

Indian Libertarian

Land Reforms Special

Vol. VI No. 1

122

59676

March 15, 1958

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

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Price 25 Naye Paise

The Indian Libertarian
*Independent Journal of Economic
 and Public Affairs*

Edited by
MISS KUSUM LOTWALA
 Published on the 1st and 15th of
 Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual .. Rs. 6
 Half Yearly .. Rs. 3
 Quarterly .. Re. 1.50
 (Post paid)
 Foreign 12sh. 3 dollars.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

Full Page Rs. 100
 Half Page Rs. 50
 Quarter Page Rs. 25
 One-eighth Page .. Rs. 15
 One full column of a page
 Rs. 50

COVER PAGE

BACK COVER Rs. 150
 SECOND COVER Rs. 125
 THIRD COVER Rs. 125

* Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.

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**Letters
 To
 The Editor**

**BAR COUNCIL AND PRIME
 MINISTER ON CHAGLA REPORT**

Dear Madam—It was quite in the fitness of things that Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, the leader of the Hindu Maha Sabha and a prominent lawyer of the Supreme Court, should have been the first Indian to publicly lodge his protest against the unwarranted and highly erratic statements of the Prime Minister on the Chagla Commission while it was in session and after the publication of its findings. The Prime Minister is known for his incapacity to ponder and think as also his loquaciousness to pronounce on every subject under the sun. It was therefore, nothing surprising for the intelligent public to find our highly quick-tempered Prime Minister giving unbridled expression to his own views on the Chagla Commission findings.

But if democracy is to be fostered in the country and if the judiciary has to function independently in the country, without regard to the frowns and favours of the powers that be, it is time the Bar Councils in the country react strongly to the Prime Minister's un-called for and highly undemocratic statements. It is the imperative duty of the Bar Councils in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and New Delhi to pass resolutions condemning the action of the Prime Minister and send their protests to the President of the Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Will the Bar Councils bestir themselves?

Bombay A Lawyer

PLANE FOR 'T.T.K.'

Dear Madam—In reply to the point regarding the provision of a special I.A.F. plane for Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari raised by Dr. Kunzru in the Rajya Sabha, the Prime Minister said, "It amazes me that any person should be so little-minded as to object to our providing an I.A.F. plane to a retiring Minister to go back to his home."

But it was not merely a case of "a retiring Minister" going back to his home. It was a case of a Minis-

try who was compelled to resign on the ground of constitutional responsibility in the L.I.C. deal. Having accepted the Report, it was not proper of the Prime Minister to provide "T.T.K." with a Government plane. Such a provision is not in keeping with the healthy conventions of a parliamentary democracy.

There are many instances in the past "resigning Ministers" in which no such facility was offered. Dr. Matthal and Mr. C. D. Deshmukh resigned due to honest and reasonable differences of opinion with the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers on controversial issues. Were they offered such a facility?
 Thana Sudha Sathe

CREATING A "MOSCOW LOBBY"

Dear Madam: Mr. Krishna Menon's fraternising, hobnobbing and chaperoning Mr. Cabot Lodge, and escorting him throughout his tour is perhaps intended to show the people here that he is not unpopular with the Americans.

Mr. Cabot Lodge, the Anglo-American "imperialist war-monger" was the guest of Dr. Baliga, the Indian "prophet of peace," and Mr. Russi (Russified?) Karanjia at the Taj for lunch on February 17: It is pity that Mr. Lodge, the man who had once refused to shake hands with Mr. Vyshinsky, should have accepted the invitation for lunch from these Moscow patriots of India, who intend to create a Moscow Lobby in the State Department. This reminds us of what Hao and Chou did in China during the Second World War in order to create anti-Chasing lobby in the State Department. This reminds us of what Mao and Chou did in China during the Second World War in order to create anti-Chiang lobby in the State Department. They wine, dined, and flattered the soft-headed U.S. diplomats in China like John Service, Larson, Davies and Ludden, and military generals, like Stilwell and Marshall, and finally created a Moscow lobby in the State Department through these dupes. China could have been saved from going Red, if America had not relied on the reports of their State Department Officials, most of whom, as we now learn, were dupes, agents and fellow-travellers.

Bombay Sumant Bankeshwar

THE REVOLT OF SHEIKH ABDULLAH

THE first act in the tragedy of Kashmir and India after the release of Sheikh Abdullah began with the attack of his Razakars (the name recalls the mermaids of Kasim Razvi in Hyderabad) on a meeting of Bakshi's National Conference. They set upon the meeting in strength (the figure of 500 is mentioned) with lethal weapons, staves and spears. Pistols have not yet come into the arena. No doubt it will not take long for bombs and sten guns to follow suit. One victim died and a number of people sustained injuries. A number of arrests were made. But the arch instigator, their master Sheikh Abdullah, is still at large, making no secret of his responsibility for the flagrant disturbance of the peace. Far from hiding his complicity in the attack, he asks his followers to ignore the police and not to be cowardly!

There is no pretence of peaceful agitation for democratic rights. There is incitement for open and violent defiance of the Government. "If you are afraid of the police, you cannot achieve the objective", he said in roadside addresses in the capital of the State-Srinagar! He repudiates his past association with Gandhi and Nehru. He rejects the entire set of understandings with Nehru, concerning the merger of Kashmir with the rest of India. He says he is *not grateful* for India's help in saving Kashmir from the raiders, and the Pakistani invasion. The help accepted by Sheikh Abdullah enabled India to become an imperialist power. If he became a Moghul emperor in Kashmir, borne aloft on Indian bayonets, that is not imperialism!

HIS OPEN ADVOCACY OF PAKISTAN.

He now prefers Pakistan openly. It is clear that he had some understanding with Pakistan at the time of his arrest four and half years ago. He proclaims that he is justified in revolting since India had betrayed the promises that Kashmiris could live in freedom and honour in their own land. He said that the whole nation stood behind him in this revolt against "repression."

What is the reason for the hesitation and delay in apprehending him, and putting him out of harm's way? Why should Bakshi Gulam Mahomed wait on Pandit Nehru and let precious time escape? It is clear that helped with Pakistani funds, he has shown his ability to rally Kashmiris *in strength* with the cry of Islam *in danger with the Koran on his lips.* He has passed rapidly from the sphere of speech-making to the realm of action. There is no secret conspiracy this time but open incitement for violent attack. He claims sovereign rights of rule, over his people in spite of their declared will and determination in a constitutional way through a constitutional assembly for merger in India.

The urgent thing to do is to pass a law defining treason and conspiracy or revolt against the lawfully constituted Government of Kashmir and against the sovereign rights of India to whom belongs the right and duty of defending Kashmir and the rest of India,

for defending Kashmir is as much our responsibility as that of defending Bombay or Assam or Madras. *If Sheikh Abdullah defies this law in action, violently or nonviolently by propoganda, he should be brought to trial and put out of action in a lawful manner.*

Delay is dangerous nor should legal process be neglected again. The Sheikh is giving plenty of evidence of his intentions by speech and action that his goal is no less than the disruption of the State in collusion with Pakistan, and perhaps with other foreign Powers so that chaos may ensue, favourable for seizure of power.

PAKISTAN IS BEHIND THE SHEIKH

The rumour in Kashmir and adjoining areas in the Punjab is that Pakistan elements will attack Kashmir, the Millat Party of Akabar Khan, having announced action shortly. He said recently that the immediate duty of every Pakistani is to create "a strong internal movement in Kashmir State." His intervention is necessary to steal the thunder from Sheikh Abdullah so that the fruits of Pakistani action may not go to the Sheikh. Sheikh Abdullah and Akbar Khan are seeking to over-reach each other while using each other. Akbar Khan has noted that the Sheikh has not yet spoken of accession to Pakistan but only of *plebiscite!* It is clear that he has not given up his personal ambition of an independent Kashmir for himself. He is thinking of the example of Colonel Nasser.

Another aspect of Abdullah's moves should be noted. While he bases himself on an independent sentiment of *Kashmir nationalism*, he is openly appealing only to Muslims and Islam excluding the Hindu population. It is clear he is harking back to the two-nation theory based on the theocratic notion that religion determines nationality and that Muslims and Hindus cannot form one integral nation bound by the same common sentiment of *consciousness of kind.*

TRUE TO ISLAMIC TRADITION

This is fresh evidence in support of the social and political nature of Islam that subordinates national feeling attached to land and people to religious affinity. Faith is stronger in Islam than race or nation or colour or economic interest. Loyalty to God and Prophet reigns supreme. The same Book and Ideology—religious, social, political, psychological—permeates all Islamic sentiment and can form the bond of a Pan-Islamic multi-nation empire or federation.

Compared to this powerful appeal, the Muslims in non-Muslim States like India and China and Poland and Albania will find it difficult to get absorbed in the national entity, in which they live, and to which they owe allegiance. *Indian Muslims have always been led by their chiefs to affiliate themselves more with the Islamic world than with the land of the Hindus.* The Aligarh movement and the Muslim League are examples, the lesson of which Indian statesmen have hardly appreciated at their true nature and strength. Nationalist Muslims have a hard task to

achieve oneness with Indian nationalism. They might have succeeded if Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamic sentiment were not growing so fast in the Middle East and the historic homelands and nursery of Islamic childhood and glorious maturity, superior for centuries in the Mediterranean world to European peoples, who were barbarians when compared with the society ruled with such shining exemplars as Sultan Saladin. Under the Turks later on there was a second efflorescence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Islam presented itself menacingly at the gates of Vienna, while in India the Great Moghuls were at their peak of power and glory. The whole of India was under Islamic rule for nearly six centuries.

With this background of political ascendancy over large areas of the civilised world, not inferior to Europe till the end of the eighteenth century, how can any one reasonably expect the Muslims to forego this vision of Pan-Islamic world power, specially at a time when the West is perishing through a tremendous fratricidal conflict?

WHERE NEHRU TURNS HIS NELSON'S EYE

The psychological situation for the Muslims of non-Muslim States today is unfavourable for integration in their countries on a secular basis. *Islam is essentially and ineradicably religious, non-secular but, of course, carrying spiritual and moral values in its own social and psychological (mixture or compound or) individuality.* There is no question here of moral inferiority or superiority. But we have to reckon with it instead of adopting an ostrich policy, as Hindu statesmen are apt to with such disastrous results throughout history. The claim of Mr. Nehru that his policy is in accord with the genius and history of the Hindus is true *not in his sense of ethical superiority of the Buddhist brand of Panchsheela but in the sense of blindness to external and internal danger springing from alien and unassimilated ethnic and religious elements.* Professor A. V. Venkateswara in his work—*India through the Ages*—has been constrained to remark that the pitiful *collapse* of the Hindus before invaders from more robust lands springs from their *blindness* to what goes on beyond their *mountain-and-sea-girt subcontinent.*

TRAGEDY OF OUR LEADERSHIP

The Islamic peoples have a perfect right to consolidate their vast fellowship into political expression as empire or federation. *Our point here is that this development has its own fateful meaning for us unless a world order under a single Central Federal Government emerges for the whole world with a single military system and command.* But the consummation so devoutly desired by all peace lovers is little better than a dream in our time. The wiser thing to do is to prepare the country for defensive consolidation, based on emotional integration, not trusting altogether to national unity, as if it were solid enough already. *This is the tragic and profound error of our present political leadership.* Mr. Nehru talks frequently of history and of the need to study international affairs. But it is possible to be absorbed in international affairs and be scanning the horizon while neglecting national security in a catastrophic manner. Such pre-occupation with foreign affairs can only be useful to

national interests if it is inspired by and springs from the firm foundation of national security, from a long as well as short-term point of view. We may plan a campaign of converting tigers in distant jungles while neglecting the snake in the grass at our own feet!

KUWATLY ON PAN-ARAB CONFEDERATION

Our reading of the Islamic world and its ambitions is being confirmed with a rapidity beyond our expectation. As the rivalry between Russia and the United States, dictatorship and freedom, gets intense and the hour of settlement approaches, the pressure of the Giants on Islamic countries is accelerating the solidifying reaction of the Islamic world today under Arab leadership. The Islamic dream is coming to the light of the day through the words and actions of Arab leaders. President Nasser has called in his book for "All Power to Muslims". It is his *Mein Kampf* which India will ignore at her peril.

Now we have Syria's ex-president declaring to two Indian press correspondents (which is precisely symbolic) that the United Arab Republic would carry on the movement to unite all Arabs in these areas bound by race, culture and geography. We are going along this path towards unity and are *nearing its end.* He hoped that it would be achieved in his life time. The ultimate object was complete unity, federation or confederation being stages towards it. The immediate objective is to drive out Israelis from Palestine! We want all refugees to go back. Mr. Kuwatly said that he admired Mr. Nehru's policies and consistent support to the Arab cause. Kuwatly said that the immediate goal was unification of Arabs from Gibraltar to the Persian Gulf. "Imperialists are fighting against this unity to get special privileges for themselves."

The inmost urge of the Islamic peoples and their leaders is to throw out the strangle-hold of the West, whether communist or liberal and to get Home Rule for Islam in the areas of its erstwhile domination. Race is no obstacle. Islamic peoples, whether Negro or Mongol, or Hindu-converted Indian, will respond to the Pan-Islamic appeal.

Mr. Jinnah mentioned the wider and more ambitious goal for Islam in terms of the integration of peoples from Gibraltar to Indonesia! What about the place of India in this blue-print? If we remember the shining memory of Moghul rule at Delhi, we can guess it for our declaration. The Indian Muslim can combine patriotism, for India in his—(Hindustan Hamara) with Islamic allegiance and faith in this renewed Islamic glory of world power with its Centre at Damascus, Baghdad or even Delhi itself! Why not, if Indian leaders are supine enough?

INDO PAN-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION IN BOMBAY

The inauguration of an Indo-Pan-American Association in Bombay under the distinguished auspices of Governor Sri Prakasa and American Ambassador Bunker is welcome news. The object is to cultivate and strengthen friendly relations between the peoples of India and of all American States, North and South. This is a much needed supplement to our recent and growing affiliation with Pan-Communism and Pan-Islamic States. It is to be hoped that branches will
(Continued on Page 20)

The Land Problem In Bombay State

By Bhailalbhai Patel

Vice-Chancellor, Sardar Vallabbhai Vidyapeeth

I CLAIM to write on this problem, as according to my family tree, my ancestor 25 generations ago, had come to Gujerat in the year 1060 A.D., and settled down near Sojitra near my native land, where agriculture was abandoned and the land was full of shrubs. As Kaira District was at that time a bone of contention between western Chalukyas, Parmars of Malwa, and Chalukyas of Patan.

