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Vol. V No. 6

15 May 1957

**Indian
Libertarian**

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review'

INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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Price 15 Naye Paise

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Economic and Public Affairs

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

Single Copy 15 Naye Paise Annual Rs. 3.50

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Editorial

JARRING REPORT

MR. GUNNAR JARRING, President of the Security Council and special envoy to India and Pakistan to study the situation in regard to the present State of the dispute about Kashmir has submitted his Report. It is a brief document of about 2000 words that just states the situation without mentioning any recommendations or suggestions for the action of the UN. From India's point of view, it represents a virtual recognition of India's argument that the conditions under which a plebiscite was promised by her have materially changed making it no longer obligatory on her part. For the Report takes note of "the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question together with the changing pattern of Power relations in West and South Asia." The reference here is surely to America's military aid to Pakistan, to the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts. It is clear that Mr. Jarring appreciates the point that these factors change the power parity between India and Pakistan to the disadvantage of India. A concession that might have been safe before this change could no longer remain so thereafter.

Mr. Jarring seems also to see the force of the argument that a plebiscite held today with freedom for Pakistan to infiltrate into Kashmir and stir fanatic communal passions might give rise to grave problems i.e. bloody riots necessitating the flight of the Hindu population from Kashmir and the consequent chain reaction in India, in Hindu-Muslim riots throughout the country.

Mr. Jarring also mentions the Indian charge that the UN has ignored India's original demand that Pakistan should be asked to withdraw her forces from the so-called Azad Kashmir and that she should be branded as an aggressor.

Mr. Jarring focusses his attention on the factors that impeded the implementation of the resolutions pertaining to demilitarisation. He does not express a judgement on the Indian argument that the impediment was the failure of Pakistan to withdraw her forces from Azad Kashmir and to demobilise the "local battalions" she had trained and armed. He seems to have proposed an arbitration to find out the facts about this. But no arbitration is necessary to find out whether or not Pakistan maintains her regular forces and local armed battalions in "Azad" Kashmir. A visit is sufficient for the purpose.

Under the circumstances, it is not clear what step the Security Council will take next to solve the problem. India should urge that Pakistan should be made to vacate "Azad" Kashmir areas.

JOSEF KORBEL ON KASHMIR

Meanwhile we have an inkling as to the next move of Pakistan's friends on the Security Council in an article in the American journal *New Leader* by Mr. Josef Korbel. Mr. Korbel was a Czech citizen. He

was Czechoslovakia's envoy in India in 1948, when he was nominated as one of the members of the first UN Commission, to investigate the Kashmir problem. He later sought asylum in the USA and became an exile. He has written a book on the Kashmir problem giving the history of the dispute against the full background of the pre-independence rivalry between the Congress and the Muslim League. He has blamed the Congress for not understanding the full separatist mentality of the League leaders in which he is right. But in the delineation of the actual dispute, after the invasion of Kashmir by the tribals, aided and abetted by Pakistan's regular army, Korbel betrays his pro-Muslim bias.

In this article in *New Leader* of March 4, 1957, he lets out a suggestion which gives a glimpse into the plot that is being hatched by Pakistan. He says that *Nehru can do nothing if Pakistan lets in UN forces into her portion of Kashmir and withdraws her own forces*. Since Pakistan would then have to be deemed to have fulfilled her commitment regarding demilitarisation, India would be forced by world opinion to do likewise. If the Security Council does not pass such a resolution on account of the Russian veto, the General Assembly might be induced to do so. India would not dare to ignore the wish of 80 members of the Assembly! This then is the plot.

INDIA SHOULD COUNTER THE MOVE

To counter this move, India should immediately declare a Monroe Doctrine. Though she recognises the political sovereignty of Pakistan, she should announce that for purposes of the defence of the Indian subcontinent, she has to take the whole of pre-independence, undivided India into account. The defence of India requires that from the North Western passes of Peshawar to the Burmese and Assamese mountains in the East, and from the Hindukush and Himalayas in the North to the southern seas India should have military supremacy. It is her area of defence. Just as the USA has declared that for defence all South American nations are within her zone and that no European Power should intervene militarily in it, India should declare that she will NOT permit any alien forces to set foot within her zone of defence within which Pakistan and her two wings—Western and Eastern falls. This would prevent the UN force coming to the Indian sub-continent. This requires some audacity but the situation requires such bold action and the Prime Minister of India would betray the trust reposed in him by the Indian people if he does not secure this result. Rulership is not a bed of roses. It does not consist in receiving oceans of flattery. To be forewarned is to be fore-armed. It is to be hoped that the Indian authorities will remain awake and take appropriate action betimes.

IN GOOD COMPANY WITH U.S.A.

Such a declaration is by no means peculiar and

unprecedented. The USA has declared in recent weeks that the defence interest of her country extends to Jordan! America has moved her Mediterranean Fleet to Beirut, the capital of Lebanon and has announced her intention of airlifting whole divisions to Jordan if needed by the internal situation there, wherein the King is fighting the puppets of international communism and the agents of Egypt and Syria who are busy trying to dethrone him and annex his territories to Pan-Arab Egypt—which move is supported by Soviet Russia.

The analogy of distant America declaring her defence interest in Jordan, across thousands of miles of land and sea, is helpful to us. India might very well, in this light, claim that the whole of subcontinental India, with the old borders of British days is her defence zone, and that no foreign troops should set foot within it without her permission.

Dean Acheson, Secretary of State in the Truman Administration, had declared that America was interested in Kashmir. India should have asked what she meant by it. Even now India should ask for a clarification from America as to the nature of her interest in Kashmir. She should point out that this *interest* of hers in the area prevents her from taking a just and objective attitude to the question of India's right in Kashmir.

AMERICAN MOTIVES

It is plain that the proximity of Kashmir to Russia on the North renders it an excellent base for operation against Russia in any future war with her. And India will not let America use it as such on account of her neutralist policy. Whereas Pakistan is eager to have American Arms Aid whatever the terms. It is clear that the whole of Pakistan could be used as a base in case of war. Gilgit is already getting ready as an air base equipped to take the biggest planes.

Kashmir in Pakistani hands will enable America to use Gilgit and the Northern areas in the war and to have the delightful Kashmir valley as a station for rest, recuperation, assembly of supplies and ammunition and hospitalisation.

A TANTALIZING STATEMENT ON GOA

Sri Nehru has recently declared that some *course of action* will be taken in regard to Goa. He added hastily that, of course, it would have to be within the limits of our declared policy. It means that force will not be used and that bargaining with the bigger powers in exchange for something else will not also be resorted to. It is not clear as to why a vague and tantalising statement like this should be made at all. It gives nothing for the imagination to seize as a bait or foretaste. It serves only to exasperate the people.

Even at this late hour, if only India could assure America that she will not let Russia or any hostile Power make use of Goa and the seacoast of India in case of hostilities, it is possible that the USA and Britain could be prevailed upon to put pressure on Portugal to quit Goa. But the Prime Minister will NOT

take any such diplomatic move. He is incapable of learning by experience or stooping in order to conquer. He stands stiffly unbending in a rapidly changing world and would rather be broken than bend and save his country. He can be compared to President Wilson, who stuck to his principles, but could not persuade his country. But India has no strong and independent public opinion to correct the policies of its leader.

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO CEYLON

Nearly 7 lakhs of Indian Ceylonese i.e. Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin, born and bred in Ceylon, who are not entitled to Indian citizenship and will become stateless persons if Ceylon denies citizenship rights are said to have been disqualified by the Ceylonese authorities for Ceylonese citizenship after scrutiny of their claims. This is clearly inhuman on the part of Ceylon and contrary to international law. The Government of India has failed to stand by the legitimate rights of these unfortunate people. Ceylon has failed to honour the commitments she had entered into in the last Indo-Ceylon agreement. The full dishonour of her heartless position has not been (as usual in such cases of injustice to the Indian cause) clearly and emphatically publicised in India. The Government of India has failed to give the Indian public full information regarding this issue. They should issue a *White Paper* giving full details. The new Parliament meeting this month should elicit information and give a lead to the country.

As usual, Ceylonese publicists and politicians are trying to prevent Nehru from giving his full mind to this question and urging on the Ceylonese Government to do justice to these unfortunate persons, whose misfortune is that they had Indian forefathers. They are issuing *tendentious* reports that Nehru would have too busy a time in Ceylon to be able to give any attention to this question. It is clear that his hosts this time will seek to absorb Nehru's time in receptions and demonstrations of public welcome, and to win him by the diplomacy of flattery as the greatest leader of Asia, the conscience of the world, and the champion of Asia and African under-dogs, etc. And it will succeed as a similar trick succeeded in Soviet Russia. Nehru will admire the scenic beauty of Ceylon, say a few words about the historic associations between the two countries since the days of Asoka and advise the unfortunate sufferers (Indian Ceylonese) to face their situation bravely and put up with it, as Free India wishes to have Ceylon's support in her neutralist policy, and does not wish to antagonise her for their sake. Thus will Sri Nehru trade the interests of "Indian" Ceylonese for the mess of pottage of his personal glory and his neutralist internationalism.

We have not long to wait to test this sombre anticipation of Nehru's doings in Ceylon. We shall be glad to be proved wrong.

