flame alive and to indoctrinate the intelligentsia with the dogmas of Marxism, dressed in the garb and mantle of Gandhism, Sarvodaya, etc.

Hence we can reasonably expect from Nehru, after his temporary pilgrimage to the Himalayas, a great new drive in socialisation both in industry and agriculture.

Shock brigades of canvassers including non-officials like Bharat Sevak Sanghis, etc. may be mobilized by Congress and Government to take the Indian people down the slippery slope of socialism.

Why U.S. Helps India — It Is Freedom's Last Hope In Asia

INDIA 1958—Freedom's Last Hope in Asia." That is the title and theme of *Look* magazine's 17-page article in text and pictures on India, its leaders and its problems.

"Of the many nations to win independence since the war," it said, "India alone has been accepted as a major power....."

"India is a huge land bridge between the erupting Middle East and the lush, vulnerable lands of South-East Asia. If Communism gained control of this sprawling mass between the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean, the consequences would be frightening. Add India's 400,000,000 people to Red China's 600,000,000, and the sheer weight would overwhelm the small nations to the east and west.

Of India's leadership, *Look* said: "This is the Nehru age in India. So complete is his domination, so strong is his link to the people, so deep is his imprint on their every activity that Jawaharlal Nehru has come to mean India...."

"An autocrat, he comes alive only before a mob. A mystic, he pokes his nose into every practical problem, a pacifist, he is militant over Kashmir. A neutralist, he often sounds like an echo of Moscow. A politician, he places himself above politics."

Fanning The Flames Of War

By Daneshmand

THAT the antagonistic relations between India and Pakistan have today ripened into open and pressing animosity is evident by the fact that Pakistan is now almost bristling with thoughts of a war with India. And yet, paradoxically enough, the need to avert such an impending crisis, and to examine the consequences of such a war, have become of secondary importance in contrast with the appalling fact that our Government has shown no awareness of this serious development, but has indeed been absolutely lax and lethargic on the whole issue. It is of greater concern and distress to us that the Indian attitude towards the fatal Indo-Pakistani rift is so completely in mesalliance with actual conditions.

ROAD TO NATIONAL SUICIDE

This is a paradox. It illustrates, to a large extent, the traditional Hindu outlook with regard to external enemies. In particular, and with an oddity that is both queer and alarming, it has found fertile soil in the heart of our Prime Minister, who though is biased against the Hindus. It is an undeniable fact that what passes today as the Indian policy towards Pakistan is an objective version of Mr. Nehru's private feelings, which are a mixture of effeminate Gandhism plus Buddhist leanings. As he himself has been known to say, he must insist on dealing with Pakistan *his way*, which, in practice, amounts to suicidal and goody-goody self-stultifying piffle.

Mr. Nehru is taking the country on the road that will lead to national suicide. It is almost a problem for the intelligent section of the Indian community to improve upon the arguments by which to impress upon the Indian Government (or Mr. Nehru, to be exact) the urgency of the situation that prevails between India and Pakistan. The greatest barrier that besets our relationship with Pakistan is Mr. Nehru himself.

It is an undoubted fact, and one which history substantiates in ample measure, that the one sure factor that unites the Muslims is a hatred for the Hindus and the cries of *jehad* that are so much a part of Pakistani life today. This is an unailing truism. It has worked in the past. It is working today. What is different is that our leaders do not realize it.

THE SIGNS OF WAR

The recent murder of Dr. Khan Sahib, which is definitely a political contrivance; the worsening tension over the border incidents; the gradually increasing lack of control over the situation by the Indian Government; the internal disruptions in Pakistan; the Kashmir imbroglio; the dispute over the canal waters; the network of spies from Pakistan who are active in India; the successive bomb explosions; the open threats of war with India; the mounting of troops on the Assam border; the Naga negotiations with an aim

at subversion; and an innumerable number of other maladies speak only evil for India. This spells quite clearly that Pakistan has arrived at the state of mind when nothing short of a war can quell the mobs at home.

And this cannot be ignored by us any longer. Indian weaknesses come primarily from our own misguided secularism. It is strange to record that the only geographical home of the Hindus has been converted into a paradise for all minorities (chief among whom are the Indian Muslims) by Gandhi's "spiritualized" politics, followed by Nehru's secularized version. Hindudom remains neglected by its own leaders.

DARKENING CLOUDS IN THE ARAB WORLD

To illustrate the full workings of the Islamic mind, one may do no better than to draw the lesson from another part of the world, a part of the world that has come into unhealthy prominence in recent times. The allusion is to Egypt and its ruler, President Nasser. The latest enterprise of this devout Muslim is the Cairo-Moscow alliance, which is a tacit pledge to fan the raw flames of fanaticism, both Islamic and communist. It is not difficult to deduce the results. A dark cloud over Africa, Turkey, Israel stands out as a preliminary tocsin. And, tragically enough, Nasser can count on the sympathy and support of the Indian Prime Minister in his dark attempts to "liberate" Africa or Israel.

What is worse still is the misrule of the Muslims. Taking an inside view of Pakistan, the thing that strikes the observer is the discontent of the masses. Poverty, slums, corruption and nepotism in public life, the indifference of the rulers, the radical differences between the various political parties, and the consequent manoeuvrings, the serious lack of proportion in public expenditure, the criminal waste—all are primary features of Pakistani life. This seething discontent of the Muslims at home can be quelled by just one way, and the Pakistani politicians realize it only too well. The repeated cries of *Jehad* and war with the Hindus are mere stratagems to divert the attention of the frustrated mob at home from the sins of its own leaders. This has been the traditional game, and has been carried on now for ten years by the Pakistani politicians who, by this time, can be counted upon to have become versed enough in it.

WAR WITH INDIA—THE ONLY WAY OUT

One may well ask, "Can the Pakistani politicians play their merry game indefinitely?" And the answer is obviously that they cannot. For the Pakistani politicians know that the jig's up and knowing this, they are doing what they consider, the only way out that is war with India.

It is only foolish apathy on our part not to realize

this. Pakistani politicians know well that they cannot stem the tide; indeed they dare not, if they wish to save their skins. Massing of troops on the Assam border, the begging-team consisting of Ayyub Khan and Ashghar Ali, who have both journeyed to America to extract from the Americans jet bombers, the open declarations of war, all go to prove a most fateful development for India in the very near future. It is only a matter of time now before Pakistan attacks India.

If yet the secular and agnostic frame of mind that our rulers — specifically, Mr. Nehru — have considered fashionable to adopt remains stubborn, if not mulish, we urge a last empirical test. Look into the programmes of the various parties in Pakistan. While each differs from the rest radically on all matters, all are, however, agreed in one essential detail. This detail, needless to say, is war with India.

This stands out with a luminous clarity. To ignore it bespeaks of our lethargy and indifference

to our own interests. It is a matter of the greatest urgency that we should adopt, as early as possible, a policy that ought, if not altogether overcome, at any rate side-track the impending war. We have to act — and act quickly, and this time, in order to avert a war.

Pakistani politicians have always been bold in their statements; they have cared little for facts or truth; they have trusted in mere propaganda, in unadulterated piffle and big talk. But the recent statements are different in as much as they cloak an overt sense of danger and active ill towards India. Our political observers, whose ignorance cannot be worse than the single-tracked fanatic zeal of the Muslims, cannot have failed to notice the danger. It is apparent both in deed and in word. It is apparent in the Assam border massing of troops as it is in the Naga subversion and the swarms of spies that are being sent out to India every month. It is apparent also in the East Pakistani harassment to Hindus and in the open anti-Hindu programmes of ALL political parties in Pakistan.

THE MOSCOW-CAIRO AXIS

By B. S. Sanyal

WE have always proposed active resistance to the Soviet policy of expansion. We have recommended a *policy of liberation* as against the self-stultifying *policy of containment*. Some people discourage such talk; they point to the danger of nuclear war and our moral responsibility to avert it. These people are peace-mongers: they are either themselves communists or cissy liberals who have fallen victim to communists' peace-mongering.

NUCLEAR WAR IS RULED OUT

There are certain facts of the situation which rule out nuclear war, thus leaving the field clear for the Soviet Union to expand its empire by means of conventional diplomacy and weapons. 1) In the would-be nuclear war, the aggressor will have to destroy the other party completely; for, even a modest retaliatory force surviving can work havoc on the aggressor. 2) As long as the U.S.A. alone had nuclear weapons, she *did not* use them for an offensive purpose. Now she *cannot* use them for aggression; her having hundreds of advanced and rear bases has no more than defensive use. And even this defensive character is fast losing in quality. 3) The Soviet Union is trying her best to develop effective resistance to retaliation. When this will be complete, she will crush the Free World's nuclear defence. In the meantime, the Free World can never take nuclear retaliation against conventional action. Soviet Union knows it, and therefore, can merrily play the old game of empire-building in a conventional way. She can confound the cissies in the Free World who are never sure that she too cannot take nuclear retaliation against conventional action.

AMATEURS BEFORE SEASONED DIPLOMATS

It is in this context that Nasser's visit to Moscow is to be studied. Nasser is a child, as much as Nehru has proven himself to be, before the Soviet diplomats.

Nehru's visit to Moscow was a turning-point in history: it signalled the loss of Asia to the Free World. The predominantly Hindu state of the Indian Union was surreptitiously made to align itself with the Communist Empire. To give it an innocent look, semantic camouflage like Panchasheela, the socialist pattern and secularism came in handy. The half-heroic, half-messianic soul of Nehru, which feels at home among Muslims and Communists, agreed to align India with the Soviet Russian bloc, for the doubtful glory of an imitation hero. We need not tell the tragic tale; all of us are in the thick of it—spell-bound, as it were, too scared to move and put the wrong leaders into their proper position.

NASSER IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF NEHRU

Nehru neutralized the Hindu and Buddhist States against the Free World in favour of Communism. Nasser is now going to repeat the performance with regard to the Islamic States, in favour of communism again. His visit signals too the loss of Africa to the Free World. The Soviet Union had not merely *sold* armaments to Egypt. She has used the deal as a bait. And Nasser has fallen for it. Nasser has been used also for bluffing the West. During the Suez Canal crisis, the Soviet Union threatened to send *volunteers*. The threat vaguely suggested *nuclear aggression*—

which we have seen is ruled out. Yet it worked. Nobody called the bluff.

Nasser, like Nehru, is already a means to the communist end. Several factors favour the Red Imperialists. The anti-West, anti-Jewish Arab nationalism is, of course, the great fact. Why nationalism is anti-communistic in Europe but pro-communistic in Asia has now become quite clear to all observers. The European peoples have had a direct experience of imposed communist regimes. The Polish and the Hungarians have already felt where the communist galoshes pinch. Not so the peoples of Asia. The half-baked intellectuals, who hold the positions of power in Asia and Africa, still think of the West in terms of yester years' history and of the Communist State in terms of their yester years' futuristic vision, crude but glorious. Consequently the amateurish diplomacy of Nehru and Nasser, the so-called *modern* leaders of non-Communist Asia.

Soviet diplomacy has been successfully exploiting the following complexes of the Arab mind: racial hostility to the Jews, the Muslims' hostility to the Christians, the Arabs' hostility to the Turks, the Asians' hostility to the Europeans, the Africans' hostility to the Whites, the Somali Muslims' hostility to the Ethiopian Christians, the *backward* peoples' craving for a short cut to an industrial way of life, the modern truants' blindness to old culture, the archaists' superficial zeal for past glories, the sense of unity resulting from the creation of U.A.R., etc., etc.

A localised Arab War against Israel may do away with the pro-West state and all Anglo-American oil interests in Arab countries, provided, of course, Soviet *volunteers* freely fight with the Arabs against the Jews, while the Western Powers look on and forbear fighting with the Jews against the Arabs — fearing that this may

lead to a nuclear war — which, we have seen, is altogether ruled out.

That Muslim missionaries have been doing fine ever since the beginning of the century has always caused alarm in Christian quarters. But Christian evangelism, under the influence of men like Albert Schweitzer, has mellowed down. Monks are now a means to self-edification rather than to collecting proselytes into the fold. Egyptians will support the Somali Muslims' political case against the British and the French rulers.

In short, Nasser's visit to Moscow will bring into full swing the already operative Cairo-Moscow Axis. This will make things more difficult for the Free World and more dangerous for humanity.

It seems, however, that the U.S.A. has realized her mistakes on Suez and Hungary. The developments in Indonesia and Algeria seem to show a change-over from the policy of containment to that of liberation.

NEHRU THROUGH BENEVOLENT AMERICAN EYES

Mr. Edward M. Korry, whose byline appeared on the thumbnail sketch of Mr. Nehru wrote that he got the impression "that Nehru and India are genuinely grateful for American help."

"Despite the Communists, despite the inept policy we have pursued there is less anti-Americanism in India than in most places," he wrote.

"Nehru's benevolent attitude (towards Communism) often provokes Americans to ask whether he is really a 'pro-Communist.' The answer is, of course, a firm no... but Nehru has helped to make Communism respectable in India."

The article said of India's Five Year Plan: "It will need lots of help the next four years. If we don't supply our share, there is no question that Communism will gain in India."

TRUE TALES—Annie Oakley (first of a series)

by VERUS



ANNIE OAKLEY.—One of the most charming women ever to invade a masculine field, Annie Oakley was recognized as the "Champion Shot of the World". So great was her skill with rifle, shotgun and pistol, that many of her feats remain unsurpassed today. She has grown into one of America's fondest legends.