My ancestors, in spite of all vicissitudes, due to frequent changes of dynasties during all these periods, had stayed at this one place and developed my village by improving its agriculture, levelling the land, digging the wells and in 20th century by lowering tube-wells and installing engines and pumps.

They managed the civil and criminal administration of the village during all the centuries till the system of British administration, introduced by the Baroda State, in the later half of the 19th century.

FROM DESERTED VILLAGE TO FLOURISHING MART

By the efficient administration, the merchants were attracted and my place Sojitra had become a flourishing mart. It had gained so much importance in Baroda State that when education was introduced in the State, the first school was constructed in Baroda and the second was constructed in Sojitra. A library was started as early as 1870 by the people themselves.

My ancestors 25 generations ago originally had cleared and brought under plough an area of nearly 4000 acres, and all the dynasties who ruled over Gujerat, had considered him and his descendants as the absolute owners of this land.

The land was being divided and sub-divided, generation after generation, and today, we, his descendants own, some even fraction of acres, or the biggest owner not more than 25 to 30 acres, because those having means could purchase the share of his partner who had to sell it when in need.

PATIDAR'S ATTACHMENT TO VILLAGE

By constant sub-divisions the individual holdings had become uneconomic, so the intelligentsia of the villages had to leave the villages for maintaining themselves: The Brahmins and Banias migrated to the cities and settled down there as they had no tie with the village. *But the Patidar had his piece of land which tied him down to his native place.*

Under economic pressure, he, too, had to leave his village. He not only migrated to the cities of India but he went to practically all parts of the world, earned there, saved there, and sent his savings to his native villages which helped those who had remained behind and *that is the reason why the villages in Gujerat are even today more prosperous and more advanced than any villages in other parts of India.*

Upto 1948 there was no land problem in our villages. As stated above during the British regime, all other industries but agriculture were wiped out and intelligentsia had left the villages, but the remaining population had adjusted to circumstances.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the Director of Agriculture of Government of India Mr. Mollison, had stated that Patidar is as good an agriculturist as any in any part of the world. He is second to none. In 1957 Mr. Shirname, the retired Director of Agriculture in Bombay State, had written a letter in *The Times of India* that he had propounded Japanese method of rice-cultivation, to make it attractive, *but really speaking it was the method of rice cultivation followed by the Patidars of Kaira District.* Both these eminent officers had given such opinion by actually seeing the agriculture of Patidars, who perhaps were never tilling the land themselves.

CO-OPERATION NOT EXPLOITATION

They were giving their lands to other people on crop-sharing basis but there was always very good yield, *due to his financing ability and guidance in cultivation. The tenant was also benefitted with the help of the Patidar land owners, and their money and brains. It was the co-operation of, as in that story of the Lame and the Blind, and both were contented and happy.*

THIS CROP OF "DO-GOODERS"

Some 2000 years ago a King by name Vikramaditya was born, and was famous as 'Pardukh-Bhanjan' i.e. remover of other people's miseries. One such man was created during last 5000 years of civilisation in India. *But after 1947 there is a crop of such people in our country who are moving about by hundreds, to raise the status of tenants and landless labour. They have created land-hunger which has to-day, culminated in a land problem before us.*

The Patidars, as stated above, were the chief cultivators of land in Gujrat but during the period of Pax-Britanica the population rapidly increased due to the absence of wars. The land was divided and sub-divided and as a result many people's share became uneconomic holding. People perforce had to take to other vocations. Some people took to trade and service, while their land was given on lease to those who remained in village for cultivation and thus who were doing actual cultivation, they got enough land to till so as to make it an economic holding, while those who earned money by doing trade or service, they invested their savings to improve their lands in their villages, so as to increase the yield from their pieces of land.

The Government tried to increase the land assessment so there was first Satyagraha at Bardoli in 1928. At that time all the land-owners were known as Kisans.

Nobody said that they were Zamindars. The Bardoli Satyagraha as everybody knows, was a great success and they obtained the sympathy of the whole world. The Kaira Satyagraha of 1918 was also conducted by the owners of the land and that was also called Kisan Satyagraha and the same land-owners had refused to pay land assessment in the Satyagraha of 1932-33. The land-owners of Gujerat had contributed the maximum sacrifice for gaining Swarajya. The Karachi Congress had promised to reduce land assessment after Swarajya is obtained. Mahatmaji had requested Lord Chelmsford to reduce that assessment by 50% in the first instance but no one had ever said that land should go to the tillers.

Again during the Godhra Conference of 1917, which was attended by Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammadalli Jinnah, Vithalbai Patel and all leading politicians of the day, one of the resolutions passed in the Conference requested Government to abolish this new tenure and put the same under the Raiyati System so that the cultivator may get the property rights and thereby may get incentive to improve the land.

But when India became free, when land started paying due to the Second World War, and when agricultural debt was being reduced, our "Welfare" State suddenly decided to introduce the so-called land reforms, because in Bombay State there were eight lacs Khatiedars and 32 lacs tenants and landless labourers.

LAND "REFORMS" OR EYE-WASH

With adult franchise, the party in power had to please that section of society where there were more votes. In Bombay State, more than 50% of the Khatiedars possessed less than 5 acres of land. While hardly 5% had got more than 100 acres of land. But our "Welfare" State has passed a Tenancy Act in the name of land "reforms" where they have given such definition of agriculturists that millionaires and multi-millionaires of Gujrat, those who have got thousands of acres of land in their possession are classed as self-cultivating agriculturists. There are many people who show more income from land than they actually get, just to avoid legitimate State taxes because agricultural income is tax-free. In plain words, those who do agriculture on paper, and cheat Government by not paying legitimate taxes, are considered cultivators, while the owner of half an acre of land because he had given his land on lease to another person, as it was very uneconomic holding, is considered a Zamindar and that small piece is taken away from him and given away to the tenant for good.

Thus, by this so-called Land "reform" five per cent of the Khatiedars, who have more land, or who have surplus land, or who do not require land for their maintenance, are classed as cultivators and they are allowed to retain their land in perpetuity. While nearly 85% of the Khatiedars who had uneconomic holding and hence were doing some other business, and many of them transferring their savings for the improvement of their small holdings are classed as Zamindars, and their land is forfeited by law without making any arrangement for giving them compensation. In Kerala, a communist State has taken the responsibility to give compensation if the State has to acquire large estates. Communists are not touching the small-holders having less than 5 acres of land, while in our

"Welfare" State of Bombay, the big land-holders are not touched, and the land of small land holders having land of less than 5 acres, is taken away and given away to tenants and landless labourers without taking any responsibility of giving compensation to these poor people. And this is what they called "Socialistic State" and Land "Reform."

THE CLASS WAR IN VILLAGES

This is not the only thing. But there is a clause in this Act that if any one wants his land for self cultivation he should be given back his land, of course within the time limit given which was about 7 or 8 years, when the Act was passed. As a result, many people have got back their land for self-cultivation and it has created a very serious situation in the rural areas of Gujrat. The tenants were made to believe that Congress Government have made them the owners of the land which they were tilling, and when it was transferred back to the original owner, the tenant considered the owner of the land as his enemy and thought that he is deprived of his property by the influence of that man. So it has created a class war in every village.

The tenant was formerly cultivating the field and was leading a respectable life. After loosing that field either he became a labourer or if some other land has remained with him of some other person who has not got it back, he has remained the owner of uneconomic holding. In either case his discontent has increased to such an extent that he destroys the crop of the original land owner who had got his land from him. If that man sleeps in field to look after his crops, he is attacked, wounded or sometimes murdered. Every year in our Kaira District there are scores of such murders and destruction of crop of hundreds of acres, but our Welfare State cannot protect the farmers or trace these crimes.

The people who have got back their land, now cannot look after the agriculture as they have got uneconomic holdings which will not give enough return in spite of their devoting whole time and energy after agriculture. They have to do some other business for the maintenance of their family, which they are doing and they make the show of agriculture some how on their fields just to maintain their legal rights.

NET RESULTS OF "REFORMS"

The net result of this Tenancy Act can be summarised as under. Big Land owners are untouched, there is nothing like ceiling on land so far as millionaires and multi-millionaires are concerned. They are all cultivators. The land within the revenue limits of the cities is also exempted from the Tenancy Act. That means the organised people or the places where there are newspapers have influenced, so that they are exempted from this Act. The Act was made applicable only to the village people having less than 10 acres of land. But this class although poor was more intelligent as stated above and most of them have got back their land for self-cultivation. According to my information 87% Khatiedars have got back their land for self-cultivation, while land has remained with only 13% of the original tenants.

Now let us consider the results of this most ill-advised policy: (1) By raising the slogan of land to the

tiller an artificial land-hunger is created amongst the tenants and landless labour, as generally every one wants unearned wealth if he can get it without any trouble. (2) Those who have got back the land for self-cultivation, cannot do it as most of them have got uneconomic holdings. (3) Those 13% tenants, who have actually got the possession of the land cannot also cultivate as they are uneconomic holdings and at the same time they haven't got capital, administrative ability or agricultural knowledge. (4) Those who are exempted from this Act, in the cities, are following the old methods and getting good crops with intensive agriculture, but they are few. (5) The very large holdings with millionaires and multi-millionaires give produce on paper and our administrators are guided by these good figures in their food policy. (6) And the worst effect of this act is that all the land of the old Bombay State, which was under Raiyatwari System, has now become land under new tenure.. There the land will remain with the possessor so long as he

cultivates that land. The land has gone to the tiller. It is no longer anybody's property, so there will be no incentive to improve the same. The savings or extra labour will not go back to the land. And as a result, the food production will be reduced year after year. The resolution of the Godhra Conference is not only not carried out by the followers of Mahatma Gandhi but have upset the policy laid down by the best brains of the country.

This is our Land Reform introduced by Bombay State. It has broken all tenets of good government. There is neither justice nor equity. The sanctity of private property is broken. The rich and influential are protected and the poor and helpless are deprived of their rights, and I wonder if this is our "welfare" State! If this is the socialistic pattern, I fail to understand what will happen to this country? *Bombay Tenancy Act as it is enacted is a crime against society and it has deprived the property rights of people for no faults of theirs.*

The Congress And The Farmer

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

SOcialism means the abolition of private property in land: does the farmer really approve? India is a land of slogan-mongers. "Socialism" is the latest slogan, which has now become the fashion. From the red-dyed communists to the most reactionary capitalists and landlords, all are talking of socialism. What is socialism? Who is a socialist? What is it that socialism will bring to the people?

TOTAL NATIONALISATION

So far as the Congress is concerned, it has made quite clear that by socialism it means nationalising the whole private sector completely, step by step, till nothing remains to be nationalised. In other words, Congress has now decided to abandon the Gandhian economy in favour of the socialist economy as practised in Russia, though Pandit Nehru has been making desperate attempts to convince the public that Congress socialism is not a carbon copy of Russian socialism, lest he may offend patriotic sentiment.

It is really tragic that Pandit Nehru and his party are now contemplating the collectivization of agriculture and the introduction of collective farms, managed by the State, in blind imitation of the methods adopted in Stalin's Russia, which led to widespread famine and the massacre of millions of peasant.

Now that the Congress has declared full socialism as its ultimate goal, which means the abolition of private property, including property in land, and has decided to establish collective farms managed by the State, the Congress has no moral right to approach the peasants for votes with the slogan of "land to the tiller".

As the Congress has decided to establish collective farms, the land will be taken from them, as happened

in Russia and China, and the peasants will have to work as paid workers in State farms, not under the landlords but under Congress bureaucrats.

The peasants will be more helpless under the State-managed farms than under landlords. Because, in the former case, they are not subject to any law or regulation of a democratic government, whereas in the latter case, they can seek the help of the State to get their grievances redressed. They cannot raise their voice against the government in the former case, because if they do they will be liquidated.

Experience has shown that collective farming is disliked by farmers and results in lower production. The Congress campaign for collective farming must be opposed as a dangerous first step towards the totalitarian collective farm system. The authors of the Second Five Year Plan have already said that over a period of ten years, all agricultural lands will be cultivated "on co-operative lines".

THE PROPERTY INSTINCT

Every human being is imbued with a sense of ownership, and the sense of property is so deep rooted in the psychology of the peasant and his attachment to land is so strong that any introduction of Stalin's collective farm system will arouse the profound hostility of peasants, and like the Russian peasants they will resist any attempt to deprive them of their lands tooth and nail and with all their might. Co-operative farming can be introduced only by coercion, which must necessarily reduce production.

"The very fact that at every succession a joint family holding, which is a natural co-operative, is sub-divided among descendants is enough proof of the
(Continued on page 8)

A Non-violent 'Purge' of the Sturdy Yeoman

By M. A. Venkata Rao

THE Second Five Year Plan and the revised industrial policy declaration of 1956 take the country a long stage forward towards the realisation of socialism of the Marxist variety. Its pattern of priority to heavy industries and of retardation of consumer goods industries largely in private hands, carrying deficit financing to unheard of levels distorts the economy to resemble that of Russia and China. The Second Plan, reinforced by the failure of agricultural production to maintain its initial tempo, more due to timely rains than to administrative efforts, has now come to include a new stress on "Land Reforms". The Centre has urged the States to go through with the "land Reforms" already laid down in the first Plan. No one had paid any attention to the agricultural policies laid down in the Planning Commission's two Reports of 1951 and 1956. Today Legislative committee reports or State Bills are pending before the State legislatures and confronting the world of agriculturists. They find that the so-called reforms are no reforms in any dictionary or normal sense. *They constitute a revolution on a class-war basis!* They coolly propose the non-violent, legislative *expropriation* (nothing less) of the middle and rich peasants by mobilising the greed of the landless worker, the small tenant and the small-holder. They promise land to the utterly landless, ownership to tenants and confirmation of ownership to small-holders, if not a small addition to their holdings.

A NON-VIOLENT PURGE

— The large mass of rural voters at the bottom of the economic scale and social strata, the Commission proposes, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, to impose arbitrary ceilings on land holdings or ownerships. The lands above these ceilings thus released are to be divided among the landless workers and small-holders. The tenants cultivating other

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impracticability of joint farming. Then how can one expect a large number of unrelated families to pool their holdings together and cultivate them jointly? asks the Indian Co-operative Union in a report recently submitted to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Planning Commission.