PAK'S DISPUTE ABOUT THE PUNJAB RIVERS

Newspapers announce that the World Bank's arbitration between India and Pakistan, in regard to the equitable sharing of water from the rivers of the

Theocratic Fanaticism and World Peace

By M. A. Venkata Rao

IT has been one of the major insights of Mr. R. B. Lotvala that a study and understanding of the Semitic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) are essential for making a contribution to the solution of the problem of world peace and world progress. All these religions have elements of a lofty morality in them, but there is something in their basic religious outlook, in their fundamental world-view that makes them intolerant and exclusive. There is something in them that makes them irretrievably fanatic and hostile to rationalism and a truly catholic or universalist outlook. Both from the standpoint of world politics, and from that of a reconstruction of the social and political bases of life in free India, it is essential that Indian publicists should study Semitic religions and their social and political systems. From this point of view, Mr. Lotvala has opened a research department in his Library Foundation in Bombay to contribute to a better understanding of the impact of Semitic world views on the problems of building an open society in the contemporary world.

Borsodi—A Clear Thinker

There is a remarkable approach to Mr. Lotvala's point of view in this respect in the views of the American educator Mr. Borsodi, Chancellor and founder of the University of Melbourne, Florida. His volume called *Education and Living* being the product of his educational experiments in Suffern, New York and in Melbourne, Florida, during the last two decades and his *Journal of Praxiology* are our source of material for a study of his stimulating world view

(Continued from Page 4)

Punjab, has reached a deadlock for the umpteenth time. This is again a case for a *White Paper* giving full information about our rights and Pakistan's claims in this matter. It appears that Pakistan has not agreed to the suggestion of the Bank that the two countries should have three rivers apiece, and that India should pay Rs. 50 crores to help Pakistan build new canals in her own territory! Now this is an outrageous proposal, but the peculiar Government of ours seems to have agreed to it. It seems to have been entirely forgotten that Pakistan owes India something to the tune of Rs. 350 crores on account of the sharing of public debt at the time of Partition, *not a pie of which* has been paid so far. But now for our Government to agree to pay a *further* Rs. 50 crores is a species of sentimental lunacy for which it is hard to find a parallel in world history. It is strange that during the elections these strange proceedings of the Congress and Nehru Government did not find much mention. It is a measure of the ignorance and callousness of our leaders as also of their craven fear of being dubbed "communalist"!

and issuing in a fresh and suggestive outlook on educational reconstruction. Mr. Borsodi has a comprehensive philosophy of life and a keen insight into the human problems of modern civilisation. His latest book *The Challenge of Asia* (which was reviewed in the last issue) is a refreshing contrast to the spate of books by journalists, politicians and professors on Asia which repeat the prevailing prejudices of the West and breathe a spirit of uncritical superiority to everything Eastern and industrially backward.

In this article it is proposed to focus attention on Mr. Borsodi's views on the danger of the fanaticism inherent in Semitic religions in general, and in Islam in particular. Mr. Borsodi is a libertarian. He mentions with respect the names of Robert Owen, Josiah Warren and Benjamin Tucker. He is also a rationalist and universalist or humanist in ultimate philosophy. But he is also loyal to truth and does not hesitate to acknowledge the defects in Christianity, and in modern civilisation, as it is developing today. He is outspoken, therefore, in condemning the closed outlook which is impeding world peace today—the closed outlook in Christianity, Judaism, Islam as well as in Soviet Communism.

A Stir In Stagnant Indian Thought

In India such a criticism of these world views would be branded as "communalism" and frowned upon by authority. It would be here regarded as strange that libertarian rationalists and humanists should be so "communal" as to criticise Islam and Christianity at all, even where there is justifiable ground for such criticism from the political and social point of view. A study of Mr. Borsodi's book, therefore, would introduce a fresh stream of free and suggestive ideas into the stagnant pool of Indian social and political thought today.

Mr. Borsodi is emphatic that all the three Semitic religions are intolerant and militant in their attitude to other faiths and attitudes. "*Thou shalt have no other gods before Me*"—declared Jehovah to Moses. Jesus said that "*whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in that which is to come.*" The Prophet proclaimed that "*Al-ilah is allah; there is no other God but He.*"

Semitic Religions are Impositions

Mr. Borsodi makes the original point that both Islam and Christianity are *super-impositions on Europe and Asia*. They are not, in his view, genuinely European and Asian. They are neo-Judaic. He thinks that Europe has not really accepted Christianity from the heart. Europe is really Pagan and Euro-America is only ex-Christian (using the epithet of

Professor Toynbee). Similarly he thinks that the genuine religions of Asia are Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, Islam being a super-imposition due to conquest. And all these Semitic religions are dogmatic, intolerant and evangelical. Hence Mr. Borsodi draws the straight conclusion,—“the fewer the adherents of these religions become in the contemporary world or the less the influence they wield—so long as they do not give up their fanaticism—the better for the peace and progress of the modern world.”

He commends the tolerance and understanding of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, and declares emphatically that in this respect they are superior to Christianity and Islam. He thinks that Europe approaches this tolerance only in its phase of secular republicanism, such as that of the founders of the American Constitution. *There is thus more in common between the tolerant universalism of Asianism-Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism on the one hand and the secularism of the USA on the other for building a universal world order based on truth and humanism and rationalism than between Semitic religions and Asianism.*

This is a point of view shared by Mr. Lotvala and his group of research men with Mr. Borsodi and needs fuller articulation, both in terms of world politics and in terms of Indian reconstruction.

Gandhi Failed to Understand Muslim Fanaticism

Mr. Borsodi was here in India last year and was enabled to see the real inwardness of the conflict between Islam and Hinduism as represented by Jinnah and Gandhi as one of the theocratic fanaticism and universalist tolerance. He points out that the secession of Pakistan was due to the failure of Gandhists to understand the closed outlook of Islam in whose name Jinnah demanded a separate State. So long as Muslims do not give up this closed fanatic outlook, they will stand in the way, both of world peace and of the evolution of a free society in India.

Mr. Borsodi seems to have travelled in Moslem lands also last year. He saw everywhere in Moslem lands an awakening and a passionate desire to revive the glories of Islam in the first three centuries of its history as expressed in great mosques, great universities and splendid cities. He notes that the existing differences and jealousies of Arab and Moslem states may disappear in the fire of a Moslem renaissance resulting in a vast Pan-Islamic empire or federation from Morocco on the Atlantic (through India) to Indonesia and the Philippines in the Pacific and from Russia and Chinese Turkestan in the North to Sudan and the Malayan Archipelago in the South including the oil wells of Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Mr. Borsodi notes that the Western-educated leaders of Moslem States do have this Pan-Islamic vision active in their minds and motives today. He notes further that the means contemplated for the realisation of this dream are conquest, force and violence. He concludes therefore that “*For those who believe that aggressive war should be abolished, Islam’s renaissance is a threat which may doom the hope of achieving “One World” for generations.*”

Thus the revival of Pan-Islam is a world problem. Western nations have a great responsibility in using this force for their own ends. Soviet diplomacy tries to mobilise it in its own favour and Western diplomacy bids for the favour of Moslem peoples.

And India is following blindly in the footsteps of Communism and Western States in bidding for the favour of Islam without discrimination regarding the merits of current issues.

“There is a lesson we must learn from history” says Mr. Borsodi, and a lesson that Neville Chamberlain failed to learn when he “tried to do business” with Adolf Hitler; a lesson that Franklin D. Roosevelt failed to learn when he “tried to do business with Stalin”; a lesson which Chiang Kai-shek failed to teach General Marshall, to Secretary of State Acheson and to President Truman when they “tried to do business” with Mao Tse-tung. The lesson is: you cannot do business with fanatics. For their most solemn promises are worthless: their most solemn treaties, scraps of paper. The fanatic feels only one supreme obligation, the obligation to his fanaticism. No fanatic should therefore be entrusted with power. In this respect there is no real difference between Ivan the Terrible and Adolf Hitler; between Benito Mussolini and Joseph Stalin. No fanatic movement—not even prohibition—should be allowed to control government. No fanatic government should be permitted to exist. There is only one thing to do with fanatics who cannot be de-fanaticised: they must be rendered powerless. If they cannot be deprived of office, they—and their governments—must be encysted. If their followers and dupes cannot be disillusioned, and their influence thus destroyed, all the sane people and all the sane nations of the world must unite in first drawing a sanitary cordon around them and then in fighting them if they venture to use force in extending their sway to other peoples.”

Apart from the best way of containing and sterilising fanaticism, we have to ask the deeper question as to what element in Semitic religions gives rise to this closed outlook. Has the fact that their religion became a power in their social history in times of war and struggle for survival anything to do with the dominant psychology of Semiticism? If God is thought of primarily (as He is in these religions) as the Leader in war, who exacts a wartime discipline unto death, it is natural for the resulting religion to stress obedience and the personal quality of the God-head. Communion with such a Deity will partake of the nature of loyalty and obedience to His Will. And also monotheism follows from the same source, for there cannot be more than one war-leader without introducing divided counsel and destroying social unity and fighting power. Religious experience will be interpreted as an *attunement of wills* and not as *merger of the finite soul in the Divine*. The Vedas were developed perhaps in settled times. Certainly, the Upanishads breathe a spirit of serenity and evince the dominance of reflective moods. God is not, therefore, thought of as personal war-leader. He is thought of as the spirit behind the visible cosmos. Thus *rita*, order, intelligibility, harmony, interdepen-

Nehru, The U.N. And Kashmir

By Josef Corbel

THE Kashmir conflict is back before the United Nations Security Council. The issue is familiar, the arguments old. But the current debate has added a new dimension to the dispute. It has not only thrown new light on India's policy as a UN member, but has raised the fundamental question of whether or not an agreement sponsored by the United Nations imposes obligations on its signatories.