ARMS.—America is one of the few countries where Annie Oakley's career could have bloomed. Americans have a champion in any field, but they love freedom even more—and the right of citizens to bear arms is one of the most sacred freedoms guaranteed to all Americans. It is written into the very Constitution of the United States.



CHILDHOOD.—Annie Oakley was born in 1860 in a log cabin in the midwestern state of Ohio. Her childhood was marked by poverty that would have turned many children bitter against the world. But Annie's naturally sunny disposition survived these rigours and she was even able to impart cheer to her seven brothers and sisters.
(to be continued)

How Slack Are Our Security Measures?

By "Vigilant"

IN addition to the continuous threats of "jihad" and "police action" from across the borders of Pakistan there is another equally invisible but a real danger that is threatening the internal security of the nation. News have recently appeared that in many of the dacoit operations along the borders of India, Rajasthan, East Punjab, Assam, and even much further interior areas like Madhya Pradesh, the hand of some foreign power or powers are seen. Looking to the strained Indo-Pak. relations, it is not far from the truth, to spot out the foreign power that is actively taking part in the supply of modern arms to these subversive elements within the country.

Mr. Datar, Minister for State for Home Affairs, quite recently stated in the Lok Sabha, that modern arms, probably of American make, were found with some of the dacoits operating in Madhya Pradesh. This answer was given in reply to a query from Mr. V. C. Shukla whether brand new American sten guns were smuggled into Madhya Pradesh to disrupt the law and order situation in the country. He further asked the Central Government what measures were proposed to be taken by the New Delhi authorities to check this smuggling of foreign arms, and whether such help was already promised to the authorities of Madhya Pradesh. This is a revelation that should make every patriotic Indian ponder over the danger to the security and integrity of the nation, that these developments signify. Though Mr. Datar was very cautious, and did not say that the arms were of American make, it is clear that some foreign powers or power are definitely interested in creating internal panic and disorder. Whether the arms smuggled into the country are of American origin or not, is not the main question. The main question that foreign modern arms are available to anti-social and anti-national elements in the country, should give food for thought to the Home Ministry of the Government of India.

HONEY-COMBED WITH PAK. SPIES

If this latest discovery of the find of modern foreign arms with the dacoits of Madhya Pradesh is linked with the dacoit activities in the border territories of the Union, like Rajasthan, East Punjab, Cutch and Saurashtra, there is circumstantial evidence to point our finger to one and one foreign country, namely Pakistan. And this conclusion is not without substantial evidence in our possession.

That a large number of Pakistanis have managed to live in the country without any ostensible means and that many of them have entered the country on temporary visas and overstayed their period of sojourn, and some of them have been arrested for spying for Pakistan, goes to show that there is a widespread network of Pakistani spies all over the country. The Indian public has yet to learn what steps the Government propose to take to rid the country of this Pakistani spy menace. And this is not sporadic action on the part of the Pakistani spies. It has been a continuous and systematic action on the part of Pakistan

from the days when a number of explosions took place in Delhi, and it was reported that some Pakistanis were arrested in connection with those explosions. Beyond that, the public is completely ignorant about the measures taken to tighten and strengthen the internal security measures.

The Delhi explosions were followed by another spate of sabotage activities by Pakistani agents and spies in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Here, too, barring a few arrests nothing further is known, whether systematic steps are taken or not to cleanse the country of these foreign agents and spies. There is a legitimate fear that either the Indian authorities are helpless to meet this menace or there is laxity and apathy on their part. In any case, no country can afford to take such a complacent attitude in matters that affect the question of internal security and the state of law and order in the country.

NEW DELHI RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNAL FERMENT

If a little detailed study of the state of law and order in the country is made it will be apparent to any impartial persons that everything is rotten in the state of Denmark that is Bharat. Owing to wrong, mistaken and unrealistic policies on the part of the Government of India on such questions as the linguistic realignment of the country, the hasty and fanatic policy of foisting Hindi on non-Hindi population of the country, there is already a lot of discontent and agitation, specially in the South, Western parts of the country like Gujerat and Maharashtra and in Bengal. All these agitations are really uncalled for and would not have been there but for the blindness of the New Delhi authorities to the psychological and emotional factors that underly all these movements that are gathering strength on an all-India scale. This state of ferment is taken advantage of by some of the foreign powers, not exactly friendly towards India. And in the list of unfriendly powers, Pakistan heads the list. It is no wonder that Pakistan should try to have her finger in every trouble that starts in the country. However both in the linguistic agitation and in the agitation against Hindi in the South, Pakistan could not take a direct part since these agitations are NOT anti-Union nor in essence anti-national. But Pakistan seems to have succeeded amongst the anti-social smuggler and dacoit elements in the country, and even amongst the hostile Nagas.

ALARMING NEWS FROM ASSAM BORDER

The news during the last month from Assam border districts are alarming. A number of Nagas have already descended in the district of Cachar on their way to East Pakistan. A number of hostile Nagas have already established liaison with the Pakistani authorities. There are a number of Nagas on the staff of the Radio in Dacca, and special Naga broadcasts
(Continued on page 21)

THE GREAT FARCE

By Vivek

ONE Congress member of Parliament may well have said to another, as they left the meeting on Saturday evening at which Mr. Nehru, never having intended to retire even temporarily, was reluctantly persuaded not to retire, "the farce is over, let's go home and laugh."

Naturally being on the stage themselves they could not laugh while the performance was on. But the curtain having come down there was nothing to prevent them displaying their feeling. If they were in the least sophisticated, the display probably did not go beyond a wry chuckle. For they cannot but have realised that while participants in the farce, they were also the butts of the principal character.

With his show of humility and pretence of deferring to their view, Nehru was only leading them on. In reality, between humility and him a great gulf yawned and his decision not to budge even a trifle either in time or space, had been firm before he began to talk of being tired. Thinking of the mock pathos of his speech at the two abdication discussion meetings, Hamlet's line, slightly amended must have occurred to them. "How stale, flat, unprofitable are to us all the uses of his words."

Realising the true nature of the performance, it is still worthwhile to examine the ostensible reasons Mr. Nehru gave for staging this farce. Mr. Nehru's fastidious nature and delicate mind were greatly wounded by "a coarseness, a vulgarity" that had made its appearance recently not only in the Congress but in the country. The atmosphere was getting "murkier, heavier, more difficult for a sensitive person to breathe easily." Further a certain revivalist feeling, a certain communal "feeling was creeping in even among Congressmen." So says Mr. Nehru, he thought he would get away from it all for a while and ponder.

REAL SURPRISE

That there is plenty of vulgarity and coarseness in this country, no one would deny. What is surprising is that Mr. Nehru should discover it only now, for it cannot have been hidden from even the most casual observer of the Indian scene during the last ten years.

It has not had to be sought for in difficult and inaccessible places, it has flaunted itself openly in the Central and State capitals. Could anything be more coarse than the whole manner of behaviour of many of those in power since 1947?

In the circumstances of the country could anything be more vulgar than their way of living?

When the professions made before coming to power and the practice followed thereafter are considered, the matter goes beyond vulgarity and coarseness. It then really appears as the problem of hypocrisy, of a double standard covering both life and action, affecting most detrimentally the true interests of the country. Nehru's responsibility for this state, physical, mental and spiritual, can scarcely be denied. He has been the head of the ruling organisation and the strongest personality within it. It is as it is because he has chosen to let it be as it is.

Aside from the general question, let us consider Mr. Nehru himself in relation to this coarseness and vulgarity. Mr. Nehru lives in a palace surrounded by every luxury. Is not this great ostentation for the elected Prime Minister of a country as poor as this? Is not ostentation one of the worst forms of vulgarity? Does it not indicate a lack of that sense of proportion that is the essence of coarseness of fibre? Nehru accepts presents, he allows himself to be photographed with them and the donor as in the case of the horse presented to him.

TRUE VULGARITY

In a country where the tendency to give and take presents is so persistent and where the public interest demands the sternest attitude against it, is not this evidence again of that failure of a sense of proportion that is true vulgarity?

Mr. Nehru appears in Bombay in the course of the LIC enquiry and pays publicly a glowing tribute to the then Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, knowing that one of the crucial issues of the enquiry was his responsibility. Does this show delicacy of feeling? Does it not rather indicate a bludgeon-like desire to force his own wishes on others? After the Commission's report holding Mr. Krishnamachari responsible, both in theory and in fact, Mr. Nehru assures him, and attempts to influence the public into believing that "his part was of the smallest." Could anything have made the atmosphere "murkier and heavier"?

Mr. Nehru knows, indeed has proof positive, that Mr. Krishnamachari gave an evasive reply once, and lied thrice to Parliament in connection with the same L.I.C. matter. Yet in the debate, he stood up firmly for Mr. Krishnamachari, and since then has deliberately chosen not to make the position clear to Parliament and the public. Perhaps thus is created the atmosphere "for a sensitive person to breathe easily."

In fact, of course, accurate, if not sensitive, Indians and foreigners have little hesitation in describing the atmosphere in which Mr. Nehru breathes best as that of the autocratic court. Few dare tell the monarch the truth. Those who do, pay for their temerity. Sooner or later, the monarch, or if not he directly, his confidants, see to that, all in a very civilised way undoubtedly, but none the less effective on that account.

REVIVALISM JUSTIFIED

The revivalism, Mr. Nehru mentions, is also in part a reaction from the attitude he has adopted. Mr. Nehru has refused to recognise the patent fact that India is a Hindu country. In consequence some Hindus naturally feel it necessary to assert that emphatically, and in ways which will demonstrate it quite clearly. India being a Hindu country does not make it any the less the home of people not Hindus, who belong to it and are born in it. On the other hand at all times the Hindu has recognised the right of such people to live as citizens along with himself.

For communalism in the narrow sense, the encouragement in political and Governmental matters of attachment to a particular group, few are more blameworthy than the Congress, whose normal practice it has come to regard community as the most important element in the choice of its candidates for election. Again and again, has a man been selected, not because he is the best, but because his is a big caste or community, or because so many men from his community will vote for him.

The Congress has also entered into many an electoral pact on a communal basis. In view of Mr. Nehru's position in the Congress, and his intimate knowledge of all that happens within it, he can scarcely plead exemption from responsibility for these lapses.

MOTIVE

Mr. Nehru's is a complicated personality and it is difficult at any time to be certain about the real reason for any act of his. A guess, however, may be hazarded about the motive behind the not-too-entertaining

farce he has just enacted. Shrewd politician as he is, he has had to recognise that in the last year or so he has made many mistakes and that criticism is growing among his more thinking political colleagues. He knows also that he suffers in their esteem because of the hold the 3 Ms. Menon (Krishna), Mathai (M.O.) and Mahalanobis (Prof) seem to have upon him. They do not like his keeping shop by crony so much. He is further aware that the country, as a whole, is no longer so tremendously enthusiastic about him. As recent editorials in many of the papers show, the idea of his temporary departure caused no deep consternation.

He may thus have thought it best to move before any further strengthening of feeling, demonstrating to all and sundry by this manoeuvre the confidence the party has in him and its reliance upon him. Perhaps, too he may hope that after this vote of confidence, he can disregard altogether contrary views in foreign and domestic policy to which, however unwillingly, he has had to pay some heed upto now.

RETRIEVING FALLEN FORTUNES

It is with relief that one reads the views expressed by U.K. press in response to the latest "solution" of the Kashmir imbroglio urged by Pakistan. "The talk by the President of (the Pakistan) Muslim League about war being the 'only solution of the Kashmir tangle' is merely the routine effort of a Pakistani politician to restore the fallen fortunes of his party," said the *New Statesman* in an editorial note on Kashmir on Friday.

The editorial headlined "Rash words in Pakistan" said: "Such remarks have been common in Pakistan ever since the first illegal entry of the tribesmen and Pakistan troops into Kashmir in 1947. But the speech of Mr. Mohammed Ali, former Pakistan Prime Minister, at Lahore, reported in *Dawn* of May 3, must be regarded as a more serious symptom.

"He seems to have stated that an open clash with India is 'inevitable' within the next three years, and to have stated that India's construction of dams on the frontiers of Pakistan, are proof positive that Delhi intends to deprive Pakistan of its water—instead of an arrangement with Karachi, to supply the desperate determination, in the absence of any reasonable needs of its own peasants".

THE "HOLY" WAR AGAINST INDIA

The *New Statesman* commented: "One result of such propaganda (clash with India) coming from a politician, with an honourable and moderate reputation, must be that the politicians of other parties which might have paid attention to the lamentable political and economic confusion in Pakistan, will also attempt to rally their followers behind the slogan of a holy war against India.

"Perhaps the calculation is that such threats will compel the Security Council to intervene in Kashmir, or bring more pressure to bear on India.

"The risks are very great. The U.N. can do no more than to attempt to persuade India and Pakistan to return to the commonsense partition proposals which Mr. Nehru did, even if belatedly, make to Karachi.

"Any attempt to send troops would only lead to perilous international complications in which America would be powerless to aid Pakistan, her ally, under the Baghdad Pact, while Russia, which supports Delhi in Kashmir, would see a wonderful opportunity of increasing Soviet influence in India."

NOON'S CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

That Mr. Noon's chickens have come home to roost is evident, to some extent, from the recent denunciation of this political trouble-maker in Pakistan. Three leading lawyers of Lahore have demanded the immediate resignation of Mr. Firoz Khan Noon from the Prime Ministership of Pakistan in view of the findings and observations recorded today by Mr. Justice Shabir Ahmad of the West Pakistan High Court in Mr. Gurmani's defamation case.

In a joint statement the lawyers — Mr. Abdurrahim, Mr. Hassan Akhtar and Mr. Abdul Aziz — said that in view of the findings it was the moral and public duty of Mr. Noon to tender his resignation forthwith.