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. The co-operative movement must be encouraged only in the region of marketing, distribution, exchange, banking, and in the ownership of expensive machinery, but not in cultivation. The so-called land reforms are a clever ruse "to liquidate" the sturdy, independent property-owning peasant class in the country.

people's lands will be declared to be *owners* of the lands they cultivate, and of the lands given to them out of the deprivation of the owners resulting from the fixation of ceilings. Even within the ceiling area, the owner will be able to resume only an extent called the "family holding" for personal cultivation, on condition that he resides on or near his fields. On a day declared as Tiller Day, there will be a large-scale division and re-allotment of land ownership rights. The result will be the elimination of rich and middle peasants from the countryside, further division and fragmentation of land holdings and a great decrease in the number of educated agriculturist families from the country, able to provide some capital for improved agriculture. *Land, as a career and way of life, will disappear from the horizon of a large number of well-to-do farmers.* In fact, perhaps, a "non-violent" purge of middle-class farmers is proposed.

CONFISCATORY METHODS

To achieve the policy of "land to the landless" a number of changes in the property rights of Landholders have been introduced in recent legislation, as if they were all obvious, axiomatic and *called for* by the necessity of progressive agriculture. But no one has justified these confiscatory ideas on *economic* grounds. They have been taken on the other hand bodily from communist dogmas posing as "scientific". Far from being scientific, they are only *Marxist* and compact of Marxist fanaticism.

One of these tamperings of the property rights is the declaration of the so-called *right of the tenant* to purchase the land he cultivates on lease from his landlord. So far, the rent was largely determined by custom with slight alterations due to widespread changes in the market prices of grains and cash crops over wide regions. Today the climate of communist ideology has so penetrated the official intelligentsia that the Planning Commission has recommended, and the States Governments and legislatures have passed into law, the principle of *arbitrary fixation of rents and terms of tenure*. From the usual rates of 40 or 50 per cent of gross produce rents have been reduced by legislative intervention in many States to twenty or twenty-five per cent of the gross produce, owner paying taxes and paying for seeds and manure. Many States have also guaranteed tenures of 5 years and more to tenants. They have also been strengthened by prohibiting eviction by their landlords. They are also given or promised ownership of their tenancy lands robbing the owners for the purpose. The idea of effecting such transfer *not at market rates*, but at State-fixed prices of 10, 15 or 20 times the rent, minus taxes has also been proclaimed and incorporated in many State Bills or legislative committee reports. This is another substantial whittling away of the property rights of the landowner. The theory behind all these

strange measures is that they are necessary for eliminating the "intermediary" between the tiller and the State. This word is another of the ambiguous terms in communist double-talk. The Zamindars might be called with some show of justice some sort of intermediary. But the landowner is *not such* an artificially created *intermediary* drawing his rights from Warren Hastings or Cornwallis. He has acquired his ancestor's or predecessor's lands by open and free purchase at high market prices out of savings. To give him forced low prices now is to *liquidate* a large part of his legitimate property, for which act of *Vandalism* there is no excuse. Yet this robbery has come to wear the mantle of fairness, equity and morality to the imagination of intellectuals owing to the sinister ambiguity of the word "intermediary".

Political intermediaries like *Jagirdars* may have no function in the economy and may deserve to be eliminated. But this does not apply to *economic intermediaries* emerging from free contract and the exchange of saved capital for land from similar previous owners. This is part of the communist doctrine that all *capital* is the product of labour and that it is only labour that is the creator of wealth or economic value. The State and its entire economy should belong to labour, and labour alone, is the natural conclusion of Marxist communism. This is innocently absorbed as a sponge absorbs water by the planners and officialdom, presumably because of the overpowering prestige of Mr. Nehru and of Soviet Russia.

THE SOUTH MOBILIZES

It is against this background that we have to understand and appraise the value of the "Land Reforms" now on the point of being hurried through the Southern State legislatures, with the Central Government, the Congress High Command and the Planning Commission goading them on, whip in hand. It is an extra-ordinary spectacle for an enlightened democracy, led by world famous persons with a long record of high-minded patriotism and noble sacrifice. They are forcing the country to accept *without examination*, the bloody and exploded fallacies of the communist experiment, in spite of its catastrophic failure in achieving freedom, equality and prosperity for all.

To realise the utter unreality and the totally uncalled for nature of the proposals, now being thrust on the landowning class in the name of "land reform", it is necessary to remind ourselves of the agricultural situation in the country. The bed-rock situation in agriculture has been for generations now that methods of production are primitive and output is insufficient for the large and growing population. The nature and distribution of land among holders is an additional cause for low production. The large majority of holdings are small, consisting of 2 or 3 acres on the average. The middle farmers are few and rich farmers still fewer. The number of farmers capable of savings and withstanding the losses caused by the vagaries of the weather is extremely small relatively to the numbers of poor and resourceless small farmers. The Hindu social laws of inheritance of property *equally* among all the sons has contributed generation by generation to the process of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings.

It would appear to any fair-minded student of our agriculture (aware of these real reasons for its primitive nature) that the first reform that it needs is

the consolidation of holdings into economic units, and the prevention of further sub-division of these optimum-size farms, by the introduction of suitable legislation altering the traditional laws of succession. Unit holdings should pass from father to sons and from seller to buyer intact without sub-division. One of the sons or successors should inherit the property intact with the other claimants being paid their shares in cash or forms of property other than land such as houses, jewellery, industrial shares or loan bonds to be discharged by the land-successor in course of times. Minima of such economic holdings should be legally enforced and not the maxima or ceilings as is proposed by our reformers of the "Socialist Pattern of Society." Successful farmers will have an *open horizon* with incentives to increase their holdings. The aim should be to facilitate the gradual emergence of a rural society of *peasant proprietors*, the *smallest* of whom will have a holding capable of yielding an income equal to that of *middle class urban incomes*. The ceilings now in force in many States, such as the Punjab and Hyderabad, range from 35 to 50 acres or 30 "standard acres" to use the term coined by the Planning Commission. The Jetty Committee of Mysore, whose report is now on the legislative anvil, proposes ceilings on holdings, the *largest* permissible unit yielding an income of Rs. 450 per month for a family of five. According to the ceilings proposed (and in force in some States) no peasant can look forward to an income more than that of a second class officer *i.e.* Rs. 450 per month! Gone is ambition from the vast country-side to make agriculture a way of life! Gone is the hope of increasing holdings through savings and good husbandry! Gone is the possibility of ever increasing application of scientific methods, which requires adequate and growing capital resources! The farmer class will henceforth consist of poor, dispirited families—all intelligent, educated people capable of using land effectively, leaving rural life as urban opportunities offer. Instead of attracting ability and ambition to landed pursuits, our "reforms" are driving them to towns! They are accelerating the centuries-old process of the degeneration of rural life. In Indian society intellectual and moral leadership was associated for ages with rural life by way of *ashramas* and *agraharams* in the interior far from the madding crowd.

REDUCING STURDY FARMERS TO SERFDOM

Another political consequence of these reforms is the perpetual subordination of farmers to urban, industrial or commercial leadership, to city favourites of the ruling class holding lucrative quotas and licences and owning houses and sites, shops and factories. For, farmers with such an artificial limitation of economic growth cannot afford hereafter election expenses running from the permissible amount of Rs. 25,000 to illicit levels in the neighbourhood of a lakh of rupees.

This is from the long range point of view. The "reforms" are no more delectable from the immediate angle of increased production so necessary today. Enhanced production is vital to finance our ambitious five year plans of forced industrialisation out of agricultural surplus. Expansion of production in food grains and commercial crops (industrial raw materials such as cotton and wool, oil seeds and jute) are necessary no less for our normal needs of food and

up-keep of industry, apart from progress in industrialisation and international trade.

FALL IN PRODUCTION WILL RESULT

But these ceilings and transfers of ownership to tenants will chop off the not-so-tall poppies among farmers and effect a colossal process of further fragmentation. For the new units will *all be smaller than 30 acres owned* by erstwhile tenants, say 5 to 8 acres. For no owner cultivator can cultivate through family labour more than 5 to 8 acres and such acreage is not capable of any capital accumulation worth mention. They will not be able to use modern implements and methods. Also, the class of agricultural labourers only slightly larger in numbers than small-holders will also have become landowners, if the slogan of "land to the tiller" is carried out with substantial success. The numbers of casual or permanent labour will have to depend only on their own family for all work on the land. Prospects of successful use of larger units will vanish from the perview of tillers. The result will be a catastrophic fall in production in the coming years ushering in, one fears, a vast country-wide famine on the scale of the war-time Bengal famine. The responsibility for such an eventuality (as for the colossal displacement of a hundred lakhs of innocent people during the Partition) will fall squarely on the ruling Chief and his Party.

THE REMEDY

All sane students of the agricultural situation in India had recognised long ago that the first remedy for its primitiveness was to draw away surplus population from pressing on the land. This should be done naturally by a planned *location of new industries*, small and big ginning factories, fruit industries, spinning mills, repair workshops etc.) in a systematic way at short distance throughout the rural interior of the vast country. Coupled with this is a plan of enabling capable farmers to increase their holdings through the provision of cheap co-operative-cum-Government or bank advances. Today we hear much talk of co-operative methods for credit and other facilities. But the vastly increased fragmentation that will result from the present reforms will effectively diminish the numbers of farmers capable of taking shares in co-operative societies. The capital of such societies will not be able to finance the vastly greater scale of progress in quality and quantity. Their meagre incomes, (subject to the vagaries of the weather as their occupation is) will not make them any the more capable of prompt repayment of loans taken from co-operative societies. They will, as hitherto, always fall into arrears and *remain there* until the bulk of rural advances are written off. The only way of making small peasants more credit-worthy is to afford them facilities for acquiring larger holdings until an *optimum* comes into their possession. An economic optimum is an extent of holding that enables its owner to obtain from it the largest production it is inherently capable of through nature and art. Such a holding in present conditions would be in the neighbourhood of 300 acres on an average. But the "economic" holding that the reformers have in view is a *basic minimum* yielding the income of a servant family of five persons—namely an income of about Rs. 400 *per year*! It is such a spurious double-talk "economic" holding that is proposed to be given to the landless by fixing ridiculously low ceilings and depriving middle farmers of lands above these limits!

Also, according to the reformers, "economic" cum-basic holdings constitute a family holding. Even land-owners having less than the ceiling are prevented from resuming the whole of their holding for personal cultivation. For this would dispossess their tenants and this is contrary to the will of the reformers. Small holders are permitted to resume only to the extent of three basic holdings yielding an income of Rs. 1,200 *per year* for personal cultivation. The rest of his legitimately acquired and rightfully held land should remain in the hands of tenants, who are granted practically full rights of ownership. Further, customary and free contract rents are reduced arbitrarily to about 20 per cent of gross produce less taxes, which reduces rents to one-third of old rates. The number of middle class and lower middle class families that will be pauperised is colossal. The tragedy and displacement will be country-wide and will throw gloom and despair over extents of population far larger than those displaced by the Partition. This is non-violent civil war or class-war communism, which according to Nehruji is acceptable, necessary and progressive! The stark "materialism" of this cold-blooded destruction of the foundations of social order is supposed to lead to progress!

ROBBERY DOUBLY "SANCTIFIED"

Further, the rates of compensation offered to such liquidated landowners range from 10 to 20 times the rent minus taxes, which entails a reduction in prices roughly to one-tenth of market rates! No one is concerned with the fairness and hardship of such "reforms" amounting to robbery sanctified by Nehruji's dictate and by Vinobaji's dharma! To add insult to injury or ghoulish irony as a "balm" to the lacerated hearts of the dispossessed millions is the postponement of cash payment to 15 to 20 years and the generous (callous) offer of Government loan bonds bearing interest at 3% per annum. This is the pitiful income in view of their rent returns on which they have to rehabilitate themselves while finding or creating new jobs! Is it any wonder that the *new refugees* will find it easier to swallow their resentment and fawn on the new class of politicians in power for jobs or quotas or licences? Is it any wonder that with this enormous accession of dependents on their bounty, the dictatorial hold of government and ruling party hold on the population should experience a catastrophic increase spelling a great filip to communism-like Statism?

THE RIGHT WAY

The straight and simple remedy would have been the provision of new occupations in the country-side, both occasional and permanent, to draw off the pressure on the land. To prevent exploitation of tenants, fair rents and reasonable security of tenure, without hamstringing the constructive liberty of landowners, could have met the needs of the case. Prevention of further sub-division and encouragement to landowners to increase their holdings and the new rich to acquire optimum holdings giving maximum yields to investment of capital and use of modern implements and methods would have resulted in starting Indian agriculture (without chaos) on the road to rapid progress.

Even "land to the landless" could be given out of
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Agonies Of Hindu Refugees And Pak Hatred

By K. D. Valicha

HINDU civilization, historically, has had one re-current foe in the Islamic world. A cursory reading of history will clearly reveal this important lesson. The cultural relations between the Hindu and the Muslim have always been one of antagonism and hatred.

The period of crime and bloodshed on an unimaginable scale that was a grotesque phenomenon under Muslim rule in India and the appalling fate of the Pakistani Hindu refugees today, at the hands of fanatical Muslims (smug and complacent in all their crimes in the belief that they were justified in the name of Islam) are standing instances of the working of the Muslim mind. A violent intolerance of the Hindu is what has been distinctly characteristic of the average Muslim mind.

It is in this light, that Nehru's foolhardy attempt to convert and win over Pakistan Muslims as friends appears against the entire tide of past history. The treachery of Sheikh Abdullah, the recent desertion of G. M. Sadiq and the private quarrels between him and Bakshi Mohamed are pointed instances of the working of the Muslim mind. The average Muslim's lust for autocracy, power and loot are historical facts.