Eight years ago, India and Pakistan accepted two UN resolutions dealing with a cease-fire in Kashmir, conditions for a truce, and a plebiscite to decide which of the two countries Kashmir should accede to. The second and third parts of this agreement were never implemented. After four years of trial and frustration, the Security Council suspended deliberations in the hope that India and Pakistan would solve the problem through bilateral negotiations. Shortly after, in the summer of 1953, the two Prime Ministers issued a joint communique promising to conduct a UN-supervised plebiscite.

This pledge, however, was followed by renewed stalemate. Then, last November, the Constituent Assembly of the Indian-controlled part of Kashmir put the final seal on formal accession to India. This move led Pakistan to raise the issue again in the Security Council.

Pak Charges Against India

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, accused India of violating an interna-

(Continued from p. 6)

dence, and a vision of live and let live became dominant notes in the religious experience of Indians.

Dr. Abid Hussain, in his very interesting book *The National Culture of India*. (Jaico Publication), follows Tagore and Dr. Iqbal (as interpreted by Dr. Radhakrishnan) in seeking a basis for unity between Hindu and Islamic thought in a supposed *identity of religious experience between them*. He attributes the divergent religious philosophies emerging from such experience to a difference on the stress between the impersonal and personal notes or values in the interpretations of theologians. Islam is personal and Hinduism impersonal in emphasis. Surely the matter needs further reflection, for neither personal nor impersonal values need issue in intolerance. The quality of experience differs with the inherited interpretation of it active in the mind of the contemplator. Such interpretation is taught in each religious tradition. Tradition is crystallised theory and moulds the lineaments and quality of the experience itself.

It is clear that the problem opened up, in India by Mr. Lotvala and in America by Mr. Borsodi, needs fuller study. Much fundamental thinking has to go into it before we can have clear views ready for application in diplomacy and national and world reconstruction for peace and progress.

tional agreement. He asked the Security Council to call on the contending parties to withdraw all troops from Kashmir, reduce or disband all local forces, and fix an early date for appointment of a UN Plebiscite Administrator. He also proposed that a UN force be sent to the area at once.

Indian Prime Minister Nehru promptly replied that his country would not tolerate the stationing of foreign troops on "its soil" and repudiated the whole idea of a plebiscite. Pakistan, he contended, by accepting military assistance from the United States, had altered the entire situation, so that the earlier agreement was no longer valid.

This new Indian stand raises issues which far transcend the problem of Kashmir. For if a nation which has accepted a UN commitment can blithely assert that "circumstances have changed" and the commitment is no longer binding, then the effectiveness of the UN has been dealt a staggering blow.

The Indian Case

V. K. Krishna Menon delivered a speech of record length before the Security Council, extending over three sessions, in an effort to defend India's position. Kashmir's accession to India, he declared, was perfectly valid and final. The people of Kashmir had been promised an opportunity to express their desires, and they had done so in the elections of October 1951. That ended India's obligations in the matter. True, by accepting a UN resolution and issuing a joint communique with Pakistan she had agreed to a plebiscite, but it was not expressed in a binding treaty. In any case, changed conditions since then had made the agreement obsolete, and the merger of Kashmir with India could not be revoked because the Indian Constitution does not recognize the right of secession. Finally, Pakistan was an aggressor in Kashmir and had failed to comply with UN resolutions, which she had accepted, directing her to withdraw her forces from Kashmir.

The Serious Question

This complex legal brief would be of no concern to the outside world if it involved merely an internal affair between India and Kashmir. Such is not the case, however. The Security Council has recommended, and India has agreed, that a free, impartial plebiscite should decide the fate of Kashmir. The UN Commission for India and Pakistan has adopted a similar resolution, which India also accepted.

When India now declares that this does not constitute a commitment on her part, she is taking a grave step. Should the principle become commonly accepted that only an agreement which has undergone legislative ratification is to be respected by UN members, the value of the world organization's

resolutions would be reduced to almost nothing. These resolutions represent, at the very least, a moral obligation. In view of her many past statements, India is the last country that should stand on strict legality when it does not conform to principles of morality.

As for Krishna Menon's argument that conditions in Kashmir have changed in the past eight years, it is true that important social, economic and educational reforms have been carried out and military positions consolidated in both the Indian and Pakistani-controlled areas. India has used these eight years to complete the integration of her section with India. In all fairness, however, this should not work to the disadvantage of Pakistan, which has not been responsible for the long delay.

The argument that Kashmir's accession cannot constitutionally be revoked is equally invalid. For with each political step leading to accession in October 1950, October 1951 and July 1952 Prime Minister Nehru has stated flatly that India's international commitment regarding a plebiscite was in no way affected.

Pakistan Admits Aggression

Finally, there is the question of Pakistani aggression. By her own admission, Pakistan sent her army into Kashmir in May 1948, and in the fall of that year she armed and helped transport tribesmen on their way to invade the province. The UN Commission criticized these actions in its resolution. Such being the case, one wonders why India did not bring charges of an "act of aggression" under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The fact is, however, that she did not; and, by accepting the various UN resolutions, she agrees to the situation as it existed at the time of the cease-fire of January 1, 1949.

In its long years of deliberations on Kashmir, 22 different nations have held the UN Security Council's non-permanent seats. Except for the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Yugoslavia, all of them—together with the United States, Great Britain, France and China, four of the five permanent members—have consistently upheld the Council's resolutions on Kashmir and the recommendations of its Commission and its Mediator, Dr. Frank P. Graham. It is doubtful that a single country in the non-Communist world would identify itself with the Indian position.

"Mortgaging Nehru's Position"

Only the Soviet Union and Communist China seem eager to support it. Nikita Khrushchev declared in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, on December 9, 1955: "The question of Kashmir as one of the States of the Republic of India has already been decided by the people of Kashmir." Last month, while visiting Ceylon, Chou En-lai took a similar stand. By supporting India on Kashmir, Russia and China have in effect mortgaged Nehru's independent position in world affairs. India's ambiguous stand during the UN debates on Hungary may well represent the fruits of this Moscow-Peking policy.

What will be the final solution in Kashmir? No one can say with any certainty. India now categorically rejects a plebiscite, while Pakistan insists on it

and the United Nations is committed to it by several resolutions.

There seems no prospect of progress in the Security Council, where the Soviet Union has a veto. It, therefore, seems time to transfer the issue to the General Assembly. An Assembly resolution calling on India and Pakistan to implement the previous resolutions would in all likelihood be carried overwhelmingly. Such a resolution would unquestionably be rejected by India, but it would have the virtue of placing the opinion of some 70 nations on record.

Even the uncompromising position taken by Krishna Menon may offer a slim hope of an ultimate solution. According to the Indian delegate, Pakistan prevented implementation of the section of the UN Commission resolution dealing with a plebiscite by refusing to carry out the other part recommending demilitarization of Kashmir. This is not true: Pakistan was not expected to withdraw her forces from Kashmir as long as there was no agreed-upon plan for simultaneous Indian withdrawal, and India has retracted her approval of the UN Mediator's demilitarization proposal.

A Way Out

Nevertheless, Krishna Menon's stress on demilitarization may hold the key to a settlement in Kashmir. Nehru has barred the sending of a UN force to Kashmir, but there is nothing he can do to prevent Pakistan from admitting UN troops to the area it occupies. Should this be accompanied by a Pakistani withdrawal, India would find it exceedingly difficult to continue refusing to remove her own troops on security grounds. And, once the military aspects of the problem have been solved, what would stand in the way of holding the long-deferred plebiscite?

More is at stake in Kashmir than the fate of a remote Asian province. On the UN's handling of this question may depend much of its future moral and political authority.

—New Leader (U.S.A.)

POLISH LESSON FOR INDIA

India can draw an appropriate lesson from the failure of the Polish policy of over-ambitious industrialisation which led to the Poznan riots and the "October Revolution" last year. This may help us to re-examine our own Plan of industrialisation which is apparently beyond our means. A similar and rigid State control of the masses and later of course to the explosion of October last. Co-operativisation of agriculture is another field to give us the necessary warning, specially because it is becoming increasingly fashionable in our country. The Gomulka report of October last has exploded the myth that co-operative farming is the answer to all agrarian ills.... It is wise to profit by others' mistake.

