

The Indian Libertarian

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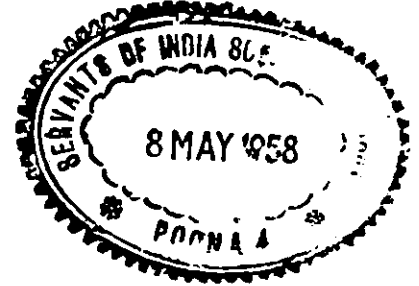
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Letters To The Editor

THE LINGUISTIC CRISIS

Dear Madam: One of the most glaring instances of fissiparous inclinations in India today is manifest in the linguistic and provincial feelings that are raging in our country. The diversity in language is a well-known fact; it is most conspicuous in the linguistic controversies that are part of Indian life today. The need for a common language is a real need; but linguistic unity has become impossible due to the provincial spirit that is fanned by the political manoeuvrings in the country.

The problem of a common language cannot be isolated, except with fatal results, from the problem of provincialism. The language controversy in India is inextricably connected with the provincialism that is so rampant. It is futile to argue for Hindi or any other language as the official-cum-cultural medium as distinct from the provincialism that directly affects. In the case of Hindi being accepted as the official language as well as the cultural medium, the problems raised are severe. Although it may be successfully imposed as the official language, it will constitute a serious threat to social cohesion, as the already awakening monopolistic tendencies in U.P. provincialism and the anti-Hindi campaign in the South as well as in Bengal together spell what may result in a release of the most fissiparous tendencies.

Yet we cannot succumb to the regional languages. For without a common medium of instruction (operative throughout the nation), the results will be diverse and anarchistic. Firstly, no intercommunication between two Universities will create innumerable problems for students who do not understand the language that the University which happens to be geographically nearest them has adopted; or, alternately, each University will have to impart instruction in all the known regional languages:

Considered impartially, English appears best to meet the cultural and educational requirements in this country as also from the point of provincialism. The arguments

against English are faulty and irrational.

If yet the raw and as yet unadjusted Indian nationalism may insist on foisting Hindi on the people, then the problem of provincialism must be faced squarely. The only way out then is to have Hindi and a unitary government so that the provincial barriers will be removed.

As it is, the linguistic crisis continually deepens the fissiparous instinct on the Indian soil. It remains a fact that we are being linguistically divided.

Bombay —Kishore Valicha,

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Dear Madam: If the Communist Party of India is sincere in its most recent uttering that it accepts the right to free expression and association, including the right to form an opposition, it deserves to be considered a democratic party as much as any other party in India. The problem is to test its sincerity.

There is, it seems, a rather simple test. If the party is honest in its profession of democracy, it should not hesitate to condemn anti-democratic practices not only in non-communist countries but in communist countries as well. Either the Indian communists condemn the undemocratic systems which prevail in countries in the Soviet bloc, in which case there will be no legitimate ground left to doubt the genuineness of their conversion, or they refuse to condemn these systems, as indeed they do, and even hold these up as "higher" forms of democracy, in which case it is clear that they, in their turn, would impose on this country a similar system the moment they have the power to do so.

It is futile to try to escape the dilemma by pointing out that conditions in India are different from those in the Soviet Union. What are those conditions that still justify the continuation of dictatorship in the U.S.S.R.? Surely the argument of "capitalist encirclement" has lost all point today. The U.S.S.R. is now the mightiest military power on earth.

Communism in one country may differ in several respects from that in another. But a communist, wherever he be, is equally wedded to a particular philosophy of history
(Continued on back cover page 28)

PAK TROOPS MASSING ON ASSAM BORDER

A PRESS message from Shillong dated 16 April reports heavy massing of Pakistani troops on the 680-mile Indo-Pakistani border of Assam State. This is happening after hardly a day of peace in the region which was the scene of repeated firing by automatic weapons and frequent border violation by Pakistani military and civilians. Pakistani troops are digging new trenches and raising more bunkers in violation of the cease-fire agreement. The Assam Government have sent a protest to the Government of East Pakistan, and a detailed report to New Delhi.

All citizens throughout the country turn their eyes to New Delhi, as to what *action* our Government will take in this grave situation. Will they register one more protest with Karachi, and content themselves with impassioned appeals to the non-existent goodwill and friendship of our Islamic neighbour? How long will our authorities maintain this futile sentimentality? Will they take action at all, even after Pakistanis advance into the country in force? Are not the Pakistanis probing our defences, both militarily and psychologically? The real border is the line that a Government is determined to defend with all its resources of blood and treasure. Krishna Menon has been proclaiming the decision of India to retaliate and to defend the country, if she is attacked whether in Kashmir or any other part of India. Now is the time when he must show an unambiguous indication of India's *will for action* on the military plane. A Government's first duty is defence against aggression, and not preaching morality to the whole world, particularly to the Great Powers. If India wants to preach, she may send her saints and philosophers unofficially, like the missionaries of the Ramakrishna and other Mutts. But her Government must fulfil its primary obligation of fighting the enemy when she crosses our borders or damages the resources of the country or lays violent hands on her nationals. It is time that public opinion was roused to compel our Government to prepare, and let it be known that she is preparing to mobilise the entire resources of the country in manpower and military equipment to meet the Pakistani threat, *now* that it has assumed such unmistakable forms as digging trenches and raising bunkers.

It may be only a propaganda stunt on the eve of the Security Council's consideration of Dr. Graham's new report. But knowing our neighbour's declared intentions, and vast military preparations utilising American military grants, it would be a risk too great to be taken to assume that Pakistan is only bluffing us.

Postscript: After this was written, news comes of Nehru's advice that we should not make much of it declaring that there is no such troop movement. We should know by this time what reliance to place on his interpretation of Pakistani affairs.

NEHRU'S CONFESSIONS IN PARLIAMENT

Our supreme policy-maker made some remarkable revelations about his disillusionment with his friends, the Pakistanis. These confessions bring his present

position regarding Pakistan into line with that of his critics, who had been urging from the very beginning (i.e. the Partition and the creation of Pakistan), that he was gravely mistaken in this matter (as in many other questions in regard to foreign policy), and that he had no right to commit the country to such false and dangerous views and policies. All the losses in money, men and prestige incurred by India as a result of her idol's errors and incompetence could have been avoided if wisdom had come to him earlier. The most galling thing to honest and patriotic citizens, not bemused by party considerations and phobias about communalism and non-communalism, has been the untouchability of their supreme leader in regard to Pakistan (and it should be added, in regard to Soviet Russia).

He confessed to his sad failure to win the goodwill of Pakistan in spite of treating her so generously (at the cost of his own people's security and economic interests). He referred with puzzlement to the statement by Dr. Jehangir Parvez, a prominent citizen of Pakistan, that Pakistan should embark on a new policy of acquiring new territory at the cost of India all along the border, and not confine her ambitions to Kashmir. This reveals Pakistan's real ambition, plebiscite or no plebiscite, accession or no accession. Pakistan has a simple motive that should not be hard to understand. She wants to surpass India, in size and power. To this end, she wants to expand. Alliance with America and membership of the Baghdad Pact are means to this end. From the day of her coming into existence in 1947, she has concentrated her propaganda and diplomacy in favour of Islamic solidarity with a view to capture its leadership. Today President Nasser has forestalled Pakistan. She is now trying the lesser game of consolidating the Baghdad countries under the banner of Pan-Islam. The presence of Turkish, Iranian and Iraqi troops at the recent celebrations in Karachi in the March Past is the first sign that Pakistan has some response to her suggestions to her colleagues in the Baghdad Pact.

MISREADING OF ISLAMIC HISTORY

To have indulged in the dream of winning the goodwill of Pakistan for India is a misreading of the history and culture of Islam. Pandit Nehru cannot escape responsibility for the evil consequences that his misreading and refusal to learn from the catastrophe of the Partition have brought, and will bring in the present and in the future. Ignorance of nature's law of cause and effect does not absolve individuals and nations from the consequences of their own deeds — acts of omission as well as those of commission.

Pandit Nehru confessed that Kashmir was NOT the end and limit of Pakistan's ambition, while referring to Dr. Parvez's advice to his countrymen to extend the scope of their aggression to the whole border of India. This was known to his critical fellow-countrymen, whom he abused, as "communalists," "warmongers," "reactionaries" and what-not. This journal and its sponsor Mr. R. B. Lotwalla have been ration-

alist, anti-orthodoxy, sceptical and materialist in philosophical views. But their interpretation of current realities and national character of peoples, as determined by their history, religious faith and social system, has led them to sincere criticism of our country's foreign policies—a criticism borne out by Pandit Nehru's confessions to which we are referring in these Notes. He should have known the full extent of Pakistan's ambition long ago. Pakistani leaders have not made a secret of it. They have proclaimed it for years now, from a period as long ago as the founding of the Aligarh Movement, whose aim was the re-establishment of Islamic rule in India. It should be remembered that India had rallied through the years in successive waves of recovery from the founding of the Vijayanagar empire in the South in 1300 until the Moghul emperor at Delhi became the puppet of the Marathas. *The British took the country over not from Muslims as falsely proclaimed by Muslim leaders but from the Mahrattas and the Sikhs.*

Such recuperative power inherent in our people will be prevented from re-invigourating them and enabling them to resist debilitating influences if the Buddhist non-violence of our Prime Minister, which leads him to treat enemies with suicidal non-resistance and generosity is not abandoned in favour of realism and truth.

NEW DELHI'S SURRENDER ALL ALONG THE LINE

The next revelation of the Prime Minister in the same speech on the 9th of April in the Lok Sabha concerns the demand of the Pakistanis for compensation for loss of canal waters consequent on Partition. At first the figure mentioned was Rs. 60 crores. Next we heard of the breath-taking figure of Rs. 180 crores to build new dams as well as new canals. On what right Nehru accepted these outrageous demands is a mystery. Now after the most recent mediation efforts of the World Bank on this Indo-Pakistan river dispute, Pandit Nehru expresses indignant protest against Pakistan's incredible audacity in demanding *thousands of crores* as compensation for the loss of the water from the canals consequent on Partition.

A FISHY AFFAIR

This has been a fishy negotiation. It is not clear as to why the World Bank should have been accepted as the mediator, in this matter. India should have known long ago that the World Bank, though international in name and claim and constitution, is really and in actual practice, a limb of American finance. And America is interested in the Indo-Pakistan dispute on the Pakistani side, on account of her commitment in the cold war and her anxiety to secure bases in Kashmir. Our people should demand the withdrawal of this question from the Bank's mediation. International law and practice should be applied about the sharing of the waters, as in the agreements in force for long years, in regard to the waters of the Danube on the Continent and of the St. Lawrence in North America. The principle is that each country through which a river passes is entitled to the amount of water that is collected by rainfall in her own territory. This quantity is calculable.

If Partition has diminished the quantity of water flowing in the old canals that now form part of Pakis-

tan, Pakistan must *accept* the lower figure as part of the Partition agreement. She has *no right to more* and our Government has wronged our people in having conducted negotiations through interested mediators so long. Now that Pandit Nehru realises the insatiable and unfair nature of the Pakistani demand, running into fantastic figures like *thousands of crores*, he should take the country into confidence and stop the fantastic and fishy confabulations with the World Bank representatives and Pakistani officials. The thing is *mala fide*. Let us have a White Paper on this subject without delay. The custom of issuing White Papers is part of Parliamentary practice, to educate the public on important issues, and give them the basic information on which Government proposes to base their policy. Democracy is not merely rule by the elected representatives of the people, but it is also a form of Government that takes the people into confidence.

NEHRU CLARIFIES DR. GRAHAM'S PROPOSALS

The Prime Minister clarified Dr. Graham's proposals for the stationing of UN Forces along the borders of Kashmir. They did not contemplate the stationing of UN troops in Azad Kashmir, as understood by some, but *within the borders of Pakistan* and along the Kashmir border. This did not violate Indian territory including Kashmir. But since Pakistan was in independent country India could not legally object. But still she could not be indifferent to the idea and cannot agree to the proposal as part of the settlement of the Kashmir problem. It was a retrograde idea, so far as the achievement of independence was concerned, to admit foreign troops on Asian soil.

But this is not enough, for there is such a thing as a military sphere of influence within which foreign influence has to be excluded. That was the rationale of Tibet being regarded as a buffer State within which adjoining Powers agreed not to penetrate militarily. India had such a zone in the days of British rule when she had excluded foreign forces from North Africa to Hongkong.

India should proclaim a *Monroe doctrine* in her area, from Aden to Hongkong, or at least, to Bangkok. Short of this, it is futile and impulsive to admit that Pakistan as a sovereign State has the right to admit foreign troops on her soil. India should declare that Pakistan was within the area of India's border defence, and as such, could not admit any foreign forces inside her territory, even though Pakistan was a sovereign country. By virtue of her situation within the perimeter of India's defence, India has a right to exclude foreign forces within the limits of former British India. It is surprising that our Prime Minister with all his claims for knowledge of international law, affairs and policies should betray ignorance of such matters, and should show over-sensitiveness to Pakistan's rights by-passing the claims and demands of India's security. He is too frail and undependable a defender of any area of peace.

INDIAN PRESSMEN AND PRESIDENT NASSER

We learn from the reports of the Indian press delegation that recently visited President Nasser of the United Arab Republic that there is not much chance of Nasser developing democracy in his territory.

(Continued on page 12)

The Punjab Cauldron

By M. A. Venkata Rao

ATTENDING the sixth session of Bharatiya Jan Sangh held at Ambala in the first week of April this year, I had an opportunity of meeting many leaders and political workers of East Punjab and appraising the strength of the feelings aroused and the direction of the trends that have emerged. The worst fears that had been aroused by reports of the misdeeds of the Kairon Ministry, (in spite of the Big Press playing them down, and putting all the blame on the Hindi Raksha leaders) were confirmed as the real picture of affairs disclosed itself gradually in the course of discussions with dozens of Hindus and Sikhs, and observation of the attitude of the general public. There was an air of tension and a feeling of crisis in the elders, political and non-political, disturbing social relations between Sikhs and Hindus. There was profound dissatisfaction with and abhorrence of the policy of the Congress and the Government with regard to the Sikhs and its plain resemblance to that of "Divide and Rule" of the erstwhile ruling race from Britain.

A DISMAL FUTURE FOR DEMOCRACY

Raising one's vision to an "above the battle" height and estimating the long term consequences of the present failure of vision and of nerve in the leaders of the ruling party, the distressing muddle in the Punjab prompts grave doubts of the future of democracy in our country. It suggests that a too premature introduction of an advanced form of Government may work more harm than good. Party and sectarian leaders, growing up in a social order of personal ambition, and personal ways of conducting public affairs, cannot throw off the defects of tradition and folkways and mental attitudes suddenly, and put on the psychological attitudes of public spirit, so necessary to the democratic polity. This is an observation that is forced on any impartial surveyor of public affairs and the doings of ministers in all States after the advent of independence.

But the present situation in the Punjab offers particularly acute and critical phase of the democratic failure for which the ruling party at the Centre and in the Province is chiefly responsible. Judging from the utterances of the Congress chiefs, it would seem as if all the blame for the deplorable state of affairs in this problem-province lay plainly at the door of the Hindus—those of the Hindi Raksha (protection) movement and of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh party that lent its support to the religious "fanatics" of the Arya Samaj for their own party ends. The Big Business press has done a great act of dis-service to the country by purveying biased, pro-Government, pro-Congress views on the confused tangle.

The heart of the problem is to be traced to the decision of the Congress party to compromise with pure nationalism and admitting the Akali party into its fold before the General Election to secure its electoral support. To this end it made concessions to the Akali

Sikhs in recognizing regional rights for them in the Punjab, rights amounting to a sphere of influence for the Sikh areas to the Akalis. The Sachar formula gave concrete shape to this compromise. So the PEPSU formula. In accordance with these agreements, the Congress party recognised Sikh areas in which Punjabi in Gurumukhi script was to be dominant with provision for the teaching of Hindi to Hindu children and their use in correspondence with Government for the Hindu minority. Similarly, it recognised Hindu areas in which Hindi will be predominant with provision for the learning of the Punjabi in Gurumukhi for Sikhs and recognizing their right to use it in correspondence with Government. This was like the first appearance of the lines of the liquid matter of the egg foreshadowing the later differentiation of the limbs of the chicken when the egg was hatched.