It is no wonder that time has come for Noon to exit. The average life span of a Pakistani Prime Minister is less than two years.



Courtesy "Filmindia"

Congress Illusion About the Communists

THE Prime Minister no less than the Home Minister, the Congress President and General Secretary, and even the Kerala P.C.C. President, who should know better, are ecstatic that the Communist Party is undergoing a transformation. They say it is a tribute to the Congress goal of "socialism by peaceful means." But what is the reality?

JUST A TACTIC

According to the new constitution, adopted at Amritsar, the basic objective of the Party is defined as "socialism through peaceful means." The General Secretary of the Party, however, in the course of a speech in Vijayawada, warned wishful thinkers that "the transformation also depended on the ruling party". Explaining the position, he said "extremely reactionary circles, when confronted with the danger of losing power, might attack democratic forms of government and try to establish a Fascist regime." He added, "such moves will be resisted." Significantly enough he did not add, "through peaceful means". The position, therefore, is that the Communist Party has to imagine and assert that extremely reactionary circles are trying to establish a Fascist regime, and the way will be open to the Communists to resort to other than peaceful means.

The General Secretary, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, made a similar statement at a special conference of the West Bengal Party held in Calcutta from January 28 to 31. As reported in the party journal *New Age*, he stressed the point that "the nature of the transition, peaceful or otherwise, would depend in the main on the attitude taken by the bourgeoisie." The meaning of the statement is very clear. It is that, if non-communist parties and organisations, which in communist parlance are "the bourgeoisie", will hand over power to the communists on a platter, they will not fight and will be very peaceful. But if they choose to be not so obliging, then naturally the Communist cannot guarantee that the transition will not be otherwise than peaceful.

ASHOKA MEHTA HITS THE NAIL

Mr. Ashoka Mehta hit the nail on the head when he pointed out that even Hitler came to power through peaceful and constitutional means but that after coming to power he made it impossible for any other party to exist and vote him out of power. The crucial question, therefore, is, as pointed out by him, whether after coming to power through peaceful and constitutional means, the Communists would be prepared to be voted out of office. The record of the communist ministry in Kerala, he explained, did not hold out any hope in that direction. In other countries the record is much more explicit. As soon as the Communists get into power, they destroy all other political parties and organisations. They drown in torrents of blood all attempts to unseat them. If the attempt is very vigorous, they do not mind even inviting foreign troops to suppress the people's revolt. What happened in Hungary in November 1956 provides an object lesson.

Another fact which is seized upon in support of the theory that the Communist Party is undergoing a transformation is its reported decision to develop itself as a mass party and to abolish the cell system. As has been pointed out by the General Secretary of the Party, Ajoy Ghosh, in his article "Towards A Mass Communist Party" in *New Age*, there is nothing new in the Communist Party trying to be a mass party. He says, "In every country and in all stages of development the Communist Party considered a mass party the essential condition for revolution." He has mentioned in that connection the decision taken by the Bolsheviks as early as 1912 of "transforming the party of cadres into a real mass workers' party". So long the Communist Party of India was a small organisation. It now proposes to expand itself and become a mass party. That makes the Party more dangerous and not less.

ONLY A CHANGE OF NAMES

The decision to abolish the cell system is not of much significance. A party counting its members in lakhs cannot be organised on the basis of cells. That is why, according to the new constitution, the primary unit of the Party will be a Branch organised on a territorial basis. It has provided, however, that "a Branch may be divided into Groups of convenient sizes." A "group" may be another name for a cell.

The first function of the Branch is defined as "to carry out the directives of the higher committee". Other functions are to win the masses, to build up mass organisation, to organise sale of party journals, to collect membership fees, to help the "higher committees in day-to-day organisational and educational work".

CENTRALISM REMAINS

The constitution has made it clear that the party is organised in accordance with the principles of "Democratic Centralism". Article XIV has given the following elucidation of democratic centralism: "Democratic Centralism means central leadership based on the full inner-party democracy and inner-party democracy under the guidance of the centralised leadership. Clause B of Sub Clause I provides the following further elucidation: "(b) the minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority, the lower Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organisation or committee; the individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organs shall carry out the decision and directives of the Party Congress, and of the National Council". Elections throughout the organisation are indirect except in the case of the primary unit, the out-going group of officers always possessing the right of proposing for election a panel of candidates prepared by it. The leadership also enjoys the right of refusing to renew the membership of any member. The membership in the party is subject to annual renewal.

The General Secretary, Ajoy Ghosh, has been at pains to point out that, even after the adoption of the new constitution and even after becoming a mass party, the Communist Party will not become just an ordinary political party. He has issued a stern warning to his members against the tendency "towards the obliteration of those features which demarcate a communist party from the parties of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the parties of social democracy". It should be clear from this that even after the so-called transformation, the Communist Party will continue to retain all its special features which have so long demarcated it from all other legal and constitutional political parties.

SO DOES MARXISM-LENINISM

The preamble of the new Constitution states: "Working out its policies on the basis of concrete Indian conditions, the Communist Party draws on the rich experience of the International Working Class Movement, extending over more than 100 years, on the experience of the Soviet Union, China and all countries of People's Democracy as well as of all Communist and Workers' Parties". This should prove that the omission of the usual clause in the constitution of all communist movement, is only a formality.

In order that there may be no doubt on that score, the General Secretary, Ajoy Ghosh, has declared in his article: We are a part of the international Communist movement."

He has also used: "The programme put forward in the Manifesto adopted by 64 parties in the momentous Moscow Conference has to be carried by our people and made the basis of a powerful mass campaign".

It will be clear from all this that, whatever the constitution and whatever the declarations, the Communist Party is and will remain an organisation wedded to the principles of Marxism and Leninism. A Central Committee directive enunciated the basic character of the Party as follows: "We have to build not merely a mass party but a mass communist Party of the working class, on firm ideological foundations, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism." It is the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which is an euphemism for the tutelage of Moscow, which will always determine the actions and policies of the communist Party of India. Once this fact is realised, it will be found that there is hardly any scope for harbouring illusions or indulging in wishful thinking.

—Organiser

THE DEEPENING CRISIS

By Ashutosh Lahiry

DEVELOPMENTS during the last ten years of Freedom seriously pose the question: Is India really a nation, in the sense understood in the West? The question has never troubled anybody's mind, while India was under foreign domination—it was taken for granted unhesitatingly—and those who harped on the diversity and multiplicity of the races of India, her languages and her cultures, were condemned as propagandists of colonial imperialism and as lackeys of foreign rule.

For the last few years of India's self-rule have, however, brought this question conspicuously to the fore, calling for rethinking and an objective reappraisal of the Government's basic policies on unification and solidification of India's races and cultures. The tangible effect of the various measures taken by the Government for strengthening national unity has been profoundly disturbing. As a matter of fact I cannot help confessing that the unity and solidarity of the country that the British helped to build up, and left behind, has suffered a serious impediment within the comparatively short period of 10 years.

TIME TO TAKE STOCK

It is time for us to take stock of the situation, review the basic characteristics of India's national background, and revise the policies in the light of experience gained during the last few years before the mischief attains menacing proportions. The attempt to build up Free

India on a common, uniform, standardised pattern, and to weld all sections of the people into a common way of life, through a planned policy of regimentation in social, cultural, educational and economic spheres, have, instead of promoting the desired objective of national unity provoked wide-spread conflicts, and made people more conscious of the deep-seated differences. The result has been an accentuation of the diversity in outlook and unconcealed hostility, on numerous questions of Government policies, such as in the field of education, economic reconstruction, including land reforms, and social legislation—all which vitally affect the common man—though owing to fundamental affinity of ideological approach of different political parties in Parliament, in the economic and cultural build-up of the nation, it has fostered little or no expression in the nation's highest forum.

DISRUPTIVE FORCES AT WORK

The underlying factor that has been responsible for this estrangement can be summarised briefly under two heads. The one is geographical. People in the South, specially the Tamilians entertain strong bonds of kinship with those of their linguistic group in Ceylon, Malaya and Burma. People in West Bengal can never be reconciled to look upon East Bengal as a separate and foreign nation. A common tie of language and culture binds them both in fraternal relationship inspite of the aberration of the Pakistani

Exchange Crisis And The Plan—

—Devaluation Is NOT The Remedy

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

OUR leaders tell us day in and day out, with reason and without reason, that the achievements of our First Five Year Plan were very impressive and on this unrealistic assumption the Planning Commission has formulated a bold and ambitious Second Five Year Plan with laudable objectives, namely, rapid industrialisation of the country, reduction of income inequalities, raising of standard of life without taking into consideration the availability of the resources. As a consequence of this wrong headed policy, it is no wonder if our Plan has run into difficulties from the very beginning. The most important difficulty is exchange crisis. The foreign exchange requirements of the Second Five Year Plan are very great, but it was assumed that there would not be any difficulty in getting foreign aid. Experience of last two years has shown that this assumption was based to catch votes in the last general election. Our foreign exchange resources have gone down to a very low level, and it was mainly due to the bungling of the former Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari.

T. T. K. MYSTERY OF LICENCES

In 1956 import licenses were issued indiscriminately as a result of which foreign balances which stood at Rs. 536 crores on November 30 1956 dwindled down to Rs. 214 crores on November 29 1957. As yet Government has not told the people on what basis these licenses were issued. One does not know even whether the Government was ever aware of the number and the amount of the licenses. It is estimated that an aggregate of Rs. 1929 crores of licenses were issued, but the total value and number of outstanding licenses is still not known.

A proper inquiry into the issue of these licenses would bring out before the public supra-scandals before which the Mundhra scandal may pale into insignificance. Will Mr. Nehru take up the courage in both hands and institute an inquiry? This will clearly prove whether he is a democrat or an autocrat. If investments are limited to total savings and available quantum of foreign aid, the foreign exchange difficulties need not arise. Large quantities of foreign goods were imported on public and private sectors. This was due to the general boom conditions set in motion in the economy. It was argued, that in case we do not get foreign aid to implement the Plan, then we have to cut down the imports, so that we can reduce the gap to a sizeable extent, and make frantic efforts to increase our exports. If this is not feasible, then the only course open is to prune the Plan, but this view was opposed by many on the grounds that it will have a demoralising effect on the people. It was also argued that it will have adverse effect on income

and employment. These arguments are based more on emotion than on reason.

The Plan has not remained a People's Plan; it is the Government Plan to make the *rich poorer and poor still poorer*, on the basis of socialist pattern of society. Our former Finance Minister tightened the imports with the result that the prices of the imported goods began to rise. This policy of reducing the imports has given an open field to black-marketeers to fleece the consumers. It has affected the employment problem adversely. Many firms were closed down and unemployment went on increasing. The effective demand of the people had decreased and instead of solving the problem of foreign exchange crisis, one more serious problem has been created by this uneconomic policy of the Government. Our Finance Minister failed to take into consideration the time element and assumed that the domestic output would increase as soon as the imports restrictions are imposed.

PROF. SHENOY'S FALLACIES

Prof. B. R. Shenoy of Gujerat University has put forward his pet view to solve the problem of foreign exchange crisis. According to him the only remedy is to devalue the rupee and to maintain the exchange rate more flexible. But his arguments are not convincing for the simple reason that he could not prove satisfactorily his case that the rupee is overvalued. On the other hand, his arguments are based on the fallacy of *petiti principii*. He bases his arguments for devaluation on the following grounds: (a) the current volume of exports is below the pre-war level inspite of an increase of industrial output by 85% and agricultural output by 80% (b) the volume of imports remained at a high level inspite of import restrictions. The prices of imported goods are higher than the prices abroad by a larger margin. There is thus a big gap between the landed costs of imports and their internal market prices. This has given rise to black market in import licences. (c) There is a big gap of Rs. 45 to 50 per tola between the internal and external price of gold which leads to smuggling of this yellow metal in the country to the tune of 36 crores.

At the outset, it must be remembered that Prof. Shenoy does not say how far the rupee is overvalued. He himself admits that the phenomenon of adverse balance of payments is only of two years duration. He writes "During the first four years of the First Plan inflation ceased and with it there was a respite in the pressure of payments. Inflation reappeared in 1955-56 and serious balance of payments deficits began in 1956-57." So it is quite clear that the rupee was not overvalued before 1956. If our rupee was overvalued for a long time then there would have been persistent

adverse balance of payments. Our rupee has been linked with sterling for the last 32 years at the rate of 1 sh 6d per rupee. If our rupee were overvalued, we would have adverse balance of payments with the sterling area, but we know very well that our current account balance of payments with the sterling area showed a surplus balance from 1949 onwards and we had surplus balance with dollar area from 1950-51 onwards, but we had deficit in these years with OEEC countries. From this it is difficult to accept the view of Prof. Shenoy that the rupee is overvalued.

Besides it is fallacious to take 1937 as the base year when the prices were falling due to depression. It is a well known fact that during depression time the prices of primary goods fall more than the prices of industrial goods. So it was natural that India had to part with a large volume of her goods in order to obtain a given volume of imports. India was not only exporting more in terms of goods, but she was also exporting gold—a commodity which no country likes to export. From this, one can conclude that the Prof. Shenoy's assertion that the volume of exports has fallen in the last twenty years does not hold water.