The Poles have discovered to their cost why peasant individualism should not be interfered with or ridiculed, we in India should pause and think of the consequences should we rush into reckless co-operativisation of agriculture. —The Eastern Economist

Political Bankruptcy In Pakistan

By "Vigilant"

LIKE any other Islamic nation, Pakistan proudly proclaimed as the "biggest Islamic State in the world", has its own bundle of crises and contradictions. That it has a sort of an Islamic constitution, based on the Koran, and Sunna, which cannot guarantee it with a stable and democratic government goes without saying. In fact the root cause of the whole chain of troubles since its inception is its adherence to the Koran, and its insistence on a theocratic State of Islam. A theocratic state in modern times is an anachronism. But it took nearly ten years for some of the leaders of Pakistan NOW to come to their senses, as evidenced by the acceptance by the legislative Assembly of West Pakistan of the resolution for "joint" electorates for the province. Joint electorates and the conception of an Islamic State are in themselves contradictory. In actual practice the decision to have joint electorates, so late in the day, has no meaning. In fact, there are, at present, no minorities to speak of in West Pakistan. The Hindus and the Sikhs, who constituted nearly 40 per cent of the population, at the time of the partition, have been reduced to barely 2 per cent. The rest of the Hindus and Sikhs have been either murdered or driven out by force to India or compelled to embrace Islam. In the circumstances this decision by the legislature of West Pakistan has only one excuse of bringing about a sort of uniformity between the two wings of Pakistan—the East and the West. In Eastern Pakistan there has been for a long time the system of joint electorates, mainly due to the efforts of the United Front formed by Mr. Fazlul Huque and other anti-League political parties in that region.

Undemocratic Decision

But the abrupt decision of the rulers of Pakistan to switch over to joint electorates in West Pakistan is inexplicable except as a measure to bolster up their undemocratic decision to foist the discredited formula of One Unit for West Pakistan. This attempt on the part of the rulers of Pakistan to thrust down the unwilling throats of the people of the three different linguistic and ethnological units the idea of One Unit is bound to end in failure and discontent. It is an idea that finds favour only with the Punjabis, who are the dominating partners in the State of Pakistan—the Sindhis, the Pathans and the Bengalis are considered by the domineering Punjabis as lower breeds not to be on a par with them in law.

Unconscious Admission

Apart from the question of joint or separate electorates what is more important are the arguments that were advanced, both for and against the move of joint electorates. Underlying all these argu-

ments, both for the move as well as against it, is the clear admission on both sides that the partition of India on religious grounds has been a mistake and cannot work for any length of time. But having admitted that, neither the supporters of the move nor its opponents have the courage to admit the mistake and try to retrace their steps. If they sincerely try to do so, the logical conclusion would be the unification of the Indian sub-continent, which in turn means the liquidation of the Islamic State of Pakistan. But the queerest argument in support of the move was the one advanced by Mr. Suhrawardy that it was the obduracy of the Hindus that forced the Muslims to accept partition. No man, who has followed the history of Muslim fanaticism and anti-nationalism of the majority of Indian Muslims, headed by the late Mr. Jinnah, will agree with Mr. Suhrawardy. It was the claim of the Muslim League and the fanatic section of the Indian Muslims that the Muslims and the Hindus form two separate nations and that they cannot live together.

How This To Be Connected?

This attitude of the Muslims led by Jinnah was very favourable to the British rulers in their game of "Divide and Rule" when the logic of events forced them to leave India. This attitude of the Muslims was a ready handle for the British rulers to disrupt the stability and security of the Indian subcontinent. And they did it, by having carved out the two States of India and Pakistan. The Muslims have helped this game and it is now the game of the Muslim Leaguers and the present rulers of Pakistan to turn the tables against the Hindus and say that Hindu obstinacy and Hindu obduracy were responsible for the partition of the country. The pre-partition Hindu-Muslim riots engineered by the Muslim League are a proof positive that the Indian Muslims, as a body, were unpatriotic and anti-national.

A Gift To Fanaticism

In fact the creation of Pakistan by the British was the last kick the British rulers dealt to the Hindu nationalists and freedom-fighters of the country. Pakistan was handed to the Muslim Leaguers, as it were, on a silver platter by the British rulers. No wonder that the majority of the Muslim community were so overjoyed at this fact that they openly raised shouts, "*Haske liya Pakistan Ladhke Leyenge Hindustan*"—"We have got Pakistan Laughing. We will take Hindustan by Fighting." But having accepted this gratuitous gift from the British, the people, as well as the rulers of Pakistan, could not during the last ten years advance the economic and political progress of the State.

Today Pakistan is in a worst quandary than it ever was. East Pakistan legislature has already adopted a resolution asking for provincial autonomy and virtual separation from West Pakistan. The One Unit idea of the rulers of Pakistan does not find favour in West Pakistan, in Sind, N.W.F. Province and in Baluchistan. The economic position of the country is far from satisfactory. West Pakistan, which was considered the granary of the Indian subcontinent, is today a food deficit area. There is the actual threat of famine conditions in East Pakistan. And to top all these adverse conditions is the admission by Minister Noon that Pakistan is obliged to the USA for nearly 40 per cent of its budget, not to mention the free gift of armaments from America. This is surely not a picture of the state of affairs for any sovereign independent country to be proud of. It is no wonder, therefore, that political parties rise like mushrooms in Pakistan without any clear-cut socio-economic programmes.

Bankruptcy of Political Thought

The debate on the adoption of the joint electorate resolution in the legislature of West Pakistan demonstrates the total bankruptcy of political thought in Pakistan. Criticising the resolution Mr. Daulatana, the Muslim League leader, characterised the move as "an offence against democratic decencies". One wonders where the speaker had got his ideas about democracy and much less of decency when the very creation of Pakistan was a political monstrosity. He criticised the statement of Mr. Suhrawardy that partition was "not inevitable" and called it a "dangerous proposition". One can understand the heat and emotion that Daulatana had put in his opposition to the resolution because it was an admission that the partition was a mistake and the very creation of Pakistan was also a mistake. Of course, it is a bitter pill for the fanatic Muslims to swallow. Mr. Daulatana characterised the attitude of the ruling Party as too dangerous as they were thinking "in reverse gear" and if that process continued the "very existence of Pakistan would be in jeopardy".

If the statements of Daulatana, though unconscious, were an admission that the beginning of the end of Pakistan was in sight, another member of the legislature said that he "was not prepared to sign his death warrant". Time has strange ways of taking revenge, and it seems that time is having its game with the destinies of Pakistan.

The Old Fanatic Game

Mr. Suhrawardy in supporting the resolution admitted that when they started the Muslim League, partition of the country was "not inevitable" but it became inevitable when Hindu leaders were unable to "face the facts." Here we have not only deliberate lies but the Islamic fanaticism of the Indian Muslim leaders in full blaze. Now that things are not going well with Pakistan, Suhrawardy, as a "true" Pakistani, must lay the blame on the "hated Hindus" of India. It is an indirect admission that Suhrawardy is not very happy at the creation of Pakistan, that he knows that the creation of Pakistan was an accident but as a

Muslim he must attribute all ills of Pakistan to the Hindus of India. Suhrawardy can conveniently forget his own hand in the holocaust at Calcutta and Noakhali but the Hindus of Bengal and of India cannot forgive him for all the atrocities that the Muslims did at both the places.

If today Suhrawardy and other rulers of Pakistan are alive to the mistake of creating Pakistan, the best course for them is to think coolly over the last ten years and on their campaign of hatred against Hindu India. Pakistan is now a settled fact; at least that is what the intelligent section of the Indian public believes and has come to accept it. There is no going back on it. But if the rulers of Pakistan have NOW come to that realisation, they will find that there is another way out of the mistake. If the rulers are sincere in their belief that partition was "NOT INEVITABLE" they must immediately stop all propaganda against India, sit round a round table and talk things over with the rulers of India. There is already the offer of Prime Minister Nehru of a "No War" pact between India and Pakistan, and still further they can help actively in bringing about harmonious relations between Pakistan and India on the basis of an Indian confederation, including both wings, Pakistan and Kashmir. The talk of "Jehad" and war has to go.

It is a fact as clear as daylight that as long as tensions and frictions between Pakistan and India are there, there cannot be real economic social and political progress of the Indian sub-continent. The choice is for the rulers of Pakistan to make, and there is no doubt that the present rulers of India would be too glad to accept the hand of friendship from Karachi. Will this dawning of wisdom by the rulers of Pakistan have an happy ending?

But then there is the big "IF" between this unconscious admission by the Pakistani rulers of the mistake of creating Pakistan and their obstinacy to stick to it as its logical conclusion. This will require the Pakistani rulers to go back on all they have preached all these 25 years and more to their ignorant, fanatic and highly strung followers. They will have to give up their dreams of the revival of the past "glories" of Islam. They will have to do a bit of rethinking about their real place in the scheme of things in modern world. They will have also to give up their fantastic dreams of becoming one day the leader of the Islamic world. In a word the rulers of Pakistan would have to recondition their mind from the Islamic mould to that of a modern one. If they fail to do, then the political bankruptcy of the rulers of Pakistan would drag their country to rack and ruin and also continue to be a source of nuisance to India.

EISENHOWER'S POLICY ON INTERNATIONAL PLANE

"We speak plainly to all people. We cherish our friendship with all nations, that are or would be free. We respect no less their independence and, when in time of want or peril they ask our help, they may honourably receive it; for we no more seek to buy their sovereignty than we would sell our own. Sovereignty is never bartered amongst free men."

—President Eisenhower

India And Arab Nationalism

By M. N. Tholal

WHAT is this Arab nationalism of which we hear so much now-a-days? A nation, as any dictionary can tell us, is a distinct race or people having common descent, language, history or political institutions, while nationalism stands for patriotic feeling, principles or efforts or a policy of national independence. Can Arab nationalism be said to possess or represent any of these attributes?