HINDU-BAITING STARTS

In practice, the Hindus in the "Sikh areas" found that the pact was not observed by Sikh administrators. Hindi was not taught in most places, while in Hindu areas both languages were taught in good faith. For the aim of the Sikhs was to drive out Hindi-speaking people from their areas "Dhoti, topi Yamuna par! is their battle cry. Social pressure in a number of ways is being applied by Sikhs to drive out Hindus from their area. Intimidation has become a part of the social climate. Hindu-Sikh unity is giving place to suspicion and sense of separation. At such a juncture, as a result of the Congress-Akali electoral pact, both the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Chief Ministership of the State Government passed into the hands of Sikhs, putting the destinies of the whole of the state into their hands. And they proceeded to use it fully (directly and indirectly) to facilitate the coming of Sikhistan. Instead of seeing to it, as a democratic Government, pledged to equal justice to all in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, that the language formula was strictly adhered to, the Chief Minister supported the extinction of Hindi in Sikhistan areas. The protests of Hindus were in vain. Their petitions and deputations were ignored. In the Sikh areas, official and police are largely Sikh and were more keen on advancing Sikh interests in every way than in enforcing the rule of law and observing the spirit of a broad national and democratic society and polity.

THE HINDU RESTRAINT

Even in such a situation, created by the communal policy of the Congress party, and their indifference to the grave injury to the national unity and the rule of law and the democratic process being inflicted by the Kairon administration day by day, the Hindus refrained from organizing themselves as Hindus against the separatist, pro-Sikhistan trends of the Punjab Congress and Government. They feared that it would widen and confirm the gulf between Sikhs and Hindus. Mal-administration of every kind—i.e. nepotism and corruption, was rife and was complicated with scarcely

concealed bias towards Sikh separatism. This was even confirmed in effect by the further disastrous concession given to forces of separatism by the Congress Government in the zonal division of financial power that they recognized in the zonal committees of Hindu and Sikh Ministers. The finance set apart for economic development of the Punjab was divided equally among them for use in their separate regions. Thus the sinister Congress-Akali pact on the party level resulted in the recognition of equal financial distribution as between the two zones at the Governmental level. If Pakistan was conceded by the undue anxiety for power on the part of Nehru and his colleagues of the Interim Government, today an effective basis for the Partition of the unfortunate state of the Punjab has been laid for the sake of the Akali bloc vote by the Nehru-led Congress party and Central Government. The enormity of the political crime thus committed with its incalculable repercussions in other States in strengthening the forces of separatism is not being realised outside the Punjab. But the Punjabi Hindus and probably a minority of "nationalist" Sikhs are thoroughly alarmed at the turn that events are taking.

THE FIRST CHALLENGE TO KAIRON MINISTRY

The first challenge to the Kairon Administration came in a minor key through the Hindi Raksha agitation launched by the Arya Samajists. As no serious opposition to the separatist policy of the authorities emerged, the Arya Samajists were obliged to defend their rights to the teaching of Hindi which is their cultural and sacred language. The founder of the Arya Samaj had the prescience to adopt Hindi for the scriptures and sacred writings of his Samaj though he was a Gujerati by birth, worked mostly in the Punjab. He wrote his *Satyartha Prakash* in Hindi, which became the sacred book of his Samaj. Now that Akali separatist ambition began to show itself in a systematic discouragement of Hindi in schools in the Gurumukhi Punjabi areas (i.e. "Sikhistani" areas), the religious and cultural rights of the Arya Samajists in the Punjab were directly threatened—provision for the teaching of Hindi was denied for one reason or other. Teachers were not appointed or discouraged by bad treatment from continuing and in several such unfair means.

These tactics should have been opposed by all citizens of any sect or party, whether on the ground of danger to national unity or of democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Such opposition has not yet crystallised. Hence the Hindi Raksha movement of the Arya Samajists took on a symbolic meaning and legitimate political importance in the eyes of the democratic and national-minded people of all parties of the Punjab. This accounts for the tacit and open revolt of Congressmen (mostly Hindus, as Sikhs were on the side of "Sikhistan") against the Kairon administration. Some of them have been former ministers, and men of high standing in the public life of the State.

NEITHER COMMUNAL NOR REACTIONARY

Thus the origin, objective and temper of the Hindi Raksha movement bear no resemblance to any kind of reaction or communalism. They consist in a demand for their legitimate educational rights as equal

citizens. The Punjab is a bilingual state as recognized by the States Reorganization commission wherein both Punjabi with Gurumukhi script and Hindi in Devanagiri is in use in all areas. The Hindu Punjabis have normally adopted Hindi now as the better choice. The decision is wise and commendable. The Sikhs could use Gurumukhi-Punjabi for their religious affairs and Punjabi and Hindi for administration and political purposes. But they wish to exclude Hindi from predominantly Sikh areas as the basis for Sikhistan.

POT CALLING THE KETTLE

The Hindi Raksha movement, therefore, bears a wider national and constitutional significance. To call it "reactionary" and "communal" as against the shining "progressivism" and "nationalism" of the Congress-Akali pact and the zonal division of financial sovereignty of the State, which in effect have ushered in Sikhistan in principle, is a glaring falsehood. It is a camouflage of the ruling party to hide its own *mala fides* and sacrifice highest principles of nationalism and democracy. It is on a par in principle with the encouragement given to the separatism of Sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir before his detention in 1953 and the softness to him since his release in 1957. It is on a par with the lethargy, indecision and criminal neglect of the lawlessness of the Dravida Kazagam separatists in Madras, of the war of the Nagas for independence and supine indulgence before the separatist demands of the Jharkhand Christian tribals led by or instigated by foreign missionaries.

Fortified by Nehru's castigation of the Hindi Raksha leaders and rank and file as "communist", the Kairon Ministry proceeded to suppress it by means so savage and revengeful, and so blithely free from all scruples and conventions and legal safeguards, characteristic of democracy and civilized government that the emotional impact of its record recalls the sadism of Taimur, Chengiz Khan and others. The British atrocities of the days of the Amritsar tragedy are being perpetrated in smaller instalments.

SAVAGE SUPPRESSION

The savage attacks of the Kairon police on the Hashiarpur procession, the savage maltreatment of women from respectable middle-class families, the savage and murderous attack on prisoners of the movement in Ferozpur Jail, the police firing on the defenceless crowds in Jullundur and innumerable instances of brutal treatment of men and women, for participating in peaceful and orderly satyagraha and demonstration, constitute a record of the Kairon administration that makes a cruel mockery of democracy. Here is tribal government of a personal kind, charged with personal savagery and clan-like vendetta that is a throw-back to the barbarous days of old. The callous way in which this orgy of lawlessness is being ignored by the Central government, who pose as the shining exemplars of democracy before the western world, and its nurse and mother, the great Gandhian corpus party is a measure of their blindness to national democratic values, so long as their party interests are served. *The crisis of the Punjab is a crisis of the nation.* It is necessary that the whole country should
(Continued on Page 12)

Algeria—An International Problem

By T. L. Kantam

ALGERIA has ceased to be essentially a problem of France or of the Western powers. It has become an international problem of the first magnitude. The fighting which began as a small armed rebellion against French authority in Eastern Algeria in November 1954 is dragging on with occasional outbursts of inhuman fury. It has not only resulted in terrible loss of life and destruction of property but has embittered the relations between many countries, an aspect fraught with dangerous possibilities.

The Indian National Congress had rightly drawn public attention to this grave problem by calling for the observance of March 30 as "Algeria Day."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A brief reference to the historical background will be of help in understanding the nature and extent of the problem.

Algeria was overrun by the Arabs several times and in 1518 came under Turkish suzerainty. For nearly three centuries thereafter, Algiers was the headquarters of the Barbary pirates, who preyed on Mediterranean shipping. The French brought Turkish rule to an end when they took Algiers in 1830.

During the Second Republic in France, the policy of colonization of Algeria was vigorously pursued and new colonists were sent out with state subsidies. In 1881, the European population in Algeria numbered 376,000 of whom 140,000 were settled on land. Between 1881 and 1889, the indigenous inhabitants lost about 45 per cent of their lands by forced sale. France's policy towards Algeria was one of strong conservatism, directed largely at maintaining France's primacy. Pressure for reforms by the local population in the 1920's, prompted probably by the agitation in Spanish Morocco under the Riff leader Abdul Karim, led to various incidents and riots but there was little change in the French attitude.

MADE A PART OF METROPOLITAN FRANCE.

In May 1947 savage riots broke out unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of Constantine, an important trading centre in Algeria, resulting in heavy casualties. The French at once took stock and set about making a new policy for Algeria. After a heated debate in the French Chamber, the Statute of Algeria was passed in August of that year. According to it, the country became a group of three Departments, Algiers, Oran Constantine, electing thirty Deputies to the National Assembly in Paris exactly as if they were situated in metropolitan France, fourteen to the Council of the Republic (Senate) and eighteen to the Assembly of the French Union at Versailles. Fifteen of the thirty Deputies, seven Senators and nine Union Councillors, in other words, half the total number from Algeria are Muslims. These could hold in their hands the balance of power in the multi-party French Assembly by voting together but they are divided along the lines of the political parties in France itself and never vote as a *bloc*.

In Algeria itself, there is an Algerian Assembly which sits in two separate colleges of houses; one exclusively Muslim and the other partly so. The President is alternately a Frenchman and a Muslim. This body votes the budget and has limited legislative power.

Algeria covers an area of 851,000 sq. miles, four times the area of France itself. The three Northern Departments, with their vineyards, and terraced hills reminiscent of the Riviera, comprise only 81,000 sq. miles, less than a tenth of the total area. The rest of the country, which includes the great Sahara Desert is called the Southern territories. These enormous territories, the total population of which is about 900,000, are not like the coastal Departments parts of France on the government level.

The population of Algeria is a little over nine millions of whom about 1,200,000 are Europeans. Not all of these are French. There are a good many Spaniards and some Italians. European *colons* (white settlers) own two-thirds of the arable land in Algeria and control the entire wine production, which is the basis of the country's economy. French interests control the banks, shipping, the mines, public utilities and most of the cereal production.

REVOLT BREAKS OUT

Such was the situation when the November 1954 rebellion broke out. It was not only a surprise but came as a shock to France. The French flew in reinforcements in large numbers and after a week the rebels were put down and order restored. This was, however, short-lived. There were violent outbreaks on August 20, 1955 and six battalions were freshly sent from France. On September 2, the French Government decided to send nine more battalions and called up 60,000 Reservists. The French authorities estimate that upto the end of 1957, *more than 46,000 persons have died in the fighting, including about 5,000 French military personnel.*

The Algerian question came up before the United Nations more than once. On February 15, 1957 two resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly. The first merely expressed the hope that a peaceful and democratic solution of the question would be found. The second noted that the unrest in Algeria was causing much human suffering and loss of life and expressed the belief that this unsatisfactory situation would be normalized by the joint efforts of France and the Algerian people to find an equitable solution in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

France took this hint or warning and in September produced a plan called *loi cadre* (framework law), the details to be filled up later. According to this plan, Algeria would be divided into six locally autonomous regions, each with its own legislative assembly, elected by Muslims and Europeans on the basis of "universal, equal and secret suffrage." (Voting is now weighted in favour of Europeans). Two of the regions would be controlled by the 1,200,000 European

residents and the remaining four areas by the eight million odd Muslims. France would retain control of defence, foreign affairs and finance. After two years, a central executive and assembly would be established consisting of representatives of the local assemblies, which would have the power to appeal for more autonomy and to seek to negotiate France's right to retain control of Algeria's defence, foreign affairs and finance.

When the bill was introduced in the French Assembly by the then Premier Bourges Maunoury, the extreme Right as well as the extreme Left combined to throw it out; the Rightists because they are opposed to any concessions to the Algerians; the Communists, the largest single party with 152 seats, because they want immediate independence for Algeria.

Maunoury's successor Felix Gaillard won a vote of confidence on his Algerian policy which is more or less the same as that of his predecessor.

Ferhat Abbas, the leader of the Front de Liberation of the revolution, summarily rejected the plan, saying that they would not settle for anything short of independence.

France, however, intends to keep Algeria as an integral part of itself. The French case is that France would find its economy seriously affected and its influence compromised if Algeria were separated from it, and Algeria would be at once condemned to economic decay if it were dissociated from France. This aspect has gained added importance in view of the recent discovery of rich oil wells in the Sahara Desert. Moreover, many of France's politicians maintain that the presence of over a million Europeans, who look upon Algeria as their home, makes independence for Algeria an impossibility. They say that no nation can abandon its nationals to the mercies of what they consider a hostile and menacing majority.

NOT PREPARED TO LEARN

In spite of the fact that France has been unable to cope with the widespread rebellion, now in its fourth year, she seems to think that the task assigned to the army of "pacifying" Algeria will prove successful. *She has failed to realize the intensity and driving force of Algerian Islamic nationalism.* She has equally failed to understand how this war has been steadily weakening her and alienating the sympathies of her friends and allies. The cost in terms of the direct outlays for military operations has been estimated at 200,000,000, 000 francs a year. Add to this the loss caused by the withdrawal of French man-power from industrial and agricultural production. All these have contributed to the crises in France's internal and external payments.

The bloodshed and destruction in Algeria, the tragic chain reaction of terror, and violence recall the conditions in Indo-China before the final show-down.

It is becoming increasingly clear that any solution short of an offer of independence within a stated period will not put an end to the fighting in Algeria, until both sides see reason. Negotiations should be immediately started on this basis with the leaders of the revolution. This has not been seriously tried before, since France has refused to recognize the "rebels" or to have anything to do with them. The proffered good offices of Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia and Mohamed V of Morocco should prove of great value in these negotiations and should be availed of.

During the interim period before independence, the long-dominant European population can adjust itself to the changed conditions and prepare for co-existence with the Muslims. Such co-existence will not only be mutually advantageous but also indispensable for the viability of Algeria.

TRUE TALES—Helen Keller (4th of a series)

by VERUS



INSPIRATION.—It has been said that all who come near Helen Keller are deeply affected, that no one is quite himself. Gifted and ungifted alike bring her the best they have, and remembering her lost eyes, look at the world for her as well as for themselves. No one enjoys more the wonders and glories of life than Helen Keller.



DEDICATED.—During and after World War II, she devoted most of her time to war-blinded soldiers in the U.S. and abroad, carrying her faith into action. In 1936, Anne Sullivan, the compassionate teacher, the life-long friend, died. This grievous loss was softened by the unquenchable spirit that guides her life.



SERVICE.—Not content with over-coming her own handicaps, Miss Keller has devoted her life to writing, lecturing and traveling to help others do the same. All monies received from these activities go to the blind, and the Helen Keller \$2,000,000 Endowment Fund. Her only aim in life is service. (Continued)

Noon's 'No-War' Offer Followed By Massing Of Troops On Assam Border

By Daneshmand

ON April 5, "Dawn," the influential Karachi daily said: "Prime Minister Noon spoke some brave words on the floor of the National Assembly the other day and almost in so many words threatened to change the country's policy if the Graham mission failed and the Anglo-American bloc, to whose star we have hitched our wagon, did nothing about it. But there have been subsequent indications that poor Mr. Noon has been in trouble for making that speech, and we would not like to embarrass him by asking him to be as good as his word. A solution of the problem of Kashmir will have to be worked out by other hands and by other means."

These words certainly appear to have been prophetic. For Noon has obviously realized the futility of following an unreasonable policy. His offer to sign a no-war pact is merely a facade to cover up his fears. He is afraid already that American opinion is becoming wise on the Kashmir issue, and it may not be very long before it comes to see the justice of India's stand. Noon's showy gesture to sign a no-war pact need come as no surprise to political observers in India, whose shrewdness and observation cannot match the stupidity and single-tracked mind of Pakistani politicians.

NEW DELHI'S "CLOSED" MIND

In the meantime, the Kashmir muddle appears to deepen. This again is a reflection on Indian policy. It reflects only our incapacity and feebleness. The Government of India has developed a certain habit of mind to all issues connected with Pakistan. It has the custom of looking upon such matters with every amount of indulgence and with a lack of fortitude. For the last ten years we have been indulging in forthy speeches in Parliament, which have absolutely no meaning in face of the open and declared hatred of Pakistan for everything Indian.

How long is such a state of affairs going to endure? Mr. Noon, while declaring his willingness to sign a no-war pact, said also, "I hope Mr. Nehru will realize that it is the existence of these disputes and these disputes alone which forces the two countries to waste their wealth in an armaments race" which, otherwise, could be profitably employed in raising the standard of living of the people.

Very misleading words, for they hide all the darker aspects. They hide, for example, the historic hatred for the Hindu that the Muslim harbours. They hide the perennial religious fanaticism of the Muslim. They hide also the flagrant facts of Pakistani harassment to India. Mr. Noon is talking through his hat when he says that he would prefer to spend all the wealth in improving the standard of living of the people. For, in the first place, India is not competing Pakistan

in the armaments race; and, secondly, Pakistan has no intention of raising the standard of living of her people. Pakistani politicians are without exception corrupt, nepotistic, disloyal, opportunistic, and immune to nobility. It is impossible to expect them to entertain the very tragic plight of the citizens in their country. Had the Pakistani politicians been sincere, the political structure would have been quite consolidated by this time, leading in turn to a strengthening of the economy.