EXODUS FROM EAST PAKISTAN

East Pakistan continues to harass the Hindu population there. The exodus of refugees from East Pakistan has now become a permanent feature. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in its leading article, makes the following observations:

"If one wants to see hell on earth — but who wants? — one has only to go to Sealdah railway station. We have heard it said that the refugees who have made Sealdah station their 'home' are mostly deserters from camps and colonies and as such, they could be allowed to stew in their own juice. This is dangerous plea for inaction. Even criminals lodged in jails, after re-

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the enormous area of cultivable waste. There are millions of acres of virgin land along the foothills of the Himalayas, in Dandakaranya, along the Western Coast and other areas. Millions of acres can be reclaimed in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Let the Government provide facilities for settling the landless endowed with an adventurous spirit in such areas. It is only then that they can justifiably propose ceilings and convert tenants into owners etc. A standard of efficiency can be laid down and all assistance could be given to landlords and tenants to reach it at the cost of temporary acquisition in case of failure.

The examples of British and Danish agriculture show how such ideas could be successfully applied and production increased at phenomenal rates without the ill-starred measures of class war techniques, although non-violent in form and with a show of legality.

gular trial, are provided by the community with minimum creature comforts.

"If these Sealdah station refugees are a standing advertisement of the fate that awaits the intending migrants from East Pakistan, they are also a standing indictment of the incompetence, if not the heartlessness, of the Government and the people of this State. In spite of Sealdah and its shocking sights, refugees from East Pakistan continue to pour in."

According to published reports, about 75 per cent of the West Bengal Government's refugee relief and rehabilitation budget for the year (1957-58) remains unspent. On coming out of Ahmednagar Fort, Mr. Nehru ascribed the Bengal Famine of 1943 with its appalling mortality figure to "paralysis of the administration and deadening of the social conscience." In the eleventh year of independence, Sealdah continues to present a sight reminiscent of the worst days of the 1943 Famine.

This is the sordid plight of the Pakistani refugees. And this also is the indifferent attitude of the Indian Government towards it. The biting truth is that our own Government has become disinterested in our plight.

RIGHT OF W. PAK REFUGEES

Worse than this is the condition of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Bannu, Sialkot, Multan, Rawalpindi and Peshawar, numbering 835, who are living in the Lahore D. A. V. College camp under starvation conditions. Migration certificates issued by the Indian High Commission in Lahore are not honoured, and no person, unless he has a no-objection certificate from the Pakistan police, could cross the Indo-Pakistan border.

Furthermore, the camp having been closed by the Indian Government, on November 1, the ration facilities provided by the Indian Commission have also been withdrawn. The refugees, who include women and children, have sold almost all their belongings. They cannot find work outside as wherever they go the police touts make false cases of theft, etc., against them and prosecute them. This is how the authorities "help" its refugee population!

It is only natural that one should expect the Government of India to do everything possible under the circumstances to help them or, at least, to give them ration facilities until they could migrate. It is time the Indian Government realized the truth that it is impossible for a Hindu to live in Pakistan without conversion. The conditions of these refugees are deplorable in the extreme; they are living huddled together like cattle in 68 rooms. How long can this misery go on — a misery that is caused solely by Muslim mania of hatred for the Hindus?

Pakistan is now stepping up her defence forces. 56 per cent of Pakistan revenues which amount Rs. 81 crores for the year 1958-59 have now been sanctioned. This does not take into account the enormous American defence and civil aid that Pakistan receives from

the U.S.A. Though the financial conditions continue to remain unsound, and inflationary tendencies are now accentuated, the Pakistan Air Force has made considerable progress and now is able to handle new, more complex and faster aircraft received under the U. S. military aid programme. The Navy, too, has made enormous progress. One cruiser and two modern destroyers have recently been added to it. Construction and installation work in an ordnance factory are nearing completion.

The economic condition is deteriorating. Already there are suggestions flying about for deficit financing, and the Plan outlay for the next year has been reduced to Rs. 145 crores as against Rs. 177 crores suggested by the National Economic Council and Rs. 200 crores fixed earlier by the Planning Board. There is continued danger of drain on the foreign exchange resources by imports of food. During the last three years, over two million tons of food grains valued at Rs. 110 crores have been imported. Of this Rs. 65 crores constitute foreign aid. It is clear that if raw material prices—which show a gradual and developing imbalance in trade are not stabilized, Pakistan will be facing a serious economic crisis.

To this is added the constant and unceasing cries of *jihad* which spring basically from the dissatisfaction of the masses. The masses are more than fed-up with the unemployment crisis, the corruption at the top, the favouritism, the slum and stink, the hectic change in government every now and then, and a score of such other maladies.

Taking into account these three factors—the dissatisfaction of the masses, the developing military and navy forces and the tottering economy—the only sane conclusion that one can come to is that the Indian nation stands in constant threat and fear of Pakistan. For the cementing link that binds the Pakistani rulers and the Pakistani people is their Islamic fanaticism reinforced by their hatred of Hindus. This reinforced “concrete” is the strongest force that sustains Pakistan and will any day make them take the mad plunge of attacking India. It has happened in the past with Islamic hordes of Central Asia and nothing prevents Pakistani hordes to follow in their footsteps.

The only solution to such a vexing situation is the one which is plain and simple: *India Must Militarize*. Forewarned is fore-armed.

The Question Mark In Pakistan

By George Leather

THE essential thing to remember about Pakistan is that we did not begin with nothing, but with less than nothing. I had been in Karachi only a few hours when I heard this comment from a young journalist, and for the next two months I was to hear it over and over again until it seemed to assume the proportions of a national *cri de coeur*.

At least it is a statement of fact, for the partition of 1947 left Pakistan with by far the poorer share of the cake. She had many valuable raw materials, but the factories were too often on the wrong side of the frontier. She had plenty of jute, for example, without a single jute mill; considerable wood pulp, but no paper mills; and a similar situation applied to cotton, sugar, and wool. India had the best sea-ports in Calcutta and Bombay, whereas Pakistan had to make do with Karachi (which was poorly equipped) and Chittagong (which was worse). India had the steel works and the coalfields; and, in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, she had the traditional administrative and commercial centres of British India. Karachi, on the other hand, became a capital city overnight, without adequate accommodation or equipment. ‘I started my office,’ a civil servant told me, ‘without a typewriter or even a pin.’ He might have added that the majority of his colleagues were badly trained and seriously under-educated, for when Pakistan lost her Hindu and Sikh populations she also lost thousands of those men who had formed an educated middle-class—the teachers, technicians and administrators. But the biggest single obstacle placed in the way of Pakistan’s development by the partition line was the division of the country into an east and a west wing, giving her two populations with little in common ex-

cept the religion of Islam, which was assumed to justify their shared nationality.

THE LEGACY OF PARTITION

All this is the legacy of partition. Yet it is only part of that ‘less than nothing,’ for Pakistan inherited a second sad legacy (this time one which she shared with India)—that of British rule. In the words of a young works-manager in Karachi: ‘Most of what is now Pakistan was of purely military or economic interest to you so you didn’t care about its industrial or social development. You treated East Bengal as a granary for your business men in Calcutta, and the northern part of what is now West Pakistan was merely a base for your troops facing the North-west Frontier.’ True indeed, and the visitor continues to stumble upon detailed evidence of it.

Certainly Pakistan has done much for herself in the past ten years: six times as many looms and spindles in her cotton mills as in 1947; 13 jute mills, three paper mills and three woollen mills; five sugar refineries instead of one, some of the most spectacular instances of land reclamation in the world; developments, too, in education. Today Pakistan has nearly 50,000 primary schools and 8,000 secondary schools. She has built three new universities. There are new hydro-electric schemes, new hospitals, and new industrial estates. There are new housing schemes, new transport developments, and much improvement to the harbours at Karachi and Chittagong. Natural gas has been tapped and used for industrial purposes.

I remember a day spent in an agricultural college in the Punjab, where groups of eager young men were

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IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE

(Contributed)

LIBERTARIANS have never supported the view that the people of the Nation as individuals, or the Nation as a whole should spend more than they earn. We all know that as individuals if we spend more than we earn we go bankrupt. We fail to meet our obligations. We all become defaulters. Bankruptcy is a highly unsatisfactory condition. Nations can go bankrupt as well as individuals, but unfortunately Nations can disguise their bankruptcy for a longer time than individuals. They can disguise their bankruptcy by printing more and more paper notes and increased taxation.

Contemplate for a moment how easy it is for a nation to print notes. A few machines can print notes to the nominal value of thousands of millions of Rupees in a few hours. We say nominal value because one has to think only for a fraction of a minute to realise that notes can be printed in so short a time as to make it quite impossible for any similar value of goods to be produced in that same period.

HOW INFLATION STARTS

The notes can be printed, but there will be no true value behind them except the fractional value of the paper on which they are printed. As more and more of the notes are printed the price of everything rises. There is a ceaseless struggle on the part of most sections of the community to get more of the notes in the form of wages, so that they can keep up with the price rise. They do not succeed for long in catching up, and as the volume of paper money mounts, so the rate of the price rise accelerates and almost before the increased wages are paid, the rise in prices overtakes the wage rise.

Do you think this is a serious thing? We Libertarians think it is terribly serious. It is serious for many reasons. It completely undermines all the social services. It becomes impossible to build hospitals and schools, and clinics. It becomes impossible to buy the equipment for them. It becomes impossible to give adequate pay to the people who look after those services. The collapse of the currency would mean that all money invested in National Savings, all money invested in Government securities, large amounts invested in building societies, and all pensions would become valueless. The collapse of the currency would mean that other people all over the world would refuse to take our money in exchange for their productions and our factories would close down because of the absence of sufficient raw materials. Vast numbers of people would be out of employment.

Is that an exaggeration? It is not. Libertarians recognise the desperate nature of this condition. They recognise that the Indian people have to choose between two courses; one from which they can recover; the other from which there can be no recovery except on the basis of an impoverished peasantry with no social services.

To save the Rupee, Government expenditure on many most desirable things has to be heavily cut; conscription has to be abolished and every Government service has to be conducted with the greatest care and economy. Moreover, the people have to decide to do more things for themselves.

The people have to decide to spend more of their money on the things they want, rather than pay officials to spend their money for them on things that officials think they ought to have.

That is one key to the situation. In order to retain those services that are more vital, people have to provide out of their own money more for those services which they individually decide that they want.

WHERE STAND LIBERTARIANS

It might be said that other political parties if they realised the desperate state of our affairs, might make similar proposals. The difference between us, Libertarians, and the Congress or Socialist Parties is that whilst vigorous economies may become recognised as essential by the other Parties, Libertarians contend that the position of the poor must be ameliorated.

That can only be done in the circumstances with which we are confronted by allowing the people to make their money go further by permitting complete free imports of all materials. We say the taxes on imports and the quotas and restrictions on them must go. Rigorous economy, plus restoring to the people the right to buy more goods, without adding to the mountain of paper and taxes and the collapse of the Rupee will be stopped. People all over the world will be willing to accept our money and the new conditions will provide the basis for recovery and advance in our affairs.

Free imports are the vital second key. Neither Congress nor Socialists approve that policy. It is exclusively Libertarian. Lenin once said that the way for communists to smash the Capitalist economic system was to smash our currency and to make it worthless. Are you going to let this happen? *Ten thousand Rupees of paper money a week is no good if it does not buy anything.*

The Hard Road to Humanism

Taking into consideration these trends of thought, social, ethical, philosophical and religious, the road that humanism has to travel is not an easy one. There are evil and selfish communities and organisations, greedy and aggressive forces for power and domination to be conquered, and in Einstein's words, "Human nature must change, malice, hatred and violence should give place to understanding and good will."

Humanists are confident that the way will be
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Puerile Economics And Sinister Politics

LIKE other corporate bodies, chambers of commerce have their proper pride. The outsider does well to squeeze the water of rhetoric out of their boastings as benefactors of humanity, but no doubt when he has done so a residue of truth remains.

At any rate, the Indian Merchant's Chamber of Bombay, the first Indian chamber of commerce, founded to contest the foreign domination of Indian trade, thought the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment an occasion of such national significances as to warrant the presence of the Prime Minister. He accepted the invitation, and arrived in time by plane from Jaipur, where, according to press reports, he had made four public speeches in the course of the previous day.

A little-noticed benefit of the P.M.'s habit of non-stop speech-making is that he has no time to disguise his thoughts. If he has no ideas on a given subject, the fact becomes plain when he has to speak on it and has left neither himself nor his staff time to prepare. If he has some ideas, however crude or offensive to his hearers they may be, they come blundering forth, devoid of conventional covering.

In this instance, he was doubtless glad to let himself go, for he has always regarded the business class as enemies of the country. Finding himself in their

very citadel, on an occasion which in their naivete they had thought would be one of rejoicing, he just trampled on them.

They were no longer to be allowed to accumulate, he said, even for reinvestment. The pattern of taxation established in last year's budget is permanent. It is intended not merely to raise funds for the Plan, but to alter the social structure, to solve the "problem of the accumulation of wealth." This new pattern of taxation, he informed his hearers, was introduced on his personal initiative. The Finance Minister had merely carried out his instructions, and had done so very well.

This is the pattern of taxation which is generally admitted to be the heaviest in the world, and has been denounced by our foremost economic authorities as "fantastic." Though it has been in force only a short time, it has already brought the new capital market to a standstill, and if it continues it will obviously destroy the whole private sector above the level of petty shopkeeping.

The P.M. in the same speech said he realised the advantages of enterprising private business. How he would reconcile this with his avowed intention of preventing accumulation even for reinvestment is quite a problem.

This taxation not only inhibits all Indian enterprise. It prevents foreign entrepreneurs from bringing their capital and technical knowledge to India. The need for foreign help is universally admitted, and is not denied by the P.M. himself. Yet the taxes for which he is solely responsible prevent foreign help from coming.

ARE PLANNERS PRODUCTIVE?

During the speech he made another remark which reveals the undergraduate level of his thinking. He denounced the Bombay Stock Exchange as "unproductive." Do the members of the Planning Commission spin thread or hammer in nails?

Actually the planning commission in the socialist economy performs exactly the same function as the stock exchange in the free economy, with the important difference that the stock exchange directs investment into the production of those goods which the public want to consume, whereas the planning commission directs investment into the production of those goods which the economic dictator needs in order to boost his power and the prestige of his regime.

The P.M. directed attention to a real difficulty in the modern free institutions. This is the popular demand, pressed through the electoral machinery, for larger real incomes than the economy can afford, and for the levelling down of the higher income groups. These demands generally take the form of a socialist slogan, in the unfounded belief that the socialist type of economy raises real income and decreases inequality.