ARAB NATIONALISM OR ISLAMIC NATIONALISM

Were Arab nationalism confined to the people of Arabia or even extended a little beyond to Iraq, Jordan and Syria, one would have little to cavil at, on the principle that man-made frontiers cannot be regarded with the same sanctity as natural frontiers. But the Arab nationalism of today appears to be something which is neither Arab nor nationalism. It extends far beyond the frontiers of Arabia right up to Morocco and aims at embracing many nations.

Truly speaking, it is international rather than national and embraces non-Arab nations in its fold, unless a common religion and a common language can be made to constitute a nation. In that case, it may be observed here, Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia and several others would constitute one nation.

The people of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Arabia may have a common religion and language, imposed on them with the help of the sword centuries ago, but they certainly are not one people having a common descent or history. They cannot therefore be said to constitute a nation.

If we try to examine the main-spring of this popular "ism"—popular even among Indians—we shall find that it is a very near cousin, if not indeed a twin sister, of an "ism" with which we Indians are mighty familiar, one indeed which we have been fighting for the last two decades, i.e., Muslim nationalism. The support that our Government is extending to this "ism" is therefore all the more surprising, bespeaking as it does that we support abroad what we condemn at home—that, in short, we have no principles of any kind and continue to live politically from hand to mouth on the shortsighted policy of claptrap, which makes our leaders appear great to our ignorant countrymen but which may again land us in disaster.

A SUICIDAL POLICY

It is strange that we should pursue this policy even after having paid the greatest possible price in the holocaust of 1947 and the division of the country and after having been ashamed for decades of participation in the Khilafat movement which revived Muslim fanaticism in the land. We condemn cries of Jihad across the border in Pakistan but we do not condemn the organisers and leaders of Fidayeens and Mujah-

deens (those who take up Jihad) in Egypt and Syria. Far from condemning them, we are going all out to support them against their proclaimed victim—tiny Israel.

We go all out to support Muslim fanatics against those who gave us our freedom as a free gift after we had repeatedly failed to wrest it from their hands. This gift, unparalleled in the history of the world, was given at a time when the antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims, as a result of our freedom movements, had gone so deep that a hundred million Muslims were prepared to shed the last drop of their blood to prevent the transfer of power and a man like Churchill could have prevented it for decades by a bold execution of the policy of Anglo-Muslim alliance.

However, there is no generosity in politics, and it is not suggested here that we should toe the British or the American or any other line, as a result of favours received. But neither should those favours act as incentive for abuse and condemnation of those from whom they are received, on or without the slightest provocation, as seems to be the case now-a-days. Otherwise, we are apt to be justly reminded that we are biting the hand that feeds. Indeed, if the source of our favours is so tainted and so devilish that we must in all conscience condemn it off and on, we should refuse aid from that source.

THE METHOD IN OUR MADNESS

Sheer madness as our support of Arab nationalism may appear at first sight, it is not without its proverbial method. We seem to have thought that if we went all out in our support of Nasser against Britain, France and Israel, the Arab states, Egypt and her allies in particular—Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Sudan—will be with India on the Kashmir issue. Apart from the fact that this kind of approach makes us look guilty, the result has been the opposite of what was intended and could easily have been foreseen if an attempt had been made to assess the reactions of our action. Our spectacular support of Egypt and dramatic condemnation of Britain, France and Israel so annoyed the Western powers that they had their revenge on us by having the Kashmir issue resuscitated to condemn us in the Security Council by, as it happened, a 10 to 0 vote.

And what was the result of this shocking ten to none vote against us? The result was that the world, including the Arab States, came to believe that India had no case at all and that Indians are the aggressors in Kashmir. It was not an interested party like Pakistan telling them that this time. It was the voice of the world.

It is as foolish to expect the average newspaper reader (who runs through headlines of foreign news) to go through the Indian case, which is perhaps not

even properly presented there, as to believe that the countries voting against us were misled by Pakistan or Britain or USA. Those sent to represent countries on the Security Council are not fools; in any case they know the minds of their respective Governments. Yet we do not seem to know the why of what happened in the Security Council.

WORLD VOTE AGAINST NEHRU

The Security Council vote was against Prime Minister Nehru and Krishna Menon and against our foreign policy and the crudeness with which it is conducted, rather than a condemnation of our stand on Kashmir. The very fact that the affair lay dormant for so many years proves the truth of this assertion.

But we asked for it and need not complain. And as a result of it the Arab States have been shamed into sliding back into the pan-Islamic mood of supporting a Muslim against a non-Muslim state even on the Kashmir issue. Pakistan now claims that all Muslim states except one are with her on the issue. Only the other day Kabul Radio came out in open support of Pakistan's claim to Kashmir.

Our foreign policy is so childish and amateurish that it can only turn friends into enemies. The central objective of that policy, obviously, is not the good of the country, or the democratic cause to which the country is constitutionally wedded, but the personal ascendancy in world politics of our Prime Minister. The enemies Pt. Nehru makes counter that policy by showing Pt. Nehru up as the arch aggressor and Kashmir as the skeleton in his cupboard, with the result that the country as well as its Prime Minister suffers.

Pakistan began her career with her Governor-General Jinnah shouting from the house-tops that Pakistan was surrounded by enemies on all sides. That is an old story now. But within ten years we Indians are complaining that we are friendless, in this wide world. If the objective of a country's foreign policy is friendlessness, we have certainly succeeded beyond our wildest dreams.

ISRAEL DIVIDES INDIA AND ARABS

No wonder the tables have been turned on us. Pakistan's Prime Minister does not jump up on the dais of a national conference, as Pt. Nehru did at the last sessions of the Congress, to denounce an Eisenhower doctrine as soon as a message enunciating it is delivered to him. The hurry could only have been dictated by the need of giving the "right" lead (incidentally anti-American) to his Arab friends, one of whom at least wants the leadership of the Middle East for himself. Neither should it be forgotten that Pt. Nehru denounced the Power Vacuum theory and military aid to countries after having passed on 5,000 Indian rifles to Burma secretly.

And how can we deceive the Arabs into believing that we are their friends when we disagree with them on the fundamental issue of wiping off Israel from the map of this world? That is the only desire which, when all is said, gives sustenance to Arab nationalism. Pt. Nehru has declared that he does not want Israel wiped off the map. With this fundamental difference

on the main problem agitating the Arabs in the Middle East, there can be no unity of purpose between the Arab States and India, and all attempts to seek their support, on a mutual basis, on the Kashmir or any other issue must prove futile.

BEVAN'S ADVICE

Mr. Aneurin Bevan at this juncture seems to possess all the qualities whose combination in a man can persuade Pt. Nehru to be impressed by him. He knows the art of flattery and has not hesitated to call Pt. Nehru a superman, or nearly one, though the advice he has offered us tends to show that even in his opinion our superman has been wrong in his handling of the Middle East situation. He has referred to the "intense provocation" which was the lot of Israel before it attacked Egypt and has the temerity to maintain that the obligation to keep the peace has to be shared by Nasser equally with others. "It is not only the duty of other nations to live at peace with him," said Mr. Bevan "but it is his duty also to live at peace with them."

How far does the oft-repeated determination of Egypt and her friends of Arab nationalism to wipe Israel off the map accord with the determination to maintain peace? How is it in consonance with the principles of the UNO Charter? How far does it honour, respect and obey the principles enunciated in our Panch Sheela? Is it not war-mongering, pure and simple? Indeed, it almost seems that those who drive their coach and four through our Panch Sheela earn our respect and admiration, instead of losing them, and we continue to proclaim lofty principles only to bypass them in practice. —Organiser.

TALKING WITH THE TONGUE IN HIS CHEEK

... In his speech to Kerala Congressmen at Ernakulam, Dhebar has accused the Opposition parties of exploiting poverty and ignorance of the people. That platitudinous charge should be made by any political party against the other. What charge Dhebar has made against the Opposition Parties has often been made against the Congress itself, and we say so, with a certain amount of justification too. But now when the Congress has paid the penalty in part for its sins, in the elections, there is no point in rubbing the arguments in the minds of the Congress leadership. Here we are concerned with a more fundamental issue viz the existence of poverty and ignorance of the people, which made their exploitation possible, whether it be by the Congress or the Opposition Parties.

During the last ten years it could well have been possible for the Congress substantially to remove poverty and ignorance from amongst the masses... but the First Five Year Plan has further enriched the rich and made the poor, poorer. The present regime has persisted in the same mistake in the Second Plan and poverty of the masses is more likely to be aggravated than removed during the next five years. So long as the Congress regime is enchaind to vested interests there is not the shadow of hope that there will be any improvement in the lot of the masses.....

—Nagpur Times

Our National Slogan Should Be

MORE Industrialists And LESS Politicians

By "Kamal"

SOME time back the Prime Minister said in Calcutta that "Private enterprise and Democracy are incompatible". More recently he told the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Delhi that Free Enterprise is an "outdated" concept.

Nehru Factually Wrong

I must confess I am surprised why the various business organisations should call in the Prime Minister, year in and year out, to hear their own detraction. It is a measure of their cowardice that they should not tell him that he is factually wrong. They are being less than fair to the Prime Minister.

Pandit Nehru thinks that Private Enterprise and Democracy are incompatible. He needs to be told that political freedom would be a fraud without economic freedom. Democracy is possible only with private enterprise; and it is not at all possible otherwise.