HAS PAKISTAN GIVEN UP HER WAR-MINDEDNESS?

And now comes the extraordinary insolence that is not new only because it is very characteristic of the Muslim mind. *Pakistan is massing heavy troops along the 180 miles of Indo-Pakistan border of Assam State!* Pakistan has already started digging new trenches and raising more bunkers in violation of the cease-fire agreement. This continues in spite of the protests lodged by the Assam Government to Pakistan. This is how Pakistan "competes" India in the armaments race!

Even if war be ruled out, it cannot be gainsaid that Pakistan is bent on making mischief. All these massing of troops are urged through a blind attachment to fanaticism and to an equally blind hatred for Hindus. There cannot be any sensible logical outcome of the whole affair, for it is plainly illogical right from beginning through to the end. Pakistan is guided only by an instinctive hatred for the Hindus.

This is probably the proper place to utter a voice of warning. If Pakistan is contemplating war, it will have to face one very logical consequence. The most certain thing about an Indo-Pakistani war is the annulment of the Partition. This is obvious even on apparent grounds. If the Partition is annulled, has Pakistan the confidence to assert victory over India, for then there can be no other outcome except a domination of one over the other? Let Pakistan think then before it takes the plunge. Nehru may be the Prime Minister today; Nehru may be admittedly soft and foolish; but Nehru is not India!

NO-WAR INDEED!

The whole attitude of Pakistan may be graphically illustrated in the following manner:

April 16. Mr. Noon offers to sign No-War Pact.

April 17. Pak troops massing on Assam border.

Trenches dug; Protest to Dacca on truce violation.

.....
This is the perpetual picture. What can any intelligent statesman infer from this basic trait of the situa-

tion? If the rules of *real politik* hold good and if they are a trusted guide, then the inference can be the most obvious one, that is, Pakistan is India's Enemy Number One.

Yet the most fatal blow comes from our own government, from none other than Prime Minister Nehru. Mr. Nehru has summarily denied the massing of Pakistani troops along the Assam border. As he says, "There might be some platoon or company movement here and there, but this should not be exaggerated." This is how Mr. Nehru felt about Sheikh Abdullah before he learned about the latter's treachery. This is how Mr. Nehru felt before Pakistan was formed. This is how he has felt before every trouble that this country has had to face so far. Mr. Nehru's own view now, as he says, is that on either side of the several hundreds-mile-long border nerves are in a "strained condition," and charges have been made by both sides

constantly because of the variation in the course of the river.

NOT PREPARED TO FACE REALITY

This is Mr. Nehru's view. Characteristically enough, it displays the bent of mind which is unable to face the realistic situation. It displays an escapist mind, a mind given to over-simplification. Mr. Nehru is, as always, running away from the facts. It is "fantastic nonsense" (a favourite term of abuse with Mr. Nehru) to say that the whole thing is nothing more than an alteration in the course of a river. It is even more fantastic to think that there is nobody in the Lok Sabha who can put his foot down on such nonsense. It shows what this country is coming to. It shows also that we are as much to blame, if not more, that we are facing today a terrible threat from Pakistan.

Red "Mundhras" Of Kerala

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

THE preoccupation of the agitated public with the L.I.C.—Mundra bungle in the heart of India served the communists to screen off their fraud of no less magnitude in the Red-governed state of India. While the Mundra scandal raised a vast amount of dust all over the country, a gigantic swindle to the tune of Rs. 40 lakhs, perpetrated by the super-Mundras of Kerala in the notorious Andhra rice deal has somehow escaped the notice of the public.

It is the normal practice of any democratic government, when there is food scarcity to procure food grains from available sources at rock-bottom prices, and sell them to the public at cheap rates with the help of State subsidy. *But the Communist Government of Kerala purchased rice at a price much higher than the market rate with a view to subsidising a company by the name of Sriramulu and Suryanarayan Company with which certain communists are concerned.* While the Central Government and private agencies purchased rice from Andhra at a maximum price of Rs. 33 per bag, the Communist Government of Kerala purchased the same quality rice at Rs. 37 per bag from persons, who are known communists, and who have no previous record of dealing in rice. Further, a commission of 31 nP per bag was paid to them.

RE-IMBURSING COMMUNIST PARTY COFFERS

The loss suffered by the State Exchequer in this deal is reported to be well over Rs. 40 lakhs, which has perhaps now found its way into the coffers of the communist party. This clever deal was undoubtedly put through by the Communist Government of Kerala to replenish the party coffers. Recent experience, notably in some of the East European countries, shows that this is the normal practice of communist governments.

There is something about the whole Andhra rice deal. In the first place, the Communist Government

of Kerala went out of its way to procure food grains from another State, independently of and without consulting its Government. Secondly, it procured food supplies from persons who had no previous record of dealing in food stuff, and without inviting tenders from actual dealers. This shady deal should not be allowed to evade scrutiny and public exposure. The Government, at first, refused to institute a judicial inquiry into its rice deal, but when the Opposition demand for an impartial judicial inquiry mounted, it conceded the demand, but after spiriting away the secret files relating to the rice deal, and thus wiping out every trace of incriminating evidence!

HIGH-RANKING RED LEADERS INVOLVED

It is now reliably learnt that leading communists like P. Sunderaiih and A. K. Gopalan are involved in this rice deal. Sunderaiih's own brother is said to be closely connected with the company from which the rice was purchased. A telegram from A. K. Gopalan to the Kerala Government advising it to give the rice contract to this company is reported to have been discovered by the Controller.

It may be recalled here that the Communist Party of India demanded in our Parliament, and rightly, the resignation of the entire Central Cabinet on the ground of its joint responsibility for the dubious part of T.T.K. in the L.I.C.—Mundra deal, and went through the motions of upholding a great tradition of parliamentary democracy, and here is an occasion for them now to vindicate their vaunted concern for orthodox democratic practice. Will the Communist Party of India now demand the resignation of the Namboodripad cabinet?

The people of Kerala, who had been sick of the corrupt Congress administration for years, expected at least a clean administration from the communists. But alas! the communists not only beat the Congress

Political Prosings

PANDIT NEHRU AND THE COLD WAR

By Libra

IN a recent speech Pandit Nehru characterised those "gentlemen" who called co-operative farming "Communism" as lacking in all intelligence and much capacity of thinking. As usual with him, he continued—"it was a stupid argument. If joint farming is a good thing, let us have it, whatever name you call it. Discuss the thing whether it is good or bad. But it is absurd and fantastic nonsense to say that it is anti-Communism or Communism and so we will not have it. This is cold war and we will not stoop to it."

In order to understand the implications of Mr. Nehru's pronouncement, it would be necessary to have some idea of the recent trends in Indian agrarian policy. Professor Dantawala, who was holding a high post in the Planning Commission till recently, has referred to the parallelism which is perhaps implicit in the Indian and Chinese approaches. And he pertinently asks whether India will not slide into the path of collectivism. According to the bosses of New China, collective farming is "the highest stage of co-operation." Our planners have stated in their Report that "the co-operative sector will be enlarged until the management of the entire land in the village becomes the cooperative responsibility of the entire community." Indeed, a stage will be reached when the "co-operative" path would automatically lead to collectivism. Professor Dantawala has commented "If the aim of land reforms is to abolish individual ownership in land and entrust its management to village panchayats... the slogan "Land to the Tiller" sounds out of tune with the real intentions of the planners in India!

It is difficult to understand how honest criticism can be dismissed as a wave of "cold war." When Rajkumari Amrit Kaur gave expression to her views on the Budget she was accused of exhibiting the mentality of a "petty capitalist." Choice expression such as "lacking in all intelligence and no capacity for thinking," "stupid argument," "petty capitalist" "cold war" etc. may reflect the Pandit's undoubted mastery over the English language which he learnt at Harrow. But the Harrovian Pandit must remember that they do not constitute effective answers to informed criticism. (Continued on page 23)

Police As Dealers Of Liquor In Prohibition Bombay

QUITE recently the Bombay Government celebrated what is known as the annual Prohibition Week, when from the Governor down to the Chief Minister eulogised the "wonderful" experiment, and its equally "beneficent results" on the morale and the the health of the people. The common man knows to his cost what a reign of gangsterism has been installed in the City as the direct result of the so-called experiment. He knows, too, that illicit liquor could be had for the asking in any part of the City or the State for 24 hours round the clock. He also knows that it has meant a lot of corruption amongst a section of the Police. But all these facts, which are common knowledge to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear are completely ignored by the Congress Government and its sycophants. They simply turn the blind eye to all the ill-effects of the prohibition experiment.

If this criticism of prohibition experiment is to be turned down as coming from prejudiced and jaundiced persons, here is what a British editor of a Liberal paper, Kingsley Martin, saw and heard while he was in Bombay. And what is more he is a friendly critic of the Congress Raj and a friend of Pandit Nehru. This is what he wrote in the *New Statesman* (London).

"Prohibitionists will not understand the lengths to which people will go, even in India, to obtain drink. Already all the danger signs are present in a place like Bombay, where serious effort is made to administer the law.

"A friend told me the other day that he called on a leading public figure, who at once offered him a glass of whiskey. When a police officer called, my friend was surprised that the bottle was not hidden. But he understood why, when he discovered that the police official had called to arrange the terms for supplying another consignment of spirits.

"The corruption that results from Prohibition *far outweighs any possible advantages*. I know nothing that degrades society as the knowledge that you and your neighbour both know that you are both breaking the law; and what is more, that those whose business it is to enforce it, are also breaking it."

—The *New Statesman*

(Continued from Page 10)

at the polls but also some of its past records of corruption. Mention may be made here of Namboodripad's appointment of a communist worker, Mr. Satyanarayan Sharma (who had crossed his age-limit for any government service) as his personal assistant, without the knowledge and consent of the Public Service Commission, the purchase of a plot belonging to a prominent communist, Mr. Easwara Iyer, M.P. (who had earlier demanded Rs. 50,000 for the same plot from the P.S.P. ministry) by the Communist Government of Kerala for Rs. 3 lakhs, and the Law Minister, Mr. Krishna Iyer's misuse of his previous knowledge of the provision of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill

which exempts trust properties, and transfer of his extensive property in Malabar to his private family Religious and Charitable trust before the introduction of the bill, with a view to protecting his own private property from the application of the bill.

The Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodripad had promised to put an end to the corrupt practices from the secretariat level to village level, and present the people of Kerala with a clean administration. What a divergence between the communist professions and practices. As a Kerala leader said the other day, "Mundras might come and Mundras might go but Mundraism will remain for ever in Kerala."

(Continued from page 4)

Nasser is reported to have said that democracy is too premature to Arabs. They report that in the huge mass meeting, addressed by Nasser at which they were present, applause by the audience seemed to be led by certain previously designated persons. The applause seemed to be graded, as in Soviet Russia. Applause, commotion in the hall, great applause. Hear, Hear, Shame, Prolonged applause. The audience rise to their feet and cheered for half an hour. This is the pattern laid down in Soviet practice regarding public meetings. Similar seems to be the case in Nasser's country.

Nasser said that all Arabs are united in the determination to achieve Arab unity under him. The delegates got the impression that he was right. But they had very little opportunity to mix with the people on their own. They were taken out to places programmed for their visit very early in the morning and brought back in the night, avoiding the interior of the city and contact with the people. Once a Hindu and Muslim member of the delegate escaped to Old Cairo. The Muslim had a beard. In Old Cairo, an Egyptian greeted them warmly on learning that they were Indians. But seeing the Muslim and his beard, the old man gave him a resounding slap on his ear. He thought that he was a Pakistani, and did not like him for Pakistan's part in the Anglo-French invasion!

The pair came to Kuwait in the Persian Gulf. Here too the feeling of Arabs was strong for Arab unity under Nasser. The Kuwait is a protectorate of the British, and draws vast subsidies from them for oil. The Sultan has established free education for all his subjects with free food and lodging and medical help for their children at school. But all such amenities notwithstanding, his Arab subjects support Nasser's ambition and programme of ALL Arab Merger with passionate devotion!

PAN-ISLAM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The Prime Minister of Malaya has denied that any one had proposed to him any Union of Islamic States with Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore as members. But this shows that the idea has emerged somewhere, to which he was obliged to make his reaction clear. So as anticipated in these columns for some years, and Nasser, the Pan-Islamic fever has spread to Malaya and Indonesia. There are now three areas in which the Islamic Federal Idea is exercising fascination—(1) Nasser's Egypt, Syria and Yemen to which Saudi Arabia is attaching herself before long; (2) the Baghdad Pact countries and now (3) South-East Asian Muslim countries. The call of Islam is stronger than that of secularism.



Courtesy: "Fitmindia"

(Continued from Page 6)

be roused to the gravity of the situation in this Northern state.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE LEAGUERS

The Akali Sikhs, supported by the Sikh Government, are behaving exactly like the Muslim Leaguers of old. Master Tara Singh has forgotten that Sikhism was the valiant vanguard of Hinduism emerging in the war-to-the-death against Moghul oppression. He is now a follower of Jinnah, anxious for carving out Sikhistan by playing on the characteristic weaknesses of Nehru for appeasement of militant minorities, and endless indifference to the majority. To Nehru the majority of the nation has no rights, so long as he can get together odds and ends from minority groups and a core of the amorphous Hindu majority. Master Tara Singh has also adopted the Muslim League's methods using the cry of "religion in danger", including fake charges of desecration of Sikh holy places!

The Jan Sangh threw in its lot with the Hindi Raksha movement realizing the disastrous consequences for national unity and democracy, if the separatist policies of Congress and Government were not checked. They threw in their volunteers, who rose to the occasion and resisted the repressive Government on all fronts. Thousands were maltreated, and thrown into prison where they were brutally assaulted. Third degree methods were used on them by the Kairon police to extract confessions of desecrating Sikh holy places. There are clear proofs of the collision of the Kairon administration with Master Tara Singh in his Sikhistan strategy. The Arya Samajist-Jan Sangh leadership are putting the basis of their co-operative resistance to the untruth, violence and personal vendetta of their opponents on a high national and cultural level. They are taking their stand on the historic fact, that the great Sikh gurus emerged as the defenders of the Hindu people against the oppression of the Moghuls. Today if Sikhism is in danger, they would spring spontaneously to its defence in all ways—even to death. Many of the 65 decorated arches and gateways erected for the Jan Sangh procession in Ambala, on the 4th April bore extracts from the teachings of the great Sikh gurus! Punjab Hindus venerate them as much as the Sikhs. The Hindu leaders of the Punjab are not opposing "communalism" by "communalism". They are opposing communal and territorial separatism on the basis of nationalism and democracy.

LET INDIA KNOW THE FACTS

The surrender to Sikh separatism for party in the Punjab is to be seen in the light of a grave crisis endangering the ivory foundations of integral nationalism and the democratic set-up of free India. Lovers of liberty all over the country should pay urgent attention to the worsening situation in this unfortunate State and rally public opinion on a national scale free from the confusions of the region before it is too late. Publicists, capable of observing realities without party prejudice and of interpreting long-term trends and of resisting the temptation to use slogans, condemnatory epithets and of judging men and affairs with fresh independent minds, are sorely needed to study the situation in the Punjab in the interests of national welfare.

Revolutionising Indian Life (Section II)*

ANNIHILATE SUPERSTITION (PART VI)

By Dr. K. N. Kini, M.A. PH.D. (Columbia University)

Former Director of Public Instruction, Jodhpur.

SELF-REALIZATION IS SUPERSTITION

(43) The sole aim of man in *Hindu Philosophy* is regarded as Self-realization, which is to be attained by a person when his intellect has become immovable and firmly established in the Self (God) (Vide Geeta,* Ch. II, 53). He is bidden to be free from the thought of getting and keeping and to be established in the Self or God (Ch. II, 45). He is also to be devoid of longing, abandoning all desires, without the sense of "I" and "mine" when he is said to attain peace (Ch. II, 71). Then he is supposed to have his being in Brahman, and being established therein, he attains to oneness with Brahman or God (Ch. II, 72).

(44) This is an amazing philosophy for any human being to follow in this world. One would like to question if anybody has established Self-realization by actual practice and has merged with God. If an individual should always spend his time in the meditation of God, in what way does he subscribe to the well-being of the society in which he lives? Will he not be eking out a most selfish life, of utmost uselessness to his fellow-beings? Is there any certainty that he will in the end be firmly established in "Brahman," whatever that expression may mean?