But, however, helpless others may be before these passionate popular fallacies, there is no need for a man of the unique public influence of the Indian Prime Minister to acquiesce in them. It is his foremost duty to point out to the ignorant millions who worship him that they cannot get anything for nothing, that if

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cleared of hostile forces, probably by unexpected events and unforeseen circumstances, so that free men and men of goodwill and clear vision may come forward and solve beguiling basic problems and release the deeper emotions and channel them socially. They will produce a life pattern that will unite and give purpose to a disorganised generation and weave into a whole the physical and the spiritual, the sacred and the secular, and satisfy the deepest desire of humanity.

AN OPTIMISTIC FAITH

To quote Dr. Radhakrishnan again, "The challenge of the times is how far the opportunities provided by science can be utilized for the betterment of man. The problem facing us today is not a problem of science and technology; science and technology have achieved wonders. The problem facing us is the problem of how man will be able to utilize these opportunities for the betterment of humanity. Because people are not inclined to establish an order of justice and equality there is fear regarding the future of humanity. Man has not been loyal to the ideals which he professes. He has betrayed his ideals and has now found himself in an unfortunate position."

Humanists hope that the future can grow out of the present in a way to preserve all the good the past has held and that a social design on a humanistic basis will be made real by people whose sole aim and motive is human well-being. Believing as they do in the fundamental integrity of man, in the power of his intelligence motivated by love for humanity, they look with confidence to "the glow of the rising sun on a grand new humanistic world."

(A talk to the Rotary Club at Kolar Gold Fields)

they think socialism will improve their position they are mistaken, that socialism does not abolish inequality, that welfarist capitalism does that job better, that democratic socialism lowers incomes all round because it deprives everybody of his incentive to work, and that socialism can be made reasonably efficient only by resort to wholesale terror.

The most ominous, however, of the sentiments which the P.M. blurted out to a no doubt astonished Chamber was that concerning liberty. Hitherto, to do him justice, his feelings on this point have seemed to be sensible. However incompatible, in the long run, with his actual economic policy, his desire has seemed to be to preserve our constitutional liberties.

THE P. M. AND LIBERTY

Now at the Bombay Merchants' Chamber he has said bluntly that it is of no use for anybody to put forward the plea that individual freedom is sacred even if poverty continues. "I say no individual freedom at the cost of misery and poverty."

These are the accents of Stalin and Mao. It is in fact the one plausible and seemingly respectable argument that the dictators can advance to defend their barbarous practices. It is however, only a seemingly respectable argument: they do not believe it. That is proved by the fact that when they have ins-

tituted their dictatorships they do not use them to abolish poverty. Stalin did nothing whatever to abolish poverty, which remained as acute at the end of his twenty-five years of terror as it was at the start. They use it to increase their military power.

There is perhaps no absolute necessity that dictatorship should be so misused. It is possible that Pandit Nehru, if he becomes finally convinced that the abolition of poverty requires the abolition of liberty, will continue to plan and work for the abolition of poverty. But clearly there is some risk that he will after all take the path of the other dictators—it will be very tempting to go down in history as the sole author of the first Indian sputnik, or whatever is by that time the accepted and expensive symbol of national greatness—and if he does so, having first abolished the citizen's liberties, there will be nobody to raise a protest.

We do not know which to deplore more in this speech, its sinister politics or its puerile economics. At any rate the business community of Bombay have no excuse if they continue to cherish the illusion that under the present ruling party they can hope to carry on their accustomed activities. Surely it is time that responsible men begin thinking seriously of an alternative to the Congress.

—Mysindia

The Congress Is Cheating The Common Man

Where Libertarian Philosophy Shows the Way

WE, Libertarians, believe it to be important that ownership of property should be widely spread among the people. There are grave dangers in the concentration of ownership and the concentration of economic power that accompanies it.

There are several kinds of ownership. One can own a share in a company. The provision of capital by that means provides plant and equipment for the employment of vast numbers of people. It is a convenient and valuable form of ownership.

Nevertheless, it only permits the main body of shareholders a very limited say in the conduct of the business. It carries with it no responsibility.

Another form of ownership is that through partnership schemes. Some of these schemes have been very successful. A majority of Indians are in favour of co-ownership though many are not in favour of compulsory enforcement.

Such schemes, however, only provide a limited form of ownership. The participants might in some circumstances delegate the task of conducting a business to a group of their co-partners but individually they cannot control. They have no individual responsibility.

LIBERTARIANS AND OWNERSHIP

The form of ownership which all Libertarians agree is of the utmost importance is that by which individuals own their own businesses; take their own decisions and accept their own responsibilities.

From that form of ownership many things naturally follow. The man who owns a business must have a

sense of responsibility. Its profitability depends on his own conduct. In seeing that his own conduct affects the success or otherwise of his business he takes care to see that the conduct of all the members of his family is equally such as to bring no discredit on his affairs. Thus in every sense ownership of that kind is manifestly desirable.

Libertarians believe that the effect on the health of public opinion resulting from the loss of vast numbers of master men is a matter of the utmost consequence. We are convinced that if this decline in the number of independent traders continues, it will now lead on rapidly to the Totalitarian State. It is a grave situation.

PRACTICE DIVORCED FROM PREACHING

Congressmen say that they stand for property-owning democracy. The policies they pursue do not buttress that good intention. On the contrary they support the policy of protection for privileged industries. That policy taxes imports and only lightly taxes exports and is a primary cause of industrial concentration.

In contrast, while Libertarians are in favour of all businesses being allowed to grow as big as the men engaged in them can make them, they insist that the ability of men to promote the growth of their business should be subject always to the existence of a free market. When Britain allowed imports freely to enter the country the small man was enabled to use his

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KERALA "REDS" DO A BIT OF HEART-SEARCHING

CALICUT: Shri M. N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala State Communist Party, told a press conference here this morning that the main weakness of the Kerala Ministry was its failure to improve the efficiency of the administrative machinery.

The general feeling at the party conference, including the Ministers, he said was that they had not been able to tone up the administrative machinery.

It was hoped, however, that as soon as the work of the Administrative Reforms Committee was over, they would be able to deal with the problem in a better way. The immediate task of the Ministry is to mobilise public opinion in favour of the Land Relations Bill, and they, naturally, expect support even from the Oppositions, he added.

The conference discussed the organisational resolutions of the Central Committee of the party, which had suggested certain amendments to the Constitution itself.

The general sense of the conference was to accept the changes suggested in the Constitution. These, in the main, sought the organisation of the party on the basis of branches instead of cells, to have a national council consisting of 100 members meeting at least twice a year and a smaller committee called the executive body having 21 members. Similarly, there would be changes in the constitution of the committee at the State and district levels.

The Communist Party had always been holding the view that the present land relationship was a hindrance to agricultural production. Therefore, the changes of the existing land relations through legislation on one side and on the other the attempt to increase agricultural production were accepted as the main task.

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ingenuity in buying goods cheaply from abroad. He could also buy more expensive goods of great variety. Thus he was in a position to compete by price, quality and variety against his fellows. It was this competition of small traders that limited the size of many businesses and kept monopolies and price rings in check.

HOW THE SMALL MAN IS CHEATED

Since the growth of Congress protectionist policy the small trader has been deprived of the one weapon which he might use for his own survival—untaxed, varied and cheap imports. Because of the limitation of imports, firms with larger resources have been able to secure mass production tie-ups with specialised manufacturers, which have been quite outside the ability of smaller people. Thus thousands of small people have been forced out.

We, Libertarians say, that this represents a menace to the Indian people. The only way to reverse this trend is to eliminate the conditions which have permitted it to take place—the policy of expansion of public sector—and to restore the private sector and the policy of Free Trade. That is the way to re-spread the ownership. That is unchallengeable Libertarian policy.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

Kremlin Stoops To Conquer Karachi Pakistan's Second Thought About West

The *New York Times* writes:—

Russians have come to Pakistan bearing gifts to a commodity-hungry people. Pakistanis are having second thoughts about their alliances with the West.

Currently touring Pakistan as State guests is a delegation led by Ivan A. Benedictov that appears to be the spearhead of a concerted new effort to woo Pakistan. Mr. Benedictov is Agriculture Minister of the Russian Republic, the largest in the Soviet Union.

In a series of speeches, prominently displayed on the front-pages of newspapers, Mr. Benedictov proclaimed that the Soviet Union was prepared "without any strings" to assist Pakistan economically by helping fight food and agricultural problems and by installing, as it has done in India, a new steel mill in a country that at present has none.

For the first time Soviet Embassy personnel are leaving their compound to join clubs and foster helpful social contacts with Pakistanis.

The Russian Minister's statements on agriculture and food have evoked keen interest in Prime Minister Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who is a wealthy landlord and considered an expert on farming. Both men have discussed water-logging, land reclamation and irrigation.

DISPLEASED WITH U.S.A.

The question of steel mill has also been received with great interest here. Last year bitter controversy on whether to have a steel mill nearly split the cabinet because Finance Minister Amiad Ali thought the country could not afford such a project. United States foreign aid officials supported this view. *Their stand has caused dissatisfaction with the United States for failing to assist Pakistan in the project.*

The Russians have stepped up their newspaper and radio propaganda. Since Jan. 1 the Moscow radio has been beaming a special Urdu broadcast to Pakistan. It is estimated that the Soviet Embassy is spending 2,000,000 rupees (\$450,000) a year in advertising and in publications in Pakistan.

SOVIET PROPAGANDA STEPS

Some Urdu, Sindhi and Bengali-language newspapers publish daily as news item pages of Soviet press releases at advertising rates.

The United State, which has spent more than \$500,000,000 in five years' aid to Pakistan is unable to combat this comparatively inexpensive Soviet propaganda effectively.

LARGE NUMBERS OF PAKISTANIS IN WEST BENGAL

Inaugurating the sixth Annual Session of Madhya Pradesh branch of Jana Sangh in Sagar on Feb. 1, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, M.P., urged the Government to refer the issue of East Bengal Hindus to U.N.O. He said the Pakistan Premier Noon was talking of concentration camps like Hitler. He should remember Hitler's fate. He quoted Pandit Nehru as stating that 64,237 Pakistanis had overstayed in West Bengal, and said we must collect full data and be ready, if necessary, to retaliate.

—“ORGANISER”

(Continued from page 12)

applying the latest research to the soil of their country, and I remember a room full of girl medical students in Lahore, their faces eager and preoccupied, quietly dissecting corpses; and I doubt if I shall ever forget the joy on the faces of one group of villagers near Lyallpur as they showed me their own little drainage scheme, which they themselves had conceived and built.

WIDE-SPREAD CYNICISM

Yet I found alongside all this a widespread cynicism in Pakistan, and of a rather desperate kind. Nor is it likely to be extinguished in the near future, for it has too much to feed on—political instability, social insecurity, nepotism and corruption in the public services, religious and communal hysteria, and an attitude to world affairs that remains curiously ambivalent. All this is particularly obvious to the visitor who arrives here from India, for he immediately notices the comparative absence of social enthusiasm in Pakistan, just as he feels instantly depressed at her political confusion. Coming from a country that is both Socialist and secular, he misses the sense of purpose and direction that comes from a common ambition and a national plan, and he very soon begins to wonder whether religion is really a valid basis for nationality in the mid-20th century.

AND THE ISLAMIC LEGACY

Not only has Pakistan failed in ten years to produce a government with a constructive social policy, but she has still to hold her first general election. Instead of two or three political parties, divided by honestly held social principles, she has endured a set of cliques commanded (since the deaths of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan) by mediocrities, whose programmes seem gloriously remote from the realities of life as lived by the 80 million citizens of Pakistan—and especially by the 80 per cent of them who live on the land.

There has been no effective attempt to cancel the consequences of a law of inheritance which causes the break-up of economically workable piece of land into pointlessly tiny units. The war on poverty and ignorance, though impressive in isolated instances, has been haphazard and unco-ordinated. Literacy is still only 20 per cent. The average annual income is even now only £20 per head; and, although ten years is apparently too short a period to merit a general election, it has been long enough for a few opportunists to become industrial millionaires, joining the wealthy landlords on the heights of political influence. The trade unions are small and impotent. The formidable refugee problem remains only partly solved, and many hundreds of thousands of Moslems who fled across the frontier in 1947 still live in squalid shantytowns, a continuous and visible indictment of communal feeling and religious hysteria.

Yet that feeling and that hysteria still remain, underlying the whole of Pakistan's attitude, official and unofficial, to her secular neighbour across the border. *The power of the Moslem Mullahs seems to be as strong as ever in rural areas, a continual obstacle to the development of a progressive spirit; and, despite lip-service to the ideal of women's emancipation, it*

is still a rare thing to see women out in the open in many of the villages. Intelligent Pakistanis can certainly be excused their cynicism when they recall that, although expenditure on defence in the present year will be in the region of 79½m. rupees (more than half the total national expenditure), the amount given to the 'beneficial and social' departments is only 82½m.

It is perhaps too easy for a western visitor to express horror at the extent of nepotism, corruption, and sheer incompetence in the public services, for these phenomena are by no means confined to Pakistan. Moreover, he would be wise to remember that 'less than nothing'. When a junior clerk is promoted overnight to the position of a first secretary, and still receives a salary that is too small to provide him with sufficient food for his family, who can be surprised if he increases that salary by the easiest means open to him?

A CONFUSED FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of his country puts the intelligent Pakistani into a mood of confused dismay. Last November, having for nine years been told that the unity of Islam was all-important, and that India, being persistently anti-Moslem, was his country's greatest enemy, he was startled to see his government being slapped in the face by a Moslem Egypt which at once behaved with the utmost friendliness to the government in Delhi.

Pakistan, whose economy is kept alive by continued injections of dollars—though it seems that even Washington is beginning to get worried at the use to which its money is being put—is inevitably committed to the West. She can hardly be surprised if she is regarded with contempt by Egypt, ridicule by India, and dismayed incomprehension by the rest of Asia. Her economic position compels her to accept aid from the most convenient quarter, and her social confusion forces her to reaffirm over and over again the one fact that can justify her existence and unite her people—her Islamic faith. *The Kashmir problem is extremely convenient in this context, and it is useful to pretend that the 40 million Moslems who live in India are in constant danger of persecution.*

THE QUESTION MARK

Essentially the problem of Pakistan is alarmingly simple. Can religion, which was the cause and justification of her existence, prove strong enough to discount the fact of her economic and social absurdity? Can it give her a social spirit, rigorous enough to cancel out that 'less than nothing' with which she started? For how long can Moslem feeling, fanned by a harassed government and a hysterical press, hold Pakistan together in the face of social misery, economic chaos, unwelcome foreign aid, difference of language, and the presence on her borders of a secular and Socialist India?