The great difference in the price of gold is due to the fact that it is the only commodity which can be hidden from the confiscatory pattern of taxation. The businessmen go in for gold in order to conceal his black market money. Even Prof. Shenoy does not say what part of price differential is a measure of overvaluation of the rupee. The demand for gold comes mostly from the rich people and it is elastic. How can Prof. Shenoy explain the fact that rich businessmen go in for gold when they can make abnormal profits in business? Is it due to overvaluation of the rupee? Certainly not. In 1949 we have devalued our rupee as a measure of self-defence. Did we get any advantage? On the contrary we had to part with more rupees to get imports from America. The minor advantages we obtained were due to South Korean War. The effects of devaluation is not a permanent remedy for disequilibrium in the balance of payments.

DEVALUATION OF RUPEE A WRONG REMEDY

If devaluation is resorted to, then it will have adverse effects on our economy. Imports will be curtailed and these will come in the way of implementation of the Plan. Devaluation will certainly raise the rupee prices of food, raw materials and capital goods and this will ultimately lead to a cut in the Planning Programme. Again the whole problem of devaluation should be seen from the point of elasticity of demand and supply. To implement our plan, we require large amount of capital goods from outside. If devaluation is resorted to, then the cost of our Plan would go up and this will set in the inflationary spiral. If by devaluation we export more, then the internal demand of the people will have to be curtailed. There will be shortage of commodities in the country and this will give a golden opportunity to the blackmarketeers to raise the prices and fleece the helpless consumers. To increase exports we must consider quality of the goods and the production cost. Our costs of production are very high compared to other countries due to the rigidity of wage structure and old methods of production. Both these factors must be taken into consideration before devaluation is resorted to. Unfortunately Prof. Shenoy has not pondered over these problems. Our

country does not possess any commodity which has inelastic demand in foreign countries. There is a keen competition in the international markets and unless our prices are competitive, devaluation will not achieve the trick that Prof. Shenoy wishes to achieve, namely boosting of exports. On the contrary, devaluation may prove to be a cure worse than disease. Jute, tea, cotton, hides and skin are our real exchange earners. Our cotton industry is facing at present a crisis. Unless proper steps are taken to tide over the difficulties in time, unemployment will increase to a very high level. If the exports are enlarged by devaluation, there will be shortage and sharp rise in the prices of piece goods. More tea cannot be produced unless area under tea production increases, but it takes time for new plantations to increase output. Jute is the only other important item among our major exports, but experience shows that jute manufacturers cannot earn substantially the foreign exchange. Thus devaluation will not bring advantages, but there will be more disadvantages, namely, cut in the Plan, unemployment, adverse terms of trade. So devaluation of rupee will not solve our problem of exchange crisis.

THE REAL SOLUTION

The real solution lies in pruning the Plan. But unfortunately National Development Council and Planning Commission are not prepared to do that; on the contrary they wish to stick to the original target of Rs. 4800 crores. Heavens would not fall if the Plan is rephased according to the availability of the resources. All Planning is a continuous process and there is no need to stick to monetary ceilings; success of Plan depends upon resources. In the process of rephasing the Plan it will be necessary to reallocate the order of priorities. A very high priority will have to be given to the increase in food production during the next few years. We should not only achieve the self-sufficiency, in food, but also manage to have sizeable surplus to earn the necessary foreign exchange for importing capital goods. The problem of increasing the food production will have to be tackled on almost a war footing. For several years to come, we have to give a high priority to smaller industries which can be started in rural areas with lesser investment but which are labour intensive. We have to prepare an agro-industrial base for planning Indian economy on sound basis. In India where labour is abundant and capital scarce our planning must be based on the principle of production by the masses and not on mass production as in some Western countries. While we should set up certain basic and heavy industries in the country according to the Second Five Year Plan, we may have to curtail some of these large scale industries for which we have not made any commitments so far.

This will be necessary from the point of shortage of foreign exchange resources. The crux of the problem is thus internal resources. We have to strike a balance between consumption and saving in the increased national income. We must try to rely more and more on our internal resources. In order to maximise them our fiscal policy should be properly adjusted. At present our taxation policy is regressive; it is difficult to incur the high cost of expansion and introduction of productive techniques. Our main concern should be to revive the goose to lay more and better eggs and not to kill it. A high level of taxation and availability

of funds for investment are incompatible. It is but natural that more saving for investment cannot take place if Government collect more revenues from taxes without letting the income of the people to grow. If the savings are left in the hands of the people for investment they will have multiplier effect and this will enable the Government to collect more taxes to implement the Plan from the increasing revenues. This policy was followed by Western Germany to rehabilitate the economy which was shattered by war. "An unduly burdensome level of taxes ultimately discourages people from working more and saving more with the result that Government will itself find difficult to increase its revenues. An addition in wealth is possible only when the savings of the people are allowed to grow for consumption and for increasing investment. This can be brought about by proper revision of tax policy. Taxes should be reduced so that people who live on the margin may be exempted."

PRESENT TAXATION POLICY HAS TO BE CHANGED

So the only solution to the problem of foreign exchange crisis is to increase the agricultural and industrial output and not the devaluation of the rupee. Government should create proper climate to increase the output which is the prime necessity at the present moment. Devaluation will complicate the whole problem and it may prove to be a cure worse than disease. To implement the Plan without strain we should make frantic efforts to increase the output not only to meet the internal demand of the people but we must try to export as much as we can to get the foreign exchange to import the capital goods. For this people's co-operation is essential. Without people's cooperation it would be difficult to implement the Plan. The present taxation policy has killed the initiative of the people to save and invest. Unless Government realises this fact, our Plan cannot achieve the success and no astrologer is required to predict its future. Our Prime Minister Mr. Nehru recently stated that we should base our activities on self reliance. Free Enterprise is certainly based on self reliance but Government's policy does not encourage them to give of their best in the cause of economic progress. What we need at present is that Government and Planning Commission should take stock of the effects of the last year's fiscal policy on the implementation of the Plan. They should see how far the policy has been fruitful towards the achievement of the objectives. Savings are the fulcrum of the Plan or for any development. Last year's fiscal policy has affected the psychology of the people to save and in the interests of the nation the Government should either adjust or reverse the policy. Government should rouse the enthusiasm of the people for the successful implementation of the Plan and for achieving the objectives of greater employment and improving the living standards. Government should attach less importance to the monetary expenditure. At present it is more figure conscious than performance conscious, more insistent on the amount of planned expenditure than on the achievement of the planned rise in production or planned increase in employment. Much waste can be avoided if private sector is allowed to play dominant role in the economic reconstruction of the country. The public sector is faced with difficulties in the matter of both spending to the target

limit as well as to achieving the production and employment targets. On the other hand, it appears that the private sector is certain to complete the assigned role and invest its full quota of economic resources before the end of the Plan period.

It is expected that at the end of the Plan (1961) our national income is expected to raise to 13500 crores of which nearly 46% is expected to come from agriculture. But unfortunately Planning Commission had not given proper attention to agriculture while formulating the Plan. If agricultural production is not increased substantially, the purchasing power of the countryside will, in relation to industrial production be reduced and the latter will ultimately have to go down. Increased food production would abolish the scarcity conditions with wholesome effect on the psychology of the people and the creation of the condition favourable to increased production. This also would help to solve the foreign exchange crisis. We import 2 to 3 millions tons of foodgrains every year. Our output is not increasing *pari passu* with the addition of the population. We can increase the output by making use of water in some parts of the country but as we have cut the imports of fertilisers our agricultural output would be affected adversely. We cannot afford to build steel mills at the risk of jeopardising the food supplies. We should start more fertiliser factories along with steel plants. Increased output of cash crops will also alleviate our foreign exchange position. If fiscal policy is modified on these lines the difficulties that we face at present regarding the foreign exchange would be solved. But Planning Commission has ignored the writing on the fiscal wall which shows that the yields from taxation have tended to fall and diminishing returns have set in. In many sectors of the economy, high taxation is drying up the resources. The best course would have been for the Planning Commission to cut down the Plan to the size of the resources available. On the contrary, it wishes to raise the additional sum of Rs 100 crores by means of taxation. Already several enterprises have had to close down because of high taxation. Unless the Planning Commission sees the writing on the fiscal wall the present difficulties would not be solved and devaluation of the rupee would aggravate the situation.

REDUCTION IN OIL PRICES—BENEFIT DENIED TO CONSUMERS

Hailing the recent 10% reduction in prices by the Oil Companies, Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya, Vice-President of the Forum of Free Enterprise, expressed surprise that the benefit of the reduction in oil prices should go to the Government for strengthening the State sector instead of going to the consumer, who was bearing the heavy burden of these prices, and the even higher taxation levied by Government, and to whom the relief should in the first instance have gone.

Mr. Vaidya also pointed out that if the benefit of the cut in the prices would have been passed on to the consumer, it would have helped the Road Transport industry whose development was so essential for the country's plans of economic development. He, therefore, made a strong plea that Government should agree to pass on the benefit of the price reduction to the consumer.

THE PARADOX OF PLANNING

THE country is supposed to be in the midst of the second Five Year Plan. Naturally there should be more employment. But the paradox that one sees all over the country is that while the press and the Government wax eloquent over their "achievements", there is a rising spiral of unemployment in the country.

With a country in the midst of planning one expects more avenues of employment, a slowly rising standard of living and more money in the pockets of the common man. But India, in the midst of planning, exhibits of the paradoxical picture of a rapidly growing army of unemployed, of the rising spiral of the cost of living, and the amazing fact that well-established industries like the textile one in Bombay and Ahmedabad thousands of workers are already on the unemployed list, and if things continue as they are by the end of June in Bombay and Ahmedabad alone the army of unemployed textile workers would swell to ONE LAKH of people.

Who is responsible for this state of affairs when the textile industry was the backbone of modern industrialisation in the country? The first and immediate cause that has started the closure and shutting down of a number of textile units in Bombay and Ahmedabad is the Excise levy on the medium and coarser variety of cloth. This action on the part of the Congress Government was prompted not on economic or sound principles of public taxation, BUT was based on their Gandhian inhibitions. With all the propaganda and publicity given to khaddar, there is no demand for the rough, ugly and less durable handspun and handwoven cloth. Naturally the Gandhian rulers expected that with the levy of Excise duty on coarser and medium cloth they will raise their prices, as they naturally have done, and thus there would be an indirect inducement for the common man to buy khaddar. But these conjectures were mere conjectures. They had no sound basis, either in economics or in human psychology. There has been no increase in the sales of khaddar but there has been a steep fall in the sale and demand for the medium variety and coarser kind of cloth. The natural result was that huge stocks of these cloths are lying in Mill godowns, With the rising cost of living and the higher price of cloth due to the Excise levy buyers' resistance has come into operation. The Gandhian "economics" of the Government have landed the Textile industry of Bombay and Ahmedabad into a crisis — with a closure of a number of Mills and the workers turned out on the streets.

Already over 35 textile Mills in Bombay State have already stopped working. In addition to these 35 mills closed there are 28 Mills that have put lock-out notices on their notice boards. At present there are over 50,000 textile workers thrown out of employment. As a result of the lockout notices an additional of 50,000 workers would be added the unemployed army of textile workers. The majority of these Mills that have closed and that are about to close their shutters are engaged in producing medium and coarser varieties of cloth.

The Congress planners have no answer to this paradox of unemployment and this slackening of production of cloth would run into millions of yard per day.

THIS PLANLESS PLAN

THERE is something comic about our plan and planners. After the first Plan, they started the slogan of "physical planning,"—which meant that our plan could be as limitless as our labour power and land and mineral resources. They formulated a plan more than twice as big as the first one i.e. Rs. 4800 crores. Soon they casually added another Rs. 400 crores to it. They proposed fresh taxation of the order of Rs. 500 crores — and proceeded to impose Rs. 225 crores more!

Last week's Planning Commission's memorandum on the appraisal and prospects of the plan is fully in line with this tradition of planned planlessness. They say they can't raise more than Rs. 4260 over the plan period. (Even this figure includes estimates like that of Rs. 214 crores for small savings and loans in 1958-59, when the record in 1957-58 was only Rs. 127 crores). And yet they suggest raising Rs. 40 crores more—Rs. 100 crores of it by way of additional taxation! And they want Rs. 140 crores more on small savings and loans!

One could understand — though not accept — all this sacrificing if the plan were to be implemented in full. But no. Almost every project costs more than it is expected to cost. And the rise in prices adds further to this cost. So that, on balance, even if we manage to collect and spend the whole estimated cost of the plan—Rs. 4800 crores—perhaps one-third or more of it would still remain undone! As the memorandum itself admits, there will be pruning "all along the line."

If this is planning, not having a plan might be less planless than having one.

FRESH TAX BURDEN

NEW DELHI: The Planning Commission has recommended additional taxation in the rest of the Second Plan period to the tune of Rs. 100 crores.

It has also suggested economies in expenditure and collection of arrears of taxes and loans, which in its opinion should bring in an additional Rs. 80 crores, and a stepping up of loans and small savings to fetch another Rs. 60 crores.

The scope for additional taxation at the Centre, the Commission says, is very limited. "Nevertheless, the Centre should accept a target of Rs. 40 crores of further taxation in the next two years."

The original taxation target for the States was Rs. 225 crores. The measures they have adopted so far add up to Rs. 178 crores. They are thus Rs. 52 crores short of the original target. "It has been suggested to the States to agree to raise Rs. 60 crores by way of additional taxation in the next two years. If this target is accepted, the concrete measures to be adopted can be gone into."

As regards public borrowings, the Commission says that very much depends upon the state of the market. The bulk of the additional Rs. 60 crores shown under loans and small savings has to be found by intensifying the small savings drive.