He thinks that free enterprise is an "outdated concept". This is the language of dictators. We have had Hitler and Stalin condemn political freedom and political opposition as "bourgeois superstition" and praise their own dictatorship as "people's democracy". It is shocking that Pandit Nehru should speak in their accents. It is about time to tell Pandit Nehru that private enterprise can never be outdated—even as freedom can never be outdated. And it is useful to remember that the world's most industrialised and prosperous nations—Britain, USA, Germany and Japan, France and Holland—attained their present position not by drafting five year plans, but by giving men freedom to work and to dare. Today there is more prosperity—and comparatively more freedom—in these countries than in those of the "socialist camp".

Planning Alright—But What Is This Socialism?

What I object to is not planning as such but the regimentation that is creeping in, in the booming name of socialism. It is useful to remember that years before the Congress Government drafted the first five year plan—which was hardly a plan, anyway—seven industrialists of Bombay had formulated a 15-year plan, well known as the "Bombay Plan". It was proposed to invest Rs. 10,000 crores—Rs. 4,400 crores of it on industrialisation.

Germany was shattered by World War II. West Germany rebuilt its economy to far excel its prewar strength. This was done by planning with co-operation of Business and Government. East Germany also made plans. But it vitiated its plans by "doctrinaire insistence on socialism". Today, East Germany is far behind West Germany. Today, while the war-battered and "outdated" economies, according to Pandit Nehru, of Britain, France, Italy and Japan are fully rehabili-

tated, those of the "people's democracies" are in a serious trouble. The Titoist break, the Polish revolt and the Hungarian revolution testify to the inadequacy of the "socialist" system.

It is nothing short of mischievous for the Government to give a bad name to industry and then go about hanging sector after sector. Black sheep are everywhere. But why pretend that our businessmen are worse than, say, our politicians? They are about as good—or bad—as anybody else. The idea of God classes and the Devil classes might be good fairy tale. But it makes no sense in real life.

We Can Be Proud Of Our Entrepreneurs

A little dispassionate consideration should make us almost proud of our entrepreneur class. It is these people who made Bharat the eighth most industrialised country in the world. And they did it in the face of hostile foreign rule, with discriminatory trade tariff and transportation and exchange policies. At the end of the first World War we were importing cloth worth Rs. 60 crores. Today, thanks to our great textile industry, we are exporting to nearly fifty foreign markets. Indian textiles have invaded Lancashire itself, the textile capital of England. And it is the much-maligned Indian businessman who has given us Asia's and Commonwealth's biggest steel mill, the TISCO (Tata Iron and Steel Corporation). Nor has the buoyancy abated with freedom—and the politicians' freedom to threaten and cajole.

During the last ten years industrial production has gone up 61%—most of it in the private sector. Between 1951 and 1955 the number of bicycles manufactured went up from 26,600 to 1,14,400, that of sewing machines from 72,600 to 1,65,800. Today we are a major exporter of these and other manufactures to South-East Asia and the Middle East. It should be the policy of the Government not to interfere with this upward trend, and rather to encourage it, so that production may be maintained. More production would automatically solve all our problems—most of all the problem of unemployment, and the problem of low standards, the problem of gnawing inequalities and the problem of short foreign exchange.

Our "Scientific" Planning

Ours is one of the under-administered countries of the world. The economic development of our vast country is a colossal matter. Statistics are so few and unreliable that the popular adage is: "There are white lies and black lies—and there are statistics". In these circumstances, successful detailed planning is something like a blind person searching a black cat in a dark room when she is not there.

An instance of bungled planning is the present position of our foreign exchange. The second plan visualised the withdrawal of Rs. 200 crores from our sterling balances over a period of five years. Actually the whole amount has been drawn in the first ten months of the plan!

While such is the "scientific" nature of our planning, bureaucracy has become a costly drag on economic activity. Shri A. D. Shroff told an ICWA audience in Delhi the other day that he had to appoint 16 clerks to file some 8200 returns for his textile mill. Does anybody in the Government ever look into these returns? I should not be surprised if the plan goes seriously astray for all these reasons—and the Government blame the whole thing on the Suez Blockade and the Pakistani arming, etc.

The Madness That Is State Transport

This is not to say that the Government should not actively participate in economic development. Indeed, it must; for there is so much to do all round. Only the Government can build roads and dams, bridges and harbours. Indeed there is so much to do that there need be no quarrel about who does what. Business should be invited to take what industries they would. The Government could do the rest.

But the Government shows no such wisdom. Immediately after Independence there was a craze for "nationalising" road transport. Countless lakhs were paid out in compensation. State transport is invariably costlier than private transport and where there is no competing private line it is an unvariously less efficient one.

The original argument for "nationalisation" was that income from it would be available for industrial investment as if that was not already so invested. Actually, however, most State transport authorities show little profit and at times they also show some losses. Perhaps the only beneficiary is the Transport Minister who now has the power to appoint any number of drivers, conductors and clerks.

I will never forget a little incident connected with the Bombay State Transport. Certain town transport centres wanted some earthenware pots for drinking—for the passengers. But then there was no budget provision for it. So the matter was referred to the Head Office. Prolonged correspondence ensued. The local pots were considered a little costlier. So the Head Office decided to send the same. Meanwhile summer

was over. And when the pots reached the town NONE of them was intact!

Dangers of Concentration Of Wealth

Some people object to free enterprise on the grounds that it leads to concentration of wealth. They perhaps do not know that the private sector does not consist of a Tata or a Birla; it is as democratic as the parliament. TISCO has 42,000 shareholders. In USA where free enterprise has had its greatest scope almost every other man holds stock. Some people often do get very rich under private enterprise. But, jealousy apart, is it a crime to be rich? After all what does a rich man do with his riches? How much can anybody lavish on his person? Surely there are limits to ostentations. These limits could even be set by law. Personal expenditure could be limited to say, Rs. 1000 per head per month. But why should anybody be sorry if a man makes millions and then invests them and makes more millions and makes still further investments?

The only objection would be that it is socially wrong to let any individual or corporation to control such economic activity. But this argument is self-defeating. If concentration of economic power is bad, how could a combination of economic and political powers in the Government be good? An individual or a company can be kept in check by fear of strikes or Government action. But what would be the check on an all-powerful Government? Public opinion—Well even that could be manipulated and manufactured.

I have serious objection to statism on grounds other than those of an economic nature. A democracy must be a free democracy if it is to be real. A democracy is never real unless it gives freedom to men to speak, move and organise. A free society must of necessity be a pluralistic society with freedom for political, economic, religious and social organisations. Today politics is devouring everything else. We are putting more and more eggs in the same basket. People flock to have "darshan" of a political figure. Our "communal reactionary" countrymen may still be found to gather round saints and faqirs. They may even crowd round bogus "wrestlers" or "film" stars. But who cares about a painter or a poet or philosopher or poet, an industrialist or an inventor. That is the state of dangerous lop-sidedness. It must be corrected. Everybody must be put in his proper place and nobody should be permitted to boss over anybody. The national slogan may well be: More Industrialists and Less Politicians.

The Mind Of The Nation

JARRING REPORT AND PAKISTAN

... the Jarring Report will cause great disappointment in Pakistan. During recent years Pakistan has had far too much her own way at the United Nations and a pronouncement which does not support her

will doubtless cause discontent. Although the Jarring report does not contain concrete proposals for the solution of the Kashmir problem, it presents a clearer perspective what earlier resolutions of the Security Council had tended to slur over.

Mr. Jarring has done well by drawing attention to the fact that a plebiscite now in Kashmir would create grave problems, that the promise of a plebiscite was not isolated but one of the terms of the agreement which was based on conditions prevailing many years ago, and that the situation having changed, it is not right to enforce the isolated condition of a plebiscite alone.....When stated by an impartial authority like Mr. Jarring, the plea must appear reasonable, and will probably go far to change the opinion of the UN on the whole question.

—Mysindia

JARRING'S REPORT, A WELCOME DOCUMENT

Dr. Gunnar Jarring's report to the Security Council is a matter of fact document, which, however, marks some improvement over the cold hostility of the last winter.

The distinguished diplomat records that "on exploring the question of a plebiscite I was aware of the grave problems that might arise in connection with and as a result of a plebiscite." It is quite on the cards that the result of a plebiscite, one way or the other, would commence a chain reaction which would only keep this part of the world in a state of continuing instability.....

Dr. Jarring took cognisance of the Bhartiya contention that Amer can arming of Pakistan has materially changed the situation when he said: "I could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia."

—Organiser

PRACTICE AND PRECEPT

IN his long homily to Congressmen delivered last month and now published in the AICC journal, the Prime Minister blurs some of the issues he himself raises. "It is no good seeking a remedy," he says, "unless you realise the nature and extent of a problem". But nowhere in his rambling address to Congress leaders does he precisely analyse the nature and extent of the evils that have sapped the strength of the Party. It is not enough to say that evil have sapped the strength of the Party. It is not enough to say that the Congress is losing touch with the masses. The pertinent question is: why has it

lost its appeal for young men? It is no use decrying the destructive forces of provincialism and communalism inside the Party.....