Most Pakistanis, I found, will concede the validity of these questions. Then they shrug their shoulders and say: 'Somehow we must do it. We cannot go back. Partition was necessary. There would have been no future for us in an India with a Hindu majority. Anything, even the condition we are in at the moment, is better than that.'

From the *NEW STATESMAN*

WHY IS U.S.A. LOSING TO RUSSIANS?

By Reinhold Niebuhr

EVIDENCE multiplies that we are losing the contest in "competitive co-existence" with Russia, although the nation does not seem to be aware of our predicament. Why? Our complacency may be chiefly due to the Eisenhower Administration's ability to mirror and accentuate the weakness of a rich, soft fat nation which lets nothing interfere with its "business as usual" attitude. The "one party press" may be responsible, for this administration is subject to less criticism than any government in recent memory; only columnists and the radio and television newsmen save us from letting U.S. foreign policy remain unchallenged. Perhaps the difficulty is our lack of a parliamentary system; if we had one, the Government would have fallen. It certainly would not have gained a new four-year tenure at the precise moment when its foreign policy was proved deficient in the Suez crisis. (This is no plea for a parliamentary government: Anything so hallowed as our form of democratic republic cannot be changed, short of a catastrophe.)

A GRIM SITUATION

At any rate, the situation is pretty grim. An enumeration of the various problems which define the dimensions of the crisis may clarify and justify this alarmist statement.

1. *The Middle East*: Two nations, Syria and Egypt, have come under Communist control, one almost completely and the other partly. We were not responsible for the abortive Anglo-French attempt to stop Colonel Nasser's imperialistic designs on the Arab world. But our naive and abstract "anti-imperialism" was responsible for the desperation of our two allies.

Our subsequent siding with Soviet Russia in the United Nations, and our failure to make policy there, leaving it to the ineffable Krishna Menon to dominate the Assembly, proved to the world that we "didn't know the score." President Eisenhower shifted back and forth between two roles—that of captain of the "free world" team, and that of umpire between the two teams. The subsequent "Eisenhower Doctrine" was supposed to "fill the vacuum" created by the destruction of British influence in the Middle East. But the Communist take-over in Syria proved that the Doctrine's abstract principles were incapable of countering Communist methods of infiltration.

FACING EUROPEAN REVOLT

2. *NATO*. The recent NATO conference at Paris was reported by the Administration to have solidified the defences of the Atlantic community. The obvious fact was that we faced a European revolt against our leadership. The revolt was put down for two reasons: First, some of the European allies did want the atomic weapons which we offered. And, second, we promised to negotiate with the Russians to satisfy those allies who are apprehensive because they realize that

the defense of Western Europe is directly related to the "ultimate war." (They know, in other words, that if the Russians move against Western Europe the final conflict will be on.)

Whether the European idea of a new summit conference has any merit is a question. The Russians, from their position of sputnik superiority, are not inclined to yield on anything, and Soviet Premier Bulganin's suggestion of an atomic-free neutral zone is meaningless in an age of intercontinental missiles. On the other hand, we were probably in error in rejecting out of hand the Soviet proposal for abolition of nuclear tests. Harold Stassen may also be right if the report is true that he suggested it would have been psychologically wise to accept the Soviet proposal for new disarmament talks.

AMERICA'S TWO VOICES

In the Eisenhower-Dulles television report on NATO, meanwhile, the President spoke piously of being willing to negotiate on anything with the Russians while the Secretary of State insisted that it was not possible to negotiate with them on anything. Our foreign-policy difficulties are reduced to this kind of meaningless debate — with Eisenhower expressing the hopes of our allies while Dulles declared that we must keep faith with our allies by proving their hopes to be vain. In the meantime, nothing is being done to counter the ever-more-successful propaganda campaign against us as "warmongers." Nor is there a real comprehension in Washington of the awful fact that, while the use of the hydrogen bomb has been outlawed by tacit, though not explicit, agreement, we are rapidly drifting into a situation in which a war with atomic "warheads" and "tactical" weapons is possible and even probable; and the prospect seems to be regarded as sufferable, simply because the weapon which would mean the annihilation of all civilization will not be used.

LESSON OF THE SPUTNIK

3. *Sputnik*. The nation has been partly alarmed, but the administration claims not to be alarmed at all, by the successful Russian launching of two earth satellites. The achievement was portentous. It proved that Moscow had the intercontinental ballistic missile and that, therefore, we were in a position of inferiority with our intermediate range missile — an inferiority which makes us desperately dependent on advanced bases and placement sites for our missiles.

The Russian achievement also proved that technical achievement is not incompatible with tyranny and that our vaunted sense of superiority was spurious. *Freedom is necessary both for the health of a culture and for the establishment of justice in a society, but it may not be necessary for the development of a political form of science. Our kind of undisciplined freedom may, in fact, be incompatible with scientific advance.* Annual automobile models, for instance,

may be symbols of the fat and complacent culture which knows no limits in the production of creature comforts but is too obsessed with keeping taxes low to do what is necessary in our competition with a resourceful foe.

4. *The Uncommitted World*: We are losing the battle for the so-called uncommitted world, the world of the ex-colonial and still colonial nations of Africa and Asia. The recent Cairo conference proved how potent the charge of "imperialism" is against the Western nations, which were indeed involved in imperialism in Asia and Africa in the 19th century. Moreover, France has not been able to extricate itself from the tragic Algerian adventure. Here the old imperialism has been so artfully compounded with the rights-of-man liberalism of the French Revolution that a state of affairs has come about in which the Algerian Moslems and French hate each other even though economically they are so dependent on each other, that both France and Algeria would bleed to death if separated. This is a problem for which neither the Eisenhower Administration nor the American people is responsible; it must nevertheless, be mentioned as a permanent source of embarrassment for the non-Communist world.

The anti-imperialist propaganda of the Russians has gained new plausibility from the Soviet offer of technical and capital aid to the under-developed nations—an offer not dependent on any military commitments. *Russia, in short, is undermining the neutrality of the neutral nations, while Secretary Dulles is still lecturing them on the immorality of neutralism.* We must expect to suffer many defeats in Asia and Africa before they become fully aware that the Communist oligarchy is a new form of imperialism more dangerous to their freedom than the old.

THE LURE OF COMMUNISM

We don't know the measure of our problem in this field unless we forget Secretary Dulles' reassuring observation that Communism is an "ephemeral" phenomenon which will disappear if only we keep the pressure on Communism. *Far from being "ephemeral," it is the most attractive form of tyranny yet devised. It is attractive to the peasant sons who, if bright enough, can get a university education. And it is attractive to the budding nations which are shown the way to become technically competent without achieving democratic justice.*

It is not, of course, attractive to the peasants who are forced to work without adequate reward, so that their labour may produce the capital for a growing industry. Nor is it ultimately attractive to the military and managerial oligarchs, who are incapable of balancing the power of the political oligarchs, who hold tight reins over the whole of society, in the name of "democratic centralism", and corrupt culture in the name of "socialist realism." It is certainly not attractive to free men who know that a monopoly of power breeds injustice whether the monopolists are priests, kings or commissars.

5. *Foreign Trade*: We have traditionally been a high-tariff nation. The "modern Republicanism" of the Eisenhower Administration has mitigated the superstitions of another era sufficiently to permit our wealthy nation to live in tolerable reciprocity with its poorer allies. But reciprocity is not strong enough to defeat domestic pressures for higher tariff walls

whenever a particular interest is imperilled. Both Japan and Canada, good friends of our nation, are restive and resentful of our lack of reciprocity in foreign trade. In the case of Japan, our failure is aggravated by our ban on trade by this highly industrialized nation with its natural markets in Asia.

This is a problem which the Administration did not create. But its complacency, here as elsewhere, merely aggravates the complacency of the whole nation. We refuse, in short, to deal with a dangerous world situation with the sense of urgency demanded by the peril in which our nation stands and the concomitant peril of the whole non-Communist world.

—The New Leader

50% Irrigation Facilities Idle In U.P.

Lucknow: Only 50 per cent of irrigation facilities expanded under the First Plan in U.P. on a total outlay of Rs. 45 crores are being utilised, two years after the completion of the Plan. Full use of the enhanced scope of irrigation would have benefited at least 42 lakh acres and increased agricultural production by nine lakh tons.

The State has besides various other sources of irrigation, 4,000 tube-wells of which 1,800 are in Eastern U.P.

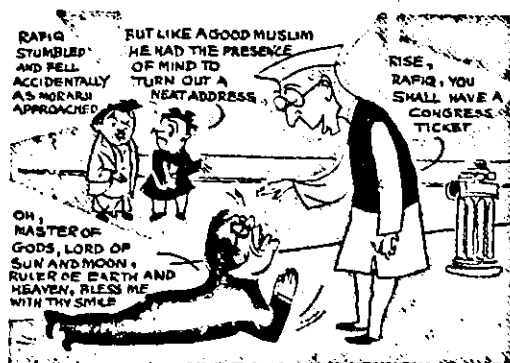
Lack of power, and unwillingness of the people to pay irrigation rates, prevent the fullest use of these tube-wells.

The opening of new power houses at Gorakhpur and Mau improved the situation but the failure of Pipri power house at the peak of the irrigation season considerably hampered germination and growth of crops.

The U.P. Government recently advanced a loan of Rs. 4 lakhs to Messrs Martin, Burn and Co. to lay a transmission line for energisation of 31 tubewells in Banaras district. The transmission lines have been already laid. But the problem of unused irrigation potential continues to worry the State Government. The cultivators in the State should have no grouse about the irrigation rates which are considerably lower than those charged in neighbouring States.

The Planning Commission has been urging the U.P. Government to raise its irrigation rates since agricultural prices are on a steady rise.

The U.P. Government has so far refused to act on this advice presumably for fear of adverse reaction in villages.



Courtesy "Filmindia"

(Continued from page 4)

be started in all cities. We are unfamiliar with South American countries whose peoples are more interested in India and less addicted to race prejudice. There are vast virgin lands in Brazil that might be open to Indians on suitable terms for settlement if Indians establish a friendly footing there. Also, we can have a better idea of European culture if we come into contact with these nations of South America who hail from all European stocks.

Acquaintance with the peoples of South America will give us a better knowledge of the world than pre-occupation with the rival blocs and two-power polarisation. World civilisation should be based hereafter more on the dynamic equilibrium of all nations in peaceful exchange and development than on the leadership of one Power and one or other national culture. Our view of the world and its peoples will also become less distorted. All peoples should come to know us, which will be a stimulus to us to maintain our reputation without fear and without favour. This would be a real contribution to international affairs.

OPEN PAK PROPAGANDA IN CALCUTTA SCHOOLS

As we go to press we come across an item of news date-lined from Calcutta. It appears that in a primary school in Calcutta, a textbook teaches that Calcutta is in Pakistan and belongs to her. The teacher said that his school has been using texts that create the illusion in Muslim students that Calcutta belongs to Pakistan! Are we to take it that the teachers and textbook writers for Muslim schools in Calcutta are unaware of the error? Or is it but one more glimpse into the Muslim mind un-

able to reconcile itself to Indian citizenship, but hoping some day to nullify the Partition to their advantage and realise that Partition has been, as predicted by thinking people, a terrible blunder that has not only not solved the communal problem but has made it insoluble. It has planted a poisonous tree that is yielding abundant harvests of fear and menace and a perpetual prospect of war and destruction. Annulling the Partition, therefore, is to be welcomed on terms of equal citizenship and the rule of law. But pro-Pakistanis do not want *such a re-union* but rather an *anschluss* under the hegemony of Islam to absorb India in the Pan-Islamic federation from Gibraltar to Indonesia; like that of Austria in Hitler's Germany!

DEMORALISATION OF ADMINISTRATION

Mrs. Taya Zinkin, Indian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in her despatch says:

Mr. Nehru's open criticism of the findings of the inquiry (Chagla commission)—has a devastating effect on the morale of the administration. Senior civil servants are beginning to wonder whether they are wanted in a country where politicians are concerned more with their own interests than with the good of the nation.

Concluding the despatch states:—

Meanwhile business and diplomatic quarters in Delhi feel that the people are so afraid to displease the Prime Minister that even the British business community, and many Indians who have knowledge pertinent to the present case have, as one economist put it, entered into a conspiracy of silence!

—*Manchester Guardian*

TRUE TALES—Helen Keller (1st of a series)

by VERUS



HELEN KELLER.—One of the world's most remarkable women, she is considered the outstanding example of a person who conquered physical handicap. Two years after her birth at Tusculum, Alabama, U.S.A., in 1880, illness deprived her of sight and hearing. Soon after she lost the power of speech.



TEACHER.—Her world became one of darkness and silence. At the age of 7 she met the woman who transformed her whole life. She was Anne Sullivan, from the Perkins Institute for the Blind, in Boston, Massachusetts. From her Helen learned the deaf and dumb language by touch, and to read by the Braille system.



DEVOTION.—Helen Keller said of herself, "It was not a child that confronted Anne Sullivan, but an animal utterly ignorant of itself, its feelings, and its place among human beings." Anne Sullivan devoted her life to Helen and patiently developed her to a sensitive and radiant personality.
(To be Continued)

Over A Glass Of "Nira"

By "Toddy-tapper"

And now that the *gaddi* of the financial minister has been vacated by another wizard, definitely of an inferior kind, Mundhra should be given the chance to show his talents at financial manipulations. If a person in his straightened circumstances could raise the wind for his private industrial empire, the no-so-solvent Exchequer of the Government of India, could be expected to be filled in, in a jiffy, by this financial wizard, who has not been yet given the opportunity to show his mettle. Given a chance, we are sure Mundhra could outdo our former Minister Krishnamachari, in finding out the resources for the much-boasted second Five Year Plan and also for the ushering in of a "socialist pattern of society," so beloved of Mr. Nehru.