(45) If an individual has to give up all thoughts of getting and keeping, where is the incentive to improve living conditions and develop agriculture, establish and expand industries, intensify efforts to strengthen defence, in short to put forth any activity to cope with life problems? One can as well adopt the life of the forest-dwellers and eke out his existence, eating anything he may get in the jungles without working for it or even starve to death and thus attain eternal peace.

(46) *The precept that one has to be devoid of longing, abandon all desires, without the sense of "I" and "mine" is most dangerous for our very existence in this world.* It has already bred deep into the very marrow of the bones of the Hindus and that is why they are indifferent to all strenuous life and lead a lazy and apathetic life. If there is no "I" and "mine," then the individual is as good as a stone, devoid of all feelings for his kith and kin. *It is this most ruinous philosophy which is the root cause of our backwardness in all affairs of human living and which does not serve as an incentive to betterment.* If our egoism is inhibited and further, this rich land of ours will become a prey once again to foreign depredations. Once more we shall be slaves to a more virile, ambitious and daring nation, just as we were during the many centuries before 15th August 1947.

(47) We have fortunately gained our independence recently. All our plans, welfare schemes, Defence organization etc. will be permeated by inefficiency, langour and apathy and will fail to bring us

the desired results, if we shall not drive this pernicious philosophy from our minds. Even as it is, our industrial and agricultural labour, and governmental work compare ill with what we find in Japan, Europe and America.

(48) *Whatever goes against human propensities and urges is unnatural and therefore is superstitious. Belief in the supernatural is superstition.* There is nothing unnatural or supernatural in nature. We call or term a thing unnatural or supernatural because of our lack of scientific knowledge to explain that occurrence or phenomena. The more science-minded a nation is, the less superstitious it becomes. Therefore a broad-based system of science education and research alone will help our nation from going into ruin.

(49) People consider that this kind of renunciation, that is, of being free from the thought of getting and keeping, is to be fostered as our special tradition. I consider it to be a flame, which will burn anybody who hugs it, despite the fact that the flame is our own. A flame is a flame, whether it belongs to us or anybody else; it burns any one who hugs it. We have called it "Vedanta" and have been hugging it. It is burning us. It has thus become "Jeevanta" or ending of our life or useful existence. If we should prosper in this material world, we must renounce renunciation. This way lies our salvation.

REPLACE SELF-REALIZATION BY MAN-REALIZATION

(50) If we would adopt Man-realization of man-mindedness in preference to Self-realization of God-mindedness, there would be no Brahman and Non-Brahman question, with its attendant movement "kill the Brahmans and burn their houses," no untouchability, no land-lord and servant-tussels, no labour troubles, no save Hindi agitation, no Hindu-Muslim-Xian problems and so on. Because man in India has not identified himself with fellow-man, but has directed all his energies into the sterile and selfish channel of realizing God and Him alone, our life has now become uneventful and unproductive.

(51) Rabindranath Tagore has an intellectual essay on "Realisation of the Infinite" in his "Sadhana", in which he says "We can only come into relation with Him by union, union of our whole being. We must be one with our Father, we must be perfect as He is." How to be one with Him is left to the imagination of the reader. The process may mean anything or nothing. That God is perfect is only a definition, an attribute that man has given in his ignorance of what God is.

* The previous articles on the subject have appeared in our issues of January 15, 1958 and Feb. 1, March 18, May 1 and June 15, 1957.

Who are the Real Enemies of India?

Prof. Om Prakash Kahol, M.Sc., B.T., of the G. M. N. College, Amballa, has addressed a letter to the Editor of the "Indian Libertarian" on the plight of the Hindu community in Free India. We are publishing the letter, para by para, with our comments thereon. The paras of the letter are printed in italics while the editorial comments follow in roman.

The view of the Professor that Islam and Christianity are the twin enemies of India is not wholly correct. India's two enemies are Islamic Pakistan and International Communism.

The present plight of Hindus in India is that the government is behaving in a most non-Hindu way and yet Islamic Pakistan considers it as a Hindu State.

1. *While thinking of a 'religion', you have before you the picture of dogmatic codified religions like Islam and Christianity only. Hinduism is fundamentally different from that conception of 'religion'.*

The difference is not fundamental. Philosophically, religion is the realization of the highest value sustaining a system of values. Particular religions differ in their notion of the highest value. The lower values—material and social, are covered by all the historical religions; they differ in their concept of spiritual values. We may only claim that Hinduism comes nearer, why, is almost identical with, the universal religion; Christianity comes next; then Islam; the lowest is Communism.

Sociologically, religiosity is a complex system of the following elements, belief, piety, morality, group-sentiment. Belief is expressed in some system of theology or metaphysics. Piety expresses itself in many rituals or symbolic acts; morality, in socio-legal code and in-

(Continued from page 13)

Man wants some prop to rest on when he is in difficulties. God is an insurance. Therefore man has created this prop of God to rest on and has given the attribute of perfection to Him in utter self-deception. A child cries "Oh mother" when confronted by any danger, whether the mother is present or is absent. The adult has been taught to cry "Oh God" in similar circumstances and therefore utters that cry in anguish or when confronted by danger.

(52) We must discover and enhance those modes of behaviour by man and those methods of living which secure human needs to the maximum degree, regardless of barriers of race and religion which are based on God-mindedness and which now place humanity into tight compartments. The Indian Constitution is built up on secular democracy; but unfortunately caste and religious prejudices have so much been ingrained into our lives, that the elections are being often fought on caste and religion bases. So the objective of the constitution is set at naught.

(53) Humanism knows no caste, creed, colour or religion. The children should be indoctrinated from their earliest years so as to get rid of these imperfections. This is not an easy proposition but it is worthy of trial if humanity should get maximum satisfaction in their life on this planet. *Man should be recognized as man with all his imperfections and not be expected to be imaginary God-like.* He should be elevated by mutual help and education to outgrow these imperfections. In this lies the true joy and beauty of life.

(To be continued)

dividual conduct; group-sentiment, in institutions. When these are systematized and adhered to by us exclusively as the best world-view and way of life, we get a religion and we become followers of the religion. Non-adherence, non-exclusive adherence, exclusive adherence, when tolerant and divorced from pursuits of wealth and power gives an atmosphere of secularism. Hinduism is more prone to secularism than other religions.

2. *The basic aim of all patterns of society is to promote well-being of humanity, which depends upon scientific basis of polity, economy, jurisprudence and morality.*

3. *Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, Marx and Gandhi have, according to their own lights, given different sets of principles—emphasizing economic, spiritual, moral, or all, aspects of human existence to varying degrees. The emphasis in Buddha's ideology is on ethics; in Mohammed's ideology on group-consciousness; and in Marxist ideology on economic planning. But Buddhism has elements of economic planning and Marxism has elements of ethics. The distinction between 'religion' and 'ideologies' is thus superficial. Marxism is as much of a religion as Mohammedanism is a 'political ideology.'*

* Ideology implies the sociological standpoint; the religious standpoint is valuational. The historical religions may be dealt with from various standpoints.

4. *Which system of values—Marxist, Gandhian, Buddhist, Christian or Moslem—is really the best, cannot be decided, and every one has a right to evolve, and place before others, a system of his own, for the betterment of society.*

* There is a universal (or philosophical) system of values (or religion): in the light of this system all historical religions can be compared and graded as higher and lower.

5. *That system of society, in which every one has a right to think freely, in which no blind faith in any scriptural authority is demanded, in which even conflicting view-points have not only to be tolerated but respected, is called Hindu Social Order. This is a philosophy of co-existence, par excellence. It includes believers in God and non-believers both; it incorporates meat-eaters and non-meat-eaters; it admits believers in caste-distinction as well as non-believers.*

* Fixation of feeling for a partial system and finding satisfaction in it as the final good is the source of evil. Co-existence of good and evil does not mean evil is to be respected. The evils of Hinduism on the instinct-

Free Economy vs Socialism

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

WE are told by our leaders that India is a democratic country, and if so, then an enlightened free enterprise is an indispensable part of democracy. Free enterprise is indispensable to the democratic way of life. Free enterprise has an important and legitimate function to perform in national life. Democracy cannot survive if it does not provide scope for the functioning of a healthy, virile, and broad private sector. In the absence of such a private sector, even a well-meaning representative government by exercising a totally or virtually monopolistic ownership of, or control over, the means of production, distribution and exchange, will transform itself into a party dictatorship. Our problem of development involves the reconciliation of the three broad objectives of preserving a democratic political structure, of increasing national output rapidly and substantially, and of building a pattern of society with a view to achieving an optimum measure of social justice.

On one side our Prime Minister says, "We want to produce the material goods of the world and to have a high standard of living, but not at the expense of the spirit of man, not at the expense of his creative energy, not at the expense of his adventurous spirit, not at the expense of all those fine things of life which have ennobled man through the ages." And yet on the other hand our Government, having adopted the "socialist pattern of society" as their goal, has assumed excessive powers and this has reduced the freedom and initiative of the individual and the first casualty is free enterprise. High rates of income tax, super tax, surcharge tax, expenditure tax, wealth tax, capital gains tax and various other taxes are tending to be the rule rather than the exception. And more important, there is the expectation and fear on the part of the individual of still higher taxes in the future. As a direct result of high taxation is the ever increasing wage bill that the private sector has to bear. The revenue contributing capacity of the people and their will to save are already under severe strain in an environment psychologically antagonistic to incentives to earn and to save. True lovers of freedom will not welcome this trend, for the simple reason that it will lead, sooner or later, to a monolithic state.

WHERE ARE THE CHAMPIONS OF FREE ENTERPRISE

In the present haste of the Government to take the country to the slippery slope of socialism, and the death of private enterprise and initiative, the role of the intelligent captains of industry should be obvious. It is they who have to boldly oppose the wrong government policies and educate the public on the real role of private enterprise vis-a-vis democracy. But it is surprising that a staunch supporter of Free Enterprise, namely, Sir H. P. Mody, ex-Governor of U.P. to have said in Bombay: "An

opportunity should be sought by business men to achieve a closer understanding with the Government. *The business community unreservedly accepted the social objectives which the country had adopted through the Government and Parliament*". Here is a complete surrender on the part of free enterprise. He had, therefore, no reason to complain that implementations of these objectives placed intolerable burdens on those engaged in the production of goods and services, and if the pace was so fast and the action so drastic, that the freedoms which were fundamental in the functioning of a democratic society were threatened, then it was clearly the duty of the business community as responsible citizens to raise their voice and point out where the country was drifting."

YOU CAN'T EAT THE CAKE AND HAVE IT

It is futile to raise the voice in wilderness once you accept the socialist objectives. It is of no use shouting against the diminution of freedom. This fear has been aptly expressed by Prof. Jewkes in his book "Ordeal by Planning." In the opinion of the present writer this is the only book which gives a clear exposition of the case for free enterprise. In this book he advised the business men not to keep quiet in the face of criticism and he feels that if the business man keeps quiet he does so at the peril of his own existence and that of free economy. He has asked them to think as to why the type of the economic freedom which finds room for them has positive advantages over a central planned economy; understand thoroughly the nature of free economy, and take the trouble to rebut misrepresentations of it; he also points out that the ownership of the means of production does not necessarily mean an exploitation, and how the loss of economic freedom would ultimately spell danger to the democratic way of life. He also emphasised that as private property diminished in importance, due to confiscatory form of taxation and other measures, there would be very few people, who would have the independence to criticise fearlessly the policy of the Government. While discussing the sociological impact of the abolition of the private property he says: "The abolition of private ownership of the means of production would constitute the abolition of the institution of property itself and that, in turn, would involve the destruction of all forms of freedom. . . . It would wipe out the merchant. It would impose cramping restrictions on those who are temperamentally attracted by the task of taking risks, organising or innovating. It would restrict all choice of occupation except that approved by the State. It would deprive people of the right to save, except under conditions which make them more completely subservient to the State. And, by preventing the creation of a class, with a measure of financial independence, it would enfeeble the expression of unpopular minority views which re-

present the salt and savour of any society and so often constitute, in one generation what comes to be accepted as the wisdom of the following (Pp. 194-95).

It is a misfortune that in our country there are many people who hold an erroneous view that the concentration of economic power in the hands of the individuals is a sin, while it is a blessing if the same power is concentrated in the hands of the State. These people do not realise that the wrong deeds of the individuals can be controlled, by the state but it would be difficult to control or correct bureaucratic misdeeds.

OUR CREAVEN INDUSTRIALISTS

A close study of the taxation proposals shows that our Government has already usurped wide powers to itself, with the result that the private enterprise is given a negligible role to play in the economic development of the country. Our economy is under excessive regulation and control and this means diminution of the democratic way of life. Our captains of industry are under fear and they are helpless in expressing their minds because of the fear of inviting wrath. This fear would go on increasing as our economy becomes subject to a greater regimentation. If we desire to maintain our democratic way of life, then it is the duty of every citizen, specially the industrialists, to tell our Prime Minister plainly and without fear that the present economic chaos is not a pilgrimage to prosperity but to poverty. And supposing prosperity will ensue by way of state intervention, which experience shows is not be possible, what is the use of prosperity without economic freedom? If the liberal values are crushed as it is done at present in our country, then the economic prosperity is meaningless. Our leaders seem to hold the view that it is immoral to possess wealth, by other individuals than themselves and to own private property except by themselves. The individuals have no separate existence; they exist for the State, and the politicians, and not the State for the people.

THE STATE WILL BE THE "BOSS"

In framing the taxation proposals the ideological predilections have weighed more with the Government than the financial needs of the Plan. The new taxation proposals will certainly reduce the freedom of free enterprise and slowly increase its dependence on the State. An important result of raising the incidence of both direct and indirect taxes will be a fall in the savings that will be available to the private sector. A large part of the saving in urban areas will go to the State. These enterprises will have to turn to the Government whenever they need more finance. No entrepreneur will be able to start new industry or expand the existing ones unless the Government comes to his rescue even for finding the initial capital. This will reduce the free institutions in this country and every form of the business will be entirely based upon the Government, even for small details. Borrowing of capital will not be possible without the blessing of the Government. The Government will become the biggest Managing Agent in the private sector, even though it attacked the Managing Agency System in the past in the strongest terms.

Heavy taxation has shattered the confidence of the investors; it has also reduced the savings of the people that go into money market. This is mainly due

to the taxation policy of the Government which has failed to increase the national income, even though it has increased the supply of money in the hands of the people who have high propensity to consume but no inducement to invest. In the Second Five Year Plan a great emphasis has been placed on heavy industries which will yield result in the long period, but in the words of late Lord Keynes "In the long period we are all dead". What we require is the development of cottage industries, but with taxes under the last "pedestrian budget" our cottage industries are affected adversely with the result that unemployment has increased in recent years. As a result of various tax proposals there will not be large entrepreneurs who can undertake large projects. The worst sufferers will be people themselves, for, they will have to depend themselves for employment upon the State, in which case they will have hardly any freedom to bargain, since any socialist government tends to become more and more authoritarian than the present one. It is foolish on the part of the people to feel happy and joyous at the fleecing of the rich people and entrepreneurs by the Government, with all the taxes imposed upon them. All these taxes will affect the people adversely in the years to come. There will not be any inducement to invest among the private entrepreneurs, for the simple reason that the inducement to invest is based upon two factors namely, *marginal efficiency of capital and the rate of interest*. This will affect capitalism and free enterprise in this country.

TOWARDS NATIONAL SUICIDE

As the vast majority of the people is ignorant and illiterate they are unable to understand the implications of the socio-economic policies of the Government which are detrimental and the worst sufferer will be free enterprise. It is a misfortune that some of our leading industrialists did not see the dangers in supporting the over-ambitious and ill-balanced plan as the Second Five Year Plan. As a matter of fact we have reached a stage where we have to tell the Government that the Second Five Year Plan is not a People's Plan, but on the contrary it is a Plan of the Government only. It is national suicide on the part of the ruling party to cling to the Plan at a cost which the country is not prepared to accept, for that cost, can only mean the breakdown of our economy and disaster to every section of the community.

Mr. Asoka Mehta P.S.P. leader warned the Government "not to grope in the dark" and "talk in the air." If the Government desired the co-operation of the people in implementing the Plan, then the people had a right to demand and know what exactly was the core of the Plan. In spite of this warning, if the Government will persist in wrong-headed policies then there will be deterioration in the economic situation which will completely defeat the common objectives of all to bring about a large-scale and rapid economic development of the country.

The only solution to the present economic chaos is to create proper climate for free economy. Free economy presupposes the institution of private ownership in property; the sovereignty of the consumer; the freedom of the contract of services between independent parties; freedom in the choice of occupation and free economic intercourse between nations. These

(Continued on page III)

WHY HIGH PRICES?