Mr. Nehru himself cannot be unaware of the corroding cynicism at all levels of the party hierarchy. The party directs that the new Cabinets formed in the States must be small and compact. No one takes the directive seriously, and in one State there is at least one Minister or deputy Minister for every five members of the party in the Assembly. The party announces that fresh blood will be brought in. But no one is prepared to accept the corollary that if younger men are to be brought into ministries older men must make room for them. The talk of fresh blood turns out to be mere make-believe.

—Times of India.

CONGRESS AND COMMUNIST SUCCESS

It was till recently held, even by the critics of India's foreign policy, that our policy of remaining neutral in favour of the communist bloc has enabled the Nehru Government to enhance India's prestige abroad while at the same time to curb the communist influence at home..... By adopting the policy of friendship with the communist bloc, compelling them openly to profess their faith in the five principles of co-existence, it was hoped that the communist rulers could be persuaded to use their influence to keep their Indian pupils from causing any trouble.....

This illusion has now been shattered by the results of the recent general elections which has proved that the CPI is steadily gaining strength at the cost of the Congress and other political parties in India. These results have indicated that the communists have improved their position in all the States except in Madras and Telegana and has even come to power in Kerala. If the present trend continues they are likely to forge ahead in the future, ultimately becoming the strongest contender for power.

The reasons for this communist success are not far to seek. India's siding with the communist bloc in international affairs, the interminable visits of communist rulers every few months, and the continued stream of "cultural" delegations to and from the Red countries, have succeeded in destroying the will to resist the march to communism. By befriending them enthusiastically and investing them with respectability Congress leaders have only helped the communists in undermining the faith of the people in democracy.

—Freedom First.

The R. L. Foundation And Research Work

The Research Department of the R. L. Foundation is engaged in original studies in Social Sciences and a number of scholars are busy making researches. Their work will be published, from time to time, in the form of a Monogram or a Tract dealing with each subject discussed.

The R. L. Foundation will publish these researches

in the form of Tracts or Monograms which will be sent to the subscribers of the "Libertarian Quarterly" free in place of the regular issues of the Quarterly. This will be the last issue of the Quarterly in the present form.

These Tracts or Monograms will be also available to the subscribers of the "Indian Libertarian" at reduced price on application.

Director, Research Department,
R. L. Foundation,
BOMBAY.

Believe it or not

Soviet Investments In American Industries

THE Washington correspondent of the DAILY EXPRESS reports that the Soviet Union by means of gigantic deals engineered through the Swiss banks, in utmost secrecy, is believed to be in the process of becoming a "shadow partner" in American industries—some of them of vital importance to U. S. military preparedness.

This is the main finding of a Senate "Internal Security" Committee which has been investigating the extent and the origin of foreign investments in the USA.

In a report, which is about to be published, the Senate Committee will point out that 1) foreign holdings in USA total 26,800 million dollars, 2) the identity of the foreign investors is unknown and 3) the USA Defence Department has no way of discovering exactly who is investing in the firms carrying out American military contracts.

Finally says the Committee, a great deal of these huge foreign holdings "could be withdrawn on very short notice any moment" thus precipitating a large-scale disruption of the American defence machine.

According to the Geneva correspondent the alleged infiltration of communist capital into the key industries of the USA is already causing trouble in political and banking circles in Switzerland, for it is through Switzerland and its banks, covered by the bank secrecy laws, that the Russian or other communist elements are gaining financial control over many national security industries. In the event of an economic upheaval in the USA or the threat of an armed conflict the dominant position of communist capital in American industries will disrupt America's defensive and offensive action.

THE KASHMIR IMBROGLIO

By K. D. Valicha

THE day they appointed Mr. Gunnar Jarring to go into the Kashmir mess and see if he could find ways and means of bringing about the usual happy ending, I think I gave the most jarring horse-laugh of my life. Because I could have told old boy Gunnar even before he set foot on this soil that his mission would end up exactly where it had begun. Me, I am not endowed with second sight but the way I look at it is that the thing has been clear from the very start—almost staring us in the face, you might say.

Did you hear about the camel and the Arab? No? A pity. Read it some time; it is instructive. But perhaps you have heard about the fool with his pretensions at good manners? You haven't? Well, neither have I. But the point I am endeavouring to convey is that Pakistan talking about a plebiscite in Kashmir makes me think of the shark who fell in love with a tiny fish. Pakistan and a plebiscite! It's like rats and music.

Perhaps you are already saying to yourself, "Here is another stupid element of the social milieu. Damn you, what's wrong with a plebiscite? After all, it is the most democratic method of ascertaining the wishes of the Kashmiris. If you are a bally democrat, I see no reason why the hell you raise all this noise in opposition. Mend your ways or I shall read no further."

PAKISTAN & PLEBISCITE

All very good, I hasten to reply, but you forget the essence of the thing. You skip the sap, as it were, or the core or pith or kernel and churn up the dabs, the flecks, the specks, the dots and the minutiae. The thing you want to concentrate on is whether Pakistan has the bally right to ask for a plebiscite. Me, I guess I will die of ignorance.

A plebiscite presupposes a democratic outlook. And is Pakistan democratic? If Pakistan is a democracy, I am perfectly willing to believe that the Western nations are ruled by Hitler. In ten years, Pakistan has not held one single general election. Maybe, you say, they do not care for trifling things as elections. Haw! Tell that to the judge! They are crying to high heaven just because East Pakistan demands provincial autonomy. The way brother Yussuf looks at the thing is that you should hold on to brother Qassim whether Qassim likes it or not.

To my mind the point is that Pakistan has not the right to ask for a plebiscite. If Khrushchev can take over the world, if a mouse can claim domination over the rest of the animal kingdom and if a rat can legitimately pronounce that it is running the household, then I grant that Pakistan can damn well talk of a plebiscite and get away with it. But since Khrushchev can do nothing except use force, the mouse has first to grapple with the lion (there is an interesting theory put forward by some zoological enthusiasts that it is not the lion who is the top chap of the animals but it is more the mighty elephant who has got what it takes. But, personally, I have always looked on with admiration the slick and agile python. But since this is not the place for launching an enquiry into animal statesmanship—though the subject is rich in thematic value—let us cast aside for the nonce the subject) and since the rat who can run the household will have to be something of a super-rat, it follows that Pakistan can just brandish about her American weapons.

AND PLEBISCITE—WHY NOT FOR PARTITION?

Now, though I am not the kind of a man who possesses any uncanny qualities or supernatural powers, I can

nevertheless feel you fretting under the brow and forgetting to count ten. This, as I can plainly see, is due very much to your still being unable to follow, if you don't mind, me. You are saying to yourself something like this: "How foolish can you get! This fellow seems to top the lid. Look, idiot, what if Pakistan's not democratic! It means just nothing. You're democratic, aren't you? Then why do you damn well refuse a plebiscite? You should certainly not mind, blast you!"

Take it easy, my dear sir. Let's go a bit slow. So you believe that a plebiscite is the best form of democracy, do you? I don't know. But if you were to hold a plebiscite all over India, I think this country would be divided into about half a dozen independent states. And I do not know how correctly the Kashmiris can exercise their choice, either.

But let us look at it another way. Let us go back to the partition. Did you hold a plebiscite then? And why didn't you, my good sir? Oh, that was different, was it? And why was it different? Answer me, dash it. You did not ascertain the wishes of the people of Punjab when you gave part of it away to Pakistan. Did the Bengalis tell you they loved the Muslims? Or did you do it because you felt sure the Bengalis would like it? What you did was to take a map and divide it into parts any way it came. A piece of paper and a politician—the two together spell dynamite.

You make me sick. A plebiscite and Pakistan are two things that just do not go together. How democratic can you get! You seem to have acquired a new moral sense overnight! At the time of partition you took time off and now you come back and be democratic! Boy, this is one for Ripley.

And yet this is not the whole of it. What enters the iron into the soul is our stinking national leaders. Did you know that Pakistan owes us about five hundred crores? Nehru seems to have forgiven it to them. He has every right to, you know. Did he not

give up all his riches to devote himself to the service of the country? Did you know that while Pakistan was preparing to war on us, good old P.M. was signing trade pacts with Yusuf, Me, I guess I will die of shame.

NEHRU'S HIMALAYAN BLUNDER

The mind recalls one "fool" by the name of Shyama Prasad Mukerji. He advised against taking the Kashmir issue to the UNO. But this perfectly "stupid" idea was rejected by Nehru and he proceeded bravely up to the world court and registered the case with the pomp and glory befitting a statesman. But, in his hurry, he made a mistake. I do not know if he can see well but he seems to have mistaken 6 for 7. For instead of registering the complaint under Chapter 7 of the Charter which is specifically concerned with 'Acts of Aggression', he entered it under articles 34 and 35 of Chapter 6 which is entitled 'Pacific Settlement of Disputes'. No wonder the UNO refuses to brand Pakistan as the aggressor.

And dear Mr. Menon put across in that marathon way of his the bally speech he delivered at the UNO. Apart from the fact that such acts elicit from me the most sentimental reaction and convert me into a hero-worshipper for all time (so that the hand no longer demurs when casting the vote for the divine cow), they tell me one other thing. The guilty always make the most noise. Nehru yelling about his stand on Kashmir—and yet I am not sure whether I can hear him.

The hand fails. The heart misses a beat. . . . nay. . . . two. Two tears run down parallel cheeks and vie with each other in speed. The nib cracks under the strain. And I can write no more. Nehru, Menon and Pant seem to be exerting every ounce of energy to make it known to one and all that they are going to stick to Kashmir and I regret to say that I agree with them. Me, I am agreeable even to the sharks.