Has not Mundhra also displayed his type of socialism when he announced soon after his evidence before the Commission that he has sent all his papers to his attorneys for making a public trust of all his concerns. His only ambition is "to see the industrial and technical progress of the country." Here at least both Mr. Nehru and Seth Mundhra are standing on the same grounds. The fact that so far no industrialist has cared to consent to be on the board of his Trust is another matter. What matters most ARE THE INTENTIONS. And Mundhra has publicly announced his intentions. To hell with the proverb, "Good intentions pave the way to hell."

And to cap all his performance before the Commission, Mundhra has definitely shown himself to be capable of the ordinary human decency of acknowledging "merit" where it is due. According to Mr. Krishnamachari, Mundhra has sent a letter to the Prime Minister asking "why the nation should lose the services of a talented Finance Minister because of me?" And the Indian people echo the sentiments and wishes of Mundhra sent to the Prime Minister, while he was locked up in a judicial lock-up of Delhi. Mr. Krishnamachari, for this compliment from one financial wizard to another, has reciprocated by saying, "Mundhra is a phenomenon not uncommon in India."

Krishnamachari, it seems, has personal experience of such types of phenomenon, when he issued import and export licences, without keeping a count of them, with the result that our sterling balances reached a very low ebb, when he was the Commerce Minister at the Centre. Both Mundhra and Krishnamachari are financial geniuses of a kind that are NOT common

BUT rare in India, or for that matter, in any part of the world. Did not Krishnamachari, as the Commerce Minister, when questioned over the issue of licences, unabashedly confess that he knew that the persons to whom he was issuing licences WOULD INDULGE IN HOARDING, WOULD INDULGE IN BLACK MARKET, but he did so with full knowledge of it. Here we have the common ties that bind the "late lamented" Finance Minister and Mundhra. They have their own standards of financial criterion and business morality, NOT shared by the ordinary garden variety of industrialists, say like the Tatas, the Birlas or the Dalmias. They are the "socialist" types of financial phenomenon.

And lastly the Mundhra affair has thrown a lurid light on the functioning of joint responsibility of the Central Government. It has been proved to the satisfaction of the ordinary man that joint responsibility is practically non-existing. Not only that the Finance Minister DID NOT KNOW what his officials had decided to buy such a big block of shares of such doubtful concerns, BUT the matter did NOT EVEN COME BEFORE the Cabinet.

Yet Mr. Nehru's reading of the situation is something that takes one's breath away. He stated in Parliament that the acceptance of the resignation of Krishnamachari "had demonstrated the democratic functioning of the Government and the dignity and majesty of the Parliament."

Common man in the country may be excused if he holds quite a different opinion. It has been proved conclusively that THERE IS NO JOINT FUNCTIONING of the Cabinet, which is the principal attribute of a democratic government. It was proved also over the question of Bombay, when Mr. C. D. Deshmukh pointed out that the question WAS NEVER discussed in the Cabinet. And it has been demonstratively proved that Mr. Krishnamachari, if he is to be believed, was never aware of the deal approved by the officials of his Ministry and so the Cabinet was in complete darkness. If that be so, where comes the functioning of democratic government, except in the imagination of the "socialist" Prime Minister. However the Prime Minister MAY BE RIGHT, in the socialist way, since socialism and democracy are poles apart. Have we not been told that communist satellites are "people's democracies" in action? The socialists live in a world of their own, that is all. After all, socialism and fascism are two sides of the same totalitarian medal.

Load Of 'Welfarism' Becomes Unbearable— Small-Businessmen Become Vocal

AN interesting attempt by small businessmen and shopkeepers, belonging to various trade associations, has been made, perhaps for the first time in India, to come together to discuss their difficulties and grievances, and to devise ways and means of removing the difficulties caused by the so-called "welfare" activities of the Congress Government and getting the grievances redressed by democratic means. More than 25 associations in Poona District held a Conference on Sunday, February 23, at Shivaji Mandir, Poona. Shri Deen Dayal Gupta, Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, presided.

The Conference was inaugurated by Shri Murarji J. Vaidya, Vice-President of the Forum of Free Enterprise. In the course of his inaugural speech, Mr. Vaidya said that normally, the Indian businessman is, by nature a peaceful and non-violent person. The long history of our civilization shows that it takes a great deal of incitement for Indians to resort to violence. The teachings of Gandhiji over a period of more than a quarter of a century have further strengthened the non-violent character of the Indians.

Traditionally, the Vaishyas or the business community, have known to be even more non-violent than Kshatriyas or Shudras. Therefore, they are accustomed to tolerating a great deal of hardship, and even harassment, before they can ever think of taking any action, even though it may be non-violent action. Consequently, even after the attainment of freedom, businessmen have not only not taken any opportunity to get their grievances redressed, but they have not even become as vocal, as they should have been, when they have a rightful grievance.

BUMPER CROP OF CONTROLS

The plethora of legislation that has been undertaken in the post-war period following in the wake of the multiplicity of controls imposed during war, have, it seems, inured the businessman to pressure and harassment. He takes them more or less as matters of course. Instead of taking a proper action of complaining, in an organised manner to the authorities, and educating public opinion about his case, the businessman in this country has normally preferred to make submissions, to find out ways and means of circumventing the encroachments, and harassments of the various legislative measures, and of trying to live with difficulties rather than attempting to get them removed.

Since the advent of independence, the businessman has been called by various names by the politicians. The businessman has tolerated this treatment by those who, more often than not, *thrive in their political career and attain positions of power with the contributions that the businessman makes towards party funds and towards various public causes which abound in our country.* He has, however, never made a public grievance of the treatment he is given.

I am sometimes amazed to hear highly placed businessmen coming out of conference addressed by

some ministers expressing satisfaction at the fact that after all a rebuke or sermon preached by the dignitary concerned was not so very strong and that the gentleman did say that complaints made would be duly considered.

Is it then surprising that the various enactments and controls and restrictions are not only not reduced but multiplied day-after-day? Therefore, I wish to congratulate you on the bold and highly desirable step you have taken in convening this Conference to ventilate your grievances, to consider the various measures which you should take to get those grievances redressed and to point out to the authorities the unreasonableness or impracticability of some of the legislative measures, controls and restrictions.

If the business community wishes to live as respectable citizens, it is absolutely essential that they should resolve to live and observe the law as respectable and law-abiding citizens. *Democracy and anti-social practices are bad fellow-travellers.*

Those who are in the Government to-day are no foreigners or strangers. They are of the same blood and flesh.

BUSINESSMEN IN DEMOCRACY

The fact that the measures and methods they adopt are not correct ones, or are not warranted, is no reason why we should not adopt and suggest proper methods and means. In a democracy, the objectives of the citizens and of those in authority should be the common objectives of raising the moral and material standards of the nation. If such an attitude is adopted by the business community, the businessmen can look forward to a respectable place in our democratic society and can forcefully assert their rights and privileges as citizens of a free and democratic society. Democracy involves right as well as obligations and if the obligations are fulfilled the rights can be claimed as a matter of course.

Many of you might have heard of an organisation called the Forum of Free Enterprise which was established more than a year ago by a few businessmen, doctors, lawyers, economists and journalists in Bombay. The objective of the organisation is to educate public opinion about the benefits of the right type of free enterprise working within the framework of a democratic society. In trying to educate public opinion, we lay great emphasis on the need for adoption of a Code of Conduct by those who believe in free enterprise. Free enterprise, in its modern and correct sense, means enterprise undertaken by people in a free and democratic society, where each one of us could act in a manner worthy of a free citizen, with the object of serving his fellow men and his country and earning for himself the reward which is due to him by way of a reasonable profit or remuneration. The business community constitutes the backbone of the nation. It has the advantage of initiative, practical experience and material resources and enterprising nature.

(Continued on page 23)

Pakistan Masses Troops Near The Kashmir Border

It is learnt that Pakistan is massing troops near the Pakistan-Kashmir border. People in the Punjab are whispering that the threatened attack might come in March before the rains commence. Major-General Akbar Khan is talking in tones of imminent action and is asking that action be coincident with the subversive campaign of Sheikh Abdullah. We find the Indian Defence Minister warning Pakistan by speeches in India that any such trespassing into Indian territory will be resisted *in kind*. Why should he talk in such terms if there is no occasion for it? Private persons and journals may be misled but certainly the Defence Minister knows what he is talking about? If Pakistan attacks and America chastising her, within hours, we will have no option but to call upon Big Brother Khrushchev! This will precipitate the dreaded world war III.

NOON'S BLUSTER—"MUSLIMS RULED INDIA FOR 600 YEARS"

KARACHI: Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, Prime Minister, told the Pakistan National Assembly today that only the "inveterate hatred of India for Pakistan" drove the country into the Baghdad Pact and SEATO.

Mr. Noon, who also holds the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, said: "Until the time comes when you make peace with India, you cannot stand alone."

Indians could not forget the fact that for 600 years Muslims ruled their country and they were determined to obliterate the last vestiges of Islam from India.

In this context, Mr. Noon added, a policy of non-alignment "will lead Pakistan into wilderness."

STRAIGHTENING MUDDLE

Mr. Noon claimed that while the Muslim League Governments were responsible for "signing away the waters of the three eastern rivers," his Government had to straighten out the muddle and initiate negotiations under the World Bank auspices.

Mian Mumtaz Daulatant (Muslim League), who led the attack, said "we are not even true friends of our allies because they know that we cannot influence

(Continued from page 22)

I will conclude with a verse from *Yajnavalkya Smriti* which gives a correct interpretation of the ideal of earning for the sake of contributing to the good of the society which ancient India placed before its citizens. Translated into English this should read as follows:

"One should desire to obtain by righteous means that which one has not obtained,
What one has obtained should be preserved by effort and labour,
What is preserved should be increased by moral means, and
What is thus accumulated should be distributed to those who deserve."

their policies. Pakistan used to enjoy weight in international affairs but, today, we are hushed and we dare not speak."

He asked how was it that Pakistan, with her strategic importance, great population and "the finest fighting force in all Asia," had no weight in international counsels.

India, "A Persistently Bad Neighbour"

KARACHI: Choudhary Mahomed Ali, former Prime Minister of Pakistan called India "a persistently bad neighbour", and blamed India for the build-up of armed forces in Pakistan.

In a bitter three-hour speech in the Pakistan National Assembly, during the general debate on Budget, Mr. Mahomed Ali did not spare the Pakistanis too, the general opinion of whom, he said, "is that we are inefficient and corrupt—this is a universal belief."

He said that India was getting huge economic aid from foreign countries, and releasing her own resources for the great military build-up of her defense. "Against whom is this great military build-up" he asked. And added it was against Pakistan. He took objections to "friends of Pakistan" advising Pakistan on Kashmir and canal water issues. "The same friends were aiding India indirectly to build-up arms. The advice of these friends, he said, was intended to convey to them that the Pakistanis were weak and that they should put up with India's designs.

RAJAJI IS WRONG FOR ALLIANCE WITH REACTIONARIES

MADRAS: Shri M. P. Sivaganana Gramani, leader of the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam has suggested that Prime Minister Nehru and Shri C. Rajagopalachari should meet and find an amicable solution to the language problem.

Shri Gramani, made the suggestion at a meeting which he addressed last night here under the auspices of the Avvai Manram. He said that he was not happy at the joint front which Rajaji and the *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* leader Shri C. N. Annadurai, had forged to carry on the language campaign.

This he said, had resulted in fissiparous sections of politicians in Tamilnad exploiting the situation for their own ends.

Pointing out that most of the persons who were supporting Rajaji in his present stand were either former Justice Partymen or communalists, Shri Gramani appealed to Rajaji to consider the motive behind their support and how they were exploiting the situation.

U. P. I.

PLOT TO MURDER NASSER—KING IBN SAUD BELIEVED TO BE THE "BRAIN"

DAMASCUS: King Ibn Saud was mentioned as "the master-mind" behind a sensational plot, in which the United States was implicated, to thwart the Syrian-Egyptian merger through an armed "coup d'etat" in Syria, one of two provinces of the new United Arab Republic.

This "startling" revelation was made by President

Nasser at a mass rally and was later explained by Lieutenant-Colonel Abdel Hamid Serraj, Chief of the Syrian Intelligence, at a press conference with an impressive array of documentary "evidence" and tape-recordings.

Colonel Serraj who was allegedly chosen by King Saud to lead the coup, said that he was promised two million pounds sterling to kill President Nasser in the air.

The Syrian colonel led the successful "coup d'etat" against the four-year old military dictatorship of Brigadier Sheshakly to restore democracy in 1954. He has been in charge of Nasser's personal security since the U.A.R.'s chief executive fled to Damascus.

Colonel Serraj revealed that the first cheque for one million pounds was brought to him by an intermediary, Aziz Abbad, a member of the Syrian Parliament on the midnight of the Plebiscite eve by a special aircraft from Riyadh. He also received two other cheques—for 700,000 and 200,000 pounds—before he disclosed the plot to Field-Marshal Abdil Hamid Amer, C-in-C of UAR's Defence Forces.

More U.S. Economic Aid To India

NEW YORK: A new bi-partisan move to give increased economic aid to India is likely to be made in the U.S. Congress in the near future, according to reliable information here. A resolution to this effect, expected to be jointly sponsored by Senator John Kennedy (Democrat) and the former U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. Sherman Cooper (Republican), would be introduced in the Senate early next week.

The resolution would follow closely on the heels of another, and what appears to be a parallel resolution, introduced in the Senate on February 24 by Senator Mike Monroney (Democrat) recommending the creation of an international development association in co-operation with the World Bank, "to provide long-term loans available at low interest and repayable in local currencies to supplement the World Bank's loans and thereby permit completion of worthwhile development programmes which would not otherwise go forward."

Times of India

Work of Libertarian Social Institute at Bangalore

Bangalore: Mr. Philip Spratt and M. A. Venkata Rao (President and Vice-President) of the Libertarian Social Institute held a Press Conference to explain the objectives and methods of the Institute. Mr. Venkata Rao gave an exposition of Libertarian principles. The Institute is an association of those interested in the study and spread of ideas concerning free economy and free society or liberal democracy. It wishes to stimulate public interest in the history and value of economic and political ideas expounded from time to time in Europe and America from the days of the Industrial and French Revolutions by thinkers like Robert Owen, St. Simon, Fourier, and Prudhoun and Kropotkin. These were libertarians and decentralists and corrected the bias to Statism to which Karl Marx committed the socialist movement. Libertarianism regards free economy and private enterprise as the indispensable framework to nurse and maintain liberal democracy. The general idea of socialism that unearned income should be returned to society, and that all people should live on earned income, is stressed in libertarianism. Both urban and agricultural land should belong to society in its local area and should be leased out to tenants for agriculture, mine-working or for sites for industry and commerce for suitable

periods. The rent should be turned over to the township, village or city. Thus rents will be kept low and will go to local people as a whole. Prices of manufactured and mineral goods will thus be kept low. All import and export tariffs as well will be abolished. Ultimately all emigration and immigration laws will be abolished allowing free movement of peoples across national borders. An international society will be encouraged to form bringing world order and world peace in due course.