EVERY paper in the land buzzes with comment on this question and I may be excused for returning to it. According to the *Financial Times*, the combined total of Federal and State expenditure in U.S.A. this year amounts to \$119,000 m, which is three times the total capital expenditure of business and residential construction put together. And in face of this vast unproductive State consumption the President lectures Americans on the danger of consumption outstripping production. Economically speaking he is right of course: but it would be politically fairer if he clearly put the blame on the State. Nevertheless, the trouble in U.S.A. does not spring from State creation of money. The note circulation of the Federal Reserve banks has increased only slightly since 1953. Bank advances and wages have risen considerably, but raw material prices have remained fairly steady. Most Americans are well aware that if State expenditure were reduced prices would fall proportionately, and they actually say that this would indicate a recession and is to be avoided.

It is hard for USA to reduce her defence expenditure today. Her generous grants to needy nations are defended by Americans on political as well as humanitarian grounds. Certainly her welfare expenditure, and especially the colossal amounts spent on education would well be cut. Americans should know, however, that a nation that spends as much as she does without equivalent production must either submit to penal taxation or to the austerity of high prices, an austerity that falls most unfairly on the fixed income groups alone.

(Continued from page II)

are ends in themselves, they are bound up with the rightful place of men in society. Free economy also implies not an end but the only known means for maintaining economic freedom, a free market price mechanism. But freedom in this sense does not mean licence. Free economy will vary from time to time, and from one set of circumstances to another.

Free economy is simply a device for creating automatic regulations which will enable us to provide for physical needs by the most economical route. Planned economy can never produce a widespread feeling of personal responsibility that we find in free economy. Lack of sense of responsibility weakens initiative, ranging from propaganda to the firing squad. The propaganda can be ignored, even joked about. Planned and centrally directed economy must inevitably undermine both political and economic freedom and with it the whole fabric of a free, prosperous and independent society.

In order to achieve our objective of rapid industrialisation and economic development, free enterprise must be allowed free scope. It should not be hindered at every stage, as it happens at every stage, at the present moment. It is only through market economy we can banish almost all our present economic ills that we face due to unnecessary State interference in the economic matters on the high sounding principles, namely welfare, common good, social justice. All these can be achieved in a better form under free economy.

An interesting point is that it is much easier for industry to get credit in U.S.A. than it is in England. Perhaps the American law forbidding branch banking is responsible for the more lively competition among American banks; perhaps the ebullient American temperament is the cause. It is, however, a fact that American banks are more ready to assist even small firms than are the British; and this is probably the reason why Socialism has not made so much progress there as it has in England. Millions of Americans still feel that with luck and hard work they too may make a fortune. Certainly their path would be easier if freedom of credit were restored to private banks. But consider how U.S.A. treats her successful men: the U.S. "Economic Intelligence" states that the highest paid executive in U.S.A. is Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors, who received a salary of \$776,400 in 1955. Taxes, however, lopped off \$655,072! *"The Individualist"*

HOW BANKS WORK IN DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES

In America the Federal Reserve Banking system are "Central Banks" incorporated with New York City as Chief "Central Bank."

All other banks are member Banks individually incorporated. The member Banks own the capital stock of the 12 central banks and elect 6 or 9 directors.

The President appoints 3 Directors which means no control at all for these presidential appointed Directors. The Federal Reserve Banks are not controlled by any government agencies.

The Federal Reserve Banks create credits-debits-deposits-loans interest bearing money made out of bank book entries and not based on wealth produced.

Our Federal Reserve Bank notes-interest bearing money-are not obligations on these banks.

The U.S. Government assumes all obligations as to the wealth value of our interest bearing money.

All present powers of Federal Reserve Banking system were delegated by Congress, at times starting 160 years ago.

Our only known remedy now is "Back to our Republic Constitution" with government coinage of interest-free money.

The Federal Reserve Banks are not subject to government audits. The Federal Reserve Banks pay no income-taxes on profits.

The Federal Reserves Banks issue no profit and loss statements.

The Federal Reserve Banks are privately owned. Change our Audit Laws and force all Banks to issue profit and loss statements. Coin interest-free money and eliminate the Federal Reserve Banking monstrosity.

In India, too, the banking system is more or less the same.

LAISSEZ FAIRE MEANS

Do not meddle; wait and observe. Do not regulate; study. Do not give orders; be teachable. Do not enter upon rash experiments; be patient until you see how it will work out.

Freeman

A Sound Scientific Monetary System

By G. T. Olarensaw

THE proper function of Money in any economy is to faithfully and accurately measure the relative values of commodities and services in exchange. Money therefore should not be allowed to fluctuate in purchase power but should bear a constant relationship to real wealth from year to year and from decade to decade. Both inflation and deflation from decade with the consequent variations in purchasing power cause untold hardship upon the people by destroying their economic life.

The primary need of our Commonwealth economy is to have a scientific monetary system that would be proof against inflation and deflation. It is unsound and unjust to the people of the Commonwealth for the Government of the Commonwealth to permit the Banks to create new Bank Credits by inflation of Debt to themselves without the Government creating and putting into circulation new Bank Debt free money—"Notes and Coin of the Realm".

The creation of Bank Credits without a monetary issue of a par amount is a treasonable conspiracy to defraud the Commonwealth peoples of Capital and Interest by Bankers.

THE SO-CALLED NATIONAL DEBT

The so-called national Debt is the debt which the Banks owe to the people. The people have supplied all goods and services which the Government have purchased and have been taxed for supplying them, so the people supply both goods and money and are paid for neither. Whereas the capital stock of the Bank of England has been purchased by Government, and whereas the Government is the sole issuer of notes and coin of the Realm, it is evident that the Crown should pay for all purchases made by the Government by an issue of New Bank Debt Free Notes and Coin so that Taxation can be eliminated together with all Government Debts, thereby ensuring that no Civil Debt need be unpaid. Be it resolved that by an Act of Parliament there be created in place of the present Board of Governors of the Bank of England of Commonwealth ministry authority which shall be charged by Parliament with the specific task of maintaining the monetary supply of the Commonwealth as a Debt Free State and condition at all times through the operation if the correct evaluation of goods and services and their payment. It shall be the task of such Governors of the monetary system on behalf of the Crown of maintaining and protecting the integrity of the notes and coin of the Commonwealth continually. The Crown shall liquidate all Government Debts as and when made. No money being put into circulation either than that so put into circulation in payment of Government Debts for goods and services delivered. All military expenditures and purchases shall be paid for with New Bank Debt Free Notes and Coin of the Realm by the Crown. Such payments shall not be in default longer than one year at the most.

MAKE IT A TREASONABLE OFFENCE

It shall be treasonable offence to Tax, Rate, or Levy money or goods or services for any purpose whatever by any Government department either national or local. All social services shall be paid for as Government purchases. The only debts that a person shall be liable for, shall be those debts personally made.

The Commonwealth Government shall cease to Borrow money, and shall not Lend money. The Crown shall pay for all Governmental purchases made.

The above will be found to be a sound Scientific System suitable for adoption by any Government having the welfare of the people as their aim. It eliminates Poverty and false Debt. It is doubtful if any people could be persuaded to go to war against such a monetary system.

U.S. BUSSINESS MEN KEEN ON HELPING INDIA

NEW DELHI: The recent visits of Indian officials to the United States emphasized their impressions of the willingness, even anxiety, of the U.S. States Department as well as businessmen to understand India's pressing requirements and to try to meet them.

They have also stressed the need for high-level and expert liaison with the U.S. on the Governmental plane and of a high-pressure salesmanship to push Indian exports in the American market.

This has obvious reference on one hand to the choice of a suitable successor to Mr. G. L. Mehta in Washington, and, on the other, of promoting visits by Indian industrialists to the United States. It is explained, is the selling of the Indian viewpoint, largely through informal contacts, to high American officials, Congressmen and business representatives.

The question of promoting visits of Indian industrialists to America, it is pointed out, is something about which the Government cannot do much. It can encourage such visits but the initiative obviously must come from industry.

It is possible that as a result of Mr. K. B. Lala's talks an improvement in our exports of jute might come about in the not-so-distant future.

The Transport Ministry team, which negotiated the World Bank loan for Calcutta and Madras ports also appears to have done good work elsewhere, according to a Washington report, an American Bank has agreed to make a loan of 25-million dollars for the purchase of ships by this country. The following paragraph summarised from the latest issue of the "Mcgraw Hill Letter," indicates improvement in yet another direction. Administrative officials believe that "the outlook for U.S. investments in India appears to be improving." They observe that the Government of India officials are evincing a more receptive attitude towards foreign investments in general.

ual level—the traditions and customs, idolatry, caste, vegetarianism etc. contradict the universal system of values.

6. *In the very nature of things, such a heterogeneous group as the Hindus will be a weak rival against regimented groups like Islam and Communism. But that is exactly the case between Democracy and Totalitarianism.*

* Democracy is not a suicide pact. The democratic states may be severally weak, but if they combine militarily, they can defend themselves against Communism. Similarly, Hinduism is not a suicide pact. If India enters into a military alliance with other democratic states of the world including U.S.A., she can defend herself against the onslaught of Pakistan and the expanding communist empire.

7. *Who are non-Hindus? Non-believers in co-existence, protagonists of exclusive creeds like Islam, Christianity and Judaism are non-Hindus. An enemy of Hinduism is an enemy of co-existence and hence an enemy of the highest human value—toleration. To tolerate an enemy of Hinduism is to tolerate intolerance and hence to tolerate evil. Thus, conflict between Hinduism and Islam is inevitable, righteous and the most sacred duty. Hinduism can tolerate any difference of opinion, any theological doctrine and any viewpoint but not intolerance, which is the common feature of Semitic creeds. Read Borsodi's 'Challenge of Asia'.*

8. *Please note another distinction between Hinduism and other 'religions' of the codified type. A codified religion minus the Prophet minus a Book is equal to zero. Thus, Islam minus Mohammed minus the Quran is zero; or, Christianity minus Christ minus the Bible is zero again. But note carefully, Hinduism minus any Man minus any Book is still Hinduism complete. The Hindu order is the only order which is really scientific, and in which freethinkers and moral researchers can feel at home. Gandhi's crime is that he has extended toleration to those who in their spheres show no toleration: he has given the right of co-existence to those who do not believe in co-existence.*

9. *A non-believer in caste can be a Hindu. Arya Samajists, Deva Samajists, Sikhs and Buddhists, do not believe in caste-system; yet they are integral components of Hindu Humanity.*

* Many Sikhs are behaving like Muslims against the Hindus in the Punjab. Many Harijans became Buddhists. A revived and state-patronized Buddhism is camouflaging the coming of communism to India.

10. *A non-believer in idolatry can be a Hindu. All the above sects are opposed to idolatry. A meat-eater can be a Hindu. All the above sects and Shaktas are meat-eaters. Atheists can be Hindus. Deva Samajists, Buddhists, Jains and Vaama-Margis are atheists and agnostics.*

* The atheists proper like the communists are not Hindus.

11. *There are as many different forms of God as there are Hindus: every Hindu has a God of his own. His conception of God does not enter his public life. It is a purely personal affair.*

* The realization of the highest value is prescribed

to every Hindu. The highest value is the Harmonious Man. This is attained by stages—of self-realization. The self however may get stuck at lower levels. Thus arise many gods. But fixations being the source of evil are to be outgrown. The Christian ideal of messianic man, the Islamic and communistic ideal of the social heroic man, the lower ideal of the ascetic man—are all to be found among the Hindus; but if fixated upon, they are not to be given the status of the highest.

The ideal of harmonious man does determine social and political life. Compare the politics of Krishna, Subhas Bose, M. N. Roy.

12. *No scriptural authority should bind the Hindus. The idea of uniting people around a book is essentially Semitic and un-Aryan. It proceeds from a fear complex. Hinduism recognizes no scriptural authority. Its spirit is somewhat like this: Every human being has a right to realize truth by his own efforts, by trial-and-error method, without believing blindly in any authority, scriptural or personal. One who chooses this path is called a 'rationalist' or jnaana-margi.*

But all have neither the leisure, nor the mental apparatus, to analyse the world phenomena logically and get at truth. They are advised to become camp-followers of some more advanced intellect. They are called 'devotionalists' or bhaktas. The majority of Hindus choose this path of least resistance and have become followers of Buddha, Mahavira, Nanak, Dayananda, and others.

Within the framework of this two courses recognized by Hinduism, fall the numerous sects of Hinduism, with infinite varieties of belief and thought, which can be minimised only by restricting freedom of opinion—the cardinal principle of Hinduism. The idea of common danger alone can be the unifying force. Hence our emphasis on the dangerous potentialities of Islam and Christianity—to rally the Hindus round one slogan against a common enemy.

* The common enemies are Pakistan and the Communist Empire.

13. *The Hindu State cannot be theocratic. "Theology is a part of Hinduism" only means that people believing in some kind of a God can, and do, form part of the society. That is, theism is not banned. In a Hindu State, Muslims will enjoy the rights which the Hindus enjoy in a Muslim (Quranic) state. The same applies to Christian, Jewish and other minorities which do not fall within the orbit of Hinduism.*

* Calling it a secular state and behaving as a Hindu state would have been more expedient. The present state of India is behaving as the most non-Hindu state and is yet looked down upon as a Hindu state by Muslims.

14. *Admission to Hinduism must be free for those who want to join it. As long as we believe that Hinduism is a more scientific system of values, we must give every one the benefit of this rational order. Muslims and Christians are most welcome in our society. Hinduism is not inherited only, but is adopted also, and those who join it after a careful study will form better Hindus than those, who like Nehru, are Hindus by accident of birth only. For ten centuries since the invasion of Mohammed bin Kasim Hindus had been committing follies after follies—*

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A Fraud On Delhi Electorate

IN a leading article—"Mayoralty" the pro-Congress *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi, March 29) writes: "If the plan that is being hatched between Mr. Jugal Kishore Khanna, convener of the ad hoc Delhi Congress Committee, and Mr. Farooqi chairman, Delhi State Communist Party, (to have Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali as mayor) materializes (she has already been elected) it will reduce democracy to a mockery. We do not know whether Mr. Khanna has received a mandate for the reported negotiations from the entire body of the councillors elected on the Congress ticket or from the Congress High Command. The Congress Party must make up its mind on two definite issues. Is it prepared to make an alliance with the Communist Party under any condition? If it is, it will be committing a fraud on the electorate, for the Congress creed and its election programme leave no scope for

such an arrangement. Secondly, is the Congress Party prepared to join hands with any group for the purpose of defeating the opposition, irrespective of whether the candidate it will support believes in an ideology which runs utterly counter to what the Congress stands for? If it is, it will be letting down the electorate which has returned Congressmen as the largest single party to the Corporation.

AN OUTRAGE ON DEMOCRACY

"A woman of strong conviction, she (Aruna Asaf Ali) has for years publicly professed her belief in an extreme socialist ideology. She has held her views so strongly that she has resisted every effort to bring her back to the Congress fold. The last of these attempts was made at the second general election, when she declined to accept the Congress ticket.

"A Mayor does not function in isolation. The people of Delhi have voted strongly in favour of the candidates who stand for democracy. It would be an outrage on that sentiment if the Congress councillors were to become a party to a political manoeuvre by which communists may succeed in capturing this office at the apex of the civic administration. Indeed, if the communists succeed in their manoeuvre, it will not be long before they infiltrate the city's administration through their well-known method of forming cells."

—The *Hindustan Times*

(Continued from Page 15)

pardoning the defeated enemies, showing mercy to Muslim captives and so on. After suffering for ten centuries, only a few among them realized that Islam was the greatest menace to Hinduism, and creating a martial spirit among them was their greatest task.

* To attract proselytes, we must first get rid of caste. To create martial spirit, we recommend compulsory military training. For purposes of immediate defence, we recommend a military pact with U.S.A.

DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



The extreme limit at which human taste can detect sweetness is in a solution of one part sugar to 200 parts water. Some butterflies can detect when it is one part in 300,000.



Scientists have developed a picture-phone on which persons may see each other on a plate similar to a small television screen.



Reports from behind the Iron Curtain reveal that more than 1,000,000 prisoners of war from Germany, Finland, and Japan, held with millions of others by the Soviets after World War II, were forced as slave labourers to build 2,200-mile Siberian railroad.

“MR. FLAT AND MR. STALE”

MY body is healthy, as it normally is. But I do feel rather flat and stale and I do not think it is right for a person to feel that way and I have to deal with vital and very important problems. I am not fresh enough. There has to be some creativeness of the mind. I have had eleven and a half years of office continuously without a day's respite. I think I may have further years of effective service because I am bodily fit and, although I cannot judge my own mind, I do not think that it is slipping. But it is, I think, stale and requires freshening up"—thus declared Prime Minister Nehru at a press conference in New Delhi on April 4. He added that he was giving "very serious consideration" to the steps that he should take to overcome his feeling of staleness.