Indian News Parade

KASHMIR STALEMATE— JARRING UNABLE TO FIND A SOLUTION

UNITED NATIONS: The Swedish delegate to the United Nations Council, Mr. Gunnar V. Jarring, told the Security Council that he was unable to find a plan that would break the deadlock between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

At the same time he said that his talks with Indian and Pakistani Government leaders indicated that the two countries were desirous of finding a solution of the nine-year old problem. —*Times of India*

SIGNIFICANCE OF JARRING REPORT

NEW DELHI: As anticipated Mr. Jarring offers no magic formula

for a settlement of the Kashmir question in his report to the Security Council. . . . His sober and realistic appraisal of the situation should assist in a balanced consideration of the issue.

There are three factors of significance in the report. The first is that Mr. Jarring takes cognisance of the concern felt regarding "the changing political, economic and strategic factors" and "the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia."

In other words he has noted the impact of military assistance to Pakistan and that country's membership of the Baghdad and SEATO pacts. The second factor is that the implementation of the

UN resolutions on Kashmir has become difficult because they have been overtaken by time. The situation they were intended to meet has changed.

In any event Mr. Jarring's report represents an advance on the position earlier this year when somewhat unrealistic suggestion of a UN force for Kashmir and the demilitarisation were being blandly mooted in the Security Council.

—*Times of India*

PAKISTAN FEARS OVER JARRING REPORT

NEW YORK: Whether Pakistan would be seeking "clarifications" from the US or from some other source, there was a strong feeling

here that Pakistan was making a behind-the-scene appeal to the Western leadership as a whole.

This appeal was to ensure that a discussion of the Jarring report did not introduce a new element such as a "change of context" in the Kashmir situation because of Pakistan's participation in military pacts.

Pakistan, in the opinion of many, may now be trying her old tactics of throwing a smokescreen around a development that was becoming inconvenient to her.

—*Press Trust of India*

ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST INDIA—PAK'S THREAT

RAWALPINDI: Sardar Mahomed Ibrahim Khanfi President of the Pakistani occupied Kashmir, threatened to resume the "armed struggle against India".

He said: We Kashmiris postponed our armed struggle against Indian aggression in January 1949 on the assurance of the UN that our basic human rights would be guaranteed. But nine years passed and four million people of Kashmir still stood deprived of the right of self-determination."

Addressing a news conference Sardar Ibrahim said: "Why should the people of Kashmir be punished for the sake of India's strategy and why should we lose our freedom?"

"I appeal to the freedom-loving people of the world to come to the rescue of the enslaved people of Kashmir. I appeal to the people of Pakistan to rise as one man to handle the problem of Kashmir as the gravest problems of our times."

—*Times of India*

INDO-PAK CANAL TALK FAIL

KARACHI: The Pakistani delegation to the tripartite talks in Washington on the Canal waters dispute is expected to return to Karachi within the next fortnight.

The return of the delegation, headed by Mr. C. Mohinnudin, will mark the end of the Washington phase of the talks which have virtually failed, it is stated here.

The Vice-President of the World Bank, Mr. I. W. Illif, is likely to visit the Indo-Pak subcontinent by the end of May or the first week of June.

—*Press Trust of India*

LEAGUE DEMAND SUHRAWARDY TO QUIT

KARACHI: The Opposition Muslim League held out the threat of launching civil disobedience movement if Suhrawardy Government did not quit office or desist from "imposing the system of joint electorate" throughout the country.

The threat was held out in a resolution passed at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Karachi Muslim league.

Posters were also seen displayed all over the city alleging that the system of joint electorates would bring Pakistan within what they described, "the orbit of Hindu imperialism". —*Times of India*

PROFESSOR COUSIN DISAGREES WITH DULLES

DELHI: Mr. Foster Rhea

Dulles, a cousin of Mr. John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of States, at present Chairman of the Department of History at Ohio State University, now on a visit to India, was asked by a journalist:—

"Do you as a historian and expert on foreign affairs endorse the policy of Mr. Dulles?"

His reply was precise, "No, not entirely. I do not agree with him completely on his overemphasis on military aid as against economic aid."

This led him to talk on Communism and Democracy. He said that the greatest drawback of Communism was its failure to recognise the dignity of the individual and his worth. The theory of Democracy was founded on the dignity and sanctity of the individual.

—*Press Trust of India*

WORLD NEWS

ANTI-TITOIST WAVE IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

BERLIN: A high communist source in East Berlin revealed that the Soviet Communist Party is circulating copies of a recent secret resolution once again condemning Marshal Tito.

The source said, the resolution which denounced the Yugoslav leaders as "enemies of socialism and the socialist bloc" was received early this month by satellite governments and by Communist Parties in other countries.

The resolution demanded from the satellites an "all-out fight" against the "danger of so-called Titoism and accomplices in the socialist bloc".

It denounced Titoism as another form of capitalism.

—*Bombay Sentinel*

SOVIET NAVAL BUILD-UP IN THE PACIFIC

SYDNEY: Admiral Frederick Zicik, Commander-in-Chief of the USA Pacific Fleet said here that "the Soviet Union is building up its naval forces in the Pacific."

"But with new weapons and new aircrafts we are getting stronger all the time and keeping ahead of them. As long as we are in front it is alright, he told reporters.

—*Reuter*

US POWER DISPLAY SAVED JORDAN—DULLES

BONN: Mr. John Foster Dulles was reported to have told the North Atlantic Treaty allies that the American Power display in the Mediterranean saved little Jordan from falling into Moscow's grip.

Mr. Dulles made his observations in the course of a report to the NATO Council of Foreign Ministers on the circumstances that led the United States to order its Sixth Fleet to show its teeth along Arabia's Mediterranean seaboard.

NATO POWERS TO MEET AGGRESSION BY ALL MEANS

BONN: The NATO nations declared they must be able to use "all available means, including nuclear weapons"—to meet any aggression.

Book Review

MAN FOR HIMSELF

MAN FOR HIMSELF by Dr. Erich Fromm, published by Rinehart, price Dollars 2.75.

LATE in 1955 the eminent psychiatrist Dr. Erich Fromm, pictured in the *SANE SOCIETY* a culture very different from our present one which most moderns tend to rate very high. We were to discover that his concept of the sane society is one in which people will work and play creatively and in which they are warmly and co-operatively related to one another.

Now as the beginning of 1957 we can take Dr. Fromm's *MAN FOR HIMSELF* as further ground for strength and confidence. In this small book Dr. Fromm marshals in a readable fashion, the ethical, philosophical and psychological reasons why human beings can be fulfilled only by creative and

productive living. In my opinion the book confirms the soundness of works such as ours (the School of Living, Lane's End Homestead, Brookeville, Ohio, USA) and lends hope to its ultimate success.

NATURE OF MAN

To begin with Dr. Fromm deals with the nature of man. For him there is no doubt that a human being is a growing, developing entity, charged with energy and organised in specific ways so as to be dissatisfied unless creative effort towards fulfillment is going on. If you are plagued with a notion that the human being is a rigid structure, incapable of change; or if you believe that he is a depraved fallen creature unable to do anything for or about himself, read *MAN FOR HIMSELF*. Or if you agree with Dr. Crile that man is merely an "adaptive mechanism" who acts only in response to an external environment, then this book is for you. If you lean towards a behaviouristic psychology as a result of an older mechanistic physics and a determinist Marxian economics, don't fail to examine Fromm's concept of human being.

Fromm believes (in my opinion he proves) that the human being is capable of adapting himself to external conditions only up to a point. For the essence of human nature is in certain indestructable qualities of his being, which compel him never to end the search for conditions that fit his intrinsic needs.

FAILURE OF REASON

Dr. Fromm holds that it is the nature of human beings to reason and to love. He says that the eighteenth and nineteenth century failure of reason, was not too much BUT TOO LITTLE reason. We need to greatly increase the use of man's innate ability to reason.

But we also must increase the use of love in our world. Here he

explains neurosis, the seeming prevalence of hatred and hostility in modern life. He sees neurosis (and hats) as the thwarting of life's energies, the blocking of a person's productive capacities.

Dr. Fromm is for eliminating all the individual and social conditions which makes for the blocking of life-furthering energy, which results in destructiveness. These are dealt with more specifically in *THE SANE SOCIETY*.

by Mildred J. Loomis
in *THE INTERPRETER*

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Manager, Indian Libertarian,
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A National Views and News
Weekly Published from Delhi
with an ALL-INDIA
circulation

Edited by K. R. MALKANI

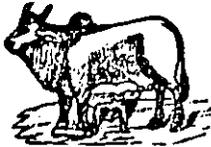
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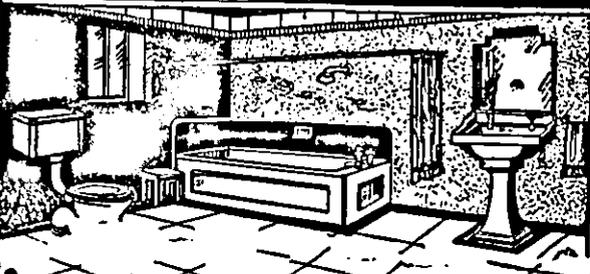
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