The question of raising Rs. 80 crores through economies in non-Plan expenditure and through speedier collection of over-dues of taxation and loans "requires close examination. It looks feasible, but it calls for determined effort both at the Centre and in the States."

rulers. Nagas in North Eastern India resent imposition of Assamese domination and are looking beyond their frontiers for their present fight for independence. Amongst the people of the Himalayan regions, from Darjeeling right up to Simla Hills, there is a growing consciousness of their affinities with the people of China. China today enjoys amongst them an amount of sympathy and good-will, hardly realised in India. In the Punjab, now that communal incumbrance has receded in the background, there is resurgence of the consciousness of the common tie that binds the Jat Sikhs with the Jat Muslims of Western Punjab.

Thus in most of the States in the periphery of India, the feeling of kinship with those across the border is an undeniable factor and powerful influences are at work which impedes the stabilisation of India's geographical nationalism. As the Central Government gets on tightening its grip on the plea of securing national unity, there is restlessness and a strain of loyalties— which the leaders from Delhi denounce as disruptionist elements. This leads to further alienation. If the process of centralisation, regimentation and mechanisation of life continues to be relentlessly pursued, as is being done, since that attainment of independence, the emergent situation far from fulfilling the objectives aimed at, will only help to strengthen the forces of disruption, with consequences nobody can foretell.

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS BYE-PASSED

The other factor is the feasibility or otherwise of rebuilding the whole country as one single nation. The overwhelming emphasis, in the Central policy, has been, in spite of promises being conceded of a large measure of autonomy in the Indian Constitution, to treat India as one national entity rather than as a federation of multifarious sub-national groups, with distinctive characteristics of their own. In theory and in profession, these distinctions are however amply recognised, but in actual implementation, through numerous channels of Central authority, these are treated with scant regard. Had the spirit of the Constitution been adequately respected, Central interference in the internal affairs of the States would have been limited, to the barest possible minimum.

The Congress Government, with their satellite ministries in the States, have found it comfortably easy to carry out a policy repugnant to the spirit of Provincial Autonomy. Unless there is the general acceptance of the fact that India cannot be built up as a single national state, on the same pattern as that of U.K. or U.S.A., bitterness and opposition will continue to mount, and there will be powerful inducements for promoting internal disruptions and disintegration.

The exceptional characteristic of the Indian civilisation is the diversity of its culture and way of life, as between states and states, and even within the limits of a single state. It is only in India that we have the spectacle of persons from the lowest level of the standard of living to the highest, from the half-clad labourer to the modernised educated man, living side by side in good neighbourly relationship, to which no parallel could be found in any of the Western countries. There is drab uniformity in their dress, language, education, appearance and social behaviour, which mark them out as belonging to a particular

country. The achievement of such dull, drab uniformity is impracticable in India, and all attempts of the present Congress Government are foredoomed to failure as the previous attempts by foreign and Muslim autocrats in the country have miserably failed.

RETHINKING NECESSARY

It is well to remember that modern conception of nationalism is alien to Indian culture and philosophy of life. In the pre-British India national consciousness was virtually non-existent. Free India should have adequate time to think out the various implications of modern nationalism, with special reference of its suitability to Indian soil and environment. The growing rift, the deepening crisis in India today is really not the creation of this or that party but is due to the haste and hurry of the Congress Government of remaking the New India of their dreams on the basis of Western conception of nationalism, short cuts and patchwork, and by wrongly following the forced marches of Soviet Russia towards industrialisation. And the Congress Government is not alone to be blamed. It cuts across all party lines.

India is in a sense an epitome of the world. It is really a sub-continent, where varying types of human beings with bewildering degrees of social growth live together. Politics constitute the least part of life and activity. Unless this patent truth is borne in mind by those responsible for the governance of the country there can be nothing but a progressive aggravation of India's internal conditions and a final disruption of the long-built Indian concept of unity in diversity and diversity in unity. Any rigid emphasis on geographical unity and integrity as well as a central homogeneity which are the hall-mark of Western nationhood, is inept in the context of India's past heritage and traditions. Let us hope that good sense would prevail, amongst both the leaders of the Government as well as of the Opposition, and they will understand the basic foundation of Indian civilisation and culture, try and judge all the modern trends in world, reject what has been found, by experience in the West — both Free world and in the communist world — to be useless and unnecessary, and try to adopt such modern methods and developments that can quite fit in with Indian local conditions and past heritage. Mere slavish imitations, either of the Western countries or of the Soviet Union will land the country into frustration and despair. The crisis is just developing and it is time to halt and re-think.

PAKISTANI SPIES ARRESTED AT BANASKANTHA

Ahmedabad: One Deena Arabi, alleged to be a Pakistani agent, was arrested by the Deesa Police. Several Pakistani spies were reported to be infiltrating Banaskantha District crossing the border lines with faked passports. Deena Arabi was arrested at Runni village, about 20 miles from Deesa. He was in possession of permits with faked signatures. Some secret papers were understood to have been found on his person.

Recently the Banaskantha Police arrested one Rhemani Khan from Rajasthan border, alleged to be a Pakistani agent.

The Question Of Planned Parentage

THROUGHOUT history men have sought to build better lives for themselves and for their children. For their own benefit and protection they have gained control over the forces of nature thus mitigating the scourges of hunger and disease which have always plagued mankind. Many of these efforts, in particular the prevention of dangerous epidemic diseases, have been dramatically successful.

Yet these achievements, the most spectacular of which have been recent, will count for little unless we can gain some freedom from one of nature's tyrannies—the tyranny of uncontrolled reproduction which today weakens and demoralizes the family and chokes the nation.

Parents need to know how to plan their families: they should decide how many children they can raise so that tomorrow's way of life will be better than yesterday's; and they should so time their births as is best for the health of both mothers and children.

Nations need to balance production with reproduction, natural resources with human population, the fertility of the soil with the fertility of men.

HEALTHY FAMILIES

From time immemorial man has sought to control his numbers by infanticide, abortion and crude methods of contraception. Infanticide is now rare. But abortion is widespread. In some countries there are more abortions than live births.

But abortion is a desperate last resort. Its effects may be grievously harmful. As a means of limiting births, those responsible for public health no less than those concerned with public morals universally condemn it. The new interest in contraception that is now awakening throughout the world largely springs from a recognition of the damage done by abortion.

Happily modern science, which has done so much to wipe out disease and to prolong life, has also given us methods of birth control. These vary in simplicity and effectiveness, none being wholly perfect but all being preferable to abortion. Research is in progress from which much is hoped.

Today's need is to convince millions of mothers and fathers in some of the most populous regions of the earth how much better is contraception than abortion, and to implant this idea in the minds of young people before they marry.

Needed is a programme of education for all and a service (including personal service) for the already married. Needed also are materials and supplies distributed so as to be within the reach and means of all.

HEALTHY NATIONS

World population, now at 2.7 thousand million, is increasing more rapidly than ever before—5,000 persons are added each hour, 120,000 each day, 43 million each year. At the present rate, the earth will hold nearly six thousand million by the end of the century—

and within the life time of our grandchildren (in the year 2050) 13 thousand million. Some of the poorest countries are growing at a much faster rate.

THE QUESTION OF FOOD

To maintain ever current levels of consumption, a "dramatic increase" in food supplies will be required as world population grows. Yet current levels can hardly be deemed adequate. According to a recent UN survey, food consumption per capita in many less developed countries, containing a large part of the world's population, still remains below the pre-war level.

HOUSING:

Similar increase in housing will be required. Yet the housing situation in much of the world has been worsened by the "explosive growth" of cities in recent years.

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

One-half of the world's children of school-going age are still not enrolled in schools. In 50 years, Brazil has reduced her illiteracy rate from 65.3 to 50.6 per cent—but because of population growth the number of illiterates has actually risen two and a half times. In many countries illiteracy is rising even faster.

There is concrete evidence of how the importance of family planning is now being recognized; today more than one thousand million persons live in countries whose governments officially sponsor birth control programmes. This situation would have been unthinkable as recently as five years ago.

In India, Japan, Egypt, Pakistan and, most recently, China, the government is taking heed. Substantial budget allocations have been made. In Hong Kong, Singapore, South Africa, Barbados, and other places, local voluntary family planning associations are aided by government grants. In some of the larger cities of other countries, for example the United Kingdom, the municipal authority assists either by a grant or by the loan of premises for a family planning clinic.

But there are still vast areas of the world where nothing is yet being done.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

The formation of family associations in all countries. The training of physicians, nurses, health visitors and social workers in the practical administration of family planning services.

The encouragement of research into human reproductive processes and into biological methods of controlling fertility.

With these three main objectives, the International Planned Parenthood Federation was established at Bombay in 1952.

LAND REFORMS IN INDIA

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

THE obvious urgency and importance of rural development in a predominantly agricultural country like ours, seems to have induced in our misguided rulers a reformist zeal that smacks unmistakably of a cross between the mad Tughlak of history and Sheikh Mohammad of fable, with the zeal of the former and the day dreaming of the latter. Like Tughlak, they are out to destroy everything and build afresh, cavalierly indifferent to the ultimate consequences; while like Sheikh, they are dreaming of sweeping the polls at the next general elections, and entrenching themselves in power for many a long year. In their desire to take the wind out of the communist sails, the Congress governments in all States are rushing headlong with grandiose schemes of land reforms with little practical knowledge of the subject and less concern about the welfare of the peasantry. They seem to think that the only way of winning the race against the communists is to turn communist themselves in all but name.

CONDITIONS FOR LAND REFORMS

The objectives of any land reforms should be:

1. To increase the efficiency of agriculture and promote economic development in general.
2. To secure social justice.
3. Fixity of tenure to all varieties of tenants and also ownership under certain conditions.
4. Fixation of fair rent.
5. Fixing the compensation to be paid to the landlord from whom the land is taken over by the Government, according to the prevailing market value.

The half-hearted enforcement of land reforms, their ever-changing content, the consequent uncertainty and the dislocation in agrarian relations have affected the agricultural production in the last two years. The outcome of our so-called land reforms is uncertainty as to the future intentions of the Government in regard to its land reforms, and doubts as to its ability to enforce them. Neither the landlords nor the tenants are in a mood to concentrate on the task of augmenting agricultural productivity and capital formation. As for the landless labourers, their hopes have been raised but not fulfilled.

Most of the present landlords in India, especially in the Roytwari States of Gujerat, Maharashtra and the South, have either purchased their holdings at heavy prices or have brought their holdings to their present state of fertility and production by investing in them all their meagre savings and heavy borrowings, and applying their intelligence, enterprise and initiative. It is against all canons of justice to beggar them by snatching from them all their hard earned property without providing them with alternative occupations or paying adequate compensation.

Compensation, if it is to be just and fair, should be fixed on the basis of the prevailing market value, and include the value of all improvements effected by the landlords. There is, of course, every justification, in

acquiring lands at nominal compensation from those who had received them free as *jagirs* or grants. But, to acquire at a nominal price the lands of those who had purchased them at heavy prices in the open market is an outrage on our sense of decency, justice, and fairplay—the more so, when the full market value in cash was paid to the shareholders of the Life Insurance Companies, and compensation of Rs. 1750 in cash was paid for Imperial Bank shares of the face value of Rs. 500.

The Government has no right to deny fair compensation at market value for the lands acquired from the landlords even if it has no funds. If it has no funds, it should not rush with wild schemes of settling the landless on the lands already occupied, and well-looked after by the landlords. At a time when our Government is unable to finance the Second Five Year Plan, it is not advisable for it to embark on costly schemes of settling the landless on the lands already occupied, or nationalising the existing industries, by paying compensation to the dispossessed. The crores and crores of rupees that have gone into compensating the dispossessed could have been profitably utilised by the Government for cultivating the vast stretches of fallow land, and setting up new industries needed by our Second Five Year Plan.

A PANDORA'S BOX OF MISCHIEF

The Government should tap the total food potential of the country by increasing the yield per acre and the acreage under cultivation. Instead of bringing the vast tracts of fallow land under cultivation and distributing them among the landless, the Government is trying to settle them on lands already under cultivation, unsettling the present experienced cultivators and reducing them to the position of a new class of landless destitutes! Thus, far from solving the *problem of the landless*, the so-called land reforms will create a host of new problems, including the *problem of increased unemployment*.

In India, it is the practice of our people to invest the whole of their life's savings after their retirement in lands. If the ill-fated and ill-devised land reforms are introduced by the Government, nobody will think of investing their savings in agriculture when there is a promising field for investments in urban industries. The net result will obviously be the total ruin of our agricultural production in the hands of tillers with large families, who are without means, without experience—in fact, without everything that is needed for efficient cultivation.

The agricultural policy of our Government will spell ruin to every section of our people. The poor and middle class landowners, who depend entirely on their lands for their livelihood, and to whom their lands give only bare subsistence, will find themselves deprived of this slender means of livelihood, and will be forced to go to the urban areas in desperate search of alternative occupations (for which they are bound

to be ill-equipped and ill-prepared), further swelling the ranks of the unemployed there. Agriculture will be left in the hands of illiterate, ignorant, poor and resourceless tillers who will resort to the most primitive and unproductive kind of cultivation. The breaking up of the efficiently managed farms into ill-equipped farms will lead to wasteful cultivation, and there will be a catastrophic fall in agricultural output.

DISCRIMINATION

In narrowing down economic inequality between the *haves* and *have-nots*, it is necessary to apply a uniform principle to all sections of people and kinds of property on an all-India basis, without any sort of discrimination between *rural* property and *urban* property. To prevent landowners from transferring their lands by partitioning them among their children is, to put it mildly, iniquitous discrimination, as there is no such restriction on the industrial magnates.