Asked whether he was going into retirement as suggested by "certain quarters representing big business interests and the right wing element of the Congress," Pt. Nehru smilingly retorted that if the idea was that he should be ineffective, the very opposite might happen. He was likely to be more active and effective out of office. "My temporary retirement, if it is being advocated by that lobby, may not be advantageous to them. It may have the reverse effect." He added: "I may notice I may tell you, when I feel like it. I am a man of moods. But it will not be for the reasons stated, nor will it have that effect, I may assure you."

NEHRU IS NEWS

Whatever the Prime Minister may say is always news. But when he admits himself "flat and stale" it is first class world news. We do not know what "serious consideration" he is giving to overcoming his feeling of staleness. Maybe he thinks his projected visit to the land of the Lamas will suffice to rejuvenate him. Perhaps he is not contemplating anything like U. Nu's retirement from office for a period of one year. Maybe because he remembers the late Sri Kidwai's humorous warning that his successor in such a case may do so much better that the people may forget all about Nehru, or the temporary nature of his retirement.

A SERIOUS MATTER

Whatever that may be, it is, we imagine, a serious situation when the country's Prime Minister confesses himself "flat and stale". He has to deal with vast and vital issues. Obviously, and admittedly, he cannot do justice to them in such a state of mind. It is therefore something of a mystery—or is it?—that he should prefer office to the right functioning of that office. It would be immodest for him to think that this great country has not produced another man to hold the office of Prime Minister with credit. From his own point of view also his retirement would be good for the country. Because he has said in so many words that he would be more effective out of office than in it. But it seems he is too much in love with the power, prestige and patronage of office to quit it even for the sake of making himself less flat and more effective.

THE PLAIN FACT

We guess he is reluctant to give up office because he is big and important and popular and powerful and all that, but not great—in the sense that Tilak and Gokhale, Gandhi and Bose, Sardar and C. R. Das were great. Indeed his career can be understood best in the light of his will to rise the ladder of power ever higher. He encouraged J. P. and others to start the Congress Socialist Party, but he never joined it himself. As soon as Gandhiji designated him his "political heir", he deserted Netaji Bose and went over to the "Rightist" wing of the Congress. He worked himself into the Prime Minister's office even though the various Provincial Congress Committees named Sardar Patel by a big majority. As soon as Sardar Patel died, he elbowed out the duly elected Congress President, Sri Tandon, and dropped all the ministers who had been dubbed Patelites. Since then he has announced himself "symbol of the nation" and "something more than the Prime Minister."

We are afraid the Prime Minister has not become flat and stale all of sudden. He has been that all his life. His one speech reads like any other. He has been talking of democracy and socialism like any parrot of a professor. With no roots in the life and culture of the country, Pt. Nehru has been singularly lacking in profundity of thought or conviction. Small wonder his sound and fury signify little besides himself. We hope he will utilize the evening of his life to do some soul-searching—if he believes in a soul—on the course which led him into his present flat staleness. Perhaps a book of such confessions would be the one thing best remembered about him and his works.

—Organiser

CONGRESS "LAMP-POSTS"—NOT WANTED

In a leading article on "Delhi Municipal Elections," the *Leader* of Allahabad (March 27) writes:

"Many causes are responsible for the Congress debacle. Those in charge of the Jana Sangh election campaign worked strenuously. The Congress workers were complacent. There is unity in the Jana Sangh.

"The opinion is held in Congress circles that it is the duty of the voter that he should vote for the Congress candidate even though he may be a lamp post. Recent municipal and town area elections in Uttar Pradesh show that the common man thinks differently. He thinks that what is essential to the success of local government is not local bodies manned by party-men irrespective of their merits but municipal boards manned by men of merit irrespective of their party labels. For instance, in the Allahabad district in the election of chairmen of six town area committees, three chairs were won by P.S.P., one by the Congress and two by independent candidates. In the election of members, out of 56 seats 23 were won by the Jana Sangh and eight by the independent candidates."

—The Leader

The March Of Science

PERFECT SHOE

For the first time in the United States it will soon be possible to buy a perfect fitted shoe. A shoe that literally is moulded to the foot was patented recently.

The new shoe has a special inner lining called a sock lining. After the shoe is put on the foot, a moulding material of liquid latex mixed with zinc oxide and wood flour is inserted through the shoe proper and the sock lining. The material is injected at a comfortable body temperature.

FOR HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE

Hypertension, America's most common form of cardiovascular disease, may be on the way out because of a new drug. The drug that is expected to be in full production early in 1958 and which has been termed "startling" in combatting high blood pressure is called chlorothiazide.

It was discovered by two doctors at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. It can be taken by mouth in tablet form and according to medical authorities has no bad side effects. Between 15 and 20 million Americans suffer from hypertension.

LIVE VIRUS VACCINE

A "live virus" polio vaccine will soon be tried out on between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 people in the United States to see if it will give even better results than the famed "dead virus" Salk vaccine.

Lederle Laboratories is the firm making the vaccine, being generated in the stars but in the very rarified hydrogen between the stars.

This represented the extent of our knowledge of these radio waves from space in 1945. The concentration of work on radio and radar for military purposes resulted in great technical advances, and when it became possible to apply these to the investigation of the radio waves generated in the cosmos, spectacular results were obtained.

The first measurements made in the post-war years largely confirmed the early results: there seemed to be no direct connection between the radio signals and the astronomical objects that comprise the universe familiar to the senses. Reber's idea, that the radio waves were generated in the interstellar hydrogen gas, remained for some time the only realistic suggestion, but in 1948 came the first of a sequence of discoveries that stimulated interest throughout the world.

"RADIO STARS"

Bolton and Stanley in Sydney, followed immediately by Ryle and Smith in Cambridge, found that at least some of the radio waves were coming from discrete or localized sources in space, subsequently called radio stars. If these radio sources had coincided with any prominent visual objects the discovery would not, perhaps, have occasioned much surprise, but there were no particular visual objects to which the radio emission could be attributed.

In the succeeding years as more radio sources were discovered it became clear that there was no correlation with any class of star known to astronomers; neither did any of the common stars appear to emit radio waves that could be detected on the earth. The belief arose that we were dealing with a new type of body in the heavens, dark or only faintly luminous, but with the facility of emitting powerful radio waves.

At a distance of over a million light years there exists another star system similar in size and extent to the Milky Way. This is the nearest of countless extragalactic nebulae similar to the Milky Way, distributed through space to distances such that the light from them may take 1,000,000,000 years to cover the intervening space to the Milky Way system.

For some time there was uncertainty whether the extragalactic nebulae might be similarly endowed with the facility of emitting intense radio waves, but in 1950 Hanbury Brown and Hazard used a very large telescope at Jodrell Bank and were able to detect the radio emissions from the nearest extragalactic nebula in Andromeda. Subsequently, the radio emissions from many more remote nebulae were detected, and it is now accepted that the type of radio source responsible for the emission dispersed throughout the universe.

Intense efforts have since been made to find some relation between the radio sources and objects that are visible in ordinary telescopes. Although several thousand radio sources have now been positioned—and in some cases the size and shape measured—the linkages that have been established with the common stars remain very few, and the general paradox of the existence of the radio sources remains.

Although these colliding galaxies are so faint, they emit a radio signal that can easily be detected and measured with contemporary instruments. In fact even with the present radio equipment these galaxies could be several times farther away and still be measurable with radio telescopes.

It has been suggested that our failure to link up many of the radio sources with visible objects may be due to the fact that they are colliding galaxies like the one in Cygnus, but so much farther away that it is impossible to see them with the ordinary telescopes. If this is correct then the path is open for radio telescopes to study the conditions which existed in the universe thousands of millions of years ago—for this is the time for which the radio waves from these distant sources have been travelling on their journey. This takes us back to the time when the universe may have begun its evolution from its concentrated primaeval state. The ability to study these regions of time and space is bound to have important repercussions on our views about the creation of the universe.

These studies are carried out on a wavelength a million times longer than the wavelength of the light that are focused by the conventional optical telescopes. The radio waves are unaffected by cloud, fog or daylight, and in this respect the radio astronomer has a marked advantage over the traditional methods of astronomical investigation.

Fantastic Charges against the Muslim League

A SENSATIONAL article was recently published by the Karachi English paper, "Comment," charging some top-ranking Muslim Leaguers with a "conspiracy" with the Indian High Commissioner for a sort of a union between Pakistan and India. It was further stated that a "secret deal" between the Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan, Mr. C. C. Desai, and some top-ranking Muslim Leaguers has been arrived at whereby the Leaguers have asked for Indian help, monetary and otherwise, "in fighting and winning the general elections in East Pakistan." If this comes about then the Leaguers have assured the Indian High Commissioner that a federation of East Pakistan and West Bengal would be brought about in no time.

According to "Comment" the Muslim League leader is reported to have assured the Indian High Commissioner of complete co-operation of his party in the active implementation of the policy of Panchasheela of Mr. Nehru when the party came into power in East Pakistan through Indian help.

According to the paper, in addition to the leader—name not mentioned—there were seven other leaguers who were present at the meeting where the Indian High Commissioner was also present. The paper stated "After preliminaries the talks entered into a bargaining stage, and some more leaders of the party joined in. The second round of talks was started in the house of a now ex-party man. The Indian High Commissioner himself came down to the house to attend the talks."

Further the paper states that the Indian High Commissioner was however non-committal to these overtures on the part of the leaguers as he wanted some proofs of the party's sincerity by way of an immediate announcement of the party's opposition to military pacts.

In the second instalment of this "plot" the paper stated that the "top Indian diplomat who negotiated the secret deal" had left for Delhi to consult Mr. Nehru whether further negotiations should be continued.

The publication of these reports by "Comment" has only caused mild amusement amongst the Indian diplomats in Karachi. On the face of it the articles are mere concoctions on the part of the editor of the paper. Though the paper did not specifically mention the name of the Muslim League, it is transparently clear which party the paper meant. This is further borne out by the fact by a long statement, in another section of the Karachi press, by Mr. Yusuf Haroon, secretary of the Muslim League, condemning the articles in the "Comment." Mr. Haroon calls them as an attempt "to blackmail the League." Mr. Haroon further states that this reflected an attempt by interested persons to distrust the Muslim League or force Khan Qayyum Khan to resign his office as the president of the party.

In any case these articles show the depth of political life in Pakistan, that a paper should charge the very party that was responsible for the creation of Pakistan with hatching a conspiracy to end it. That the League is not much in favour with the public is

an open secret, but so are all the other parties in Pakistan, for none of them have any political or ideological programme. They are personal parties formed round a personality, or a group of persons, out to capture power for the time being. The fact of the matter is that mere Muslim fanaticism and mere hatred of the Hindus of India are not sufficient foundations for a national state. Muslim religion has been found to be a broken reed, so far as East Pakistan is concerned; that given an opportunity for free elections or a plebiscite it is certain that East Bengal would like to throw in her lot with West Bengal than be governed from a far-off place like Karachi. Moreover the insolence of the Punjabi Muslims in the Services and their overbearing attitude towards the Bengalis are galling to the generality of the East Pakistanis. It is only a matter of time and opportunity when the province of East Pakistan would opt out of Pakistan. Perhaps the articles in "Comment" are faint reflections of the shape of things to come in the not-so-distant future.

Pakistan Creates Phantom Bogies Of Its Own

THE *Comment* (Karachi, March 13) published the following (uncredited) item under the caption "Prime Minister's Outbursts Against West; The Other Side Of The Picture."

"He is reported to have said that 'If our people found their freedom in jeopardy and threatened by Bharat, they will break all pacts in the world, go and shake hands with the people, whom we have made enemies for the sake of others.'

"It is the huge loan to India, which apparently has aroused all the fuss. I am at a loss to conceive why no newspaper in Pakistan cared to differentiate between a full-fledged loan and an outright aid. India got a loan and at a fairly high rate of interest. It is meant to help India's economy.

"Mr. Noon is right when he says that the loan can be diverted towards boosting defence build-up. But if it were to do the same, there is no stopping Pakistan too.

PAKISTAN RECEIVES FOUR TIMES AID THAN INDIA

"While on the above point, it will be noticed that per capita, Pakistan is receiving four times as much aid from the U.S. as does India. On top of that, Pakistan receives outright military aid too. They are of such magnitude, that if they are stopped overnight, it will not be possible for Pakistan to make use of them out of its exclusive resources.

"Noon suggests that Pakistan should sell its soul to the Russians for their dubious support on Kashmir. Where will that lead to? The Russians and Chinese were given the desired offers. They have already turned them down.

(Continued on page 20)

KRISHNA MENON, COMMUNISTS AND KERALA

By T. V. KAMATH

SRI V. K. Krishna Menon has opposed Congress—P.S.P. United Front against Communists in Kerala. His objection is that there cannot be an alliance between a National Organisation (Congress) and a mere party (P.S.P.) The objection is hardly deserving of serious consideration. But it is significant that Sri Menon continues to oppose this proposal even though the Kerala Congress and the Congress High Command have accepted it. How effective such co-operation can be is proved by the recent elections to the Kerala University Senate when the Communists could get only one seat out of twelve from the Civic Bodies and Panchayats Constituencies. It is, therefore, rather intriguing that Sri Menon should oppose the arrangement—and oppose it publicly and persistently. It is possible to argue that Sri Menon is taking this stand *because in reality he does not want the Communists to be effectively opposed*. In this connection his earlier association with Communists becomes a possible explanation of his present attitude. It is not clear why the Congress should have appointed him member of the AICC Liaison Committee for Kerala affairs. After all he is so “popular” in Kerala that they could not even find him a seat anywhere in the State; but had to be foisted on Bombay City.

Again if Sri Menon objects to the Congress—P.S.P. merger, can he tell us how the Congressman in Delhi joined hands with the Communists to get a Red Mayor elected in Delhi? It seems that there is a sort of secret understanding amongst the “high-ups” in the Congress and the C.P.I. for some sort of liaison.

It is a case of monkeys—“You scratch my back, I scratch yours.”

(Continued from page 19)

“One other point. Mr. Noon makes it appear that Pakistan was forced into the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts. He and Choudhry Mohd. Ali were one of the authors of Pakistan’s participation in the Pacts as well as the implementors of the foreign aid programme. The fault properly lies at the maladministration in the exploitation of the American aid. Why blame the aids themselves?”

“We hear about ‘strings’ attached to U.S. aid. Just what are those ‘strings nobody (can) tell’? Primarily it is to insure that the aids will be spent in the manner they are intended. Who is against such a proposition as above? It can only be those who might profit by a loosely administered programme.

“Suggestions have been made about strings attached to the above foreign policy? How was Pakistan even been forced as a result of the aid programmes to vote against our own interests either in U.N. or elsewhere.

“I realise that Kashmir is an emotional issue. Whenever a Government or a politician gets into trouble, he seems to know no way but to shout “freedom for the Kashmiris” and soon he gets back his popularity. But is this sort of “Kashmir-baiting” any different from Hitler’s cry of Lebestraum? Why does not the Government attempt to solve its problems on a rational and factual basis, rather than risking an isolation by raising bogies which do not exist?”

ONE MORE EXAMPLE OF “PLANNED” CHAOS AND WASTE

THE committee appointed to enquire to report on the Kurnool Cudappah Canal Project in Andhra, have reported another scandal in the matter of corrupt practices in the public sector (Government Sector).

The project is to provide irrigation for cultivating 300 thousand acres of land at a cost of 4 crores of rupees, *nearly the whole of which has been already spent*, but hardly 800 acres have come under cultivation.

According to report, cement intended for the project came to be diverted to local markets in large quantities, with the consequences that the work was poor for want of enough cement, while bags in abundance were available in the market.

It was surprising that the supervisors and Engineers never complained about this matter which was practically the talk of the town. The waste of water and money was due to delay in construction of distributories, and repairs of sub-channels for want of cement which have gone in the black market while upward revision of estimates by P.W.D. continues. *The margin of profit between tenders accepted in the 1st and 2nd years was as high as 200%* and shows that the estimates were based on considerations other than the actual probable cost.

—Behar Herald

Fascist Forces In Madras

For nearly a decade now the strongest Fascist forces have been active in Madras where the basic planks of Fascist demagoguery are: chauvinistic Tamil nationalism and linguism; anti-Brahminism; anti-Northism; anti-Aryanism and Dravidian racism; and vague radicalism and socialism. The most alarming of these is the demagogic radical and socialist plank in which neither the Congress nor any other Fascist group in Madras has any genuine faith.