As regards methods, Governmental powers should be reduced to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of law and order, justice and defence from external aggression. The temptation for Government to use tax money to transfer property and opportunity from one class to another is thus removed. Land will be socialised resulting in the maximum of stimulus to industrialists to speed up production.

Banking will be free from Government control and will operate making cheap money available at cost without interest charges. Only operational costs of one or one-half percent will be levied on loans. Usury will thus disappear taking with it the evils of finance capital. The capital of the business community will be available as security for advances to traders and

manufacturers. Thus credit will be socialised.

Currency and bank credit will be regulated in strict response to the changing needs of business thus avoiding periodic crisis and preventing inflation in the economy resulting from State interference.

A WAY OUT OF CRISIS

Thus Libertarian economy is against the monopoly of either private or State Capital. These and similar ideas offer an alternative basis for free economy, free from exploitation and affording the maximum of freedom and opportunity to all citizens in a natural way. They can free the economy from the dangers of Marxist and totalitarian errors.

The Institute is not committed to any closed and fixed ideas. It puts forth the literature of freedom, in economic, political and social thought, for study in an open, scientific way. If small groups succeed in permeating society with libertarian ideas, some day they may succeed in reversing current totalitarian trends and offer constructive ideas to reformers when the demand for freedom and equality becomes universal and effective.

It is hoped that people interested in democracy will join the movement and become active members of the Institute and contribute to the spread of liberal ideas.

The membership fee of the Bangalore Centre is rupees three and the annual subscription for the journal of the Institute, *Indian Libertarian* is rupees six.

Book Reviews

Land Problem In Bombay -- Creating Class-warfare

LAND PROBLEM by Bhailalbhai D. Patel, Vice-Chancellor, Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Pages 20. (Address delivered before the Forum of Free Enterprise) 1958. Published by Sri Hiralal M. Desai.

This is a lecture delivered by the author before the Bombay Forum of Free Enterprise on the present land problem in the context of the so-called land reforms now being forced on the States in the South by the Centre in accordance with the ideas of the Planning Commission's Reports on which the First and Second Five Year Plans have been drawn up in pursuance of the socialist pattern of society." The Avadi resolution on this pattern has incarnated itself in these reports and blueprints for the reconstruction of Indian society in the image of Soviet Russia and her satellites. The only difference is the profession of non-violence and democracy with which the Indian experiment is accompanied.

CLASS-WAR IN PRACTICE

The matter assumes a special urgency in view of the bills or reports before the legislatures of Andhra, Madras, Mysore and Kerala which are all local variations of the Centre's Plan without any change of principle. The right of the tenant to purchase the owner's lands, restriction of the right of the land-owner to resume

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his land property from the lessee, fixation of greatly reduced rents down to one-sixth of gross produce less taxes, confirmation of security of tenure on the tenant, sometimes longer than five years, nominal compensation of around 15 times the rent less taxes in case of forced purchase through Government mediation far below the free market rates, the imposition of ceilings in order to give land to tenants and landless workers and so on, form the core of the Planning Commission's reports. They amount to the liquidation of the property rights of the rich and middle farmer on the basis of class-war doctrines and the sudden and simultaneous conferment of land on the landless worker and small tenant having less than a "basic" holding.

The ostensible aim is humanitarian: i.e. to uplift the poorest on the land, but in reality the procedure introduces a revolutionary change in rural society. It will liquidate the small and middle and rich peasants, and sub-divide the already fragmented holdings of the peasant class. It will permanently impoverish the class of sturdy, hardworking, thrifty yeomanry which is responsible for the productive levels of agricultural products. It will give the whole of the land to the poorest and small peasants incapable of financing the necessary expenditure of cultivation, let alone modernising it to increase production. The majority of these new owners will not have the character and skill necessary for successful farming. The result will infallibly be a further fall in production, a process that has already begun in most States, either by the changes brought about by Acts like the Bombay Tenancy Act, already passed or by the interim legislation passed in recent years in Southern States, with the Damocles' sword of expropriatory legislation hanging over all farmers.

A COMPETENT AUTHOR

The author is a distinguished engineer, with special experience in barrage construction and canal-

fed agriculture in Bombay. He comes of a family of Pattidars of Kaira in Gujerat. The bulk of the pamphlet is taken up with a convincing retrospect of agriculture in his district from ancient times. He sketches the way in which Gujerati Pattidars built up the land system of the province—how they cleared the land and invested capital and showed great skill and strength of character in making Gujerat a land of hardy, self-reliant, stubborn, courageous peasant proprietors, small and big. They sent members of their families to foreign lands—North Africa, the Middle East and Africa—in the nineteenth century. They made money in trade in foreign places but sent part of their savings to their home villages which served to confer prosperity on them. They were patriotic and philanthropic and built social services like schools, hospitals, libraries etc. in their home villages. In all this, they maintained harmonious family type relations with their tenants and labourers with shared prosperity and adversity among all.

THE CONGRESS BETRAYAL

It is these substantial Kisans that fought the British under the leadership of Sardar Patel and Gandhi in Kaira District when rents were raised unduly. It was this Kisan class "that won Swarajya at Bardoli." But today the very Congress Party which owed their power to such stalwarts has betrayed them. Their Government divided the tenants and the owners into class war opponents with unscrupulous politicians roaming the countryside preaching the fatally easy doctrine of class war and ruining the legitimate rights of Pattidars. All incentive to invest capital has vanished in this situation. Mr. Patel points out the strange fact that millionaires have somehow got protection and retained their vast holdings while small and middle peasants have been impoverished. He concludes that these new-fangled reforms "have broken all tenets of good Government. There is neither justice nor equity. The sanctity of private property is broken...."

The lecture gives a glimpse into the social history of rural Gujerat which shows vividly the working of the old system of landlord and tenant, both free to negotiate contracts on a long term basis, both free to emigrate and re-purchase land in

accordance with the vicissitudes of life. In recent times with the freedom of the proprietor greatly curtailed by heavy taxation, production fell and rural life was disorganised. But all that is necessary now is to assist the proprietor and tenant with cheap credit in an organised way and to provide opportunities for extra work in the villages. This would re-establish a dynamic equilibrium regulating itself to meet upsets caused by outside sources. Instead, the "land reforms" are making way for communism and the total uprooting of economic life in the villages.

HERE'S THE ANSWER TO AUTHOR'S DIFFICULTIES

The lecturer is successful in painting the destructive effects of current proposals. But he has not a word to say about how the desire of the landless for land could be satisfied without depriving landowners of their property rights by the imposition of ceilings and the compulsory transfer of property rights to tenants at expropriatory rates. We agree with the author but more constructive ideas must be offered if we are to rally thoughtful humanitarians to more conservative methods.

New ways of agricultural reform holding the promise of integrating the poorest in rural society into creative agriculture without destroying property rights and robbing Ram to pay Kishen. Modes like war-time British re-organisation of agriculture and the nineteenth century planned evolution in Denmark must be propagandised thoroughly and patiently among all who are in a position to influence legislation if present headlong blunders are to be halted. The Southern States Agriculturists' Convention held in the middle of February in Bangalore, attended by about a hundred landlords, led by Sardar Lal Singh of the Punjab, has had a great effect on Southern legislators and hasty legislation may be halted for reconsideration by experts. It is to be hoped that Mr. Patel will make his experience and suggestions available to the Federation set up by the Convention under the Presidency of Sardar Lal Singh. The Pamphlet is a useful addition to the literature of reconsideration of the land problem for the formulation of saner policies. It casts historical light on the structure of rural society and the

creative role of private property in land.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

Not By Bread Alone

NOT BY BREAD ALONE by Vladimir Dudintsev. Published by Hutchinson, London. Price Sh.18.

There have, during the past two or three years, been unmistakable signs of non-conformism in Soviet literature. This trend began to gather momentum with the initiation of de-Stalinization. *Not By Bread Alone* belongs to this new tradition of Non-conformism. First serialized in the autumn of 1956 in the Moscow literary magazine *Novy Mir*, it aroused considerable excitement and controversy. It made headline news in Europe. Western critics hailed author Dudintsev's integrity and truthfulness—and more than anything else, courage—in exposing the inhuman conditions of life under the Soviet bureaucracy.

This novel has now been rendered into English, significantly by Dr. Edith Bone, a former correspondent of the *Daily Worker*, London. Dr. Bone, incidentally, had been in a Budapest prison for seven years, in solitary confinement and was released along with freedom-fighters in October, 1958.

Dudintsev's hero, Dimitri Lopatkin, is a science teacher in Muzga, who has, in his spare time, designed a new pipe-casting machine. His drawings are approved by the Bureau of Inventions in Moscow which instructs him to "resign employment at once" and proceed to an experimental workshop where he could proceed with the building

of the machine. Professor Avidyev, who holds the chair of Foundry Technique at the Science Institute has, however, his own 'poker in the fire,' and manages to see Lopatkin and his invention thrown out.

This is the beginning of the young inventor's long and gruelling battle against the closed corporation of bureaucrats with its jealous monopoly of power and vested interests. Lopatkin is helped in his fight by Nadia, his former colleague in the school, who had once taken a fancy to him but had ultimately married Drozdov, the general manager of the factory at Muzga. There are also some other characters on Lopatkin's side, Sianou's poor working class family with whom he is a lodger; Valenthina Pavlovna, another school teacher, and one of his girl students, Jeanne, who eagerly awaits the day when the inventor would be hailed as a 'hero'. Lopatkin soon migrates to Moscow and there comes to live with Prof. Busski, another inventor who could not cut much ice with the 'monopolists' in power and had broken down in the fight.

PROMOTION TO "PRIVILEGED" CLASS

Drozdov meanwhile has been promoted to the Ministry in Moscow. And Nadia soon realizes that her husband belonged to the 'privileged' caste of men who tie up public interest with their own and stifle the creative energies of the people. She leaves him, to join forces with Lopatkin in his struggle. For not long after, Lopatkin is tried and convicted to eight years in Siberia, allegedly for the offence of sharing official secrets with his "partner": a "frame-up" by the "bosses" anxious to get him out of the way. There is, however, among them, one genuine Party man, Ghaitski, who cannot tolerate injustice. He not only gets Lopatkin released after only one and a half years but also secures recognition for his invention.

Lopatkin thus wins—ultimately. But Ghaitski tells him: "You have faith and you fight. You have not turned savage, like some inventors, although you might easily have gone that way. This was what won for you the necessary helpers. There are not so many of them but as you see they did help".

Dudintsev is not so sure. Lopatkin ponders, however, "Have I won this long struggle for

JUST OUT FOOTPRINTS OF TREACHERY

By
Baburao Patel
Editor, "Filmindia"

Price 50 Naye Paise

Published by
The Libertarian Social
Institute
Arya Bhuvan,
Shandurst Road, Bombay 4.

myself alone? Have I really been unable to dispel the fog and open the eyes of any one of these people, who are still entrenched in their positions?" And Lopatkin thinks of the unknown lucky fellow, young-man, who would perhaps tomorrow re-discover a lost idea and hand it over to the people. "He would run along the beckoning road on his young feet and would find it all too short! He would have his seventeen-year-old girl, surrounded by a radiance and would tell her: 'Wait for me, I will only run to that little milestone there!' But would he ever get there? Or would he go on from milestone to milestone for eight long years? Or even disappear like Busski?"

Not by Bread Alone is an outstanding product of the wave of non-conformism in Soviet literature and might well go down as a landmark in that country's literary history. It yet remains, not surprisingly, a typical product of Soviet writing: only, the self-asserting individual is not portrayed as egoistic, reactionary and a negative force; he is portrayed as enjoying, in howsoever small measure, public recognition for his new ideas and adventurous spirit. Instead of being damned as a villain, he is now a hero, too, merely "wants to mop up the mess," no to clear it.

The novel suffers from many deficiencies and at many places makes atrociously dull reading. Moreover, Dudintsev brings a number of psychological issues—such as Lopatkin's permanent sense of guilt towards his mother and the Freudian implications about his smoking

Libertarian Feature Service

Bulletin No II Out Contents

- I Place of Govt. In Economic Life
By Norman Harris
- II Why Pay for Things
By F. A. Harper
- III What Neo-Maoism Shows
By Kautsky

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The Secretary, Libertarian Social Institute, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

—but without dealing with them satisfactorily. And nowhere does he succeed in probing the depths of emotional relations.

—From Thought

U.S.I.S Gift of Books to R. L. Foundation Library

The R. L. Foundation Library has received the following books as gifts from the United States Information Service, Bombay. The authorities of the Library are grateful to the U.S.I.S. for these gifts.

Members of the Libertarian Social Institute can get these books at home on the deposit of the usual amount of Rs. 25/-.

Ketchum, Richard M. (Ed): *What is Communism?*

Rostov, W. W.: *The Prospects For Communist China.*

Krpatrick, Evron M.: *Target: The World.*

Kulski, W. W.: *The Soviet Regime, Communism in Practice.*

Scaff, Alvin H.: *The Philippine Answer to Communism.*

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ANNUAL STATEMENT UNDER THE REGISTRATION OF NEWSPAPER ACT

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper Indian Libertarian

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1. Place of Publication 25 Durgadevi Road, Bombay 4.
2. Periodicity of its publication Twice a month
3. Printer's Name J. K. Dhairyawan
Nationality Indian
Address 109 Parsi Bazar Street, Fort Bombay
4. Publisher's Name J. K. Dhairyawan
Nationality Indian
Address 25 Durgadevi Road, Bombay 4.
5. Editor's Name (Miss) Kusum R. Lotwala
Nationality Indian
Address Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
6. Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital. Mr. R. B. Lotwala Ram Baug, Deolali and Miss Kusum R. Lotwala Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

I, J. K. Dhairyawan, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated 28th February 1958

J. K. Dhairyawan

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