There is no sense in ceiling on land holdings when there is no ceiling on the cash holdings of urban industrialists. The imposition of ceiling on land holdings with a view to satisfying the "land hunger" of the landless is as stupid as attempting to satisfy the widespread hunger for money among the moneyless, by freezing all liquid assets of the *haves* for distribution among them!!

If every farmer produces his own requirements, the urban population will have to starve. The production of an agricultural surplus, which is essential for the success of our Second Five Year Plan, will not be possible if a low ceiling is imposed.

Rent should be so fixed as to fetch a reasonable interest on the market value of the land, and it will be unfair to fix a low rent with a view to discouraging leasing of lands or reducing the compensation amount which is proposed to be a multiple of the fair rent. The fixing of low rent will only accentuate a tendency, noticeable under the new tenancy legislation in some States, to circumvent the abnoxious legal restrictions by so-called personal cultivation with hired labour.

At a time when our Government is confronted with the problem of mounting unemployment, rising prices and shrinking food resources, to embark on fantastic schemes of uprooting the existing landlords (who are managing their lands efficiently), and settling inexperienced, poor and resourceless tillers on their lands, instead of helping to settle the landless on the vast stretches of fallow lands, is little short of madness. All that the Government should do is to pass a legislation for fixing fair rent and ensuring the security of tenure. Instead of wasting its funds in compensating the landlords for the lands acquired from them, let it utilise the same funds for settling the landless on the fallow lands.

To sum up, the various land reforms suggested, far from solving any old problems, are sure to create a host of new problems and highly compromise the economic well-being of our country, besides violating all principles of justice. The so-called land reforms might be a clever ruse on the part of our Government to liquidate the independent property-owning peasantry in the country.

The soundest agrarian system is the 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. Co-operative movement should be en-

couraged in the regions of marketing, distribution, exchange, banking and ownership of expensive machinery, but certainly not in cultivation. The Swiss, Swedish and Danish systems might be profitably studied and emulated here instead of going after the mirage of "collectivisation" in the footsteps of Soviet Union and China.

A re-appraisal of our agricultural policy is essential to step up our agricultural production. We must call a halt to the present spate of Tughlakish reforms, pending careful investigation of all aspects under expert guidance.

In Lighter Vein

The Budget was not like a film, where they could expect a new story every time with a new galaxy of stars. —C. Subramaniam

The Indian film industry pleads not guilty to the charge.

There was a time when we were sending out more and more of hides and seeking foreign help to make them into finished goods.—Morarji Desai.

Hide and seek, in short.

It is necessary in a democratic constitution to respect individuals, listen to what they have to say, and try to answer them, as much as possible, with reason.

—Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

That is why we say necessity knows no law.

We do not want atomic weapons, because we do not know how to use them.—Firoze Khan Noon.

But they still say they want democracy!

One of the most popular books of Lord Hailsham, Chairman of the British Conservative Party, is entitled, "The Left Can Never Be Right."

Whereas the Right will never be.

Dogs in Moscow run ... like dogs anywhere

—The Times.

Running dogs.

Five thousands unmanned level crossings on Indian Railways will be equipped with whistle boards.

—Report.

For whistle-stop tours in the next elections.

Punjab University Vice Chancellor advised teachers to set a code of ethics similar to that of engineers.

—News.

Where are the contractors?

Radiation from nuclear tests in Siberia will give rise to genetic hazards which will adversely affect future generations of wild life in India — Report.

The wild life should be sent for safety to Bikini Atoll or Woomera.

An Indian film director is in London looking for a Hindi-speaking English girl for the principal role in his film.—Report.

Anti-Hindi-wallahs, please note.

Widening Social Influence of U.S. Business Leadership

By Ralph J. Cordiner

THE challenge to leadership in America is to prove once again that the free society is, practically and philosophically, the best possible kind of society; that it has vitalities which are superior to the challenges of any totalitarian system, whether the challenge be military, economic, political, intellectual, or spiritual.

While it might be interesting to speculate upon the impact of this challenge on leadership in many fields—politics for example, or education, this article will explore some of the implications for business leadership.

One thing can be said with certainty: the managerial skills that sufficed for an earlier day will not suffice today. Managerial attitudes and skills, like any others, are subject to rapid obsolescence in this age of change. The manager who does not keep up with the times—or rather, keep up with the future—is going to find himself as obsolete as yesterday's newspaper, and almost as quickly.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

There was a time when business operations were run almost on a day-to-day basis. Today, a manager must anticipate the future and plan ahead, preferably 10 to 20 years ahead, if his business is to thrive in a changing world.

There was a time when current profits were the only concern of most businesses. Today's larger goals of stability and steady growth in earning power bring new perspectives to the manager, without reducing the necessity for sound current earnings.

There was a time when the manager felt that his decisions had little influence on the nation's economic and military strength. Today, in many companies, decisions are made with a conscious reckoning of the company's responsibilities to the national defence and local, or even national, business conditions.

There was a time when the manager felt that if his shareowners were happy and if his customers were not going over to his competitors, he was satisfying his managerial responsibilities. Today, the manager knows that continuing usefulness and profitability depend on a much wider spectrum of relationships involving not only customers and shareholders, but employees, other business, other institutions, and the society as a whole.

NEW DIMENSION LEADERSHIP

All this is to say that a new dimension has been added to business leadership: the social dimension. The manager is still concerned with making and selling goods and services at a profit, but he now recognises long-range social and political factors that were once considered irrelevant.

It is important that this increased recognition of social and political factors be kept in perspective. Business is primarily economic, not political. Government is primarily political, not economic. Each of these institutions must keep its focus on its prime

responsibility, or it will not perform its proper role in society.

Thus, the first duty of the businessman is to operate his business successfully and profitably, to contribute toward a healthy, expanding economy and provide the material base for the national defence.

A profitably growing business provides new employment opportunities, new products, and new services essential to a dynamic economy. If, out of a misguided notion of his social and political responsibilities, a businessman were to allow his business to become sick, profit-starved, and unproductive, his business would become a national liability. The nation's economic and military strength and its levels of living, rest on those companies that are managed with a vigorous concern for profits, and are therefore healthy, going concerns.

These are the times when managers are forced by the disciplines of the market place to re-examine their operations, shake out whatever is inefficient and unprofitable, improve the values they are offering their customers, step up their sales effort, and gather their strength for the next period of expansion.

The test of good management is to apply the necessary correctives with discrimination. While every businessman should, in these adjustment periods, squeeze out the excess costs that have accumulated in the periods of headlong expansion, he must avoid undermining the sources of his long-term strength.

He must have the courage to make discriminating investments in research and development, in modernisation of facilities, in man-power development, and in market development. He must keep before his customers the vision of wants unfulfilled and needs neglected. Above all, he must not allow his company—or the economy of which it is part—to lose momentum. When a company has slipped into the psychology of stagnation, progress becomes infinitely more difficult.

THE CHALLENGE OF RED MILITARY TECHNIQUE

The challenge of Soviet military technology also calls for a new response from business leadership, as well as from government, education, the military establishment, and the public.

For better or worse, the American public is no longer astonished or even satisfied with outstanding economic performance. Increasingly, the American people expect business not only to satisfy their material wants and desires, but also to satisfy a whole range of psychological and ethical expectations. Most of these expectations are basically reasonable, and it is the responsibility of the manager and all his associates to recognise them.

As customers, people expect not only a good product at low cost. They also expect the excitement of spectacular new features and services, unflinching courtesy on

the part of the salesman, and the ethical assurance that they are dealing with a fair and honest company.

As shareowners, they expect not only profits and appreciation of the worth of their investment. They also expect participation and pride of ownership in a creative company.

As employees, people expect not only a satisfying job with good pay, benefits, and working conditions. They also expect full information, dignity, participation, recognition, opportunity to advance in accordance with ability, and a rewarding man-to-man association with the manager and others.

As suppliers, distributors, and dealers, people expect not only an opportunity for profits and steady business in competition with others. They also expect recognition of their dignity and standing in the community, warm and friendly associations, and the assurance that they are dealing with a fairminded company.

As citizens, people expect not only the kind of material performance that contributes toward a prosperous economy and the national security. They also look to a company to measure up to their ethical and social expectations, as represented by such things as its genuine interest in people and the community; its emphasis on human considerations; its really dedicated work in charity and other worthwhile causes; its obedience to both the spirit and the letter of the law; its recognition that what other people think is important.

In other words, over the above material performance, the people expect business to help achieve their personal aspirations, and the permanent aspirations that are associated with the United States of America.

I have no sure-fire prescription to solve the American businessman's political problems. It would seem to me, however, that the long-term solutions will develop along these lines.

NEW PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM

First, we in business will have to become far more sensitive to the social and political currents and undercurrents in this country. We will have to become students, humbly seeking to know more about the economic, political, and ethical principles that vitalise this new people's capitalism.

We need to develop a greater feeling for the human considerations that loom so large in the final outcome of all our efforts. When we have developed this greater sensitivity and knowledge, we can be more confident that our decisions and actions are what we earnestly want them to be—in the balanced best interests of all.

Second, we businessmen need to study the future. America is undergoing profound change and growth, part of a world-wide crisis of change. The company that does not anticipate these changes and plan accordingly is going to find itself like a fish out of water, in a strange and hostile environment.

We must anticipate major social, political, and economic trends both nationally and internationally, and help to shape them for the common good. We must also help the public understand these changes and make choices that are in their own best interests.

Third, we need unchallengeable integrity in American business. We can hardly expect to have either self-respect or public support if our own actions betray mean motives, shallow minds, or double standards. I heartily resent the insults of those who imply that a

businessman is, by definition, a ruthless creature who has sold his soul for money and power. But every time one of us makes an expedient or selfish decision, we feed this antique prejudice.

If we make mistakes, as we will, let us have the grace to admit them and try to undo the damage. Mistakes will be forgiven if people are convinced that we are trying to follow, as Lincoln put it, "the better angels of our nature." This inward integrity is what we expect of other men, and it is what they expect of us.

It is difficult for the businessman to realise the full weight of his individual decisions on the scales of history. With a proper humility, he recognises that the actions of any one company—even a very large company, are only a small added influence on the shaping of events. Yet the cumulative total of business decisions in 1958 will be of historic significance.

As the writer Barbara Ward has shrewdly observed, "In a very real sense, the material aim the Communist world revolution is to achieve the American way of life." Specifically, the Soviet rulers have announced their determination to surpass present American standard of production and consumption.

This challenge is aimed squarely at American business. It is at this point that the national interest most surely coincide.

PREPARE TO MEET SOVIET CHALLENGE

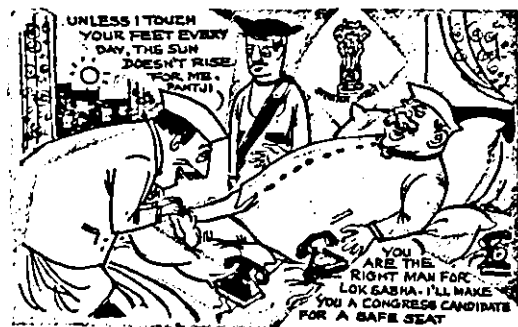
Each company in the United States is challenged to surge ahead to new levels of sales, capacity, and output; each company is challenged to double and redouble its volume of business in the decades ahead. New employment opportunities, higher levels of living, and a better defence will result. American business is challenged to move ahead so fast that the Communists will never catch up.

In our free economy, economic growth is paced and directed by the individual decisions of millions of businessmen, consumers, investors, employees indeed, by every citizen. The faith of the free society is that these millions of points of initiative will produce swifter progress, with greater liberty, than any system of centralised control.

The necessary condition of a free society, however, is that each person make his decisions with a sense of responsibility to everyone else who is affected. As the international competition becomes more deadly, the demands of political and social responsibility increase.

Perhaps in the past the American businessman—like many other citizens—has not felt that such lofty considerations were part of his assignment. They are now.

Courtesy: *The Saturday Review Inc. (U.S.A.)*



Courtesy: *Filmindia*

(Continued from page 10)

are a regular daily feature of the Pakistani Radio. Like the dacoits in India, the Nagas are also supplied with modern arms and armaments of foreign make, probably the channel of transit being Pakistan. And the most disgraceful thing that has come to light recently was that some of the ammunition and arms used by the hostile Nagas are of Indian origin.

This is another matter that should cause the gravest anxiety to the Government as well as the people. But from the way that practically no serious notice was taken of these news, both by the Indian press and the authorities, shows that they attach no importance to this act of treason and treachery.

And what is equally strange is that the so-called national press has practically put a blanket over these news. An alert and a vigilant press is the first necessity of a democratic way of life, but since independence, the national press has for all practical purposes become the handmaid of the ruling party. It is this conspiracy of silence on the part of the national press, that contributes indirectly to the spread of subversive activities and encourages the activities of foreign spies inside the country. Eternal vigilance, it has been said, is the price of democracy and freedom. But in India both the Congress rulers and the press imagine that wishful-thinking and glossing over the threats to the security and integrity of the country, is the height of patriotism. It is this trait in the Gandhian Congress men that was responsible for the aggravation of the Hindu-Muslim tension, which resulted in the partition of the country and the creation of the hostile State of Pakistan. Threats and menaces to internal security and integrity of the nation have to be realised in their true perspective and have to be faced boldly. Immediate counter

actions to meet these threats have to be taken by the Government that is alive to its responsibility and its duty towards the people that have elected them to seats of power.