Other Fascist symptoms in Madras have been; the leader cult; the emergence of a new elite minority; the purging of dissident or opposing groups inside a party; and heavy obligation to feudal landlords and to the capitalist elements. The leader cult is subtly fostered even in the Congress party. The hierarchy, of leadership is drawn predominantly from the new elite minority of non-Brahmin upper caste Hindus, who have replaced the Brahmin elite, and are jealously safe-guarding their newly-won power, but who, like the former Brahmin elite, have no genuine love for the majority consisting of lower caste Hindus and out-caste Harijans. The supporting majority is, however, sought to be kept intact by demagogic exploitation of its historically derived, and just prejudices against the Brahmin minority (just 4% of the population).

The Fascist forces which are in effective power in Madras now do not run the risk of being exposed as reactionary for the simple reason that demagogic techniques have been perfected over a long period. Their danger, like that of Communism, to parliamentary democracy remains.—V. Ramamurti in Parliamentary Studies (Delhi)

Swarajya

Balance Sheet After Mundhra

FROM THE INDIAN CORRESPONDENT OF THE ECONOMIST (London)

AS parliament told itself in the subsequent debates, the Mundhra inquiry was a triumph for democracy; as the home minister remarked, it was also a success for the Congress party back-benchers. But it has been a disaster for relations between ministers and civil servants, and for almost all those personally implicated it has been a catastrophe.

It was a triumph for democracy because it has now been established that, when there are serious allegations against the behaviour of a minister or his civil servants, there will have to be a public judicial inquiry similar to the Bank Rate inquiry in England. There have been plenty of scandals before, and some have been investigated; but the investigations were private, made by leading members of the Congress party itself, and the conclusions have usually been suspected of whitewash. This is the first time the inquiry has been held by a chief justice, in the open, and with the attorney-general present to assist. Admittedly the inquiry suffered from haste, so that there were tantalising gaps in the evidence; but the lesson has been learnt, and next time the Bank Rate model, with its preliminary investigations, will no doubt be followed.

It was a success for the Congress back-benchers because they asked the original questions, and it was the Congress party, far more than opposition or public pressure which drove a reluctant and harried minister to accept the need for an inquiry. The party has an overwhelming majority in parliament. Its back-benchers have now tasted blood. They have learnt that their questions are an effective weapon against any minister, however powerful, and whether their own motives are the public good or a desire for fame, they will bring to an end the easy time that ministers have enjoyed in parliament for ten years. The damage done to the relations between ministers and civil servants has been quite unnecessary; it is the result of the lack of courage of one man—Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the late finance minister.

The transaction under attack, the purchase by the nationalised Life Insurance Corporation, at the finance ministry's suggestion, of £1 million of shares from Mr. Mundhra, a speculative industrialist with some of the engaging characteristics of Mr. Sidney Stanley, was arguably defensible, even though Mr. Justice Chagla found it in various ways improper and unbusinesslike. The shares were a mixed bag, not entirely lacking in quality, and the alternative to buying them might have been serious damage to companies of importance to the economy. The errors were the corporation's somewhat too docile acceptance of advice (under the law the government can only force the corporation's hand if it issues a directive in writing, and then only on a matter of policy); the careless fixing of the prices at which the shares were bought; and the failure to observe some of the corporation's own rules.

The minister could clearly not be held responsible for all these things. But he seems to have been suffi-

ciently alarmed first to conceal the full truth from parliament, then to give highly evasive evidence before the Chagla commission; and finally, to defend himself against the commission's finding that he was responsible factually as well as constitutionally, by casting imputations on his principal secretary, although his elaborate plea of ignorance has now been finally exploded by the bringing to light of records which show that his original disclaimers were made in full knowledge of the facts.

Naturally the civil service is upset. The orders were the minister's. His officials, the principal finance secretary and the chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation, trusted him enough not to ask for anything in writing; and then he took advantage of that fact to try to leave them to carry the blame. How can a secretary ever again give his minister quite the trust which has hitherto been the rule in Delhi? Ministers, too, will be more careful in future. They have been firmly reminded of the constitutional responsibility of a minister for all that goes on in his ministry. That has been sharply established by Mr. Nehru's acceptance of Mr. Krishnamachari's resignation even though, to the public's annoyance, he said the minister's part in the transaction was "of the smallest." Ministers will, in future, take much more interest in actions by their civil servants which may entail unpleasant consequences for themselves. Red tape will proliferate and the business of government will suffer.

For those concerned, the inquiry has been a tragedy. Mr. Firoz Gandhi, the main accuser, has lost his job. Mr. Mundhra is being pursued on criminal charges. The finance minister, one of the most brilliant, imaginative and forceful India has had, has retired under a cloud he himself had made. The governor of the Reserve Bank, up now a very successful civil servant, had his evidence so blistered by the attorney-general that his usefulness in his present post has been gravely impaired. The chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation, who has behind him a quarter of a century of admirable public service, was led into confessing that he had not read the rules of his corporation or the balance sheets of the companies whose shares he was buying; its managing director, hitherto one of India's most respected actuaries, gave evidence which was far from impressive for a man carrying his responsibilities. The principal finance secretary, to whom India owes more than to almost any other civil servant, finds himself under fire, and let down both by his minister and by the governor of the Reserve Bank, the latter a colleague of thirty years' standing. The prime minister himself showed less than his usual political virtuosity. He kept his balance among wild allegations of corruption, but many people have been disturbed by the way he hedged over how far he accepted the commission's view on the minister's responsibility. Democracy has indeed been strengthened and confirmed; but India will be paying the bill for months to come.

ON THE NEWS FRONT

MASTER TARA SINGH WOONG SHEIKH ABDULLAH

Jammu: At a Sikh *deewan* here Master Tara Singh said: "Sheikh Abdullah is a brave man, and has made great sacrifices. I cannot consider him a traitor. It may be he has been a victim of misrepresentation as I have been. Therefore the Sheikh should clarify his position and declare himself in favour of India. Only then he and I can work together."

Denouncing what he termed Hindu "communalism", he said that it "was given rise to separatist tendencies in various parts of India." Master Tara Singh invited Sheikh Abdullah to join him "in fighting rank Hindu communalism on the part of the Central Government and other spheres of body politic."

SHEIKH'S FLIRTATIONS WITH AKALIS FAIL

Chandigarh: Talks between Sheikh Abdullah and an influential section of the Akali Dal for forging a united front "to safeguard the interests of militant minorities in the northern region" of the country have proved abortive.

Sheikh's emissaries, who recently visited Amritsar, in an attempt to woo Akali leaders, are stated to have returned disappointed.

The Akalis' condition that the Sheikh should publicly accept Kashmir as an integral part of the Indian Union, helped to shelve this move. Sheikh Abdullah and his men had hoped that the powerful Akali Dal would play into their hands, but the progressive element in the Akali Dal rejected the offer.

Sheikh Abdullah's offer, according to informed sources, was initiated following the formation of the Minority Board by the Akali Dal, a few weeks ago. Sheikh Abdullah's plan envisaged a joint demand for the right of self-determination for the Punjab region and the Kashmiri Muslims.

FRESH VIOLATION BY PAKISTANI FISHERMEN

Shillong: Pakistani fishermen have again trespassed into the Indian side of the border of Cachar district, it was officially disclosed here. Fishing by Pakistanis on this side of the Surma river is going on for the last three days.

This is the second violation of Indian territory in this sector by the Pakistanis within the last 10 days.

The Chief Secretary to the Assam Government has sent a strong Note to the Chief Secretary of the East Pakistan Government protesting against this violation of Indian territory. The Pakistani Government has not replied to this protest Note.

PAK SMUGGLERS SHOT DEAD

Jammu: Two persons believed to be Pakistani smugglers were shot dead by the Indian Border Police at Rangpur, Tevva village, about 25 miles from here.

According to information available, the two smugglers opened fire when they were challenged by the Indian Border Police on their entry into Indian territory. They killed when the Indian Border Police opened fire in self-defence.

Gold bars weighing 30 tolas, one rifle and one dagger, made in Muzzafarabad, the capital of "Azad Kashmir" were recovered.

PAK CLAIM ON CHAR LANDS—NO TALKS NOW

Karimnagar: The Indo-Pakistani officers' meeting proposed to be held shortly on the border near here will not take up for consideration Pakistan's claim for the possession of Char land on the Surma river. Reliable sources say that Pakistan's claim may form the subject matter of discussion, later on at a higher level.

Officers, one each from India and Pakistan, will be visiting the borders of Cachar in Assam and Sylhet in East Pakistan in the course of their joint investigation of the circumstances under which three cease-fire agreements have been violated one after another.

PAK SECT WANTS PROBE IN THE FACTION FIGHT

Karachi: The All Pakistani Zikri Anjuman, an association claiming to represent seven lakhs of Zikri Muslims, has demanded a judicial inquiry into the faction fight at Pasni on March 25 last when some Zikris were killed and several injured.

In a memorandum submitted to the Chief Minister of West Pakistan, the association has accused the local officials at Pasni in Kalat Division on the Makran coast, of having behaved partially towards the Sunnis, another sect involved in the clash in the discharge of official duties.

The president of the Zikri association, Meer Noor Mahomed, in a statement issued here, has challenged the statement of the Commissioner of Kalat that 14 persons had been arrested after the faction and that the matter has been referred to the local jirga.

Real culprits against whom complaints have been made to the police are not under any kind of restraint by the police.

PAKISTANI ELECTION ROLLS SCANDAL

Karachi: The first ever general elections promised in Pakistan "may be delayed," as printing of electoral rolls has been stopped, and voters' list and several documents, have been seized by the Special Pakistani Police in a raid on the office of the Controller of Printing and Stationery.

An English daily stated that proceedings against the Controller for cheating and defalcation have already been started. The paper added: "A big gang of high-ups was involved in the racket in which the Pakistan Government have been cheated to the tune of Rs. 70 Lakhs. Preliminary investigations suggest the loss to be over Rs. 25 lakhs."

CRORES SPENT ON CANAL WATERS TALKS

New Delhi: The money spent on the talks on canal waters dispute between India and Pakistan could have gone into building fine canals in the two countries, said Mr. Nehru in the Lok Sabha.

Referring to the "interminable" discussions on the canal waters dispute, during his statement on the Ex-

ternal Affairs Demand, Mr. Nehru said that the money spent on these discussions in Washington and elsewhere ran into crores.

NO REIGN OF TERROR IN KASHMIR— U.S. JOURNALIST'S IMPRESSIONS

Srinagar: An American journalist, Miss Julie Medlock, who recently called on Sheikh Abdullah, when she paid a visit to Srinagar, has said that he preferred independent Kashmir, or alternatively accession of Kashmir to Pakistan.

Giving her own impressions of Sheikh Abdullah, she said, that he "was too much self-centred very unrealistic."

Referring to the Kashmir issue she said that her stay in the State has convinced her that there was no "Kashmir question," so far as the people of the State were concerned. As to the Pakistani complaint to the United Nations that there was "a reign of terror" in the State, Miss Medlock said that she had found no signs of any abnormal happenings in Kashmir or repression against the people.

PAK TROOPS MASSING ON THE ASSAM BORDER

Shillong: Heavy massing of the Pakistani troops on strategic areas along the 680-mile Indo-Pakistani border of Assam was reported after hardly a day of peace in the border region, which was the scene of repeated Pakistani firings by automatic weapons and violations. Latest reports indicate that the Pakistanis were digging new trenches and were raising more bunkers in violation of the cease-fire agreement.

The Assam Government, it is understood, have drawn pointed attention of the Pakistani authorities at Dacca to these unusual troop movements on the Assam border, and has lodged a strong protest against the action.

PAKISTAN WARNS INDIA AGAINST ANY ACTION IN SURMA RIVER AREA

Karachi: Pakistan has informed the Indian authorities that any unilateral action on their part in the Surma river region in Assam will be resisted and force will be met by force, a Foreign Office spokesman said here today.

He was commenting on a report that an "ultimatum" has been served by the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar (Assam) on the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet (East Pakistan) that Pakistan should surrender the Pakistani portion of the Surma river to India.

The Indian High Commissioner was summoned to the Foreign Office this morning to discuss the delicate question.

OUR RELIGIO-SECULARIST MINISTERS

Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha arrived late for the swearing-in ceremony of the new Ministers (including herself) and kept the President, the Prime Minister, and other Cabinet Ministers, fretting for nearly half an hour. And all this because the priest at the Birla temple would not open it before time the inner precincts where Smti. Sinha wanted to invoke the blessings of the deity before rushing off for her secular assignment.

Another new Minister, S. V. Ramaswamy, who arrived in the nick of time, sported a big vermilion tilak, fresh from Nehru's Hanuman temple.

In Lighter Vein

You are certain to succeed in the House of Commons if you are dull enough, long enough—Aneurin Bevan.

And in the U.S. Congress, if you are Dulles enough. A politician is a person who approaches any subject with his mouth open.—Gilbert Beyfus.
And his tongue in his check.

We shall not permit Prime Minister Nehru to say he is tired and feels stale.—Asoka Mehta.

We shall ourselves charge him with these.

India is a country where far too many people with far too little money labour under a debilitating climate, with far too little to eat.—Gerald Priestland.

And everyone moving far too much from every one else.

Wives should be a little blind; husbands, a little deaf—B.M.A. booklet.

And mothers-in-law a little dumb.

The hottest scientific hullabaloo since Darwin is likely to break out when a U.S. scientist, Prof. C. H. Hapwood confronts the world with a new switch on the "Wobble Theory."—Report.

The Gobble Theory will, however, remain.

(Continued from page 11)

— Again, Mr. Nehru in a pointed reference to C.R. stated that he was waging a cold war against the North on the language issue. Mr. Nehru's accusation is unfair to say the least. Indeed the choice between Hindi and English is actually a choice between mediaevalism based on a narrow nationalistic approach and modernity based on an international outlook. And if it is pointed out to him, he splashes the term "cold war" on our face. Probably Pandit Nehru bothers himself so much with the international situation in the light of the "cold war," that he seems to view every internal problem in terms of the "cold war". It seems to be a strange way of silencing critics. Life, then would be a series of "cold wars." Democracy itself could be defined, in Mr. Nehru's latest phraseology as a continuous process of "cold wars." It is just possible that there can be no trace of "cold war" inside the Communist countries since there is no chance of opposition. It is rather surprising that constructive criticism is confused as an essay in "cold war" tactics. If then "cold war" as understood by Nehru (Criticism of the Government's policies) is to be eliminated from the political discussions of the day, it would probably mean the end of democracy.

Book Reviews

FREE ENTERPRISE AND CONSTRUCTIVE TAXATION

CONSTRUCTIVE TAXATION FOR FREE ENTERPRISE by John R. Fuchs. Pages 159. Price \$3.00. Exposition Press Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. 1956.

JOHN R. Fuchs in his subtitle to his booklet calls it 'A Study of What Is "Mine, Thine & Ours"' An analysis of what is mine thine and ours is nothing but the attempt to trace the root of social inequalities clamouring to be removed.

Mr. Fuchs does not belong to the group of reformers who believe that the politician is an angel, who if only given an absolute authority to control and operate the means of production, communications and transport, will faithfully serve society without attempting to dominate it. History has shown us the destructive and inhuman consequences of the absolute power of politicians.

It is, therefore, worth our while to lend a sympathetic ear to men of Mr. Fuchs' persuasion. An analysis of what is mine, thine and ours shows that the root of social inequality is not the market system, with its private ownership of the means of production. "The economic thesis here detailed is expounded in laymen's language. It rejects socialism and communism and extreme individualism. It does not rely on extensive government regulations to insure justice for all."

NO CLASS-WAR HERE

The theory of class war is avoided at the very outset, as it does not go to the root of the problem of social inequality. "I spoke of the fear of the privileged class. On the other hand, we have fear among the underprivileged. They, too, fear poverty and degradation. This fear drives them ultimately to a hatred of the privileged, and they, just like the privileged, instead of going to the root of the matter, and instead of finding out why they are held down, merely fight the privileged or try to get special privileges themselves. They, too, seldom realize what it really is that gives the rich advantages, and therefore they demand the nationalization of instruments of production and distribution, which would benefit no one.

So they support communistic measures, or at least controls, which must lead to communism. They need to learn what is common wealth, and that it is not socialism or communism to tax what is common property."

WHAT IS COMMON PROPERTY

Of course, the common property is land. The market system may be allowed to work and what is mine can be mine and what is thine can be thine, but what is ours i.e. land will be neither mine nor thine but will belong to us. This can be done by abolishing the right to private ownership of land. All rents should go to the government for community expenses. At present, the private landlord collects the value accruing to land, due to the social service rendered by the government and the people, are separately taxed for the second time for the same services. The landlord, thus uses the government for his own economic parasitism. This, of course, is done legally. The present legal system in all modern countries permit private ownership of land.

The source of maldistribution of wealth with its consequence of low effective demand of the workers is due to a portion of effective demand of the workers being transferred to the landowner who is idle. This money is spent to meet the rich man's whimsical needs while the masses lack basic necessities.

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THE ROOT CAUSE OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE

The radical cause of social injustice is, therefore, private ownership of land. "Superficial regulations, the methods adopted by politicians, have only aggravated our problems. We need science and statesmanship to guide us in our search for justice. For illustration: Giving certain men, however well respected, royalties on coal, oil, gold, silver and other minerals extracted from land, is a glaring example of injustice. This is a value that belongs to the people, and we should collect this value to support the government. The original meaning of the term 'royalty' meant the amount due to the Royal Exchequer, or the Crown or the government. Wages are one thing and royalties another, and we should never confuse the two. Under the system I have proposed, wages (the product of labour) will go to labour; interest (which includes income from improvements and buildings) will go to capital; and economic rent (the social value of land) and/or royalties will go to the government. As stated heretofore no government deduction will then have to be made from the earned incomes of either capital or labour. Under such a system, the patching through endless regulation will cease, and all will enjoy that to which they are justly entitled" (pp. 127-128).

It is even claimed that by "collecting the rental value of all land, in every hamlet or metropolis, the government will have vast finances—without resorting to repressive taxes—and personal-property, excise, income, dog and cat taxes would be eliminated." The validity of this claim depends on the actual needs of the government and the amount of rent being collected by private landlords. Even if the amount is not so big it is considerably large and removes a major chunk of inequality.

Mr. John R. Fuchs has indeed done well in graphically presenting the case. Though we have concentrated our attention mainly on the economic argument for ideological purposes, the book itself is a specimen of a balanced plea and scientific analysis. Chapters V and XIII discussing 'Our Supreme Court and the Constitution' and 'Houses' respectively stand out as significant.

M. V. Balakrishna Rao

LOVE AND JUSTICE

Reviewed by Robert E. Fitch

LOVE AND JUSTICE by Reinhold Niebuhr, Westminster. 301 pp. \$6.00.

The first brief essay in this collection of shorter pieces by Reinhold Niebuhr tells us that the law of love is normative for human behaviour, but it must always be measured against the power of the law of self-love. While Christians pride themselves on their ethics of love, "It is significant that Jews, schooled in their legalistic tradition and also the inheritors of the prophetic spirit, are on the whole more adept in the field of justice than Christians." For, as we learn later, when love is substituted for justice, "it degenerates into sentimentality and may become the accomplice of tyranny."

The essays in this volume reflect approximately the past 25 or 30 years of Niebuhr's activity as a journalist, and range over issues in politics, economics, racial tensions, international conflict, war and peace. There is discourse on rationing, on Republicans and Democrats, on class war in Kentucky, on socialized medicine, on the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. There are treatments of inflation, philanthropy, Henry Ford, Zionism, the Ethiopian war, the role of political parties, Billy Graham, Catholicism and anarchism in

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Spain, FEPC, free enterprise and collectivism, the German problem, and the grace of God as power in man or as mercy toward man.

It is too bad that the editor, D. B. Robertson—who has already given us a bibliography of Niebuhr's works upto 1954—could not have assembled this particular collection before Holtan P. Odegard undertook his study of Reinhold Niebuhr as Political Theologian (NL, November 12, 1956). There is much here that is relevant to the continuing discussion between religionists and humanists as to whether Niebuhr's social philosophy is organically related to his religious outlook, or is something independent that has a purely empirical basis. 54 of the 64 essays presented here have appeared initially in such Protestant journals as *Christianity and Society*, *Christianity and Crisis*, and *The Christian Century*. Two essays made their first appearance in *The New Leader*.

BLINDNESS OF LIBERALISM

The introductory essay by Robertson helps us to understand the kind of liberalism against which Niebuhr has long waged war. It is a liberalism which teaches that wars are due to stupidity, that injustices are caused by ignorance, that justice rests simply on the character of individuals rather than on social systems, and that civilization is gradually becoming more moral as goodness, knowledge and happiness begin to triumph over sin, illiteracy and sorrow. These points are summarized in an essay on "The Blindness of Liberalism," published in *Radical Religion* in 1936. Two years before this, the *Christian Century* had published Niebuhr's "When Will Christians Stop Fooling Themselves?" There are many liberals, both secular and religious, who will deny that the portrait or the appeal has anything to do with them, especially now. That, of course, is the moot question.

THE PLIGHT OF A WRITER

If Niebuhr is opposed to a sentimental liberalism, he is also opposed to a rational liberalism. So he confesses. "The writer abhors consistency as a matter of general principle because history seems to prove that absolute consistency usually betrays into some kind of absurdity." He is more interested in the

tensions and the polarities of life than he is in any scheme of rational coherence. In the pages of this book alone, we find him probing and balancing the following pairs: cynicism and sentimentalism, humility and conviction, reason and interest, moral man and immoral society, ignorance and malice, principle and strategy, untempted innocence vs. tested virtue, the immediate and the ultimate, liberty and equality, freedom and planning, trust and fear, sentimentalism vs. selfrighteousness, love and justice. These polarities, moreover, do not come in single pairs, but are intricately involved with one another.

Perhaps it is characteristic of Niebuhr's distrust of rationalism that, while he has given us some brilliant aphorisms, he is loath to pin down anything in a definition. If, after finishing the reading of these pages, we ask ourselves: "All right, now, just what is love and just what is justice, and precisely what is their relationship to each other?" We shall probably go back to turning the pages once more in an effort to assemble and to blend the various insights into one clear and distinct idea. But it develops that the idea we are looking for is more complex than clear, with ambiguous edges rather than distinct outlines. So justice is both repellent to and dependent upon reason, love, imagination, freedom and forgiveness. And its achievement is precarious in a democracy, which "must be regarded, on the one hand, as a system

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of government which men's rational and moral capacities make possible, and, on the other hand, as a system of checks and balances which the corruptions by interest and passion make necessary."

THE VALUE OF THE BOOK

The value of this book does not consist in a revelation of a new facet of the thought of Reinhold Niebuhr. It consists, rather, in the exhibition of his mind at work in a great variety of human affairs over a long period of time. And it is remarkable how consistently he is shrewd in diagnosis and prophetic in his vision of things to come. It is the blend of the theologian and the moralist, of the metaphysician and the political analyst, that has given Niebuhr such enormous influence over historians, statesmen and social scientists in his time. I, for one, can still wince as, thinking of the U.S. and Russia, I read what he wrote in 1942 with reference to the U.S. and Nazi Germany:

"For what could be a more perfect symbol of our idolatries than our automobiles? If we can stand its loss, we can bear almost anything. On the other hand, there is the possibility that we might prefer to give in to the Axis rather than be without our automobiles."

It was in 1929 that, with the editorial assistance of Joseph Ratner, John Dewey published as *Characters and Events* certain "popular essays in social and political philosophy." It happens that these essays of Niebuhr cover the 30-year period immediately following the 30-year period covered by Dewey. A comparison of the two sets of writings would make a fascinating study. They differ radically in their frames of reference, in the sorts of problems they see as focal, in the method of diagnosis and in

the proposed remedies. Indeed, they mark an almost total transformation of the mind and mood of the American public. What they have in common is that both sets of essays exhibit the exhilarating impact of the philosophically or theologically disciplined mind as it concerns itself in discriminating fashion with public affairs.

—The New Leader

MAN WITHOUT GOD

Reviewed by Humphrey Skelton
NEW BOTTLES FOR NEW WINE
 by Julian Huxley, Chatto & Windus, sh. 21.

WHEN T. H. Huxley delivered the inaugural address at the opening of Johns Hopkins University, a Congregationalist minister in New York protested: "Twas an ill thing to have invited Professor Huxley; 'twere better to have invited God. 'Twould have been impossible to have invited both.' The story is told by Julian Huxley in *New Bottles for New Wine* (Chatto & Windus, 21s), and he adds the comment, "Today I am coming to believe that it is impossible to invite the aid of the concept of unitary thought without dropping our invitation to God."

For many years Dr. Huxley has been working out a philosophy of scientific humanism based on evolution. He has described it as 'religion without revelation' and, more recently, as a neotic system. The term 'neotic' is derived from the Greek word for mind, and Dr. Huxley has been greatly impressed by Teilhard Du Chardin's book *Phenomena Humain*, which speaks of human activities as a noosphere, in contrast to the biosphere which denotes the total of the organic inhabitants of the earth.

Thus stress is laid on the uniqueness of man from the outset, but this is based on science rather than theology. What is most distinctive about man is that he possesses a self-reproducing tradition. He can store ideas as well as food, and these systems of ideas undergo an evolution.

General evolution seems to have reached its limit and become stabilized, but man is capable of further major transformations. 'His role', writes Dr. Huxley 'is to be the instrument of the evolutionary process on this planet, the sole agent

capable of effecting major advances and of realizing new possibilities for evolving life.'

THE MAIN FEATURE OF THE PRESENT CENTURY

Again, 'if asked to name the most remarkable development of the present century, my answer would be: Man's unveiling of the face and figure of the reality of which he forms a part, the first picture of human destiny in its true outlines.'

In the past, human life has generally been, as Hobbes described it, 'nasty, brutish, and short.' This was due in part to ignorance of the true conditions of life, but, as science takes the place of magic and superstition, the power is required to control the forces of Nature and shape our own future.

COOL RATIONALITY OF HUXLEY

This means that the under-privileged are coming to realize that there is no longer any need to submit passively to starvation and disease. The miseries that were once attributed to the inscrutable will of God are seen for what they really are, natural phenomena that



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can be mastered by knowledge. It is equally true, of course, that knowledge has given us the power to destroy as well as to save. Dr. Huxley does not shut his eyes to the threat of atomic war, but neither does it cause him to lose his head.

Even those who are unable to share all his conclusions must admire the cool rationality of a man of science who points to one way of the universal predicament.

Unless the human species is annihilated, it must grapple with day-to-day problems. It must continually seek fresh outlets for the ever-advancing technology. Somehow it must increase the general food supply and halt the fantastic annual increase in population. This year, for example, another thirty-four million people will be added to the total population of the world, and so it will go on until we learn to manage our affairs more rationally.

This is the world situation as all humanists see it, but Dr. Huxley is not content with the fashionable piecemeal approach. He strongly feels the need for viewing our immediate problems against a cosmic background. It is this craving for a unification of experience which is sometimes expressed by the question, What is the meaning of life? Religion has hitherto met this insistent demand and Dr Huxley does not object to his own outlook being described as religious although it is free from supernaturalism.

His alternative to supernatural religion has much in common with the evolutionary philosophies of Samuel Alexander and A. N. Whitehead. The universe is conceived in terms of process. Man is that fragment of the universe which, after aeons of self-transformation, has become conscious of its own nature.

Man inhabits one planet among hundreds of millions of stars in one among hundreds of millions of galaxies. Our own galaxy, the Milky Way, is between 4,000/5,000 million years old; and on this earth matter became organized as a primitive form of life some 2,000 million years ago. Man himself is less than a million years old and civilization little more than 5,000 years.

The time scale gives us a necessary perspective. Today the belief in progress is often dismissed as a nineteenth-century myth, but this is a superficial attitude, as Dr. Huxley points out. When we look back on the course of evolution we

cannot deny that progress has occurred. It is just a fact. Whether it will inevitably continue is quite another story.

TRANS-HUMANISM

Barring some great catastrophe, progress is probably inevitable in the human sector. Apart from atomic warfare, a new virus or bacteria might destroy climatic atmosphere and change might occur. But if these atmosphere and disasters are avoided the human race may well continue its advance.

'The human species can if it wishes to transcend itself—not just sporadically, an individual here one way, an individual there in another way, but in its entirety as humanity. We need a name for this new belief. Perhaps trans-humanism will serve: man remaining man, but transcending himself by realizing new possibilities of and for his human nature.'

Trans-humanism is but humanism writ large. It is essentially a philosophy for modern man and could not have occurred to anyone in its present form in a pre-scientific age. It is bound up with the concept of progress which is a comparatively modern idea. Nevertheless, to regard the goal of life as the realization of our total capacities is in the line of thought begun by Aristotle's Ethics. The chief difference is that by taking evolution seriously, Dr. Huxley can envisage the creation of new possibilities and satisfactions as well as maximizing those which are already within our reach.

THE COMPLETE MAN

The more we gain in understanding both of ourselves and our place in the universe, the richer are the possibilities which offer themselves for the human adventure. But, as Dr. Huxley wisely emphasizes, progress must not be restricted solely to the intellectual field. It must embrace the life of the imagination and creative art as well as pure reason. In short, the humanist ideal is expressed by the Renaissance dream of 'the complete man'.

But how can we hope to approximate to this ideal of completeness and all-round development in an age of intensive specialization? We cannot, of course, master all the knowledge that is available, as might have been possible in the sixteenth century. But it is still within our power to live in several dimensions. There is not the slightest reason why scientific interests

should inhibit our emotional life. Poetry, art, and music are essentials of civilization. An individual who tries to do without them is not being rational but one-sided.

It could be said, perhaps, that in the past religion helped man to take the best of things rather than the most of himself. It offered a consolation for the harshness of life in a world in which poverty and disease were endemic. It performed a socially valuable function; but the need for it diminishes as the human lot improves.

Not that all the evils that afflict us will ever be wholly removed or all the tasks of religion superseded. What we now require, according to Dr. Huxley, is a new religion. He would replace the idea of God by the concept of man as the instrument and agent of the evolutionary process.

The ideal of social or professional success based on the one-sided specialization of some single faculty or skill, and evaluated in material or quantitative terms, needs to be supplemented and enlarged and in large measure replaced by the ideal of wholeness. The integrator here is integration; the aim is the development of an integrated personality, an inner harmony with peace as its product.

This brings us to the problem of humanist morality. Obviously it is based on a unitary view of life—on wholeness rather than holiness. It is not a code of prohibitions but the outcome of feeling ourselves to be part of a universal process of creative development. Thus the split between man and Nature is healed and there is no opposition between the individual and society, for it is in genuine self-fulfilment that the individual develops his own personality and so makes his particular contribution to the wider process of which he is a part.

The detailed implications of Dr. Huxley's thesis have yet to be worked out, but he has given a bold imaginative picture which should dispose of the reproach that humanism is mainly negative in its approach.

—The Humanist

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(Continued from page 2)

which is the ultimate source of his ineradicable dogmatism. Armed with this philosophy, the communist considers himself the personification of the forces of history and, once in power, persuades himself that with him "history" is on the throne. To allow himself to be defeated and dislodged from power, even by democratic means, is to turn traitor to history. Communist practice fully conforms to this theory: a Communist Party, once in power, keeps itself in power, if necessary by crushing workers' councils and suppressing intellectuals, as in Hungary.

The Communist Party of India may declare that, if returned to power, it will allow the maximum possible of democratic liberties, but experience in other countries, not excluding Mao's China, seems to show that the maximum that is possible without endangering the position of the Communist Party is very nearly the minimum. Mao said, "Let a hundred schools of thought contend;" and this declaration became the starting point of a new and more ruthless offensive against the

views that do not conform to Mao's.

The Communist Party will do its duty. At this hour it considers it its highest duty to itself, and to "history," to remove the greatest obstacle to its march to power—the legitimate suspicion of a democratic electorate that the C.P.I. believes in the right to form opposition only so long as it is itself in opposition —by clothing itself in democratic professions. Once it has captured the citadel of power, it will see no higher duty to itself, and to "history," than to secure itself in power against all "reactionary" forces, if necessary by suppressing democracy.

Calcutta

Amlan Datta

TALKING THROUGH HIS GANDHI CAP

Dear Madam: Recently the Finance Minister Morarjibhai Desai advised the industrialists and the businessmen to keep business out of politics. It is like the pot calling the kettle black. If Mr. Morarjibhai wants that industrialists and businessmen should leave politics alone it is for him to advise the

Government of which is an important member, to keep away from business and industry with an all embracing totalitarian control by the Government over business and industry, it does not lie in the mouth of the Finance Minister to give this gratuitous advice to the industrialists and businessmen.

Again if Mr. Morarjibhai is sincere in his advice then he should see that the funds given to and accepted by the ruling party from business corporations and industrialists is immediately put a stop to. In fact Mr. Morarjibhai has dealt a threat to men like Mr. A. D. Shroff and other Free Enterprisers NOT to criticize the policies of the Government.

As long as the democratic Constitution is there, there is every reason for Mr. Shroff and men of his way of thinking, to criticize and criticize boldly and frankly, ALL the totalitarian trends of the Government, which not only extinguish all private enterprise and initiative, BUT ALSO kills Democracy in the bargain. Mr. Morarjibhai is only talking through his hat, or rather his Gandhi cap.

Bombay

M. A. Sahani

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