STERN MEASURES CALLED FOR

All these disturbing internal factors, many of them of their own creation, and others of foreign origin, have to be attended to by the Government. The immediate need is for the complete clean up of the country of all Pakistani nationals, that have overstayed their visa periods. This should be followed by a systematic combing of the country of ALL Pakistani agents, both Pakistani nationals and their Indian supporters. A tightening of measures against Pakistani nationals in their activities in the country are called for. Another matter that requires the closest watch is the liaison between the Indian and Pakistani smugglers across the borders, for smuggling of goods is the first step towards the passing of information to a foreign power and acting as their agents for monetary considerations. In a word, a more efficient system of internal security has to be devised for and put into force immediately, if our newly won independence has not to be bartered away.

It may be that American arms have been discovered with Indian dacoits. But we seriously refuse to believe that they are here with the connivance of the U.S. authorities. They have been either smuggled by private agencies or most likely through Pakistani agency. However a word to western powers is necessary. If they want peace in the world and the co-operation of the uncommitted nations of Asia it is their duty to keep a watch on their nationals who are engaged in Asia in gun-running.

Pak Claim to Secure Self-Determination for Muslims Is A Fraud

THE Kashmir Premier, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, said at Raipur (Madhya Pradesh) that there could not be a "bigger fraud" than Pakistan's claim that "they want to secure for the Kashmiris the right to self-determination."

The Kashmir Premier, who was inaugurating the Madhya Pradesh Jamait-ul-Ulema-I-Hind conference said. "They, who have not yet given this right to their own people and failed to hold even one election in their country, have lost their sleep in their worry for us."

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad said, "Not once but many a time the Kashmiris have exercised their right of self-determination. They have, by a fair and free vote in a duly elected constituent assembly, decided to remain an integral part of India. This is our irrevocable decision. Pakistan does not have a monopoly of Islam and Muslims. Islam has much claim on India as on Pakistan and other countries.

"Religion cannot remain confined within the boundaries of a particular country. Universality is the guiding principle of Islam. Therefore, I want to repeat once more that no power on earth can dissolve the

permanent political, social and cultural relationship between Kashmir and the rest of India cemented by bonds of blood and community of ideas."

The Kashmir Premier said that India had achieved great material progress. A silent industrial revolution was taking place there.

EMPTY SLOGANS

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad added: "In vivid contrast to this, there is the country which, while talking tall about religion, has ignored Islamic teaching. The rich are getting richer and the poor still poorer. By their actions, they are holding to ridicule the concept of democracy. They are proud of being stooges of foreign elements. They have disrupted their own economy. I am pained at these developments there. These things are happening there because they have thrown moral values to the winds and are guided by selfish and narrow interests. They do not bother about the interests of the people they seek to serve and want to feed them on empty slogans. Kashmir is one of those slogans."

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad said the centuries-old malady of communalism had to be uprooted and the bogey of "majority" and "minority" buried deep. "We have to think only as Indians first and last."

"Communalism is not the only obstacle in the way of national unity. Caste, race, provincialism and social prejudices also stand in its way. We should be on guard against these evils."

EQUAL STATUS OF INDIAN MUSLIMS

"The Muslim is a free citizen of the Indian Republic and enjoys equality of rights and obligations with other citizens," Bakshi said. He added that the Muslim would lose this great status if he thought himself just a member of a minority community. In the great Indian brotherhood he was neither inferior nor superior to any one else.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad said that there was no harm in looking at some of the individual problems concerning religious, linguistic and cultural questions separately also. Sometimes one had to consider them

individually. Past history had created certain disparities and it helped in the development of national unity to devise ways and means of removing those disparities. In secular India the social and religious institutions of all religions and creeds were working within their own fields of activity and they were adding colour and charm to the national life.

The Kashmir Premier said: "I would tell you my brethren that there is no cause for anxiety today. New vistas are being opened up and the Government is prepared to help to the fullest extent. If you continue working with courage and perseverance no problem will lag behind any other group of citizens in India."

Presiding over the conference, Maulana Ahmed Saiyed, President of the All-India Jamait-ul-Ulema-I-Hind, urged the Muslim community to concentrate their energies to make the Second Plan of India successful, as that alone would assure the progress and advancement of all sections in India.

No community should think in terms of isolated development, he added.

ON THE NEWS FRONT

CONTINUOUS PAK FIRING ON ASSAM BORDER

SHILLONG: Pakistani troops resumed intense firing along the Dewki area aiming particularly at Umsing, a thickly populated Khasi village on the uphill road to Shillong.

They directed long-range firing with machine guns.

Pakistani armed forces made determined attempts by heavy firing to blow up a bridge about seven miles from Karimgunj and wreck a passenger train arriving at Manisashan railway station from the hill section of the Cachar district.

Several hundreds of civilians had to leave Dewki area to places of safety, since the Pakistani forces started heavy machine gun firing.

The massive hanging bridge of Dewki was the target of attack by the Pakistani troops, which is the strategic link between the main Khasai-Jaintia Hills area and the bordering hills in the Indian territory.

PAK TROOPS WIDEN THE AREA OF FIRING

SHILLONG: Pakistani forces continued to fire along the Cachar and the Khasi-Jaintia Hills border. Particularly heavy were the volleys directed towards Madanpur, Mahisashan, and Barpunji in Cachar. The areas of firing was extended to Latu.

The Pakistani forces stationed along the Khasi-Jaintia Hills border, along the Pyain River, from Dewki to Borhil, kept up desultory fire on Indian territory for continuous five days.

Machine-guns stationed on the Sonatila Hill feature and at the village of Syntum, were firing in direct line towards the Indian border village of Dewki and on the suspension bridge leading to it.

Dewki is somewhat isolated but the Police are holding it heroically. Reinforcements have been

rushed to reply adequately to the Pakistani machine-gun firing.

There is great indignation in the border areas that the Pakistani raiders have been lightly treated by the Indian authorities as the movements of the local population has become unsafe.

Men, women and children are withdrawing from vulnerable points along the Dewki road to safer villages heading towards Shillong.

Pakistani forces widened the area of firing along the Karimgunj front and concentrated their attack on a hospital, a high school and a market police post.

Report received from reliable sources stated that there has been considerable mobilisation of troops inside East Pakistan along the Surma border.

Pakistani firing damaged a number of houses in the Karimgunj area.

An element of comic-tragedy is added by the latest order of the Sub-divisional Officer of Karimgunj under Section 144 prohibiting the public from using or displaying bombs, crackers and other kind of fireworks as they were "a risk to human life and property". Of course, there is no reference in the order to the more dangerous fireworks indulged in by the Pakistani troops along the border.

ONE MORE "STRONG" PROTEST FROM INDIA

KARACHI: India has warned Pakistan against "the unprovoked aggression on her part in the East Pakistani-Assam border", which are likely to lead to serious repercussions.

In this connection it is significant that the Pakistani High Commissioner is in Karachi at present. It is understood that he is having discussions with the Pakistani Central Government.

PLOT TO OVERTHROW KASHMIR GOVT.

SRINAGAR: Sheikh Abdullah's close associates and founder of the Plebiscite Front, Mirza Afzal Beg, and 20 others will be tried soon for conspiring to overthrow the Government of Kashmir and to facilitate wrongful annexation of the State by Pakistan.

The accused include four Pakistani nationals, some of them Pakistani intelligence officers, and five members of the Plebiscite Front.

A complaint against them under Section 120 B and 121 A, Indian Penal Code and Rule 36 of the Kashmir Security Rules was filed by the Inspector General of Police, Mr. D. W. Mehra, in the court of Mr. Nilkant Kak, First Class Magistrate.

The complaint alleges that secret meetings were held at Srinagar and other places in which Pakistani officials participated. Funds were collected and anti-Government posters and pamphlets were also distributed.

It was further alleged that aid was sought and obtained from Pakistan in the form of money, machines, typewriters, litho machines and pamphlets for distribution and arms and ammunition.

The conspirators are alleged to have enlisted volunteers, raised funds and inflamed communal feelings against the Governments of India and Kashmir.

PRIME MINISTER NOON ON THE WAY OUT?

KARACHI: Will the Prime Minister, Mr. Feroz Khan Noon, resign his office in view of the strictures passed by Mr. Justice Shabbir Ahmed of the West Pakistan High Court in his judgment in the Gurmani defamation case?

Political observers, who are asking this question, noted that Mr. Justice Ahmad had explicitly stated in his judgment that "it is his (Mr. Gurmani's) duty to

proceed against Mr. Noon, either in a criminal or in a civil court."

Should Mr. Gurmani proceed against Mr. Noon, as he is generally expected to do, observers say, propriety demands that the Prime Minister should resign.

According to his Lordship, a verdict one way or the other was in the interest of the country, of which Mr. Noon is Prime Minister. "Suspensions will continue to attach to him in respect of the publication of a defamatory letter which, in addition to offending against the law of the land, offended against the law of decency."

In the context of such categorical statements, it is felt that it is obligatory on the part of Mr. Noon to resign his office immediately and to get his name cleared in a court of law.

Sources close to him said today that he would seek advice in this regard from senior Republicans like Mr. Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash and Syed Amjad Ali, who are expected to arrive here tomorrow. The matter is also likely to come up for consideration when Republican members of Parliament meet here tomorrow.

ADEQUATE FINANCIAL AID TO INDIA BY U.S.

WASHINGTON: The US Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a voice vote wrote into the Foreign Aid Bill a declaration that it was in the interests of the United States to join other nations in providing India with "support of the magnitude and duration to adequately assist India in completing its current programme for economic development."

The present amendment like the previous resolution on aid to India was sponsored by Mr. Kennedy and Mr. John Sherman Cooper. It does not mention the quantum or the agencies of the aid and will leave it to the Executive to propose specific action.

The March Of Science

RANGE OF RADIO TELESCOPES INCREASED

A new sound amplifying device, which may extend the range of radio telescopes 10 times further out into space, has been developed and tested by scientists of Harvard University in the United States.

The new amplifier is known as a "three-level, solid-state Master", a word that means microwave amplification by stimulated emission of radiation. It may enable man to hear the radiation from hydrogen clouds in galaxies far beyond the range of any present radio telescopes. Scientists believe that it will enable them to pick up radio signals from space that are one-thousandth as strong as those that can be detected at present.

According to Professor Thomas Gold, a Harvard astronomer and authority on radio astronomy, the Master-equipped radio telescope should be able to test important cosmological theories, such as the theory of the expanding universe, "better than any other present means."

BREAD MOULD DESTROYS BLOOD CLOTS

A Boston scientist is credited with discovering a bread mould extract that seeks and destroys fresh blood clots in minutes.

The mould extract, discovered by Dr. Mario Stefinini at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, was described

recently as innocuous and a treatment which can be used safely on the sickly patient. The announcement was made by the Massachusetts Heart Association, an affiliate of the American Heart Association, a private group that has sponsored Stefinini's intensive blood research for ten years.

Stefinini emphasised that his discovery was still in the preliminary stages of development, and that the extract is still under study. The Massachusetts Association pointed out, however, that it has been used with "excellent results" on 25 patients. Its use followed long experimentation on animals.

The substance is credited with giving quick relief to sufferers of heart attacks, phlebitis and other ailments which involved blood clotting. Given by injection, the mould extract enters the blood stream and travels to the clot, wherever it may be. If used early enough, it can prevent much long-term clot damage.

The Association said that at present the mould is scarce and its production slow, as was penicillin after its discovery. Unlike penicillin, the mould extract is not an antibiotic type of drug.

In his work, Dr. Stefinini narrowed down a family of more than 50 moulds to two, either of which is effective. He said the technique can be used in any good hospital, although it is not ready for general use by family physicians.

WAS MARX A DEMOCRAT?

Addressing the Libertarian Social Institute, Basavangudi, on May 9, Mr. P. Spratt examined how far Karl Marx can be said to have been imbued with democratic ideas, and how far he was anti-democratic.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao, Vice-President of Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, presided.

Marx stressed democracy in his early days, when the ruling class of Europe opposed democracy and the principle was admitted only in America. No European country at that time had adult franchise, for example. Marx supported the demands for the vote, the eight-hour day, and the like, opposed imperialism, as in Ireland and India, and Poland, and condemned the notorious tyrants of the time, the King of Prussia, the Tsar of Russia and the Emperor Napoleon III.

MARX'S DOUBLE DEALING

But even at the beginning of his career, Marx displayed a double attitude. He supported the democratic movement in the spirit made familiar by the later communist tactics of "immediate demands"—demands in themselves praiseworthy, which are intended to stir up strife and lead on to something quite different.

During the Europe-wide democratic revolution of 1848, Marx was editing a paper in Germany. His articles and his private letters at the time show that his purpose was not honest support of the liberal movement. He tried to commit its leaders to socialist aims, and then to "expose" them before the masses for not implementing these aims, and so to turn the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

But was this revolution to set up a dictatorship like Lenin's? No. Marx used the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" two or three times, but clearly meant by it a democratically elected socialist government, or at least a socialist government maintaining political and civil liberty, which he thought would be supported by the great majority of the public and so would have permanent and unchecked power.

He considered the Paris Commune an instance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The government of the Commune was an elected coalition of socialist parties, in

which the Marxists were in a small minority, and the followers of men whom Marx hated, like Proudhon and Blanqui, were more numerous than his own.

Marx used the phrase "class struggle" or "class war," but it is not to be assumed that he implied that open fighting is inevitable.

HIS INTELLECTUAL ARROGANCE

Probably Marx did not expect success, but was just showing off to himself and his sycophant Engels. Marx's personality was a queer one. He could never bear to be with the majority, to say the commonplace thing. If other people were liberals, he had to go one better and be a socialist. If other people were democrats he had to be a revolutionary. He was dominated by intellectual pride. This he showed throughout his career.

This mentality may explain those of his writings which advocate a socialist revolution before the situation, according to his own theory, was ripe for socialism. Such is the pamphlet entitled *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. The programme for the Gotha congress was drawn up by the German socialist leaders without consulting him, so he was offended and damned it with a diatribe advocating a much more extreme policy. It is such writings which Lenin later used to support his own revolutionary programme.

But did Marx believe in the Leninist type of revolution and dictatorial party? No. Nobody before Lenin thought of a party like that, a tightly disciplined group of intellectuals who should use their mass contacts and mass support to seize power and then hold that power themselves, ruling in the name of the masses but never consulting them.

AN INTELLECTUAL'S DICTATORSHIP

The potentiality of an intellectual dictatorship in the name of the workers was present in such a movement, and this potentiality was detected as early as 1903 by a Polish socialist named Makhajsky. He wrote an article arguing that the socialist party is not a workers' party, but an intellectuals' party whose aim is to overthrow the dictatorship of wealth and replace it

by a dictatorship of educated brains.

But this was then only a potentiality. The idea was far from the minds even of the most revolutionary socialists—except Lenin. When Lenin first began to make clear his own plan for a party of "professional revolutionaries", even Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg condemned it as leading inevitably to dictatorship.

Lenin could claim authority in Marx for other ideas which he found useful. It was Marx who surrounded the whole project of socialism with a religious aura, making it such a sacred task that any means seemed justified in achieving it. It was Marx who explicitly condemned moral scruples—"bourgeois morality" he called them. Marx's early writings are full of sneers at morality.

Marx favoured democracy if it seemed to lead to socialism, but he supplied plenty of support to one who believes that if democracy does not seem to be leading to socialism it is democracy which must be scrapped. He preferred constitutional methods, but he certainly sanctioned violence. He inspired the special Leninist type of political manoeuvring, which can bring to power a well-disciplined and ruthless minority party which does not mind reversing its policy from day to day, tactics which Rakosi, the Hungarian dictator, so cynically called "salami tactics".

Marx actually suggested in detail how it is possible to overcome the property-conscious peasants by instigating them to liquidate the landlords, and then instigating the poorer peasants to liquidate the richer, until finally the sanctity of property is destroyed, the unity of the peasant class is destroyed, and the socialist state can liquidate them all. Lenin carried out this policy in Russia and a policy not very unlike it is being carried out—of all people—by the "Gandhian" Congress in India now, where it will have the same ultimate result, of smashing rural society and putting the communists in power.

There were two sides to Marx. He was a democrat, but he was much more of an anti-democrat. He was not a Leninist, but the seeds of nearly all that Lenin did can be found in him.

At the conclusion of his lecture, Mr. Spratt answered some questions which were asked from the audience.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao's Address at Shimoga

Shri M. A. Venkata Rao, Vice-President, Bangalore Branch of the Libertarian Social Institute, while on a visit to Shimoga, a town in the west of Mysore State, the gateway of the Malnad, or forest and hill area in which the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works are situated, was invited to an "At Home" by Sri Ramakrishna Rao, editor, Shimoga Gazette and Journalists' Association of which he is president, on May 16. There were present also representatives of other professions, some of them old students of Prof. M. A. V. Rao who are now prominent citizens.

TOWARDS SERFDOM

After a general conversation on the present political situation and the condition of the Congress and the prospects of the Jan Sangh parties, Mr. Venkata Rao gave an address. The core of the theme, which he developed was the inevitable consequence of Marxist socialism-cum-communism. The essence and differentia of Marxism was the programme of nationalisation of all economic activity, the centralisation of all economic power in the hands of the governing group. This reduces all citizens to the condition of dependents on the State for livelihood and economic improvement, and rise in the social scale. Such a dependence destroys the independence and puts a premium on abject conformity. No new party can be formed, even if legally allowed. Nobody dare support an alternative party in such a state of affairs.

CULTURE AND PRODUCTION SHRINK UNDER SOCIALISM

Another evil of socialism is the proliferation of bureaucracy with

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its evils of haughtiness, of oppressiveness to the poor and subordinates, its lack of initiative, its red tape. The psychology of self-reliant self-employed republicanism, with its sense of dignity and independent character, will never grow under socialism. Extra-economic values of personality will dry up. Even the

Even culture requires an atmosphere of freedom. In the absence of such freedom the arts will lose vigour and individuality. In fact all the values of a free society will fade away. A free economy is indispensable to a free society.

Socialism will destroy democracy in the end, though it may begin with it. The British Labour Party has begun to see this truth and have resolved in their recent Conference not to extend nationalisation, when they get power again, but on the other hand to invest Government funds in good industries run by the private sector, using dividends earned to enhance equality and level up standards.

THE PLAN AND ITS FUTURE

A SYMPOSIUM AT BOMBAY

The Libertarian Social Institute held a symposium on May 16, in which all the Research students participated. It was presided over by Dr. A. K. Das Gupta, Director of Research. The subjects touched were varied.

Prof. G. N. Lawande pointed out that devaluation was NOT the remedy for the current exchange crisis. The real solution lay, he said, in pruning the Plan. "All Planning is a continuous process and there is no need to stick to monetary ceilings."

Mr. M. V. Balakrishna Rao spoke on Progressive Taxation. He made out a case for progressive taxation on the grounds of both equality and economic development.

Dr. B. S. Sanyal referred to the danger of Islam in Nasser-Moscow friendship. He pointed out the historic fanaticism of the Islamic mind.

Mr. S. S. Bankeshwar spoke on Historical Judgments. He said that the criteria of historical judgments were, (i) the quality of influence,

(ii) the duration of influence, and (iii) the extent of influence. It is these three criteria together which must be applied to determine the greatness of any historical character.

Mr. Kishore Valicha pointed out that there was a fallacy in Mr. Bankeshwar's thought. The historian had no means of finding out the quality of any influence apart from the extent and duration of it. The historian sought to understand historical figures through what they did and how they fared in the hands of their fellow-men and posterity. It was only the poet who tried to penetrate into the heart and soul of great men. The historian, though not a scientist, depends largely upon data and here the only criteria are the duration and extent of influence.

The discussion lasted for about three hours.

Dr. K. N. Kini Passes Away

The "Indian Libertarian" regrets to announce the passing away of Dr. K. N. Kini after a brief illness following a heart attack at Salem.

Dr. Kini had a brilliant educational career, both in India and in the U.S.A. He obtained the Master of Arts degree from the Columbia University and also secured the coveted distinction of Ph. D. of that famous University. Coming back to India, he was, for some time, the Director of Education in the former Indian State of Jodhpur, where he was responsible for a number of improvements.

Leaving the job of the Director, he engaged himself in contributing learned articles to Indian periodicals and papers on various topical subjects, the two of his specialties being the militarisation of the nation and fighting Hindu orthodoxy and superstitions.

Dr. Kini was an esteemed contributor of the "Indian Libertarian". Our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

Book Reviews

CHILD OF COMMUNISM

CHILD OF COMMUNISM, by Ede Pfeiffer. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 18s.

A connected series of anecdotes rather than a developing account of the life of a young Hungarian, who was nine when the Red Army drove the Germans from Budapest, and twenty when he fled from Hungary after the rising in 1956.

It conveys the frustration and bitterness which must be the lot of every such person living in a highly totalitarian state. At the same time, and probably unintentionally, the writer makes it appear that the difficulties he meets are the same ones with which we are familiar in "democratic" states, being dominated by school teachers imbued with an authoritarian ideology, not being able to attend University despite being academically qualified, being forced by outside pressures to undertake unpalatable work, but that they are experienced in a more extreme form.

It is not however a good book. Hardly any new facts are revealed, and the story is told from a narrowly egoistic point of view. An ima-

ginative writer could have made a communicable individual message from experiences such as Pfeiffer has evidently gone through. An analytic thinker could have put them into the context either of the development of Communism or the Hungarian regime in particular. Here however, there is very little information about the political moves which were taking place in Eastern Europe during the period with which the book deals, the anecdotal style makes everything seem less real than the bare facts and figures would, the writer seems obsessed by the general freeing of sexual life in post-war Hungary, ignores the fact that a Fascist regime existed until 1944, and has no positive ideas against which to hammer out his dislike of Communism. He has in fact failed in the task of a political biographer, which is to bind together the events of the political world and their effects on an individual.

This is, in the case of the East European states, a task which has still to be accomplished.

P.H. in "Freedom"

AND NOW THE "NEW" SOCIALIST

THE NEW SOCIALIST May 1958.
Price Rupee One.

The seventh number of *The New Socialist* provides the reader with a wide variety of reading matter. Of topical interest is the article on Algeria by Cherif Guellal, who is an Algerian nationalist leader and head of the Algeria Bureau in New Delhi.

Mr. Guellal has presented a case, with impressive historical references, for freedom for Algeria. He presents the "colonial invasion of Algeria" as "one of the bloodiest in the history of imperialism". It is almost customary to sympathize with such a view. It becomes blasphemy, on the other hand, to view any freedom struggle, especially on the part of the "colonial" world, with any amount of censure. Yet one may, with justice, feel the communist intrusion into such a view. While deploring the unnecessarily emotional attitude that the French

Government and people have adopted towards Algeria, the problem really makes itself felt when viewed with the Cairo-Moscow Axis in mind, which threatens distinctly to destroy the Muslim-French unity in Algeria. We cannot succumb to the Arab-Communist menace.

This is not to advocate the policy followed by the French Government; rather a muse on the paradoxes of history.

"Impact of Industrialism on Indian Culture" by Raj Krishna is a very balanced article. "Economic development of the classical kind is not an end in itself, for which every element of culture and personality must be necessarily sacrificed or re-adjusted. Rather, the pattern of development itself should be re-adjusted to suit our cultural values and aspirations. There is no value in change as such."

It is true today that "the attitude of most of our intellectuals to reli-

gion is either one of contemptuous indifference (is it not indecent to talk of the subject?) or of treating religion as a convenient scape-goat on which the blame for our backwardness, for our slavery, for our poverty, and for every conceivable evil may be squarely laid; or of treating religion as something with which anything whatsoever may be reconciled, so that one may be a good Vedantin as well as a good capitalist, a good communist, a good socialist, and, above all, a thorough-going industrialiser, frantically raising the standards of living in the Russo-American image".

While this is no doubt true, I have yet to see, apart from any sound philosophical justification, a good sociological inquiry into the decadence of Hinduism.

Krishnan Kutty's "Freedom And Authority: An Existentialist Approach" is rather a tame appreciation of the existentialist view of freedom. By isolating the social aspect of this view, Mr. Kutty has offered a tentative and hesitant review which only serves to confuse the reader. The existentialist view of freedom even on the social level has its roots in metaphysics, in the basic principle of the creativity of feeling.

John Gates, in his article, "Communism In America: Isolation From Reality", shows the impossibility of redemption from the communist dogma once it has set in full majesty. It is an interesting article, written with authenticity and vigour.

The journal—48 pages—consists of interesting features like DISCUSSION (which can be made good use of in the future), BOOK REVIEWS, ART NOTES, etc. and an interesting number of other contributions.

Every success may attend this journal.

Kishore Valicha

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U. S. PROPOSALS FOR DISARMAMENT & PEACE

By Kishore Valicha

The problem of disarmament has become foremost in modern times when armaments like the H-Bombs and ICBMs, etc. have made their deadly appearance. Countless plans have been made to launch disarmament on a wide enough scale. All such plans have ended in nothing. The difficulty has been with offering conditions which might guarantee an effective disarmament. Between 1648 and the beginning of World War II in 1939, there were no fewer than twenty-five major efforts to reduce arms. Many offered the possibility of lasting peace; none provided guarantees.

It was only after World War I that the desire for peace began to make itself felt all over the world; disarmament became the concern of all mankind.

Today, this new concept of safeguarded disarmament is being vigorously pursued by many peoples and governments as a first step to end the recurring tragedy of warfare among nations. The grim hor-

ror of nuclear war lends an urgency to the task that is inescapable.

The United States of America have urged a six-point proposal for peace with its basis in disarmament. The proposals have not merely disarmament in view; they are aimed, in a large sense, at the prevention of war. The whole point is to make surprise attack by the enemy impossible. The six points urged are:

- * To guard against great surprise attack.
- * To halt nuclear testing.
- * To control outer space missiles.
- * To devote all future nuclear production to peaceful purposes.
- * To reduce the size of standing armies.

These objectives are sought to be achieved through proposals which are practical in the sense that they take into consideration the various political and other issues involved. The existence of an ill-guarded Pact will be more dangerous than no Pact at all.

THE U.S. PLAN

The U.S. plan provides for a two-year ban on nuclear testing. A method of monitoring to see if the suspension was being carried out. It would be installed during the first year of the plan and would be

revised in the second year which, if successful, would greatly strengthen the prospect for peace. At the same time, a system of inspection to make sure that all new fissionable materials were used only for peaceful purposes would also be drawn up.

The atom can be used for both peace and war. If wedded to peace, it can run factories quicker, can raise better crops and can cure disease. But when devoted to destruction, it can annihilate whole cities and men and culture. In order to devote nuclear power to peaceful purposes, each nation signing the proposal will pledge its uses only to peace.

The only way to reduce the size and strength of standing armies is to go about practically doing so; at first, say, reducing it to 2,500,000 men each and gradually to the absolute minimum.

The presence of vast stores of armaments is as much a block to lasting peace as are the armies for which these are designed.

These six points constitute the U.S. plan for peace. It is the only sane approach to the problem of disarmament and to the relatively large issue of peace.

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